Hyperboreans

Myth and History in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts

Timothy P. Bridgman

STUDIES IN CLASSICS

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To my father Howard A.Bridgman II and to my mother Esther C.Bridgman who taught me the true meaning of dedication in both work and family, and whose support enabled me to pursue a discipline which has truly shaped my life. To my wife Sarah and to the late Julia Augusta for all their support, guidance and love.

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List of Abbreviations

All abbreviations of periodicals appear as in *L'Année Philologique,* or other standard bibliographical works, except those listed below. All abbreviations of books and relevant reference materials appear in the bibliography at the end of this work. Abbreviations of Greek and Roman authors appear as listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1996. When page numbers do not appear at the end of a reference in a footnote, it should be taken that the note refers to the whole work. When a reprinting of a work is mentioned, it should be taken that the note refers to the latest edition mentioned. In spelling Greek names and titles of works, I have generally preferred the Latinized forms which have become part of English-speaking literary usage, but where a Latinized form seems to jar, I have kept the Greek one.

AIISS	*Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici*
DossArch	*Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*
FRGZ	*Festschrift des Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*
KZ	ZVS
NAH	*Narbonne, Archéologie et Histoire*
TCAAS	*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*
WJ	*Wiener Jahresheft*

Series Editors' Foreword

Studies in Classics aims to bring high-quality work by emerging scholars to the attention of a wider audience. Emphasizing the study of classical literature and history, these volumes contribute to the theoretical understanding of human culture and society over time. This series will offer an array of approaches to the study of Greek and Latin (including medieval and Neolatin), authors and their reception, canons, transmission of texts, ideas, religion, history of scholarship, narrative, and the nature of evidence.

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Dirk Obbink, Oxford University
Andrew Dyck, The University of California, Los Angeles

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Binghamton, New York

Introduction

In what has come down to us of Greek literature, six rather curious fragments of texts identify the Hyperboreans, a totally mythical people, with the Celts, a real people and one of the Greeks' northern neighbors, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones. These fragments were written by Antimachus of Colophon, Protarchus, Heraclides Ponticus, Hecataeus of Abdera, Apollonius of Rhodes and Posidonius of Apamea. Our immediate task is to examine which texts make or imply this identification, in what context the Hyperboreans were identified with Celts, and, lastly, why these authors identified a totally mythical people with a real one. It is my contention that these texts were not written by chance. It is not because Heraclides of Pontus was a crank, or Hecataeus of Abdera enjoyed inventing tall tales. These are facile explanations which do not answer the questions mentioned above. The answers, I believe, are to be sought within the foundations of Greek culture and literature, in the backgrounds of the authors themselves, in the current philosophical trends of their times, and in the history of Celtic-Hellenic contacts in the western theater of Greek colonization.

In order to attempt to answer the questions mentioned above, the work is divided into three main sections: the first section is called "The Hyperboreans and the Golden Age" and focuses on the place of the Hyperborean legend within the parallel mythical world of the Greeks, that is, in their imaginary world of gods, legends, myths, superheroes and mythical utopias. Examining closely how the Hyperboreans were looked upon by the Greeks, what their myth consisted of, how it changed over time and how the Hyperborean homeland was transposed from place to place in the course of Greek literary history is the subject of the second section entitled: "The Hyperboreans and Hyperborean Identity." This section pays particular attention to how the fragments of texts that identify the Hyperboreans with Celts, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, fit into the evolution of the Hyperborean myth. Finally, section three, which I call "The Hyperboreans and the Celts: a Case of Mistaken Identity?" examines the texts that make this identification, and the authors who wrote them, endeavoring to discover, when possible, why they wrote these texts. An appendix has also been included for the purposes of reference and to assist any reader who wishes to consult the original texts and fragments that make or imply this identification.

The ancient Greeks and Celts were two European peoples who had a common Indo-European background, including similar religions, beliefs, cultural elements, social stratification, warlike mentality, drive for colonization, languages, divinely inspired and

praise poetry. Perhaps the first contacts between them came about through the mutually beneficial activity of trade. Celts of the Bronze Age, or those peoples who were direct ancestors of the Celts in central Europe, sometimes called Proto-Celts, had extensive trading contacts with the Greeks: they had in all probability contributed to inventing the greaves, shields, body-armor, helmets and spears used by the Greeks during the Bronze Age. Celts of the Bronze Age acted as middlemen in the trade of amber from the Jutland coast. They also directly supplied their own raw materials, such as copper, gold, silver, tin and salt, as well as other highly marketable commodities, such as slaves, hides, garments, honey, wax and perishable goods, to the Celts and non-Celtic peoples of the Mediterranean basin. According to theories put forward by some scholars, notably Drews, they may have participated in the demise of the Mediterranean Bronze Age civilizations by supplying those who attacked these civilizations with technologically advanced weaponry and body-armor, as well as training them in northern fighting tactics. They may have even participated in the fighting themselves.

It was perhaps to gain direct access to northern markets that Greeks, like their direct ancestors the Mycenaeans, went west and began to found trading posts, settlements and colonies. Boardman, among others, has argued they implanted their foundations in strategic positions so they could tap into preexisting north-south bronze-age trading routes. A little later, about 600, the Phocaeans from Asia Minor founded Massalia, the modern city of Marseille in southern France, near the Rhone river mouth. A number of Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily came to form their own markets with northern peoples, some of whom were Celts, as did Massalia. Moreover, the Greeks of Massalia also sent expeditions west to the Iberian peninsula and up the western coast of Europe seeking more trade with western and northern peoples. Greek traders went to live on Celtic settlement sites and Celtic merchants did the same in respect to Greek sites and early Rome. Celtic-Hellenic contacts flourished and progressed up the Po, Rhone, Saone, Loire, Seine, Rhine, Elbe, Oder rivers into northern Celtic lands, where trading, diplomatic exchanges and architectural contacts took place. Craft shops, staffed with highly gifted artisans from both the Greek colonial cities of Italy and Sicily, as well as workshops in and around Massalia, were turning out high quality works of art, such as the Vix crater, sometimes ordered by a wealthy clientele of Celtic rulers in the north who had made their money in part on north-south trade.[1] These goods were often traded overland, across the Alps, again using routes which had been in operation since the Bronze Age. Within the context of both Greek and Celtic worlds and realities, individuals, ideas, goods and technology circulated.

During the Hallstatt phase of Celtic civilization (800–450/425), the Greek world, save Massalia, because it had been implanted in Celtic territory, looked on the Celts as a fierce, but distant people with whom they had diplomatic and economic ties.[2] After the collapse of the Hallstatt D system of government and palace economies, the northern Celts began a phase of widespread expansion in the fifth century. They necessarily collided with older pre-established Celtic communities, whose inhabitants had evolved locally from the Bronze Age, and, the Greeks, who were firmly established in southern Europe and Asia Minor. This situation led to conflicts in Italy, Greece and Asia Minor, although the two worlds maintained trading relations and other forms of contact with each other at the same time. When certain northern markets were endangered or cut off, the Greeks sent exploratory missions into the north, perhaps using traditional bronze-age

and Phoenician trading routes as guides, to find and establish direct contacts with the sources of the raw materials and products they needed, thus, cutting out Celtic middlemen: the Massaliote Periplus (sixth century) and Pytheas of Massalia's voyage (350) are examples.

During the La Tène period (450/425-Roman Conquest), the Celts directly threatened and menaced early Rome, and later the Greek world, by attacking them on several occasions, as well as exacting tribute from them for their own profit and power. On the other hand, Greeks employed Celts as mercenaries, perhaps from Mycenaean times on, and, certainly, from the fourth century. A relationship of employer to employee, dominant commanding power to dominated servile one, began to emerge, but the Celts did not always do what was expected of them. They went into Greek military service to enrich themselves, to see the world, to obtain inside information on when, how and wherein they could obtain the maximum of plunder, while expending the minimum of effort so they could climb the social ladder in their own societies. They succeeded in the case of Rome, but failed in Delphi, where they took the sanctuary only to find Apollo's treasury emptied of its riches by the Phocians, following Greek internal warfare over control of the oracle. Their inside information was not always reliable and they often became involved in dynastic struggles which had dire consequences for them.

When the Greeks moved west and founded their colonies in the new world of the western Mediterranean, they came into contact with peoples who had already been living there for quite some time. In order to justify their claim to these new territories, Greek authors invented a prehistory for them. They accomplished this in two ways: first, they transposed myth, legend, saga and fantasy from east to west. Second, they invented new stories, sagas and myths to fit the context of the new lands they had colonized and new situations they had come up against. Mythology, the Greek parallel mythical world, stories, sagas and legends were all of great importance to the Greeks as they constituted an integral part of their culture, beliefs, collective consciousness, and how they analyzed and dealt with the world with which they were confronted on a day-to-day basis. Myth, legend, saga and fantasy often parallel history in Greek literature, become history or mix with history to form a hybrid of fact and fiction. The identification of the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts does just this: the Hyperborean myth and its transposition from east to west provide a sort of foreground, while the historical processes at work in Celtic-Hellenic contacts constitute the backdrop. The context of Greek myth, legend, fantasy and saga also give us stimulating and invaluable information concerning what the Greeks knew and did not know about the geography, history and peoples of their world, and, perhaps more importantly, the geography, history and peoples of the parts of their world they did not know.

It was partly against this wider background of common Indo-European traditions and heritage, ongoing and continuously evolving contacts between Greeks and Celts down through history, and partly because of the mythologizing of these Celtic-Hellenic contacts that these fragments, identifying the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, or the Hyperboreans with Celts, were written. Our task in the present work is to study the underlying evolution in Greek mythology and the historical processes which led the above-mentioned authors to write these texts.

Section One
The Hyperboreans and the Golden Age

Chapter One
Inventing Greek Mythical Time

Well before the advent of literacy in Ancient Greece, stories, myths, sagas and legends were the common currency of the Greek dark-age and archaic cultures.[1] This is partly because the Greeks from Mycenaean times were avid explorers, traders and travellers, but also because they believed firmly in a complex supernatural world which functioned both as a parallel mythical and an interactive one.[2] Furthermore, as the ancient Greeks knew very little of their historical past before about 550, these stories, legends, sagas and myths ultimately came to form their idea of their own past, an invented mythical one.[3]

At some point we cannot identify, singers and poets became associated with the creation and telling of these stories, legends, myths and sagas, inspired by events thought to have taken place in that space shared by both the real world of the Greeks and their mythical parallel world of gods and superheroes. Marvelous, unexpected and wondrous events could come to pass within this space, as well as mundane, everyday events of the real world. Epic was made up of a detailed and precise narrative, comprising minute descriptions of sailing, fighting, feasting and sacrifices, which all come across to the audience as being extremely vivid, thus provoking a blurring of the real world of the historical past with the Greek parallel world of myth, stories, legends and sagas.

The poet/singer's function was to recount what could happen, not what did happen (Aristotle, *Poetics* 23.1459b). Therefore, poetry was regarded as dealing with the universal (Aristotle, *Poetics* 9.5.1451b). In this sense, the poet/singer may have been viewed as the creator of a world, where the blurring of reality, myth, legend, saga, fantasy and belief occurred on an ongoing basis. It is due in part to this general feature of Greek literature that the mythical Hyperboreans were identified with the Celts. Ποίησις had to do with the verb ποιέω which means "to make," "to create" or "to form" in Greek. Thus, the word ποιητής may have taken on the connotation of "creator," "maker," as well as "poet" and "entertainer" (Hesiod, *Theogony* 32, 38).[4] It was thought he had divine inspiration (Homer, *Iliad* 11.218, 14.508, etc; Hesiod, *Theogony* 32–35). Memory itself, or rather how the Greeks reconstructed it, was also thought to be divine (Hesiod, *Theogony* 135). Therefore, the Greeks believed their poets could communicate with the gods.[5]

Whatever transpired concerning poetry, song, myth, legend, fantasy, saga and reality in the context of dark-age literature, when we are able to see into Greece again, we are confronted with a complex world seen through the eyes of Greek poets and storytellers. Within their structure and view of the mythical parallel world, these poets and storytellers mention far-away mythical lands on the edges of the world known to the Greeks and out of reach of ordinary human-beings. One of these was the land of the Hyperboreans, located in the far north.[6] Within the real world known to the Greeks, later texts mention

one of their northern neighbors, the Celts, some of whom were also located in the far north.

The Hyperboreans were an idealized people, living in an eternally joyful, but remote country, above an imaginary range of unattainable mountains, called the Rhipean Mountains. Some of the most well-known information about the Hyperboreans is contained in the writings of Pindar of Thebes: the Hyperboreans lived to be a thousand years old and knew no sickness or disease (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.56; Strabo 15.1.57–58 C711). Traditionally, the Hyperboreans were considered as one mythical people who were located by various ancient authors in different geographical zones of the ancient world at different times in Greek literary history. One of these was the Celtic lands of northern Italy, central and northern Europe. From the beginning of the fifth century, the most popular etymology of the name Hyperborean among the ancient authors seems to have been "those who live above/beyond the North Wind" or "those who live at the back of the North Wind" (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.55; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 281; Pausanias 5.7.8).[7] The land of the Hyperboreans is an otherworldly paradise, a mythical utopia, which is both part of the mythical past and ever present in Greek literature.[8]

Basing himself on Sir Thomas More's inherent pun, when he coined the term utopia in 1516 A.D. ([ou+topos]="nowhere" and [eu+topos]="happy place"), Finley calls the Hyperborean type of utopia a "Garden of Eden" one, full of various primitivistic images, where a perfect, simple, innocent society is located in an invented mythical time, a "Golden Age," and/or a far-off place.[9] The garden-of-eden or golden-age utopia is where myth, history, mythical time and historical time meet, In garden-of-eden utopias, animals are well-behaved and kindly men live far beyond their normal lifespan, disease is unknown, as are wealth, phallic strivings and strife. It is a world where evil is not even conceivable, let alone possible, so long as the two chief roots of evil are not present: strife over wealth and property, and strife arising from sexual drives.[10] These automatically disappear, as they are meaningless and pointless. Innocence becomes the only quality of life and nature takes care of everything.[11] The sheer abundance, always renewed and never exhausted, eliminates greed, gluttony, licentiousness and the conflict they generate. The mythical utopia is only defined in opposition to the real world which has long been faced with a lack of resources, resulting in starvation, hardship, toil and pain (Homer, *Odyssey* 20.200–203).[12]

Homer implies he knows something about a happier existence for humankind in the remote mythical past when he has Philoetius say no other god is as baneful, as he has no pity on men to whom he has given birth, but bring them into misery and wretched pains (Homer, *Odyssey* 20.200–203). The corollary of this would have been that before Zeus' reign, humans had a far happier life, even though the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* does not state this explicitly. Several lands and peoples are mentioned in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which could be viewed as mythical utopian paradises. For example, in the *Odyssey* (4. 561–564), it was not ordained that Menelaus, as he was fostered of Zeus, should die and meet his fate in horse-pasturing Argos, but the immortals were to convey him to the Elysian plain and the ends of the earth, where fair-haired Rhadamanthus dwells, and where life is easiest for men. No snow fell there, nor were there any heavy storms, nor any rain, but Ocean eternally sent up blasts of shrill-blowing West Wind, so that they could give cooling to humans. Menelaus was clearly favored as he was considered the husband of Helen, daughter of Zeus (*Odyssey* 4.564). The world of the

Elysian plain is a mythical utopia at the ends of the earth, sealed off from the world of humans, human strife and every day human life, comprising such features as perfect weather, cooling winds, a benevolent ruler and restricted access to only those mortal individuals with particular connections.[13] For Homer, translation to the Elysian plain is a substitute for and an escape from death, although it does not seem to be envisaged that anyone should return from it.[14] It also appears to be located in the far west, on the edge of the earth known to the Greeks.[15] The land of the Hyperboreans and the Elysian plain, however, were not the only Greek mythical utopias. On the contrary, they fit into a broader context of mythical utopias and the mythologizing of the past, known lands and unknown geographical spaces.

The world of Olympus, seat of the gods, who observed, meddled and played in the world of human-beings, also had mythical utopian characteristics and was located in Greece, thus, in the center of the Greek world (Homer, *Iliad* 18.184–186, *Odyssey* 6.43–45). Homer described it as a place totally apart from the human world and as one which stood forever (*Odyssey* 6.41–47). It was never shaken by the winds, nor was wet with rain, nor did the snow fall upon it, but the air was always fresh and pure, clear and cloudless and a radiant whiteness hovered over it. In short, it was an otherworldly paradise, isolated from the world of humans and their strife. Olympus was a place where the gods were eternally happy and joyful, a place of assembly, where the gods discussed their own affairs and found solutions to their problems, as well as to those of the mortals with whom they were concerned.[16] Olympus was thought of as folds among which each god had his/her own palace and halls. So, it resembled the world of mortals, but was so much better and, therefore, unattainable to them (Homer, *Iliad* 11.75–77).

Thus, Olympus was located far beyond the realm of ordinary human geography. It was sealed off from the human world and all its imperfections. Olympus stood forever and was governed by a benevolent ruler, Zeus. Its weather was perfect and it was considered a perfect reflection of the imperfect human world.[17]

The poet also referred to the "blameless Ethiopians" who live far off by the streams of Ocean in the remotest parts of both east and west, and vaguely in the south.[18] In short, they are to be found in virtually every direction but the north.[19] For Homer, the most important aspect of the Ethiopians as a mythical utopian identity is their close connection with the gods who sojourn among them during "holiday time" from Olympus and the world at large (Diodorus of Sicily 3.2.1–4).[20] The Ethiopians inhabit a land which is so prosperous as to furnish the ample sacrificial feasts which the gods relish. The abundance of food in the land of the Ethiopians forms a marked antithesis to the suffering and privation endured in the central sphere of action. A vivid example of this contrast occurs at the end of the *Iliad* when the goddess Iris visits the West Wind to persuade him to help kindle Patroclus' funeral pyre (*Iliad* 23.192–211). Iris finds the winds at a feast which they invite her to join. She hesitates, responding that she was on her way back to the streams of Ocean, to the land of the Ethiopians to participate in even more sumptuous feasting. This contrasts starkly the plight of Achilles who had just recently refused to take any food at all so long as Patroclus' death remained unavenged. An interesting feature of this feasting shared by the Ethiopians and the Olympian gods is that once the gods have entered the Ethiopian lands, they seem to be oblivious to what is taking place outside them[21]. At the beginning of the *Odyssey*, Poseidon, who is feasting among the Ethiopians, fails to observe Odysseus, who is getting his homeward voyage underway. Thetis must

wait twelve days before presenting Achilles' embassy to Zeus (Homer, *Iliad* 1.424–425). This situation is similar to the one in which Apollo goes to the Hyperboreans.[22]

The Ethiopians' connections to the οἰκουμένη are also vague, as they are described as the furthest of men, living in a mythical parallel land accessible only to the gods. Yet in the *Odyssey*, Menelaus mentions in passing that he visited them on his way back from Troy (4.84). In this way, the land of the Ethiopians is quite like the Elysian plain.

Homer, however, never brings the Ethiopians into the center of attention in order to offer the perspective of an alternative world, as he does so frequently with the Olympian world (*Iliad* 1.570–611). Furthermore, they never seem to have entered the center world, that of the mortal Greeks, or had any serious influence or effect on it, as, for example, the Hyperboreans were reputed to have done by later authors.[23] In the same vein, the Ethiopians do not seem to welcome others, save the gods and Menelaus, as do the Elysian plain, the Phaeacians and the Hyperboreans. The mythical parallel utopia of the Ethiopians then has specific characteristics: remoteness from the real and mythical center (Greece), isolation, inaccessibility to humans, access only to the gods and heroes such as Menelaus, piety, moral virtue, prosperous land which seems to furnish what is necessary for ample sacrificial feasts with little or no effort, thus, an otherworldly utopian paradise, presided over by Poseidon, contemporary with the Age of Heroes, but also so timeless as to be part of the mythical past, present and future.

The Phaeacians, just as the gods on Olympus, the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans, are presented to the poet's audience as living in a mythical utopian setting.[24] They are near of kin to the gods, but, like the Hyperboreans, are mortal (*Odyssey* 5.33–40, 6.200–206, 7.205–206, 19.279–280). Alcinous, raising the possibility that Odysseus could be a god in disguise, remarks the gods come down from heaven and show themselves clearly to the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 7.199–206). When they render glorious sacrifices to the gods, they sit beside them and feast with them in a place where they do. Furthermore, if a god comes down alone from heaven and encounters them as a wayfarer, they make no concealment. Alcinous then continues by stressing that the Phaeacians are closely related to the gods and in particular to Poseidon. This is similar to the Hyperboreans who are especially wedded to Apollo. Even if they are not immune to the physical marks of age, their society as a whole is characterized by youthfulness (Homer, *Odyssey* 6.64ff, 8.261ff and 370ff).[25]

The Phaeacians are described as living far off in the surging sea, the farthest of men. No other mortals had dealings with them, but they knew the cities and rich fields of all peoples (*Odyssey* 6.200–206). In particular, they seem to know many places in Greece: Euboea, Lemnos and Ithaca (*Odyssey* 7.320–325, 8.294, 301). Furthermore, they relied on the speed of their ships, crossing the great gulf of the sea which seems to have formed the boundary between the real world of the Greeks and their mythical parallel world, as swiftly as a bird on the wing or a thought, hidden in mist and cloud, never fearing damage or shipwreck because they were protected by Poseidon (*Odyssey* 7.34–36, 8.32–33, 556–563).[26]They had no pilots, no steering oars such as ordinary ships of real-world humans, but their ships understood the thoughts and minds of men.

The Phaeacians, just as the gods on Olympus, the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans, lived in unfailing abundance (*Odyssey* 7.98–99). In Alcinous' orchard grew tall and luxuriant trees, pears, pomegranates and apple trees, with their fruit, sweet figs and luxuriant olives. These fruits never perished, nor failed in winter or summer, but lasted

throughout the year. The West Wind continuously quickened to life some fruits and ripened others. Equally incredible were the vineyard and garden beds (*Odyssey* 7.112–132). Alcinous' gardens, one sign of their blessedness, are described as glorious gifts of the gods (*Odyssey* 7.132). The constant feasting in Alcinous' house, supplied by divinely fertile gardens, recalls that of the Olympians, the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans (*Odyssey* 7.114ff).[27] The Phaeacians pass most of their time in pleasure, as do the Olympians, the Ethiopians and the Hyperboreans with feasting and dancing. They also engage in the less hazardous and less prestigious branches of athletics as their principal occupations. Their fondness for games reflects their removal from real human pain. They shun boxing or wrestling when Odysseus challenges them and prefer the footrace, the dance, the lyre and still softer comforts such as warm baths and bed (*Odyssey* 8.206, 246–249, 253). In general, they have a carefree heart, as well as the easy and peaceful life found in a mythical utopia (*Odyssey* 6.201ff and 270ff). These contrast those activities which are the most difficult in life, that are the source of the Homeric hero's honor and fame, such as war for example, in which they take no part, or, as with sailing, in which they engage with indecent ease.

The mythical utopian existence of the Phaeacians includes the use of gold as an emblem of otherworldly wealth and divinely ordered privileges: Alcinous' palace has gold at the entrance (*Odyssey* 7.86–102). There are golden doors and a golden door-hook, and golden *kouroi* with torches in their hands to illuminate the feasting. On ether side of his palace door, Alcinous had two dogs which had been fashioned by Hephaetus and were thought of as living and immortal (*Odyssey* 7.90–94). The identification of gold with divinity here is so strong that gods make out of the metal things what humans would never, even if they could afford to, so apparently unconstrained are they by the awkward physical properties of heaviness and softness (*Iliad* 5.730ff, 13.22). Moreover, there is no suggestion that Alcinous and the Phaeacians have had to suffer to build up their remarkable collection of *keimelia* in the way Homer emphasizes that Menelaus or Odysseus do (*Odyssey* 4.78–103, 19.273, 284). The Phaeacians themselves are mortal, but the presence of those deathless and unageing dogs, and the absence of everyday toil, remind us of their separation from the ordinary cares of mortality.

The poet of the *Odyssey* also supplies a mythical prehistory for this mythical people who live halfway between the world of the gods and that of humans: Homer explains the Phaeacians used to live in Hyperia, near the Cyclopes, but that the Cyclopes were overweening in pride and plundered them continuously, as the Cyclopes were by far the mightier. From there, the godlike Nausithous had removed them, led them to and settled them in their present home of Scheria, far from bread-eating mankind (*Odyssey* 6.4–12).[28] The only need for this story resides in the invention of a mythical past which corresponds to the invention of a mythical people who are part of the past, present and future of the mythical parallel world of the Greeks. Although this mythical people can enter and retreat from the real world of the Greeks, they have no long-lasting impact on it, as the Hyperboreans were reputed to have had by later authors.

Although the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* does not refer to the Elysian plain, the world of Olympus, the blameless Ethiopians or the land of the Phaeacians as mythical or golden-age utopias, as these are terms used by modern scholars, they all have mythico-utopian characteristics: a far-away land perched on the edge of the world, shielded from the human world and its imperfections, a benevolent divine ruler, restricted access to only

the chosen few favored by the gods, where the inhabitants passed their time feasting in eternal joy and happiness. Everything came forth in abundance and the inhabitants wanted for nothing. No strife existed, nor any sexual reproduction, nor any wealth, except in some instances divine gold, but this was a symbol of their divine status, not of their material wealth. These particular mythical utopias also mark out important compass directions which frame both the parallel mythical and real worlds of the Greeks. Olympus is in the center of the Greek world. It is located in Greece from where everyone and everything are monitored by the gods and dealt with as needed. Its benevolent ruler is Zeus. The blameless Ethiopians were thought of as being located in the south and their benevolent ruler was Poseidon. The Elysian plain was located in the west and its benevolent ruler was Rhadamanthus in Homer, and later, as we shall see below, Cronus, father of Zeus. The Phaeacians were thought of as residing in the east and their benevolent ruler was Poseidon. What lacks in this general schema of things is a mythical utopia located in the north. This is not found in Homer, but as we shall see in section two chapter one,[29] this does not mean the Hyperboreans and their benevolent ruler Apollo were totally absent from the mythical parallel world known by the poet of the Iliad and the *Odyssey*.

Hesiod alludes to a golden-age mythical utopia as the state which men would now enjoy if the gods had not hidden the means of life from them (*Works and Days* 42–46), giving the idea gods and men lived in some sort of shared harmony sometime in the mythical past. Hesiod reinforces these ideas by saying later that the tribes of men lived on the earth remote and free from ills, hard toil, heavy sickness and age (*Works and Days* 90–92). He then continues by relating another tale: how the gods and mortal men sprang from one source (*Works and Days* 108).

According to Hesiod, the Olympians created the golden generation of humans (*Works and Days* 106–120). They lived in King Cronus' time, as if they were gods themselves. Their hearts were free from all sorrow and with no hard work or pain. No miserable old age descended upon them and neither did their hands nor their feet alter. They took their pleasure in festivals and lived without troubles. It was as if they fell asleep when they died and all goods were theirs. Their fruitful grainland yielded its harvest, which was great and abundant, of its own accord, while they at their pleasure quietly looked after their works in the midst of good things. The golden race of Cronus' time continued to exist as beneficent spirits or *daemones* (*Works and Days* 120ff). The happy conditions of Cronus' time continued on the Elysian plain or the Isles of the Blessed, as a paradise for departed heroes at the ends of the earth (Homer, Odyssey 4.561–569; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 166–173).

In archaic times, however, another sort of mythical utopia is characterized by bestiality. The land of the Cyclopes is still located between the world of the gods and that of humankind. The earth furnishes everything with generosity to the Cyclopes, but Polyphemus remains a revolting cannibal (*Odyssey* 9.105). The Cyclopes live in a fertile land, but have no use for ships or agriculture and know fire (165–169). They tend flocks and produce milk and cheeses. Polyphemus has pens crowded with lambs and kids, yet the Cyclopes live in extremely austere conditions in caves on the tops of mountains, and are both insolent and lawless. The Cyclopes have no regard for one another, nor assemblies for council, nor appointed laws (112–115). Yet, when Polyphemus was injured by Odysseus, he shouted to the Cyclopes who dwelt near him. Furthermore, they

heeded his call for help and came thronging from every side (395–400). Homer says the Cyclopes trust in the immortal gods, yet Polyphemus pays no heed to Zeus, nor to the blessed gods, as he stated they were better by far than they (275–280), or as Dillon suggests "more powerful."[30] Moreover, Polyphemus is the protected of Poseidon, his father (410–412).

The land of the Cyclopes is certainly a different type of mythical utopia, full of contradictions, but is still governed by a benevolent ruler, Poseidon, in spite of the fact that it is cruel, wild and unjust. The land of the Cyclopes is still far away from humankind, between the world of the gods and that of humans, somewhere on the edges of the world. It is meant to contrast the other golden-age, garden-of-eden type lands, as the former are based on *dike* and the latter on *hybris*.[31] Other curious mythical utopian traits are also present such as the spring of bright water which flows out from beneath a cave where poplars grow. The poplar is an otherworldly tree as it grew on the banks of the river Archeron in Thesprotia (Schol. on Theocritus 2.121 Wendel 290). Heracles garlanded himself with the white poplar in the otherworld and brought it from Archeron to Olympia, where it grew in the precinct.[32] Odysseus took a goatskin of dark wine that a priest of Apollo had given to him (197–198). Apollo was the benevolent ruler of the land of the Hyperboreans, the virtual antithesis of that of the Cyclopes, as well as the god of colonization.

Hesiod wrote of a "golden race," though, not of a "Golden Age" (*Works and Days* 106). It seems to be clear from Hesiod's general schema of things the "golden race" lived "in the time of Cronus/under Cronus." His "bronze race" and "iron race" are so-called because they used those metals (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 150–151). He did not explain, however, in what sense his first generation was χρύσεον. Baldry suggests he did not ask himself and claims the question, for Hesiod, did not exist.[33] If this is a correct assumption, we must then assume a connection between the "golden generation" and the "Golden Age" existed in the minds of Hesiod and other ancient authors before the Roman period.[34] The question was put forward by Plato in the *Cratylus* (397E–398C): Socrates claims the golden race was not made of gold at all, but was good and beautiful. Plato subscribes then to a vision of a "good and beautiful generation" living in a "good and beautiful age" in the mythical past. Vernant and Vidal-Naquet interpret "golden" as having Right and Justice, both characteristics attributed to mythical utopian peoples such as the Hyperboreans.[35] Vernant believes the golden race is the supreme accomplishment of *dike*, whereas all the other of Hesiod's races are tainted with the *hybris* of humankind.[36] While Baldry argues against the general claim that in the traditional conception of an ideal past there was no place for gold or the use of gold, Dillon postulates that the very epithet "golden" signified a period of extreme value, but also bore a connotation of "eternal", since gold seemed virtually indestructible by the passage of time.[37]

In Hesiod, the first generation is golden in the divine sense of being splendidly incorruptible (Schol. Vet. *Works and Days* 112 Pertusi). This assimilation is so marked out that it does not make sense to identify them closely with any group of men as men now are. It is impossible for humankind to live the easy life of the golden generation in the age of Zeus, except for special remote lands at the ends of the earth, such as the land of the Hyperboreans, for in the Age of Cronus, gold can be used as found and does not have to be dug up or mined, as the earth bears fruit spontaneously. Furthermore, gold

never loses its luster and the golden generation never grows old. Moreover, the very fact the "races" disappear entirely once their time has run its course shows that for Hesiod there is no continuity between the Golden Race and our own in which *hybris* and *dike* mingle. Thus, properly speaking, we are not descended from the men of the age of Cronus.[38]

The lesson to be inferred from the succession of the races in Hesiod and applied to daily life is simple and limited. If men's evil behavior is to some extent the product of the harsh conditions of life imposed on them by Zeus and if the moral blamelessness of the golden race sprang from the wonderful conditions under which they lived, since nature satisfied all their wants and there was no stimulus for vice, then the tasks of today's individual is to reverse the process, obtaining material comfort and security through the pursuit of Right and Justice.[39] The association of the first generation with divinity through gold is what makes clear both that it represents the most ideal conditions of life and that these conditions are at present unobtainable by the poet's audience. The force of ideals, however, lies not in their capacity to be realized, but in their capacity to inspire. The key purpose of the golden race is to establish that nothing is better than an eternal symposium under a benevolent ruler, such as the Hyperboreans under Apollo of the Golden Hair, and as this is no longer possible for humans to obtain, the closest life to it is that of the aristocrat. This is perhaps why aristocrats are favored by the gods in the mortal world and why some mortals such as Menelaus and Odysseus are more favored than others.

The idea of a golden-age utopian existence seems not only familiar to Hesiod's audience and contemporaries, but it had already taken several different forms, none of which is brought forward by the poet as anything new.[40] Among ancient authors whose thoughts took a mythical, rather than an abstract form, the remote past, the past beyond usual human recollection and knowledge, seems to have been described in terms of an earlier divine regime, "the time of Cronus," before the lordship of Zeus. This connection of a mythical past primitivistic utopia with the reign of Cronus in the mythical parallel world of the Greeks occurs for the first time in extant Greek literature in the *Works and Days* (111). Hesiod does not attempt to explain or justify the statement. He seems to take for granted his audience will know the story he is re-counting, perhaps because it was firmly embedded in the repertoire of myths, legends and sagas every ancient Greek knew during his/her life.

At the beginning of the *Catalogues of Women* (Frag. 1 Merk-West), a time is referred to when men and gods dined and sat in council together, and humans did not look with their wits upon old age. Dillon cautions, though, the text is very fragmentary and it is not certain what exactly is being said here[41]. He also points out that the context is rather different from that of the Golden Race in the *Works and Days*, as it deals with a list of mortal heroines who lay with the gods. Dillon continues, however, by suggesting that if this is a reference to a "quasi-golden age," we may be in a position to connect it in turn with another reference Hesiod makes in the *Theogony* (535), where Zeus tricked Prometheus about the sacrificial meats.

Hesiod introduces this episode with the words "for when the gods and mortal men were separated (or distinguished) at Mecone…."[42] It seems clear that more is at stake here than a simple explanation of sacrificial practices among the Greeks.[43] Gods and humans, it is implied, had up to this time been in the habit of dining together and had

enjoyed a common life. In the course of this crucial confrontation at Mecone, the titan Prometheus tricked Zeus into choosing the less favorable of two portions of ox, thus, ensuring in future, that human-beings would offer in sacrifice to the gods only the bone of the animal, not its flesh. To make human-beings suffer for having gained this advantage, Zeus deprived them of fire. When Prometheus stole fire and took it down to humans, Zeus responded by creating the first woman (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 42–105, *Theogony* 535). The institution of the practice of sacrifice converted humans into meat-eaters and, thus, marked them off from the gods who consumed nectar and ambrosia, an ostensibly vegetarian diet. It is implied that humans did not offer sacrifices to the gods before this time and, furthermore, the creation of women implied reproduction through sex, something animal-like which was not part of a golden-age utopian existence. This constitutes a fall from grace as from this time forward, humans would be mortal, subject to hunger, pain, fatigue and death. Zeus' withdrawal of fire would have reduced them further to the status of animals, since humans would have been forced to eat the flesh they had acquired in a raw and uncooked state as animals did. As Prometheus restored fire to them, they were re-established in a position mid-way between the gods and animals, and the gift of woman confirmed this position.[44] Hesiod further confirms this status by saying "this is the law prescribed for men by the teachers of the son of Cronus, namely that fish and beasts and wild fowl devour each other for right is not in them" (*Works and Days* 276–278). Thus, some right is in humankind, whereas it is characteristic of the world of the gods.

The situation described here seems to be one of familiar intercourse between gods and men, a situation disrupted by Prometheus' trickery. Dillon points out that Hesiod does not explain here what situation he was envisaging, but the concept of a period during which gods and men lived in some sort of communion in some sort of primitive paradise does seem to have a place in his thought, as has the notion that the period was ended by some sort of fall from grace.[45]

In Pindar's second Olympian ode (2.61–77), the poet preserves many of the traditional characteristics of golden-age imagery found in Hesiod, but adds other details as well.[46] The concept of an Age of Cronus is combined with the "Isles of the Blessed" and the "Elysian Plain," thought of as being located somewhere in the far west on the edge of world known to the Greeks, where there is a retreat into timelessness and a release from the cares, burdens and strife of the human world (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.561–564; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 110–120). The golden-age utopian existence comprises the mythical past and the continuation of it in the present, but with restricted conditions of access, the favor of the gods and the hope of its continuation in the future.[47] Pindar reinforces this dual function of the golden-age utopia by identifying Rhea and Cronus by name (76–77). Both have to do with beginnings, both in the mythical past and its continuation in the present.[48] As parents of the Olympian gods, they antedate the inauguration of the present world order. As recipients of the just, they preside over the beginning of a new life, one that will have no end, in a land which is a holdover from the mythical past of the Age of Cronus.

Pindar's description included the traditional golden-age theme of the unchanging and perfection of the weather, including a mild, westerly breeze, constituting a relief for the Greeks from summer weather. The scene would seem to be frozen, in fact, at a perpetual spring equinox.[49] Other important golden-age themes, derived from Homer's various

utopias and/or the traditional repertoire of Greek mythological stories, legends and sagas, are those of the non-disturbance of the earth, either by tillage or mining, as well as of the sea, either by fishing or travelling over it for purposes of trading or raiding. The inhabitants' simple needs are, in contrast, met by the fruits of the earth which spring up spontaneously. Finally, there is also a submisson to a benevolent ruler, most immediately Rhadamanthus, but behind him Cronus himself.[50]

There are also some interesting differences though: as we have seen, for Homer, meeting one's fate on the Elysian plain was a substitute for and escape from death. It does not appear, however, that people should ever return from it. For Pindar, the world of the Elysian plain is much the same, except he had increased the requirements, as the good must survive three cycles of lives lived keeping their souls from all sin. Reincarnation is something new, which is not found in either Homer or Hesiod in the context of the Golden Age, nor is there any trace of a future blessedness awaiting those who have died.[51] Menelaus will go to the Elysian plain precisely because he has won, thanks to the favor of Zeus, exemption from mortality.

Pindar has complicated his golden-age utopia by including both life after death and reincarnation. His vision is two-fold: the underworld where the noble who delighted in oath-keeping enjoy their easy existence (Pindar, *Olympian* 2.61–67) and the Island of the Blessed, reserved for those who have lived through more than one life free of injustice (65–70). In contrast, Homer tells us only of the Elysian plain. That there should be yet another paradise at all is surprising.[52] Here, as in Homer (*Odyssey* 4.569), Zeus has a role to play: those who reach the Island of the Blessed by Zeus' road, presumably with his consent (Pindar, *Olympian* 2.70).[53] Nisetich informs us the gold plate (H) from Hipponium in the territory of the Locri, known to be fervent worshippers of Apollo, (circa 465) refers to a sacred road traveled by the soul of the initiate and "other initiates and bacchants" (15–16). Janko, reconstructing what he called the long archetype Omega, current by the late fifth century, places line eleven of the gold plate (P) found at Petelia and dating from the middle of the fourth century (=DK 1 B 17.11) after H 15–16: the soul of the initiate, having completed its journey on the "sacred road" will then rule "among the other heroes."[54] If this is a correct reconstruction, it would bear an interesting resemblance to Pindar. His Διὸς ὁδὸν (*Olympian* 2.70) would be recalled by ὁδὸν. . . . ἱερᾶν (H 15–16), his Achilles on the Island of the Blessed (79–80) by the "other heroes" (P11) with whom the soul of the initiate would rule the next life.[55]

In the context of the Hyperboreans and their lands, this sacred road makes us think of the story of Aristeas of Proconnesus as reported by Herodotus (4.13). He had wished to journey to the land of the Hyperboreans while in an ecstatic state due to the rituals connected with the cult of Apollo, but only reached the land of the Issedones. It is not specified why this was the case, but we may hypothesize, based on the examples above, that his soul was not free from all sin and/or had not kept faith.[56]

Pindar conceptualizes the land of the Hyperboreans as a golden-age utopia. Similarly to the Isles of the Blessed and the Elysian plain, the land of the Hyperboreans is located in a far-away place, on the edge of the earth, removed from the realm of mortal life and difficulties. Pindar portrays the Hyperboreans as a sacred race not subject to illness or aging, but who lived apart from any toil and battle, undisturbed by acting Nemesis (*Pythian* 10.43). Their unique occupation was to sing, play music and dance, crowned in golden laurel wreaths in honor of Apollo, their benevolent ruler, who is pleased by these

festivities and by the donkeys offered up to him (*Pythian* 10.30–48). According to Pindar, Heracles went to the sources of the Danube in pursuit of the doe with the golden antlers during his labors for Eurystheus and saw the Hyperborean lands "behind the North Wind" (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.25–35). Pindar, and/or the adepts of the Apolline cult seem to have believed the Hyperboreans lived near the sources of the Danube and that these were located in the mythical Rhipean Mountains which formed the limit between the land of the Hyperboreans and the mortal world[57]. These were a range of impassable mountains which could neither be reached by ship nor land, but only by a wondrous road of the type of Zeus' road (Pindar, *Olympian* 2.70), the sacred road (H 15–16) or of the type Abaris or Aristeas took (Pindar Frags, 270, 283 Bowra; Herodotus 4.13).

Thus, the land of the Hyperboreans was far-away, on the edge of the world known to the Greeks, sealed off from mortal life and its difficulties, and of extremely difficult access. Aristeas did not make it. Perseus did, but he had to have winged sandals (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.30–49). Furthermore, when Perseus was in the land of the Hyperboreans, he dined with them, just as humans had during Hesiod's Age of Cronus, while the Hyperboreans sent splendid sacrificial hecatombs of asses to Apollo, who took pleasure in their feasts (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.35–36).

There is some difference of opinion concerning the timing of Perseus' slaying of the Gorgon (*Pythian* 10.46). Köhnken places it before the visit to the Hyperboreans.[58] This has the merit of providing a link between the two events mentioned by Pindar: Perseus is given a Hyperborean holiday as a reward for his heroic deed. Burton also puts the slaying of the Gorgon before his visit to the Hyperboreans, but finds it an irrelevant detail to the main myth.[59] Slater thinks the decapitation of Medusa is subsequent to the visit to the Hyperboreans. His reasons are formal: the myth of the tenth *Pythian* is of common Pindaric type, which he labels "complex lyric narrative" in which "the end of the myth is posterior to its beginning."[60] Whichever came first, the killing of the Medusa or the visit to the Hyperboreans, it is probable the two episodes took place on the same trip and that the Gorgons and the Hyperboreans were neighbors.[61]

Pindar, then views the land of the Hyperboreans in a similar fashion to the Island of the Blessed and the Elysian plain, except the land of the Hyperboreans, as far as we know, had nothing to do with the souls of the dead, as an escape from death or reincarnation. Furthermore, the land of the Hyperboreans and the Rhipean Mountains were regarded as being located in the north, while the Isles of the Blessed and the Elysian plain were thought of as being in the west.[62] All three lands were thought of as being on the edges of the earth and as representing golden-age utopias which encompassed both the mythical past and present. Both of the latter are inaccessible to humans as one is in the irretrievable past, while the other must be sought so far away it becomes hopeless.[63]

As in Hesiod, we again find a reference to gold in Pindar's second Olympian ode (61–77). This time, however, it is in the form of gold flowers and perhaps fruits which, consequently, differ from any that grow in the everyday world.[64] Baldry argues the gold fruits are possibly apples of the Hesperides.[65] Nisetich writes the gold flowers are important because they function as garlands wreathing the hands and crowning the heads of the blessed, as in Pindar (*Pythian* 10.40, *Nemean* 7.77–79).[66] They belong, in the golden-age utopian setting, as in the real world, both to worshippers and to celebrants. They belong, in other words, to the just in triumph. If we add to this explanation, as Dillon argues, that gold bears the connotation, as in Hesiod, of the extreme of value,

eternal, imperishable, since gold seemed virtually indestructible by the passage of time, we get another dimension: the gold flowers are symbolic of the Age of Cronus which is never going to disappear in the present or the future in those lands on the edges of the world where it continues on in the parallel world of the mythical present.[67]

The Hyperboreans, as we encounter them in Pindar's Tenth Pythian, have a good deal in common with Homer's Phaeacians and with the Hesiodic golden generation.[68] They do not experience age, disease or war (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.41–44).[69] They inhabit a land which is inaccessibly far away.[70] Moreover, in a similar fashion to Homer, Pindar presents his other world in terms which combine close parallels with the real world and unambiguous distancing from it.[71] The notion that the Hyperboreans live a life of perpetual symposium suggests a comparison with the celebrations in Thessaly after Hippocleas' victory.[72] It reminds him of the attainment of such permanent happiness in the mortal world or for that matter in the mythical parallel one (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.22–30). Both similarity and difference are encapsulated in Pindar (*Pythian* 10.40), where the Hyperboreans bind their hair with golden laurel and feast in happiness. The victor's wreath is also the focus for a connection with the land of the Hyperboreans in Pindar's Third Olympian ode, where the poet says it was from the land of the Hyperboreans that Heracles brought the olive trees which now provide the material for the Olympic victor's wreath. One wonders if these are the same olive trees as those which have golden leaves in *Nemean* 1.13–18. Robbins feels we can automatically say the victor's wreath is a "clear sign that he is…elevated to the company of the blessed"[73]. Brown is far more cautious.[74] While in the real world of Thessaly, the exaltation of the present must inevitably give way to less pleasant realities, just as the Pythian victor's laurel crown must wither, nothing can ever stop the Hyperborean symposium, hence, the gold of their unwithering and untarnishable garlands, as well as the eternal gold flowers and fruits, which bear witness to their triumph over Nemesis.[75] Köhnken and Rose take the phrase, "having escaped very just Nemesis" (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.43–44) to mean that the Hyperboreans are immortal. Brown feels this cannot be and the literary evidence studied in section two will bear him out.[76] C.G.Brown calls Nemesis "an agent who…maintains the alternations of fortune…that characterize the life of man" (Pindar, *Olympian* 8.84–88; Herodotus 1.34.1): it is the Hyperboreans' very position "outside the realm of ordinary human possibility" which makes them unlike the Aleuadae, "exempt from the vicissitudes of men" who live under his rule.[77] No other source, however, ascribes actual immortality to the Hyperboreans.[78]

Just as the golden generation in Hesiod was distinct from the warring lives of the race of heroes, as well as from the world of Perseus, so the golden godlike felicity of the Hyperboreans contrasts not only with the world of the victor's aristocratic family, the Aleuadae, but also with the struggles of the young Perseus. It is only by emulating Perseus, the mythical model for Hippocleas, that real men of the real present can even begin to approximate the blessedness of the mythical parallel world. The moment of victory and rejoicing is worth savoring for Hippocleas lives in the real world and so it will end. If Perseus only had a temporary share in the Hyperborean banquet, then the *olbos* of Pythian victory must partake of the transience of all things mortal. The victor's triumph may be a permanent possession of his family or country, but it cannot exempt him from the vicissitudes of mortality. It may mark him out as an individual touched for a moment by divinity, and imply the entitlement of his name to poetic immortality, but it

does not indicate that, as an individual, he will become deathless and ageless.[79] Such a fate may be promised to Theron (Pindar, *Olympian* 2) and is granted to Croesus in Bacchylides (3.58), where the land of the Hyperboreans functions like the Isles of the Blessed, but only in the sense that it is the exception that proves the rule: if paradise were open to all victors, epinician would lose as much of its force as epic would if all of Homer's heroes were to join Menelaus in Elysium. In both genres, achievement is acutely informed by a sense of mortality and the shadowiness of an existence in Hades.

In the same way as Homer sent Odysseus to the Phaeacians, then, so Pindar also sends a hero to this other world. In doing so, however, he also has in mind, as probably Hesiod did, the aspirations and limitations of his audience. As Odysseus had, Perseus has other business in hand and there is no ques-tion of him staying with the Hyperboreans. Like the victor's triumph, Perseus' visit may be a reward for his achievement of slaying the Gorgon, but it is only a token glimpse of the ultimate felicity. Pindar was composing for an aristocratic audience, unlike Hesiod's difficult peasant world of Boeotia. Therefore, as the best of human society are favored by the gods by their very position in life, it was probably easier for them, and for Pindar, as it had been for Homer, to imagine themselves living a life closer to the conditions of the golden generation and the Age of Cronus.[80] Consequently, the poet's narrative does suggest the unattainability of true and lasting felicity, but the impossibility of sustaining it for long. The gold of the Hyperboreans' garlands, then, both compares them to and distinguishes them from the victor. It underlines the differences and similarities between the real world of the aristocratic Greeks and the mythical parallel world of the Hyperboreans.[81] Hippocleas, like Perseus, must never forget he lives within the province of very just Nemesis, but Pindar adds the ideas of reincarnation and metempsychosis here: for those who believe individual souls pass through a series of reincarnations in a process which can under certain circumstances be escaped, a wider range of possibilities opens up. This range, however, is only open to aristocrats.

What Pindar has produced, at least in his second Olympian, is a profound and suggestive synthesis of contemporary eschatological doctrines, adding the more esoteric to the traditional. The impetus for this may well have been provided by a commission from Theron who appears to have believed in teachings closely related to those of the Orphic gold leaves.[82] This material was at variance with the Homeric account of such matters which had no room for the idea of a better lot for initiates in the afterlife.[83] Moreover, since it involved metempsychosis, it could be regarded as a negative of the very Pindaric idea of inherited excellence.[84] On the other hand, Pindar was always ready to respond flexibly to the requirements of his patrons. While these difficulties may explain why we do not have more poems like the second Olympian ode from Pindar, we cannot just ignore the Orphic tendencies in the poem, as beginning with the archaic epoch, Orphics and Pythagoreans attempted to implant in "our" world the virtues of the Golden Age.[85] We must also, however, be aware of overplaying it by viewing the poem as a privileged confession of beliefs underpinning the whole of the poet's epinician work.[86]

Pindar's role in celebrating such a victory at such a moment included encouraging the tyrant's virtues, consoling him for the uncertainties of the future and justifying him to his people. The idea of metempsychosis fulfills these requirements rather well. It implies anyone who occupies a position as exalted as Theron's must have earned it through

conspicuous merit in at least one previous existence. It also hints, doubtless to the satisfaction of his ene-mies, that the greater his chances not only of suffering a reversal of it in his world, but of committing a major act of *hybris* which would condemn him to otherworldly punishment and reincarnation in a less fortunate condition. It also suggests, however, that if Theron can continue in the ways of Justice and Right, values dear to the Hyperboreans, he had at least a chance of receiving the ultimate prize of release from the cycle of reincarnation.[87]

One might argue the whole force of the *topos* has been concentrated in the image of the gold flowers, fruits and garlands, and the assertion of closeness to the gods. Pindar may have gone further than that, though, and perhaps we should follow Woodbury's attractive suggestion of an implicit contrast between the eternal equinox of 61–62 and a perpetual, unbroken Olympian daylight in the Isle of the Blest.[88] This organic gold at the edge of the world, enjoyed by a select few, is not to be equated with merely metaphorical gold of the golden race. It has only one true mythical parallel: the apples of the Hesperides, the fruit of divinity attained by Heracles, who broke the bounds of mortality by his Own *arete* and father's favor. Maximum emphasis is placed on the supernatural character of the place, which, put together with the narrowness of the shortlist of its residents, puts its extreme exclusivity beyond doubt. Pindar's ultimate paradise is the work of a conservative literary traditionalist composing in the inherently elitist genre of epinician.[89]

Gold, then, is used to represent the conditions of life enjoyed by the gods, the gulf that separates them from mortals, and the brief, but intense, glory of the moments when it is bridged.[90] It is also used to distinguish Greek aristocrats from the common people as being those humans who are closest to the gods.[91] Gold plays a pivotal role in the nuances of their meanings. In epics and epinicians, mythical speculation on the past, the eschatological future and the continuing mythical parallel world of the present mythical edges of the world serve both to excite men's hopes for a better existence and to qualify them. Gold encourages the audience to pursue certain ideals, but also to mark the unattainability in the here and now of the felicitous consequences of fully realizing them. The Age of Cronus encourages Justice and Right, but no false hopes of a completely easy life. The epinician victor must not think to better his lot on earth. He must also know that he is beyond the vicissitudes of fortune: hence, Pindar's Hyperboreans are inaccessible. The victor's hope is eschatological and while it may be less limited than the vision Hesiod has to offer his just men, it is also much more uncertain. Never far below the surface is the effective assertion that access to the mythical parallel world and golden-age utopias is strictly controlled by the gods. Gold is central to this process, as the richness of its flexible associations makes it possible for the poets to build mythical parallel worlds in ways which are but-tressed by implicit traditional authority. The poet/writer plays in the space shared by the real world and the mythical parallel world, and, is, in a certain sense, the arbiter of the space between humans and gods in which is to be found all that is worth the tribute of their art and the emulous admiration of their audience. Poets construct poetic otherworlds whose strong moral and religious significance is marked by the symbolic presence of gold, sometimes used as metal of the gods, metal of immortality.[92]

As we will see in sections two and three, the mythical land of the Hyperboreans in the north continues to be one of these where gold is symbolic of its imperishable extreme of

value. Aeschylus says the Hyperboreans are the most fortunate of all peoples, as they have every happiness, live in a paradise setting and have plenty of gold (*Choephori* 372–374). Abaris gathered golden offerings to place in the temple of Apollo in the land of the Hyperboreans (Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 90–91). In this context, gold clearly has something to do with a golden-age utopian existence, whatever its exact meaning and even if it had more than one significance at any given time. This theme of gold is later to be paired with the theme of the gold-rich lands of the Celts in the north and constitutes one reason why there is an identification of the mythical Hyperboreans with the Celts in our texts.[93]

All Greeks seem to have known as a matter of course that in the time of the old god Cronus, food had been abundant, and toil and trouble unknown.[94] Later evidence also lends support to this hypothesis that the association with Cronus was taken for granted by the common people, poets, singers and writers. The author of the *Alcmaeonis* is said to have described the happiness τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου ζωῆς (ap. Philodemus, *De Pietate* p. 51 [Gomperz]). When Attic peasants wished to praise Pisistratus' regime, they compared it to ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 16.7; cf. Plato, *Hipparchus* 229b). It also lived on in cult. At the harvest-time festival of Cronia in Attica, masters and slaves exchanged places, apparently to recall the primitive quality of Cronus' time.[95] It also lived on in the comic stage. Fragments of old comedy contain a number of passages about the time of Cronus, comically exaggerating its effortless plenty: rivers run with barley-cakes, fish jump into pans and fry themselves. The plots of some of these comedies seem to have turned upon a visit to paradise, which for these purposes was still located in a distant country or the underworld.[96] Pausanias also tells us that up until the fateful day when the Arcadian Lycaon sacrificed a human baby to Zeus, the men of that time were the guests of the gods and ate at the same table (Pausanias 8.2.4). Sacrifice does seem to mark the point at which humankind becomes distinguished from that of the gods and ceases to enjoy divine privileges.[97]

There can be no question then that ancient Greeks believed in the time of Cronus, sometime in the mythical past during which humans had a happier life than they do in the present, but they also believed these were lands on the edges of their world, where the Age of Cronus continued into the mythical present and would continue into the future. One of these lands was that of the Hyperboreans.

