

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XXVI

MARKING THE NORTH.
THE GREEK TRADITION AND ITS INFLUENCE
IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

edited by
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HELSINKI 2025



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Helsinki 2025

ISSN 1237-2684

ISBN 978-952-65899-0-9 (print)

ISBN 978-952-65899-1-6 (PDF)

Printed in Finland by Grano Oy

Cover: Karin Eremia

Layout: Vesa Vahtikari

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The Insular North: A Long-Unknown Reality

Serena Bianchetti

1. Introduction*

The description of Northern Europe through its islands can be traced back to the first explorer who braved the risks of sailing from the Mediterranean to the British Archipelago – defined as such for the first time – before continuing his adventure as far as Thule. I refer, of course, to Pytheas of Massalia, the subject of a recent volume by Lionel Scott.¹ Scott emphasises the commercial aspects of that adventure, which took place in the second half of the fourth century BCE, whereas in my 1998 book I repeatedly stressed the scientific value of Pytheas' experience.² I insist on this aspect for a reason related to this chapter, namely that only by highlighting the scientific character of Pytheas' work not only can we understand the criticism heaped on it by authors such as Polybius and Strabo, who were faithful interpreters of a political geography considered as an instrument of power,³ but we can also comprehend the greater success of this trend in historical geography, as opposed to that of scientific geography.

Among the scientists, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who was active at the court of Ptolemy III and IV, used Pytheas' description to draw his map of the inhabited world, in which the *oikoumene* (οἰκουμένη) stretched to Thule, at 66°N, i.e., as far as our Arctic Circle, which was perhaps identified in its absolute value by the Massalian explorer himself.⁴ Fig. 2.1 at the end of this chapter shows a reconstruction of Eratosthenes' world map.

It was precisely the description of the Great North that the critics of the historical geographers or geographic historians were focused on. They rejected, in fact, an idea of the inhabited world that was much wider than that known and conquered by the Romans. Strabo, in particular, criticised the mathematical character of Eratosthenes' research, focusing his attacks essentially on the northwestern area of the inhabited world; there, Pytheas' description clashed with Roman conceptions that had matured in the wake of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul and Britain. Fig. 2.2 illustrates Strabo's conception of the world.

* Translations, where the author is not indicated, are mine.

¹ Scott 2022.

² See my updated edition of the *Fragments of Pytheas (FGrH Continued, 2215)*: Bianchetti 2023.

³ On Polybius' geography see Walbank 1948, 155–182; *id.* 1979, 569–598; Pédech 1956, 3–24; *id.* 1964; Texier 1976, 395–407; Clarke 1999; Engels 1999. On the political bias of Strabo's *Geography* see Lasserre 1982, 867–896; Prontera 1984, 187–255; *id.* 1992, 277–317; *id.* 2016, 239–257; Van der Vliet 1984, 29–86; Vanotti 1992, 173–194; Biraschi 1998, 1079–1097; Dueck 2000, 107–129; *ead.* 2017; Potthecary 2002, 387–438; Moret 2017, 251–296; Prontera 2025, 115–158.

⁴ On Eratosthenes and scientific geography see Thalamas 1921; Dragoni 1979; Jacob 1992, 113–127; Aujac 2001; Geus 2002; Bianchetti 2007–2008, 25–39; *ead.* 2016, 132–149; Roller 2010; Kosmin 2018, 85–96; Shipley 2024a, 289–359.

2. The North Sea as Pytheas' extreme destination

In this chapter I would like to focus on the north-eastern area of the Oceanic coast. Regarding this large area, comparison between the scarce fragments of Pytheas' work and the descriptions by Roman authors such as Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Tacitus and Solinus allows us to verify the conservative character of the literary tradition which, on the one hand, accepts some data of a scientific nature and, on the other, does not renounce a stereotypical and fantastic image of the North. This double characteristic cuts to the very core of the Greco-Roman tradition of 'septentriography'.⁵

This comparison is challenging also due to the fact that the scarce fragments of *The Ocean* relating to the extreme destination reached by Pytheas have been understood by moderns as relating to the Baltic Sea (see now Scott 2022) or the North Sea, with obvious conflicting consequences in the assessment of the knowledge of the Far North on the part of the sources available to us. I have not changed my opinion since 1998, my belief still being that Pytheas limited his exploration to the North Sea and it is to this context therefore that, in my opinion, the information Pliny reports on the amber island must refer.