Stories, myths, legends and sagas preserve a subjective view of the past, vital to the Greek collective consciousness. They also formed to a great degree their idea of this past. It is into this framework that one strand of our enquiry fits, the Hyperborean myth. The tendency to mythologize the past was so prevalent in the collective consciousness of the Greeks that it led Lucian of Samostata in the second century A.D. to write a parody entitled *Amber, or the Swans*. In this piece, Lucian says that he had to hold his tongue in shame for he had acted like like a child in believing the poets who are such incredible liars that nothing sensible finds any favor with them. This is surely a powerful commentary on how important myth, legend, fantasy, tradition, stories and sagas were to the idea of the past that the Greeks had.[98] Included in that past were contacts the Greeks had with other peoples such as the Celts and the Greek tendency to incorporate these peoples into their mythology, legend and fantasies.

Finley wrote that the Classical Greeks knew little about their history before 550, but, in reality they must have believed they knew a lot about it because they knew many traditions, myths, legends and sagas that conditioned their idea of their own past. While modern scholars argue that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the extant works of Hesiod, used neareastern models, it is not clear if either Homer or Hesiod was consciously aware of this. It seems more likely that both authors inherited them from the repertoires of a long line of poets and that these myths, sagas and legends may have stretched back to the Mycenaean period. What is important for our purposes is that these oriental antecedents also incorporated a mythical past and a parallel world of myth as part and parcel of their writings. Not only are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* indicative of a style of poetry, the heroic style, they also show their audience a culture, a mentality, a way of thinking, a way of conceptualizing the world around them, as well as far-away unknown lands and geographical spaces.

Early Greek poetry, then, is a curious mix of probability, fantasy, history, myth, legend, sagas, the blurring of reality and mythology, and the interaction and play between the Greek parallel mythical world and the real one of humankind. Within this framework, ancient Greeks believed a golden-age utopia had existed in the time of Cronus, before Zeus' lordship over their parallel mythical world, and that it continued to exist in such places as the land of the Hyperboreans located on the edges of the world known to the Greeks. The land of the Hyperboreans was a constant reminder to the Greeks of the way the world was in the time of Cronus, far in the mythical past, and the way it could be again, as it still existed on the edges of the world. Just as other mythical lands located on the edges of the world, it was more or less accessible, depending on the period of the text studied. These mythical lands served to excite men's hopes for a better existence and to qualify them, but also to mark their unattainability in the here and now.[99] Thus, the golden-age utopias are not necessarily irrevocably in the past, as there is hope in men's minds they will be reconstituted for them in the future, that ordinary humans would once more eat at the same table as the gods, that they would be able to stand the unnatural light of the sun which shone in the world of the gods and that the problems of strife humans experience in their world tainted by *hybris* would vanish forever more.[100] On the other hand, they serve to refocus the audience's attention on what is real, on what is in the real world and on the place and condition of humankind in that world, as opposed to what is impossible to obtain in a mythical land where ordinary human-beings have no place. Within the context of golden-age utopias, the Hyperborean myth had specific features and the Hyperboreans a specific identity: these will be studied in section two, as well as the evolution of their myth and how they were moved about by different authors during Greek literary history. Section three will then focus on the texts which identify the Hyperboreans with Celts, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and possible reasons as to why this identification was made or implied.

Section Two
The Hyperboreans and Hyperborean Identity

Chapter Two
From the Beginnings to the Second Purification of Delos

The Hyperboreans are not mentioned by name in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Both D'Arbois de Jubainville and Bolton report that Homer makes reference to the Rhipean Mountains when he describes snow or chill hail flying from clouds driven by the blasts of Boreas (Homer, *Iliad* 15.171, 19.358).[1] In both cases, however, the text uses the phrase ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς and does not name the Rhipean Mountains. It may be purely coincidental that Homer mentioned a town called Rhipe in Arcadia in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Homer, *Iliad* 2.606), but this does not correspond to a mountain site (Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 545 Meineke).[2] No association with the Hyperborean myth is to be found here, not even any snow. Furthermore, Rhipe was virtually unknown to the ancient commentators. Strabo mentions a city in Arcadia having the same name (Strabo 8.8.2 C338; Pausanias 7.25.12).

Although the Hyperboreans are never mentioned by name, hints of isolated pieces of the Hyperborean myth do exist in Homer. The poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must not have felt it essential to highlight the myth, as these pieces would have been self-evident to everyone in his audience. For example, we are informed that while Odysseus was in the Halls of Hades, searching for advice from the blind prophet Teiresias on how he and his comrades were going to find their way back to their native mainland Greece, he saw Tityus, son of the goddess Earth, who was serving a terrible punishment for having assaulted Leto, a consort of Zeus and mother of the divine twins Artemis and Apollo, as she was going to Pytho across the plains of Panopeus (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.576–581). An association between Zeus, Leto, Artemis and Apollo is implied in this context because of the Pythian oracle at Delphi. This also implies knowledge of the birth story of Artemis and Apollo which, according to Herodotus, involved the Hyperboreans (Herodotus 4.33–36). The poet also makes an isolated reference to the palm to which Leto clung as she was giving birth near the streams of Inopus or the Delian harbour (Homer, *Odyssey* 6.162–167).[3] Another association between Zeus, Leto, Artemis and Apollo is mentioned while Homer quotes Niobe's legend (Homer, *Iliad* 24.162–167). If Homer knew of a legend which reported that Leto only had two offspring, then he may well have known something about the birth legend of Artemis and Apollo. Finally, Herodotus wrote that Homer, if he was indeed the author of the *Epigoni*, knew of the Hyperborean myth, but this text has not come down to us (Herodotus 4.32). Homer conceptualized Boreas as blowing from Thrace, perhaps from Mount Haemus, as later source material bears out (Homer, *Iliad* 9.4–7, 23.229–230). Thus, logically, the Hyperboreans lived somewhere to the north of Thrace, maybe at the sources of the Ister, where Pindar later locates them, or in the lands of the Scythians, where Hesiod places them.[4] Otherwise, in both the *Iliad* and

the *Odyssey*, the North Wind is mentioned as being potentially dangerous, but is not associated with the Rhipean Mountains or the Hyperboreans themselves.

Although the extant source material for Hesiod mentions several elements which later authors connect with the Hyperborean legend, it does not bring them together into one mythical story. Herodotus wrote that Hesiod knew of the Hyperborean myth, as Homer did (Herodotus 4.32)[5]. Herodotus seems quite certain of this. It is clear Hesiod knew at least something about the myth concerning the birth of the divine twins, but does not specifically mention the Hyperboreans or Delos (*Theogony* 918–920). A doubtful fragment found in Schol. on Pindar, *Nemean* 2.1 states that both Homer and Hesiod began their singing careers on Delos, praising Phoebus Apollo with the golden sword that Leto bore.[6] It is logical to suppose that Hesiod knew Artemis and Apollo, born of the union between Zeus and Leto, came to light on the island of Delos, as the island was an extremely widely known and sacred center of Greek religious worship during ancient times. Furthermore, like Homer, he may have thought he did not have to elaborate on the Hyperborean involvement in the myth, as Herodotus does in his *Histories*, because it was a given in the Greek culture (Herodotus 4.33–36).

Hesiod does mention the Hyperboreans, but only as being well-horsed.[7] Bolton believed this reference was an identification of the Scythians with the Hyperboreans. While this would follow the Homeric tradition of blurring peoples in the known world with those of the Greek parallel mythical one, there need not be any such identification here, as horses were a symbol of Boreas, beyond whose home the Hyperboreans were reputed to reside in later source material. If the Hyperboreans were well-horsed, it needs only to have meant that they had Boreas' attribute of swiftness. This argument is supported by a fifth-century representation of Boreas kidnapping Orithyia on the Athenian temple of Apollo on Delos preceded by a galloping horse.[8] On the other hand, if this is a blurring of the Scythians and the Hyperboreans, it already situates the Hyperboreans in the Black Sea/Sea of Azov area, where the Greeks had extensive contacts with the Scythians who were warlike, who rode horses and who were formidable enemies. This second argument is further supported by a fragment of a sixth-century Ionian author called Ananius, who equated the Hyperboreans with the Scythians, perhaps following Hesiod's reference.[9] Both Hesiod and Ananius may simply have thought that any people who lived in the north were "Hyperborean" (Map 2.1).

Hesiod does mention Boreas several times, but does not specifically connect him with the Hyperboreans in the extant material which has come down to us. He wrote that the frosts were cruel when Boreas blew over the earth. Hesiod, like Homer, places Boreas' home in Thrace from where he blows upon the wide sea, stirring it up, while earth and forest howl. Boreas falls on many a high-leafed oak and thick pine, bringing them to the earth in mountain glens. All the immense wood roars and Boreas is so strong and cold that he makes animals shudder and put their tails between their legs, even those who are covered with fur. Boreas blows through them, although they are shaggy breasted (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 503–547). All things trembled at his blast (Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women* 68.33). West feels that when Boreas is described as blowing over the sea from Thrace, it is an Ionian point of view which is also expressed in the *Iliad* (Homer, *Iliad* 9.4.7, 23.229–230).[10] There is, however, no mention of the Rhipean Mountains.

If we can rely on Herodotus as a source for Hesiod, the picture of the Hyperborean myth which Hesiod knew was as follows: he knew the birth story of Artemis and Apollo

on Delos. Hesiod localized the Hyperboreans in the Scythian lands near the sources of the Danube and the Black Sea/Sea of Azov area. He placed Boreas' home in Thrace, perhaps already in Mount Haemus. The latter may have been, at one unspecified time in Greek history unknown to us, the northernmost point known to the Greeks. This could well have been in Mycenaean times before they had attained the sources of the Danube and the Black Sea.

Aristeas of Proconnesus is reported to have written a poem called the *Arimaspea* sometime between 650 and 600.[11] A summary of certain aspects of this poem is contained in the extant text of Herodotus' *Histories* (4.13). Herodotus places Aristeas about two hundred years before his own time, thus between Homer and himself. The date seems early, but is defended by Bolton.[12] The Suda Lexicon puts Aristeas at the beginning of the sixth century.[13] According to Herodotus, Aristeas presented certain peoples who were

Map 2.1 Summary of ancient Hyperborean lands.

Table 2.1 Aristeas of Proconnesus (Table of Peoples)

Sea
Hyperboreans
Griffins
Arimaspians
Issedones
Scythians
Cimmerians
Europe

Source: Herodotus 4.13

living in the Black Sea/Sea of Azov zone (Table 2.1). He reported the Hyperboreans lived far to the north, beyond the Scythians, the Cimmerians, the Issedones, the Arimaspi and the griffins that guarded the gold. The Hyperborean lands stretched down to the sea: what sea this was remains unclear, but later on in Greek literary tradition, this sea is referred to as the "Other Sea."[14] Thus, Aristeas seems to have been following at least Hesiod in placing the Hyperboreans in the Black Sea/Sea of Azov zone. The "Other Sea" could conceivably be the sources of the Danube or the Black Sea here. Aristeas also specified the Hyperboreans were a peaceful people and did not make war on their neighbors. His account cannot be older than the eighth-century Scythian invasion of Cimmerian lands recorded in Assyrian cuneiform tablet archives.[15]

Aristeas also wrote that he had wished to journey to the land of the Hyperboreans while in an ecstatic state due to the rituals connected with the cult of Apollo, but only reached the land of the Issedones. This fragment of Aristeas, if we accept it is from the seventh century, constitutes the earliest literary evidence we have concerning the link between Apollo and the Hyperboreans, but does not specify why there should be such a connection. This state of affairs does seem similar, however, to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis. If this were the link, it would date the text to the sixth century, agreeing with the Suda Lexicon. The Hyperborean myth may also have something to do with Orpheus and Orphism, as Orpheus came from Thrace, but it is still not clear to what extent the Orphics constituted an organized sect and how far back their doctrine can be traced.[16] Aristeas' attempted journey to the land of the Hyperboreans may also be regarded as a blurring of the real world with the Greek mythical parallel world, along the same general lines as in Homer and Hesiod, as both the Scythians and the Cimmerians were real peoples, but the Issedones, Arimaspi and Hyperboreans were all, as far as we know, mythical. As Homer, Hesiod and Ananius, he does not mention the Rhipean Mountains.

It has been suggested that Alcman used Aristeas of Proconnesus as his source, as they were writing at virtually the same time in the second half of the seventh century.[17] Bolton believes Alcman's fragment makes reference to a distant range of mountains on the northern edge of the world known to the Greeks because of its association with night.[18] Alcman's fragment, however, refers to the mountain of Rhipe, or of the stormy blast, which was "blossoming of woods, breast of black night."[19] It seems to refer to Homer's and Hesiod's ideas about Boreas blowing frigid masses of air from Thrace in a wooded and mountainous environment (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 503–547, *Catalogues of Women* 68.33). Furthermore, identifying Boreas' home in Thrace would match both Homer's references and later source material. Rhipe, given as a singular noun or adjective in Homer, Hesiod and Alcman, may well refer to Mount Haemus in Thrace. Northern uncharted lands constituted a realm of cold, storms, darkness and gloom to the early Greeks. More importantly for our study of the Hyperboreans and of the Hyperborean myth, the land of the Hyperboreans, like that of the Ethiopians, the Garden of the Hesperides, the Isles of the Blessed, is a place unaffected by the vicissitudes of the sun whose struggle with darkness characterizes the world under the vault of heaven.[20] The picture here seems to be that the ends of the earth are both where night originates and ascends the firmament and where the Rhipean Mountains stand. Beyond them lay the land of the Hyperboreans. Thus, a strong sun shone on the land of the Hyperboreans,

whereas darkness, perhaps at least in part due to the height and breadth of the Rhipean Mountains, shrouded the world of humankind.

Neither Homer, nor Hesiod, nor the fragmentary source material for Aristeas and Alcman which has come down to us specifically mention the Hyperboreans, in spite of what Herodotus wrote about Homer and Hesiod (Herodotus 4.32). Aristeas and Alcman seem both to have had vague notions about the lands beyond Thrace before the Greek colonization of the Black Sea/Sea of Azov zone took place. This suggests Greeks had contacts and perhaps commercial dealings with the far north from at least the eighth century onwards.[21]

The poet Alcaeus, writing about the same time as Alcman and Aristeas of Proconnesus, mentioned a story in his *Hymn to Apollo* in which the newborn Apollo received a chariot drawn by swans from his father Zeus.[22] Swans are an important feature of the Hyperborean myth. They often act as a link between the Hyperboreans and Apollo. Their migrations unite north and south, and also symbolize the connection between the real world of the Greeks in the south, on the one hand, and the mythical world of the Hyperboreans on the other.[23] Zeus gave Apollo the mission of going to Delphi to speak of Justice and Right to Hellas, as these were features of the world of the gods and of the world of mythical utopias, whereas *hybris* was a feature of the world of humankind. Apollo, however, disobeyed his father and went to the land of the Hyperboreans, where he stayed for a year, delivering the law (Aristophanes, *Aves* 722ff; Hecataeus of Abdera Frag. 12 No. 264 Jacoby).[24]

This figures among the most ancient and important attributes of the Delphian Apollo and one that often appears in the context of the Hyperborean myth.[25] Some of the oldest constitutions and codes of law were derived from his inspiration. Plato refers to the laws of Pythian Apollo which Minos and Lycurgus established (Plato, *Laws* 632d; cf. Herodotus 1.65; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 6). Cyrene obtained a constitution from Delphi (Herodotus 1.161). Zaleucus, the Locrian lawgiver, was nominated by Apollo.[26] Apollo the lawgiver is recognized by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (252, 282–293, 394). One may also assume Apollo gave the laws governing the colonization of distant lands such as Sicily, southern Italy and southern France, as the oracle at Delphi was consulted first and then gave its benediction for founding colonies.

No route to the Hyperborean lands was indicated, as they were located in an otherworldly paradise on the edge of the world. Access to their lands was only for a select few and had to be ordained by the gods.[27] When the Delphians had discovered that Apollo had driven his chariot to the land of the Hyperboreans, they composed a paean in honor of Apollo and had youths sing and dance about his tripod, trying to persuade him to leave the Hyperboreans and come to them. Nevertheless, Apollo spent a full year in the land of the Hyperboreans and only when he had decided it was time for the tripods at Delphi to sound forth did he command his swans to fly there. Alcaeus brought Apollo to Delphi at midsummer and all nature responded to the god's arrival. His lyre sprouted shoots of green and nightingales sang beautifully. The swallows and cicadas ceased lamenting their own misfortunes among men and all their strains were sung in honor of the god. In the spirit of poetry, Castalia gushed forth with silver waters and great Cephisus rose up with surging waves. Clearly, in order to lure Apollo away from the land of the Hyperboreans, the poet had the Delphians imitate the behavior of the Hyperboreans and had Greece become green and lush and as beautiful as the land of the Hyperboreans.

The only additional detail about this hymn comes from Pseudo-Plutarch (*De Musica* 1135F–1136A) who informs us that the dancing and rites in honor of Apollo were accompanied by flute music.

Romm felt there was a certain competitive element between the Greeks and the Hyperboreans for Apollo's attention, but this cannot be, as the Hyperboreans are symbolic of values with which the Greeks struggled and had difficulty attaining.[28] The Hyperboreans are portrayed as being much more perfect than the Greeks themselves. Consequently, the Hyperboreans live closer to the gods in a land protected from contamination from the imperfect human world. Greek institutions are not wrested from the Hyperboreans as Romm wrote, but on the contrary are offered and given, as the Hyperboreans represent Greek social and political ideals.[29]

Although there continues to be considerable discussion as to the dating of the *Homeric Hymns*, at least some scholars believe the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* dates from the seventh or sixth centuries.[30] Wade-Gery postulated that portions of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* were produced by the rhapsode Cynaethus towards the end of the sixth century.[31] This was based on a Scholium on Pindar, *Nemean* 2.1 which asserts that the blind Chiot singer of the Delian hymn was Cynaethus, who was the first to perform Homer to the Syracusans in 504 (the sixty-ninth Olympiad).[32] The ethnic name Hyperborean is used here in a sailing context only as a vague symbol to refer to the uttermost ends of the earth, or unattainable points to the north, beyond the geographical knowledge of the Greeks (*Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 28–30). It is interesting to note for our purposes that the scholium is reporting the Syracusans had imported a singer from Chios to sing Homer to them during the end of the sixth century. Homer was thus being transposed from east to west. The hymn makes no reference to the Hyperboreans as a people or community and tells us nothing about their origins or way of life.[33] These features would seem to fit into what would later be called the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth. On the other hand, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* gives us our first clear outline of the legend involving Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Apollo and Delos.

When Leto herself was with child by Zeus, she wandered across the Aegean to find a place to give birth and also a home for her son (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 14.126). Hera sent Python to make sure Leto did not bear her children in any place reached by the sun (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 300ff). Python was a symbol of the land and the human world with all its frailties and strife, whereas the sun's light was a symbol of the world of the gods. Thus, if Hera could have had Python block the sun's rays, Artemis and Apollo would not have been born in a completely divine context and would not have rivaled her own son by Zeus. At first, Delos also refused Leto, as it was afraid Apollo would consider the island too insignificant a place for his birth (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 66ff). Leto swore Apollo would build a temple there for his worship and the island agreed happily (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 83ff). When Leto was ready to give birth, all of the most important goddesses from Olympus came to attend her. Hera remained on Mount Olympus out of jeal-ousy and did not inform the birth goddess Ilithyia (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 97ff). The other goddesses attended Leto who spent nine days and nights in labor, as Hera was retaining Ilithyia. Then, the goddesses attending Leto bribed Iris to summon Ilithyia by offering a necklace made of gold to her. She then went to Delos without Hera's consent or knowledge. As soon as Ilithyia had arrived on Delos, the birth was accomplished by Leto while she was leaning against Mount Cynthus, clutching a palm

tree by the streams of Inopus or the Delian harbor. Themis gave Apollo nectar and ambrosia, a clearly vegetarian meal (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 123–129). Leto's twins were born on Delos because a dark wave rolled landwards, driven by the shrill winds, possibly Boreas (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 25–29). At first, this appears as a contradiction, but Delos was also part of the human world, so it could not have taken the strength of the unnatural sunlight of the world of the gods. Delos was halfway between the world of the gods and that of humankind. It acted as a portal through which humans could communicate with the gods, as when the Delians composed a paean and danced around a tripod to let Apollo know they wished him to come back from the land of the Hyperboreans and take up residence at Delos.[34] Even though the Hyperboreans are not mentioned in this text, this, as we will learn from Herodotus in the next chapter, fits into the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth and has to do with why the Hyperboreans came to Delos in the first place.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo* (216–546), Apollo comes from Olympia seeking a site for his cult and oracle, not from the Hyperboreans as it is implied in Alcaeus. There is still Hyperborean involvement here, as, according to Pindar, the Hyperboreans gave Heracles the olive trees which cast a good shadow on the site of Olympia, where he wished to institute games in honor of Zeus (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.23–24).[35] After various adventures on the road, he rests at Delphi to where he leads some mariners from Crete to found the priesthood. We can only wonder at how different this story is from Alcaeus' version, especially as they were told in the same age about the same events.[36] Page believes that an Asiatic Aeolian seldom displayed interest in Pythian Apollo in the west, but when he did, his version of the story was very different from the Delian one.

Simonides, a poet born at Iulis in Ceos, who flourished in the last quarter of the sixth and first quarter of the fifth centuries, wrote that the Hyperboreans lived for a thousand years (Simonides Frag. 197 in Strabo 15.1.57 C711).[37] This type of longevity is certainly a feature of a mythical utopia, but we have no further details. Simonides, perhaps following Hesiod, located the home of Boreas in Mount Haemus in Thrace (Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 1.212 Wendel). Strabo added that it was common knowledge to Pindar and other authors who wrote about the Hyperborean myth (Strabo 15.1.57 C711). One fragment seems to describe the birth of Artemis and Leto's shout as the august birth pangs weighed her down (PMG Frag, 32).[38]

Simonides also composed a poem to celebrate the naval battle of Artemesium.[39] In this poem, Simonides, possibly following Hesiod, or dipping into the same traditional common stock of Greek mythology to which Hesiod and Homer had access, told how Orithyia, daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus, was seized from Attica by Boreas and taken to Thrace, where he had Zetes and Calais, the Boreadae, with her (Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 1.211–215 p. 26 Wendel; Frag. 29 PMG). We must assume that if Boreas lived in Thrace, perhaps in Mount Haemus, then, the Hyperboreans must have lived to the north of this and that the Rhipean Mountains were between the two, to the north of Mount Haemus, or that they were identified with Mount Haemus. Simonides does not state one or the other of these possibilities explicitly.

By the end of the sixth century, evidence for two strands of the Hyperborean myth had already appeared: the Delian one and the Delphic one. The Delian one portrays the Hyperboreans as individuals arriving at Delos from a distant land in the service of a local

god, Apollo. It has no knowledge of the Hyperboreans as a people or community, and no interest in their origins or way of life. Delphic tradition, on the other hand, knows nothing of the individual Hyperboreans until a much later era, when certain named Hyperboreans are alleged to have founded the oracle at Delphi (Boeo in Pausanias 10.5.7). It regards them as a remote and fabulous community which no living person has ever visited and about which nothing was recorded, save their devotion to Apollo and his sojourn among them in the far distant north, at the edges of the known world, as the elect and original priesthood of his cult.[40] These two traditions do not seem conflicting, but rather relate how two different cult centers, among the most important in Greece, were founded under the auspices of the Hyperboreans. The Delian one, as we shall discover when we study Herodotus' information, is rather more specific about this than the Delphic one. Alcaeus is not specific enough about this, but does hint at it. These two traditions could have evolved over time to explain the development of two cult centers using an invented mythical past perhaps from Mycenaean or dark-age times, as the two were potentially rival oracle sites and both would be particularly coveted by the different political powers, especially Athens, during the history of ancient Greece.

Pindar wrote the crown of olive branches, symbol of the winner of the Olympic games, came from the sources of the Danube.[41] Heracles found the magnificent olive trees in the land of the Hyperboreans and thought they would cast a good shadow on the site of Olympia, where he wished to institute games in honor of Zeus, as the site had been previously exposed to the sun's strong rays (*Olympian* 3.23–24).[42] Again, we find the idea of a sacred site in Greece acting as a portal between the human world and the world of the gods. The sun's strong rays are a symbol of the world of the gods, superheroes and mythical utopias, where no human could survive. The shadow of the olive tree was a symbol of the human world, of its strife and difficulties. The sun's strong rays act as a symbol of *dike* in the totally perfect and just world of the gods, whereas shade symbolized *hybris*, a characteristic of humankind. The sacred site composed both, as it was part of both worlds. According to Pindar, olive trees grew near the sources of the Danube (Greek Istrus), where Heracles went in pursuit of the doe with the golden antlers in the course of his labors for Eurystheus and saw the Hyperborean lands "behind the North Wind" (*Olympian* 3.24–34).

It is not terribly clear whether Pindar places the sources of the Danube near the Hyperboreans (*Olympian* 3.14) because he thinks of it as rising in the Rhipean Mountains or because he knows the great rivers are children of Ocean (Hesiod, *Theogony* 3.38ff) and finds it fitting their springs should be located beside it. Stesichorus (*Geryones* 7 SLG) puts the springs of Tartessus near the Ocean Stream and the Island of the Hesperides. Apollonius makes the Danube a branch of Ocean rising in the Rhipean Mountains at the back of the North Wind (Boreas).[43]

Wilamowitz points out Pindar must have thought of the Danube as running north-south not east-west into the Black Sea.[44] It is clear, however, the sources of the shady Ister are shady because they rise in the Rhipean Mountains from where Boreas blows. This range marks the ends of the earth, which, as we have seen from Alcman's fragments, was conceptualized as being shrouded in darkness.[45] It is the Rhipean Mountains that seal the human world off from the mythical golden-age utopia of the Hyperboreans. Heracles brought back the olive tree from the land of the Hyperboreans, through loyalty to his father Zeus, to plant it at Olympia (*Olympia* 3.17). This may have been meant to

symbolize the rule of the gods over the world of humankind in which light and dark, good and evil, *dike* and *hybris* are inextricably mixed (*Olympian* 2.32–34, 58). Heracles provided shade at Olympia to contrast with the unnatural, otherworldly brightness at the sacred site of Olympia.[46] He also created what is characteristic of the climate in which mortals live: uninterrupted sunshine is unnatural and unbearable under the vault of heaven. Heracles not only brought the olive tree to Olympus to bring mortal shade to a mortal world, but also to use as a crown for deeds of excellence (*Olympian* 3.17). The excellence of the best and most honored humans at the Olympic Games would thus have a tangible link with the world of the gods and the world of the Hyperboreans. Theron wears the crown of an Olympic victor. His garland is, thus, an import from the land of the Hyperboreans and a clear sign he is, though otherwise unable to travel past the Pillars of Heracles to the lands of the Ocean Stream (*Olympian* 3.44), touched by their light and so elevated to the company of the blessed as under Cronus. Schwenn imagines Theron's crown displayed on the altar for all to see during the performance of the *Third Olympian:* Theron's link with the land of the Hyperboreans is thus visible and tangible.[47] We must also conclude, however, that the olive tree grew in the land of the Hyperboreans because it provided mortal shade as the Hyperboreans occupied a position halfway between the world of humankind and that of the gods, and lived in a mythical golden-age utopia on the edge of the world. This argues against Köhnken's idea that Pindar is preserving in his tenth *Pythian* a picture of a people who are immortal (43–44) if we are able to assume Pindar is consistent from poem to poem.[48]

Furthermore, the scholiast on Theocritus (2.121 Wendel 290) says Heracles garlanded himself in the Underworld with the white poplar, growing on the banks of the Archeron.[49] This tree grew in the precinct at Olympia. Pausanias (5.14.2) has Heracles bring it there from the Archeron in Thesprotia. The white poplar or abele (bicolor…populus, Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.276) symbolizes with the silver underside and green upperside of its leaf light and darkness.[50] The importation of the poplar and the olive to Olympia establishes there a symbol of the light and dark which characterize the human condition. It also symbolizes the mixing of the world of the gods and that of humankind at the sacred precinct of Olympia.

Pindar insists the son of Amphitryon persuaded the people of the Hyperboreans, the servants of Apollo, "by speech" to let him take the tree "with honest intent" (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.13–16). It seems clear that the two expressions are intended to correct an earlier version of the tale that recounted that Heracles took the tree or a cutting from it by force and against the wishes of the Hyperboreans.[51] Pindar could not accept that Heracles had acted violently towards a people so closely connected with Apollo. Thus, he is careful to give his explanation of why Heracles wished to take the tree.

The doe with the golden antlers is in all probability a symbol of Artemis, who was a principle player in the Hyperborean myth, as she too, according to the legend, was born on Delos with her brother Apollo. From the seventh century on, Artemis was regularly shown holding a deer by its antlers. This may have been a rather specialized development from the primitive scheme of the eastern goddess as *Potnia Theron* (Homer, *Iliad* 21.470).[52] The doe with the golden antlers seems to belong in the golden-age utopia of the Hyperboreans and may also represent a creature which could only be found in a land where normal human-beings had no place. The land of the Hyperboreans is out of reach to everyday mortals. Greek tradition, however, did not place the doe with the golden

antlers in the land of the Hyperboreans, but rather in Greece: Oenoe was in Argolis, Mount Artemesium is the range which divides Argolis from the plain of Mantinea, the Ladon is a river in Arcadia, the river Carynites, from which the doe took her name, is a river which rises in Arcadia and flows through Achaea into the sea. The modern name of the river is Bouphousia. It seems as though the myth of the doe with the golden antlers was transposed from Greece to Thrace, as Pindar and/or the adepts of the Apolline cult believed the Hyperboreans lived near the sources of the Danube. No olive trees, however, grew there. If the third *Olympian* hints at the gaining of immortality by Theron, it is not surprising Pindar should take the trouble to emphasize the antlers and sex of the doe. Horns represent life-power and life-potency.[53] Given the unquestionable supremacy of the female in the cycles of life, it is symbolically appropriate for the doe to have antlers, even if it is zoologically incorrect. This refers to mythologizing and the parallel mythical world of the Greeks.

In his poetry, Pindar continued the tradition of using the Hyperborean lands as the northern limit of the world known to the Greeks.[54] He contrasted this northern limit with other limits such as the Pillars of Heracles to the west, and the Phasis and Nile to the east (Pindar, *Isthmian* 2.41–42, 6.24–25). He wrote the Hyperboreans had a connection with Delphi and was perhaps the forerunner of Pausanias (10.5.9–10) who wrote in the second century A.D. that the second shrine at Delphi was made of beeswax and feathers, and was sent by Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans.[55]

The first temple was constructed from a bay tree. The branches used to erect this simple hut would have come from the sacred tree in the Vale of Tempe. After killing Python beneath Mount Parnassus, Apollo went there to crown himself with leaves from the tree, and, here too, he had washed away the blood taint in the waters of the river of Peneius.[56] Apollo then returned to Delphi to build the hut-temple, bringing a bay-branch with him. The slaughter of Python and the god's return were recalled at Delphi in later times by the festival named Septerium, for which a hut of bay-branches was erected. The name Septerium reminded the celebrants of Python's rotting corpse (σήπειν), while the hut emphasized the importance of the bay (δάφνη)in Delphic cult, as the bay is the Pythia's tree and Apollo had crowned himself with it. The victors in the Pythian Games were also crowned with bay leaves.

The materials of the second temple, the *Pterinon,* were wax and feathers. The poetical notion of a winged structure made by oracular creatures, bees and birds, came from the "wings" (ptera) of a Greek temple and from the priestesses, *melissae,* or "bees." It comes as no surprise that a strong wind, perhaps Boreas, carried such a flimsy structure away (F52, 63–64 Snell 2 1964), as among those gentle hosts of Apollo, there was sure to be no fierce North Wind to blow it down, because they lived, still according to Pindar, at the sources of the river Istrus, beyond the blasts of Boreas.[57] Boreas may have been viewed as conveying it, through the wishes of Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans and setting it down gently there. This may imply the idea of a sacred road which Apollo could take either on the back of a swan or in a chariot pulled by swans, but which other unauthorized persons such as Aristeas of Proconnesus could not use.

The third temple was made of bronze by Hephaestus the metalworker and Athena, the patroness of domestic skills: "Brazen were the walls and of bronze were the supporting pillars, and over its pediment sand six enchantresses made of gold." Pausanias compares the bronze construction with the Lacedaemonians' temple of Athena Chalkioikus and

with the bronze chamber built by Acrisius to confine Danae (10.5.11). The traveler does not think the third temple exceptionally wondrous to behold. According to Pindar, the divine handiwork revealed in the Enchantress (Celedones) caused difficulties, however, and the beautiful building had to be destroyed by the sons of Cronus, who "opened the earth with a thunderbolt and hid the most holy of all works, because visitors being amazed at the sweet sound died there away from their children and wives, as they hung their hearts upon the voice, honey-sweet to the mid" (72–79). The next words in the papyrus are corrupt, but the general sense seems to be that with the help of Memory, Pallas Athena caused the Enchantress to sing of the past, present and future.[58] The creatures were a work of art giving release to mortals, but those living Acroteria of the temple were altogether too successful in charming, and, thus, they had to be removed beyond the sight of men. As Pindar knew, there could be too much of honey and delightful flowers of Aphrodite (*Nemean* 7.52–53).

The fourth temple, however, was said to have been built by the hero-brothers Trophonus and Agamedes. This causes us to enter for the first time in the succession of buildings into what for us is the half-light of early recorded history. Apollo laid the foundations of the temple, and the brothers set the stone threshold and wrought blocks in place, as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (294–299) relates. In 548, fire destroyed the building (Pausanias 10.5.13), but men remembered there had been inscribed upon it the moral precept of the god Apollo "know thyself." Aristotle, who had also heard of the winged and bronze temples, reports this fact (*On Philosophy* Frag. 3 Ross). Pindar, imbued as he was with Delphic wisdom, echoes the divine command when he bids Hieron to know and be himself (*Pythian* 2).

The fifth temple replaced the structure burned in 548. The marble facade of the new building was erected at the expense of the Alcmeonid family from Athens (Herodotus 5.62.3). Though we do not know if Pindar mentioned the new temple in the *Paean,* a clear reference to it is made in *Pythian* 7 (486), as the family's gift to Apollo. The ode was composed to honor Megacles, the Alcmeonid victor in the four-horse chariot race. He was at the time, however, in exile, as he had been ostracized in 486 (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 22.5). Pindar tactfully ascribes the building to the Athenians in general, not to the Alcmeonidae, who might hope in this way to win favor with their fellow citizens. The poet speaks of the citizens of Erechtheus, "who Apollo made your house a wonder to behold in divine Pytho" (10.12), but the mention of envy responding to noble deeds alludes to the ostracism (19).

Thus, Pindar had a clear notion of temples built in historical sequence from the time when Apollo, after he had killed Python, established his oracle in the ancient seat of Gaea: the five temples form an architectural pedegree linking past and present, linking the mythical parallel world with the real one.[59]

Virgil informs us that Aristaeus, a son of Apollo, was best known as the originator of the art of bee-keeping (Virgil, *Georgics* 1.4ff). He was also the god of the Etesian winds, those cooling winds which blow out of the Black Sea into the Aegean and the Mediterranean, mitigating the heat of summer.[60] Thus, Aristaeus may be equated with Boreas in Pindar's literary sources, as he appears to live in the Black Sea and blow winds into the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

A beehive shaped structure with an interior resembling a honeycomb was excavated in the early 1970's at the sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria.[61] Bérard and Huxley date the

structure from the early eighth century and also refer to another contemporary building in the precinct called the Daphnephoreum by the excavators. Bérard believes that the continuity of the sites' acropolis with the Mycenaean period is certain, whereas the temple itself did not give any indication of continuity. Bérard wrote that the original Daphnephoreum lay in the Lelantine Plain and was much older. The plain, rich in metal ore, also has Mycenaean connections, as the excavations at Lefkandi have shown. Auberson feels that the temple represented the first of the three mythical temples in the Delphic sanctuary which Apollo would have built on his way back from Tempe in Thessaly. The Daphnephoreum also comprised a model of the Omphalus. The architectural remains seemed to suggest that the temple was symbolic of the mythical temple of beeswax and feathers alluded to in both Pindar and Pausanias (Pindar, *Paean* 8.64; Pausanias 10.5.9–10). Bérard maintained that such a model existed at Delos as well, but there is no archaeological evidence. Huxley seemed convinced that the two structures may have been intended to recall Apollo's first temple of bay and his second of wax and feathers in the Delphic myth reported by Pindar. The mythical temple of beeswax and feathers was said to have flown to the Hyperboreans and the model of it at Eretria would probably have been connected with the Hyperborean legend, as Eretria was one of the places through which the Hyperborean offerings passed on their way to Delos (Herodotus 4.33.3; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 275–300).[62] The route followed in Greece was from Dodona to the Malian Gulf, across to Euboea, then southwards to Carystus, to Tenos and then to Delos. On the acropolis at Eretria, the newer buildings of the seventh century were orientated in a southeasterly direction towards the island of Delos.[63] This may well be symbolic of the Hyperborean gift route mentioned in later source material.

Pindar continued the tradition of conceptualizing the land of the Hyperboreans as a far-away place, removed from the realm of mortal life and its difficulties. It had an extremely difficult access. Few mortals were admitted to the land of the Hyperboreans. Perseus went there, but he had to have winged sandals (*Pythian* 10.30–49).[64] When Perseus was there, however, he dined with them, while the Hyperboreans sent splendid sacrificial hecatombs of asses to Apollo who took pleasure in their feasts and praises. Pindar reported that Apollo laughed to see the asses bray (*Pythian* 10.35–36). Pindar, also continuing the tradition in Homer and Hesiod, was inspired by the Muses, who were no strangers to the manner and customs of the Hyperboreans. This included the dancing of girls and the sweet melody of the lyre and the pipe which resounded on every side. The girls twined their hair, bound in golden filets, with the glittering bay and feasted joyously.

The poet also gives his audience more information about the birth of the sacred twins, Artemis and Apollo, but we still do not know how the two portions of the myth fit together. Prior to Leto's arrival, Delos was tossed about in the waves, similarly to Aeolis' "floating island" in the *Odyssey*. When Leto arrived, however, four columns or roots rose up from the seabed and anchored the island firmly. One surmises that Zeus intervened in this way to render the island safe and stable for his consort and his children (Pindar, *Hymns* Frag. 33d Sandys p. 235 LCL 485=Strabo 10.5.2).[65]

Delos' original name was Asteria, the same name as Leto's sister had. Zeus pursued Asteria, probably for amatory purposes, but she was unwilling to yield to him. Because of this, Asteria was cast into the sea as a rock and became the island of Ortygia, which was tossed about on the sea (Pindar, *Paean* 5.40–42, 7b 43–52 Frag. Race). Ὄρτυξ meant "quail" in Greek and was one of Artemis' titles, but the exact significance of the word

eludes us.[66] Apollo of the golden hair had given the body of Asteria to inhabit (Pindar, *Paean* 5.F52e, 35–42). In Frag. 33c, Pindar alludes to the story when he says that Delos is a daughter of the sea, "unmoved wonder of the broad earth, whom mortals call Delos, but the blessed ones on Olympus, the far-shining star (astron) of the dark-blue earth" (3–6). Formerly, Delos had been carried away and that by the winds over the sea, as Asteria fled from Zeus, but when Leto's birth-pangs came, four pillars rose up from the sea-bed and on their capitals, Delos was held firm (Frag. 33d Snell 2 1964). That is why in Frag. 33c, the island is called the unmoved wonder of the earth. Callimachus, using a slightly different version of the story, wrote that while Asteria was fleeing wedlock with Zeus, she leapt from the heavens into the Adriatic Sea to become an island of the Cyclades (*Delian* [4] 34–41). Earlier sources make a distinction between Delos and Ortygia (Homer, *Odyssey* 15.402–414; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 13). Zeus, who was watching from the hills above, perhaps the Thracian mountains, where Boreas was reputed to have lived, and, which, at one point in Greek history, must have constituted the most northerly point known to the Greeks, witnesses his twins being born of Leto. When they came into the light of day, Ilithyia and Lachesis shouted in triumph (Pindar, *Paean* 17b Frag. 52.12 Sandys).

Pindar also mentions Abaris, a mythical servant of Apollo and a Hyperborean missionary whom he assigns to the time of Croesus, not later than 546. In fact, Pindar mentions Aristeas of Proconnesus and says he was interested in the visit of Abaris to King Croesus of Lydia (Frags. 270 and 271 Snell 1964 Volume 2). This suggests Pindar knew of the story reported by Bacchylides (3.58–61) and Herodotus (1.47–86) concerning King Croesus and how he was transported by Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans as a recompense for his continuous piety towards the god at Delphi.[67] Aristeas of Proconnesus had traveled to the land of the Issedones, but he never arrived at his destination, the land of the Hyperboreans (Herodotus 4.33–36). This suggests Bacchylides knew of the Hyperborean myth. He also wrote few mortals were admitted to the land of the Hyperboreans, thereby confirming earlier source material which specified it was far away, isolated from the human world and of difficult access (Bacchylides 3.23ff). Pindar and Ananius may have been following Hesiod who seemed to have located the Hyperboreans in the Scythian lands of the Black Sea/Sea of Azov area.

Sophocles of Colonus, born about 496 and writing about 450, following earlier source material such as Hesiod, put Boreas' home in northern Thrace near the Sarpedon rock, where Cleopatra, Boreas' daughter, was brought up in her fathers cave (Sophocles, *Antigone* 980–987). He may have used Alcman as a source too, as he mentions the mountains of the north shrouded in night (Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 1248). Furthermore, he gives an orderly description of the outward journey, just as in Alcman: the sea to the ends of the earth, the place where night originates and ascends the firmament, the land beyond which is that of the Hyperboreans.[68] In the traditional picture, the Rhipean Mountains and the Cave of the North Wind were at the ends of the earth. The word Rhipean may well come from, the blasts of the North Wind (Boreas).

Aeschylus, also a poet writing in the first half of the fifth century, referred to the felicity of the Hyperboreans (*Choephori* 372–374).[69] For him, the Hyperboreans were the most fortunate of all peoples as they had every happiness, lived in a mythical utopian setting and had plenty of gold. The Danube River took its sources in the land of the Hyperboreans, specifically in the Rhipean Mountains.[70] Aeschylus, perhaps following

Hesiod, Alcman, Simonides, Pindar, and Sophocles, places Boreas' home in Thrace from where the northern blast comes (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 193, 651, 692, 1012, 1152–1153, 1418).

Aeschylus also makes reference to the Rhipean Mountains and what appears to be Hyperion, father of Helius.[71] This interpretation, however, is far from certain and Radt feels it could well refer to the Island of the Hesperides on the western edge of the Greek world. Diggle, however, relates it to Alcman and Sophocles and says the Rhipean Mountains are probably called Helius' mountains because the sun is imagined to sink below them.[72] This suggests the land of the Hyperboreans is located in the west, not in the north, along with the Island of the Hesperides and Tartarus.

Euripides was perhaps born in 485/480.[73] He came from an old and respected family who lived in Attica near Athens. His family possessed an ancestral priesthood of Apollo Zosterius. This suggests Euripides was well acquainted with the myth. The term Zosterius is significant as it contains the Greek world for "girdle" or "belt." Pausanias wrote of Cape Zoster, also located in Attica, where legend reported that Leto, just before giving birth to Artemis on Ortygia, loosened her belt to ease her pain (1.31).[74] He remarked there was a temple to Apollo built on that site. If Zosterius is an older form of Zoster, this version of the birth of Artemis and Apollo may be an Attic invention which sought to establish a mythical prehistory so as to justify Athenian control over the sacred island of Delos, its region and its cults.

In his *Hecuba,* written about 424, Euripides mentioned the Deliades (Euripides, *Hecuba* 462ff). These were choruses of young girls sent to the sacred island of Delos to worship Leto, Artemis and Apollo. They came from other Greek cities and especially from Athens. These girls symbolized the nymphs who were reported to have sung near Leto as she was giving birth to Apollo. They may have been drawn from old and privileged families, and sent to complement the choruses of young girls from Delos, and to stop the Delian monopoly on these cults. Since before the time of Euripides, the cults of Leto, Artemis and Apollo had become panhellenic (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 157). The Deliades accompanied themselves with castanets, imitated the languages of all lands and recited antique legends.[75]

Dionysius of Miletus may have used both Aristeas of Proconnesus and Hecataeus of Miletus as his sources.[76] He may also have had a copy of Anaximander of Miletus' map of the inhabited world. According to Bolton, Dionysius reports that a range of lofty mountains, called the Rhipean Mountains, ran in an east-west direction far to the north above the Tanais River and the Black Sea areas.[77] Above these mountains lived the Hyperboreans whose lands stretched down to the "Other Sea." Although this is an intriguing possibility, as Dionysius appears to have been writing earlier than Herodotus, it does not seem to be in any way justified if we consider the fragments of his which have come down to us. Furthermore, Bolton bases his assertions on Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.19 and Mela 1.116ff. that do not confirm his hypothesis. Although it is at least possible that Anaximander had the Rhipean Mountains on his map (Diels and Kranz 81–90 1966) and probable that Hecataeus of Miletus knew of them (Jacoby, *FGrH* 1A No. 1 Frags. 18, 193–195 pp. 11–12, 29–30; Strabo 7.3.6 C298–299), nothing substantial has been preserved to support Bolton's assertions. There does seem to be, however, a rather vague identification of the Rhipean Mountains with the Caucasus here (Pliny, *Naturalis*

Historia 6.19). If this were the case, it would already locate the Rhipean Mountains in the east.

The land of the Hyperboreans had thus been transposed from mainland Greece to the sources of the Danube on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and then to the zone north of the Black Sea as Greek geographical knowledge and the area of Greek colonization expanded. Transposition is a key factor in this evolution, as it is because the Hyperboreans were transposed to the western theater of Greek colonization, and specifically to lands where Celts lived from the eastern theater of Greek colonization by authors who were principally from Asia Minor, that the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts and the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones occurred. Herodotus would also use this strand of the Hyperborean myth, but would start to transpose the whole myth itself to lands in the western theatre of Greek colonization, specifically to the Golasecca area of northern Italy.

Chapter Three
From Herodotus to Antimachus of Colophon

Herodotus, writing in the fifth century, furnishes more details regarding the Hyperborean myth.[1] As he was drawing his catalogue and description of Scythian peoples to a close in book four of his *Histories*, he mentioned the Royal Scythians (Herodotus 4.20–22). He then stated that east and north of the land inhabited by these people, there was a great expanse of rugged and stony land, and a "lofty" or "high" mountain chain (Herodotus 4.23). The only mountains located in this part of the world are the Urals, which run north-south and extend almost to the desert located from the northern shore of the present-day Caspian Sea to the Aral Sea. Modern scholars have pointed out that the Urals are anything but lofty, as they consist of low plateaux and only occasionally rise to peaks measuring over four-thousand feet.[2] It is reasonable to suppose that these "lofty mountains" constituted the limit of Herodotus' information. He wrote that any information concerning peoples and events on the other side of these mountains was hearsay which he could not verify (Herodotus 4.23, 25). Curiously enough, Herodotus gave no name for this "lofty" chain of mountains that was such an important barrier. It is both reasonable and logical to suggest that Herodotus had never seen the Urals, and that he was in fact using the mythical Rhipean Mountains at a geographical point where his information ran out. Had he seen the Urals, it would have been highly unlikely he would have described them as "lofty." Thus, Herodotus was using a part of the Hyperborean myth here without letting his audience know where his information came from. This may be precisely why he gave no name to the mountain chain.[3] On the other hand, Herodotus may have known of the existence of a "lofty mountain chain," but may not have known its name. He reported stories of goat-footed men and those who sleep for six months of the year, but did not mention the Hyperboreans in this context.

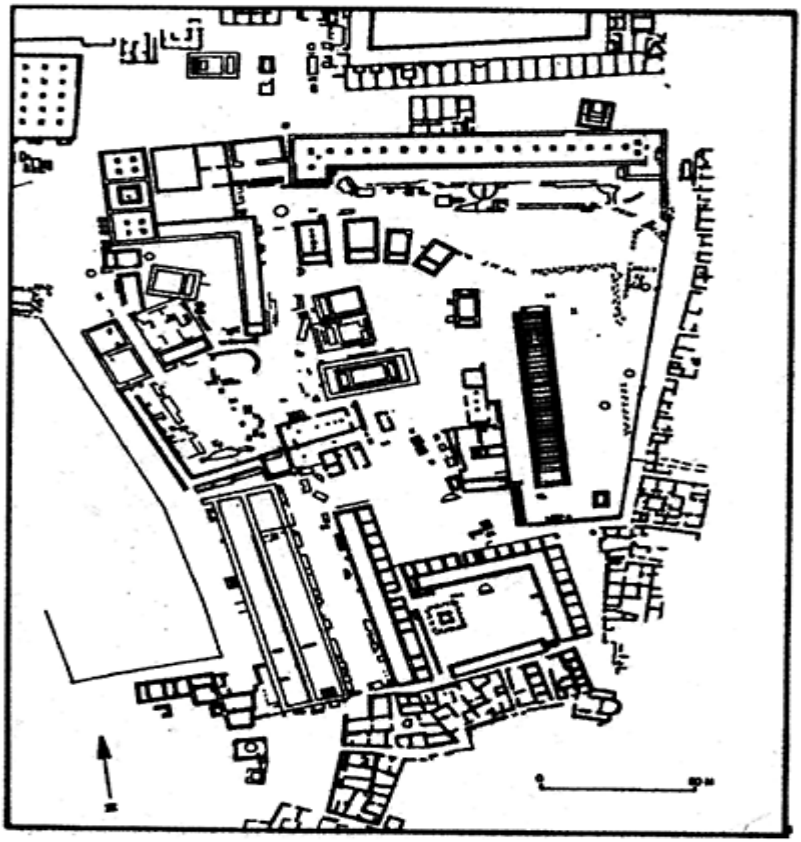
Herodotus describes the climate in the Scythian lands, far to the north of the Mediterranean basin, where his "lofty mountain chain" was located, as being unbearably cold (Herodotus 4.28–31). He, then, makes reference to the feathers which the Scythians say fill the air and make it impossible to traverse, or even to see, the northerly part of the continent (Herodotus 4.31). Herodotus followed this comment immediately with a section on the Hyperborean legend (Herodotus 4.33). One wonders whether the sequencing was deliberate or accidental, seeing as previous authors referred to these mountains on the edge of the world as snowy and shrouded in darkness.[4] Although Herodotus rationalized them into snow, the feathers he mentioned may be connected with the Greek belief that Apollo, to whom the Hyperboreans were devoted, used swans as a form of transport during his mythical voyages to and from their land in the dead of winter.[5] Evidence to support this argument can also be found in Herodotus' statement that because of the severity of these northern winters, the area was uninhabited (Herodotus 4.31). The second

bit of evidence that supports this argument is that Herodotus stated that neither the Scythians, nor anyone else in that part of the world, could give any information about the Hyperboreans, only Aristeas' Issedones did, and that was well before Herodotus' time (Herodotus 4.32). Yet, the Scythians supplied the information about the feathers. Unless the same word expressed both the meanings of "feathers" and "snow" in the Scythian language, Herodotus was referring to the Hyperborean myth, as the Scythians did not know about the Hyperboreans, nor did any other peoples in that part of the world, suggesting that the Hyperborean myth was solely a Greek one (Herodotus 4.32). This seems to be confirmed by the fact that Herodotus felt he had to cite Hesiod's works and the Homeric *Epigoni* as supporting evidence, and not the information he had gathered during his travels north. Furthermore, he adds, the Delians, Greeks themselves, were the ones who knew most about the Hyperboreans, not the peoples of the north (Herodotus 4.33). Also, Herodotus used parts of the Hyperborean legend in his geographical descriptions. For example, in writing about the Caspian Sea, he said it was a sea by itself and not joined to the Other Sea (Herodotus 1.203). The "Other Sea" was also part of the Hyperborean myth. It was the sea down to which the Hyperborean lands stretched, which Herodotus located to the north and east of the Caspian.

Herodotus' lofty mountain chain certainly seems similar to the Rhipean Mountains, shrouded in darkness and snow, which stood on the edge of the human world projecting shade, a feature of the human world. The Rhipean Mountains, from where the north wind blew, formed a barrier between the world of humans and that of the gods. This is perhaps why Herodotus wrote that any information concerning peoples and events on the other side of these mountains was hearsay which he could not verify (Herodotus 4.23, 25). Once Herodotus had reached these mountains in his discourse, his stories became more fanciful. He certainly seems to have been rationalizing the Hyperborean myth here.

Herodotus, clearly reporting on the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth, was the first extant Greek author to mention sacred offerings, sent by the Hyperboreans to Delos by way of Scythia, the Adriatic, Dodona, the Malian Gulf, Euboea, Carystus and Tenos.[6] As Delos was one of the most sacred and important religious shrines in Greece and was dedicated to Apollo, Herodotus was connecting Apollo with the Hyperboreans, agreeing with Pindar's testimony that the Hyperboreans were fervent worshippers of Apollo (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.35). He continues the Hyperborean story by giving details of the legend: the Delians reported that two Hyperborean maidens, called Arge and Opis, accompanied Leto to Delos, while she was with child by Zeus, and were present when the divine twins were born on the island (Herodotus 4.35). *Arge means* "bright," "white," "rapid" and "agile" in Greek.[7] Consequently, there is a link with both Apollo and Boreas, personages integral to the Hyperborean myth. *Opis* means "divine providence," "protection of the gods" in Greek.[8] To commemorate their presence during the birth, the women of Delos took up collections and sang a hymn which mentioned Arge and Opis, composed, as other hymns sung in Delos, by a well-known ancient composer named Olen, reputed to be of Lycia (Herodotus 4.35).[9] Arge and Opis did not return to the land of the Hyperboreans, but died on Delos and were buried there (Map 3.1 No. 1). According to Herodotus, their grave could be seen in his day behind the temple of Artemis, facing east, close to the banqueting hall of the Ceians. This prompts the question as to why they were buried behind the temple of Artemis when they had come to adore Apollo. The answer may reside in the fact that Opis and Arge were women and virgins,

as was Artemis. Cassola thought that Arge and Opis were symbols of and references to Artemis and this was linked to the fact that the temple of Artemis was the oldest temple on Delos, dating from Mycenaean times.[10] Pindar reported Heracles went in pursuit of the doe with the golden antlers, a symbol of Artemis, to the land of the Hyperboreans. Artemis, therefore, may also have visited the land of the Hyperboreans, as Apollo was known to do in Greek myth and legend. The Delians made offerings on the tomb of Arge and Opis in the form of ashes from thigh bones burnt on the altar.[11] Thus, according to Herodotus, the Hyperborean myth was intimately linked to the saga of Leto, the birth of Artemis and Apollo, and the religious center on Delos. The concrete manifestation of these connections was the tomb of Arge and Opis on the island.



Map 3.1 Site plan of Delos from Bruneau (P) et Ducat (J), *Guide de Délos,* Paris, 1965 and used by permission of the Ecole français d'Athénes.

Furthermore, Herodotus continues, after Opis and Arge had come to Delos, two other maidens, called Hyperoche and Laodice also came accompanied by five Hyperboreans called the Perpherees to protect the girls on their dangerous trip (Herodotus 4.33–34). Hyperoche means "distinguished above all others," "prominent," "eminent" in Greek.[12] Laodice has both the elements "people" (laos) and "justice" (dike) in her name. It may mean either "justice of the people" or "she who loves justice for the people." They came for a specific purpose, to bring Ilithyia, goddess of childbirth, the thank-offering which they had promised for Leto's easy labor on Delos. The implication was that Ilithyia was still on Delos and had made her home there because of her role in the birth of Artemis and Apollo. The first sacred offerings, then, came as a thank-gift and were destined for Ilithyia and not for Apollo.[13] Delos had been frequented by the Minoans. If Ilithyia can be considered a Minoan goddess, then she may have been worshipped on Delos before the arrival of the Mycenaeans.[14]

Hyperoche and Laodice also died on Delos and were buried there (Map 3.1 No. 2). Their grave stood on the left at the door to the temple of Artemis and had an olive plant growing on it (Herodotus 4.34).[15] Pindar had said previously that Heracles had brought the olive tree back from the land of the Hyperboreans to use in the crown of the winners at the Olympic Games (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.11–17, 25–30). For the Greeks and especially the Delians, this must have been symbolic of the connection between Delos and the Hyperborean lands. Delos may even have been regarded as part of the Hyperborean lands on which the sun shone with unceasing and unnatural brightness. The olive tree was there to provide shade, therefore, to bring a human feature to Delos, thereby transforming it into an intermediary ground between gods and men, on the one hand, and between a mythical golden-age utopia and the world of humankind on the other. It also gave a balance of darkness to the unnatural light of an otherworldly paradise. The olive tree was then a Hyperborean plant and was growing on the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens which must have been seen by the Greeks as material vestiges of their visit to Delos and the link between the Hyperboreans and the Delians and between a golden-age utopia and the real world. These tombs must also have been symbols of purity, justice, distinguished behavior and right. The Hyperborean maidens may have died on Delos because they could not continue to live in the imperfect world of humankind, but we are not told this. The Hyperborean maidens may also have been seen as dispensing Justice and Right, as Apollo did in the Hyperborean lands. Delos did not have the omphalus, but it was the only sanctuary which could boast of the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens, as well as a direct link with the Hyperborean lands. To commemorate the visit of Hyperoche and Laodice and to mourn their deaths, Herodotus reported that the Delian girls of his time cut a lock of their own hair before they were to marry, twisted it around a spindle and placed it as an offering upon their tomb. Herodotus did not specify which plant, but it may well have been the olive Heracles was believed to have brought back from the land of the Hyperboreans.[16] Thus, Ilithyia, Arge, Opis and Leto were present at the birth of Artemis and Apollo on the island of Delos, while Hyperoche, Laodice and the Perpherees followed later on with the thank-offering. It was not specified was this offering was.

In 426, a purification took place on Delos as a response to an oracle.[17] All dead bodies in the area of the sanctuary, save those believed to be those of the Hyperborean maidens, were dug up and transported off the island, as the oracle had said there should be neither births nor deaths on Delos (Thucydides 1.8, 3.104; Diodorus of Sicily 12.58.7). One

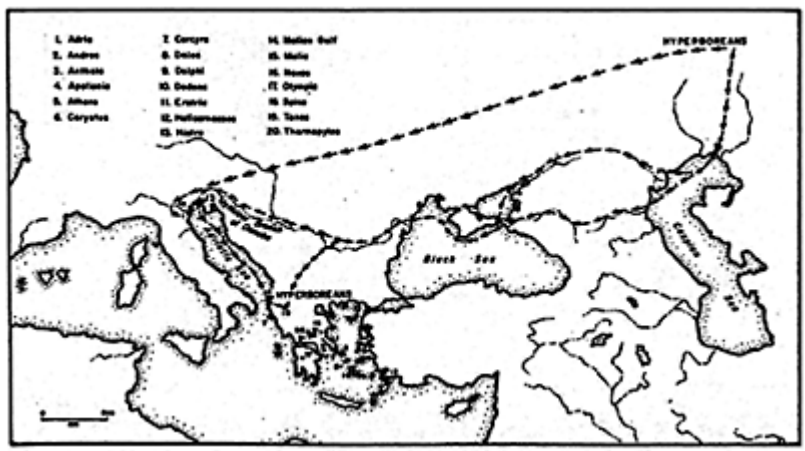
wonders if Delos was considered part of Hyperborean territory at this point in time and no longer part of the mortal world. This was not the first time such a purification had taken place on Delos. The Athenians had a distant precedent during the sixth century; Pisistratus had called for the same procedure for as much of the land as was visible from the temple. The Athenians also instituted under their own control a four-yearly festival on the island. This was a revival of the festival which had been suspended since the days of Pisistratus.[18] In 422, Athens exiled the Delian population. Thucydides merely gave as a motive that the Athenians thought, in accordance with a charge of long-standing, that the Delians had been consecrated when they were not ritually pure, or that they had committed an ancient crime (5.1). Although this may have been the avowed reason, it is more plausible that the Athenians accused the Delians of secretly contriving an alliance with Sparta, as they wished to rid themselves of Athenian domination.[19] The fifth-century Athenian temple of Apollo was still being decorated when the pious Nicias made a solemn offering of a palm tree fashioned in bronze (Plutarch, *Nicias* 3). The granite and marble base of this monument was found during excavations at the site. It had a round hole in it to accommodate the bronze trunk of the tree. The name Nicias was inscribed on the marble part of the base.[20]

The Hyperborean legend and the story of the Hyperborean maidens coming to Delos would seem to be a very strong and important myth for the Greeks to go against an oracle by leaving the graves of the Hyperborean maidens on the island while all others had to be removed. On the other hand, leaving those tombs may have been a symbol that the island of Delos had become Hyperborean territory and ceased to be part of the mortal world of the Greeks. It may also be another indication of how important myth, the mythical parallel world and mythologizing history were to the Greeks that Nicias felt it was necessary to give real form to the mythical palm tree Leto was supposed to have been clutching while she was giving birth to Apollo. This may show how important the religious fervor concerning the legend of the birth of the divine twins really was. For us, it also gives an idea of what a fine line there was in the Greek mind between reality and myth, as well as how myth and legend acted as history.

The last phase of the Hyperborean myth is also described by Herodotus from information supplied by the Delians. Because four Hyperborean women had died and were buried on Delos, and five Perpherees were unaccounted for, the Hyperboreans decided not to send any more representatives, rather they started to wrap their offerings in wheat straw, taking them to the border of the Hyperborean lands and giving them to their neighbors with the instructions to see them conveyed to Delos by a process of relay from one people to another, along a route which Herodotus specified (Map 3.2).

It has been suggested that these offerings preserve the memory of early harvest tribute offerings during the Archaic period, produced by a primitive confederation consecrated to Apollo.[21] Apollo was a divinity of the pre-harvest, the harvest and a patron of the growth of grains. This function is represented in the festival of the Thargelia, "the first fruits."[22] The festival of the first fruits in the Athenian calendar fell on the sixth and seventh days of the eleventh month of the year, named Thargelion after the festival or the first fruits of the grain. The festival celebrated the end of the harvest of barley and the start of the harvest of wheat. The sixth and seventh of Thargelion were also the birthdays of Artemis and Apollo respectively.[23] One of the main activities of the Thargelia was to make the offering to Apollo which gave its name to the festival. This was a pot full of all kinds of

corn and vegetables boiled together and offered as the first fruits. The name for this offering was the Thargelos.[24] The Pyanepsia was linked with seeding-time, the Thargelia with the harvest and Apollo was worshipped as a god of fertility of all types of vegetation.[25] One would assume the Thargelos was the origin of the Hyperborean offerings, but this would be at the risk of ignoring the legend itself: the origin of the Hyperborean gifts is to be found in the thank offering for Ilithyia for her role in the birth of Artemis and Apollo. Thus, the original gift was not to Apollo, but became associated with his cult. No-one knew exactly what these offerings consisted of. Plato, referring to the Golden Age under the reign of Cronus, wrote the earth furnished fruits in plenty from trees and other plants with the help of agriculture (*Statesman* 272B). When, however, the Golden Age came to an end and men were deprived of their benevolent ruler/deity who had possessed, tended to and directed them, they were ravaged by beasts that were by nature unfriendly and had grown fierce. Humankind no longer sat at the same table as the gods and humans became feeble and unprotected. Humans, in the first ages, were without resources or skill. The food which had previously offered itself up freely without agriculture had failed them and they had no knowledge of how to provide for themselves, as no necessity had



Map 3.2 Herodotus Hyperborean gift route

previously compelled them to (274c). As humans were in dire distress, the gifts of the gods, told in old traditions, were given with needful information and instruction, such as fire by Prometheus, the arts by Hephaestus and Athena and seeds and plants by Demeter and Dionysus (274D). One wonders whether the latter was the original reason for the Hyperborean offering and, furthermore, why the Delphic Amphictyony had its origins at the temple of Demeter at Anthela (Herodotus 7.200). The Hyperborean gift route, as reported by Herodotus, could well have had as its starting point the celebration of mythical events which would have linked the present with the mythical past, mythical

history with real history, the real world of the Greeks with their mythical parallel world of gods and heroes.

Later Greek writers believed the sacred offerings consisted of sacrificial victims (Mela 3.5). This opinion dates from the period when ἱερά was consistently translated as "victims."[26] Some modern scholars believe they were swans' eggs.[27] Cary-Warmington wrote that these offerings consisted of honey made by Hyperborean bees.[28] Welcker thought they were pearls of amber.[29] Still others believed these offerings were of threshed wheat or first-fruits, but all these possibilities only constitute educated guesswork (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 283–284; Mela 3.37; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.91).[30] Detailed examination and analysis of each stop along the route which Herodotus reported in his writings yields important information about the Hyperboreans, Hyperborean identity, what the myth meant to the Greeks, and the context within which these developed and evolved throughout early Greek history.

According to Herodotus, the Hyperboreans first passed these sacred offerings to their neighbors, the Scythians, who had been known to the Greeks from at least the eighth century onwards (Homer, *Iliad* 13.1–6). Herodotus had located the Hyperboreans to the north or the northeast of the Caspian Sea. Thus, the many Greek colonies of the Propontis/Black Sea/Sea of Azov zones, which had trade relations with other parts of the Greek world and whose inhabitants worshipped Zeus, Leto, Artemis and Apollo, lay to the southwest of them in an obvious and practical position to receive the sacred gifts from the Hyperboreans in the far distant north.[31] Herodotus wrote, however, that the sacred offerings wrapped in wheat straw were taken over by neighboring peoples in succession until they got as far west as the Adriatic. Why did they go to the Adriatic and not to the Propontis/Black Sea/Sea of Azov colonies? The answer may partly reside in the belief, which early Greek writers shared, that a branch of the Danube flowed into the Adriatic, where the Histri lived and there was a land called Histria.[32] The route may also suggest the Hyperborean gift route, as Herodotus reported it, dated from a time well in advance of the Greek colonization of the Propontis/Black Sea/Sea of Azov zone. Although Herodotus did not specify exactly where on the coast of the Adriatic these offerings arrived or whether the route was by land or sea, Greeks had started to explore a direct route to the head of the Adriatic during the ninth century.[33] By Herodotus' time, active trading between Greeks and native peoples, including Celts, was taking place and the Greeks had founded colonies on both coasts many of which had strong cults to Apollo that probably comprised the Hyperborean myth.[34]

Dodona was a well-known oracle sanctuary dedicated to Zeus in Epirus.[35] It claimed to be the oldest Greek oracle and its antiquity has been confirmed by the findings of Mycenaean artifacts on the site during excavation.[36] Dodona would have been an appropriate stop as Zeus was the father of Artemis and Apollo. Apollo was also regarded as the mouthpiece of Zeus and, indeed, of other gods as well (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 151–160; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 19).[37] The Athenians consulted Dodona when they fell out of favor at Delphi.[38] Even before the Peloponnesian war, the Pythian Apollo had shown himself hostile to Athens. Furthermore, after the war broke out, Delphi could not be reached conveniently by land or sea. Thus, the Athenians developed friendly relations with the oracle of Zeus at Dodona and consulted him instead.[39] It is remarkable that Herodotus did not mention Apollonia, the Bay of Valona, Corcyra and the Acroceraunian coast, as Dodona would not have been the first Greek settlement on the

Adriatic trade route, but northern lands were perceived in a rather vague, mythical way and Dodona was once referred to as a place "among the Hyperboreans" (Schol. A on *Iliad* 2.750, 16.233).[40]

While the suggestion of a recognized coastal trade route down the coast of the former Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Greece is an interesting one, Herodotus wrote that the Dodoneans were the first Greeks to receive the sacred gifts, but he did not say they were the first Greeks on an Adriatic trade route. The gifts could have come over the mountains and directly to Dodona, but this would undoubtedly been a long and arduous journey which would lead us to believe that the Scythia-Dodona portion of Herodotus' Hyperborean gift route was totally mythical in nature. Dodona may have been the first stop on this religious route because the gifts originated from there, where the priests of Zeus gathered them together and organized them for their journey south.[41] This, however, would presuppose a high level of cooperation between two potentially rival oracle sites.[42] The other solution to this immediate difficulty would be that this route retraced a traditional trade or religious route which dated from the Mycenaean period or preGreek times, but there is no evidence to substantiate this.[43]

From Dodona, the sacred offerings traveled over land and steep mountains to the Malian Gulf between Thessaly, Eastern Locris and Euboea.[44] Malis was a district in southern Thessaly on the shores of the Malicus Sinus and opposite the northwestern part of the island of Euboea. It extended to the pass of Thermopylae. Herodotus does not specify where on the Malian Gulf the sacred offerings arrived, but the original cult center of Delphi had been at the temple of Demeter at Anthela in eastern Locris near Thermopylae on the Malian Gulf (Herodotus 7.200).[45] The stop could have been a recognition that the original cult center was moved to Delphi at an early date. Sometime before the center was moved to Delphi, an Amphictyony, or religious league, came into being to manage it. Its early history is obscure, but it seems fairly certain that the Amphictyony originated at Anthela and consisted of a league of neighboring states.[46] The Amphictyonic delegates came twice yearly to Delphi and exercised control over the sanctuary and its buildings. They instituted a great four-yearly festival, the Pythian Games. Such religious leagues seem to have been prominent in early Greek history.[47] Parke argues the Amphictyony adopted Delphi as a second center during the seventh century, while Forest opts for a date before the middle of the sixth (Herodotus 2.180, 5.62; Pausanias 10.5.13).[48] This context and history seem to be the background, along with the purification of Delos and the exile of its inhabitants, to Herodotus' references to the Malian Gulf and Euboea in his account of the Hyperborean gift route.

After the sacred gifts had been brought from the Adriatic to the Malian Gulf and Euboea, they were brought to Carystus, a city located on the southern tip of Euboea.[49] The mention of Euboea and then a specific city on Euboea may be reminiscent of the first Amphictyony of Anthela which was formed by peoples and not city-states. Carystus was famous for its production of marble and its trading links with Greek colonies in the north.[50] Hera, Apollo and Artemis, all gods involved in the Hyperborean myth, were worshipped there. Leodamas, reputed to be the last hereditary king of Miletus, distinguished himself in war against Carystus, perhaps during the eighth century.[51] He captured Carystus and, following an oracular command, dedicated a tithe of the spoils to Apollo at Branchidae.[52] The war with Carystus, however, is not otherwise known and may be a fourth century invention.[53]

Herodotus wrote that the Carystians, who were carrying the sacred gifts from the Hyperboreans, did not stop at Andros, but went on to Tenos.[54] If Andros was not a standard stop on the Hyperborean gift route, why did Herodotus mention it? Andros was the most northerly of the Cyclades Islands. It was originally dependent on Eretria, but submitted to Persia in 490, a fact that angered Athens. Pericles installed Athenian colonists there, halving its tribute to the Delian League in 449. If this was the reason for Herodotus' statement, his version of the Hyperborean myth is likely to be an Athenian one. This argument is further supported by the Athenian use of Dodona as an oracle site when it fell out of favor with Delphi, the omission of Delphi in this gift route, repeated Athenian attempts to gain control over Delphi, Athens gaining control over Delos, Apollo being considered the ancestral god of Athens and Boreas the Athenians' son-in-law (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 40).[55]

Tenos fits into the Hyperborean myth, as Heracles killed Zetes and Calais, the Boreades and sons of Apollo, on the island (Apollonius Rhodius 1.1296–1314). It has been suggested that the legend of the Argonauts dates from at least the eighth century, and perhaps from Mycenaean times, when the Greeks were exploring the Propontis and Black Sea areas. The Hyperborean myth may also date from this period of exploration and colonization.[56] Tenos was the last large island before Delos, and it was perhaps for that reason it was chosen by the Delians as a place to which they could flee as the Persian army approached (Herodotus 6.97.2). They probably knew of the fate of Naxos whose people fled to the hills or were enslaved by the Persians, who burnt their city, temples and all (Herodotus 6.95–96). Datis, the Persian commander, however, sent for the Delians to return, assuring them that his king had instructed him not to harm the island of Delos or its inhabitants (Herodotus 6.97–100). He then made an offering of three-hundred talents weight of frankincense upon the altar of Apollo and departed. Datis was obviously observing the oriental tradition of making offerings to and respecting the shrine of Apollo and his cult.[57]

The idea of a ceremony during the fourth century, including sacred offerings, which the beliefs in vogue on Delos said came from the Hyperboreans, is confirmed by two inscriptions. In a financial record of the Amphictyony, dated to about 372/371, line forty-nine includes the words Ὑπερβορέων ἱερὰ.[58] The second inscription specifies an expenditure of one hundred drachmas for Hyperborean offerings.[59] Herodotus may have visited Delos on his way back from Babylonia.[60] He traveled from his native town of Halicarnassus to Athens and, then, to Delos about 447.[61] An inscription which was cut about 247, some two hundred years after Herodotus wrote his *Histories*, may attest to the validity of the belief in the Hyperborean offerings during the third century.[62] The inscription mentions "those of the Carystians who bring the sacred objects" (ἱεραγωγός).[63] Neither Delos, Apollo or the Hyperboreans are mentioned in this fragment, but there are sacred objects which arrived in June. There is another example which dates from 250, when a procession carried sacred objects in Carystus in the month of September.[64] It is tempting to associate these instances with the ἱρὰ of Herodotus, but it is not possible to do this with any degree of certainty at present. What we may be able to say is that Apollo was worshipped fervently at Carystus and that processions carrying sacred gifts were known to have taken place there.

Thus, Herodotus' Hyperborean gift route is a composite one. Its different stops make reference to different time periods in Greek history and in the development of Greek mythology. First, Herodotus located the Hyperborean homeland in a far different place from previous authors, above the Caspian Sea, near the Scythian homeland, known to the Greeks since probably the eighth century and to Herodotus personally as he had traveled to that part of the world. Then, the sacred offerings went to the head of the Adriatic, where the Greeks were engaged in trade and founding colonies in the sixth and fifth centuries, during Herodotus' own lifetime. Next, the sacred offerings went to Dodona, which claimed to be the oldest Greek oracle and which had Mycenaean connections. The offerings then went to the Malian Gulf, where the original cult center had been located at Anthela. This was symbolic of the first Amphictyony, the gradual development of Athenian power over the rising Delphic sanctuary, as well as of the sacred wars which were fought over the possession and control of it. Carystus had cults to Hera, Apollo and Artemis, all involved in the Hyperborean myth. Andros had submitted to Persia and angered the Athenians, and perhaps Herodotus. Tenos fits into both the Hyperborean myth and the legend of Jason and the Argonauts. It is also a place where the Delians, keepers of another sacred Greek cult center to Apollo, fled and hid before the Persian invader. This composite Hyperborean gift route unites a number of places which were sacred to Greeks within a context which would seem to be Athenian. We may infer from this that Herodotus' Hyperborean gift route does not seem traditional, but on the contrary, may be a creation of Athenian propaganda or mythologizing to secure control over one of the most prestigious and powerful sanctuaries in Greece, or due to the fact that the Hyperborean myth and cult had changed radically over time in relation to what it had been in earlier literary sources and early belief.

We also learn from Herodotus' writing on the Hyperborean myth that the Hyperboreans were mortal and, thus, were not gods. They may have been humans, as like humans, they were divided between men and women. Herodotus' information does not specify, however, why four Hyperborean maidens died on Delos. On the other hand, they may have died there because Hyperboreans could not live in the imperfect world of humankind, as there was too much *hybris* and not enough sunlight, even in a sanctuary which was used as a mythical gate to communicate with them. It is clear though that in the minds of the Greeks, they were buried there as concrete symbols of the link between the Hyperboreans and Delos found within the cults of Artemis, Apollo, Leto and Ilithyia.

An interesting feature of this myth is that the different peoples between the Hyperborean lands in the far north and Delos in the south were all supposed to have co-operated in passing these offerings on, even though they were known to make war on each other continuously (Herodotus 4.13). The implications of this are either that the Greeks thought that all these peoples of the north believed in the cults of Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Apollo and Ilithyia, or that enough Greek colonists existed in all these areas to pass the offerings on to their correct destination.[65] The Hyperborean myth may have been connected with Greek colonization in Thrace, the Adriatic, the Black Sea and Sea of Azov zones, as numerous Greek colonies had been founded in these regions which had cults to Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Apollo and Ilithyia.[66] Herodotus' text lends support to this hypothesis, as he wrote that he knew something similar in Thrace and Paeonia, as the women there always brought wheat straw with their offerings when sacrifices were made to Artemis. Again, Herodotus does not specify if these women were Greeks or of other

ethnic groups. Neither does he say what these offerings were, but Thrace was extremely important strategically for the route by which Athenian wheat supplies were imported.[67]

While closing his presentation of the Hyperborean myth, Herodotus alluded to the fact that there was more to it than he was actually presenting, as he mentioned a certain Abaris, who was a Hyperborean in myth and had been mentioned by Pindar (Frag. 270, 283 Bowra). Abaris was known to have carried or ridden on an arrow, presumably again, a symbol of Artemis and Apollo, as both of them were archer gods, all around the world without eating anything.[68] What the latter symbolizes in the context of the Hyperborean myth is not clear. Abaris may have been a god, as he did not apparently need any nourishment. This contrasts the four Hyperborean maidens, as they were mortal and died on Delos.

Herodotus finished his presentation of the Hyperborean myth with a remark which has become famous in scholarly circles and caused much ink to flow over many pages: "If the Hyperboreans exist beyond the North Wind, there must also be Hypernotians beyond the south" (Herodotus 4.36.1).[69] Many scholars have taken this to be a sarcastic remark that would have demonstrated that Herodotus did not believe in the existence of the Hyperboreans. Furthermore, to show the absurdity of those who believed the Hyperboreans really existed, he would have made up his own mythical people, "the Hypernotians." Others believe, however, that this is a form of rationalization based on the principal of geographic reciprocity and north-south symmetry projected onto the spatial plane of geography. One gets the impression from reading Herodotus that he was skeptical about the Hyperborean myth. On the other hand, he knew it was so important to Greek civilization and culture that he could not omit reporting it.

Hellanicus of Lesbos in Asia Minor was also an author of the late fifth century.[70] In a fragment of his work, preserved in the writings of a Christian father of the second century A.D., he was reported to have written that the Hyperboreans lived to the north of the Rhipean Mountains. He may have used Herodotus as his source. The Hyperboreans learned Justice, did not eat meat, but only wild fruits. They had the custom of taking sixty-year olds from their people, conducting them outside their city's gates and killing them.[71]

These may be the first pieces of information concerning how the Greeks believed the Hyperboreans lived, but seem more like the doctrines of Pythagoreanism, Orphism, the teachings of the sophist Protagoras, or at least some school of philosophy which had taken over to some extent the functions of religious sects.[72] The works of some historical individuals, such as Pythagoras, were treated as inspired and used as canons of conduct and remedies against fear and anxiety.[73] Vegetarianism is an aspect which plays some part in the idealization of the simple life of a golden-age utopia.[74] The gods feasted on nectar and ambrosia. As humans of the Golden Age sat at the same table as the gods, they must have been vegetarians. Furthermore, during the Golden Age, fields of grain and fruit trees brought forth their abundance without effort. As we have also seen in section one, the institution of sacrifice converted humans into meat-eaters and, thus, marked them off from their gods.[75] Thus, vegetarianism was next to godliness and those who practiced it were trying to implant in the human world the virtues of the Golden Age.[76] Hellanicus may have thought the Hyperboreans lived in a utopian setting located above the Rhipean Mountains, where they had a just society. He then rationalized his view of the Hyperborean myth by saying they do not let any of their people live beyond the age of

sixty. To the present author's knowledge, no other text makes this claim. It contrasts markedly with Simonides' and Pindar's view that the Hyperboreans lived for a thousand years and takes away from their eternally blissful state (Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C 715 F27 pages 631–632; Müller, *FHG* 2 423–424 F30). It is likely that these new elements came from Pythagorean schools. Membership was open to both men and women, entailed a strict discipline of purity, elements of which were silence, self-examination, abstention from flesh and the observation of precepts, which were originally taboos, but which were later interpreted symbolically and reinforced by specific ethical principals.

Damastes of Sigeum (fl. circa 400) was probably younger than Herodotus, as he was a pupil of Hellanicus.[77] In a fragment of Damastes' work, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium, he gave his knowledge of where the Hyperboreans were located.[78] He wrote that the Issedones lived beyond the Scythians and Arimaspi and the Arimaspi lived beyond the Issedones, but beyond the Issedones stood the Rhipean Mountains from where the North Wind blew and which were never free of snow. On the other side of the mountains, lived the Hyperboreans whose territory extended down to the Other Sea. Damastes of Sigeum may very well have used a copy of Aristeas' *Arimaspea*, as the interval marking off Herodotus' writings from those of Damastes is comparatively short. It remains unclear how quickly Herodotus' writings were diffused in the Greek world. Bolton and Thomson wrote that Damastes might have obtained this information from texts written by Hecataeus of Miletus to which Herodotus had access.[79] As modern scholars do not have access to an extant copy of the *Arimaspea*, and only indeed to minimal fragments of the works of Hecataeus of Miletus, the above only qualifies as guesswork. The table of peoples given in this fragment of Damastes is virtually the same as the one which was reported to have been given by Aristeas in Herodotus' writings: Scythians, Issedones, Arimaspi, Rhipean Mountains, Hyperboreans, (Other) Sea (Table 3.1). One important difference, however, is that Damastes reported that the Rhipean Mountains lay between the Arimaspi and the Hyperboreans, while Aristeas was reported to have written that there were griffins between the Arimaspi and the Hyperboreans.[80] Damastes, then, was reporting a slightly different version of the myth from Aristeas and Herodotus in which the Arimaspi could have been identified as Hyperboreans given that they lived beyond or in the vicinity of the Rhipean Mountains. Antimachus of Colophon, who wrote a fragment identifying the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, seems to have used this interpretation of the myth along with its transposition from east to west.[81] Both Damastes and the fragment of Aristeas reported in Herodotus mention the (Other) Sea down to where the lands of the Hyperboreans stretched (Herodotus 4.13). In any event, Damastes seems to be reporting the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth as did Herodotus.

Part of the collection of texts from the fifth century which have commonly been placed under the authorship of Hippocrates of Cos is a treatise on Air, Water and Places. Paragraph nineteen of this treatise deals with the geography of the extreme north of the world known to the Greeks, as well as Scythia: Scythia lies under the Great Bear (Arctos) and to the south of the Rhipean Mountains from where Boreas blows. The winds from the north have always been cooled by snow, ice and an abundance of water. These winds which never leave the Rhipean Mountains make them uninhabitable. A dense fog occupies the plains during the day. These are habitable. It is winter all the time and summer only lasts for a few days. In fact, these plains are high and denuded and are not

contained by mountains, but they become higher in altitude as one proceeds northward under the Great Bear.

Table 3.1 Comparison of Aristeas of Proconnesus and Damastes of Sigeum

Aristeas (Herodotus 4.13)	Damastes of Sigeum
Sea	Other Sea
Hyperboreans	Hyperboreans
Griffins	Rhipean Mountains
Arimaspians	Arimaspians
Issedones	Issedones
Scythians	Scythians
Cimmerians	Cimmerians
Europe	Europe

This text demonstrates the difference for the Greeks between Arctos and Boreas. Arctos was a constellation and Boreas a wind. It also confirms that the Rhipean Mountains were placed somewhere to the north of the Scythian lands, that they were eternally covered in snow and that the North Wind found its source there. It also conforms to the traditional image of the Rhipean Mountains found in previous authors as being located on the edge of the world and shrouded in darkness. These mountains sealed off the dark world of humankind, tainted with *hybris*, from the unnaturally sunny world of the gods beyond them *(dike)*. They both formed the boundary and consequently, the separation between these worlds. The Rhipean Mountains also drew them together into a world which was explained and conceived of in the Greek mind by mythology and legend. Furthermore, they separated the real world of humankind from the mythical parallel world of the Greeks by contrasting an extremely harsh environment, in fact, a totally opposite one to these mythical utopian characteristics of the Hyperborean lands. An internal contradiction exists, however, in this text: first, it states that Scythia lies to the south of the Rhipean Mountains, then, it says that its plains were not crowned with mountains, but the mountains rise in height as one progresses northwards. An attempt was being made here to rationalize a mythical tradition.[82] The Hyperboreans were never mentioned by name, but it is clear that the Rhipean Mountains came from the Hyperborean myth. It is also clear that this text refers to the traditional Ionian concept of an earth-disk which was reported to be higher in the north because of the Rhipean Mountains.[83]

Another fragment preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium makes reference to the writings of two authors.[84] Protarchus, writing about 392, says that he called the Alps the Rhipean Mountains and that he called those peoples living to the north of the Alps Hyperboreans.[85] The fragment goes on to state that another author, named as Antimachus, writing about 405, disagreed with his colleague Protarchus, but said they were Arimaspi. Protarchus and Antimachus had obviously identified the Alps with the

Rhipean Mountains, suggesting they were endeavoring to transpose features of the eastern version of the Hyperborean legend which located them to the north of the Black Sea/Sea of Azov/Caspian Sea, to the west. In the last quarter of the fifth century, the Alps were inhabited by Celts. Protarchus has identified these Celts with the traditional Hyperboreans, perhaps as both were reported to live in the north, where it was cold, there was snow and from where the North Wind blew. Antimachus was doing the same thing: he identified the Celts living to the north of the Alps with the Arimaspi. These are the first fragments in which we find an identification of the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones. If the identification were simply due to the fact that the ethnic name Hyperborean had changed sense over time to refer to a non-Greek individual, or people living to the north of the Mediterranean basin, there would be no difficulty in understanding why the identification occurred, but this does not seem to have been the case. The Hyperborean myth had specific features. One of them was that they were associated with a chain of lofty mountains, continuously covered in snow from where the North Wind blew. Protarchus and Antimachus may have identified the Rhipean Mountains with the Alps in an effort to transpose early Greek myths to territories in the west, so as to help mark them with Greekness, create a mythical prehistory for Italy and Sicily, prove the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans really existed, or, yet again, to justify Greek presence and colonization. As this is our first text which identifies the Hyperborean lands with the Celtic ones, a closer look at this fragment and at Antimachus as an author will be presented in section three chapter one.[86]

Chapter Four
The Fourth Century and Beyond

Heraclides Ponticus, writing during the fourth century, reported the Hyperboreans lived above the Alps, perhaps following the same tradition as Protarchus and Antimachus. Furthermore, he wrote that he had heard from an unnamed source in the west that an army from the land of the Hyperboreans had conquered a Greek city named Rome, which was situated somewhere near the Mediterranean (Heraclides Ponticus in Plutarch, *Camillus* 22).[1] Heraclides also mentions Abaris and the arrow he used, perhaps using Pindar and Plato as sources. It was the personal property of Apollo and a huge weapon on which Abaris came riding to converse with Pythagoras in the presence of Phalaris on the subject of justice (Frag. 51 Wehrli).[2] This conversation is quite unhistorical, as Phalaris ruled Acragas from 570–554, long before Pythagoras arrived in Italy. It is significant, however, as the Hyperborean legend was being transposed from the eastern theater of Greek colonization to the western one. This was a way of mythologizing history and involving the parallel world of the Greeks. As the first text of Heraclides Ponticus mentioned above constitutes our second reference in which the Hyperborean lands are identified with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans are identified with Celts, it will be studied more closely in section three, chapter six.[3]

A contemporary of Heraclides, the orator Lycurgus, provides more information about the Hyperboreans in his speech *Against Menesaechmus:* as a result of a famine among the Hyperboreans, Abaris came and served Apollo. When he had obtained mantic power from him, he went around Greece prophesying, having as an attribute the god's arrow (Frag. 85 Conomis). Abaris was described by Herodotus as riding all around the earth on an arrow without eating a bite (Herodotus 4.13; Pindar Frags. 270, 283 Bowra). This may well be symbolic of his otherworldly status, as he did not need food. The arrow is certainly a reference to Apollo and to the mantic power given to Abaris by Apollo. An otherworldly being knows no bounds in either time or space. Furthermore, Plato called Abaris a purveyor of spells (Plato, *Charmides* 158b). This is the first time, however, we discover the Hyperboreans could live under any other circumstances than mythical golden-age ones. It is certainly the first time we learn of anything harming them such as a famine, although this does still fit with the fact that previous authors portrayed them as mortal.

Abaris retained his symbol of the arrow, but we also learn for the first time that Abaris, a Hyperborean himself, had to obtain mantic power from Apollo and that he prophesied in Greece. The text does not specify whether he served Apollo at Delphi or Delos.[4] Lycurgus' information came as a response to an oracle which bore the name of

Abaris.[5] According to this legend, the whole world was afflicted with a plague or famine or both. An Apolline oracle informed all men that their difficulties would cease if the Athenians offered pre-plowing sacrifices (proerosia) on their behalf (768–550). Abaris came from the land of the Hyperboreans to Greece in response to this oracle and made sacrifices to Apollo. It was then that Abaris wrote down the oracles called the *Chresmoi* of Abaris and sometimes *Chresmoi Skythinoi*. Most of these were probably ritual prescriptions (Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* 29; Apollonius, *Mirabilia* 4 Giannini).[6] The implication here is that Athens is the center of the world. Moreover, the Hyperborean legend seems to have taken on more of an Athenian slant, or perhaps had been appropriated by Athens as propaganda comprising a mythical prehistory of the city and how the Hyperboreans helped Athens in its hour of need.

In the second half of the fourth century, Hecataeus of Abdera in Asia Minor wrote a treatise on the Hyperboreans called Περὶ Ὑπερβορέων of which a few fragments have come down to us.[7] He believed the Hyperboreans had really existed and that they still existed in his own time. In order to substantiate this, he wrote a many-volumed work about them in which he said that the Hyperboreans celebrated the cult of Apollo because he appeared to them in visible form.[8] The text goes on to say that Apollo is honored by the Hyperboreans and that the author knew of three Hyperborean peoples: the Epizephyrii, the Epicnemidii and the Ozolai. The text by Hecataeus of Abdera preserved in Diodorus (2.47–48) constitutes the third text which identifies the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts: it will be examined more closely in section three, chapter seven.[9] The Epizephyrii, Epicnemidii and the Ozolai were not, however, Hyperborean peoples, but were of Locrian origin.[10]

The Locri Epizephyrii were named for a Dorian town founded about 700 in the toe of Italy by the eastern Locrian Opuntii, western Locri Ozolai, fugitive slaves and Lacedaemonians (Strabo 6.2.4 C270).[11] Locri was a first settlement and was closely associated with Delphi throughout its history.[12] The original center of the Amphictyony had been the temple of Demeter at Anthela (Herodotus 7.200). The Opuntian Locrians, eastern Locrians, and the Ozolians, an outpost of the western Locrians who dwelt on the Gulf of Corinth, were part of the original Amphictyony at Anthela. Locrus, the eponymous founder of the Ozolian Locrians was told by the Pythia at Delphi to build a city in a place where he was bitten by a wooden dog.[13] The western Locrians were part of a rather large, but somewhat vague, league of small city-states within its territory which seemed eager to extend its control over the oracle at Delphi. Hecataeus undoubtedly incorporated the Epizephyrii, Epicnemidii and Ozolians into his work on the Hyperboreans as they were all fervent worshippers of Apollo, the first two being involved in the cult of Apollo Hyperboreus and the latter two because they took part in the sacred wars over possession and control of Delphi.

In any event, Hecataeus was also engaged in transposing the Hyperborean myth from east to west, just as the Locrians themselves had been transposed from east to west, and in creating a mythical history for southern Italy. His mention of the Epizephyrii in a Hyperborean context makes one reflect upon Herodotus' story about Aristeas of Proconnesus (Herodotus 4.14). Aristeas was associated with both Cyzicus and Proconnesus which were located in Asia Minor along the southern coast of the Black Sea. They were both founded after consultation of an Apolline oracle, had strong Apolline cults and were Ionic in background.[14] According to Herodotus, he entered a fuller's shop

and dropped dead. While the fuller was informing his relatives, Aristeas was seen by an individual arriving from Artace, who also talked to him. When his relatives looked in the fuller's shop, his body was nowhere to be found. Seven years later, he was reported to have appeared in Proconnesus, where he wrote a poem called the *Arimaspea*. Aristeas then disappeared again. Herodotus had calculated that 240 years after his second disappearance, he appeared to the people of Metapontum in southern Italy, just to the north of the Locri Epizephyrii (Herodotus 4.15). Metapontum was renowned for its dedication of a golden harvest to Apollo at Delphi. This may have something to do with the foundation of Metapontum, as Ephorus says the colonizer of Metapontum was Daulius, the tyrant of Crisa near Delphi (Ephorus in Strabo 6.1.15 C265).[15] Metapontum's sanctuary included an archaic temple of Apollo Lyceus and a similar one to Hera.[16] In addition, during the sixth century, Metapontum dedicated a building to Zeus at Olympia, one of the three sanctuaries the Hyperboreans were reported to have helped founded.[17] Pythagoras is also reported to have been buried there.[18] Furthermore, the inhabitants of Metapontum had substantial involvement in Pythagoreanism and generally in pythagorean related politics in southern Italy.[19]

Aristeas instructed the people of Metapontum to erect an altar to Apollo and a statue beside it bearing the name "Aristeas the Proconnesian." He then explained to the people of Metapontum how they were the only people whom Apollo had visited in Italy and that he accompanied Apollo in the form of a raven. He then vanished for the third time (Herodotus 4.15). The people of Metapontum being perplexed by this apparition sent to the god at Delphi and inquired what it meant. The Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision and said their fortune would be the better for it. Thus, they did as commanded and Herodotus reported there stood in his time a statue bearing the name of Aristeas in the marketplace in Metapontum and that there was a grove of bay-trees which surrounded it. In the previous paragraph of Herodotus' *Histories*, Aristeas had traveled to the land of the Issedones above which the Hyperboreans, the Other Sea and the Arimaspi were to be found while in an ecstatic state due to the rites of the Apolline cult (Herodotus 4.13). Either Hecataeus used Herodotus' text as a model and composed a less spectacular one himself, as this legend may contain some material concerning the Hyperboreans from Aristeas' *Arimaspea*, or it contains some Pythagorean elements. If the latter is true, it would date Aristeas and the *Armaspea* to the sixth century, rather than to the eighth.

Asclepiades of Tragilus lived in the fourth century and was a pupil of the famous Athenian orator Isocrates. He wrote the *Tragodoumena*, a work on the myths of Greek tragedy (Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 12). His sorrowful tale of a Celtic King named Boreas and his daughter Cyparissa is preserved in a gloss by a Virgilian commentator on the phrase *Idaeis cyparissis*, "the Cypresses of Ida."[20] The commentary is attributed to the late first century A.D.Latin scholar Valerius Probus, but may be, in fact, by a later author. Asclepiades' brief account of the Celtic princess Cyparissa is one of three different myths in Graeco-Roman literature concerning the origin of the Cypress tree. The first was recorded by Ovid and tells of a young man named Cyparissus from the island of Cos in Asia Minor who accidentally kills his favorite stag (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.106–142). His sorrow is so great that he wants to grieve forever and Apollo grants him his wish by turning him into a mournful looking tree, the Cypress. The second myth also involves a young man from Cos named Cyparissus, but his metamorphosis into a Cypress tree occurs when fleeing the unwanted affection of Apollo, Silvanus, or Zephyrus, depending

on the version (Servius, *Commentary on Aeneid* 3.680). The version of the story involving Cyparissa, daughter of the Celtic King Boreas, is an example of a Graeco-Roman author directly introducing the Celts into Graeco-Roman mythology. The myth does not specifically involve the Hyperboreans, but it does demonstrate how GraecoRoman authors associated the Celts, Boreas, and Apollo.[21]

Aristotle agreed with Aeschylus, accepting that the great rivers of Scythia had their sources in the Rhipean Mountains from where the North Wind blew and which stood as a barrier between the mythical golden-age utopia of the Hyperboreans, the world of the other gods and the world of humankind (Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.13.350b). He also agreed with Herodotus that the sources of the Danube river were to be found in Pyrene, mountain of the Celtic lands (Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.13.350b; Müller, *FHG* 3 569.1.44–45). Aristotle also made reference to the Hyperborean myth in his *Historia Animalium*, which he wrote about 345/343. He declared there were just twelve days in any given year during which female wolves could give birth to their young (Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 6.580a17; Plutarch, *Natural Phenomena* 38). The reason for this, he continues, lay in the belief that it had taken twelve days to bring Leto from the land of the Hyperboreans in the remote north to Delos. During this period, Leto adopted the appearance of a wolf, as she was afraid of Hera's wrath. Aristotle finished this passage by expressing his doubts as to the authenticity of this twelve-day period in real wolves. He stated it had never been verified by observation.[22]

This is a radically new account, as it attests a relation between a female wolf and Leto. The goddess Leto is frequently associated with both wolves (Lykos) and Lycia in Asia Minor. It was believed she took her babies, Artemis and Apollo, to Lycia, where she wished to wash them in the river Xanthus, but was prevented from doing so by some shepherds, whom wolves then drove away.[23] Hence, Leto called the country Lycia-this story is based on a false etymology of Lycia from Lykos-and she turned the shepherds into frogs.[24] Furthermore, Callimachus (*Delian* [4] 304ff) wrote that the women of the Delian choruses beat their feet in accompaniment to the men who sang the nomos which Olen, the Lycian, had brought back from Xanthus.

It has been postulated that the moon had a close relationship with the wolf as the wolf was attracted to it and howled because of its appearance.[25] There has been an association between the femaleness of Selene, who gave forth bright rays of light and the brightness of Phoebus Apollo, "the bright one," counterpart of the moon, Selene and Leto, who gave birth to Apollo. Borghini claimed there was a relationship between Selene, Leto and the fact that the moon was perceived as being located far to the north of the Mediterranean world, near the Celtic lands.[26] These are conclusions based on Lucian which are not found in early Greek tradition (*Lover of Lies* 13–16). Borghini continued by stating that Selene and Hecate, goddess of death, were linked by their femaleness and because the moon was located far to the north and so was the land of the dead. The latter, still according to Borghini, could be found in the land of the Hyperboreans. These conclusions are in no way justifiable if one studies the Hyperborean myth in Greek literature. On the contrary, the land of the Hyperboreans was the antithesis of the land of the dead. They were mortal, lived for a thousand years and were eternally blessed. It is noteworthy, however, that the land of the Hyperboreans in Borghini's mind was identified with the Northwestern European Celtic Islands and that he probably based his

reasoning on a text by Hecataeus of Abdera which the present author examines in detail in section three chapter seven (Diodorus of Sicily 2.47.1–5).[27]

Aristotle's text then states that Leto was in the land of the Hyperboreans before she came south to Delos to give birth to the divine twins, Artemis and Apollo. He did not indicate whether she was born there or if Leto became pregnant there by Zeus. Leto's relationship with the Hyperborean homeland laid the foundation for Apollo's using their lands as a wintering spot and place of refuge. This would seem to be part of the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth, but it remains unclear if this part of the story is tradition or an invention.

Theopompus wrote a treatise entitled *On the Funds Plundered from Delphi*, a fragment of which is preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 13.605A-B).[28] He recounted that the son of Pythodorus of Sicyon had come to Delphi to dedicate his shorn locks, presumably as part of the Hyperborean/Apollonian cult rites as described by Herodotus (4.33–34). Theopompus says that a Thessalian dancing girl named Pharsalia had been killed in the marketplace in Metapontum in southern Italy at the hands of soothsayers (Theopompus in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.650C-D). Moreover, a voice had come from the bronze bay tree which the people of Metapontum had planted there when Aristeas of Proconnesus had visited them (Herodotus 4.13–16)[29]. Furthermore, the voice declared that Aristeas had come from the land of the Hyperboreans. When the soothsayers saw Pharsalia entering the marketplace, they became furious and pulled her apart. When people later investigated the cause of Pharsalia's death, it was found that she had been killed because of a wreath which belonged to Apollo.

Delphi had been seized by the Phocians in the early summer of 356. Astycrates and his colleagues returned with Philomelus from exile, but they had to face an immediate war with Thebes and the Ozolian Locrians. In the autumn of 355, a sacred war was declared against the Phocians by the Amphictyonic League during which the Phocians melted down all the offerings to Apollo in gold and silver at Delphi to pay mercenaries in their army which they had engaged during the war.[30] Some of the offerings/treasure had been given out by Philomelus to friends, family and concubines. In this story, a dancer named Pharsalia had received a crown dedicated by the Lampsacenes to Apollo in Delphi from Philomelus with whom she was having an affair.[31] When she wore it during a performance in front of the temple in Metapontum, a supernatural voice from the shrine inspired her audience with a mad frenzy during which they snatched the crown from the woman and tore her to pieces. It may have been a command to punish impiety that the mysterious voice gave from the bronze laurel, as Pharsalia entered the marketplace wearing the golden wreath that had been stolen from the Delphic sanctuary by Philomelus. This tale was probably invented between 356, when Philomelus rifled the Delphic treasures and the period during which Theopompus was writing, as he is our earliest authority for it (Diodorus of Sicily 16.30). Bolton believed that it was Heraclides Ponticus' work on the grounds that it fits chronologically into his writings: it mentions Aristeas, the Hyperboreans, the seers, the divine intervention, the threatening voice, and the distorted borrowing from Herodotus (Herodotus 4.15).[32] While we cannot be sure of this, it is worthwhile remarking on the theme of divine vengeance for impiety which permeates Heraclides of Ponticus' work.[33] After the Sacred War for control of Delphi had

ended, the Opuntian Locrians collected all the coins and melted them down to make a vase to be consecrated again to the god.[34]

At the time of Theopompus, about a century and a half after Herodotus, sacred rites linking the Hyperboreans with puberty and marriage were still being performed at Delphi. Herodotus wrote about them in relation to Delos and one may suppose that some of the same rites were being carried out at Delphi and at Delos, but there were no tombs of Hyperborean maidens at Delphi on which to place these offerings. Theopompus seemed to be aware of Aristeas' writings, perhaps through the fragment in Herodotus, and told the story of Pharsalia using the context of Metapontum, the marketplace, the bay tree and the wreath, all of which were connected with Aristeas, the cult of Apollo and the Hyperborean myth. Theopompus did not mention the altar to Apollo, the statue of Aristeas inscribed with his name, or the myrtle bushes, which seem to have become a bay tree. He neglected to mention the raven, symbol of Apollo, in whose guise Aristeas visited the people of Metapontum in the company of Apollo. The raven, or crow, was sacred to Apollo as a prophetic bird (Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 1.48; Horace, *Odes* 3.27.11). Furthermore, Herodotus' statue dedicated to Aristeas and surrounded by laurels had become a bronze laurel. Aristeas did not say in the Herodotean account that he had come from the Hyperboreans.

Plutarch gives another version of the story (Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis* 8.397–398). He wrote that the golden wreath was a Cnidian dedication, not one from the Lampsacenes, and that a mob of young men, excited with cupidity for the precious object, tore Pharsalia to pieces in their fight to get it near the temple of Apollo at Metapontum. Bolton believed that the more fanciful version handed down by Theopompus could have appeared in Heraclides Ponticus' book Περὶ εὐσεβείας, in a fragment of which is preserved an example of divine vengeance wreaked upon the sacrilegious (Frag, 46 Wehrli=Diogenes Laertius 3.46).[35]

Megasthenes, a diplomat and historian, served on several embassies from 302 to 291.[36] He was sent by Seleucus I to the court of the Indian King Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire in northern India (Megasthenes in Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C 715 F27 pp. 631–632).[37] Megasthenes transposed the Hyperboreans to the zone above the districts of the Indus and the Ganges and wrote that they lived for a thousand years, as Simonides and Pindar had done before him (Strabo 15.1.57 C711; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C 715 F27 632 lines 13–15). Thus, the Hyperboreans were moved from Thrace to the area north of the Dodona, the Danube, the zone north of the Black Sea/Sea of Azov/Caspian Sea, the Alps and then to northern India as Greek geographical knowledge expanded.