Sotacus believes that it (i.e. amber) flows from crags in Britain called the Electrides. Pytheas speaks of an estuary of the Ocean named Metuonis and extending a distance of six thousand stadia, the shores of which are inhabited by a German tribe, the Guiones. From here it is a day's sail to the isle of Abalus, to which, he states, amber is carried in spring by currents, being an excretion consisting of solidified brine. He adds that the inhabitants of the region use it as fuel instead of wood and sell it to the neighbouring Teutones. His belief is shared by Timaeus who, however, calls the island Basilia.⁶ Philemon denies the suggestion that amber gives off a flame. Nicias insists on explaining amber as moisture from the sun's rays, as follows: he maintains that as the sun sets in the west its rays fall more powerfully upon the earth and leave there a thick exudation, which is later cast ashore in Germany by the tides of the Ocean.⁷

A few words should be dedicated to this passage in relation to what interests us. The *Metuonis* estuary has been variously localised depending on the interpretation of *spatio stadiorum sex milium* (about 1.300 km), a measurement which could have been reported either with reference to the south-eastern part of the North Sea, defined by geologists as the Wattenmeer, or to the Baltic Sea.⁸ An attempt was made by Grilli to correct the text, in which he suggested that the Greek original should have read $\sigma' = 800$ instead of $\zeta' = 6.000$ stadia, thus reducing the measurement from 1.300 km to about 200 km,

⁵ On the concept, see the 'Introduction' to this volume.

⁶ Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 75b.

⁷ Plin. *HN* 37.35 (= Pyth. F 15 Bianchetti): *Sotacus credidit in Brittannia petris effluere, quas electridas vocavit, Pytheas Guionibus, Germaniae genti, accoli aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatio 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 Teutonis vendere. huic et Timaeus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit. Philemon negavit flammam ab electro reddi. Nicias solis radiorum sucum intellegi voluit hoc; circa occasum vehementiores in terram actos pinguem sudorem in ea relinquere, oceani deinde aestibus in Germanorum litora eici.* Transl. Heichholz 1962, with some variations.

⁸ Wattenmeer: Hennig I 1936, 134; Gutenbrunner 1939, 70; Luiselli 1992, 116. Baltic Sea: Bessell 1858, 60; Hawkes 1984, 10.

an amplitude reasonably applicable to the North Sea.⁹ While the 6.000 stadia have been understood by some scholars as a distance calculated from a starting point that Mette left undetermined.¹⁰ Wenskus, however, fixed it at the island of Ouessant, at the north-western tip of Europe, marking the beginning of a northern island system that extended in the east to the mouth of the Elbe.¹¹

As for the island of Abalus, it is a day's sail from the coast and is identified with the peninsula of Samland or Sambia by those who maintain that Pytheas reached the Baltic.¹² Alternatively, it is identified with the Danish island of Bornholm or with Vendsyssel-Thy, an island that closes off the northern tip of Denmark, by those who believe that the Massaliote passed Skagerrak and Kattegat and ended his journey at the mouth of the Oder.¹³ Those who, on the other hand, believe that Pytheas did not go beyond the North Sea identify Abalus with one of the Frisian islands or Heligoland.

Considering the passage by Pliny examined here on the amber island, it seems to me that Timaeus called *Basilia* the Abalus of Pytheas (*sed insulam Basiliam vocavit*). Indeed, the historian was faithful to the description of the Massaliote but integrated some of his data, translating it into a toponymy that was more comprehensible to the reader. As in the case of the frozen sea, perhaps called Cronion by Timaeus himself, the historian of Tauromenium also 'Hellenised' Pytheas' data for the amber island, making it more coherent within a story such as the return of the Argonauts, a tale which was adapted on the basis of the Massaliote's itinerary. Diodorus quotes Timaeus about how after the theft of the Golden Fleece, the Argonauts:

sailed, that is to say, up the Tanaïs river as far as its sources, and at a certain place they hauled the ship overland, and following in turn another river which flows into the Ocean they sailed down it to the sea; then they made their course from the north to the west, keeping the land on their left, and when they had arrived near Gadeira they sailed into our sea.¹⁴

The alternative route to the traditional one, which Timaeus invents for the Argonauts in the light of the more recent exploration of the North, thus seems to be modelled on that of Pytheas, who must have followed the European Oceanic coast from Tanaïs to Gades for the return journey.¹⁵ However, it is known that the Tanaïs-Don does not flow into the

⁹ Grilli 1983, 14 n. 26.

¹⁰ Mette 1952, 1; Pekkanen 1968, 39: 'We do not know from what place and to where they (i.e. 6.000 stadia) were measured.'

¹¹ Wenskus 1985, 97. Cf. also Bianchetti 1996, 73–84; *ead.* 1998, 195–200 on the extremes of the stretch described by Pytheas, linked, one – with Ouessant and the Oestrymnides – to the tin trade, the other – with the mouth of the Elbe and Heligoland – to the amber trade. On the amber routes cf. Spekke 1957; Wielowiejski 1984, 69–87; Braemer 1986, 361–381; John 2006; Massimi & Arancio 2012.