Callimachus, writing in the first half of the third century and using Hesiod and perhaps Hecataeus of Abdera as sources for some of his mythological stories, specifically stated that Boreas lived in Mount Haemus in Thrace (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 65).[38] He also wrote that Boreas was the son of the Strymon river also located in Thrace (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 26). As Callimachus was using material from earlier poets, such as Hesiod and Antimachus, Boreas continues to be associated with parts of Europe to the north of Greece, which, for the Greeks, traditionally constituted strange, unexplored territory. He goes on to say that Boreas lived in a seven-chambered cave in Thracian Haemus, where he also had horses (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 64–65).

While Leto was wandering in search of a place to give birth to her twins, Hera set up two look-outs to keep watch on the known world. She sent Python to make sure Leto did

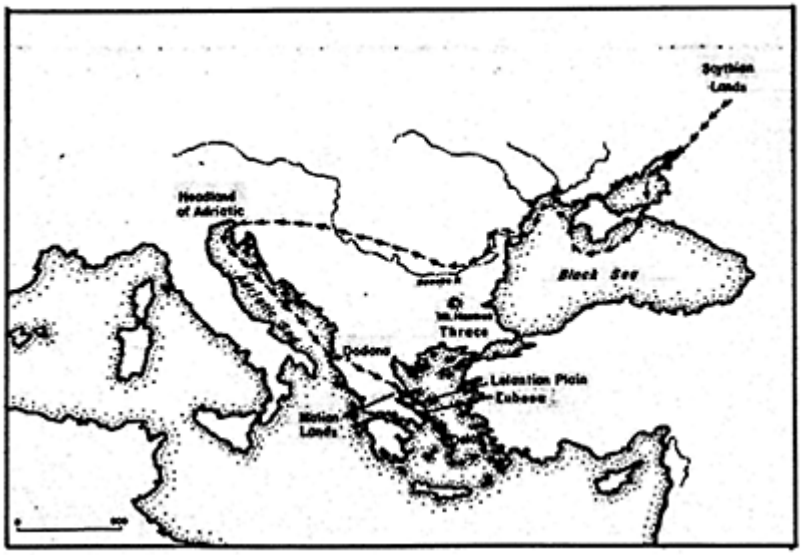
not bear her children in any place reached by the sun (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 90). Prior to Leto's arrival, Delos was tossed about on the waves, perhaps similarly to Aeolus' "floating island" in the *Odyssey* (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.2–13), but when she arrived four columns or roots rose up from the seabed to anchor the island firmly. The reader surmises, and Callimachus could have used Pindar or perhaps Antimachus of Colophon here as his sources, that Zeus did so to render the island safe and stable for Leto, Artemis and Apollo (Pindar Frag. 33d Sandys 89a2; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 51–54). Callimachus stated that Hera hated Leto, especially as she was going to bear a son to Zeus, even dearer than her own Ares (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 58). Ares was one of the two look-outs who was posted and armed about Boreas' cave in Mount Haemus, far to the north of Delos in Thrace (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 58). He had horses, symbols of Boreas, stalled near Boreas' cave. If Boreas lived in Mount Haemus, then the Hyperboreans must have been thought to live in Thrace, perhaps between Mount Haemus and the Danube River, where Herodotus reported that Celts lived (2.33). This may be another context in which there was possible identification between the Hyperboreans and Celts, as Celts had already overrun the region at the time Callimachus was writing. Still according to Callimachus, Hera's two sentinels, Ares and Iris, threatened every city to which Leto went and prevented them from receiving her (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 68–69). Because of this, Leto was turned away at every place until she reached Delos. Later on in the same poem, Callimachus made reference to the Celtic invasion of Greece and the sack of Delphi (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 171–187). He referred to the Celts in Hyperborean fashion by comparing them to snowflakes and to stars. The snowflakes may be a reference to the Rhipean Mountains above which the Hyperboreans were reported to have made their homes.

This information seems to predate that of Herodotus' account, as the edge of the world known to the Greeks is situated at Mount Haemus on the Strymon River in Thrace, while Herodotus' information appears to place the mythical land of the Hyperboreans in the Scythian lands to the north of the Caspian Sea. Callimachus does mention the Rhipean Mountains, as Alcman, Alcaeus and Aristeas had before him (Callimachus, *Aetia* Frag. 186 Pfeiffer). Furthermore, this would match the traditional image of the Rhipean Mountains as being heavily wooded, shrouded in black night and located on the edge of the world. He made reference to the belief that the Hyperboreans were a long-lived people who resided above the northern shore (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 281–282). It seems likely that Callimachus was referring to the Other Sea, down to which the Hyperborean lands stretched in previous source material and to the belief that the Hyperboreans were mortals.

He also mentioned Hyperborean offerings wrapped in cornstalks and holy sheaves of corn ears (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 283, *Aetia* Frag. 186.13–14 Pfeiffer page 157 line 13 commentary) (Map 4.1). This echoes Herodotus' previous account, but Callimachus thinks of them as offerings of first fruits, undoubtedly following the tradition of the Thargelia, while Herodotus did not specify what the sacred offerings were exactly (Herodotus 4.33).[39]

According to Callimachus, the offerings came from the Hyperboreans to Dodona, thence to Malis, then to Euboea, then to Delos (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 283–299; Frag. *Aetia* 186 11–15 Pfeiffer). The mention of Ilium puts the action in the east and makes us

think of Hesiod, Herodotus and Pausanias (1.32.2).[40] Callimachus' idea of the Hyperborean offerings may



Map 4.1 Callimachus' Hyperborean gift route.

hearken back to the cult center of Demeter at Anthela before it was moved to Delphi. He calls Anthela "the holy city on the Malian Gulf" (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 283ff). Herodotus does not say this, but he does mention the temple of Amphictyonid Demeter, seats for the Amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself at Anthela (Herodotus 7.200). In Frag. 186 (*Aetia* Pfeiffer), Callimachus simply refers to the tribute of the tenth, but adds that they send divine planks. Pfeiffer relates these planks to accounting tablets found in excavations and in inscriptions.[41]

While this is a most interesting idea, these could simply be planks on which to carry the tribute. If we accept these planks as inscribed tablets, they make us think of the Thracian tablets set down by the voice of Orpheus (Euripides, *Alcestis* 965ff).[42] This is an intriguing parallel that raises the possibility that the Hyperborean myth originated early on in Thrace, and was part of Orphism, or some kind of Orphic cult, but there is no concrete evidence for this. Another interesting point is that in Callimachus (*Aetia* Frag. 186 Pfeiffer), the sons of the Hyperboreans are mentioned and the present author believes that we are to understand that these sons send the divine planks with the tribute of the tenth from the Rhipean Mountains. This text differs from Herodotus in that it mentions sons of the Hyperboreans who are also mentioned in Callimachus (*Delian* [4] 293–295). This could have been the function of the Perpherees in Herodotus (4.33). Callimachus, following Herodotus and the Delian strand of the myth, said that this party never returned home. One wonders, however, if Callimachus is mentioning two tombs, one for the daughters of Boreas and one for the best of the young men. This again is different from

Herodotus' account, as Herodotus does not mention a tomb for the Peripherees. On the contrary, the reading assumes they are "missing-in-action." Callimachus does not mention the first party of Hyperborean maidens and wrote the daughters of Boreas were three, not two or four. Furthermore, there seems to be an implication that the secrecy surrounding the offerings had somehow been violated, or, perhaps, that an attempt had been made to violate it. Artemis is somehow involved, but the text is too fragmentary to apprehend the precise context.[43] Interestingly enough, Callimachus also used a feature found in Pindar (*Pythian* 10.34–35), saying that the rich sacrifices of donkeys in the Hyperborean lands please Apollo particularly.

For Herodotus, the Hyperboreans gave their sacred offerings to the Scythians, who passed them to their neighbors and thence from people to people until they reached the headland of the Adriatic, then to Dodona, to Malis, to Carystus in Euboea and then to Tenos and Delos (Herodotus 4.33). The reference to the Lelantine Plain may be symbolic of the great role of the Euboeans in the Greek colonization of the east, west and north, as well as their war over it and their involvement with Athens in the original Amphictyony of Delphi. Callimachus seems to have believed the Hyperboreans lived to the north of the Scythian lands, as Herodotus did, and that their lands bordered on a mythical sea, although he left out the Scythians in his version of the Hyperborean gift route. He also made reference to the swan upon which Apollo rode from Delphi to the land of the Hyperboreans (Callimachus, *Apollo* [2] 5). This contrasts previous texts that claimed that Apollo journeyed to the land of the Hyperboreans in a chariot pulled by swans (Alcaeus Frag. 307 1[c] Lobel and Page in Himerius, *Oration* 14.10ff).

Callimachus also referred to the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens on Delos, as Herodotus did, but used a slightly different tradition. He reported Delian girls offered their hair to the daughters of Boreas, Upis, Hecaerge and Loxo, who once brought a tribute from the Arimaspi. The Delian boys gave the first fruits of their beards to honor the Perpherees, sons of the Hyperboreans, who escorted the Hyperborean maidens and their offerings from the Rhipean Mountains, above which the Hyperboreans were reputed to have lived, to Delos (Callimachus, *Aetia* Frag. 186.8 Pfeiffer, *Delian* [4] 4.278ff). According to Callimachus, those who first carried the offerings of wheat to Delos brought them from the "fair-haired Arimaspi," thus continuing the tradition mentioned by Antimachus in Stephanus of Byzantium.[44] Other ancient authors believed the Arimaspi were not Hyperboreans and that the maidens were not Hyperboreans, but Arimaspi (Herodotus 4.35; Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus of Sicily 2.47.1). Callimachus may have made use of Hecataeus of Abdera's description of the land of the Hyperboreans when writing his *Hymn to Delos* [4].[45] For example, Hecataeus writes that Boreas and Chione had three sons who were priests of Apollo.[46] Callimachus names three daughters of Boreas (4.29 1ff). In earlier descriptions, only two Hyperborean maidens were named, thus, Callimachus is innovating here and it has been suggested that his innovation derives from Hecataeus of Abdera's triad of sons.[47] Callimachus also describes the arrival of singing swans who circle Delos seven times before Apollo is born (Callimachus 4.250.1). Although is a favorite verb of Callimachus and circling is to be found in other related texts, Callimachus' text does bear some relation to Hecataeus' description of the swans who came for the festival of Apollo in the Hyperborean lands.[48] Secondly, in describing the gifts that the Hyperboreans bring to Delos, Callimachus specifies that they are agricultural in nature (4.283–284). Herodotus' account is less precise: offerings are

brought to Delos wrapped in the straw of wheat only (4.33.1). Mineur has argued that the greater precision in Callimachus' description may derive from Hecataeus, but there is no concrete evidence to substantiate this.[49]

Callimachus also assimilated the Celts into Greek mythology (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 174–175). He compared them to the Titans, but of a later date, who would take up their swords and make war on the Greeks. Furthermore, he wrote that the Celts would rush in from the furthest west or northwest, like snowflakes, and as many as when the stars appear most thickly in the sky. These two attributes may be Hyperborean ones and it is possible that Callimachus was giving Hyperborean attributes to Celts. Although there is no identification here between the Hyperboreans and Celts, Callimachus was clearly giving a Greek mythical history to the Celts.

In a fragment of his work *Apollo*, Simmias, writing in the early years of the third century, situated the rich land of the far-off Hyperboreans, where the princely Perseus once feasted, near the land of the Massagetae, to the east of the Caspian Sea on the Great Steppe.[50] The Hyperboreans lived near the wondrous stream of ever-flowing Campasus, which had its sources in the divine, immortal sea.[51] There were islands dark with green fir trees, overgrown with reeds (Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 7.693).[52] Simmias is using early source material here which locates the land of the Hyperboreans on the edge of the world known to the Greeks, beyond the stream of Ocean, where the Rhipean Mountains stood as a barrier between the world of golden-age mythical utopias and that of the gods on one hand, and the world of humans on the other. Simmias also preserves the idea there were islands in and around the stream of Ocean which were thickly wooded and shrouded in the darkness of human *hybris*, as opposed to the unnatural light of the sun in the world of the gods.[53] He has, however, changed their location from north of the Caspian Sea to the east. This may be an intermediary version between that of Herodotus and Megasthenes. It is also interesting that for Simmias, there were islands in the land of the Hyperboreans. This makes us think of Hecataeus of Abdera's Hyperborean island to the north of the Mediterranean basin.[54]

Our fifth text that identifies the Hyperborean lands with those of the Celts is part of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (4.610–650). A pupil of Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, from Alexandria, or Naucratis in Egypt, may have started to write about 275. In addition to this text, which will be examined more closely in section three chapter eight,[55] Apollonius also reports a strand of the Hyperborean myth that is entirely new: Apollo made trips to Lycia, from where he then departed to visit the far-away countless people of the Hyperboreans (ἀπείρονα δῆμον Ὑπερβορέων ἀνθρώπων *Argonautica* 2.674–675). Apollo's route shows that Apollonius placed the Hyperboreans to the north of the Scythians agreeing with previous material.[56] This is the first time an author has stated that the Hyperborean people were countless. The Argonauts witness Apollo, who appeared to them, as he was travelling from Lycia to the land of the Hyperboreans (*Argonautica* 2.674–675). This new theme may be part of the story of Leto washing her babies in the Xanthus River.[57] Λύκος was also the sacred animal of Apollo.[58] Based on Homer (*Odyssey* 1, 22–25), we know that Apollo is removing himself from the Argonauts' adventures by visiting the Hyperboreans. In Apollonius, Apollo's departure indicates a lack of interest in their deeds.[59]

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (circa 285–194) was a pupil of Callimachus and of Lysenias. After he had spent several years at Athens, where he came under the influence of Arcesilaus and Ariston of Chios, he accepted the invitation of Ptolemy III Euergetes to become a royal tutor and to succeed Apollonius of Rhodes as head of the Alexandrian library. In this way, he became a member of the intelligentsia of Alexandria that Callimachus seems to have dominated. His work in chronology, mathematical and descriptive geography, of which, thanks to Strabo, we know much, long retained much of its authority. Strabo (1.3.22 C61) reports that controversy about the existence of the Hyperboreans still raged in the time of Eratosthenes, as the latter criticized Herodotus (4.36) for his statement there are no Hyperboreans because there are no Hypernotians.[60] Eratosthenes says the argument Herodotus presented is absurd and adds there are in fact Hypernotians (Eratosthenes in Strabo 1.3.22 C62), as Notus does not blow in Ethiopia, but farther south. He reasons that from the point of view of the southern countries, Notus can well become Boreas and lays a charge against Herodotus that by Hyperboreans, he assumed were meant those peoples in whose countries Boreas does not blow. He adds that although the Hyperboreans occur in myth and legend, those who expound the poetic should know that by "Hyperboreans" were meant the most northerly peoples. Eratosthenes continues by asserting the limits of the northerly peoples are to be found at the North Pole (πόλος) and the equator, and the two winds have the same limits.[61]

Apollodorus of Athens, writing during the second century, gave a version of the Hyperborean myth that agreed with one strand of Pindar's work.[62] As Pindar had done, Apollodorus connected the Hyperborean myth with the adventures and labors of Heracles, and wrote that the Hyperboreans lived in the Atlas mountain range in northern Africa (Apollodorus 2.5.11). He also located the Hesperides in northern Africa, when they were usually understood as being located far to the west of mainland Greece.[63] From the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, it seems that the story of Heracles and the apples of the Hesperides was told by Pherecydes in his second work on the marriage of Hera. The close resemblance which the scholiast's narrative bears to that of Apollodorus may indicate here, as in many other places, he followed, or was at least influenced by Pherecydes: when Zeus married Hera, the gods brought presents to the bride. Among them, Earth brought golden apples which Hera admired so much she ordered them planted in the garden of the gods beside Mount Atlas. The daughter of Atlas, however, used to steal the golden fruit, so she sent a huge serpent to guard the tree.

At the beginning of the first century, Posidonius of Apamea, a stoic philosopher born in Syria, was educated in Athens and became known as a learned man. He traveled widely in western Europe, where he is said to have acquired first hand knowledge of the Celts. Posidonius followed the tradition we have noted, starting with Protarchus and Antimachus by placing the Hyperboreans in the Alps of northern Italy, where he knew perfectly well Celts lived (Müller, *FHG* 2.290 Frag. XC, Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 87 Frag. 103J). As this is our sixth text which appears to identify the Hyperboreans with Celts, and Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, it will be examined more closely in section three chapter nine.[64]

Strabo, writing in the second half of the first century, gave an account of the peoples living near the Caspian Sea and the Tanais river (Strabo 11.6.2 C507).[65] He wrote that all the peoples to the north of the Caspian Sea and the lands of the Scythian nomads were called "Scythians" or "Celto-Scythians" by ancient writers, but he did not say to which

authors he was referring. This is an interesting term as it may indicate that some ancient authors could not differentiate between Celts and Scythians as they were too alike, being both non-Greek peoples. This suggests that the names "Celts" and "Scythians" represented more general notions about different non-Greek peoples for the Greek mind and did not have the finite ethnic boundaries which modern scholars assign to them. Strabo, according still to earlier Greek authors whom he does not cite, also reported the Hyperboreans lived to the north of the Euxine, the Ister and the Adriatic, along with the Sauromatae and Arimaspi. He adds that it was due to man's ignorance that people believed the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans really existed to the north of the Scythian lands (Strabo 1.3.22 C62, 7.3.1 C295; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.26). He adds that "Hyperboreans" merely meant the most northerly peoples whose limits were the North Pole (Strabo 1.3.22 C62). Finally, Strabo wrote that according to Greek poets, Boreas' home was in Mount Haemus in the Balkans, the Rhipean Mountains or the Sarpedon Rock and that Magasthenes, Simonides, Pindar and other myth-tellers said the Hyperboreans lived for a thousand years (Strabo 7.3.1 C295, 15.1.57 C711). If he did not believe in the Hyperboreans, Strabo, like Herodotus before him, felt compelled to mention them, as they were such a part of Greek myth and literary history.

An unpoetical summary in iambics called *Periegesis*, written about 90, or perhaps earlier, of unknown authorship, deals with the coast of Spain, Italy, Sicily, the Adriatic, the Black Sea and Asia.[66] The rest is lost. The author, who is usually referred to as Pseudo-Scymnus, drew heavily on the writings of Hecataeus of Abdera, but applied everything Hecataeus said to the Celts (Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus of Sicily 2.47; Pseudo-Scymnus 183–186).[67] He added that at the extremity of the Celtic countries, and we are led to believe this is the eastern most point, there is a pillar of Boreas, which is very tall and is located on a spit of land that juts out on a rough sea. The Celts, being the furthest communities away from Greece, live around the pillar, as well as the Enetes and the Istri, whose lands stretch down to the Adriatic where Pseudo-Scymnus believed the sources of the Danube were to be found. There is a possibility of identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts in this context, but only on the basis that they both lived in northern lands. The sense of the name Hyperborean would have changed in this event from an ethnic name to a more general compass direction.

What did the column signify? It could simply have been a monument to the North Wind.[68] Müllenhoff suggested it was located on the western edge of Brittany, that it might have been the promontory of the Alps that juts out into the Adriatic, the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Pillars of Heracles to the north of the rock of Gibraltar, or finally the tall menhir in Locmariaker in Brittany.[69] The idea of a northern pillar may have been copied from Hecataeus of Abdera's island Elixoea.[70] These identifications were as fanciful as Pseudo-Scymnus' text, which appears to locate this mysterious pillar in the east and not in the west.

In a much disputed dialogue between Socrates and Axiochus, who was seriously ill and contemplating death, which most scholars now date to the first century, Pseudo-Plato recounted the story of a Persian general under Xerxes named Gobryas, also mentioned by Herodotus (3.70, 73, 78, 4.132, 134–135; Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus* 371 a-e).[71] He was told this by General Gobryas' grandson, also named Gobryas, a Persian holyman. General Gobryas was sent to Delos during the Persian War to defend the native island of Artemis and Apollo. While he was there, he learned that the Hyperborean maidens, Opis and

Hecaerge had brought bronze tablets from the land of the Hyperboreans as sacred offerings inscribed with the fate of souls after death.[72] He also learned from those tablets that after the soul has separated from the body, it goes into an obscure place located in the subterranean regions where Pluto's kingdom was believed to be found. This kingdom was not less than Zeus', as the known world occupied the center of the universe and the sky was a sphere. The celestial gods lived in one of the hemispheres, the gods of the underworld in the other. The entry to Pluto's kingdom was sealed off by iron locks and keys. When it was opened, the souls of dead persons, liberated from their human shell, were taken to the field of truth, where they were judged by Minos and Rhadamanthus on the life they had led in the mortal world. There was no possibility of telling a lie. Those who had listened to a good *daemon* and had lived piously while in their mortal bodies, were taken to a beautiful place where the perfect climate made bountiful crops of fruits come forth, pure sources of water flowed, a thousand prairies were graced with various flowers in an eternal springtime, there was theatre for the poets, dancing, concerts, banquets, festivals, the total absence of pain, a charming life, no extreme winters or excessive heat, but pure air which tempered the soft rays of the sun. Sacred rites were to be accomplished there too. Those who had led an impious life while in the mortal world were led away to Tartarus to be forever tormented by impossible pain and tortures. These images hearken back to the Hyperborean lands portrayed as a mythical golden-age land far away on the edge of the world, sealed off from the strife and imperfections of the human world.

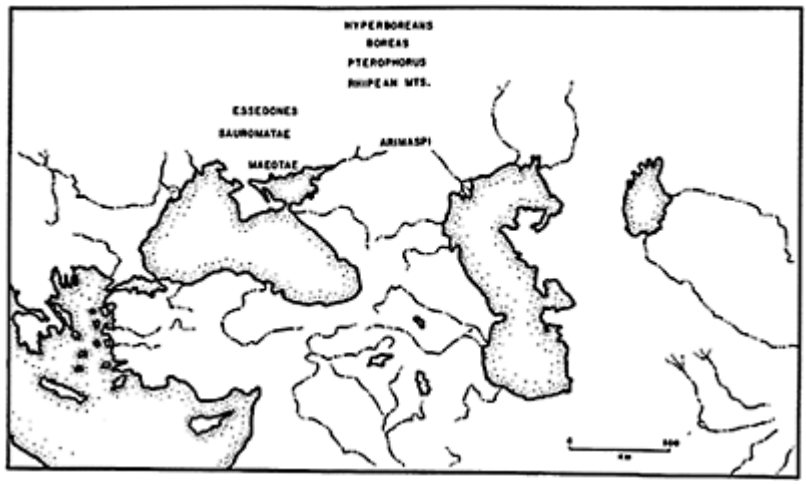
The Axiochus dialogue has also been tailored to the Pythagorean belief in the immortality of the soul. The information was not invented by the author as Guthrie suggested, but numerous older elements have been rearranged for the philosophical needs of Pythagoreanism.[73] We have seen that no-one knew what the sacred Hyperborean offerings mentioned in Herodotus really were (Herodotus 4.33).[74] Pseudo-Plato has taken the opportunity to insert the Pythagorean doctrine of the immortality of the soul in a Plato-like dialogue in the mouth of Socrates. He then used the attributes of the utopian aspect of the Hyperborean myth to illustrate a mythical utopian existence in life after death. To illustrate the horrors of living according to a bad daemon, Pseudo-Plato used many Homeric elements. By having a Persian holyman and his Persian grandfather involved during the period of the Persian War, Pseudo-Plato has continued the tradition of eastern rulers, whereby they respected Greek sanctuary sites and made offerings in them (Herodotus 1.15.87).[75] By having General Gobryas protect Delos, the idea is perpetuated that the sanctuary was important in the wider world far beyond Greece, as Persians wished to honor and protect it, but that the Greeks were honored and chosen above all peoples because the shrine was on their territory.[76] A judgment between heaven and hell was never part of the Hyperborean myth, but elements in Homer already suggest such a dichotomy in Greek beliefs.[77] The Hyperborean myth has been used in this text, but changed significantly to fit a specific philosophical framework.

Pomponius Mela wrote a short geographical essay entitled *de Chorographia* sometime during the reigns of Gaius and Claudius (37–41 A.D.).[78] He took material from previous authors, especially Herodotus, re-porting the Tanais has its sources in the Rhipean Mountains that joined another long chain of mountains that stopped at the coast of Asia Minor, on one side, and at the Caspian Sea, on the other (Mela 1.19.109, 115, 117, 2.1, 3.5.36). As in Herodotus, the Rhipean Mountains were impossible to traverse for Mela, as

the snow never stopped falling on them. The Hyperboreans lived beyond the Sea of Azov, as did the Issedones, Arimaspi and Griffins who looked for the gold (Herodotus 4.12–13; Mela 1.116–117, 2.1). They lived on the Asian coast under the pole, beyond the North Wind and the Rhipean Mountains (Mela 3.5.36). Consequently, Mela was following Herodotus' account which ultimately came from the Delians themselves. Mela, however, never had them come west to the head of the Adriatic as Herodotus had done. He continued consciously, or because he was simply reporting older traditions, to mix the real world of expanding geographical knowledge to the east and the Greek mythical parallel world, some features of which had become Roman by the time he was writing. Mela used Aristeas' Arimaspi and the Hyperboreans, as reported by Herodotus, Homer's Ethiopians and other material in Homer and Hesiod for locating the Scythians. Mela refrained, however, from mentioning any legends or myths pertaining to the Hyperboreans, who, for him, seemed to have functioned much more as a geographical marker indicating north than a mythical people. The zone of the Caspian Sea seemed to be the area where the real world slipped into the mythical parallel one, but Mela did not mythologize, he just reported earlier traditions. We really learn nothing new about the Hyperboreans from him.

Pliny, writing in the first century A.D., also follows the Delian strand of the legend and adds some details we have not previously encountered.[79] He wrote the Sauromatae and Essedones lived to the north of the Sea of Azov (Map 4.2). Along the coast, as far as the river Don, lived the Maeotae, then, in the back of them, were the Arimaspi. To the north of the Arimaspi were the Rhipean Mountains and a region called Pterophorus because of the feather-like snow, which continuously fell there. This is in all probability a reference to Herodotus' feathers which the Scythians say fill the air and make it impossible to traverse, or even to see, the more northerly part of the continent (Herodotus 4.31). These feathers may be a reference to the swan which Apollo rode or to the swans which pulled Apollo's chariot to the land of the Hyperboreans in Alcaeus' text. In one passage, Pliny places the Rhipean Mountains near the Sea of Azov, in another near the Colchians, and yet in another, north of the Jaxartes, where he adds "And in regard to no other region is there more discrepancy among the authorities, this being due as I believe to the countless numbers and the nomadic habits of the tribes" (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.12.78–79, 88–89, 5.27.98–99, 6.4.15, 6.5.19, 6.12.33–35, 50).

This part of the world lay under the condemnation of nature, as it was plunged into dense darkness and was only inhabited by frost and the chilly lurking-places of the North Wind. The idea corresponds to the early Greek belief concerning weather conditions in the lands north of the Mediterranean basin and to our earliest Greek source material which portrayed the Rhipean Mountains as standing at the edge of the world, thickly wooded, as the central European forest, and shrouded in darkness. The latter contrasted the darkness of the human world with the unnatural light of the sun in the world of the gods. It also formed the boundary between the real world of humankind and the unattainable world of the gods.



Map 4.2 The Hyperboreans according to Pliny (*HN* 4.26).

Pliny continued by stating that behind these mountains, beyond the North Wind, dwelt a happy people named the Hyperboreans, who lived to an extreme old age and were famous for legendary marvels. He wrote the hinges on which the firmament turned and the extreme limits of the revolutions of the stars were located in the land of the Hyperboreans. It had six months of daylight and a single day of the sun in retirement. Pliny, perhaps using Pindar and Hecataeus of Abdera as sources, presented the land of the Hyperboreans as a mythical golden-age utopia which had a region with a delightful climate, not effected by any harmful blast. The homes of the Hyperboreans were the woods and groves. They worshipped the gods *(deorum cultus)* in small groups and congregations. All discord and sorrow were unknown. The Hyperboreans only died by ritual suicide when they leapt off a rock into the sea (*Naturalis Historia* 4.12.89–90). The implication here is the Hyperboreans were mortals, which agrees with previous source material, but ritual anointing of their old age and suicide are not attested in any of the previous extant source material. The association with woods and groves, and worshipping in small congregations, makes us think of the Druids, but there is no formal connection made here. Pliny states that jumping into the sea is the most blissful burial. This sea may be an echo of the Other Sea which constituted the limit of the Hyperborean territory in earlier texts.

Pliny then gives an account of where his sources have placed the peoples he mentioned. He wrote that some of his sources have located them in Asia Minor, as there were similar people living in a similar location there. They were called the Attaci (*Naturalis Historia* 6.20.55).[80] Others, Pliny continues, have placed them midway between sunrise and sunset, but, says this is impossible because of the enormous expanse of sea which comes in between. One wonders if this is a reference to the works of Homer, who placed the Ethiopians at both western and eastern extremities of the world known to the Greeks (Homer, *Odyssey* 1.22–23). We suppose the original author was referring to the Mediterranean, although it could also have been the Black Sea/Sea of Azov. Still

other sources to which Pliny had access located the Hyperboreans in a region having six months of daylight, thus, far to the north. These unspecified sources, to which modern scholars do not have access, said the Hyperboreans sowed in the mornings, reaped at noon, picked fruit from their trees at sunset and retired into caves for the night.

Pliny is certainly using Pindar here when he refers to the land of the Hyperboreans as a remote otherworldly paradise located at the edge of the world. The other features above refer to a mythical golden-age utopia in which everything comes forth in plenty and there is eternal peace and harmony. In this scenario, however, the Hyperboreans did actually have to till the soil and harvest, but Pliny makes it seem so effortless that the mythical golden-age utopian setting is preserved. The reference to picking fruit from the trees is perhaps an allusion to the apples of the Hesperides, also located in Greek myth at the ends of the earth. Pliny has the Hyperboreans living in caves and they did not want for anything. Food sprang from the ground in effortless abundance. Strife and phallic strivings were unknown.

After discussing the islands of the Black Sea, Pliny moved northwards, beyond the confines of the inhabited world known to the Greeks, to the coast of northern Europe (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.13.93–94). He made reference to the Rhipean Mountains to the north of the Black Sea, but broke with mythological tradition by writing about what lay to the north of them without mentioning the Hyperboreans (Strabo 7.3.1 C295; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.13.94). He recognized the existence in Book Six of an hour table which he thought passed from the land of the Hyperboreans to Britain, thereby situating them as Herodotus did to the north of the Black Sea/Sea of Azov/Caspian Sea zone (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.39.219).

Pliny makes reference to both Herodotus and Callimachus, but the account has been changed. Following the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth, he says many of his sources stated the Hyperboreans regularly sent the first fruits of their harvests to Delos as an offering to Apollo. Neither Herodotus nor Callimachus mentioned what the sacred offerings wrapped in wheat straw were. According to Pliny, virgins used to bring these offerings. For many years, they were held in veneration and hospitality, and entertained by the nations en route to Delos until, because of a violation of good faith, they started depositing their offerings at the nearest borders of their neighbors, who passed them on to their neighbors, and so on, until they reached Delos. This corresponds to the accounts of Herodotus and Callimachus, but Pliny did not specify a route nor who the neighbors of the Hyperboreans were. According to Herodotus, it was not because of a violation of good faith that the Hyperboreans started this practice, but rather because the virgins and the accompanying Peripherees did not return home. This, too, then, is a new element. Pliny continues saying this practice later ceased, the implication being the Hyperborean worship of Apollo at Delos also ceased before this time.

For the Hyperboreans, the sun rose once a year at midsummer and set once in midwinter. This again meshes with the idea, found in earlier source material such as Pindar, that in the world of the gods, there was an unnatural amount of sunlight which had to be balanced by a certain amount of human darkness to make conditions bearable enough to set up a sanctuary (Olympia), an intermediary place between the world of humans and that of the gods. The Hyperboreans themselves lived in a mythical golden-age utopian setting, halfway between the realm of the gods and that of humankind. Given this context, it was natural for the Hyperboreans to concern themselves with sanctuary

sites such as Olympia, Delos and Delphi, as they, too, were considered halfway between the world of humans and the realm of the gods. A remarkable detail is that they worshipped their gods in small groups and congregations. In previous sources, the Hyperboreans only worshipped one god, Apollo. Pliny did not give the names of the other gods, although one may surmise, from the tradition of the Hyperborean myth, they were Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Illithyia and perhaps Athena. For Pliny, it was impossible to doubt the existence of the Hyperboreans (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.12.88).

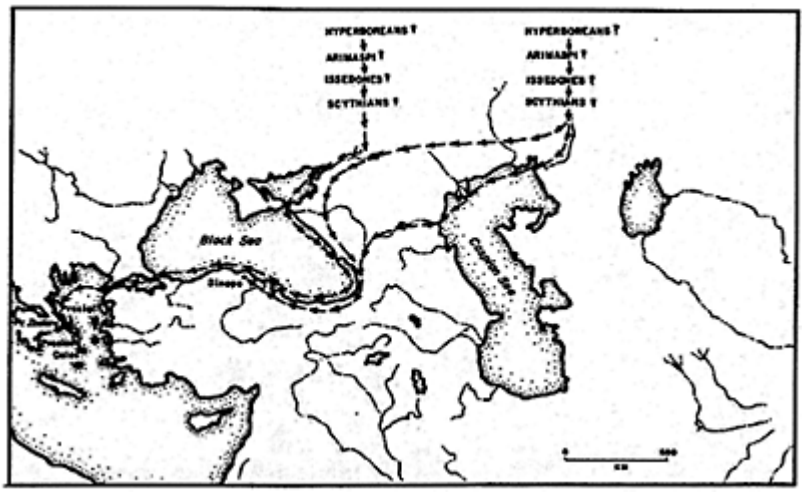
A Stoic by the name of Hierocles, writing in the first half of the second century A.D., referred to a sub-group of the Hyperboreans called the Tarcunaeii. This name probably derives from Arcunia Mountain where there were reported to be gold-guarding griffins (Stephanus of Byzantium 603 Meineke).[81] These griffins most probably came from Herodotus' account and the Delian strand of the myth (4.13).

Antoninus Liberalis wrote about Clinis the Babylonian.[82] He was so friendly with Apollo that he often accompanied the god on his visits to his temple among the Hyperboreans, where he witnessed the sacrifices of asses. This has surely been inspired by Pindar (*Pythian* 10.31–36). Later, Antoninus continues, Clinis got into trouble because he tried to sacrifice asses at home on his own account. In one version, Apollo appeared to him in person and threatened him with death if he attempted it, saying he wished only the Hyperboreans to bring him the sacrifice of asses, but Clinis and his son persisted, and, as a punishment, were devoured by the asses they intended to slay.[83] In another version, Apollo turned his whole family into birds. The scholiast on the passage wrote the story was told by Boeus in the second book of his *Ornithogonia* and by Simmias in his *Apollo*.[84] It seems fundamental to the story that the friendship with Apollo and the visit to the land of the Hyperboreans were only welcome when the Hyperboreans performed the sacrifices themselves, thus, reinforcing the idea of a fallen Golden Age in which humans had no place in the world of the gods. Just as humans should not eat nectar and ambrosia, the gods should not partake of flesh. There was an ordained order of things in the non-scientific, mythologizing approach to life which had to be respected. There was a temple consecrated to Apollo in the land of the Hyperboreans, as there was in the writings of Hecataeus of Abdera and Iamblichus. Simmias has also preserved Pindar's idea that the land of the Hyperboreans was far away and of difficult access to the ordinary human. Both Powell and Bolton believe that Clinis is narrating the story and that he was giving an account of a ride in Apollo's chariot on his way back from the land of the Hyperboreans, during which he described peoples, places and what he saw.[85] The tale is not mythology, but a fourth century Alexandrian romantic invention, perhaps based loosely on the adventures of Aristeas of Proconnesus and on Alcaeus (Frag. 301 1 [a] Lobel and Page in Himerius, *Oration* 14.10–11), as there is no mention of Clinis in earlier literature and he is a Babylonian.[86] It could also have been a parody based loosely on the latter.[87]

Pausanias, writing about 150 A.D., was also a traveler and a geographer. He gave some interesting and different details concerning the Hyperborean myth.[88] In his description of the small country towns of Attica, he mentions a town called Zoster (Girdle), where, in his day, there were altars to Athena, Apollo, Artemis and Leto. It was reported Leto did not give birth there, but that she loosened her girdle before giving birth on Delos (Pausanias 1.31.1). This tradition is first mentioned in a fragment by Hyperides in the fourth century (Frag. 70 Blass, 67 Jensen).[89] Hyperides was a delegate to the

Amphictyonic Council of Delos and staunchly supported the claim of Athens to the presidency of the temple of Apollo on Delos. This may explain why Athena appears with the traditional triad of the Hyperborean legend: Leto, Apollo and Artemis. Hyperides, therefore, may have continued the early tradition of including Athens in the early myth, so that she could continue to lay claim to control of Delos as an important temple of Apollo.[90]

Pausanias continues by stating that according to reports he had heard at the shrine of Apollo at Prasiae in Attica, the first fruits of the Hyperboreans came to Prasiae: the Hyperboreans handed them to the Arimaspi, who gave them to the Issedones, the Scythians brought them to Sinope and the Greeks then carried them to Prasiae, from where they were taken to Delos by Athenians (Map 4.3). This is the route one would have expected Herodotus to report because of his travels to the Black Sea/Sea of Azov area, as many of the Greek colonies which ringed the Black Sea were founded by Miletus, had



Map 4.3 Pausanias' Hyperborean gift route

strong cults to both Apollo and Artemis, connections with Delphi and because of Aristeas' report on the peoples of that area contained in Herodotus.[91] These first-fruits were hidden in wheat-straw and no-one knew what they were (Pausanias 1.32.1). This may be a somewhat garbled version of Herodotus' text, mixed with a few details from Callimachus and a new route, but it is the first text which states that the offerings came from the Hyperboreans to Prasiae in Attica. These have changed from mysterious sacred offerings to Hyperborean first-fruits, but have kept their wheat-straw wrapping (Herodotus 4.33; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 275–299). The route is a combined one: the Hyperboreans gave the offerings to the Arimaspi, who gave them to the Issedones (Herodotus 4.33). The Issedones gave them to the Scythians who brought them to Sinope. Sinope was one of the earliest Greek foundations on the Black Sea, along with Trapezus

(Sinope's daughter city) and Cyzicus on the Propontis.[92] These were founded by Milesians (Ionians) who were fervent worshippers of Apollo.[93]

Greeks then carried the sacred gifts to Prasiae in Attica, where Athenians had the privilege of carrying them by themselves to Delos. There is not only an implication that the Arimaspi, Issedones and Scythians were subservient to the Greeks because they brought the Hyperborean gifts to Sinope, but also that the Greeks were in general subservient to the Athenians, as they carried the sacred gifts to Delos which they controlled.[94] In the text, as in Aristeas (Herodotus 4.13), the Hyperboreans were pictured as living to the north of the Black Sea, but no other information is given about them. He does report that young girls in Delos used to cut a lock of their hair and offer it up on the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens while they were still virgins (Pausanias 1.43.4). This matches Herodotus' information, but Pausanias called the Hyperborean maidens Hecaerge and Opis (Herodotus 4.33–34; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 296–299). Herodotus called them Arge and Opis, who were buried on Delos and worshipped in quite a different way. Callimachus called them Loxo, Hecaerge and Upis (Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 292). Pausanias again seems to have mixed the two traditions which preceded him.[95] He has changed the information in previous source material by writing that Illithyia came from the Hyperboreans to Delos to help Leto in her childbirth. Pausanias also says that other people got Ilithyia's name from the Hyperboreans, but does not say who these people were.

Pausanias continues by relating legends about the oracle of Apollo at Delphi in his tenth book. He reported that a woman of the district of Delphi named Boio wrote a Delphian hymn which said Olen and the Hyperboreans founded the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and that it was Olen who first prophesied and first sang the hexameter (Pausanias 10.5.7–8). This is consistent with Herodotus, who reported that Olen of Lycia in Asia Minor wrote a hymn in honor of Arge and Opis, and other hymns which were sung at Delos at an unspecified time before Herodotus' day (Herodotus 4.35). He did not specify what was in these hymns. Herodotus did not say that Olen and the Hyperboreans founded Delphi, but that they were connected with the Hyperborean myth at Delos. According to Pausanias, Boio named Pagasus and Aguieus as Hyperboreans who helped to found the oracle at Delphi. This information is new.

Pausanias further informs us that the second shrine at Delphi was made of beeswax and feathers and sent by Apollo from the Hyperboreans (Pausanias 10.5.9–10).[96] These feathers may be the same ones which were mentioned as falling snow in Scythia: they may be a direct reference to the swan, or to the swan-pulled chariot in which Apollo rode to go to and from the land of the Hyperboreans in winter, or to the Rhipean Mountains (Alcaeus Frag. 307 1 [c] Lobel and Page in Himerius, *Oration* 14.10ff; Herodotus 4.31). Pausanias uses Pindar as a source and says that Heracles introduced the olive into Greece by bringing it from the land of the Hyperboreans (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.11–17, 21–27; Pausanias 5.7.8). He defined the ethnic name Hyperboreans as "men living beyond the home of the North Wind." Pausanias used the same Olen of Lycia from Herodotus' writings, but said he composed a hymn called Achaea. Olen was the first to say Achaea came to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans (Pausanias 5.78, 9.27.2). This is new information which does not appear in previous sources. He then wrote that a certain Melanopus of Cyme in Asia Minor composed an ode to the Hyperborean maidens Opis and Hecaerge, saying that the two traveled to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans

before Achaea did. This seems to be a different, but parallel tradition to that of Herodotus and Callimachus.[97]

In the middle of the second century A.D., Ptolemy did not contest the existence of the Hyperboreans or the Rhipean Mountains. Using Herodotus as a source, he thought the Tanais (Don) and the Rha (Volga) had their sources in the Rhipean Mountains (Ptolemy 5.8.7). He labeled the Sarmatae as Hyperboreans (Ptolemy 5.8.10) and mentioned a Hyperborean Ocean to the north of the "Sacred Isle," Ireland (Ptolemy 2.21).[98] Thus, following the ideas put forward by Aristeas of Proconnesus in Herodotus, he placed the Rhipean Mountains in the middle of the Russian Steppe (Ptolemy 3.5.5). Although Ptolemy seems to be following primarily Aristeas of Proconnesus and perhaps Hesiod by placing the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans to the north of the land of the Scythians, he has slightly changed the legend by making the Sarmatae Hyperboreans. This was never the case before for this particular people, but the change may have been modeled on the tendency to consider the Arimaspi as Hyperboreans. What has not changed is the idea that the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans were far away at the edge of the world and the lands of the Hyperboreans were of difficult access. The region of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Seas continue to be viewed in Ptolemy as the edge of the known world, where the real world met the mythical parallel world. It is most intriguing that Ptolemy mentioned a sacred isle and a Hyperborean Ocean to the north of it. This may be an isolated reference to Hecataeus of Abdera's island in the extreme north of the world.[99]

Dionysius Periegeta also thought the Rhipean Mountains were the source of the Borysthenes River (Dionysius Periegeta, *Orbis Descriptio* 315).[100] At the end of the second century A.D., or at the beginning of the third, Pseudo-Plutarch qualified the Caucasus as the bed of Boreas, thereby identifying them with the Rhipean Mountains and the mythical edge of the world (Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviis* 5.3).[101] He also wrote the Celts of the Northwestern European Islands lived for one-hundred-and-twenty years, making the Celtic lands into a mythical golden-age utopia located on the northern edge of the world (Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum* 5.30 a-e; Tacitus, *Dialogus* 17).[102] Priscian, again essentially following Herodotus, wrote in the third century that the Rhipean Mountains were located to the north of the Black Sea, but taking Pindar into account, he thought the Hyperboreans in previous times had been neighbors of the Ethiopians (Priscian 307, 570–575).[103] Avienus, also following Aristeas of Proconnesus in Herodotus, located the Rhipean Mountains to the north of the Borysthenes (Avienus, *Descriptio* 451).[104] Marcian entered the Sea of Azov and the Sarmatic Ocean and located the Hyperboreans to the east of the Vistula (Marcian, *Periplus* 2.39).[105] He also located the Hyperborean Ocean north of the sacred isle as Ptolemy had done (Marcian, *Periplus* 2.42).[106] Eustathius, also using Herodotus and Damastes of Sigeum as sources, wrote that the Rhipean Mountains were actually Scythian. He placed them near the Borysthenes River. The Scythian lands continued to be identified as the limit between the real world of humankind and the start of the mythical parallel world of the gods and of god-like beings such as the Hyperboreans. The Hyperboreans lived beyond the Rhipean Mountains and their territory stretched down to the sea (Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegeta* 663). The Caucasus Mountains were thought of as going as far as India, on one hand, and the Urals on the other. They were northerly and reported to hold

the cave of the North Wind, transplanted from its original location of Mount Haemus in Thrace.[107]

Iamblichus (circa 250–325 A.D.) was born in Chalcis in Syria and studied under Porphyry in Rome or Sicily. He later founded his own school, possibly at Apamea. Iamblichus, then, was from the eastern theater of Greek colonization and was educated in the western theater. It would have been natural for him to transpose the myths, stories and legends with which he grew up from his home in the east to his place of education in the west. He wrote a book entitled *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, which contains some elements concerning the relation between Pythagorean beliefs and the Hyperborean myth.[108] To do this, he mentioned many of the elements cited in previous sources. Iamblichus drew heavily on the works of Porphyry, Heraclides Ponticus and Hermippus. He mentioned Abaris, but calls him a Scythian who came from the land of the Hyperboreans.[109] This is new information, as it is implied the Scythians had access to the land of the Hyperboreans, while previous tradition states that, first, only the chosen few could go there, then only the Delians and Athenians had access, but by the fourth century, non-Greek peoples could also enter the Hyperborean lands. Abaris was a priest of Apollo, according to Iamblichus, in the Hyperborean lands. He was old and most wise in sacred matters. Abaris was returning from Greece to the Hyperborean lands so he could deposit the gold which had been gathered for Apollo in the temple of the Hyperboreans (Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 90–91).[110] It is not terribly clear if this gold came from the offerings made to Apollo in the human world, or if it came from another source. As discussed in section one, gold is a metal that binds both the real world of the Greeks and their mythical parallel world of gods and superheroes together.

When he was passing through Italy, Pythagoras' land of adoption, Abaris saw Pythagoras and believed he was his master in human form (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 91). In recognition of this, he gave Pythagoras an arrow, or Pythagoras took it from him, which he had when he left Apollo's temple in the land of the Hyperboreans (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 91, 140–141). Abaris, according to the story reported by Herodotus, rode all around the world on this arrow without eating a bite (Herodotus 4.36). According to Iamblichus, he rode on it to cross impassable places, such as rivers, lakes, swamps, mountains. He also used it to perform purifications and to drive off plagues and winds from the cities when asked for assistance. When Pythagoras was in possession of the arrow, he took Abaris aside and showed him his golden thigh.[111]

In a further passage, similar to Herodotus' account of Aristeas journeying to the land of the Issedones, Pythagoras was present on one and the same day in Metapontum and in Tauromenium, and conversed with followers in many both places (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 134–135). As we have seen, Metapontum was an important place for the Apolline cult, Apollo, Aristeas and the Hyperborean myth (Herodotus 4.13–15).[112] Iamblichus transferred all the attributes of Apollo onto Pythagoras: infallible predictions of earthquakes, speedy prevention of plagues and violent winds, immediate cessation of hailstorms and calmings of river and sea waves. Pythagoras said he had been initiated in Thrace, one of the homes of the Hyperboreans and the origin of the Orphic cult (*On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 146). Iamblichus also wrote that in only one lecture, which Pythagoras gave to the general public when he arrived in Italy, more than two thousand individuals were captivated by his words. They no longer returned home, but built a great school and community which they named "Magna Graecia" (*On the Pythagorean Way of*

Life 30). The colonizing aspect of Apollo is preserved here, as it was in the Hyperborean myth.[113] Some spread the report that Pythagoras was Pythian Apollo, others that he was Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans (Aristotle Frag. 191 Rose/Frag. 1 Ross).[114] As in the text of Pseudo-Plato, the Hyperborean myth has become a part of Pythagorean beliefs, used to illustrate their philosophy.

In Greek literary tradition, the Hyperboreans were a mythical people who lived in the extreme north of the world known to the Greeks. The earliest sources which have come down to us stressed the mountain aspect in the Hyperborean myth, as the Hyperboreans were reputed to live far to the north, above a range of lofty mountains which were thickly wooded, eternally covered in snow and shrouded in black night. It is also clear the name Hyperboreans has something to do with Boreas, the god of the North Wind, above whom, or at the back of whom, the Hyperboreans were thought to have resided. One may infer in some sources that Boreas lived on the northern side of the Rhipean Mountains, as the Hyperborean were thought to live "at the back of the North Wind" or "behind the North Wind" (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.31–35). In other sources, however, such as Hesiod and Callimachus, Boreas was thought of as living in or around Mount Haemus in Thrace, thus, the Hyperboreans may have been situated to the north of Thrace, at the sources of the Danube River.

The Rhipean Mountains formed an immense barrier between the world of humans and their mythical parallel world of Greek gods and mythical utopias which mortals of the Greek world could only traverse in certain circumstances determined by Apollo or Zeus. Yet, the Hyperboreans were mortal themselves and did not live with the gods, unless the gods went to visit them, as Apollo did. Beyond the Rhipean Mountains was the Other Sea in some sources, down to which the Hyperborean homeland stretched. The Rhipean Mountains protected the Hyperborean lands, a mythical golden-age paradise, from the pain and suffering of the human world. They were also of extremely difficult access, even to individuals such as Perseus. Yet, according to some traditions, the Hyperboreans ventured forth from their remote homeland to help found Delos, Delphi and Olympia, all important religious centers of mainland Greece. The Hyperboreans were thought to have traversed Greece during its mythical prehistory and to have left their mark on some of its innermost and sanctified places.[115] These events allowed the Greeks the luxury of believing they had been chosen above all peoples by Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Apollo and Ilithyia, to house Apollo's sacred shrines. The gods had chosen Delphi to house the navel of the world, Delos as the birth-place of the sacred twins and Olympia as the site of the sacred games in honor of Zeus. This argument is supported by the idea of a perfect climatic zone in which the Hyperboreans lived. They again picked Greece as a zone which resembled it imperfectly, as humans did Hyperboreans, as a reference to their own climatic zone (Herodotus 1.142, 3.106.16; Hippocratic Corpus, *De aere aquis et locis* 13, 15).[116]

According to Herodotus' account of Aristeas of Proconnesus (4.13), the Arimaspi pushed the Issedones out of their territory, the Issedones pushed the Scythians out of theirs and the Scythians in turn pushed the Cimmerians out of their lands, which caused them to invade Greek lands in the south. Aristeas presented a climatically structured ethnographic map in which concentric rings of humanity and mythical peoples press in on one another in competition for the temperate zone at the center, but the Hyperboreans do not participate in this struggle, as they are a peaceful people, devoted to the worship of

Apollo and as they could go to the center at any time. Indeed, they helped create the center.[117] The Hyperboreans, then, represented a human ideal that Greek religious and philosophical communities aspired to attain, but could never.[118] The present author does not agree with Romm's interpretation: "In terms of their climatic insularity and their special relationship with Apollo, then, the Hyperboreans exemplify the scheme of inverse ethnocentrism." The Hyperboreans represent direct ethnocentrism, as the Greeks felt the Hyperboreans had chosen them and their lands, above all other peoples, to house the Hyperborean shrines of Apollo, to travel to and to receive visitors from. Thus, the Greeks considered themselves as the center of the world and the center of their lands was the Omphalus at Delphi. Heracles visited the Hyperborean lands in pursuit of the doe with the golden antlers, a symbol of Artemis, and persuaded them to give the olive tree to him which he brought back to Greece and planted at Olympia, where he initiated games in honor of Zeus. Four Hyperborean maidens were actually reported to have been buried on Delos and an olive branch grew on one of their graves. It may have been symbolic of the tradition reported by Pindar. The Hyperboreans, then, had a significant role to play in the founding of three important centers of Greek religion. Because of this, they helped to create, and sometimes to maintain, important values in Greek thought, such as Justice, Right, moral purity and religiosity. In this way, they cannot be seen as simple northern geographical mirror-image counterparts of the southern Ethiopians.[119] It is true there are similarities: the gods retired to the land of the Ethiopians for recreation and to enjoy being adored by them. Only one god, however, consistently went to the land of the Hyperboreans: Apollo. One could argue, based on the story of the doe with the golden antlers, that Artemis would also have found herself in the land of the Hyperboreans, but we do not know how or exactly what her role there is. Furthermore, based on Aristotle's account, Leto came from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos to give birth to the divine twins. The latter two traditions, however, do not seem to be generalizable and do not relate to the core of the myth.