¹² *Abalus* is identified with the peninsula Samland or Sambia by Schmekel 1848, 25; Mair 1906, 78–79; Pekkanen 1968, 39 ('*Abalus* need not even have been an island'), with the Danish island of Bornholm by Bessell 1858, 60; Fabre 1985, 45–47; Scott 2022, Appendix 4; with Vendsyssel-Thy by Hawkes 1984, who considers the mouth of the river Oder to be Pytheas' final destination. For *Abalus* as one of the Frisian islands see Matthias 1901–1902, 28–29; Gisinger 1963, 347–349; Kolendo 1981, 76; Grilli 1983, 11–17; for Abalus-Heligoland see Detlefsen 1904, 12; Gutenbrunner 1939, 71; Wenskus 1985, 97; Luiselli 1992, 118.

¹³ Hawkes 1984, m. 9.

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. 4.56.3 (Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 85). Translation Oldfather 1939.

¹⁵ Pyth. F 8d (Bianchetti = F 7a Mette) *ap.* Str. 2.4.1: Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθὲνδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάϊδος. 'This is the report by Pytheas, and

Northern Ocean and therefore the reference to this river must be understood as a possible prolongation of the Don northwards, along the course of another river that really did flow into the Northern Ocean (possibly the Elbe).¹⁶

The reference to Tanaïs by Pytheas constitutes, in my opinion, an attempt to fix, by means of a precise point, what we call the longitude of the north-eastern extremity of Europe. Just as the line of the Lusitanian promontories could, in the Pythean conception, identify a meridian *in nuce* and be useful in marking the western extremity of Europe from south to north, so the line drawn at the Tanaïs and the river that constituted its prolongation to the Oceanic mouth, gave a glimpse of a meridian that marked the eastern border of Europe and at the same time closed, with that of the Lusitanian promontories, the Oceanic coast/*parokeanitis* sailed along by the Massaliote.

As we know, compared to the attempt at measuring latitude, their endeavour to define longitude was much more complex and less fruitful for the ancients due to the absence of chronometric instruments. Their lack of success was still tangible in Ptolemy's time. Only by observing the same eclipse at different points in the same latitudinal band would it have been possible to derive the longitude of the sites examined.¹⁷

If, therefore, Pytheas himself referred to the Tanaïs-Don as the end of his journey and if this Tanaïs represented in Pytheas' conception the extension towards the north – perhaps Elbe – of the true Tanaïs, then we are faced with the definition of a point on the Oceanic coast that marked the extremity of the Europe-Asia border. This leads to the conclusion that Pytheas' Oceanic coast ran along Europe, beyond which the Massaliote had not sailed.

3. Pliny's and Mela's descriptions: something new regarding the Baltic Sea

Let us now return to Pliny's passage (*HN* 37.35) from which we began our analysis. In addition to Timaeus, Pliny mentions Philemon and Nicias in connection with amber, probably proceeding according to a method that brought together different theories on amber production. Of Nicias, nothing is known, while of Philemon we know that he lived between 5 and 60 CE and wrote a work entitled *On the Islands of the Outer Sea* or *The Ocean*, which was written after the expedition of Tiberius (5 CE) and before the conclusion of Pliny's *Natural History*.¹⁸ Of the four fragments passed down to us,¹⁹ the one transmitted by Ptolemy dealt with Ierne-Ireland, and Philemon claimed to have obtained from merchants the extent of the island in an east-west direction.²⁰

Philemon is also mentioned, together with Timaeus, in another passage by Pliny:

he adds that when he returned from there he went along the entire Ocean coast of Europe from Gadeira to the Tanaïs.'

¹⁶ Cf. Bianchetti 2004a, 1–10.

¹⁷ Cf. Aujac 1966, 160–161.

¹⁸ Haake 2011; Zehnacker & Silberman 2015, 318.

¹⁹ Plin. *HN* 4.95, 37.33, 36; Ptol. *Geog.* 1.11.8 transmitting Marinus of Tyre.

²⁰ Philem. F 4 (Haake) *ap.* Ptol. *Geog.* 1.11.8: Τῷ γοῦν τοῦ Φιλήμονος λόγῳ, δ' οὐ τὸ μήκος τῆς Ἰουερνίας νῆσου τὸ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι παραδέδωκεν, οὐ συγκατατίθεται διὰ τὸ φάναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἐμπόρων ἀκηκοέναι. 'At least he (i.e. Marinus) does not agree with Philemon's statement that the extension of the island of Ireland from east to west is twenty days' journey, because he (i.e. Philemon) says that he learned this from traders.'

Next we must leave the Euxine to describe the outer regions of Europe and crossing the Rhipaeen mountains must coast to the left along the shores of the Northern Ocean until we reach Gades. In this direction a great number of islands are reported to exist that have no name but according to the account of Timaeus there is one named Baunonia, lying off Scythia, at a distance of a day's voyage from the coast, on the beach of which in springtime amber is cast up by the waves. As to the remaining parts of these shores, they are almost unknown but the Northern Ocean is object of authoritative reports.