The Hyperborean myth may date from as early as the eighth century, and possibly even earlier, as it may originally have been connected with the cult of Demeter at Anthela. Herodotus' Hyperborean offerings do seem to fit more into an agrarian cult than into Apollo's (Callimachus, *Demeter* 17–22). Why the sanctuary was moved and how the Hyperboreans became associated with the Apolline cult are not clear, but it is clear, however, that the Hyperboreans are consistently associated with Apollo throughout Greek literary history. The myth also appears to have been used in part to explain Greek territorial expansion and conquest by moving the Hyperborean homeland about Europe, Asia and western northern Africa, thereby pushing the edges of the world further afield as Greek colonization progressed.[120] Mythology and religion seem to have been all important to the Greeks, as what they did and the conquests they made, they saw as having to be justified by them.[121] The cult of Apollo was important to many of the colonies involved, as many of them were founded with the approval of Delphi. The individuals who populated them may have sent sacred offerings and gifts to the island of Delos and to Delphi. When the Greeks were colonizing the west, the Hyperboreans appeared in the Celtic lands to the north of the Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean theater. Moreover, the Hyperborean homeland was moved about to accommodate changes in Greek geographical knowledge, trade and colonization, using the divine justification of Apollo as a basis. Given this framework, it is not surprising that

the Scythians knew nothing about the Hyperboreans or their myth, as they were only a part of Greek mythology, not a part of Scythian legends, and, consequently, functioned solely within a Greek framework (Herodotus 4.13).

Literary sources attest a golden-age utopian existence as one of the features of the Hyperborean myth. Similar to Hesiod's golden race, the Hyperboreans were not subject to aging, although they did die, sometimes for reasons stated, other times for unknown ones.[122] They were not obliged to work for a living, but all good things sprang from the earth without great effort. The Hyperboreans were innocent of city life or complex organization. They were free from grief, anxiety, toil; they lived in peace with no knowledge of war. Their world seems to have been like gold to the ancients, which had a connotation of "eternal," "imperishable," as gold seemed practically indestructible despite the passage of time (Aeschylus, *Choephori* 372–374; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 260–263).[123] The Hyperboreans were portrayed most of the time as feasting and happy in an eternally opulent environment. The Hyperborean myth, however, is not a hero utopia, similar to the paradise prescribed for Menelaus (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.563–569). The Hyperboreans represented an intermediary stage between the world of the gods and that of humankind. Consequently, they may be a remnant of an earlier time when humans and gods dined and sat in council together, and when humans did not have to worry about old age taking them (Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women* Frag. 1 Merk.-West, *Works and Days* 110–120).[124] Later on in Greek literary history, the "golden-age utopia" became a contemporary political, social or philosophical one which was described to follow a certain school of thought or to criticize Greek society. These stories of a northern paradise were grafted onto the original myth often to satisfy Alexandrian romantic tastes, especially during the third century. They also comprise Athenian propaganda which had as its goal the control of two major religious sanctuaries in the Greek world: Delos and Delphi.

During the fourth century, Theopompus invented a land called Meropis, a vast continent situated beyond the stream of Ocean. He populated it with idealized peoples, including the Eusebians or "Pietists," who enjoyed a life much like that of the Hyperboreans. According to Theopompus, one day, the Meropians decided to pay a visit to the Greek world where they reached and met with the Hyperboreans. When they learned that the Hyperboreans were the most blessed of human peoples, they still looked with contempt on their base and wretched lot. They disdained to go any further (Aelian, *Varia Historia* 3.18). Theopompus evidently believed the Meropian reaction to the Hyperboreans was a comic extrapolation of the way the Hyperboreans regarded the Greeks from their privileged niche at the world's s edge.[125] This is a vivid demonstration of how the Hyperborean myth was altered to criticize contemporary Greek society.[126]

The land of the Hyperboreans was then a paradise located between the earthly world known to the Greeks and the world of the gods. It was sealed off to the north by an immense barrier of mountains which created both a special climate and atmosphere. The Hyperborean lands were the part-time residence of Apollo, and that was for the winter months. Access was give to Perseus and Croesus, but denied to Aristeas. With the Alexandrian concept of a utopia, access to the Hyperborean lands became easier. The Hyperboreans were reported to have long life, but did, in the end, die. Their society was based on an ideal of justice, law, purity and peace, things which the human world of the Greeks experienced as difficult to attain and which became philosophical ideals to groups

such as the Neo-Pythagoreans. Hyperborean society was not characterized by harsh poverty, but by comfortable opulence. These characteristics may correspond to a Greek aristocratic ideal of opulence, good living, freedom from sickness, justice, purity, social responsibility, correct moral values and longevity.

It is clear that Aristeas' account in Herodotus is a composite one. The Hyperboreans themselves appear to be Greek, unless they were originally brought from Thrace by Orpheus or someone like him. They could be a holdover from earlier, possibly Mycenaean or dark-age, trading contacts with wealthy northern peoples, whose lands were uncharted, dangerous and little known to the Greeks of the ninth/eighth centuries.[127] Apollo himself may be symbolic of Greek trading voyages to the north of which the source for Avenius' *Ora Maritima*, Pytheas' voyage and Pseudo-Scymnus' tales represent the latest examples, but these are the only traditions which have come down to us. The sacred offerings may originally have represented northern goods sent to the Mediterranean basin.[128] It may have been that Greek merchants, travelling north to trade their wares, took their cult of Apollo and the readymade Hyperborean myth with them. Alternatively, the Hyperborean paradise could have also been conditioned by the opulence they experienced and saw in the north in the Hallstatt power centers of central and Western Europe. Many of the Greek cities on the Adriatic, in Italy and on the shores of the Black Sea had important Apolline cults. Cyzicus, for example, was named after a son of Apollo and the god was particularly closely connected with the city (Strabo 12.3.22–23 C551). Trading routes south may have become the routes taken by the sacred Hyperborean offerings. The above is a working hypothesis for which there is little concrete evidence, but it seems at least reasonable given the context, especially as we know from archaeology that some Greek colonies in southern Italy, Sicily and in southern France did a thriving business with the Celtic Hallstatt palaces of the north and that diplomatic gifts were also involved. These factors could explain in part why certain texts, which we will examine in section three of the present work, identify the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts. Based on our enquiry in this section, we may now assert that the Hyperborean myth has specific features and a specific history within Greek literary tradition. Some of these features fit the Celtic context when certain authors transposed the Hyperboreans from east to west. Our task in section three is to in part examine how closely these Hyperborean features fit the Celtic context in order to try to determine why our authors and texts identified the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts.

Section Three
The Hyperboreans and the Celts: A Case of Mistaken Identity?

Chapter Five
Antimachus of Colophon

Stephanus of Byzantium grouped Protarchus' and Antimachus' fragments together, as they were referring to the same myth.[1] They both involve the transposition of the Hyperboreans, the Arimaspi and the Rhipean Mountains from east to west. The key question here is to explore possible reasons why Protarchus and Antimachus identified the Rhipean Mountains with the Alps. Including the Arimaspi makes one think of Aristeas of Proconnesus (Herodotus 4.13) as an ultimate source which was then transposed from east to west. Damastes of Sigeum's account is nearer to the fragments of Protarchus and Antimachus though, as he gives the Arimaspi as living directly below the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans themselves.[2] Protarchus' and Antimachus' fragments are, to the knowledge of the present author, the only texts in extant Greek literature which assert that the Arimaspi live to the north of the Rhipean Mountains. Moreover, Stephanus of Byzantium (118.6 Meineke) adds the Arimaspi were a Hyperborean people. The transposition of the Hyperborean legend from east to west may simply have been a question of poetic license, or perhaps Antimachus made the reference to satisfy a patron located in Sicily or Italy, as their power was on the rise. No concrete evidence, however, has come to light that he ever composed for a Sicilian tyrant as for example Pindar did. Moreover, I believe other factors make the identification of the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones a mythical parallel of a historical process. If we consider Antimachus of Colophon as a product of his times and the world in which he lived, these factors are to be found not only in what we know of his life and poetry, but also in the Greek presence and history of their colonization in the west. Certain details concerning Antimachus' life are particularly important and will help us to understand how and why he transposed the Hyperborean myth from east to west.

The *Suda* reports Antimachus was born before Plato (circa 429–347) (*Suda* 1.237 Adler). Apollodoris places his *floruit* about 404.[3] These two sources imply a birthdate about the middle of the fifth century.[4] He would then have been between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five years old when the Celts started their migrations in the last quarter of the fifth century and approximately between the ages of forty and sixty years old when the Celts sacked Rome. Antimachus grew up in a town which had a rich poetic tradition: such poets as Mimnermus and Xenophanes had come before Antimachus and other poets such as Hermesianax, Phoenix and Nicander were to follow him.[5] The *Suda* that informs us Antimachus was a pupil of both Panyassis and Stesimbrotus. Wilamowitz suggested Antimachus studied under Panyassis because he became an epic poet and a pupil of Stesimbrotus because he was a Homeric scholar (Xenophon, *Symposium* 3.5, 4.6; Jacoby, *FGrH* 107 T4).[6] Pfeiffer stresses that Antimachus is the only pre-Hellenistic author of an edition of Homer, possibly including a commentary, of which we can be

sure.[7] It was through this editorial work of Homer that he earned his reputation as *doctus poeta*.

Antimachus seems to have written in a severe, rather obscure, involved style. He had a penchant for rare archaic terms. He was also a determined eccentric who impressed both the wayward and the pedantic.[8] His manner was less spontaneous, more allusive and even deliberately pedantic in relation to previous authors.[9] Antimachus is sometimes claimed by modern scholars to be a precursor of the Hellenistic poets. Moreover, and similarly to Pindar, he showed he could adapt the tradition he had inherited and studied to invent new pieces for his own purposes. Antimachus' most famous work appears to have been the *Thebaid*, as he was admitted to the Alexandrian canon of epic poets and is often mentioned with other poets.[10] He seems to have treated the wanderings of Leto and perhaps the birth story of the divine twins Artemis and Apollo in his poem entitled the *Lyde* (Frag. 78 Schober, Frag. 783 Pfeiffer, Frag. 94 Matthews). If Antimachus knew this part of the story, we may safely assume he also knew about the Hyperborean involvement in the legend of the birth of the sacred twins and about the Hyperborean gift routes given by Herodotus and Callimachus. Antimachus may well have even penned an intermediary version of the gift route himself that was different from both those of Herodotus and Callimachus. If he did, however, no such fragment has come down to us. In addition, Ovid refers to Antimachus as the *Clarian Bard* (Ovid, *Tristia* 1.6.1–4, 5 Wyss, 29 Gentili-Prato, 6 Matthews). As Apollo's sanctuary and grove at Clarus had fallen under Colophonian control by the middle of the fourth century, Matthews postulates Ovid was adding luster to Antimachus, and, thus, to his comparison by associating him with the famous god of Clarus, a god with an interest in poetry and music.[11] While not denying Matthews' suggestion, Ovid's reference may also be stressing that Antimachus grew up with and was somehow involved in, or at least knew the tenets of, the Apolline cult practised at Clarus. By calling Antimachus the *Clarian Bard*, Ovid is showing his awareness that Colophon and Clarus shared a political, cultural and religious identity, but he may well have been hinting at some deeper involvement on the part of Antimachus, at least at some time during his life. This argument is further supported by Antimachus' poem concerning the goddess Artemis, worshipped next to Apollo in his native city of Colophon.[12]

To sum up, Antimachus was brought up in a city that had an outstandingly rich poetic tradition, that he inherited. He was known in antiquity as both an epic and elegiac poet, but more importantly for our purposes, as a poet who knew how to transform this tradition according to his own needs and wants. This is not enough, however, to explain why Antimachus transposed the Hyperborean legend from east to west: he did so because he was mythologizing a specific historical process that had been taking place for centuries and that was continuing to take place during his own lifetime.[13] Italy had no Greek prehistory, therefore, one needed to be created.[14]

Greek colonization on the shores of the western Mediterranean is well documented and forms an essential part of any history of the Greek world.[15] The Greek cities in the west were prosperous *nouveaux riches*, their temples were that little bit bigger than those in mainland Greece, their art a little bit more ornate. Artists and philosophers could readily be enticed from Greece by commissions or lecture tours and their work did not always suffer. The western lands were fertile, their prosperous soils helped create great cities. Sybaris grew so rich that its name remains a synonym for voluptuous luxury.

Furthermore, the western Greeks flaunted their success. They embarked upon sizable building projects whose architecture rivaled or outshone similar complexes at home. Passionate about athletics, they dominated the Olympic Games for many years. They also commissioned a number of great artworks in antiquity.

During the eighth century, when the Greeks started to migrate west, they took with them their civilization, language, culture, identities, mentalities and their way of life, including their beliefs, myths, legends and literature. They did more, however, than just transport their literature from east to west in their hearts and minds, they modified it to make it seem as if it had originated in the west.[16] They named new islands and territories after places and individuals in epic stories and myths they already knew so well, especially the Odyssey.[17] The so-called "Nestor Cup" discovered on the site of the ancient Pithecussae, founded near the Bay of Naples in the first half of the eighth century, tells us the Greek colonists who lived there were cultivated, well aware of Greek culture and literature, and must have known the Homeric poems, or versions of them. Furthermore, they were eager to justify their claim to these new islands and territories either by transposing existing Greek myths, sagas and legends from east to west or by creating new ones to fit the context.[18] Hesiod mentions the mythical Eridanus River, identified with either the Rhone or the Po, and later used in the Hyperborean myth (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.592–626), in the western theater of Greek colonization and in patently Celtic territory (Hesiod Frag. 153.23 Merk-West).[19] The real Eridanus river flowed under the northwest corner of the Agora at Athens (Hesiod, *Theogony* 338; Strabo 9.1.19 C397; Pausanias 1.195).[20] It would seem the Eridanus was transposed from mainland Greece to Italy at some point before Hesiod was writing, or at least that the mythical Eridanus river in the west was named for the real river in Athens. To support this hypothesis, one need only think of the Ilisus sited next to the Eridanus in Athens which we know was used in the Greek myth of Boreas' kidnapping of Orithyia (Plato, *Phaedrus* 229a-e; Strabo 7.3.1 C295).[21] Moreover, the *Nostoi* of individuals who were traditionally believed to have had fought in the Trojan War and who had "returned" to Italy proved in the minds of some authors that the Greeks had been in Italy during the Heroic Age. In addition, the western Greeks believed that when their families had colonized Italy, their forebears were actually returning to a region that had been known to the Greeks during the Golden Age.[22] The transposition of everything Greek to the lands of the western Mediterranean was so successful that Pompeius Trogus, himself of Celtic origin, wrote during the Augustian period that "Greece had not emigrated to Gaul, but Gaul was seen to have been transformed into Greece" (in Justinus 43.3.4–16). Given the historical process of Greek colonization in the western Mediterranean, as well as the examples cited above, it does not seem so strange that both Protarchus and Antimachus would have wanted to transpose the Hyperborean myth from east to west in order to help create a mythical past for Italy and Sicily.

Another reason for this identification may be found in the religious aspects of the process of colonization itself: Greek colonization during the archaic and classical periods usually meant the establishment of independent city-states (poleis) in distant lands. Religion was of central importance in the foundation of Greek colonies. It provided both the concrete and symbolic framework of "foundation" through the creation of sanctuaries, the establishment of cults, the transfer of sacred fire, the regulation of the sacred calendars, the setting up of altars and so forth.[23] While the cult of Apollo was certainly

not the only one rendered in the Greek colonies of Italy, Sicily and southern France, Apollo as a god and his oracle at Delphi played a key role in their foundation and subsequent history from the shores of the Black Sea to the western Mediterranean.[24] Furthermore, it is logical to suggest that Greek colonists brought the Hyperborean legend with them to the west as part of the Apolline cult.[25] While the subsequent history of each colony is particular, the foundations and the foundation processes contain practices common to most.

Given this context of transposing myths, legends, sagas and stories from east to west, as well as the role of the Apolline cult in the Greek colonization of the western Mediterranean, the identification of the mythical Rhipean Mountains and the real Alps seems both logical and reasonable. Both conjure up the same image: a huge mass of lofty, impenetrable mountains which were impossible to traverse and which were always covered in snow. Furthermore, both were thought of as having harsh, cold northern winds blowing from them, or from above them. It is quite possible that early on in the period of the Greek colonization of the west, the Alps constituted a real barrier to the access of the lands to the north, or that perhaps this access was controlled by Celtic middlemen who wished to protect their markets from foreign intrusion.[26]

The earliest of the Greek colonies in the west had been deliberately planted in a position which was particularly favorable for trade with Etruria at Pithecussae and Cumae.[27] During the eighth century, relations between the Etruscans and areas north of the Po intensified.[28] The Golasecca peoples, Celts themselves, had acted as a bridge between the Mediterranean and central European worlds, controlling the routes to important Alpine passes, such as the Saint Gotthard and Saint Bernard, since at least the Bronze Age (Map 5.1). During the seventh century, Vetulonia was the leading center of Etruscan trade with the north and Bologna was the heart of a network of relations which included the upper Po valley, Alpine and northern Alpine territories. Imports from Etruria to the western Hallstatt and Golasecca areas were significant in both quality and quantity.[29] The Greeks had already been involved in extensive overseas trading enterprises in the east and in Egypt, and it would be idle to pretend that considerations of trade did not provide some part of the motive in founding many colonies, and the major part in a few.[30] This presupposes knowledge of possible sites for colonial development which could have been brought back by Greek merchants who had already explored the shores of the western Mediterranean. There is evidence for their activity in the pre-colonial vases found in Etruria (at Veii), Campania (at Capua and Pontecagnano) and in Sicily (at Villasmundo).[31] The earliest Greek colonies in the west were founded by Euboeans not on the nearest good farmland, but in a position which gave the most immediate opportunities for trade with Etruria, as the Etruscans were conducting a thriving commerce with the northern peoples on both sides of the Alps. These Greek establishments were then supported by foundations safeguarding the passage to them through the Straits of Messina.[32] There also exists evidence to suggest that the Greeks did the same in southern France and northern Africa. As in the east, the commodities most sought after were metals: iron, copper and tin. These commodities were in part at least procured from sources to the north of the Alps, in the Celtic lands. Massalia, the modern Marseille in southern France, was founded primarily as a port for trade with these lands via the Rhone River and points north, and also the maritime tin route from the

northwestern European Islands.[33] Once her routes were closed to further trading, new towns on the North Adriatic took her place.

Map 5.1 The Golasecca world

Tin reached the Mediterranean in two ways: first, overland through France, whence it could be supplied to the metal-working centers of Etruria. This necessitated taking the imported materials over the Alps from the Celtic lands and into Etruria. This route was the one the Greeks first tapped into through the Euboean foundations of Pithecussae and Cumae, safeguarded by their colonies on the Straits of Messina and later pursued by their colonies in the south of France. The other tin route was by sea to the south of Spain, where there were other important natural resources to be obtained, notably silver.[34] Once the trading routes via Etruria had been secured by the Greeks, well before the end of the eighth century, only the Spanish routes were open, and this the Phoenicians secured by their foundations at Carthage, the coasts of southern Spain, northern Africa, western Sicily and probably Sardinia, before the end of the eighth century.[35]

The area of the Alps, north and south, east and west, as a whole, constituted an important trading mart for Phoenicians, Etruscans, Cathaginians and Greeks. Since the Bronze Age, well-known north-south trading routes went to the head of the Adriatic and into northern Italy. Amber, salt, gold, silver, textiles and agricultural produce were traded north, south and west.[36] There was little tin, but luxuries and the Iris flower were also traded. Celts paid for Greek imports in perishable goods, cattle, slaves, timber and dogs. The Celtic lands were already well-known for being extremely rich in gold and silver (Strabo 7.2.2 C293).[37] Etruscans, Greeks, and Celts all used an orientalizing griffin motif in their art in Italy, which would have also fit with Herodotus' account of gold-guarding griffins in the context of the transposition of the Hyperborean myth from east to west (Herodotus 4.33).[38] To access this essentially Etruscan mart, the Greeks established trading posts and colonies on both sides of the Adriatic. At the head of the Adriatic, a

direct route from Greece was in use already by 600 and its effect can be seen on the "situla art" bronzes of the eastern Alps and Este in the Po Valley.[39] These offer an intriguing mixture of Greek and Etruscan styles adapted to serve the representations of local life. The influence persisted, and on a bronze of the early fifth century, an individual who could well be interpreted as a Celt, wearing a tartan garment, typical celtic dress, has climbed onto a couch for a feast, like any Greek or Etruscan (Figure 5.1).[40]

During the sixth century, Etruscan expansion to the south was being contained by the Greeks thus they looked toward the northeast. The Etruscans founded a group of cities here with their center at Felsina (Bologna). The attraction was probably two-fold: excellent farmland and the trade routes from the north via Switzerland and the Alps.[41] During the second half of the sixth century, Felsina and other sites began to receive a great quantity of Athenian vases.

Adria was founded about this time as a coastal city in the north of the Po delta. From the sixth century on, it was an important entrepot for Greek and Etruscan trade with the Po valley and Europe. Epigraphy suggests that the city was originally an Aeginetan foundation which came under Etruscan control in the fifth century (cf. Livy 5.33.8).[42] Colonna suggests there were Aeginetans, Athenians and Milesians who inhabited Adria and that their commerce with the north was indeed great. He further suggests that it was in this context that the dedication to Apollo Aiginatas from the end of the sixth century by the wealthy Sostrus of Aegina must be understood at Gravisca, as well as the Greek pottery which dominates at Felsina.[43] Herodotus knew of a successful Aeginetan trader in the west of this name. Moreover, the SO graffiti and dipinti found on many Athenian vases exported to Etruria have also been associated with him (Herodotus 4.152).[44] Archaeological evidence shows Celts, Etruscans and Greeks mixed in this area and that both the

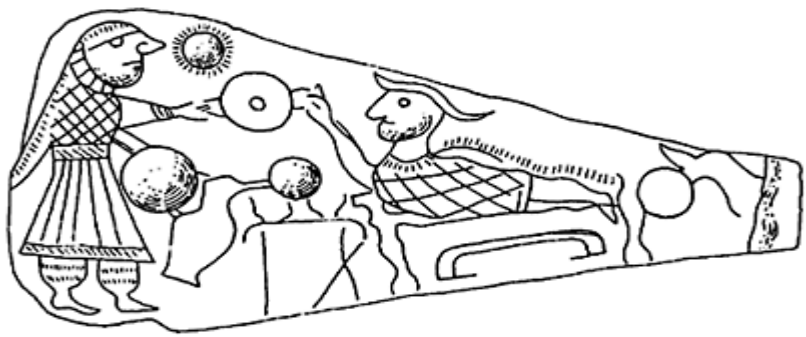


Figure 5.1 Bronze Plaque from Carceri, Italy. Drawing by Marion Cox. From *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* by John Boardman, published by Thames and Hudson, London and New York, 1988

Etruscans and the Greeks had an abundant commerce with the Hallstatt palace economies of middle and northern Europe before the commerce from Massalia began to dominate the sector (Herodotus 4.49; Livy 39.55; Justinus 20.1.11; Pseudo-Scylax 16–18).[45] Rich archaeological evidence suggests diplomatic gifts, trading agreements and perhaps even military co-operation with both Etruscans and Greeks during the sixth and fifth centuries, exactly at the time the Greeks were expanding their northern commerce and making great progress at dominating the Etruscans.[46]

In the town of Mont Lassois overlooking the Seine, a little over one hundred miles south-east of Paris, lies a crucial point where the river becomes no longer easy to navigate and goods had to be unloaded for the journey south to the Saone, the Rhone and Marseilles, or to the native cities of the east, or through the Swiss passes into northern Italy. Some have held it was by this last route that the Greek finds in central and eastern France arrived, but during the sixth century, the Marseilles route is vouched for by the Massaliot pottery found at Mont Lassois, while strong Greek interest in northern Italy and the Po Valley comes only later. In 1953 a burial mound of a Celtic woman was excavated at Vix, the cemetery of Mont Lassois, and yielded the largest and finest Greek bronze crater yet known (Figure 5.2). Its neck was decorated in relief with warriors and chariots, its handle with gorgons, all its moldings exquisitely cast and chased (Figure 5.3). It stood nearly 1.64m high with its lid which was a dish with a superb statuette of a woman in its center as a handle. It had traveled in pieces, some of them lettered with Greek script to facilitate its reassembly on arrival. While there is no general agreement among specialists as to where this item was produced exactly, Sparta, Tarentum, Corinth or Rhegium, it is thought that it reached the Celtic lands via Magna Graecia.[47] Accompanying it were three Etruscan bronze vases, two clay Athenian cups, one of the 520's, which dates the burial to the end of the sixth century, as well as other bronzes, ornaments and jewelry, including the gold diadem on the young woman's head.

In 1863, another tumulus about two miles away had been excavated and found to contain a Greek bronze vessel of a very different type. It was a cauldron having four griffin protomes below its rim, complete with its tripod stand. This is a late example of an orientalizing cauldron of the first half of the sixth century and it has been postulated it was made in the west, at Cumae or Tarentum, but it may also have been from another western city or even an eastern Greek city as so many of the others.[48] A griffin from another such cauldron was found in the Loire near Angers. This has taken us far to the west to one of the other possible tin routes from the English Channel and Brittany, which passed along the Loire to the Rhone.

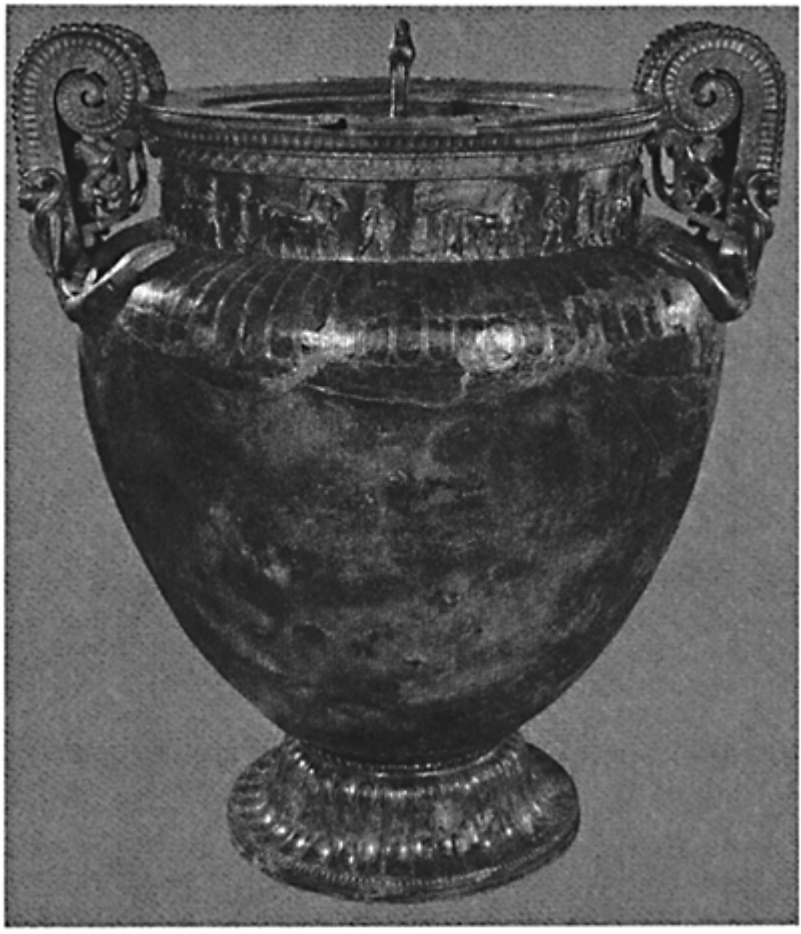


Figure 5.2 Volute Mixing Bowl Found at the Vix Tomb (Côte d'Or, France), about 530. Hellenic Workmanship, Châtillon sur Seine, Musée Archéologique. From *Greek Bronzes* by Claude Rolley, published by Sotheby's Publications/Chesterman Publications, London, 1986 146 Photo 129.

Far to the east of Mont Lassois, the spread of Greek goods during the sixth century is marked by other east Greek bronze vases and Athenian pottery.[49] A notable find is the bronze vase from Sparta/Tarentum made about 600 from Grächwil, Switzerland.[50] At

Asperg, near Stuttgart, is a Hallstatt burial of the early sixth century which recalls Mount Lassois as it contained a Greek tripod stand and Greek ivory sphinxes with amber faces from Italy.

Figure 5.3 Frieze of the Figures on the Volute Mixing Bowl found at the Vix Tomb (Côte d'Or, France), about 530. Assembled on site in the Celtic lands following an order set out in Greek letters. Châtillon sur Seine, Musée Archéologique. From *Greek Bronzes* by Claude Rolley, published by Sotheby's Publications/Chesterman Publications, London, 1986 145 Photo 128

Furthermore, not far away at Hochdorf, another Hallstatt grave found in 1978, includes a bronze cauldron with three loop handles and lions on the shoulder, as well as other works said to be of Mediterranean, probably Italian and Etruscan manufacture.[51] Greek pottery has also been unearthed at the fortress town of Heuneberg overlooking the Schwabian Danube, just south-west of Munich.

For evidence of Greeks actually living and working in Etruria, the literary record shows one Demaratus, a Corinthian noble, who emigrated about the middle of the seventh century at a time of political crisis at home, and settled in Etruria, at Tarquinii,

where he married a local lady, sired the fifth king of Rome (Tarquinius Priscus) and carried on a prosperous business.[52] Gravisca, port of the Etruscan Tarquinii, had a rich Greek quarter from the early sixth century on, including Greek temples. The archaic imported pottery includes an unusually high proportion of eastern Greek wares and a bronze griffin of Samian type.[53]

Literary evidence also suggests that Celts were working in Rome at this time. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 12.2.5) refers to a certain Helicus, a Celt from the Alps of what is today is called Switzerland, who was working in Rome as an artisan. Even if this passage refers to a later time than the sixth/fifth centuries, it may represent a long-standing tradition and a metaphor for what had been happening on a larger scale: Rome, as an Etruscan and Greek city, was being included with the Celts in the north-south trade. Archaeology also tells us of a Celt working in Etruria during the end of the sixth/beginning of the fifth centuries with the Catacina tomb of Orvieto[54]. Other archaeological and epigraphical evidence dating from the sixth century testifies to the fact that Celtic dignitaries frequented at least Orvieto in Etruria and certainly their Celtic compatriots on the southern side of the Alps.[55]

Spina was established about 520/510 on what was the mouth of the southern arm of the Po delta, not far north of Ravenna. It seems to have been established by the Etruscans to compete with the Aeginetan foundation of Adria. Like the latter, it supplied Felsina and Etruria Padana, and ultimately Europe to the north of the Alps with both fine Etruscan bronzes and the products of the rich fifth-century Greek commerce. A great quantity of Attic red-figure and other Greek pottery has been recovered from the Valle Trebbia and Valle Pega cemeteries. These cemeteries of Spina have proved to be one of the greatest single sources of fine Athenian vases in the Greek world or outside it.[56] Of the more than four-thousand vases discovered, the earliest date from about 520. Nearly all the imported vases are Athenian and many are of the highest quality. A Greek trading colony seems to have been established in a city founded by the Etruscans, or perhaps even a wholly Greek foundation which admitted Etruscan families from the neighboring cities. The Greeks, like the Etruscans and the Celts, were attracted by the croplands of the Po Valley and the routes to the north[57]. Spina also had a sanctuary to Apollo, exercised a considerable naval influence in the Adriatic and maintained a treasury at Delphi (Strabo 5.1.7 C314).[58]

Control of the eastern Adriatic was possibly gained by the Greeks during the fifth century, between 480 and 400, the years during which the trade with Athens reached its greatest expansion. Thus, by Antimachus' and Herodotus' time, the Adriatic mart was in full use (Herodotus 3.115).

About the time Antimachus was living and writing, this long tradition of Celtic, Etruscan and Greek trade was drawing to a close. About the middle of the fifth century, Hallstatt society appears to have suffered a crisis. Rapid decline set in. A phase of major Celtic population movements across Europe ensued. The Celts traveled to Italy, Greece, Asia Minor and deep into Europe as far east as the Carpathian mountains and as far as Ireland in the west (Livy 5.34). It was just such early movements which brought early Rome to its knees, led to the sack of Delphi and generally shook the Mediterranean world.[59]

Hallstatt fortress-towns were abandoned and there was a general shift of wealth and power towards the east and the north. Inland, the imported bronzes and pottery are no

longer Greek, but Etruscan. Bronze-age routes south through the Alps and Switzerland to northern Italy continued to be used. Within a single generation the western Greeks had lost their routes through the Strait of Gibraltar and France, but their cities were wealthy and well-established, strong enough to resist the Carthaginians, the Etruscans and the Celts. Already, other Greeks had moved up the Adriatic to meet these routes into northern Italy.

Because of the rich trade with the north and religious beliefs, some Greeks may have mythologized the northern Celtic lands, those above the Alps, as a place from where abundant products of all types and descriptions came, as a place where the inhabitants lived in eternal happiness on the edge of the known world. Some Greek merchants may even have already penetrated northwards into the Hallstatt lands, where they may have seen with their own eyes that the Hallstatt aristocracy lived in an eternal symposium, joyously feasting and singing in the same manner as the legendary Hyperboreans. The opulence of Greek diplomatic gifts to Celtic chieftains and of the orders of Celtic chieftains from Greek workshops in Magna Graecia, such as the Vix crater, may have contributed to this idea.

Stephanus of Byzantium presented Protarchus' and Antimachus' fragments together in his *Ethnica*, as they were both referring to the transposition of the Hyperborean myth from east to west, from Antimachus' native Asia Minor to the western theater of Greek colonization. This transposition may be viewed as a part of an ongoing process creating a mythical tradition to explain and justify Greek colonization of these lands. A poet such as Antimachus could adapt Greek myth and legend to create a world in which the Greek presence in the west had always existed. Within this transposition from east to west, both Protarchus and Antimachus identified the Alps with the mythical Rhipean Mountains and tacitly Celts with the Hyperboreans. It still remains unclear as to why precisely Protarchus and Antimachus did this, as we find no evidence of either one of them composing poetry for a western patron, although Greek colonization and presence in the west clearly act as a backdrop for this transposition. Although nothing has come down to us concerning Protarchus and little is known about Antimachus' life circumstances, we do know Antimachus was from Colophon. We also know Colophon had a short-lived colonial experience in Italy. Siris is supposed to have been founded before 650 by settlers from Colophon who had been driven out of their homes by Lydians.[60] Although Siris was then an isolated Ionian colony on a coast otherwise dominated by Dorian settlers, it did prosper for a while. It shared in the overland trade west to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Siris, however, was destroyed before Antimachus was born by its non-Ionian neighbors Metapontum, Sybaris and Croton. If the foundation of Siris had something to do with Antimachus' transposition of the Hyperborean myth from east to west, we have no evidence as to how it fits into his thinking.

This transposition was further reinforced by Greek colonists who themselves had brought both the cult of Apollo and the Hyperborean myth with them to Italy and Sicily. Epigraphic and archaeological sources support this hypothesis in so far as the cult of Apollo is concerned, but the situation regarding the Hyperborean myth is not as clear. If we suppose, however, that the Hyperborean myth was part and parcel of the Apolline cult and that Apollo's oracle at Delphi was a key factor in the Greek colonization of the west, we may then safely assume the Hyperborean myth was brought by Greek settlers to Italy and Sicily.

We have seen in section two and in the present chapter that the Greeks were engaged in active trading in the Adriatic from the time the first Greek colonies were founded in Italy and Sicily.[61] According to Herodotus, who was conducting his research a few years before Antimachus was writing, the Hyperboreans passed their sacred offerings, wrapped in wheat straw, to their neighbors, the Scythians. They were then taken by neighboring peoples in succession until they got as far west as the Adriatic (Herodotus 4.33). Herodotus' report may already be viewed as an intermediate stage in the transposition of Hyperborean myth from east to west. Another fact in this transposition may have been the use of griffins in the west by the Greeks, Etruscans and Celts. As the lands of the Celts to the north were known to be rich in gold, the gold-guarding griffins in Herodotus' account may have become associated by Protarchus and Antimachus with those used as an artistic motif in the west.

Finally, the sizable and extremely profitable trading mart north and south of the Alps, facilitated by Golasecca Celts may have contributed to the mythologizing of the opulence of the Hallstatt ruling elite as individuals who lived life in an eternal symposium, praising the Celtic equivalent of Apollo, the god Borvo.

While it remains unclear how much of the context of the northern Italian trading mart Antimachus of Colophon and Protarchus would have been aware of, it seems plausible that these fragments were written at a time when the Greek colonization of Sicily and Italy was expanding and the Greeks were getting more powerful in their western theater of operations. This, coupled with their efforts to show they were just as Greek, or even more so, as the Greeks of the mainland, and the tradition of Apollo and his oracle at Delphi as founders of the the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily, made an ideal context for the transposition of the Hyperborean myth from east to west. If we knew more about Antimachus' life circumstances, we could perhaps elaborate on these themes, but as we do not, we must confine ourselves to the written evidence: Protarchus and Antimachus identified the Alps with the mythical Rhipean Mountains and by extension Celts with the mythical Hyperboreans as part of the creation of a mythical Greek past for Italy and Sicily. They seem to have provided us with a mythical parallel of a historical process, a hybrid of fact and fiction.

Chapter Six
Heraclides Ponticus

The fragment of Heraclides Ponticus which concerns us in this chapter is recorded in Plutarch (*Camillus* 22).[1] Plutarch reports that Heraclides, who lived not long after the sack of Rome, wrote in his treatise *On the Soul*, based on an unnamed source in the west, about how an army of the Hyperboreans had come afar and captured a Greek city called Rome situated somewhere on the shores of the Great Sea. This fragment seems curious as both Aristotle and Theopompus, writing about the same time, also mentioned the sack of Rome, but both correctly identified the invaders as Celts, rather than Hyperboreans.[2] Plutarch then promptly dismisses Heraclides as a fabulous and fictitious writer who decked out the true story of the capture of Rome with his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." The treatise, unfortunately for us, is now lost. Only minimal fragments have come down to us.[3] The problem which preoccupies us here is the question of why Heraclides Ponticus identified the Hyperboreans with Celts and the mythical Rhipean Mountains with the real Alps. As with Antimachus of Colophon, some details concerning Heraclides' life and work are most important for understanding why he made this identification.

Heraclides Ponticus was also born in Asia Minor in Heraclea Pontica on the Black Sea coast, hence the name Ponticus. He came from a wealthy family and one which claimed descent from Damis, one of the founders of the city, originally a Boeotian colony (Frag. 2 Wehrli). Thus, mythologizing and the creation of a mythical prehistory for his city were part of his own family context. The date of his birth has been the subject of much dispute, but Heraclides seems to have been born about the same time the Celts sacked Rome (Frags. 1, 2, 46a and 102 Wehrli; *Suda* Volume 2 No. 463 p. 582 Adler). Wehrli believes he left his home city about 364/363 to go to Athens, where he joined the Academy and received his philosophical education (Diogenes Laertius 5.86).

Like Antimachus of Colophon, Heraclides of Ponticus was somewhat unusual, pedantic and even eccentric (Frag. 3 Wehrli). While he was a member of the Academy, Heraclides was known to have a fundamentally religious cast of mind.[4] He was active in Homeric scholarship and had a great respect for Greek traditional beliefs, as well as the Olympian gods.[5] Heraclides also took part in the philosophical controversies of his day and shared the interest in the history of philosophy which was to be developed systematically in Aristotle's school.[6] It is also a well-known fact that Plato sent Heraclides to Colophon to collect the writings of Antimachus, as Heraclides indicates this himself (Frag. 6 Wehrli). Therefore, Heraclides may have known the full text of the fragment examined in chapter five, and may have elected to continue this particular form of historical mythologizing or may simply have agreed with it and used Antimachus as a source. Heraclides also believed in divine intervention in human affairs and had a

moralizing view of history. In the *Abaris*, a daemon in the shape of a young man is made to announce that the gods exist and feel concern for mankind (Frag. 75 Wehrli). In his work *On Justice*, Heraclides again referred to Abaris by at least mentioning the immense arrow with which Apollo had killed the Cyclops after the death of Asklepios on which he was supposed to ride over the earth.[7] Pindar mentions Abaris as a servant of Apollo and a Hyperborean missionary (Frags. 270, 283 Bowra). Abaris was also known to have carried or ridden on an arrow all around the world without eating a bite (Herodotus 4.13). The arrow would be consistent with his role as a Hyperborean missionary and his not needing food may refer to his status as an otherworldly being. The arrow is clearly a symbol of Apollo or Artemis. Apollo was traditionally the god to whom the Hyperboreans were devoted. Artemis, however, does also appear in the land of the Hyperboreans in the form of the doe with the golden antlers, but her precise role in that land is not known (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.23–34).

Plato called Abaris a purveyor of spells (Plato, *Charmides* 158b). Lycurgus tells us that as a result of a famine among the Hyperboreans, Abaris came and served Apollo. When he had obtained mantic power from him, he went around Greece prophesying and making sacrifices to Apollo in response to an oracle which bore his name having as an attribute the god's arrow (Frag. 85 Conomis).[8] Abaris also wrote down the oracles called the *Chresmoi* of Abaris and sometimes *Chresmoi Skythinoi*, which were probably mostly ritual prescriptives.[9] Iamblichus, who drew heavily on the works of Porphyry, Heraclides Ponticus and Hermippus, also mentioned Abaris. He calls him a Scythian from the land of the Hyperboreans, who was a priest of Apollo (Porphyry, *Vita plotini* 28–29; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 90–91). He was old and most wise in sacred matters. Abaris was returning from Greece to the land of the Hyperboreans so he could deposit the gold which had been gathered for Apollo in the temple of the Hyperboreans. Still according to Iamblichus, Abaris rode on his arrow to cross impassable places. He also used it to perform purifications and to drive off plagues and winds from the cities when asked for assistance. Given the above information, it is reasonable to suggest that Heraclides at least considered Abaris as a Hyperborean missionary who went around the earth, and specifically Greece, bringing Justice and Right, and prophesying to its people. This would fit well into a work on divine justice (Frags. 51 a-c Wehrli). It is generally believed today that later sources which connect Abaris with Pythagoras were using Heraclides, but Heraclides appears not to have subscribed to the popular identification of Pythagoras with the Hyperborean Apollo (Arist, Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορέιων Frag. 1 Ross).[10]

Moral precepts were enforced by the threat of divine vengeance in this world and the next. In addition, Heraclides used a high level of myth and mystification in his writings. His love for everything exotic could be indulged by giving his writings settings remote in time and space, as well as characters not only from history, but mythology. He had a love for the events of a shadowy, mythical Greek past and late writers referred to him frequently as an authority for the prehistoric period of Greek literature.[11] For Plato, myths had been peripheral, though not necessarily unimportant. They were not meant to be a substitute for philosophical argument, but its complement, setting its conclusions in the context of truths which were beyond the power of reasoning to apprehend. Heraclides allowed this element to play a much more central role in his works, changing both the character of the myths themselves and the teaching they conveyed. In our fragment,

Heraclides Ponticus changed the essence of the Hyperborean myth by transforming the Hyperboreans from a peaceful, joyous, idealized people who did not engage in war (Herodotus 4.13) into a violent aggressive people similar to the stereotypical Greek view of the Celts. This fundamental change in the Hyperborean myth seems to be characteristic of the writings of Heraclides. The myths Heraclides used were no longer provisional statements, lightly sketched and claiming to give a "probable account," hence the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts in this fragment. What had been metaphors became dogmas, and every detail took on the character of revealed truth. The tendency to moralize and invoke the intervention of the gods in human affairs is no less prominent in his philosophical than in his later historical fragments, hence the story of an army from the land of the Hyperboreans attacking Rome. The anecdotal element is prominent in Heraclides and tends to become and end in itself. Many of his descriptive details are irrelevant to the argument at hand.[12] It always remains a possibility that our fragment could constitute one of these.

Furthermore, it is debatable as to whether our fragment concerning the Hyperboreans and their conquest of Rome may be regarded as belonging to the prehistoric period of Roman history, as we do know when the sack of Rome took place. It is possible, however, that this fragment does not refer to the Celtic sack of Rome at all, but to another attack far in the mythical past. Callimachus furnishes us with an example of such a context: he compared the Celts to the Titans, but of a later date, who would take up their swords and make war on the Greeks (*Delian* [4] 174–175). It is reasonable to suggest that the Titans/Celts would have been worthy adversaries who would have lost against the superior might of the Greeks, thereby making them into a superpower. This scenario, or one like it, seems to fit partially, as Heraclides often gave his writings settings remote in time and space, and used characters not only from history, but also from mythology such as the Hyperboreans in our fragment.[13] If our fragment does refer to the theme of divine retribution or vengeance, however, we still find ourselves at sea with respect to the context.

Another simple explanation for such a fragment does exist: it could well have been that Heraclides Ponticus would have referred to any people living to the north of the mediterranean basin as "Hyperboreans" and that the ethnic name had changed its sense to include anyone from the north. Little evidence exists, however, to substantiate this claim.[14] Furthermore, the Celts were not only a northern people; they also lived in the mediterranean basin.

It is important here to mention once again that Heraclides Ponticus is the third author of six ancient authors that identified the Hyperboreans with Celts. Moreover, Heraclides wrote that the Hyperboreans lived above the Alps, identifying the Alps with the mythical Rhipean Mountains and the Celts, who had lived in and around the Alps since at least the Bronze Age, with the Hyperboreans of myth. Heraclides' unnamed source out of the west seems to have transposed the Hyperborean myth from the eastern theater of Greek colonization, where the Hyperborean myth was well known and where some ancient authors located the Hyperborean lands, to the west.

Part of Heraclides' mythologizing tendencies concerned the Greek presence in Italy and Sicily as a whole, including Rome. We know from archaeology that Rome's early culture shared the history of the Villanovians, Etruscans and other Italic peoples, but these were years during which its identity as a state became established and the Republic

was born. Just as its Etruscan neighbors, Rome received Euboean and Corinthian pottery from the end of the eighth century and there was a continuous flow of Greek goods through the Archaic period. Excavations in Rome by the later Forum Boarium (the S. Omobono area) have furthered the story with an important sequence of finds from the later Geometric period.[15] In the late Archaic temple at S.Omobono, a clay group of Heracles and Athena displays that subtle blend of Greek and Etruscan styles, devoted to a Greek theme, which served as a model for the art of the young Republic.[16] During the fifth century, Greek artists decorated the temple of Ceres in the Circus Maximus (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35.154).

While it is certainly clear Heraclides would have known very little if anything of the context of these archaeological discoveries, traditions may have persisted which detailed the Greek role in early Rome.[17] Rome was also clearly having contacts with the Celts in the north and their extensive markets via their Etruscan connections. The Celts were therefore most probably well-known to those engaged in commercial activities in Rome. On the other hand, the Etruscans were dominating the market, sometimes themselves distributing Greek goods to their customers in the north. It may have been in this sense that Heraclides considered the Alps as a barrier and equated it with the mythical Rhipean Mountains, as La Tène Celts had already moved into northern Italy and sacked Rome before or just before Heraclides was born.

While it was too early during the fifth century for Romans to be concerned with establishing their Trojan Origins, it seems Greek writers were already eager to establish a Greek claim to the site of Rome. Hellanicus of Lesbos, for example, brought Aeneas to Rome and made him and Odysseus co-founders of the city (Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 No. 4 Frags. 31, 84; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.45–48, 72.73).[18] Another tradition said the Arcadian Evander established himself on the Palatine and the historian Coelius stated that Greek rites pertaining to the cult of Heracles were performed at Rome (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.21). A later myth said that Aeneas of Troy had founded Rome after the Trojan War.[19] Yet another tradition says that when the Phocaeans were on their way to founding Massalia, they stopped in the Rome of Tarquin the Elder (658–578), where they made an agreement with the Roman people which was to remain valid for five and a half centuries (Pompeius Trogus in Justinus 43.3.7). This agreement had political implications, but also religious ones, as the Romans may have borrowed the Greek wooden statue (xoanon) of the Ephesian Artemis, which was to be worshipped at Massalia, for the goddess Diana on the Aventine Hill (Strabo 5.1.4 C180). There is no reason to doubt that the cult of Diana was founded by Servius Tullius, although the original sixth century shrine was probably not a temple, but an open-air sanctuary with an altar. The inscription which recorded the founding of the cult still survived in the time of Augustus (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.26.5; *CIL* 22.4333). The Aventine cult, as many of the cults founded at this time, was influenced by Greek ideas. The cult image of the goddess was modeled on that of the Ephesian Artemis, or, rather a copy of it which had been set up shortly after the one at Massalia.[20] Artemis' likeness appeared on the reverse side of the drachma minted by the city. The other most important cult was that of Delphian Apollo. For some authors at least, early Rome appears to be included in this, as Greek culture and religion were heavily impacting peoples of the Italian peninsula from the establishment of the first permanent Greek colonies in Italy on.[21] Rome seems to have been a crossroads of Etruscan, Greek, Celtic and Roman commercial activities and cultures. Thus, due to one

or more of these phenomena, or to myths and legends which have not come down to us, Heraclides may have considered Rome a Greek city and may have well considered all of Italy as Greek, except for the extreme north, where he believed the Hyperboreans resided. This is intensified by him as he called Rome "a Greek city, situated somewhere near the Mediterranean."

As in the case of Antimachus' home town of Colophon, Heraclides Ponticus' city of Heraclea Pontica may have been connected with a failed colonial attempt in the western Mediterranean: Heraclea Pontica was a Megarian colony and so was Megara Hyblaea in Sicily. The latter was founded at the end of the eighth, beginning of the seventh centuries and may have been part of the Greek via Etruscan commerce with northern Celtic peoples in northern Italy and central Europe.[22] Megara Hyblaea flourished for some two-hundred-and-fifty years and colonized Selinus which then in turn founded Heraclea Minoa on the southwestern coast of Sicily. Like Siris, Megara Hyblaea was destroyed, but in 483 by Syracuse. There are no other finds on the site until its reoccupation in the fourth century. If the Romans had destroyed it, we could then fit the mythical conquest of Rome by the Hyperboreans into a context of divine retribution, but this was not the case. Wehrli also reports Heraclides Ponticus was hostile to any form of tyranny (Frags. 65, 132 Wehrli). Although Gelon was responsible for the destruction of Megara Hyblaea, sources do not establish any sort of link with the mythical destruction of Rome by the Hyperboreans. There does not seem to be any evidence either that Gelon employed Celtic mercenaries at this time.

Finally, the question remains of just how our fragment would have into fit Herraclides' work *On the Soul*. As well as examining the minimal fragments of this work which have come down to us, it would also be natural to turn to Heraclides' master Plato and his contemporary Aristotle to gain some insight into what in fact Heraclides' *De Anima* contained. It appears that Plato, however, never set about writing a treatise called *De Anima*.[23] Arguably, the most comprehensive view of Plato's pyschology is to be found in the *Timaeus*. He commences with reason or with the operation of the intellect. Thus, the soul thinks.[24] In Plato, body is opposed to soul. The body could be trained to obey the soul by gymnastic and music. Although Hicks maintains that we find nothing in Aristotle but the development in systematic form of the Platonic heritage and that it was the disciple's task to maintain on independent grounds the essentials of the master's doctrine on the subject of the soul in the face of widely conflicting views as well as the general uncertainty which was prevalent at the time, there are small differences between the two.[25] In Aristotle, the body is the instrument of the soul. Thus, a body into which a particular soul enters must be adapted to its use. Moreover, Aristotle says that the *Timaeus* involves an absurdity that afflicts most discourses on the soul: it speaks as though the soul in some way stands on its own and can be attached to or inserted in a body separate from and independent of it or even migrates from one body to another (Aristotle, *De Anima* 407b 13–17, 20–26). In 1.3.23 Aristotle states that he finds the idea absurd, as though it were possible, as the Pythagorean stories suggest, for a soul to find its way into any body for one can see that every body has its own peculiar shape or form. He also uses a metaphor involving a sailor and a boat to illustrate this absurdity. For Aristotle, soul is both the final and efficient cause of the body (415b 8ff). It is the final cause because the soul is merely a means to vital power and life. It is the efficient cause not only in the obvious case of progressive motion, but also in all the various changes

which the body undergoes in the exercise of vital functions, including nutrition, growth and sensation.[26] It seems, however, that Heraclides' *Abaris* was closer to Plato's original thoughts on the subject, as it appears to have included a divine epiphany and apparently a story about a soul leaving the body (Frags. 73–75 Wehrli). But even when Aristotle declares the unity of the soul and the body most emphatically, likening it to that of an eye and its seeing or an axe in its cutting, he does reserve the possibility that something in the soul might be altogether independent of the body (*De Anima* 413a 6–7). Finally, he concludes explicitly in book 3 chapter 5 that there is a separate deathless everlasting intellect (430a 22–23). It would seem that there are only two possibilities: either there is nothing at all other than bodies, or there are distinct and detachable non-bodily entities that can be the souls of these bodies.[27]

For Heraclides, the soul was not something incorporeal, but permanently attached to and identified with a material substrate described as light or light-like stuff (Frag. 98 Wehrli. Aetius, *Plac.* 4.3, 6 p. 388 Diels) or aether' (Frag. 99 Wehrli).[28] This constitutes a fundamental difference from Plato's teaching. Dillon emphasizes that Plato never really addresses what interaction there can be between the material and the totally immaterial.[29] In this connection, Dillon comments on a passage of *Laws* (10 898e–899a) in which the Athenian stranger actually addresses the problem of how the soul might be supposed to interact with the body (in this case, that of the sun) for the only time in the Platonic corpus.[30] He mentions three possibilities of which the middle one is that it might take to itself a body 'of fire, or air of some sort.' Dillon believes that Plato is rather grumpily perhaps taking account of problems concerning soul-body interaction which may have been raised by younger colleagues such as Heraclides and Aristotle.