Beyond the river Parapanisus where it washes the coast of Scythia Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, a name that in the language of the natives means 'frozen'; Philemon says that the Cimbrian name for it is Morimarus (that is 'Dead Sea') from the Parapanisus to Cape Rusbeas, and from that point onward the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that three days' sail from the Scythian coast there is an island of enormous size called Balcia; Pytheas gives its name as Basilia. Also some islands called Oeoniae are reported of which the inhabitants live on birds' eggs and oats, and others on which people are born with horses' feet, which gives them their Greek name. There are others called the All-ears' islands in which the natives have very large ears covering the whole of their bodies, which are otherwise left naked.

From this point more definite information begins to open up, beginning with the race of the Inguaeones, the first that we come to in Germany. Here there is an enormous mountain, the Saevo, as big as those of the Rhipaeen range, which forms an enormous gulf reaching to the Cimbrian Promontory. This gulf, which is called Codanus, is filled with islands; the most famous among which is Scatinavia, of a magnitude as yet unascertained: the only portion of it at all known is inhabited by the nation of the Hilleuones, who dwell in 500 villages, and call it a second world. Aeningia is thought to be equally big. Some writers state that these regions, as far as the river Vistula, are inhabited by the Sarmati, Venedi, Sciri, and Hirri, and that there is a gulf named Cylipenus, with the island of Latris at its mouth, and then another gulf, that of Lagnus, at which is the frontier of the Cimbri. The Cimbrian Promontory projects a long way into the sea, forming a peninsula called Tastris. Then there are twenty-three islands known to the armed forces of Rome; the most noteworthy of these are Burcana, called by our people Fabaria, from the quantity of wild beans growing there, and the island which by the soldiery is called Glaesaria from its amber; but by the barbarians Austeravia and also Actania.²¹

²¹ Plin. HN 4.94–97: *exeundum deinde est, ut externa Europae dicantur, transgressisque Ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum. 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. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceanus. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum. 95. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scythiarum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat. feruntur et Oeoniae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur; Hippopodes appellati. Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contengant. 96. incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama a gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, immensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum classima est Scatinavia, incomptae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hilleuionum gente quingenti incolente pagis: quae alterum orbem terrarum eam appellat. nec minor est opinione Aeningia. 97. quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipenum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris. promunturium Cimbrorum excurrans in maria longe paeninsulam efficit, quae*

This long Plinian passage begins with a description of the ‘extreme edges of Europe’ going westward in the direction of Gades, i.e. along that line drawn by Pytheas, who – as we have said – set the Tanaïs as the north-eastern extremity of his navigation. The description includes the amber islands also referred to in the passage where Pytheas and Timaeus are mentioned, the latter giving credit to the explorer but calling Pytheas’ Abalus *Basilia*, instead.²²

In the passage in Book 4, Pliny combines information from different sources, which are not entirely connected, as can be seen from the direction of the description, which, at first, goes from the ‘extreme borders of Europe’ (Tanaïs) to Gades and then moves on to the description of the islands in the *sinus Codanus*, here probably indicating the succession of the Skagerrak and Kattegat Straits and the sea surrounding the Danish islands. Indeed the expression *insulae complures sine nominibus* refers to the islands of the North Sea,²³ while the *sinus Codanus, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia* undoubtedly indicates the Baltic Sea, which seems to have its western end in the *promunturium Rusbeas*, identified either with the northern cape of Jutland, i.e. Cape Skagen, or Cape Lindesnes at the southern tip of Norway, or again the island of Ryvingen in the same area.²⁴ Of the same *sinus Codanus*, an extremity is indicated in Mount Saevo, as Pliny states in 4.96 reporting: *Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama a gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. Mons Saevo* could be Mount Siggen, 100 km south of Bergen in Norway, or it might possibly indicate the entire chain stretching into southern Norway, in the direction of Trondheim. The importance of promontories and mountains for navigation is well known, as is the difficulty of defining the extremes of gulfs identified in their extension, these factors probably being the causes of Pliny’s complex and composite description, which drew on different sources.

The naturalist’s description can be compared, at least in part, with that of Mela (3.31 for the *sinus Codanus*) and hints at the same source, which was informed about the geography of the Baltic Sea and more current when compared with Pytheas’ description. *Sinus Codanus* may therefore refer to the region of Øresund in the eastern part of Denmark where indeed the islands are numerous and where also Lolland, the site of the Hoby treasure (which will be discussed shortly) is located. The largest of the islands enclosed by this gulf is *Scatinavia*: ‘Its size is unspecified, as far as is known; it is inhabited by five hundred villages of the *Hilleviones*, who call their island a second world.’