In the *Timaeus* (41d–42e), newly created souls were implanted in stars, one to each star, before the process leading to incarnation began, and if they lived their earthly lives well, each would return to its appointed star after death. This would imply the existence of a special relationship between the soul and the star, but one which did not attain substantial unity. Heraclides identified the soul with its star-vehicles. He may have been influenced by the *Phaedrus* in which the soul is described as a chariot (246a 7, 247b 2). This, however, is a simile and there is no reference to a material vehicle or astral body.[31] According to Heraclides, the soul itself became a luminous body. Discarnate souls were no longer lodged in the ordinary stars, but formed as a distinct category of luminaries in the sky. Thus, it was natural to collect them all in one region and the Milky Way must have been an appropriate place, as its real nature was a puzzle to astronomers of the time and had long been regarded as a pathway or dwelling-place of the dead in popular belief.[32] This summary of the other extant fragments of Heraclides' *De Anima* seems to bear no relation to our fragment. Moreover, there also seems to have been some question as to whether these fragments were indeed included in Heraclides' *De Anima*.[33]

A sentence found in Clement of Alexandria, however, implies that Heraclides recognized a class of divine beings who gave rise to, or who were somehow identified with, effluences capable of producing sensory impresions in humans (Frag. 123 Wehrli).[34] These effluences would have consisted of streams of elementary particles (Frag. 122 Wehrli). If this is correct, Zeller's view that they were *daimones* living in the sublunary world and acting as intermediates between humans and the high gods becomes more attractive. Such beings played an important part in the religious beliefs of the early Academy, as one of their main characteristics was to communicate with men, often in

visible shape. In the *Abaris*, a divinity of this kind has taken the form of a young man. They would also have caused prophetic dreams in whose reality Heraclides seems to have firmly believed.[35] Wehrli supposed that the prophetic powers of the soul were given prominence in Heraclides' *On the Soul*.[36] If this is true and if we may relate these prophetic dreams to Heraclides' predilection for giving his writings settings remote in time and space, as well as characters from mythology and his own family's mythical history, our fragment about an army from the land of the Hyperboreans attacking a Greek city named Rome somewhere near the Great Sea may refer to some sort of mythical prehistory of Rome, but we have absolutely nothing with which to substantiate this hypothesis. This would, however, agree with Frag. 103 Wehrli in which Roma, the founder of Rome, was in fact returning from the Trojan War (cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 101 1ff; Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 4 Frag. 84).

Our fragment in which Heraclides Ponticus identified the Hyperboreans with Celts is at least consistent with some of his writings that have come down to us and with what we can surmise of his mentality. He knew the Hyperborean myth well and combined it with the Homeric idea of divine intervention of the gods in the human world. Heraclides may also have combined the Hyperborean myth with a possible story of divine vengeance, such as his interpretation of the destruction of Helice, a small town on the north coast of the Peloponnesus overwhelmed by a tidal wave.[37] If this was the case, we ignore the full context and are unable to fit this fragment and fragment 103 Wehrli into the context of the other fragments listed as having been included in the *De Anima*.

Heraclides did, however, change the Hyperborean legend to make it seem as if the Hyperboreans were an aggressive warlike people similar to the Greek stereotypical image of the Celts. This would support the idea of divine retribution, but we do not understand its context or implications. Finally, I have also suggested that this fragment may refer to a mythical attack on Rome which happened far in the distant past. This suggestion also fits with the creation of a mythical prehistory for Rome, as substantiated by Frag. 103 Wehrli. Heraclides could have been envisaging a story including Roma and the capture of a city named Rome situated somewhere on the shores of the Great Sea from its original inhabitants which then became a Greek city. If, indeed, Heraclides was creating a mythical prehistory for Rome, he did not disclose more of it in other fragments which have come down to us. Also, Plutarch (Camillus 22.2 C140) would have to be wrong. Finally, it is still difficult to understand how Fragments 102 and 103 Wehrli would fit into the context of the other fragments which have been classified as belonging to Heraclides' *De Anima*.

Chapter Seven
Hecataeus of Abdera

It is generally assumed Hecataeus was born in Abdera, as his name indicates, but Strabo informs us he was in fact from Abdera's mother-city Teos (Strabo 14.1.30 C644). He was, therefore, as were Antimachus of Colophon and Heraclides Ponticus, from Asia Minor, the eastern theater of Greek colonization. Hecataeus of Abdera is referred to as a contemporary of Alexander the Great (356–323) and Ptolemy I of Egypt (306–285).[1] He is also given as a pupil of Aristotle and Pyrrho the Sceptic.[2]

Ancient sources and the *Suda Lexicon* inform us that Hecataeus of Abdera was a philosopher, historian, a man well versed in letters, a scholar of Homer and Hesiod, and a highly competent man of affairs who rose to fame under King Alexander and was associated with Ptolemy, son of Lagus.[3] Clement of Alexandria added he was a storyteller. Jacoby emphasizes we know nothing of his philosophical viewpoint, as no complete work has come down to us, only minimal fragments. He did, however, have a tendency, just as Antimachus of Colophon and Heraclides Ponticus did, to be extremely traditional in his beliefs and writings, save for his ethnographic utopias.[4] The style and content of his writings have also been compared to those of Megasthenes and Ctesias.[5]

Hecataeus of Abdera was also writing at an extremely sensitive time in the relations between the Greeks of the west and the Celts. The northern Hallstatt palace economies had collapsed and the Celts were progressively evolving a new phase of their civilization. Celtic civilization was becoming far less centralized, less autocratic and less aristocratic. It depended much more on mobile bands of elite warriors who migrated all over Europe and engaged in military service in the Greek and Hellenistic armies to obtain booty and social advancement in their own societies at home. Gone were the large Hallstatt centralized mining operations for salt, gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, etc. Gone was the all encompassing opulence of the greedy Hallstatt elite. Gone were the markets for Etruscan and Greek luxury products in the north, as the economic structure had been replaced by a system of decentralized fortified farms around which small villages clustered.

To regain these lost markets, the Greeks sent expeditions north, both probably out of curiosity and to negotiate trade agreements with Celtic peoples who had by this time been long-standing trading partners. These were sent by sea, as the land routes were shut off because of the political chaos which characterized the end of the Hallstatt period. Midacritus, whose name may be a corruption of Midas Phrgx or Midas of Phrygia, was reputedly the first to import "whitelead" (tin) from the Tin Islands (Brittany or Cornwall) about 500 (Hellanicus in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 7.56, 197).[6] The voyages of Colaeus of Samos and Euphorus of Caria were regarded as accidents and explained away as such, but to merchants, sailors and explorers, they were in all probability anything but mishaps.[7] The Phocaeans founded commercial bases such as Massalia, Alalia, Ampurias

in the west and pushed their explorations west to he kingdom of Tartessus, ruled by a Celtic king Arganthonius (Herodotus 1.163).[8] The Carthaginians had been bringing both gold and tin into the Mediterranean from Iberia and the Cassiterides Islands. Massalia had been receiving tin from the north and west by Celtic intermediaries along river routes such as the Seine, Saone, Loire, Allier, Rhone, Garonne and the Languedoc. Continental routes, however, had always been fraught with difficulty due to passage tolls and zones of influence managed and maintained by their Celtic inhabitants. Greek merchants knew there were other ways of getting to the sources of the materials they required without dealing with these Celts, but the problem then became the Carthaginians who, while they dominated the Phoenician commercial empire, endeavored to blockade the Pillars of Heracles.[9] Commercial needs may have spurred Euthymenes on in the sixth century.[10] Not much is known to date about Euthymenes other than the anonymous text of Florence and Seneca, who gave a short passage attributed to him which says he sailed the Atlantic. He may have even written a book about his voyage.[11]

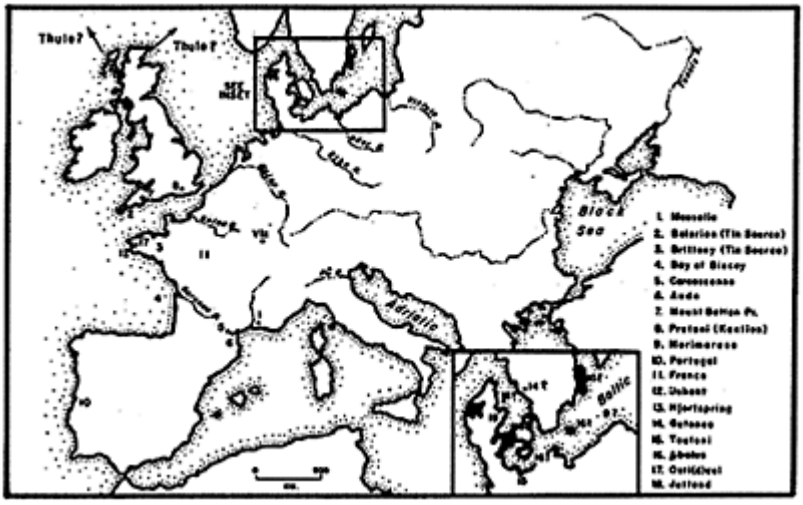
In his *Geryoneis,* Stesichorus told of Heracles' quest for the cattle of the winged monster Geryon.[12] He indicates Geryon was born "about opposite Erytheia, beside the unlimited silver-rooted springs of Tartessus, in a cavern of a cliff" and there were many islands at the ends of the earth, some of them in the stream of Ocean itself.[13] Heracles killed the monster, Orthus the watchdog and Eurytion the cowherd, and drove the wide-browed oxen to Tiryns (Hesiod, *Theogony* 287–294, 979–983). Stesichorus wrote the ends of the earth were shrouded in the depths of dark and awful night as Alcman had also written.[14] Heracles borrowed the sun's magic cup for his voyage. While re-counting this myth, Stesichorus also makes reference to the silvermines of Tartessus, an extremely lucrative commerce which was functioning in his day.[15] It was perhaps in the context of economic expansion and the search for new and more profitable markets that the original *Massaliot Periplus,* which may date from at least the sixth century and which Avienus is thought to have used as a source document for his poem *Ora Maritima,* was written.[16] Sailors and traders from Massalia may have learned from the Celts who surrounded them in southern France that there were more Celtic markets to be explored in the north, or the Greeks may have heard of these markets from the ongoing overland trade with the northern Hallstatt Celts, or, still, they may have learned about them from the Tartessians, Phoenicians and Carthaginians who sailed northward to Brittany and the Northwestern European Islands in search of high value trading goods.[17]

This troubled atmosphere perhaps prompted Pytheas of Massilia to sail from Massalia to the southwestern, northwestern and northern coasts of Europe, most probably to find new sources of metals and amber, and to cement direct links with older sources (Map 7.1).[18] The book Pytheas is reported to have written, containing the results of his explorations and discoveries, is now lost, but later authors such as Strabo and Pliny have preserved some fragments of his which contain fascinating information. While recording such Celtic names as *Pretani, Gutones, Abalus, Teutoni* and *Morimarusa* during his travels in the north, Pytheas also mentioned the Hyperboreans (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 6.219). While there appears to have been no identification of Celts with the Hyperboreans on his part, he did obviously believe they both lived in the north.

Hecataeus of Abdera has been credited with three works, but it is his first, entitled *On the Hyperboreans,* that concerns us (Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 2.675 Wendel). Hawkes has dated this work to about 315.[19] Croiset writes that under cover of history,

Hecataeus gave free course to the expression of philosophical, religious and moral fantasies, while Meister refers to this work as "a fictitious travelogue on a northern people dwelling on an island on the utmost borders of the world."[20] Hawkes postulates Hecataeus of Abdera used Heraclides Ponticus as a source.[21] While there is no direct evidence for this, it at least seems plausible given the type of writing and the subject matter. Lesky adds that *On the Hyperboreans* is staged entirely in the realm of fantasy.[22]

A fragment which has been much disputed, but which most modern scholars now attribute to Hecataeus of Abdera, is preserved in Diodorus of Sicily (2.47–48).[23] It comes in all probability from his work *On the Hyperboreans*.[24] An author named Hecataeus, as well as other authors who are



Map 7.1 Pytheas of Massalia's voyage.

not mentioned by name, say that in the lands beyond the Celtic territories known to the Greeks, a νῆσος exists in the ocean that is no smaller than Sicily.[25] He continues by saying that this νῆσος is situated in the north and is inhabited by Hyperboreans who are so named because they live beyond where the North Wind blows.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium (267 Meineke), this νῆσος was called Elixoea and was situated above the river Carambyca. The inhabitants of the island were named Carambycians and got their name from the river which bounded their lands. Meineke suggests that it is not improbable that Elixoea was in fact a peninsula/promontory of Jutland. Furthermore, Hecataeus mentioned the frozen sea of Amalcius, a river which flowed into the northern Ocean called Parapanisus and the city of Cimmeris.[26] Yet, the island is fertile and produces every crop. Its climate is so temperate it produces two harvests a year.

Jacoby examines the question of the Carambycae being a Celtic people and Lythaemes being a Celtic mountain.[27] While we know the Celts frequented, if not lived in, parts of Jutland, it is not entirely clear if the fragment found in Diodorus is referring to the same island as the fragments found in Stephanus of Byzantium and Jacoby.[28] Both Meineke and Jacoby believe they do, probably because of the words νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττῳ ἐλάσσων τῆς Σικελίας. This, however, is not conclusive. The fragments in Stephanus of Byzantium do clearly state that the Carambycae were "a people of the Hyperboreans" (Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Frag. 1 1b) and that Elixoea was a νῆσος of the Hyperboreans. Meineke translates νῆσος as peninsula/promontory and identifies Elixoea with the Jutland peninsula on the basis of a similarity in form of the river name Carambycam and the modern Eideram.[29] This does not seem to be a productive analogy and he has not demonstrated conclusively how the two forms are connected. On the other hand, Carambycam does sound similar to the Carambis headland opposite Helice, the Bear, steep on all sides about whose crests blasts of the North Wind are sundered, but this again is not sure (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.360–363). This headland sounds rather like it was considered as part of the Rhipean Mountains and would be located in the Black Sea/Sea of Azov area. LSJ, Oldfather, Bolton and Hawkes all translate νῆσος as island[30]. If Meineke was thinking of the north-south amber route, he should also have thought that the Jutland peninsula was not the only place from which amber came in Europe. On the other hand, Pytheas of Massalia's voyage not only involved Britain and Ireland, but possibly Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Baltic, a major source of amber in antiquity. Even if we accept Meineke's identification, there are other reasons for thinking that Hecataeus of Abdera conceptualized Elixoea as an island.

In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, much of Odysseus' wanderings seem to take the form of island-hopping. Powerful individuals live on these islands who are more or less connected with the Greek parallel mythical world and who live in a world between that of normal, everyday Greeks and the realm of the gods. For example, Odysseus' home is the island of Ithaca and although the Ithaca in the *Odyssey* has been identified with the real Ithaca on the Greek map, a case can be made that Homer's description of the island does not correspond to its geographical reality. One could also make a similar case for Odysseus being portrayed as not quite like any other normal Greek. He is a powerful aristocrat from an old and important family. Odysseus is sometimes in communication directly with Athena and has the sympathy or the wrath of the other gods as well. He survives dangers and death, while all of his comrades in arms perish. One of the themes of Odysseus' return is to re-establish his own power over ever-diminishing assets and over the other individuals in his family who are seemingly powerless to do so. Aeolus lives on a floating island and is master over the winds. Circe's residence is on the island of Aea; the Sirens also live on an island. Helios' cattle are located on an island. Calypso lives on an island, where Odysseus stays for seven years. The Isles of the Blessed are also islands located on the edge of the world. Thus, the theme of the mythical island is extremely strong in Greek tradition, but the Hyperboreans were never associated with one. The literary evidence examined in section two indicates that they were always firmly attached to, or embedded in, a continent of some kind: Mount Haemus, Thrace, the sources of the Danube on the Black Sea, above the Caspian Sea.[31] Hecataeus may have

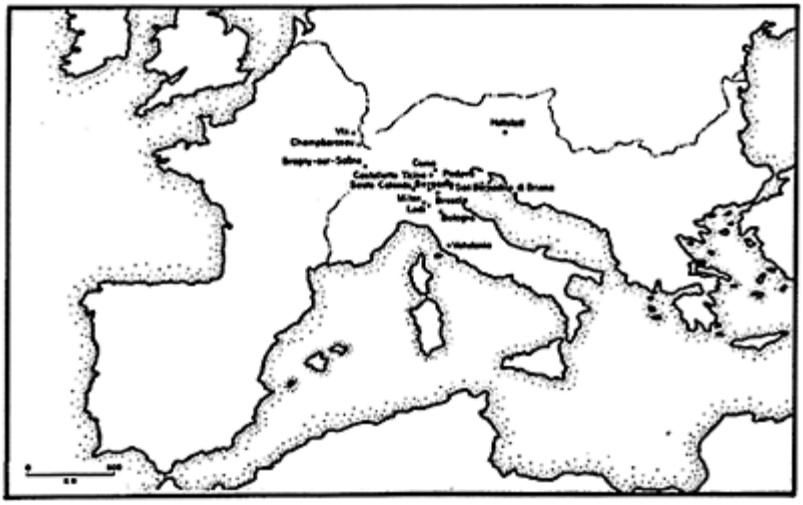
been conflating two themes which were not usually put together, i.e. the Hyperborean homeland and a utopian island existence, as like Antimachus of Colophon and Heraclides Ponticus, he was known to change traditional myth to suit his purposes. This changed the Hyperborean myth into a hybrid place on the edge of the Greek earth-disk.

Diels classifies Elixoea with other inventions, myths and fables: he relates it to Theopompus' Meropis, a vast continent located beyond the stream of Ocean and Hecataeus of Miletus' Cimmerian city, which is ultimately of Homeric origin.[32] While this seems to be a valid comparison, Hecataeus of Abdera seems to have clearly compared Elixoea to another island, Sicily. From this point of view, it would seem rather odd to compare an island with a promontory or a peninsula, unless he actually thought the Jutland peninsula was an island. We cannot exclude this, as some geological evidence suggests that the Eider was separated from the Schlei (Mid-Jutland) only by bog, marsh and a narrow neck of land in the early Iron Age, and that large portions of eastern Jutland were under water.[33] On the other hand, it is unclear how aware of this Hecataeus of Abdera could have been and it is more likely he was using the traditional Greek mythologizing approach and not the new knowledge provided by Pytheas of Massalia.

While we cannot be absolutely sure of the dating of this text, it is at least possible that it was written after Pytheas of Massalia's journey to the great unknown and uncharted north. There is nothing in the text to make us think one way or the other, except the mention of lands beyond the Celtic countries. If one takes this to be beyond the land of the Celts using Hecataeus of Miletus' framework in the extant fragments which have come down to us, the author could be referring to Sardinia or Corsica, which would probably have been known to the Greeks from Mycenaean times or at least as early as the eighth century because of trade and colonization in southern Italy, as well as the foundation of Massalia in southern France.[34] In this case "beyond" would mean "to the south." The text uses the term ἀντιπέρας meaning "over," "against," "opposite." Thus, no concrete direction or landmark is given here, The author could also have been talking about the Baleares Islands off the coast of Spain in the Mediterranean, but he used κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανον which does not usually refer to the Mediterranean, but rather to the edges of the earth known to the Greeks. Such vocabulary may date from the period during which the Greeks thought Italy was the edge of the earth-disk. Ocean may also have indicated the extreme north, and an edge of the earth-disk. If the text is referring to the Northwestern European Islands, specifically to Britain or Ireland, or to the Jutland peninsula in Denmark, it would in all probability be later in date than Hecataeus of Miletus, as Greek geographical knowledge had not progressed that far during the sixth century.

The text then states Elixoea is under the constellation of the Great Bear, far to the north of the Mediterranean basin. It was fertile and produced every type of crop. The climate was so temperate it produced two harvests a year. Britain traditionally had two harvests a year and was, during Celtic times, extremely fertile (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 5.12.6).[35] This may be too clear-cut, as these characteristics also qualify as "golden-age utopian island" ones. Thus, Hecataeus may not have been thinking of any particular place save an imaginary one. If we can suppose, with Hawkes, however, that this text was written after Pytheas of Massalia's voyage to the north about 325, Elixoea may well be a parody of Pytheas' Britain (Map 7.2).[36] It would fit in well with the other ridiculing Pytheas got when he communicated what he had discovered to others.[37]

Pytheas' work *On the Ocean* has not come down to us. What we do have is evidence of how different authors considered his information and how credible he was. Dicaearchus (fl. 326–296), who had been Aristotle's pupil, seems



Map 7.2 The Hyperborean lands according to Hecataeus of Abdera.

to have started the reviling of Pytheas' work and information, while the issuing of his findings and indeed his book would have been extremely recent.[38] It was revived during the second century as a subject of open scorn, expressed by Polybius and continued by Strabo. Hawkes believed it was the rejection by serious men such as Dicaearchus which led to Hecataeus of Abdera's writing such a parody on Pytheas' voyage.[39] While this idea, coupled with a "utopian island setting," seems reasonable, other authors such as Timaeus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Pliny and Mela took Pytheas seriously and used his information in their own works. This included a mention of the Hyperboreans by Pytheas, but his use of the name seems to be limited only to the directional sense north and does not constitute a reference to the traditional myth (Pytheas in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.39.219). If Pliny's report is accurate, he also located the Hyperboreans and the Rhipean Mountains in Scythia, as Herodotus had done before him (Herodotus 4.13).

Hecataeus continued his account by saying that Leto, mother of Artemis and Apollo, consort of Zeus, was a Hyperborean herself and was born on the island. This sounds like he was using Aristotle or Aristotle's source, who had said that Leto came from the land of the Hyperboreans to give birth to the divine twins on Delos. Apollo was honored on Elixoea above all other gods. Since the Hyperborean inhabitants daily praised Apollo with song, they were looked upon as priests of Apollo. On the island there was a sacred precinct of Apollo and a spherical temple adorned with many votive offerings. A city was nearby which was sacred to Apollo and the majority of its Hyperborean inhabitants played the cithara. Still, according to the account, the Hyperboreans had their own language and were friendly towards the Athenians and Delians, who inherited this

relationship from ancient times. The text also recounts a visit certain Greeks, who are not mentioned, paid the Hyperboreans and how they deposited on the island costly votive offerings, including inscriptions in the Greek alphabet. In the same way, Abaris, a Hyperborean, visited Greece in ancient times and renewed the goodwill and kinship of the Hyperboreans to the Delians. The moon, when viewed from this location, seemed close to the earth and the viewer could see the lunar landscape. Apollo visited the island every nineteen years, according to the Metonic calendar. When Apollo appeared to the Hyperboreans on Elixoea, he played the cithara and danced continuously throughout the night. The Kings of the city and caretakers of Apollo's precinct were called Boreades, as they were descendants of Boreas, and their succession to these posts was always kept in their family.

There is a striking parallel here between Elixoea and Delos that makes the reader feel he/she is in fact in an island atmosphere, as, like Delos, Elixoea was consecrated to the cult of Apollo. There is a precedent for Leto coming from the land of the Hyperboreans and such a fanciful description of the Hyperborean homeland suggests a fourth-century golden-age utopian setting using the Delian strand of the Hyperborean myth. Furthermore, no mention is made in this text of the Rhipean Mountains, Other Sea, Arimaspi, Issedones, griffins or gold. One could argue that the Breton Sea was the Other Sea in this context, but this is extrapolation.[40]

This is also the first account that informs the audience/reader the Hyperboreans spoke a specific language which was different from Greek.[41] Hecataeus specified the Hyperboreans were friendly to the Delians. This comes as no surprise as previous texts have stated this, but what is different and which helps to date this fragment to after the period of Hecataeus of Miletus, is the mention of the Athenians. This may well have been written in the fifth century when Athens had power over Delos as a city which controlled the Delian League. Another new feature of this story is that certain Greeks, possibly the Delians and Athenians, visited the Hyperboreans on this island and deposited costly votive offerings bearing inscriptions in the Greek alphabet. One wonders if Hecataeus is using Callimachus' "sacred planks" here as a source.[42] The Hyperborean islands had become accessible to the chosen Greeks, Delians and Athenians, thus, open to Athenian control. One may again note the parallelism with the historical reality of Delos.

Previous extant texts mention Abaris as a travelling missionary who represented Apollo and his cult, but they do not say Abaris visited Delos. On the contrary, they say that Abaris flew all around the world on an arrow, symbol of Apollo and Artemis, the two archer gods, without eating a bite (Herodotus 4.34–35).[43]

The new feature which specifically dates this text to after the fifth century is the mention of the year of Meton. The Metonic cycle was introduced in Athens in 432 and was designed to reconcile solar and lunar years.[44] The text cannot be the work of Hecataeus of Miletus, then, but must be Hecataeus of Abdera's.

Another new feature is the meaning of the term "Boreades." In previous extant texts, the Boreadae were the two sons of Boreas and Orithyia, Calais and Zetes, and not Hyperboreans.[45] Aelian, however, does transmit a text by Hecataeus of Abdera, whom he specifically mentions, which says that Boreas and Chione had three sons (Hecataeus of Abdera in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.1).

All of these new features suggest that either the author was drawing on texts that are no longer extant, or that this text was a literary fabrication on the part of Hecataeus of

Abdera. What is interesting for our enquiry is the probable choice of Britain as his Hyperborean island, identifying Celtic lands with Hyperborean ones. A case has been argued that Apollo would in fact be the sungod Borvo and the sacred precinct of Apollo would correspond to the remains of Stonehenge on Salisbury plain.[46] While this seems too close a parallel, as it presupposes too much geographical knowledge on the part of Hecataeus of Abdera at a comparatively early date, it does seem possible that he had identified Celts with the Hyperboreans, either because he wished to continue and embellish the literary tradition of Protarchus, Antimachus and Heraclides Ponticus, or he wished to create a totally new tradition from texts he consulted in the library at Alexandria and recent geographical discoveries made by the Greeks. This text may have been written at a time when little was known about the Northwestern European Islands and, thus, Hecataeus of Abdera may have been trying to integrate new information, that of Pytheas, into the old fabric of Greek mythology. The Greeks probably already new the Celts lived on those islands, situated far to the north under Arctus. Pytheas of Massalia had referred to them as Pretani (Strabo 1.4.3, 2.4.1, 2.5.7–8, 4.2.1, 4.4.1).[47] They may have recognized similarities in the Celts of the Mediterranean, or this could refer to trade relations they had with the Celts of Britain at an early date.[48]

In the fragment found in Aelian, Hecataeus seems to have known what the Rhipean Mountains were (Hecataeus in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.1). He says when the three sons of Boreas and Chione perform the established ritual of Apollo, swans in clouds, past numbering, swoop down from the Rhipean Mountains. After they have circled the temple, as though they were purifying it by their flight, they descend into the precinct of the temple, an area of immense size and incredible beauty. Whenever the singers sing their hymns to the god and the harpers accompany the chorus with their music, the swans with one accord join in the chant and never do they sing a discordant note or out of tune, but as though they had been given the key by the conductor, they chant in unison with the natives who are skilled in the sacred melodies. Then when the hymn is finished, they depart. Hecataeus may have been using Alcaeus' fragment and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* here.[49] It seems probable that both the temple in Diodorus 2.47–48 and the temple and precinct in Aelian's text are mythical doubles of Delos, although the latter seems to refer to the Delphian strand of the Hyperborean myth. Hecateus in Aelian does not say exactly where this temple is, but the story meshes quite nicely with Alcaeus' fragment, as the Rhipean Mountains were never located on an island. Again the two strands of the Hyperborean myth seem to have been dealt with by Hecataeus of Abdera, as they were by previous authors. Or were the Rhipean Mountains being located on the peninsula/promontory of Jutland? Whichever location it was, Hecataeus was still identifying the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts.

Another possibility does exist though, which Robbins has raised.[50] Hecataeus of Abdera could have used in part at least Pindar. Pindar's second and third *Olympians* celebrate, on two occasions, the same victory. In the second, as we have seen in section two chapter one, Pindar sets out a doctrine which is not to be found elsewhere in the odes.[51] We find a description of the hereafter as it will be experienced by the just, of whom Theron is one (*Olympian* 2.6). This is a doctrine which was in all probability current in Sicily, especially at the court of the Emmenids, for it is conspicuously unlike the theology in other epinicians. We hear of a place where light and dark alternate and also of an island to which the justified make their final escape from the cycle of

reincarnation. Except for the fact Pindar is referring to an island which has no Rhipean Mountains, this place is remarkably like the land of the Hyperboreans: the flora is golden, the winds are gentle and the inhabitants weave wreaths for their hair (*Olympian* 2.74, *Pythian* 10.40). All this in a land which mortals do not normally reach, though Theron might well have believed, hearing the second *Olympian*, it was the road he would travel after death. This was an arcane doctrine, to be heard by intimates, unquestionably strange for normal adherents to the religion of the Olympian gods (85–86). Thus, Hecataeus of Abdera may have been using either Orphic or Neo-Pythagorean doctrine or both.

Hecataeus of Abdera, like Antimachus of Colophon and Heraclides Ponticus, hailed from the eastern theater of Greek colonization. As Antimachus and Heraclides, he seems to have had a traditional Greek education including intensive and extensive study of philosophy and literature. This undoubtedly included Homer and Hesiod (*Suda* Volume 2 No. 359 page 213 Adler 1928). As did Antimachus and Heraclides, Hecataeus had a tendency to be extremely traditional, if not down right pedantic, in his beliefs and writings. He also had a tendency, like Antimachus and Heraclides, to change the Greek tradition to suit his own orientation which seems to have been strongly geared to Neo-Pythagoreanism within which there was a strong element of Apolline worship to which the Hyperborean legend was linked. Clement of Alexandria called him a story-teller.[52] He seems to have grafted onto this base the idea of ethnographic utopias of the golden-age type in which he gave free course to the expression of philosophical, religious and moral fantasies to substantiate the existence of the Hyperboreans and of the Neo-Pythagorean view of Apollo. It is true that ethnographic and philosophical utopias were part of the *zeitgeist* of his times, but so were the mythologizing tendencies of the Greek literary tradition of which both Antimachus and Heraclides had availed themselves while creating a Greek mythological past for Italy and Sicily. Had we more than minimal fragments with which to work, we might have been in a position to formulate a clearer idea of exactly what he was trying to achieve.

One thing does remain clear: Hecataeus of Abdera, like Antimachus and Heraclides' unnamed western source, was engaged in the transposition of Greek myths from the eastern theater of Greek colonization to the western one. In his work *On the Egyptians*, he used the traditional Greek idea that Egypt was the source of civilization, revealing a particular type of ethnographic utopia which connects historical and ethnographic material with mythology and free invention in a manner that makes a lively expression of certain ideas about state and society.[53] It appears, just as was the island of Elixoea, to have been an idealizing account of its country and people which describes the exemplary nature of the Egyptian way of life and form of government.[54] Hecataeus' enthusiasm borders on egyptomania writes Jacoby, but one wonders if this approach was simply to please his benefactor Ptolemy I who ruled in the southern theater of Greek colonization.[55] There is no indication of any patron attached to the story of Elixoea, but we may conjecture he invented this to please himself in his own beliefs about Neo-Pythagoreanism, and also those of his associates and contacts. If we accept the identification of the island of Elixoea with Britain, we may then accept a tacit identification of the Hyperboreans with the real inhabitants of Britain, the Celts.

Hecataeus may also have done some research into his subject and been able to consult the complete texts of Protarchus, Antimachus and Heraclides Ponticus: Hawkes took this as a given.[56] To this end, he may have simply been mythologizing one of the major

sources of tin, gold and silver during the archaic period, as well as the north itself, where the Hyperboreans and the Rhipean Mountains were reported to have been located. Moreover, if we accept that the temples and precincts in both of the fragments examined above are mythical doubles of Delos, this reinforces the idea of mythologizing the northwestern European islands to fit the beliefs of Neo-Pythagoreanism.

If Hawkes was correct in suggesting that the first fragment dated to about 315, it could well have been a mythologizing of western Greek efforts to send expeditions to the north, or a parody of Pytheas' voyage northward in particular. Greek geographical knowledge was expanding greatly at this time, in particular, for our purposes Greek knowledge of Celtic lands. This is exemplified in the idea that Hecataeus was mythologizing an island located in the far northwest of Europe, rather than the Alps which seem to have become passé. Hecataeus of Abdera may have been endeavoring to mythologize the new discoveries of Ireland and Britain in order to give at least one of them a Greek mythical past rooted deeply in the Apolline cult and the Hyperborean myth. This may be why he tacitly identified the Celts living in Britain with the Hyperboreans, as it also gave them a mythical Greek past which would be explored later by Irish monks in the *Book of Invasions* during the early Middle Ages when they asserted the Irish were descended from Trojans who had escaped the destruction of their city and fled west to Ireland, much the same way as Trojans had been reported to have fled to Rome.[57] Hecataeus was just carrying the mythical history of the western theater of colonization one step further to the north.

Chapter Eight
Apollonius of Rhodes

We learn from two lives transmitted with the manuscripts of the *Argonautica* that Apollonius of Rhodes lived at the time of the Ptolemies and was a pupil of Callimachus.[1] *POxy 1241* (Col. 2), a second century A.D. list of librarians of the Royal Library at Alexandria, the two lives and an entry in the *Suda Lexicon* (No. 3419 Adler Vol. 1 1928 307) say Apollonius was from Alexandria itself, although two second-century A.D. notices indicate Naucratis. Apollonius' origins are further complicated in that he composed and recited the *Argonautica* in public in his youth, but it was condemned. The first life says he went to Rhodes where he revised his poem and recited it again, but this time to great applause. Apollonius then called himself a Rhodian. The second life adds he returned to Alexandria where he again recited his poem, but this time, with great success. He was, therefore, honored with the libraries of the Museum and was buried with Callimachus. If it is not entirely certain whether Apollonius came from Alexandria, Naucratis or Rhodes, just as the previous authors who identified the Hyperboreans with Celts, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, he did come from outside mainland Greece, from one or more areas whose Greek speaking population considered themselves to be the true heirs of classical Greek culture.

The story of the Argonauts had often been told before in both verse and prose. As it has come down to us, the motive of the voyage is the command of Pelias to bring back the golden fleece, and this command is based on Pelias' desire to destroy Jason, while the divine aid given to Jason results from the intention of Hera to punish Pelias for his neglect of the honor due to her. The story of Jason's journey in the first ship, the Argo, with his heroic companions, the Argonauts, to the outer reaches of the world known to the Greeks in quest of the golden fleece was of ancient origin. According to Parke, the Argonautic legend was originally an epic of Thessaly, dating back to the Myceneaean period.[2] The *Argonautica* is simultaneously a written account of a bronze-age adventure story and the adventures of the Argonauts themselves, but not always set in the archaic age.[3] In the course of time, however, the primitive epic traveled to southern Greece and ultimately probably to Miletus. It was then infiltrated by Apolline influences.[4] The story was known in some form to the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The core of the *Odyssey*, as it has come down to us, is the *Nostos*, or return of Odysseus homewards to Ithaca after the sacking of Troy. Folktales, such as the story of the Lotus-eaters and of Polyphemus were then added on to the story. Many of the hero's wanderings, however and some of the detail come from the epic of the *Argonautica*.[5] Huxley contends that Homer may have added these features to his poem, as he reminds us of his source when

he describes the wandering rocks, between which, before Odysseus came, only the Argo had passed, having Hera's help because she loved Jason. The Argo, Homer stresses, is known to all (12.70). Circe, a daughter of the Sun and a sister of Aeetes, from whose kingdom the Argo sailed homewards, also belongs to the saga of the Argo (Homer, *Odyssey* 10.137–139). The fountain of Artacia, which flowed in the country close to where Cyzicus, the Propontic city, was later founded, is at home in the epic of Jason and the Argonauts, from which it may well have been transferred to the *Odyssey* (10.108). The story of Jason and the Argonauts does not seem to have had any impact on the plot of Homer's *Iliad,* but in that poem as well, Homer glances at the essential part of the epic: the visit of Jason to Lemnos, where he begat a son, Euenus of Hypsipyle.[6] Euenus has dealings in the *Iliad* with the Achaeans before Troy, sending them wine (7.467–469) and ransoming a Trojan captive (23.747–748).

The epic of Jason and the Argonauts, a tale that told of courageous navigation through hazardous unknown seas, would have been naturally popular among Greek sailors and seamen, as well as among the citizens of maritime cities during the first stages of the Greek colonial expansion in the eighth century. The epic seems to have found special favor in Corinth, whose ruling nobility deplored the insignificant place of their city in heroic legend and saga. Indeed, it was a Bacchiad, Eumelus, son of Amphilytus, who set out to create an epic past for his city.[7] As Homer had added Argonautic features to the *Odyssey,* Eumelus also linked Corinthian local cult with the story of Jason.

The story was also known to Hesiod (*Theogony* 992ff). We can also cite Pindar's account of the Argonauts (Pindar, *Pythian* 4) and Euripides, *Medea*. The earliest complete work on the Argonautic expedition of which we hear is a sixth-century poem ascribed to Epimonides of Crete. It dates from the same period as the *Naupactia,* a catalogue of Heroines of disputed authorship, which covered much of the same material as the *Argonautica* and may have served as a source for Apollonius.[8] Several other early authors, poets and prose writers, wrote on the Argonauts, but we cannot date these with any certainty. Strabo (1.2.40 C46) wrote that Homer's Circe was derived from Medea, who must have been an extremely early subject for epic poetry. During the sixth and fifth centuries, many authors such as Herodorus of Heraclea, Pherecydes of Syros, Simonides of Ceos and Herodotus of Halicarnassus wrote on or about the Argonauts, and are frequently cited in ancient scholia. Tragedians wrote many dramas using the Argonautic legend. During the fourth century, Antimachus of Colophon seems to have dealt with the love of Jason and Medea in his elegy the *Lyde.*

Therefore, when Apollonius of Rhodes wrote his *Argonautica,* he could count on the story and its sequel (Jason's desertion of Medea) being extremely well-known to his audience. Perhaps as a consequence, the central poetic technique of Apollonius is the creative reworking of Homer, and, for all its Alexandrian qualities, the *Argonautica* is a full-scale epic in the traditional mode.[9] The Argonauts represent the flower of the Greek mythical past embedded in the Greek parallel world of myth, legend and saga, that early generation of men that included Heracles, Jason, Orpheus and Peleus. Their quest and the labors they have to endure are of heroic proportions. Their journey takes them through the major part of the world known to the Greeks in archaic times and, much of the time, into the unknown with its collection of strange monsters and menacing places. Magic and the supernatural play no small, part in the poem.[10] The Argonauts live in the Greek parallel mythical world, where gods participate in the action, notably Apollo, Athena,

Hera and Aphrodite. The language is that of conventional epic: Apollonius seems to have carefully studied Homeric glosses to which he must have had access in the library in Alexandria, but his choice of words is by no means limited to Homer. He freely uses Alexandrian words and late uses of Homeric words. He constantly extended and varied the language of Homer by analogy and new formation. Apollonius also draws upon the vocabulary of the whole high epic tradition.[11]

Apollonius' narrative is deliberately archaizing and dips into the common stock of Greek myth, legends and sagas from the archaic period. From almost every detail of the *Argonautica*, it is obvious that Apollonius conceived the poem as being fundamentally Homeric and it marks an attempt to construct a Homeric epic for the Alexandrian world.[12] Indeed, part of what makes Apollonius' *Argonautica* so different from the works of previous authors is the time period during which he was writing. In common with other Alexandrian poetry, the aetiology of cult and ritual is important in the *Argonautica*. Apollonius' scholarly learning, visible also in his skilled manipulation of earlier texts, emphasizes how the Argonautic voyage is in part an acculturation establishing Greek tradition. The repeatedly positive evaluation of Greek culture should be connected with the Ptolemaic context of the work. The Ptolemies promoted themselves as the true heirs and champions of classical Greek culture and this should not be overlooked in the epic. It is plausible that the characters of King Alcinous and Queen Arete owe quite a lot to Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his sister/wife. Ptolemaic ideas are also inscribed into Greek mythical prehistory. Hellenistic science is reflected within the mythical material in the poem: Aphrodite bribes her son with a ball which is also a cosmic globe of a kind familiar in Apollonius' time (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.131–141). Medea's suffering reflects contemporary physiological theories (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 3.762–763). Mopsus' death from a snake bite is a typical mixture of Alexandrian medicine and myth (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.1502–1506).[13]

In the mass of material upon which Apollonius had to draw then, the question must have arisen as to what to leave out and how to respect the different traditions of certain myths and legends. He shows enormous skill in fusing conflicting mythological and historical details into a whole. So it was with his treatment of the Hyperborean myth: Apollonius, as Homer and Hesiod had done before him, identified Boreas' home in Thrace (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 1.211ff). He also mentions the myth of Boreas kidnapping Orithyia, daughter of King Erechtheus of Athens, as she was dancing by Illissus and carrying her off far away to the Sarpedon rock in wintry Thrace, where he wrapped her in dark clouds and forced her to so his will (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 1.216ff).[14] Out of this union came Zetes and Calais, the Boreadae. Apollonius also mentioned Orpheus whom he associates with Thrace, home of Boreas, although he did not make any direct connection between Orpheus and the Hyperborean myth, following previous source material (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 1.25–34). Apollonius also used Pindar as a source (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.23–24): he wrote there was a river, the uttermost horn of Ocean, which was broad and exceedingly deep, that a merchant ship may traverse, called the Ister (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.282–287). It takes its sources in the Rhipean Mountains. When it enters the boundaries of Thrace and Scythia, however, it divides its stream into two (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.288–289). On this point, the manuscript reading is not clear, as the Ister sends its waters partly into the Ionian Sea, or into the Mediterranean (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.289).[15] If either of these two readings is

correct, Apollonius could have been consulting and using the writings of Hecataeus of Miletus (Jacoby, *FGrH* 1A No. 1 Frags. 54–56). If the Euxine is meant, Apollonius would have been consistent with Pindar.

He then refers to another tradition which is quite different from this one: this myth states that Apollo went to the land of the Hyperboreans, whom Apollonius calls a sacred people (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.614). Apollo had taken refuge in the land of the Hyperboreans after leaving shining heaven at the chiding of his father Zeus who was angry because of Apollo's son whom divine Coronis bore to him in bright Lacerea at the mouth of Amyrus. Zeus had shot Phaethon down from the chariot of Helios into the opening of a lake deep in the streams of the Eridanus River, which continues to belch up heavy steam clouds and noisome stench from the smoldering wound. No bird spreading its light wings could cross the water, but would plunge into the flame in mid-course fluttering. All around this site, the daughters of Helios, enclosed in tall poplars, wretchedly wail a piteous plaint, and, from their eyes, they shed on the ground, bright drops of amber. These are dried by the sun upon the sand, but whenever the waters of the dark lake flow over the strand before the blasts of the wailing wind (Boreas?), then they roll in on a mass into Eridanus with swelling tide. The Celts recount, however, that these are the tears of Leto's son Apollo, which he shed after he had left shining heaven and while he was in the land of the Hyperboreans (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.592–626).

It is not known when the myth of Phaethon, son of Helios, was first used in Greek literature.[16] The legend is not found in Homer, but the participle φαέθων (shining) is several times attached as an epithet to Helios (Homer, *Iliad* 11.735, *Odyssey* 5.479, 11.16, 19.441, 22.338). The name Phaethon is applied to a horse of Eos (Homer, *Odyssey* 23.246). One wonders if there is any association with Boreas and the far north here. A daughter of Helios is called Phaethousa (Homer, *Odyssey* 12.132). Diggle conjectures that just as Ὑπερίωνις was used in early poetry, both as an epithet of Helios and as a name of Helios' father, so the epithet φαέθων found in Homer evolved and became a name used for a son of Helios, Phaethon.[17]

Hesiod refers to a son of Eos and Cephalus named Phaethon, a favorite of Aphrodite (Hesiod, *Theogony* 984–991). Diggle writes this figure is unconnected with our Phaethon, as well as several local Phaethons, attested in various regions throughout Greece and the Aegean.[18] It remains doubtful, however, if Hesiod even mentioned a version of the myth which concerns us. It is possible that Hesiod alluded to the Heliades weeping amber beside the Eridanus, though, if he did, no Phaethon was mentioned here (cf. Hesiod Frag. 150 Merk.-West=P.Oxy 1358).[19] Whether in this passage the amber was associated with the tears of the Heliades remains uncertain, as is the mention of the name Heliades in the final line.[20] Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 37.2.31) does not mention Hesiod in the list of the earlier poets who spoke of amber tears.

This myth goes back to at least Aeschylus (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 37.31), but only minimal fragments survive. The dithyrambic poet Philoxenus (436–380) also dealt with the legend (Graf. 21 Page). So did Nicander whose name is uncertain (Frag. 63 Schneider).[21] His *Hetereumena* may have been used by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* 1.75ff, 2.19–400. It is possible that Nicander was one of Ovid's sources for the episode of the Heliades.[22] The unknown Satyrus, who wrote about precious stones, we know nothing

about (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 37.6.91 and 37.7.94).[23] Even if amber tears appeared in Aeschylus' play, the Eridanus did not.[24] We cannot tell from where Aeschylus took the story of Phaethon.[25] Euripides wrote a tragedy entitled *Phaethon* (Nauck TGF 2 Euripides Frags, 771–786), of which sizable passages survive. He also refers to amber in the *Hippolytus* (737–741), citing the tradition according to which Phaethon's sisters, the Heliades, or daughters of the Sun, metamorphosed into poplars, wept amber tears, into the Eridanus river, out of grief at their brother's fall and fiery death. The earliest reference to the myth after the tragedians is an uninformative allusion by Plato (*Timaeus* 22C). Aristotle reports that according to Pythagorean doctrine, the Milky Way had been formed by the course of a star dislodged from its place during Phaethon's ride (Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.8.345a; cf. Diodorus of Sicily 5.23.2). Aratus speaks of the constellation involving the name Eridanus (*Phenomena* 360). The epithet suggests the lamentations of the Heliades.[26] Panocles (Frag. 6 Powell) mentions a story which may have dealt with the association between Phaethon and a comrade Cyncus (swan) in his *Love Affairs*.[27] A fragmentary epigram on Phaethon's death also survives from the Alexandrian period (Pap. Tebt. 3 1–10; Virgil, *Ecologues* 7). The connection between Boeotian, or Thracian nymphs, however, and Phaethon is not obvious and Diggle writes they are hardly compatible with the Eridanus.[28] They become more compatible of one thinks of the Eridanus River being in Athens, not in the far west. If this is true, and it remains simple conjecture for the present time, one could hypothesize that the Phaethon myth got its start in mainland Greece and was then transposed to the western theater of Greek colonization. Lines 3–4 allude to the broken chariot and lines 7 and 8 say he will be lamented by his sisters.[29] It would seem then that Apollonius Rhodius added the Celtic version of the origins of amber wherein the amber tears are shed not by the Heliades, but by Apollo.[30] Apollonius may have invented this story out of whole cloth.

We may, even from the literary evidence, assume that the myth is quite old, perhaps dating back to Mycenaean times. It is interesting for us, as it details a north-south trade which has also been well documented in excavations.[31] Amber was traded from the Jutland coast in Denmark to the head of the Adriatic, passing through some of the richest areas in central Europe.[32] Celts may have served as middlemen between Mycenaean and later Greek buyers and northern amber harvesters and/or levied a considerable toll for using the land over which it was transported. Ahl suggested two trading routes for the commerce in amber and perhaps other merchandise: first, the Black Sea-Dniestr-Vistula-Baltic, the return journey would have been made via the Oder-Elbe-Rhine-Saone-Rhone-Po-Adriatic.

During the Late Helladic I and II, imported amber, with the exception of Thebes, was restricted to the Peloponnesus, and may have arrived in Greece by a system of gift exchange.[33] The possibility of gift exchange permits us to draw an interesting parallel with the Hyperborean gift route as recorded by Herodotus, Callimachus and Pausanias (Herodotus 4.13–14, 33–34; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 283ff; Pausanias 1.32.1). Although gift exchange is not stated in the literary sources, it would explain why the authors reported that so many peoples joined peacefully into such a long-range endeavor, over such a long distance, when they were reported to engage in continuous warfare against each other. The transfer of the offering from the north could have been accompanied by gift exchange. The Hyperborean gift route, then, may constitute a hazy memory of Mycenaean trade routes and dealings with northern peoples that was passed down to the

historical Greeks through the Greek Dark Age in the form of this myth which Apollonius of Rhodes reports in his *Argonautica*.

What is remarkable about Apollonius' version is his ingenious insertion of realistic physical detail into a traditional myth. The heavy vapor that rises from Phaethon's smoldering wound may have been used by Apollonius to explain the old tradition concerning "birdless lakes," as the birds were asphyxiated.[34] The vile unbearable stench of charred flesh (4.622) forces Apollonius' readers into an all-too-human and extremely concrete appraisal of Phaethon's fall that might otherwise simply seem a mere symbolic allegory. The Helliades' tears as oil drops on the surface of the river (4.625–626) come across to the reader equally vividly, as one finds a tactile specificity about this image which anchors it in the here and now of quotidian existence. This, again, is interesting for us as Apollonius is endeavoring to cross the threshold between the parallel mythical world of the Greeks and the real one. Their nocturnal wailing (4.624–625), just remote enough to avoid a confusing direct encounter, similarly suggests real women, rather than poplar trees. Indeed, in the Celtic countries, the tradition of keening is too well known to be overlooked. At the same time, however, there is no other ancient source for Apollonius' striking assignment of the amber tears, Hyperborean or not, to Apollo (4.611–618). He is in fact conflating two versions of the myth here, as Apollo's son can also be Asclepius, who was being supplied with thunderbolts by the Cyclopes, so he could bring mortals back to life (Pindar, *Pythian* 3.47–58). Furthermore, Apollo's exile by Zeus is elsewhere associated with a spell of servitude to Thessalian Admetus (Apollodorus 3.10.4). The mythical Eridanus River, as we saw in chapter five, possibly transposed from mainland Greece to the western theater of Greek colonization, was itself catasterized in the constellation of Orion (Aratus, *Phenomena* 359–360).

On the other hand, as we saw in chapter two, Pindar reports that Heracles brought the olive tree back from the land of the Hyperboreans and planted it at Olympia through loyalty to Zeus (*Olympian* 3.17).[35] The scholiast on Theocritus 2.121 (Wendel 290) says Heracles garlanded himself in the underworld with the white poplar which was growing on the banks of the Archeron. The tree grew in the precinct at Olympia. Pausanias (5.14.2) has Heracles bring it there from the Archeron in Thesprotia. The white poplar or abele (bicolor…populus, Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.276) symbolizes with the silver underside and upperside to its leaf light and darkness. The importation of the poplar to Olympia, like that of the olive, establishes there a symbol of light and dark which characterize the human condition. Apollonius may not have been thinking of the Eridanus at Athens, but rather the Archeron in Thesprotia.

Apollonius differentiates the Hyperboreans from the Celts, but we are not at all clear as to where the land of the Hyperboreans is exactly. He continues by saying the Argonauts entered the Rhone (Rhodanus), which flows into the Eridanus, and where they meet is a roar of mingling waters (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.627–629). Apollonius then says that the Eridanus, rising from the ending of the earth, where are the portals and mansions of the night (the west), on one side bursts forth upon the beach of Ocean, thus on the westernmost rim of the archaic Greek earth-disk, and at the other pours into the Ionian Sea, and, on the third, sends its stream to the Sardinian Sea and its limitless bay in the west (*Argonautica* 4.629–634). He seems to have thought that the Po, Rhone, and Rhine were all connected. If the mythical Eridanus were the Po or the Rhine, the Hyperborean lands would be located in prime Celtic territory, either northern Italy,

eastern France or western Germany. This myth may be a remnant of early trading contacts between Greeks and Celts during Hallstatt times (800–450/425). It could refer to the known state of affairs in Greek cities in Magna Graecia and southern France whose inhabitants traded intensively and extensively with northern Celts. The Argonauts entered stormy lakes that spread throughout the Celtic mainland of wondrous size (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.634–639). They also entered a gulf of Ocean in ignorance, as they could perhaps have gone over the side of the earth-disk, but Hera saved them by leaping forth from the Hercynian rock, also in Celtic territory, and they turned back again (4.640–644).[36] Then after a long while, they came to the beach of a surging sea under the protection of Hera, passing unharmed through countless tribes of Celts and Ligyans, as the goddess poured dread mist all around them day by day as they fared on (4.645–650). This sounds like the region of Massalia, where they would have found safety in Greek colonies.

The whole passage may be based on tales of merchants who traded far to the north with Celtic people, and a return to the Mediterranean basin. If enshrouding someone in mist to protect them is a Homeric feature (Homer, *Odyssey* 7.13–17), this passage also says that the Argonauts could only traverse such lands with the help of Hera's powers, suggesting the Celts had been, in the past, and perhaps were still in the present, a dangerous and formidable foe. This would agree with the extant foundation stories of Massalia. It is also a tacit confirmation of the Celtic expansion that was still probably going on in Apollonius' day.

The geography in this passage, while ultimately mythical and part of the Greek parallel world, nevertheless, in part, at least, makes sense on its own terms.[37] Fränkel is surely correct to see in Apollonius' thinking of three rivers and a Celtic lake, an Alpine northern system with its branch discharging into Ocean (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.631, 637–638) as the earliest classical reference to the Rhine.[38] This makes considerably more sense than Vian's attempt, like Aeschylus (Frag. 107 Mette), to make Apollonius locate the Rhine's source in the Pyrenees, largely on the basis of 4.629–630.[39] The Po, Rhone, and Rhine all do, in fact, though unconnected, take their sources in the Alps. There may have been more than a vague awareness of this, probably on the part of traders and merchants working far to the north, or by information obtained by word of mouth around Massalia, in antiquity, which Apollonius appears elsewhere to share, and which militates against Vian's argument. Green writes that the Rhone flows through Lake Geneva on its way to Lyons, and has its outfall near Marseille. He feels that Apollonius, whom he feels was relying on Timagetus, could quite logically send the Argo up the Po, then bring her back into the western Mediterranean down the Rhone, from which point she would be well-placed to sail along the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.[40] Green feels the "portals and mansions of Night" need not, for Apollonius' purposes, lie in the west: the long winter darkness of the remote and unknown north could equally be meant here.[41] This would agree with the first literary sources we have for the Hyperborean myth, discussed in section two.[42] Moreover, the Rhone does flow through Lake Geneva; the Po does discharge into the Adriatic. We can safely assume it was a natural temptation to have their headwaters all converge, and where better than an inland lake?

The Sardinian Sea is the western Mediterranean and the vast gulf could well correspond to the Golfe du Lion, crediting the Rhone with seven mouths (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.633). Strabo (4.1.8 C183–184) notes that Timaeus argued for

five mouths, Artemidorus for three, and Polybius for two, noting the progressive silting up of the delta. Apollonius imagined a lake system of interchanging waterways to let the Argonauts set off, by mistake, down the Rhine (4.633–634), only to be turned back by Hera, just as Athena had earlier thrust them forward through the clashing rocks.[43] Apollonius then has the Argo circumnavigate Europe westward, presumably from the Rhone to the Pillars of Heracles, perhaps using material from early Greek stories of voyages westward to Tartessus and beyond. The Hercynian promontory, or forest, formed part of an originally vague chain of northern mountains, later identified more closely as ranges between the headwaters of the Danube and Transylvania, including the Harz Mountains. Vian, Livrea and Delage all identify the region with the Celtic Black Forest.[44]

Apollonius has clearly continued the Greek tradition of mythologizing both little known geographical places and their peoples. Like Homer and Callimachus with non-Greek peoples, he has incorporated the Celts and their lands into Greek mythology and made it seem as if they had adopted Greek myth as their own. Why Apollonius chose the Celts to tell this myth is not known, but it does fit with the Hyperborean myth to have northern peoples worship Apollo. It seems clear Apollonius was using earlier Greek texts concerning the western Mediterranean which he had obtained during his research and studies in the library at Alexandria. He may also have found the texts already mentioned in sections two and three of the present work, and possibly others which have not come down to us, that identify the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones and the Hyperboreans with Celts. Again, if the ethnic name Hyperboreans had meant simply someone who lives to the north of the Mediterranean basin to Apollonius, he would have called the Ligyans Hyperboreans too, as they are identified as a separate people from the Celts. He would also have located the Rhipean Mountains for the reader which he has not done in this scenario. One wonders if it is safe to assume that the Rhipean Mountains are the Alps here, as he did locate them within the first tradition he reported in Scythia (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.287). If this is the case, Apollonius' text would agree broadly with the tradition studied in the present section.

Chapter Nine
Posidonius of Apamea

Similarly to Antimachus, Heraclides, Hecataeus of Abdera and possibly Apollonius before him, Posidonius was born in the eastern theater of Greek colonization about 135 in Apamea in northern Syria on the Orontes. He came from a wealthy Apamean family and grew up in a Greek milieu.[1] Just as the previous authors who identified the Hyperboreans with the Celts or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, he went to mainland Greece as a young man for his higher education. Under the tutelage of the eminent Rhodian Panaetius, Head of the Stoic School of Philosophy in Athens, he became a convinced adherent to the system and was deeply influenced by Platonic and Aristotelian theories.[2] After 100, when Panaetius died, the headship of the school passed to Mnesarchus and Posidonius founded a school in Rhodes in the eastern theater of Greek colonization.[3]

Posidonius was reputed to have traveled widely. About 87/86, he served as a member of at least one embassy to Rome in the dangerous year of Marius' last consulship and terminal illness (Plutarch, *Marius* 45.4). During the nineties, Posidonius probably embarked upon long tours of research to the west, visiting Spain, the southern Celtic lands and Italy.[4] He was thought to know what was to be known, but he also sought to know more and brought a vivid individuality to bear on all things.[5] His interests range over the whole spectrum of intellectual enquiries and disciplines in the ancient world.[6] Thirty titles are known, but only minimal fragments survive.[7] The most substantial material comes from the *History,* consisting of fifty-two books and from a work entitled *On the Affections,* quoted and discussed at length by Galen in *De placitis Hippocratis ex Platonis* 4 and 5.[8]

Although Posidonius believed the world could only be understood by reason, he was also clearly a product of his upbringing, milieu, education and culture. To the average Stoic, the gods of poetry and art were familiar from early childhood. Greek education bred a competence in early forms of litera-ture and a knowledge of the Greek mythical parallel world.[9] Posidonius professed to vehemently renounce these inherited tendencies and put rationalization, scientific reasoning and logic in their place, but it comes as no surprise he was not able to divest himself of his whole culture, tradition and national custom (Posidonius, *On the Gods* in Diogenes Laertius 7.138).[10] Diogenes Laertius (7.151) reports a Stoic belief in *daemones* who watch over human affairs as in Hesiod and in heroes, that is the souls of the righteous which have survived their bodies. Posidonius is also reputed to be the first Stoic known to have written *On Heroes and Daemones* (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121ff; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.23.7 [Cornificius]).[11] For Posidonius, both Greek and non-Greek society alike, is based on a

generally binding ordinance, and in Greek culture, it commonly rested on divine authority, hence the esteem accorded to oracles and prophets.[12] He described the universe as a system of heaven and earth, and the natures in them, or, again, as a system composed of gods and men, and all that is created for their sake (Posidonius, *Celestial Phenomena* in Diogenes Laertius 7.138).[13] This could be interpreted as a holdover from the mythical parallel world of the early Greeks. He seems to have recognized the Golden Age, at least as a concept, during which everything was much better (Seneca, *Epistle* 90.5). Posidonius believed he had discovered in Homer the knowledge of the tide of the Ocean by which he felt his own theories confirmed.[14]

Apart from his philosophical and scientific studies, Posidonius also collected evidence of all sorts in the Peripatetic way from books. One may feel he was too hospitable to assertions, however ill-founded, which appeared to confirm convictions of his own. Yet, when verification was not possible, there was still value in recording all that could be recorded.[15] This included information found in the vast volumes of literature and writings of the Greek tradition. History, with its descriptive framework of social behavior, was Posidonius' necessary tool for moral philosophy. His *History* was a major work in its own right, taking up where Polybius left off about 146 and continuing the history of Roman expansion as far as the dictatorship of Sulla (Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 87). Its scope was all-embracing of the Mediterranean-centered world, from the histories of Asia Minor to Spain, Egypt and Africa to France and the northwestern peoples, Rome and Greece. It was full to the brim of formidable detail of facts and events, major and minor, global and local, and of social and environmental phenomena.[16] He is of course noted for his ethnographic information about the Celts, the study of whom he had inherited from previous authors. Posidonius had a keen eye for things, however remote from his theoretical concerns: he remarked on the peculiarities of Libyan monkeys (Frag. 73) and on the Celtic habit of nailing on their portals the skulls of their enemies (Frag. 55). The unifying factor in this huge work was a moralist's view of historical explanation, perhaps similar to Heraclides Ponticus.[17]

The tendencies mentioned above may account for why Posidonius appears to have continued the mythologizing tradition which we examined in chapter five. He wrote, in a similar fashion to Hecataeus of Abdera, that the Hyperboreans did exist and used to inhabit the Alps.[18] One could well interpret this fragment as a holdover from an earlier time when the Hyperborean homeland was transposed from Thrace, or to the north of the Caspian Sea area, to the western theater of Greek colonization, as part of their traditional mythical parallel world. Jacoby (*FGrH* 2C No. 87 Frag. 103 page 205) says this fragment does not come from the period of Roman expansion and geographical knowledge, but from an earlier period. He also says the Hyperboreans and the Rhipean Mountains go together and are part of the same myth. Jacoby may be implying that this tradition has come down to Posidonius from earlier texts, such as those of Protarchus and Antimachus. Kidd refers to other fragments which mention the Rhipean Mountains.

Athenaeus preserves a fragment of Posidonius in which he says that the Rhipean Mountains were later named Olbian and now are called the Alps in Galatia.[19] When forest fires broke out, these mountains flowed with silver. One can readily see how the Rhipean Mountains would have been called Olbian (Herodotus 4.13–14) and we know a tradition which identifies the Alps in northern Italy with the Hyperboreans, but this is the first time we encounter the Rhipean Mountains being located in Galatia. Given the date of the

author, and his origins in Asia Minor, it may refer to the great Celtic migrations across Europe which took place during the La Tène period. What is interesting here is also the sequencing of the text: Posidonius makes reference to the Helvetians whose rivers and brooks bring down grains of gold that women and infirm men rub with sand, sift and bring to the smelting pot. There could again be a hint of identification of the Hyperboreans with the Celts here, as gold is also a Hyperborean feature (Aeschylus, *Choephori* 372–374). The Hyperboreans then might have qualified as a "golden race," but this is not actually stated in the source material. The only difficulty here is that the Rhipean Mountains flow with silver and not gold, but the idea of felicity being connected with a great quantity of precious metals is preserved here. The Hyperboreans, who lived in the far north of the mythical Greek world, were the happiest of all peoples because they had great quantities of gold. The Celts, some of whom lived in the far north of the real world, also had great quantities of gold, and so, were like the Hyperboreans. The story of silver flowing from the Rhipean Mountains is also rather like the story Posidonius used in the context of the Spanish mines in which gold is also washed down the rivers and streams.[20] Thus, Posidonius may have been transposing earlier material about Tartessus from writers such as Stesichorus (*SLG* 7) and Herodotus (1.163) to the east, where some Celts had migrated.

The Spanish mines even outdo the continental Celtic ones in the Cevennes and the Pyrenees. Posidonius says he does not disbelieve the story about the abundance of precious metals in Spain; it is a legend, not science.[21] Posidonius also records, still according to Athenaeus (6.233F=Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 87 Frag. 48) that Spartans, forbidden by their social customs to import into Sparta or to acquire gold and silver, acquired them none the less and deposited them with their neighbors, the Arcadians.[22] They, then, made enemies of the Arcadians, instead of friends, so that their disobedience should be unaccountable for scrutiny through hostility. It is also recorded that the gold and silver previously in Sparta was deposited with Apollo and Delphi, but Lysander brought it to Sparta for public use and, thereby, was the cause of much misfortune. The account continues that Gylippus, the liberator of Syracuse, committed suicide through starvation when convicted by the ephors of embezzling some of the funds brought in by Lysander (Plutarch, *Lysander* 16). It was no matter for a mere human to treat lightly what had been dedicated to the god and acknowledged, it would appear, as his honor and possession. This approach seems extremely traditional, even if the concept of god is different from the archaic one, and, again, part of the traditional mythical parallel world of the Greeks, where gold is sacred and so is Apollo.

He then continues by telling the story of the Scordistae who do not have any gold in their country, but who do not object in the least to plundering and defrauding other countries for silver. Their people comprise the remnants of the Celts that attacked the Delphic oracle, having Brennus as their leader in 279. After a commander of theirs named as Bathanattus settled them along the Danube, they foreswore gold as an abomination, and would not have it in their country because of all the terrible things they had suffered after their sack of Delphi, but silver, they did use. Posidonius emphasizes that it was a question of impiety and sacrilege they had committed. This is most interesting as Posidonius does not call the Celts Hyperboreans here and says that they have no gold in their native land. Thus, in his mind, there seems to be a vague pairing of the Celts and the Hyperboreans, as long as the Celts stay in the north and as long as they

have gold in their country. Otherwise, the natural order of things becomes destroyed and the Celts attack Apollo's sanctuaries, where there is gold, and take it by force. This would also fit in with Posidonius' philosophy that if one has too much gold or if one is too greedy, all sorts of unpleasant things could happen. Here, there seems to be a balanced system set up which works provided the Celts do not come down and attack Greek sanctuaries from the north. In both fragments (240a-b and 270 Kidd), Posidonius recognizes the character of ancient legend, but argues for a factual basis without totally disregarding it.[23]

In fragment 270, Kidd puts forward the explanation that the Greeks could actually mean that Posidonius said the Hyperboreans still existed in his time and lived in the Alps. This would agree with Hecateaus of Abdera.[24] The Delphic offerings prove the existence of the Hyperboreans, but while others placed them in various remote and legendary locations, Posidonius dismissed such fancies and put them in a known territory where the Celts had lived since the Bronze Age.[25] Kidd continues by saying that Posidonius was not assigning present location, but offering a historical explanation for the origin and subsequent legend. Even if he was not assigning present location, Posidonius still recognized that there had been a tradition which tacitly identified the Hyperboreans with Celts, or that placed the Hyperboreans in patently Celtic geographical locations that Posidonius must have known about. In doing so, he had confirmed the main aim of the present work: to establish that there was a tradition in Greek literature which held that the Hyperboreans were identified with Celts and that the Hyperborean homeland was identified with Celtic lands.

Posidonius, as most of the other authors who identified the Hyperboreans with Celts or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, was from the eastern theater of Greek colonization. Unlike the other authors, however, he was not a poet, but a man of science and philosophy. Posidonius believed reason and scientific explanation could explain life and if these failed, philosophy would, but he could not renounce the Greek parallel mythical world which was so deeply embedded in the Greek collective consciousness and culture. By the time Posidonius was writing, the colonization of Italy and Sicily had long been completed. It is not at all clear when he died or as an old man if he survived into the period of Caesar's conquest of the northern Celtic lands and his invasion of Britain. It seems likely here Posidonius was using a long established tradition of transposing Greek myth and legend from east to west, but sometimes he also transposed western archaic material into a much later eastern context of Celtic lands. He may have been using an idea he encountered in his own education and research, and tried to give a factual basis to it in order to explain it, as it no longer corresponded to the reality of his own time. If he subscribed in part at least to Neo-Pythagorean belief and philosophy, it would only have been natural for him to have knowledge of the Hyperboreans and their myth, as well as of the texts which pertain to it. This may have been part of it which Posidonius may have been repeating along with the historical context of the mines of precious metals in the Celtic lands.

Conclusion

Fantastic stories, myths and legends became so embedded in Greek culture and collective consciousness that even within the domains of scientific research and logical enquiry, the Greek mythical parallel world never disappeared. During the archaic age, poets and storytellers could communicate with the gods and were inspired by them. Later, when the poets were questioned and called liars, many of these stories, myths and legends remained part and parcel of Greek literary tradition. The Greek parallel mythical world was also transmitted to the Romans and their writers, though frequently in a somewhat altered form.

From the beginning of our extant source material, myths, legends and sagas were used to articulate themes of exploration, geographical expansion and contacts with non-Greek peoples. Greek superheroes such as Jason and the Argonauts, and Heracles were leading personages in creating a Greek mythical past, as they were said to have gone into far-away lands to explore and pave the way for a more lasting Greek presence in the form of colonization. The Hyperborean lands also figured as part of this ongoing evolution. They were moved about the Greek world and its extensions as the edges of that world were pushed back and became more far-reaching. As geographical knowledge expanded, so did the use of myths, legends and stories. The Hyperborean lands, for example, were transposed from one part of the Greek world to a chosen theater of colonization to mark the new world with Greekness. It is not to be underestimated how much the Greeks believed in their parallel mythical world of gods, mythical golden-age utopias and superheroes: these beliefs permeated their culture and world view. Even in the fourth century, during a time of general upheaval and change, writers marked out their school of thought/philosophy by how they considered the Golden Age. Mythical utopian paradises were revamped or created using archaic themes to illustrate philosophical and political points. The Hyperborean lands were again one of these.

As myth, legend and tall stories were so embedded in the Greek mentality and way of looking at things, they were often paired with historical processes and events such as the Greek advance up the Adriatic towards northern Italy and Greek commerce with the Hallstatt economies of central and northern Europe. In the case of the Hyperboreans, the mythical Rhipean Mountains were identified with the Alps of northern Italy in the western theater of Greek colonization, where Celts had lived since the Bronze Age, in order to explain how and why this commerce had come about. The Greeks of the archaic age had the impression their gods were controlling everything that came to pass around them. As they were themselves the favored of the gods, they believed they would come out on top in whatever endeavor they were attempting. The Greeks integrated other

peoples, the Celts among them, into their myths, legends and stories for the same reason: if the Greek gods controlled the situation, the Greeks would, at least in the end, dominate the outcome. Many Greek colonial enterprises were sanctioned by their god Apollo at Delphi. Within the Greek parallel world of myth, legend and belief, the Hyperboreans were transposed into the western theater of Greek colonization by authors who came from other theaters of Greek colonization to create a Greek mythical past for that particular area. If such a past existed, it was only natural for the Greeks to take possession of what was rightfully theirs and to set up trade with the peoples who inhabited the particular area. The Hyperboreans were thought to live at the back of the North Wind, consequently, on the other side of the Rhipean Mountains from where Boreas blew. Hence, consciously or unconsciously, the Celts who lived in, around, and at the back of the Alps, were identified with the Hyperboreans who traditionally lived there. This identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts probably preserves a hazy memory of trading and possibly diplomatic relations which went on between the Greeks and Celts.

In addition, there seems to be a vague association involving gold. The Hyperboreans were considered the happiest of all peoples. Apollo went to their land for recreation and also to hide from his father when there was a problem. Their felicity was associated with gold, as gold did not perish and was thought to be indestructible. The identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts was perhaps reinforced as the Celts were known to both the Greeks and Romans for wild feasting and drinking from Hallstatt C and D times on, and, also, for having great quantities of gold. The Celts were even said by one author to live for 125 years (Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum* 5.30 a-e; Tacitus, *Dialogues* 17), which is not as long as the thousand years ascribed to the Hyperboreans by Simonides, but which must have had the psychological effect on the audience/reader of identifying the Celtic lands to the north of the Mediterranean basin with the mythical golden-age utopian land of the Hyperboreans. Furthermore, the Rhipean Mountains may also have been identified with the Alps because they stood at the edge of the world, thickly wooded and shrouded in black night. The Alps may at one time have been viewed as a northern barrier to the Greeks, or indeed someone else from whom the Greeks would have heard this information at an early date. They were thickly wooded, a cold wind blew from them and they were often covered in snow. Nights perhaps even fell earlier on them than in the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, Greek colonists and traders brought the ready-made Hyperborean myth with them to their new homes in the west. In all probability, any town or village that had a cult to Apollo knew also of the Hyperborean myth. We may even be in a position to conjecture that the identification of the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, or the Hyperboreans with Celts, paralleled a much wider tableau of Greek trading and colonization in Celtic lands. The Greeks of Massalia were used to dealing with Celts, as they were among their closest neighbors. Archaeological evidence strongly suggests that Greek traders in the south of France went to live, either temporarily or permanently in Celtic settlements to have firsthand access to these markets. One wonders if the Greeks from Italy and Sicily were doing the same thing in the extreme north, going to live on Hallstatt palace sites, and later on in La Tène aristocratic sites. It would be logical as we know of a Celt living in Etruria and another one living in Rome. Gold was one of the most frequently traded items north-south, along with amber, salt, lead, tin, slaves, hides, honey and perishable goods. Finally, Apollo's swans which he rode, or which pulled his chariot to the land of the Hyperboreans, are also paralleled in Celtic civilization and

archaeology. In Greek mythology, the swans of Apollo unified north and south, the mythical parallel world with the real one. The motif of the swan in Celtic tradition and art could correspond to the stories and legends of Greek mythology concerning swans. On the other hand, both are probably ultimately derived from a common indo-european mythology about swans.

We have learned from our investigation there is a tradition in Greek literature which identifies the Hyperboreans, a mythical race of sacred people, living in a "golden-age" existence of eternal feasting and joy, with a very real people the Celts, one of the northern neighbors of the Greeks in their western theater of colonization. While this tradition is far from being a mainstream one in the Greek literary tradition, it does slot into the general tendency of Greek authors to transpose Greek myths, legends and sagas from mainland Greece or their eastern theater of colonization to the west in order to create a mythical prehistory/history for those lands which were frequented by them for trade and/or colonized by them. This theme fits into the broader framework of contacts between two great European peoples and civilizations of the Mediterranean basin and northern Europe, contacts which appear to have been continuous from the time when the two civilizations first evolved in Europe. The singer who performed stories, myths and legends in the Greek world had his counterpart in the northern Celtic bard (bardos). In their respective worlds, they did not sing of history, but created it using myths, legends, sagas and stories to parallel what we call history in the modern sense of the term. Thus, a hybrid of history and myth, of fact and fiction shaped their ideas of a living and ever-present past, and present, and molded a degree of certainty, or at least an expectation for the future, which intimated that certain things would never change.

This identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts broke down, however, when Heraclides Ponticus wrote the Hyperboreans had come down from the north and sacked Rome. This was not within the tradition of the Hyperboreans who were otherwise considered as peaceful and who did not make war on their neighbors. In all probability, Heraclides was doing the same thing as the archaic singer, arranging myth to fit a fictional history which contained the theme of divine retribution and paralleling a historical event, its origins and consequences by using myth as an overlay (Strabo 1.2.38–39 C46–47). In the parallel mythical world of the Greeks, for example, Apollo was known to have gone to the land of the Hyperboreans and was also known to have a temple there, where Abaris deposited costly offerings to him. These offerings could have been of gold or other precious metals. In the real world of the Celts, there were huge lake sanctuaries, where the Celts made costly offerings of gold and other precious objects to their gods, one of whom was the Celtic sungod Borvo. It is not known exactly when the Greeks discovered the Celts had such sanctuaries, but it is clear that certainly by Roman times, an author, or authors, could invent a mythologizing and moralizing story, which included the theme of divine retribution, about Celtic soldiers who had laid siege to Delphi and who took the spoils in the form of gold treasure back to Toulouse where it is said they had originally come from, to deposit them in a lake.[1] Later on, a conquering Roman general would have recaptured the treasure from Delphi when he conquered Toulouse. It is not certain, however, whether the authors who wrote the texts which identify the Hyperboreans with Celts had this level of knowledge about the Celtic world. The exception, of course, would have been Posidonius. What is sure is the mythical claim would have justified the Romans taking Celtic gold from their sacred lake sanctuaries,

just as the transposition of the Hyperborean myth from east to west and the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, would have helped to justify and enhance Greek presence and colonization in the western Mediterranean.

Malkin believes the Greeks regarded the seizure of someone else's land and resources as a crime and knew it involved a certain amount of *hybris* (Mimnermus Frag. 9 West 1992 87; Strabo 14.1.4 C634). Therefore, in order to make it acceptable, the act of colonization had to be authorized and guided by a divine force which espoused both Justice and Right. These were characteristics of both Apollo and the Hyperboreans. If the act of colonization was authorized by Justice and Right, characteristics of the world of the gods, they would eliminate, at least in part, the *hybris* associated with the setting up of colonies. This may account for the heavily religious aspect of Greek colonization. If native peoples could be endowed with a mythical Greek prehistory and could be shown to be descendants of Heracles or those who returned from Troy, or yet again, if they could be identified with a mythical people the Greeks had created and evolved, the act of colonization, and, indeed, a continued foreign presence, would be strengthened by Justice and Right. This seems to be, at least in part, why the Hyperborean myth was transposed from east to west in the texts we have studied. In addition though, the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts, or the Hyperborean lands with Celtic ones, constituted a hybrid of fact and fiction, and demonstrated how some authors used the imaginary space common to both the world of humankind, with its darkness and *hybris,* and the world of the gods, characterized by Light, Justice and Right. Seen in this way, the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts is symptomatic of the process of Greek colonization and the justification of the continued Greek presence in their western theater of colonization.

Appendix

Aelian Herodian, *De Prosodia Catholica* 1.114–115 Lentz:

> Πρώταρχος τὰς Ἄλπεις Ῥίπαια ὄρη οὕτω προσηγορεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη κατοικοῦντας πάντας Ὑπερβορέους ὠνομάσθαι. Δαμάστης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐθνῶν, ἄνω τῶν Σκυθῶν Ἰσσηδόνας οἰκεῖν, τούτων δ' ἀνωτέρω Ἀριμασπούς, ἄνω δ' Ἀριμασπῶν τὰ Ῥίπαια ὄρη, ἐξ ὧν τὸν βορέαν πνεῖν, χιόνα δὲ μήποτε αὐτὰ ἐκλείπειν· ὑπερ δὲ τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα Ὑπερβορέους καθήκειν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν. Καλλίμαχος δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς φησι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀριμασποῖς.

Protarchus said he called the Alps the Rhipean Mountains and all those peoples who were living to the north of them Hyperboreans. Damastes (of Sigeum) wrote the Issedones lived beyond the Scythians and Arimaspi and the Arimaspi lived beyond the Issedones, but beyond the Issedones stood the Rhipean Mountains from where the North Wind blew and which were never free of snow. On the other side of the mountains lived the Hyperboreans whose territory extended down to the Other Sea. Callimachus said they were Arimaspi.

Stephanus of Byzantium 650.3 Meineke:

> Ὑπερβόρεοι ἔθνος. Πρώταρχος (*FHG* 4.485 Müller) δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις Ῥίπαια ὄρη οὕτω προσηγορεῦσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη κατοικουντας πάντας Ὑπερβορέους ὀνομάζεσθαι.. Ἀντίμαχος (ita codd. Καλλίμαχος Ruhnken) δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς φησιν εἶναι τοῖς Ἀριμασποῖς.

The Hyperborean people. Protarchus said he called the Alps the Rhipean Mountains and all those peoples who were living to the north of them Hyperboreans. Antimachus called them all Arimaspi.

Stephanus of Byzantium 118.16 Meineke:

Ἀριμασποί, ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων.

Arimaspi, a Hyperborean people.

Heraclides Ponticus in Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.2–3 (LCL 47 [1997] Perrin 146–147:

22.2.3 Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ ὁ Ποντικὸς οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συγγράμματί φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας λόγον κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ἠρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που κατῳκημένην περὶ 3. τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσάν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἶναί φησιν· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Λεύκιος, ὁ Κάμιλλος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰκασμῷ λέλεκται.

22.2.3 For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise "On the Soul," says that out of the west a story prevailed, how an army of Hyperboreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores 3. of the Mediterranean. Now I cannot wonder that so fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should deck out the true story of the capture of Rome with his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." But Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he says that its savior was Lucius, although the forename of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. However, these details were matters of conjecture.

Hecataeus of Abdera in Schol. Apollonius Rhodius II 675; 73 B 4 Diels and Kranz 1966):

Ἑκαταῖος δὲ μέχρι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων εἶναί φησι τὸ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων ἔθνος ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ βιβλία ἐπιγραφόμενα Περὶ Ὑπερβορέων. τιμᾶται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ὑπερβορέοις ὁ Ἀπόλλων, διὸ καὶ ἐκεῖσε χωρῶν ὤφθη. τρία δὲ ἔθνη τῶν Ὑπερβορέων· Ἐπιζεφύριοι καὶ Ἐπικνημίδιοι καὶ Ὀζόλαι.

Hecataeus has said the Hyperborean people existed and still existed in his time in a book he wrote called "On the Hyperboreans." Apollo is revered by the Hyperboreans in their lands. Three Hyperborean peoples are the Epizephyrii, the Epicnemidii and the Ozolai.

Hecataeus of Abdera in Diodorus of Sicily 2.47 (LCL 303 Oldfather 1994 36–41):

47. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτους κεκλιμένα μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἠξιώσαμεν ἀναγραφῆς, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων μυθολογούμενα διελθεῖν. τῶν γὰρ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀναγεγραφότων Ἑκαταῖος καί τινες ἕτεροί φασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρωτέρω κεῖσθαι τῆς Βορείου πνοῆς· οὖσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὔγειόν τε καὶ πάμφορον, ἔτι δ' εὐκρασίᾳ διαφέρουσαν, διττοὺς 2. Κατ' ἔτος ἐκφέρειν καρπούς. μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν Λητὼ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶσθαι· εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἱερεῖς τινας Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑμνεῖσθαι μετ' ᾠδῆς συνεχῶς καὶ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως. ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τέμενός τε Ἀπόλλωνος μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ναὸν ἀξιόλογον ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένον, σφαιροειδῆ 3. τῷ σχήματι. καὶ πόλιν μὲν ὑπάρχειν ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου, τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων αὐτὴν τοὺς πλείστους εἶναι κιθαριστάς, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κιθαρίζοντας ὕμνους λέγειν τῷ θεῷ μετ' ᾠδῆς, ἀποσεμνύνοντας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις.

4. Ἔχειν δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους ἰδίαν τινὰ διάλεκτον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἰκειότατα διακεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Δηλίους, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων παρειληφότας τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς μυθολογοῦσι παραβαλεῖν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολυτελῆ καταλιπεῖν γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένα. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων Ἄβαριν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταντήσαντα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνασῶσαι τὴν πρὸς Δηλίους εὔνοιάν τε καὶ συγγένειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου φαίνεσθαι παντελῶς ὀλίγον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς γῆς καί τινας ἐξοχὰς γεώδεις ἔχουσαν ἐν αὐτῇ φανεράς.

6. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν δι' ἐτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα καταντᾶν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῶν ἄστρων ἀποκαταστάσεις ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἐννεακαιδεκαετῆ χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ταύτην τὸν θεὸν κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν συνεχῶς τὰς νύκτας ἀπὸ ἰσημερίας ἐαρινῆς ἕως πλειάδος ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις εὐημερήμασι τερπόμενον. βασιλεύειν δὲ τῆς πόλεως

ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπάρχειν τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Βορεάδας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Βορέου, καὶ κατὰ γένος ἀεὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς.

Now for our part, since we have seen fit to make mention of the regions of Asia, which lie to the north, we feel that it will not be foreign to our purpose to discuss the legendary accounts of the Hyperboreans. Of those who have written about the ancient myths, Hecataeus and certain others say that in the regions beyond the land of the Celts there lies in the Ocean an island no smaller than Sicily. This island, the account continues, is situated in the north and is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are called by that name because their home is beyond the point whence the North Wind (Boreas) blows; and the island is both fertile and productive of every crop, and since it has an unusually temperate climate it produces two harvests each year. Moreover, the following legend is told concerning it: Leto was born on the island, and for that reason Apollo is honored among them above all other gods; and the inhabitants are looked on as priests of Apollo, after a manner, since daily they praise this god continuously in song and honor him exceedingly. And there is also on the island both a magnificent sacred precinct of Apollo and a notable temple which is adorned with many votive offerings and is spherical in shape. Furthermore, a city is there which is sacred to this god, and the majority of its inhabitants are players on the cithara; and there continually play on this instrument in the temple and sing hymns of praise to the god, glorifying his deeds.

The Hyperboreans also have a language, we are informed, which is peculiar to them, and are most friendly disposed towards the Greeks, and especially towards the Athenians and the Delians, who have inherited this good-will from most ancient times. The myth also relates that certain Greeks visited the Hyperboreans and left behind there costly votive offerings bearing inscriptions in Greek letters. And in the same way Abaris, a Hyperborean, came to Greece in ancient times and renewed the good-will and kinship of his people to the Delians. They say also that the moon, as viewed from this island, appears to be but a little distance from the earth and to have upon it prominences, like those of the earth, which are visible to the eye. The account is also given that the god visits the island every nineteen years, the period in which the return of the stars to the same place in the heavens is accomplished; and for this reason the nineteen-year period is called by the Greeks the “year of Meton.” At the time of this appearance of the god he both plays on the cithara and dances continuously the night through from the vernal equinox until the rising of the Pleiades, expressing in this manner his delight with his successes. And the kings of the city and the supervisors of the sacred precinct are called Boreadae, since they are descendants of Boreas, and the succession to these positions is always kept in their family.

Stephanus of Byzantium 267 Meineke; Jacoby, FGrH 3A No. 264 Frag. 11a; Diels and Kranz Frag. B1 1966 241:

> Ἐλίξοια, νῆσος Ὑπερβορέων, οὐκ ἐλάσσων Σικελίας, ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καραμβύκα. οἱ νησιῶται Καραμβῦκαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

Elixoea, an island of the Hyperboreans which is no smaller than Sicily and which is situated above the river Carambyca. The inhabitants of the island were named Carambycians and got their name from the river which bounded their lands, as Hecataeus of Abdera said.

Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Frag. 11b:

> Καραμβύκαι· ἔθνος Ὑπερβορέων ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Καραμβύκα, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

Carambycians, a Hyperborean people who got their name from the river Carambyca, as Hecataeus of Abdera said.

Hecataeus of Abdera in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.1 (LCL 448 1971 Scholfield 356–359):

> 1. Ἀνθρώπων Ὑπερβορέων γένος καὶ τιμὰς Ἀπόλλωνος τὰς ἐκεῖθι ᾄδουσι μὲν ποιηταί, ὑμνοῦσι δὲ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ Ἑκαταῖος, οὐχ ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης. ἃ δὲ λέγει πολλά τε καὶ σεμνὰ ἕτερα, οὔ μοι νῦν ἡ χρεία παρακαλεῖν δοκεῖ αὐτά , καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐς ἄλλον ὑπερθήσομαι χρόνον ἕκαστα εἰπεῖν, ἡνίκα ἐμοί τε ἥδιον καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι λῷον ἔσται ἃ δέ με μόνα ἥδε ἡ συγγραφὴ παρακαλεῖ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἱερεῖς εἰσι τῷδε τῷ δαίμονι Βορέου καὶ Χιόνης υἱεῖς, τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀδελφοὶ τὴν φύσιν, ἐξαπήχεις τὸ μῆκος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτοι τὴν νενομισμένην ἱερουργίαν κατὰ τὸν συνήθη καιρὸν τῷ προειρημένῳ ἐπιτελῶσιν, ἐκ τῶν Ῥιπαίων οὕτω καλουμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀρῶν καταπέτεται κύκνων ἄμαχα τῷ πλήθει νέφη, καὶ περιελθόντες τὸν νεὼν καὶ οἱονεὶ καθήραντες αὐτὸν τῇ πτήσει, εἶτα μέντοι κατίασιν ἐς τὸν τοῦ νεὼ περίβολων, μέγιστόν τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὡραιότατον ὄντα. ὅταν οὖν οἵ τε ᾠδοὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ μούσῃ τῷ θεῷ προσᾴδωσι

καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ κιθαρισταὶ συγκρέκωσι τῷ χορῷ παναρμόνιον μέλος, ἐνταῦθά τοι καὶ οἱ κύκνοι συναναμέλπουσιν ὁμορροθοῦντες καὶ οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῇ ἀπηχὲς καὶ ἀπῳδὸν ἐκεῖνοι μελῳδοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ὥστερ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ χορολέκτου τὸ ἐνδόσιμον λαβόντες καὶ τοῖς σοφισταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν μελῶν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις συνάσαντες. εἶτα τοῦ ὕμνου τελεσθέντος οἱ δὲ ἀναχωροῦσι τῇ πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα τιμῇ τὰ εἰθισμένα λατρεύσαντες καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν οἱ προειρημένοι ὡς εἰπεῖν χορευταὶ πτηνοὶ μέλψαντές τε ἅμα καὶ ᾄσαντες.

1. The race of the Hyperboreans and the honors there paid to Apollo are sung by the poets and are celebrated by historians, among whom is Hecataeus, not of Miletus, but of Abdera. The many other matters of importance which he narrates I think there is no need for me to bring in now, and in fact I shall postpone the full ritual to some other occasion, when it will be pleasanter for me and more convenient for my hearers. The only facts which this narrative invites me to relate are as follows: this god has as priests the sons of Boreas and Chione, three in number, brothers by birth, and six cubits in height. So, when at the customary time they perform the established ritual of the aforesaid god there swoop down from what are called the Rhipean Mountains Swans in clouds, past numbering, and after they have circled round the temple as though they were purifying it by their flight, they descend into the precinct of the temple, an area of immense size and of surpassing beauty. Now whenever the singers sing their hymns to the god and the harpers accompany the chorus with their harmonious music, thereupon the Swans also with one accord join in the chant and never once do they sing a discordant note or out of tune, but as though they had been given the key by the conductor they chant in unison with the natives who are skilled in the sacred melodies. Then when the hymn is finished the aforesaid winged choristers, so to call them, after their customary service in honor of the god and after singing and celebrating his praises all through the day, depart.

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1.211–218 (LCL 1 1988 Seaton):

Ζήτης αὖ Κάλαΐς τε Βορήιοι υἷες ἵκοντο,
οὓς ποτ' Ἐρεχθηὶς Βορέῃ τέκεν Ὠρείθυια
ἐσχατιῇ θρῄκης δυσχειμέρου· ἔνθ' ἄρα τήνγε
Θρηίκιος Βορέης ἀνερείψατο Κεκροπίηθεν
Ἰλισσοῦ προπάροιθε χορῷ ἔνι δινεύουσαν.
καί μιν ἄγων ἔκαθεν, Σαρπηδονίην ὅθι πέτρην
κλείουσιν, ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Ἐργίνοιο,
λυγαίοις ἐδάμασσε περὶ νεφέεσσι καλύψας.

Next came Zetes and Calais, sons of Boreas, whom once Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, bore to Boreas on the verge of wintry Thrace; thither it was that Thracian Boreas snatched her away from Cecropia as she was whirling in the dance, hard by Ilissus' stream. And, carrying her far off, to the spot that men called the rock of Sarpedon, near the river Erginus, he wrapped her in dark clouds and forced her to do his will.

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 2.669–693 (LCL 1 1988 Seaton):

Ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω φάος ἄμβροτον, οὔτ' ἔτι λίην
ὀρφναίη πέλεται, λεπτὸν δ' ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ
φέγγος, ὅτ' ἀμφιλύκην μιν ἀνεγρόμενοι καλέουσιν,
τῆμος ἐρημαίης νήσου λιμέν' εἰσελάσαντες
Θυνιάδος, καμάτῳ πολυπήμονι βαῖνον ἔραζε.
τοῖσι δὲ Λητοῦς υἱός, ἀνερχόμενος Λυκίηθεν
τῆλ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα δῆμον Ὑπερβορέων ἀνθρώπων,
ἐξεφάνη χρύσεοι δὲ παρειάων ἑκάτερθεν
πλοχμοὶ βοτρυόεντες ἐπερρώοντο κιόντι·
λαιῇ δ' ἀργύρεον νώμα βιόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ νώτοις
ἰοδόκη τετάνυστο κατωμαδόν· ἡ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν
σείετο νῆσος ὅλη, κλύζεν δ' ἐπὶ κύματα χέρσῳ.
τοὺς δ' ἔλε θάμβος ἰδόντας ἀμήχανον· οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
ἀντίον αὐγάσσασθαι ἐς ὄμματα καλὰ θεοῖο.
στὰν δὲ κάτω νεύσαντες ἐπὶ χθονός· αὐτὰρ ὁ τηλοῦ
βῆ ῥ' ἴμεναι πόντονδε δι' ἠέρος· ὀψὲ δὲ τοῖον
Ὀρφεὺς ἔκφατο μῦθον ἀριστήεσσι πιφαύσκων·
'Εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ νῆσον μὲν Ἑωίου Ἀπόλλωνος
τήνδ' ἱερὴν κλείωμεν, ἐπεὶ πάντεσσι φαάνθη
ἠῷος μετιών· τὰ δὲ ῥεξόμεν οἷα πάρεστιν,
βωμὸν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπάκτιον· εἰ δ' ἄν ὀπίσσω
γαῖαν ἐς Αἱμονίην ἀσκηθέα νόστον ὀπάσσῃ,
δὴ τότε οἱ κεραῶν ἐπὶ μηρία θήσομεον αἰγῶν.
νῦν δ' αὔτως κνίσῃ λοιβῇσί τε μειλίξασθαι
κέκλομαι. ἀλλ' ἴληθι, ἄναξ, ἴληθι φαανθείς.'

Now when divine light has not yet come nor is it utter darkness, but a faint glimmer has spread over the night, the time when men wake and call it twilight, at that hour they ran into the harbor of the desert island Thynias and, spent by weary toil, mounted the shore. And to them the son of Leto, as he passed from Lycia far away to the countless folk of the Hyperboreans, appeared; and about his cheeks on both sides his golden locks flowed in clusters as he moved; in his left hand he held a silver bow, and on his back was slung a quiver hanging from his shoulders; and beneath his feet all the island quaked, and the waves surged hight on the beach. Helpless amazement seized them as they looked; and no one dared to gaze face to face into the fair eyes of the god. And they stood with heads bowed to the ground; but, he, far off, passed on to the sea through the air; and at length Orpheus spoke as follows, addressing the chiefs:

"Come, let us call this island the sacred isle of Apollo of the Dawn since he has appeared to all, passing by at dawn; and we shall offer such sacrifices as we can, building an altar on the shore; and if hereafter he

shall grant us a safe return to the Haemonian land, then we will lay on his altar the thighs of horned goats. And now I bid you propitiate him with the steam of sacrifice and libations.

Be gracious, O king, be gracious in thy appearing."

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.282–293 (LCL 1 1988 Seaton):

ἔστι δέ τις ποταμός, ὕπατον κέρας Ὠκεάνοῖο,
εὐρύς τε προβαθής τε καὶ ὁλκάδι νηὶ περῆσαι·
Ἴστρον μιν καλέοντες ἑκὰς διετεκμήραντο·
ὅς δή τοι τείως μὲν ἀπείρονα τέμνετ' ἄρουραν
εἷς οἷος· πηγαὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ πνοιῆς Βορέαο
Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσιν ἀπόπροθι μορμύρουσιν.
ἀλλ' ὁπόταν Θρηκῶν Σκυθέων τ' ἐπιβήσεται οὔρους,
ἔνθα διχῇ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα μετ' Ἰονίην ἅλα βάλλει
τῇδ' ὕδωρ, τὸ δ' ὄπισθε βαθὺν διὰ κόλπον ἴησιν
σχιζόμενος πόντου Τρινακρίου εἰσανέχοντα,
γαίῃ ὅς ὑμετέρῃ παρακέκλιται, εἰ ἐτεὸν δὴ
ὑμετέρης γαίης Ἀχελώιος ἐξανίησιν.'

There is a river, the uttermost horn of Ocean, broad and exceedingly deep, that a merchant ship may traverse; they call it Ister and have marked it far off; and for a while it cleaves the boundless tilth alone in one stream; for beyond the blasts of the north wind, far off from the Rhipean Mountains, it springs forth with a roar. But when it enters the boundaries of the Thracians and Scythians, here, dividing its stream into two, it sends its waters partly into the Ionian Sea, and partly to the south into a deep gulf that bends upwards from the Trinacrian sea, that sea which lies along your land, if indeed Achelous flows forth from your land."

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.592–658 (LCL 1 1988 Seaton):

Ὣς Ἀργὼ ἰάχησεν ὑπὸ κνέφας οἱ δ' ἀνόρουσαν
Τυνδαρίδαι, καὶ χεῖρας ἀνέσχεθον ἀθανάτοισιν

εὐχόμενοι τὰ ἕκαστα κατηφείη δ' ἔχεν ἄλλους
ἥρωας Μινύας. ἡ δ' ἔσσυτο πολλὸν ἐπιπρὸ
λαίφεσιν, ἐς δ' ἔβαλον μύχατον ῥόον Ἠριδανοῖο·
ἔνθα ποτ' αἰθαλόεντι τυπεὶς πρὸς στέρνα κεραυνῷ
ἠριδαὴς Φαέθων πέσεν ἅρματος Ἠελίοιο
λίμνης ἐς προχοὰς πολυβενθέος· ἡ δ' ἔτι νῦν περ
τραύματος αἰθομένοιο βαρὺν ἀνακηκίει ἀτμόν.
οὐδέ τις ὕδωρ κεῖνο διὰ πτερὰ κοῦφα τανύσσας
οἰωνὸς δύναται βαλέειν ὕπερ ἀλλὰ μεσηγὺς
φλογμῷ ἐπιθρῴσκει πεποτημένος. ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦραι
Ἡλιάδες ταναῇσιν ἐελμέναι αἰγείροισιν,
μύρονται κικυρὸν μέλεαι γόον ἐκ δὲ φαεινὰς
ἠλέκτρου λιβάδας βλεφάρων προχέουσιν ἔραζε,
αἱ μέν τ' ἠελίῳ ψαμάθοις ἔπι τερσαίνονται·
εὖτ ἄν δὲ κλύζησι κελαινῆς ὕδατα λίμνης
ἠιόνας πνοιῇ πολυηχέος ἐξ ἀνέμοιο,
δὴ τότ' ἐς Ἠριδανὸν προκυλίνδεται ἀθρόα πάντα
κυμαίνοντι ῥόῳ· Κελτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ βάξιν ἔθεντο,
ὡς ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνος τάδε δάκρυα Λητοίδαο
συμφέρεται δίναις, ἅ τε μυρία χεῦε πάροιθεν,
ἦμος Ὑπερβορέων ἱερὸν γένος εἰσαφίκανεν,
οὐρανὸν αἰγλήεντα λιπὼν ἐκ πατρὸς ἐνιπῆς,
χωόμενος περὶ παιδί, τὸν ἐν λιπαρῇ Λακερείῃ
δῖα Κορωνὶς ἔτικτεν ἐπὶ προχοῇς Ἀμύροιο.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ὣς κείνοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι κεκλήισται·
τοὺς δ' οὔτε βρώμης ἦρει πόθος, οὐδὲ ποτοῖο,
οὔτ' ἐπὶ γηθοσύνας τράπετο νόος. ἀλλ' ἄρα τοίγε
ἤματα μὲν στρεύγοντο περιβληχρὸν βαρύθοντες
ὀδμῇ λευγαλέῃ, τήν ῥ' ἄσχετον ἐξανίεσκον
τυφομένου Φαέθοντος ἐπιρροαὶ Ἠριδανοῖο·
νυκτὸς δ' αὖ γόον ὀξὺν ὀδυρομένων ἐσάκουον
Ἡλιάδων λιγέως· τὰ δὲ δάκρυα μυρομένῃσιν
οἷον ἐλαιηραὶ στάγες ὕδασιν ἐμφορέοντο.

Ἐκ δὲ τόθεν Ῥοδανοῖο βαθὺν ῥόον εἰσαπέβησαν,
ὅστ' εἰς Ἠριδανὸν μετανίσσεται· ἄμμιγα δ' ὕδωρ
ἐν ξυνοχῇ βέβρυχε κυκώμενον. αὐτὰρ ὁ γαίης
ἐκ μυχάτης, ἵνα τ' εἰσὶ πύλαι καὶ ἐδέθλια Νυκτός,
ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος τῇ μέν τ' ἐπερεύγεται ἀκτὰς
Ὠκεανοῦ τῇ δ' αὖτε μετ' Ἰονίην ἅλα βάλλει,
τῇ δ' ἐπὶ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος καὶ ἀπείρονα κόλπον
ἑπτὰ διὰ στομάτων ἴει ῥόον. ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῖο
λίμνας εἰσέλασαν δυσχείμονας, αἵτ' ἀνὰ Κελτῶν
ἤπειρον πέπτανται ἀθέσφατον· ἔνθα κεν οἵγε

ἄτῃ ἀεικελίῃ πέλασαν· φέρε γάρ τις ἀπορρὼξ
κόλπον ἐς Ὠκεανοῖο, τὸν οὐ προδαέντες ἔμελλον
εἰσβαλέειν, τόθεν οὔ κεν ὑπότροποι ἐξεσάωθεν.
ἀλλ' Ἥρη σκοπέλοιο καθ' Ἑρκυνίου ἰάχησεν
οὐρανόθεν προθοροῦσα· φόβῳ δ' ἐτίναχθεν ἀυτῆς
πάντες ὁμῶς· δεινὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ μέγας ἔβραχεν αἰθήρ.
ἄψ δὲ παλιντροπόωντο θεᾶς ὕπο, καί ῥ' ἐνόησαν
τὴν οἶμον, τῇπέρ τε καὶ ἔπλετο νόστος ἰοῦσιν.
δηναιοὶ δ' ἀκτὰς ἁλιμυρέας εἰσαφίκοντο
Ἥρης ἐννεσίῃσι, δι' ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν
καὶ Λιγύων περόωντες ἀδήιοι. ἀμφι γὰρ αἰνὴν
ἠέρα χεῦε θεὰ πάντ' ἤματα νισσομένοισιν.
μεσσότατον δ' ἄρα τοίγε διὰ στόμα νηὶ βαλόντες
Στοιχάδας εἰσαπέβαν νήσους σόοι εἵνεκα κούρων
Ζηνός ὅ δὴ βωμοί τε καὶ ἱερὰ τοῖσι τέτυκται
ἔμπεδον· οὐδ' οἷον κείνης ἐπίκουροι ἔποντο
ναυτιλίης· Ζεὺς δέ σφι καὶ ὀψιγόνων πόρε νῆας.
Στοιχάδας αὖτε λιπόντες ἐς Αἰθαλίην ἐπέρησαν
νῆσον, ἵνα ψηφῖσιν ἀπωμόρξαντο καμόντες
ἱδρῶ ἅλις· χροιῇ δὲ κατ' αἰγιαλοῖο κέχυνται
εἴκελαι· ἐν δὲ σόλοι καὶ τεύχεα θέσκελα κείνων·
ἐν δὲ λιμὴν Ἀργῷος ἐπωνυμίην πεφάτισται.

Thus Argo cried through the darkness; and the sons of Tyndareus uprose, and lifted their hands to the immortals praying for each boon; but dejection held the rest of the Minyan heroes. And far on sped Argo under sail, and entered deep into the stream of Eridanus; where, once, smitten on the breast by the blazing bolt, Phaëthon half-consumed fell from the chariot of Helios into the opening of that deep lake; and even now it belches up heavy steam clouds from the smoldering wound. And no bird spreading its light wings can cross that water; but in mid-course it plunges into the flame, fluttering. And all around the maidens, the daughters of Helios, enclosed in tall poplars, wretchedly wail a piteous plaint; and from their eyes they shed on the ground bright drops of amber. These are dried by the sun upon the sand; but whenever the waters of the dark lake flow over the strand before the blast of the wailing wind, then they roll on in a mass into Eridanus with swelling tide. But the Celts have attached this story to them, that these are the tears of Leto's son, Apollo, that are borne along by the eddies, the countless tears that he shed aforetime when he came to the sacred race of the Hyperboreans and left shining heaven at the chiding of his father, being in wrath, concerning his son, whom divine Coronis bore in bright Lacereia at the mouth of Amyrus. And such is the

story told among these men. But no desire for food or drink seized the heroes, nor were their thoughts turned to joy. But they were sorely afflicted all day, heavy and faint at heart, with the noisome stench, hard to endure, which the stream of Eridanus sent forth from Phaêthon still burning; and at night, they heard the piercing lament of the daughters of Helios, wailing with shrill voice; and, as they lamented, their tears were borne on the water like drops of oil.