In 4.104 Pliny mentions *Scandias* (i.e. *insulas*), this being echoed by Ptolemy who mentions four of them with Skandia being considered the largest of this archipelago and identifiable with the Danish islands.²⁵ Apart from *Scandiae*, Pliny mentions other islands, namely *Dumna*, on the northwest coast of Britain, which could be the isle of Lewis (the northernmost of the Hebridean islands) and *Bergos*, which could be one of the southernmost of the Orkneys, (Hoy or South Ronaldsay) or might refer to the

Tastris appellatur. XXIII inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae. earum nobilissimae Burcana, Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis similitudine sponte provenientis, item Glaesaria a sucino militiae appellata, barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actantia. Transl. Rackham 1942, with some variations.

²² Plin. *HN* 37.35 = Pyth. F 15 (Bianchetti).

²³ For Zehnacker & Silberman 2015, 317, probably the Baltic Sea.

²⁴ Cf. Svennung 1974, 29–33, who writes Rubeas. On Rusbeas see Zehnacker & Silberman 2015, 318.

²⁵ Ptol. *Geog.* 2.11.16.

Norwegian region of Bergen.²⁶ *Berrice*, otherwise unmentioned, could be Mainland, part of Shetland.

Pliny's text then proceeds with information derived from different and not perfectly integrated sources. In fact, the naturalist inserts the gulf *Cylipenus* in lands inhabited, as far as the Vistula, by *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri*. The island of *Latris*, which can be identified with Seeland, and the mention of the *sinus Lagnus* also seem to refer to unspecified *quidam* (some). Pliny then compares these with the information reported by Roman troops (*Romanis armis ... militiae*) on the coast west of Jutland with the discovery of 23 islands including *Burcana*, the island of broad beans. Basically, the official information, which was related to the Roman army, is limited to the region west of Jutland, i.e., the North Sea, and for this reason it was possible to compare Pytheas' description with more recent ones.

The Baltic space, although destined to enter Roman official knowledge rather late, seems to have filtered into Pliny's text through unofficial information collected from one or more sources, which mixed real data, probably of a mercantile nature, with traditions about fabulous inhabitants of regions in the far North.

The fact that we have no information regarding the *Hilleviones* and that this ethnonym can only be compared with Tacitus' *Huelcones-Helueconae* confirms the uncertain provenance of the data associated here with the definition of *Scatinavia* as *alter orbis*.²⁷ This is probably a report from travellers who ascribed to the locals a definition that actually related to their own conception of the world and in relation to which *Scatinavia* represented a total otherness.

However, we have to say that the first mention of *Scatinavia* or *Scadinavia* predates Pliny and is found in Pomponius Mela, who wrote a *Chorography* during the time of Claudius.²⁸ Mela's text has been the subject of recent studies in which attempts have been made to identify an original interpretation of the description of the inhabited world in the first century CE.²⁹ In actual fact, the description of the North that we read in the *Chorographia* is bookish and up to date only as far as a few place names are concerned (see *Scadinavia*), these moreover being inserted in contexts with references to legendary peoples (Birds of Prey, Horsefeet).

To the North of Britain, Iuverna is more or less equal in area, but is oblong with equally extended lateral coastlines. Its climate is hideous for ripening seeds, but the island is so luxuriant with grass - not only abundant but sweet - that sheep stuff themselves in a fraction of the day, and unless they are kept from the pasture, they burst from feeding too long. Its inhabitants are undisciplined and ignorant of all virtue, so a greater degree than any other nation, and they are very much inexperienced in piety. (54) The thirty Orcades islands are separated by narrow spaces between them; the seven Haemodae extend opposite Germany and what we have called Codanus Bay; of the islands there, Scadinavia, which the Teutoni still hold, stands out as much for its size as for its fertility as well. (55) Because of the sea's tidal ebb and flow, and because the distance between them is sometimes covered by waves

²⁶ Bianchetti 1998, 174; cf. Mela 3.57: *Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est*.

²⁷ Tac. *Germ.* 43; Zehnacker & Silberman 2015, 322.

²⁸ Parroni 1984, 15–22; Silberman 1988, vii–xliii; *id.* 1989, 571–581; Brodersen 1994; Rollinger 1999, 187–222; Winkler 2000, 141–161; Valtonen 2009, 55–57.

²⁹ Irby 2019, 103–134 with bibliography.

and other times bare, what faces the Sarmatae sometimes seems to be islands and at the other times seems to be one continuous land mass. (56) In addition to what is handed down in legend, I discover - in authors whom I am not embarrassed to follow - that on these islands are the Oeoniae, who feed only on oats and the eggs of marsh birds, and that the Hippopodes, with their equine hooves, are also there, and the Panotii (All-ears) too, who for clothing have big ears broad enough to go around their whole body (they are otherwise naked). (57) Thule is located near the coast of Belcae, who are celebrated in Greek poetry and in our own. On it - because there the sun rises far from where it will set - nights are necessarily brief, but all winter long they are as dark as anywhere, and in summer, bright. All summer the sun moves higher in the sky at this time, and although it is not actually seen at night, the sun nevertheless illuminates adjacent places when its radiance is close by; but during the solstice there is no night, because at that time the sun is now more visible and shows not only its brilliance but most of itself too.³⁰

Silberman in his important commentary on Mela has identified a Greek source behind the description of Ierne and the North Sea islands: since Mela is the first to mention the Orkney islands (which comprise more than 67 islands), the source he draws on could be Pytheas or, according to Silberman, Philemon, whom we have already quoted precisely because he mentioned Ierne, attributing a large extent to the island.³¹ The seven *Haemodae* are only mentioned by Mela and Pliny *HN* 4.103 and have not been securely identified in the modern scholarship except at the cost of unnecessary and dangerous corrections to the text (*contra Germaniam Vectis* in order to place these islands in an area not far from Ireland).³² It is unlikely that these are the Hebudes-Hebrides, mentioned by Pliny, so it appears that the naturalist knew them both. Silberman (with corrections to punctuation) sees this as a reference to the Danish islands, south of Sweden, located in the *sinus Codanus*.

It was the similarities between Pliny's and Mela's descriptions that convinced Silberman to put forward, as we have seen, the suggestion of Philemon's work as a common source for both. It is difficult to reconstruct the nature of this text, only a few fragments of which have come down to us, but it seems to me that some elements, which are deducible

³⁰ Mela 3.53–57 (Silberman): *super Britanniam Iuerna est paene par spatio, sed utrimque aequali tractu litorum oblonga, caeli ad maturanda semina iniqui, verum adeo luxuriosa herbis non laetis modo sed etiam dulcibus, ut se exigua parte diei pecora impleant, et nisi pabulo prohibeantur, diutius pasta dissiliant. cultores eius inconditi sunt et omnium virtutum ignari <magis> quam aliae gentes [aliquatenus tamen gnari], pietatis admodum expertes. triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductae spatiis, septem Haemodae contra Germaniam vectae, in illo sinu quem Codanum diximus; ex iis Scadinavia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent, et ut fecunditate alias ita magnitudine atestatur. quae Sarmatis adversa sunt ob alternos accessus recursusque pelagi, et quod spatia quis distant modo operiuntur undis modo nuda sunt, alias insulae videntur alias una et continens terra. in his esse Oeoniae, qui ovis avium palustrium et avenis tantum alantur, esse equinis pedibus Hippopodas et Panotios, quibus magnae aures et ad ambiendum corpus omne patulae – nudis alioquin – pro veste sint, praeterquam quod fabulis traditur; <apud> auctores etiam – quos sequi non pigeat – invenio. Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est, Graeis et nostris celebrata carminibus. in ea, quod ibi sol longe occasurus exsurgit, breves utique noctes sunt, sed per hiemem sicut aliubi obscurae, aestate lucidae, quod per id tempus iam se altius evehens, quamquam ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima inlustrat, per solstitium vero nullae, quod tum iam manifestior non fulgorem modo sed sui quoque partem maximam ostentat.* Transl. Romer 1998, with some variations. Cf. Bunbury 1883, II 368, map 2; Silberman 1988, map 2.

³¹ Silberman 1988, 286. Tac. *Agr.* 10 states that they would have been recently conquered by Agricola (cf. Juv. 2.160–161). On Tacitus' *Agricola* see Clarke 2001, 94–112.

³² Cf. Parroni 1984, 410.

precisely from the convergence between Pliny and Mela, may give us an idea of what it was about. It must first be said that a work on islands was linked to a tradition inaugurated by Eudoxus of Cnidus, author of the first *isolarium* or list of islands.³³

The success of this tradition is testified by Diodorus' Book 5, 'the book of islands', which reveals the different articulation of a literary production that, starting from the Hellenistic age, had dedicated much space to the theme of islands.³⁴ Eudoxus, as already mentioned, had worked on a scientific basis and catalogued islands within a scientifically described inhabited world. The interest in remote islands, enhanced by Alexander's adventure, also created the basis for fantastic literature in which islands were configured as the places of utopia: Elixoia by Hecataeus of Abdera, Panchaea by Euhemerus, the Jambulus' Island of the Sun are all fantastic places whose location, however, depends on the broadened horizons following Alexander's expedition.³⁵

As far as Philemon is concerned, it can be assumed that his interest in the islands was, on the one hand, in line with the tradition initiated by Eudoxus and, on the other hand, took into account more recent information of mercantile nature from the Baltic area. In particular, the reference to amber (F 2-3 Haake) suggests a focus on trade in the precious material that, together with tin, constituted an important element of trade between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. The reference to Ierne (F 4: Ἰουερνία; cf. *Iuvernica* in Mela 3.53) may finally suggest that the Britannic Archipelago was considered by Philemon to be an integral part of an island complex that included the islands of the Northern Ocean and extended as far as the Baltic Sea.³⁶

The mention of groups such as the *Oeoniae* (from Greek *ᾠον*, ᾠόν, 'egg'), the *Hippopodes* and *Panotii* in Mela and Pliny³⁷ hints at a connection to a tradition represented by Caesar, who mentioned egg-eating peoples and located them on islands at the mouth of the Rhine.³⁸ He described peoples with fantastic characters presumably to define the exceptional nature of the places he reached.

We know that Augustus's expedition and also the campaign of Drusus³⁹ in the middle course of the Elbe in 9 BCE – or those undertaken by Tiberius sailing along the lower Elbe and presumably beyond into the North Sea as far as Cape Skagen (The Skaw) – do not seem to have made any great contributions to knowledge of the North.⁴⁰ More than from these military expeditions, it seems to me that Mela's and Pliny's descriptions may derive from a literary source – presumably Philemon – which included recent data of

³³ Cf. Prontera 1998, 317–320.

³⁴ Bianchetti 2005, 13–31; *ead.* 2018, 407–427.

³⁵ On the utopic islands in the work of Hecataeus cf. Murray 1970, 141–171; Bertelli 1982, 507–520; Dillery 1998, 255–275; Bridgman 2005, 133, 139; Rausch 2013, 49–55, 132; Sforza 2013, 127–154; Bianchetti 2015, 11–31; Gagné 2021, 201–319. On Euhemerus cf. Vallauri 1956; Braunert 1965, 255–268; Winiarczyk 2002; *id.* 2013; and on euhemerism see Roubekas 2017. On the utopic Hellenistic literature cf. Kytzler 2006, 277–287.

³⁶ See Gieseke's chapter in this volume.

³⁷ In Plin. *HN* 4.95, *Oeoniae* is the name of islands not of people who inhabited them; cf. Solin. 19.6: *Oeonas... quas qui habitent vivant ovis avium marinarum et avis vulgo nascentibus*. Caesar alludes to these people without mentioning them. For *Hippopodes* in Plin. *loc cit.* cf. Solin. 19.7: *perinde alias propter constitutas aequae insulas, quarum Hippopodes indigenae humana usque ad vestigium forma in equinos pedes desinunt*; cf. also Dicuil 7.21; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.5.10; Dionys. *Per.* 310 (Parroni 1984, 411–412).

³⁸ Caes. *B Gall.* 4.10.

³⁹ Saddington 2005, 195–199; John 2006; Zecchini 2010, 187–198; Sawinski 2021, 37–39.

⁴⁰ Plin. *HN* 2.167. On *alii orbes* in Albinovanus Pedo (Sen. *Suas.* 1.15) cf. Tandoi 1964, 129–168; *id.* 1967, 5–65 (in part. 46ss.); Braccisi 1991b, 76–79; Bianchetti 2004b, 247–270; Anzinger 2015.

a commercial nature combined with data from a fantastic tradition regarding the peoples of the North.

4. The ‘Hoby treasure’: an important archaeological find

A more precise reality of the relations between Rome and the North, in particular with the Baltic, can be inferred, for the first century CE, from archaeological data. In particular, a network of relations emerges, mainly of a commercial nature where a significant testimony is the so-called ‘Hoby treasure’, a collection of grave goods from a first-century CE Roman burial site on the island of Lolland in Denmark. It was discovered in 1920 during the digging of a drain and excavated by archaeologists from the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, where they are now on display.⁴¹

The grave contained the most complete set of imported tableware found so far from Early Roman Iron Age Scandinavia, including two unique silver cups decorated with scenes from Homer’s *Iliad* (see Figs. 2.3 and 2.4 with the two silver cups). Apart from the ceramic vessels and several small finds, the grave’s contents, which were of local provenance, included seven brooches, five of which are silver and partially covered with gold, and two gold finger rings. The food offerings were identified as ham hocks and pieces of mutton and goat’s meat. The human remains were of a 40–50-year-old man, who was around 1,86 m tall.

The two Roman drinking cups are signed by Cheirisophos, a Greek craftsman who worked in Italy, and are engraved with the name Silius. This name, however, does not prove that the drinking cup was directly or indirectly handed over in 14–21 CE by the commander of the Roman upper German army Gaius Silius Aulus Caecina Largus.⁴² Moreover, it cannot be determined whether the imported vessels arrived at Hoby as gifts, traded goods or booty.⁴³

On the two silver cups from Hoby one of the scenes depicted illustrates the Roman perception of the relationship between themselves and the Germanic populations of north and central Europe.⁴⁴ In this scene, the Trojan king Priam kneels before Achilles and asks him to hand over his son’s body. Achilles is portrayed as the ideal athletic Roman – short-haired, clean-shaven, with a naked muscular torso, loincloth, and bare feet. In contrast, Priam has a full beard and is dressed in a so-called Phrygian cap, shirt, trousers and shoes. In other words, he is dressed like a Germanic person – a barbarian. The depiction shows the barbarian surrendering to the Roman, the scene being a symbol of the Romans’ perception of themselves.⁴⁵

What we can deduce from this documentation is that the Baltic area, which would enter into official Roman knowledge somewhat later, seems to be described in the sources examined here through information referring to a dense trade network of exchanges to which the Hoby treasure is a witness. The literary sources, as we have seen,

⁴¹ Rausing 1997, 21–24; Grane 2013, 29–44; *id.* 2017, 83–104; Klingenberg & al. 2018, 121–134.

⁴² Tac. *Ann.* 1.31.2.

⁴³ Cf. Emme 2022, 141–176 with bibliography.

⁴⁴ In the other cup Philoctetes washes his feet after having been bitten by a snake. Silver cup made in Capua, south Italy, in the early first century CE.

⁴⁵ Von Carnap-Bornheim 2020, 409–436.

present a confused picture of this same reality, not institutionally integrated with the *orbis Romanus*, which only recorded conquered lands.

The absence of a scientific cartography, which, in parallel with the knowledge gained, could have updated the progressively acquired data explains the uncertainties that continued to exist in Ptolemy's *Geography* regarding the Baltic area: the geographer, in fact, calls *Skandiai* four islands of the *sinus Codanus* but then gives the name Skandia to the largest and easternmost of them.⁴⁶

Conclusions

Pytheas' exploration, which reached the mouth of the Elbe, understood as the eastern end of the North European coast, still constitutes an indisputable reference point for the North Sea area in the Imperial Era. Pytheas' text would have enjoyed fortune among scientific geographers but not among historical geographers who, like Polybius and Strabo, used geographical knowledge from the perspective of a political reading of space. Within the tradition of scientific geography initiated by Eudoxus of Cnidus, this idea took the form of a list of islands, divided into Mediterranean and Oceanic islands. The concept was destined for success, as the book of islands by Diodorus Siculus demonstrates. To this thread can be linked both Philemon's work *The Islands of the Ocean* or *The Ocean*, written in the first century CE and a source quoted by Pliny.

Especially in the Hellenistic age we can observe the growth of fantastic geography that nevertheless takes its inspiration from serious geographical descriptions. Thus, Hecataeus of Abdera,⁴⁷ who was writing in Egypt at the time of Ptolemy I Soter, described the island of Elixoia in his *The Hyperboreans*, based on Pytheas, while Antonius Diogenes in his *Incredible Things beyond Thule* considered Thule as a boundary between the real and the *apiston*.⁴⁸ Monstrous peoples destined to have great fortune even in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as inhabitants of places on the edge of the world found their place in this tradition, which had its roots firmly in a specific Greek way of marking the North.

It could be said that their world-conquering impulse drove the Romans in the age of Augustus to explore the area east of Jutland without, however, acquiring a scientifically founded picture of the far north-east. Our sources, in particular Mela and Pliny, give us a kind of stratigraphy of information that allows us to intuit the importance of an author such as Philemon. In his work, he provided information – some of which was taken up by Ptolemy, e.g. on Ierne – that gives an insight into the fortune of this work, which has been lost to us.

From the mention of the mercantile sources consulted by Philemon for Ierne (mentioned by Ptolemy) we can guess the importance of a trade network that connected the North-East with its amber trade to the North-West with its tin trade. For the Eastern section of the Northern Ocean, the existence of this dense network is documented by the Hoby treasure, which allows us to integrate what the literary tradition does not say due to a political vision of spaces that only enter the map through conquest. Like Pytheas' Thule,

⁴⁶ Ptol. *Geog.* 2.11.16.

⁴⁷ Gagné 2021, 338–367; see also Ambaglio 2008 on Diodorus, who preserves many of Hecataeus' fragments.

⁴⁸ Bianchetti 2015, 11–31. See also the 'Introduction' to this volume, p. 11, 18–19.

the islands of the Baltic were also destined for a long time to represent a *mundus alter*, as opposed to the Mediterranean.

The persistence in our historical-geographical tradition of places inhabited by monsters probably responded to a political strategy of removing and/or confining to the extremes of the inhabited world everything that did not serve the exigencies of government. The fortunes of this type of conception were destined to endure throughout the Middle Ages and particularly centered on the areas of the far North, at least until the Renaissance when the great geographical discoveries would lead to the idea of a new world to be read according to new scientific coordinates.



Fig. 2.3: Hoby treasure: Priam kneels before Achilles (Emme 2022, 144, fig. 2a).



Fig. 2.4: Hoby treasure: Philoctetes washes his feet (Emme 2022, 146, fig. 4b).

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