Thence they entered the deep stream of Rhodanus which flows into Eridanus; and where they meet, there is a roar of mingling waters. Now that river, rising from the ends of the earth, where are the portals and mansions of Night, on one side bursts forth upon the beach of Ocean, at another pours into the Ionian Sea, and on the third through seven mouths send its stream to the Sardinian sea and its limitless bay. And from Rhodanus they entered stormy lakes, which spread throughout the Celtic mainland of wondrous size; and there they would have met with an inglorious calamity; for a certain branch of the river was bearing them towards a gulf of Ocean which in ignorance they were about to enter, and never would they have returned from there in safety. But Hera leaping forth from heaven pealed her cry from the Hercynian rock; and all together were shaken with fear of her cry; for terribly crashed the mighty firmament. And backward they turned by reason of the goddess, and noted the path by which their return was ordained. And after a long while they came to the beach of the surging sea by the devising of Hera, passing unharmed through countless tribes of the Celts and Ligyans. For round them the goddess poured a dread mist day by day as they fared on. And so, sailing through the midmost mouth, they reached the Stoechades islands in safety by the aid of the sons of Zeus; wherefore altars and sacred rites are established in their honor for ever; and not that sea-faring alone did they attend to succor; but Zeus granted to them the ships of future sailors too. The, leaving the Steochades they passed on to the island of Aethalia, where after their toil they wiped away with pebbles sweat in abundance; and pebbles like skin in color are strewn on the beach; and there are the quoits and their wondrous armor; and there is the Argoan harbor called after them.

Posidonius of Apamea in Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 675 Wendel, Jacoby, *FGrH* 2A No. 87 Frag. 103 p. 282:

> Ποσειδώνιος δὲ εἶναί φησι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους, κατοικεῖν δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Posidonius said the Hyperboreans live beyond the Alps of Italy.

Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. See section three pages 105–115.
2. All dates in this work will be B.C. unless otherwise specified.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Havelock (E), *Preface to Plato*, Oxford, 1963 3–311; Huxley (G.L), *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1969 189–190; Parry (A) (ed), *The Making of Homeric Verse. The Papers of Milman Parry*, Oxford, 1971; Havelock (E), *The Muse Learns to Write*, New Haven/London, 1986; Thomas (R), *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, 1992; Brown (A.S), "From the Golden Age to the Isles of the Blessed," *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 385–410; Romm (J.S), *Herodotus*, New Haven/London, 1998 120–121.
2. Segal (C), "The Phaeacians and the Symbolism of Odysseus' Return," *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 17–64: Segal calls it the "dream world" or the "phantasy world"; Huxley (G.L), *Pindar's Vision of the Past*, Belfast, 1975 43; Gernet (L), *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece* (translated by John Hamilton and Blaise Nagy), Baltimore/London, 1981 93 calls it "mythical imagination"; Gelinne (M), "Les Champs-Elysées et les îles des Bienheureux chez Homère, Hésiode et Pindare," LEC 56 (1988) 225–240; Lévêque (P), *La naissance de la Grèce*, Paris, 1990 40–45: Lévêque calls it "le dédoublement du monde réel"; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 385–410: Brown calls it the "other world."
3. Finley (M.I), *The Use and Abuse of History*, London/New York, 1975 (repr. 1987); Morris (I), "Tomb Cult and the 'Greek renaissance': the Past and the Present in the Eighth Century B.C.," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 750–761, esp. 750–751; West (M.L), "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 112 (1988) 151–172, esp. 151–161; Hall (J.M), *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1998 87.
4. Duchemin (J), *Pindare, poète et prophète*, Paris, 1955 23ff; Segal, *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 19; Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 12–46; Vernant, (J-P), *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1971 (re-edited as Myth and Thought among the Greeks, London/Boston, 1983) 82–83; Veyne (P), *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination* (translated from the French by Paula Wissing), Paris, 1983 (repr. Chicago, 1988) xii–129; Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 182–183.
5. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 85–88.
6. For general source material concerning the Hyperboreans and their myth see Crusius, *ALGRM* 1 (1886–1890) Cols. 2805–3835; Kiessling, *RE* 1A1 (1897) Col. 855; Daebritz, RE 9.1 (1914) Cols. 265–277; Rohde (E), *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig,

1914 116–242; Guthrie (W.K.C), *The Greeks and their Gods*, Boston, 1950 78–102; Delcourt (M), *L'oracle de Delphes*, Paris, 1955 Part 2 Chapter Four; Bolton (J.D.P), *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford, 1962 22–203; Ramin (J), *Mythologie et Géographie*, Paris, 1979 55–77; Lovejoy (A.O) and Boas (G), *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, New York, 1935 (repr. 1965, 1980) 304–314; Lacroix (L), "Pays légendaires et transferts miraculeux dans les traditions de la Grèce ancienne," *BCL* 49 (1983) 72–106; Romm (J.S), *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton, 1991 45–77.

7. Kiessling, *RE* 1A1 (1897) Col. 855; Macurdy (G.H), "The Hyperboreans," *CR* 30 (1916) 180–183; Harris (R), "Apollo at the Back of the North Wind," *JHS* 45 (1925) 229–242, esp. 233; Seltman (C.R), "The Offerings of the Hyperboreans," *CR* 32 (1928) 155–160, esp. 155; Guthrie, *Greeks* 78ff; Hofmann (J.B), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen*, Munich, 1950 37. 384; Dodds (E.R), *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley, 1951 162; Page (D.L), *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford, 1955 251; Jebb (R.C), *Bacchylides: the Poems and the Fragments*, Hildesheim, 1905 (repr. 1967) 460; Parke (H.W), *The Oracles of Zeus*, Oxford, 1967 282; Dion (R), "La notion d'Hyperboréen sans vicissitudes au cours de l'Antiquité," *BAGB* 8.2 (1976) 143–157; Ramin, *Mythologie et Géographie* 55; Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 85–86; Romm, *Edges* 65.
8. For source material and discussion concerning utopias in Greek literary tradition see Jacoby, *RE* 7.2 (1912) Cols. 2666–2769, esp. 2750ff; Rohde, *Roman* 116–242; Schulten, *RE* 14.1 (1928) Cols. 628–632, esp. 629; Nilsson (M.P), *The Minoan and Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund, 1950 96–99; Giannini (A), "Mito e utopia nella literatura greca prima di Platone," *RIL* 101 (1967) 101–132; Mossé (Cl), "Les utopies égalitaires à l'époque hellénistique," *RH* 241.2 (1969) 297–308; Ferguson (J), *Utopias in the Classical World*, London, 1975; Lovejoy (A) and Boas (G), *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, New York, 1935 (repr. 1965, 1980); Blundell (S), *The Origins of Civilisation in Greek and Roman Thought*, London, 1986 Chapter Six; Finley (M.I), "Utopianism, Ancient and Modern" in *The Use and Abuse of History*, New York, 1975 (repr. 1987) 178–193; Mumford (L), "Utopia, the City and the Machine" in Manuel (F) (ed), *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, Boston, 1987 3–24; Romm, *Edges* 3–202; Dawson (O), *Cities of the Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought*, Oxford, 1992; Dillon (J), "Plato and the Golden Age," *Hermathena* 151 (1992) 21–37.
9. Blundell, *Origins* 135; Mumford, "Utopia" in Manuel, *Utopias* 8, 10; Finley, *Use and Abuse* 178, 181.
10. Giannini, RIL (1967) 107–108, 113, 114, 116 note 54, 117, 120, 121, 122, 124 note 97, 126; Blundell, *Origins* 15–17, 136–138, 143; Finley, *Use and Abuse* 240 and note 6.
11. Giannini, *RIL* 101 (1967) 107–108, 113, 114, 116 note 54, 117, 120–122, 124 note 97, 126; Blundell, *Origins* 135, 137, 138, 143; Finley, *Use and Abuse* 240.
12. Giannini, *RIL* 101 (1967) 107–108, 113, 114, 116 note 54, 117, 120–122, 124 note 97, 126; Blundell, *Origins* 15–17, 135, 137–138, 143; Finley, *Use and Abuse* 185–186.
13. Gelinne, *LEC* 56 (1988) 225–240, esp. 226 note 6, 230–231; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 395–396, 403.
14. Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 26.
15. Gelinne, *LEC* 56 (1988) 230–231, 233–235; Dillon, *Hermathena* (1992) 25.
16. Homer, *Odyssey* 1.26–105, 8.266–366, *Illiad* 8.1–52, 14.153–351, 16.433–461, 20.1–30.
17. Ferguson, *Utopias* 11–13, 18, 19.
18. Homer, *Iliad* 1.421–422, 23.206–208, *Odyssey* 1.22, 23, 4.81, 84, 5.282, 287, 23.205. On the mythical tradition of the Ethiopians see Hadas (M), "Utopian Sources in Herodotus," *CP* 30 (1935) 113–121; Lesky (A), "Aithiopika," *Hermes* 87 (1957) 27–38; Snowden (F), *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Graeco-Roman Experience*, Cambridge, Mass/London, England, 1970 esp. chapters three and six. H.Schwabl also makes some useful comments on the Homeric passages in "Das Bild der Fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen," *Grecs et Barbares*, Entretiens Hardt 8, Genève, 1961 1–24.

19. Ramin, *Mythologie et Géographie* 73–80; Ballabriga (A), *Le soleil et le tartare: l'image mythique du monde en Grèce archaïque*, Paris, 1986 108–110.
20. Latacz (J), Zeus' Reise zu den Äthiopen" in Kurz (G), Müller (D) and Nicolai (W) (eds), "Menschliches Denken und Handeln in der Frühgeschichten Literatur," *Gnomosyne, Festschrift für Walter Marg*, Munich, 1981 53–81.
21. Stanford (W.B), *The Odyssey of Homer*, New York, 1959 (repr. 1987), Volume 1 210 in his commentary on Homer, *Odyssey* 1.22–23 and K.H.W Völker, as quoted by Ferguson, *Utopias* 12–13, 18–19.
22. See section two pages 32–34.
23. See section two pages 32–60.
24. Segal, *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 17; Ferguson, *Utopias* 13–15; Vidal-Nacquet (P), "Land and Sacrifice in the Odyssey: a Study of Religious and Mythical Meetings" in Gordon (R.L, ed), *Myth, Religion and Society*, Cambridge, 1981 90–94; Finley, *Use and Abuse* 100–102; Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 46.
25. See also Garvie's note on *Odyssey* 8.246–249 in Garvie (A.F), *Homer Odyssey Books VI-VIII*, Cambridge, 1994 288–289.
26. Segal, *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 17–64.
27. Segal, *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 47, 62 note 35. Garvie, *Homer Odyssey* 186–187 (on *Odyssey* 7.111–113 and 117–121) comments well on the parallels and distinctions to be drawn between this garden and both that on which Odysseus finds Laertes at work (*Odyssey* 24) and the purely decorative vegetation Odysseus has lately left behind on Calypso's island. For the garden of the Olympians see *Odyssey* 6.309, 7.49–50 and 98–99. For the feast of life at its best see Odysseus' remarks at 9.5ff.
28. Eitrem, *RE* 38 (1938) Cols. 1527–1528; Segal, *Arion* 1.4 (1962) 35.
29. See pages 27–28.
30. Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 30–31.
31. Vidal-Naquet (P), The Black Hunter: forms of thought and forms of society in the Greek world (translated from the French by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak), Baltimore/London, 1986 285–301, esp. 287–288.
32. Pausanias 5.142; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8. 276; Gransden (K.W), *Virgil Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge, 1976 119 gives an interesting discussion of the symbolism. See also section two chapter one page 38 of this work.
33. Baldry (H.C), "Who Invented the Golden Age?," *CQ* 46 n.s. 2 (1952) 86–92.
34. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 19.
35. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter* 287.
36. Vernant, *Myth of Races* I and II.
37. Baldry, CQ 46 n.s. 2 (1952) 86–92; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24 and note 9; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 395.
38. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter* 287; Veyne, *Greeks* 18, 99, 101.
39. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 13–14, 17–18, 20, 34, 51; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 396.
40. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 61–62; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 397.
41. Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24.
42. Evelyn-White, *LCL* 57 119 translates ἐκρίνοντο as "had a dispute"; West (M.L), *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford, 1966 (repr. 1995) 317 writes it denotes a settlement, a defintive division between parties, however arrived at; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24 translates "for when gods and men came to judgment." Whatever the exact meaning, it is fairly clear humans were in a position at that time to fool Zeus or to have a dispute with the gods on at least quasi-equal terms.
43. Blundell, *Origins* 4; Veyne, *Greeks* 18, 72, 99, 101.
44. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 13–14, 51–54; Blundell, *Origins* 5, 12, 13, 16, 137–138; Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter* 287–288.

45. Veyne, *Greeks* 72, 99, 101; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24–25.
46. Veyne, *Greeks* 19. A most interesting discussion of Pindar's treatment of the theme, and his relation to Homer, is to be found in Nisetich (F), *Pindar and Homer*, Baltimore, 1989, American Philological Association Monographs in Classical Philology 4, Chapter Seven: "Paradise in Epic Colors" 59–72; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 25 and note 10.
47. Hurst (A), "Aspects du temps chez Pindare" in Hurst (A), "Pindare: huit exposés suivis de discussions," *Entretiens Hardt sur l'Antiquité classique* 31, Vandoeuvres/Genève, 1985 155–198, esp. 168–169; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 395–396, 403.
48. Hurst, "Aspects," *Entretiens* 31 (1985) 168; Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 70.
49. Woodbury (L), "Equinox at Acragas: Pindar, *Ol.* 2.61–61," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 597–616; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 26; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 408.
50. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 60.
51. Gernet, *Anthropology* 8–9; Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 60.
52. Lloyd-Jones (H), "Pindar and the Afterlife" in Hurst (A), "Pindare: huit exposés suivis de discussions," *Entretiens Hardt sur l'entquité classique* 31, Vandoeuvres/Genéve, 1985 246; Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 60.
53. Pindar often uses the imagery of the sacred road see Kurke (L), *The Traffic in Praise. Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy*, Ithaca/London, 1991 207, 212 cf. Pindar, *Nemean* 2.6–8, *Isthmian* 5.21–25. See also Robbins (E), "Intimations of Immortality: Pindar, *Ol.* 3.34–35" in Gerber (D.E, ed), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of Leonard Woodbury*, Chico, Ca, 1984 218–228, esp. 227; Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar" in Hurst, "Pindare," *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 264, 269–277.
54. Janko (R), "Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory," *CQ* 34 (1984) 89–100, but now see Carratelli (G.P.), *Les lamelles d'or orphiques. Instructions pour le voyage d'outre-tombe des initiés grecs*, Paris, 2003 9–58.
55. Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar" in Hurst, "Pindare," *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 272 and note 45. See also Lloyd-Jones (H), "The Seal of Posidippus," *JHS* 83 (1963) 75–99; Lloyd-Jones (H) and Parsons (D), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin, 1983 No. 705.
56. Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar" in Hurst, "Pindare," *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 268.
57. See section two chapter two pages 32–34 and 36–39.
58. Köhnken (A), *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar*, Berlin and New York, 1971 177.
59. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (U. von), *Pindaros*, Berlin, 1922 469–471; Burton (R.W.B), *Pindar's Pythian Odes: essays in interpretation*, Oxford, 1962 61.
60. Slater (W.J), "Pindar's Myths: two pragmatic explanations" in Bowerstock (G.W), Burkert (W) and Putnam (M.C.J), *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M.W.Knox on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*, Berlin/New York, 1979 63–71, esp. 64 note 5.
61. Illig (L), *Zu Form der Pindarischen Erzählung*, Berlin, 1932 92; Bolton, *Aristeas* 181.
62. Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 25.
63. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 62.
64. P.Oxy 2447 [26, 1961]; Plutarch, *Letter of Consolation to Apollonius* 35.120C
65. Baldry, CQ 46 n.s. 2 (1952) 86 and note 1; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 404.
66. Gelinne, *LEC* 56 (1988) 225–240, esp. 232; Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 69 and note 21; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 404–405.
67. Veyne, *Greeks* 18, 99, 101; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 394–395.
68. Köhnken, *Mythos* 169.
69. Rose (P.W), *Sons of the Gods, Children of the Earth*, Ithaca/London, 1992 179–180.
70. Fabre (P), Les Grecs et la connaissance de l'Occident, Lille, 1981 220; Ballabriga, Le soleil et le tartare 232ff.
71. Kurke, *Pindar* 105–222; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 402.
72. Rose, *Sons* 171–172.

73. Robbins, “Intimations” in Gerber, *Studies* 218–219. See also the treatment of the Third Olympian in Krummen (E), *Pyrsos Hymnon*, New York/Berlin, 1990 217–267.
74. Köhnken, *Mythos* 163–168, but see Slater (W.J), “Lyric Narrative: structure and principle,” *CA* 2 (1983) 130; Robbins, “Intimations” in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 218–228, esp. 225–226; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 402.
75. Pindar, *Olympian* 2.61–77; P.Oxy 2447 [26, 1961]; Plutarch, *Letter of Consolation to Apollonius* 35.120C.
76. Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 402. See section two pages 27–98.
77. Brown (C.G), “The Hyperboreans and Nemesis in Pindar’s Tenth Pythian,” *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 95–107.
78. Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 402–403 and note 46.
79. Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 403. For the opposite hypothesis see Duchemin (J), “Essai sur le symbolisme pindarique: or, lumière et couleurs,” *REG* 65 (1952) 46–58, *Pindare, poète et prophète*, Paris, 1955 193–228, 297–334; cf. reviews of the latter by Robertson, CR n.s. 7 (1957) 109ff and Steffen, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 145ff. See also Lloyd-Jones, “Pindar” in Hurst, “Pindare,” *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 277–279.
80. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 2.81; Huxley, *Pindar’s Vision* 7–8, 33; Kurke, *Pindar* 105–256. The aristoi are the best of the Greek society, and, therefore, the nearest to the gods. Only they have access to the mythical parallel world and golden-age utopias because of their position in human society; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 403.
81. The comparison with ordinary aristocratic life is taken too far by Bollack (J), “L’or des rois: le mythe de la Deuxième Olympique,” *RPh* 37 (1963) 234–254.
82. Wilamowitz was among those who have contended that Pindar was voicing the beliefs of his patron, not his own, but Rohde and others have insisted that Pindar’s manifest sincerity and the calm assurance with which he puts forward the beliefs in question make it impossible that he himself should not have entertained them: Rohde (E), *Psyche: the Cult of the Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks* (translated from the German by W.B.Hillis), London, 1925 414ff; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* 251ff; Zuntz (G), *Persephone*, Oxford 1971 275–393; Gernet, *Anthropology* 59–70; Lloyd-Jones, “Pindar” in Hurst, “Pindare” *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 263–268, 279; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 25 doesn’t agree: “but in fact there seems not much that is esoteric about Pindar’s doctrine here, except perhaps the reference to reincarnation.”
83. Solmsen (F), “Achilles on the Islands of the Blessed: Pindarus, Homer and Hesiod,” *AJP* 103 (1982) 19–24.
84. Pindar reflects the values of a conservative aristocracy who continually insist on the importance of breeding and wealth. Gianotti (G.F), “Sull’Olympia seconda di Pindaro,” *RFIC* 99 (1971) 26–52; Ferguson, *Utopias* 24.
85. Hampe (B), “Zur Eschatologie in Pindars zweiter Olympischer Ode” in *ERMHNEIA, Festschrift für O.Regenbogen*, Heidelberg, 1952 46–55; Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter* 289.
86. Rossi (R), “La Religiosità di Pindaro,” *PP* 7 (1952) 30–40 and Duchemin, but for criticism of these views Thummer (E), *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck, 1957 127–128.
87. Lloyd-Jones, “Pindar” in *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 266 note 37. For ways in which the choice of heroes can be read as pointing to Theron’s passage to the Isle of the Blest see Robbins, “Intimations” in Gerber, *Poetry* 226–228 and Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* 9ff.
88. Woodbury, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 598–616.
89. Huxley both confirms and rejects this view: he confirms it by asserting that Pindar had extremely strong belief in the traditional Olympian religion of the Greeks. He rejects it by stating that when Pindar felt a myth, legend or story was too negative, he changed it, so as to show the gods and their actions in a more positive light: Huxley, *Pindar’s Vision* 7–22, 28, 33, 40, 43; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 409.
90. Pindar, *Pythian* 3.89–96, 4.68, *Olympian* 1.87, 7.30–35, 13.65, 77.

91. Giannini, RIL 101 (1967) 104, 111, 116, 117, 118, 131; Huxley, Pindar's Vision 14, 33, 43, 48; Gantz (T), "Pindar's First Olympian: the Master of Darkness," *RSC* 26 (1978) 24–39; Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar" in Hurst, "Pindare," *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 252, 269.
92. Kurke, *Pindar* 105–222; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 398.
93. See section three pages 153–155.
94. Blundell, *Origins* 142–143; Dawson, *Cities* 13.
95. Giannini, *RIL* 101 (1967) 105, 118–119; Dawson, *Cities* 13–14.
96. Baldry, *CQ* 46 n.s. 2 (1952) 84; Blundell, *Origins* 155–156; Dawson, *Cities* 14 and note 1.
97. Blundell, *Origins* 5.
98. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée* 7–8; Veyne, *Greeks* xii, 6, 18.
99. Giannini, *RIL* 101 (1967) 108 note 34, 125; Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar" in Hurst, "Pindare," *Entretiens Hardt* 31 (1985) 268; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 398, 410.
100. Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 33 note 1.

NOTE TO CHAPTER TWO

1. D'Arbois de Jubainville (H), "La source du Danube chez Hérodote. Recherches pour servir à la plus ancienne histoire des Celtes," *RA* 12 (3è série, juillet-décembre 1888) 61–66; Bolton (J.D.P), *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford, 1962 42.
2. Lazenby (J.F) and Simpson (R.Hope-), *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford, 1970 92, 94, 158, 171: the location of the placename Rhipe is unknown except to say that it was in Arcadia.
3. Irwin (E), "The Crocus and the Rose" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 147–168, esp. 149 says the unspoken reason for the comparison is that the palm belongs to Artemis, not Leto. Nausicaa had earlier been compared to Artemis by the poet (102) and by Odysseus himself (150–152). Nausicaa reminds him not of just any tree, but of Artemis' palm because she is like Artemis.
4. See below pages 29 and 36–37.
5. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 47.
6. Evelyne-White (H.G), *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica*, Cambridge, Mass/London, England, 1995 (LCL 57) 281.
7. "Ὑπερβορέων εὐίππων Frag. 49T=P.Oxy. 11.1358 Frag. 2.21; Bolton, *Aristeas* 23–24; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 47. For bibliography concerning the Hyperboreans in the works of Hesiod see Page (D.L), *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford, 1955 251; Burn (A.R), *The World of Hesiod. A Study of the Greek Middle Ages c. 900–700 B.C.*, London, 1936 (repr. New York 1966) 21; Merkelbach (R) and West (M.L), *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford, 1967 150.21.
8. Picard (G.C), *Manuel d'archéologie grecque* 2.2, Paris, 1939 792–797.
9. Crusius, *RE* 1.2 (1894) Col. 2057; Diehl (E), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, third edition, Leipzig, 1949–1952 Vol. 3 Frag. 4.3 p. 120; Bolton, *Aristeas* 189 note 14; West (M.L), *Iambi et elegi Graeci*, Oxford, 1972 Volume 2 34–35 Frags. 1–5.
10. West (M.L), *Hesiod: Works and Days*, Oxford, 1978 27.
11. For what is known about Aristeas of Proconnesus see Barnabé (A), *Poetae epicorum Graecorum*, Leipzig, 1987 144–154.
12. Bolton, *Aristeas* Chapter One, but see the reply by Herington (C.J), "Book Review. Aristeas of Proconnesus. By J.D.P.Bolton, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962," *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 78–82. See also Bethe, *RE* 1.2 (1897) Col. 877; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 Nos. 34–35 258–259, 519; Meuli (K), "Scythica," *Hermes* 70 (1935) 121–176, esp. 154–155; Bowra (C.M), "A Fragment of the Arimaspeia," *CQ* 49 (1956) 1–10; Dowden (K), "Deux notes sur les Scythes et les Arimaspes," *REG* 93 (1980) 487–492; Bremmer (J.N), *The Early Concept of the Greek Soul*, Oxford, 1983 25–53; Romm, *Edges* 71.

13. Volume 1 1928 Adler No. 3900 p. 353=Jacoby, *FGrH* 35 T1=Davies, EGF 86.3; Parke (H.W.) and Wormell (D.E.W.), *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford, 1956, 1.352–353; Burkert (W), "Book Review. *Aristeas of Proconnesus.* By J.D.P.Bolton, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Toronto, Oxford University Press 1962," *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 235–240.
14. Schmidt, *RE* 5 (1905) Col. 375; Hermann, *RE* 9.2 (1916) Cols. 2235–2246; Kretschmer, *RE* 2A (1921) Cols. 923–946, esp. 931; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 476; Bolton, *Aristeas* 190; Silbermann (A), "A propos des Issédons, Hérodote (IV.21–27) et les témoignages latins correspondants," *RPh* 64 (117è 1–2) (1990) 99–111, esp. 107.
15. Standard primary sources for Assyrian documents concerning the Cimmerians include Klauber (E.G), *Politische religiöse Texte aus der Sargonzeit*, Leipzig, 1913 Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 22, 38; Luckenbill (D.D), *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago, Volume 1 and 2, 1927 Nos. 137–139; Watermann (L), *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire I-IV*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volumes 17–20, Ann Arbor, 1930–1036 Volume 17 Part 1 75–76 No. 112, Volume 18 Part 2 167 No. 1026, 307 No. 1161, 308–311 No. 1168, 359 No. 1237, 473 No. 1371, Volume 19 Part 3 53, 283, 311, 326, 358–359; Pfeiffer (R), *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven, 1935 No. 11; Wisemann (D.J), *The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon*, Iraq 20, London, 1958.
16. Alderlink (A), "Creation and Salvation," *ACS* 8 (1981) 7–23; Blundell, *Origins* 11–13; West (M.L), *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford, 1983 (repr. 1998) 201.
17. Bolton, *Aristeas* 40.
18. Page, *PMG* Alcman Frag. 90; Diehls Frag. 59; Schol. on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 1248 p. 53 de Marco.
19. Ῥίπας ὄρος ἀνθέον ὕλᾳ , νυκτὸς μελαίνας στέρνον.Bolton, *Aristeas* 40, 90.
20. Vermeule (E), *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley, 1979 134; Robbins (E), "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 216–224, esp. 224.
21. Harmatta (J), "Sur l'Origine du Mythe des Hyperboréens," *AAnt* 3 (1955) 57–64, esp. 61; Boardman (J), *The Greeks Overseas*, London, 1964 (1988) 10–102, 225–264; Lévêque (P), "Recherches nouvelles sur le Pont Euxin," *REA* 94.1 and 2 (1992) 48–56.
22. Alcaeus Frag. 307 1(c) Lobel and Page=Himerius, Oration 14.10ff=Alcaeus in Himerius XLVIII 216, 217, 220, 222 Colonna; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 244–252; Voigt (E, M), *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Amsterdam, 1971 20; Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 87–89; Kyriazopoulos (A), "The Land of the Hyperboreans in Greek Religious Thinking," *Parnassos* (1993) 395–398, esp. 395–396. For works concerning the Hyperboreans in Alcaeus see Bowra, *GLP* 165; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 247–252; Treu, *RE* S11 (1968) 1 (1968) Col. 16; Defradas (J), *La propagande delphique*, Paris, 1957 (1972) 87.
23. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 248. For the role of swans in the Apolline cult see D'Arcy-Thompson (R), *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London/Oxford, 1936 184; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.6 and note 9.14. The Omphalus may originally have been a swan's egg: Armstrong (E.A), *The Folklore of Birds*, London, 1958 (repr. New York 1970) 47; Ahl (F, M), "Amber, Avallon and Apollo's Singing Swan." *AJP* 103 (1982) 373–411.
24. Daebritz, *RE* 9.1 (1915) Col. 275. In Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* [5] and *Delian* [4] 249, swans sing sweetly and greet the birth of Apollo on Delos. In Hecataeus of Abdera Frag. 12 No. 264 Jacoby, swans attend and play a part in the rites of Apollo among the Hyperboreans (see sections two and three of this work pages 66–67 and 127–140); Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 249.
25. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 247.
26. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 247.
27. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 250 does not agree with this and states: "There is nothing in Alcaeus' material which has come down to us to indicate he understood the land of the Hyperboreans as an otherworldly paradise, as it was represented in Pindar and Bacchylides.

It appears only as the earliest site of *Apolline worship"* Alcaeus, however, must have known the complete myth.

28. Romm, *Edges* 64–65.
29. Kyriazopoulos, *Parnassos* (1993) 393, 396–397; Romm, *Edges* 64–65.
30. For discussion and analysis pertaining to the dating problem and the *Homeric Hymns* see How (W.W) and Wells (J), *A Commentary on Herodotus,* Oxford, 1928 Volume 1313–316; Allen (T.W), Halliday (W.R) and Sikes (E.E), *The Homeric Hymns,* Oxford, 1936 99–101; Patroni (G), "L'inno omerico VI a Dionisio," *Athenaeum* 26 (1948) 65–75; Humbert (J), *Homère, Hymnes,* Paris, 1959 (Budé) 170; Cassola (F), *Inni Omerici,* Verona/Milano, 1975 88–89, 287–288, 560–565; Bruneau (P), "Les cultes et les dieux," *DossArch* 105 (1986) 30–31.
31. Rzach, *RE* 8.2 (1913) Cols. 2148–2149; Wade-Gery (H.T), "Kynaithos" in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Essays presented to Gilbert Murray), Oxford, 1936 (repr. Freeport, New York 1967) 56–78, esp. 57, *The Poet of the Iliad,* Cambridge, 1952 19–25; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.113 note 17.
32. Kirk (G.S), "The Homeric Hymns" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 106–110, esp. 114.
33. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 251.
34. See pages 33–34.
35. See pages 36–38.
36. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 250.
37. Huxley places his birth in 556/555 see Huxley (G.L), "Simonides and his World," *PRIA* 78C.9 (1978) 231–247, esp. 233 and note 18, whereas Segal (C), "Simonides" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 223 places it in 557/556 and his death in 468. Maas, *RE* 3A1 (1927) Cols. 186–192 puts his death in 477/476.
38. Segal, "Simonides" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 225.
39. Maas, *RE* 3A1 (1927) Col. 187; Huxley, *PRIA* 78C.9 (1978) 242 and note 44.
40. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 252.
41. For source material concerning the Hyperboreans in Pindar's writings see Schroeder (O), *Pindari Carmina,* Leipzig, 1900 483, 486; Farnell (L.R), *The World of Pindar II: Critical Commentary,* London, 1932 6, 363; Schwenn, *RE* 20 (1941) Cols. 1606–1698, esp. 1619, 1620, 1637, 1643, 1692; Norwood (G), *Pindar,* Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1945 Sather Classical Lectures Volume 19 11; Thummer (E), *Die Religiosität Pindars,* Innsbruck, 1957 36, 45; Race (W.H), *Pindar,* Boston, 1966 72; Rudberg (G), "Zu Pindaros' Religion" in Calder (W.M) and Stern (J), *Pindaros and Bakchylides,* Darmstadt, 1970 259–278, esp. 275; Huxley (G.L), *Pindar's Vision of the Past,* Belfast, 1975 16, 26, 47; Young (C), "Pindar" in Luce (T.J), *Ancient Writers Greece and Rome,* New York, 1982 Volume 1 157–179, esp. 163–164, 167, 173; Fitzgerald (W), *Agnostic Poetry: the Pindaric Mode in Pindar, Horace, Hölderlin and the English Ode,* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1987 54; Verdenius (W.J), *Commentaries on Pindar,* Leiden, 1987 Volume 1 3, 13, 16; Krummen (E), *Pyrsos Hymnon. Festliche Gegenwart und mythische-rituelle tradition bei Pindar,* Berlin/New York, 1990 233, 236–239, 255–263; Kurke (L), *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy,* Ithaca, 1991 22, 53, 55–56.
42. The earliest archaeological evidence that connects the Hyperborean myth to Olympia is in the form of a shield strap see Kunze (E), *Olympische Forschung* 2, Berlin, 1950 74; Burkert (W), *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (translated by Edwin L.Minar Jr), Cambridge, Mass, 1972 149 note 54.
43. See the edition of E.Livrea, Florence, 1973 396–397 and section three, pages 141–150.
44. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 238 note 2.
45. Robbins, "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 225. See page 32.
46. Köhken, *Funktion* 57; Robbins, "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 225.
47. Schwenn (K), *Der junge Pindar,* Berlin, 1940 254.

48. Köhnken, *Pindar* 163–168, but see Slater (W.J), "Lyric Narrative: Structure and Principle," *CA* 2 (1983) 130.
49. The source of their story may be Eratosthenes' work on the chronology of Olympic victors. Robbins, "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 226.
50. Gransden (K.W.), *Aeneid, Book VIII*, Cambridge Greek and Latin classics, Cambridge, England/New York/New York, 1976 119.
51. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 16–17.
52. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.227; Burkert (W), Griechische Religion der archaischer un klassischen Epoche, Stuttgart, 1977 translated by John Raffan as *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Mass./London, England, 1985 45, 144–152; Ferguson (J), *Among the Gods. An Archaeological Exploration of Ancient Greek Religion*, London/New York, 1989 176–181.
53. Onians (R, B), *The Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1954 Volume 2 106; Robbins, "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 227 and note 36.
54. *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 28–30. See pages 34–35.
55. P.Oxy Volume 5 (1908) 11–110 No. 841 Frags. 52. 53 Schr. (8–9), 82 Col. 1 Schol. 87 (10–13), 90 (4–8), 96, 107 Schol; P.Oxy Volume 15 (1922) 84–86 No. 1791 (1–20); Snell (B), "Identifikation von Pindarbruchstücken," *Hermes* 73 (1938) 423–439, esp. 435–436; Auberson (P) und Scheföld (K), *Führer durch Eretria*, Bern, 1972 116–119; Michaud (J-P), "Chronique des Fouilles," *BCH* 97 (1973) 363–365; Scheföld (K), "Grabungen in Etretria 1973," *AK* 17 (1974) 69–71.
56. Theopompus in Jacoby, *FGrH* 115 F80, 6; Diegesis II to Callimchus F86–89 Pfeiffer.
57. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 25–26.
58. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 26.
59. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 27.
60. Gershensen (D), *Apollo the Wolf God*, JIES Monograph 8, McLean, Virginia, 1991 43.
61. Bérard (C), "Architecture étrétrienne et mythologie delphique. Le Daphnéphoreion," *AK* 14 (1971) 59–73; Michaud (J.P), "Chronique des Fouilles en 1971," *BCH* 96 (1972) 593–816, esp. 752–765; Auberson (P), "La reconstruction du Daphnéphoreion d'Etrétrie," *AK* 17 (1974) 60–68; Huxley, *Pindar's Vision* 47; Sourvinou-Inwood (C), "The Myth of the First Temples at Delphi," *CQ* n.s. 20 (1979) 231–251, esp. 231–244; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 385–410, esp. 401–404.
62. See chapter three for discussion and analysis of Herodotus' Hyperborean gift route pages 47–60.
63. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) 752–765.
64. Gialouris (N), "ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ ΠΕΔΙΛΑ," *BCH* 77 (1953) 293–321.
65. Gantz, *EGM* 38.
66. Rose, *Handbook* 130 note 50.
67. Parke (H.W), *Sibyls and Sybilline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, London/New York, 1988 61–62.
68. Robbins, "Intimations" in Gerber, *Greek Poetry* 224–225.
69. The implication is that Hyperborean felicity has something to do with gold see Verall (A.W), *Aeschylus Choephori*, London, 1893 (repr. 1908) 53; Thomson (G), *The Orestia of Aeschylus*, Cambridge, 1938 232; Italie (G), *Index Aeschyleus*, London, 1955 309; Mazon (P), *Aeschyle*, Paris, 1953 (repr. 1955) 94 (Budé); Rose (H.J), "A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus," *Nieuwe Reeks DEEL* 44.2 (1958) 153; Page (D.L), *Aeschylus Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, London, 1972 215; Garvie (A.F), *Aeschylus Choephori*, 1986 17, 141–142.
70. Aeschylus in Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 4.282 Wendel=197 Radt 284; Frag. 330 Mette=197N=13 Griffith; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *RA* 12 (troisième série 1888) 62.

71. Mette (H.J), *Supplementum Aeschyleum,* Berlin, 1939 191, De Marco (V), *Schol. on Sophocles Oedipum Coloneum,* Rome, 1952 53; Nauck (A), *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta,* Göttingen, 1889 (repr, 1985) Volume 3 186 No. 68.
72. Diggle (J), *Euripides Phaethon,* Cambridge, 1970 27–28.
73. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Euripides see Méridier (L), Grégoire (H), Parmentier (L) et Chapoutier (F), *Euripide,* Paris, 1923 (Budé) iii.
74. See pages 87–90.
75. Homolle (T), "Delia" in Daremberg et Saglio, *DAGR* 3 (1881) 55–60, esp. 55 note 13. This analysis is borne out by epigraphical evidence dating from the third and second centuries which mentions these groups see Homolle (T), "Du Temple d'Apollon délien," *BCH* 6 (1882) 39.1 90; Arnold (I.R), "Local Festivities at Delos," *AJA* 37 (1933) 452–458, esp. 434.
76. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Dionysius of Miletus see Schwartz, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Cols. 933–934; Jacoby, FGrH 3C.No. 687 410–411.
77. Bolton, *Aristeas* 111–113.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Herodotus see especially Jacoby, *RE* S2 (1913) Cols. 205–520, esp. Col. 342; How (W.W) and Wells (J), *A Commentary on Herodotus,* Oxford, 1928 Volume 1 313, 316; Bunbury (E.H.), A History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans from the Earliest Ages till the Fall of the Roman Empire, London, 1879 (rept. New York, 1883, 1959) 160, 166, 175, 184; Evans (J.A.S), *Herodotus,* Boston, 1982 21, 66–68; Burkert (W), "Herodot als Historiker Fremder Religionen" in Nenci (G), *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* 35 (1988) 11, 113; Gould (J), *Herodotus,* London, 1989 90–93.
2. Bolton, *Aristeas* 107–108.
3. How and Wells, *Herodotus* 307, 324; Bunbury, *HAG* 1 (1959) 165–173; Bolton, *Aristeas* 107–108.
4. See chapter one of this section page 32.
5. Lacroix (L), *Etudes d'archéologie numismatique,* Paris, 1974 3 85, *BCL* 49 (1983) 87–88; Eluère (C), *The Celts: First Masters of Europe,* London, 1993 130. This would correspond to Alcaeus Frag. 307 1(c) Lobel and Page in Himerius, *Oration* 14.10ff. See chapter one of this section pages 32–36.
6. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 2.332; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 131–137, 406 Q232, L157 wondered if this story was a parallel of the Locrian Maiden Tribute to Troy, but there is at least one important difference: the Hyperborean offerings started as a thank-gift to Ilithyia and not as atonement for a sacrilegious deed. For details about the Locrian Maiden Tribute see Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.326–330; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 158; Parke, *Sibyls* 56. It is interesting that some Locrians were referred to as Hyperboreans in the fourth century by Hecataeus of Abdera. For discussion see section three pages 66–67.
7. *LSJ* 185; Bailly, *DG-F* 260.
8. *LSJ* 983; Bailly, *DG-F* 1389. Bunbury, *HAG* 1 (1959) 483 implied that Opis was a neareastern name. He used a later text which mentioned a large city in Asia Minor, north of Babylon on the Tigris River, called Opis (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.4.25). This may have been a homophone/homograph, or a later Greek foundation which used the same name. There is no evidence to suggest the two are connected.
9. Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 215–216.
10. Burkert, *Greek Religion* 49; Bruneau (P) et Ducat (J), *Guide de Délos,* Paris, 1965 80.7, 16; Cassola, *Inni Omerici* 88–89.
11. This tomb was identified and excavated see Holleaux (M) and Picard (A), "Travaux exécutés dans l'île de Délos," *CRAI* (1907) 335–371, esp. 338ff; Haussouillier (B), "Rapport

sur les écoles d'Athènes et de Rome," *CRAI* (1909) 536–564, esp. 543ff; Courby (F), *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, Paris, 1912 Tome 5 63–74; Picard (A.C.) et Replat (J), "Recherches sur la topographie du hiéron délien II-Hérodote, l'Artémision délien et les deux tombes des Vierges hyperboréennes (2)," *BCH* 48 (1924) 247–263, esp. 258ff; Vallois (R), "L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens," *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. 157, Paris, 1944 1–20, 109; Tréheux (J) "La réalité des offrandes hyperboréennes" in Mylonas (G) and Raymond (D), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, Washington University, Saint Louis, Missouri, 1953 758–774, esp. 773; Long (C), "Greeks, Carians and the Purification of Delos," *AJA* 62 (1958) 297–306, esp. 300; Sale (W), "The Hyperborean Maidens on Delos," *HThR* 54.2 (1961) 74–89, esp. 75–76; Bruneau (P) et Ducat (J), *Guide de Délos*, Paris, 1965 29, 94; Gallet de Santerre (H), "Notes déliennes," *BCH* 99 (1975) 247–265, esp. 263–264. It contained Cycladic, Minoan and Mycenaean finds and had a semi-circular sanctuary wall around it dating from the third century.

12. *LSJ* 1482; Bailly, *DG-F* 1170, 2007.
13. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 280.
14. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.104–105; Burkert, *Greek Religion* 144–149; Bruneau et Ducat, *Guide de Délos* 15–16; Ferguson, *Among the Gods* 176–177.
15. This grave was also identified and excavated. It was also found to be of the Mycenaean period see Courby (F), "Notes topographiques et chronologiques sur le sanctuaire d'Apollon délien," *BCH* 45 (1921) 175–241, esp. 230 and note 7; La Rédaction, "Chronique des Fouilles," *BCH* 47 (1923) 525–527. A base for a votive plant was found near it see Picard et Replat, *BCH* 48 (1924) 253–260; Bruneau et Ducat, *Guide de Délos* 97–98 No. 41; Ferguson, *Among the Gods* 176–177.
16. For a similar ceremony see Rouse (W.H.D), *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902 240–245; Weinreich (O), "Eine delphische Mirakel-Inschrift und die antike Haarwunder," *SHA* (1925) No. 7; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 19.
17. Schmidt, *RE* 6 (1905) Col. 375; Hermann, RE 9.2 (1916) Cols. 2235–2246; Kretschmer, *RE* 2A (1921) Col. 931; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 476; Bolton, *Aristeas* 190; Silbermann, *RPh* 44 (1990) 107.
18. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.194; Ferguson, *Among the Gods* 177.
19. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.194–196.
20. Picard et Replat, *BCH* 48 (1924) 247–263, esp. 218–221, figs. 3 and 4; Picard, *Manuel* 2 (1939) 797 note 2; Bruneau et Ducat, *Guide de Délos* 95.37; Courbin (P), "L'Oikos des Naxiens" in *Exploration archéologique de Délos* 33 (1981) 105, "Le temple archaïque de Délos," *BCH* 121 (1987) 63–78.
21. Homolle, *BCH* 6 (1882) 145; Tréheux, "Offerings" in Mylonas and Raymond, *Studies* 765; Gershensen, *Apollo* 22, 76, 111.
22. Parke (H.W), *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca, New York, 1977 147–155, 179.
23. Gabbard, *RE* 5A2 (1934) Cols. 1287–1304; Southeimer, *RE* 5A2 (1934) Cols. 1304–1305; Parke, *Festivals* 146–147.
24. Parke, *Festivals* 147.
25. Parke, *Festivals* 147 and note 191.
26. Tréheux, "Offerings" in Mylonas and Raymond, *Studies* 764 note 34.
27. Mannhardt (J.W.E), *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1875 Band 2 237; Cook (A.B), *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914–1940 addenda 1137.
28. Cary (M) and Warmington (E.H.), *The Ancient Explorers*, Harmondsworth, 1963 (repr. 1980) 118.
29. Welcker (F.G), *Griechische Götterlehre*, Göttingen, 1860 353ff; Cook, *Zeus* 1 496.
30. Creuzer (G.F), *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, Leipzig and Darmstadt, 1823 3.2; Müller (C), *Die Dorier*, Breslau, 1844 Band 1 272; Stein (H), *Herodotus*, Berlin, 1856 Band 4 33.8; Seltmann, *CR* 32 (1928) 155; Cary (M), "Note sur

Hdt. 4.108.9," CR 43.5 (1929) 214; Nock (A.D), "Hyperboreans," *CR* 43.2 (1929) S126; Frazer (J.G), *The Golden Bough*, London, 1911 (repr. 1960) Volume 1 33 note 4, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, Cambridge, 1965 Volume 2 406.

31. Seltmann, *CR* 32 (1928) 155; Kern (O), *Die Religion der Griechen*, Berlin, 1935 Band 2 95–133; Magie (D), *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton, 1950 524–684, 1384 note 39, 1400–1401 note 9; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.49–81, 1.141–246, 1.282–287, *Greek Oracles* 32, 44–55, 122, 137, 140, *Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London, 1967 10–35, 62, 119–120, 282–283; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 13–14; Boardman, *Greeks* 225–229.
32. Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 No. 1 Frag. 91 (Hecataeus of Miletus); Strabo 1.2.39 C46; Theopompus in Strabo 7.5.9 C317; Timagetus, Apollonius and Aeschylus in Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 4.284 Wendel, Livy 40.21; Macurdy, *CR* 30 (1916) 180–183; Beaumont (R.L), "Greek Influence in the Adriatic Before the Fourth Century B.C.," *JHS* 56 (1936) 159–205, esp. 197.
33. Will (E), *Korinthiaka: recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris, 1955 39; Villard (F), *La céramique grecque de Marseille (VIè-IVè siècle)*, Paris, 1960 157 n. 5; Dunbabin (T.J, ed), *Parachora: the Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limeniaii: Pottery, Ivories, Scarabs and other Objects of the Votive Deposit of Hera Limenia*, Oxford, 1962 520–523; Strong (D), *The British Museum: Catalogue of Carved Amber in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1966 14: Coldstream (J.N), *Greek Geometric Pottery: a Survey of Ten Local Styles and their Chronology*, London, 1968 353; Cook (R.M), "The Archetypical Doric Temple," *BSA* 65 (1970) 17–19; Salmon (J.B), *Wealthy Corinth: a History of the City to 338 b.c.*, Oxford, 1984 90 and note 44, 91, 120, 142, 270–280; Malkin, *Returns* 156–178. Most amber which reached Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries came from Etruria. The Etruscans got it from the north by way of Celtic middlemen.
34. Greek influence has been noted on Celtic bronze situla art of the eastern Alps and in the Po valley see Bianucci (G.B), "La via iperborea," *RFIC* 101 (1973) 207–220, esp. 210–211; Piggott (S), *Ancient Europe*, Edinburgh, 1965 (repr. 1980) 144, 154–155, 161, 170–171, 179, 181, 194, 216, 239; Boardman, *Greeks* 227*;* Megaw (J.V.S), *Celtic Art from its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*, London, 1989 21–22, 24–26, 37–39, 66, 113, 115; De Marinis (R.C), "Golasecca Culture and Its Links Beyond the Alps" in Moscati (S), *The Celts*, Milan, 1991 93–102, esp. 98; Eluère, *First Masters* 22, 48–49. See also pages 101–115 and 127–140.
35. Homer, Iliad 2.750, 16.233–235, *Odyssey* 14.327–328, 19.296–297; Hesiod in Strabo 7.7.9 C327; Sophocles, *Trachis* 1164–1168; Frag. in Schol. on Sophocles, Trachis 1167; Herodotus 2.55–57. For source material which deals with Dodona and its sanctuary see Kern, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Cols. 1257–1265; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.1; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.1, 1.3, 1.5, 1.9, 1.50, 1.129, 1.132, 1.204, 1.242, 1.248, 1.265, 1.309, 1.320, 1.337–358, 1.369, 1.393, 1.405; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 16–18, 20–25, 90, 109–137; *Oracles of Zeus* 34ff, *Oracles of Apollo* 1–129, 184; Ferguson, *Among the Gods* 67–70; Dakaris (S.I), *Dodona*, Congleton, 1986 (repr. 1993, 1994).
36. Parke, *Greek Oracles* 37, 90, *Oracles of Zeus* 14ff. Dodona had supplied a branch of its prophesying oak to make the Argo speak and had sent Mopsus, one of its prophets, as a member of the crew.
37. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.320; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 112–113, 116–117; Burkert, *Greek Religion* 149; Gershensen, *Apollo* 43, 128.
38. Parke and Wormell, *Greek Oracle* 1.64–79, 1.2105, 1.111–112; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 109–111, *Festivals* 150.
39. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 149, *Festivals* 150.
40. Hammond (N.A.L.), *Epirus*, Oxford, 1967 48–49, 232–234; Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 284–285; Bianucci, *RFIC* 101 (1973) 211.
41. Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936) 198–203; Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 284.

42. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 286.
43. Dodona, Delos, Delphi and Olympia all have Mycenaean, if not preGreek, connections. For the controversy over a possible continuity from Mycenaean times to the eighth century see Hiller von Gaetringen, *RE* 4 (1901) Cols. 2520–2583; Poulsen (F), *Oraklet i Delfi: historie, religion, kunst,* Copenhagen, 1919 (repr. London 1920) 11–20; Jannoray (J) et Lerat (L), "Fouilles de Delphes (1934–1935). Rapport préliminaire," *RA* (1938.2) 183–227; Gallet de Santerre (H), "Alexandre le Grand et Kymé d'Eolide," *BCH* 71–72 (1947–1948) 302–306; Amandry (P), *La mantique apollonienne à Delphes,* Paris, 1950 204–211, 231–232; Nilsson, *MMR* 466–468, 611, *GGR* la 316; Gallet de Santerre, *Délos* 203–218; Delcourt, *L'oracle de Delphes* 29–38; Lerat (L), "Chronique de Fouilles en 1956 a Delphes," *BCH* 81 (1957) 708–710; Vatin (C), "Délos prémycénienne," *BCH* 89 (1965.1) 225–230; Bergquist (B), *The Archaic Greek Temenos: a Study of Structure and Function,* Lund, 1967 26–29; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.3–13; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 22–27; Rolley (C), "Bronzes géométriques et orientaux à Délos," *Etudes Déliennes BCH* S1 (1973) 491–524, esp. 523–524; Dietrich (C.C), *Origins of Greek Religion,* Berlin, 1974 224; Roux, *Delphes* 35–51; Ferguson, *Among the Gods* 176–181; Bruneau (P), Brunet (M), Farnoux (A), Moretti (J-C), *Délos: île sacrée et cosmopolite,* Ecole française d'Athènes, 1996 13–17.
44. Some scholars have postulated that the gifts were sent to a southwestern promontory of Laconia and of the whole Peloponnesus. This stop would not fit the itinerary, as the gifts would not have stopped at Olympia, one of the three major sanctuaries the Hyperboreans helped to found. The transporting party would also have had to round Cape Malea, proceed up the coast, skirt Boeotia and Euboea, instead of just rounding Cape Malea and going directly to the Cyclades Islands by way of Carystus. This only becomes possible if one considers the Hyperborean gift route as a totally mythical one, devoid of any relation with historical trade routes, neighboring peoples and history. There is no apparent connection between Cape Malea and the Hyperborean myth, other than that Boreas made shipping dangerous there (Mela 2.3).
45. Picard (G.C), "La route des processions hyperboréennes," *RHR* 132 (1946) 98–109, esp. 98; Forrest (W.G), "The First Sacred War," *BCH* 80 (1956) 42–51; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 64; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 9.
46. Cauer, *RE* 1.2 (1891) Cols. 1904–1935; Bussolt (G), *Griechische Staatskunde,* dritte Auflage, Munich, 1926 181–184; Forrest, *BCH* 80 (1956) 42; Ziegler (K) and Santheimer (W), *Der Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967) 1491; Canik (H) and Schneider (H), *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998) Cols. 1182–1183.
47. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.112 note 5; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 9.
48. Parke (H.W), *The History of the Delphic Oracle,* Oxford, 1939 note 1; Forest, *BCH* 80 (1956) 42–43; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 9.
49. Cauer, *RE* 1.2 (1894) Cols. 1904–1935; Geisau, *RE* 10.2 (1919) Cols. 2256–2260; Bölte, *RE* 14.1 (1928) Cols. 859–869; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 64–66.
50. Boardman, *Greeks* 225–264.
51. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo* 6–7.
52. Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 26 44; Nilsson, *GGR* 1a 176.75.
53. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo* 9.
54. For sources dealing with Andros see IG 12 5; Hirshfeld, *RE* 1.2 (1894) Cols. 2169–2171; Sauciuc (T), *Andros,* Vienna, 1914; Paschals (D.P), *Andros,* Athens, 1925; Robert (F), "La Bataille de Délos," *Etudes Déliennes* 1 (1973) 427–433, esp. 430–431; Boardman, *Greeks* 229.
55. Robert, *Etudes Déliennes* 1 (1973) 430–431; Parke, *Festivals* 148–149.
56. Parke, *Greek Oracles* 37; Desautels, *Dieux* 181–182; Boardman, *Greeks* 240; Lévêque, *REA* 94 (1992) 51. See pages 103–115.
57. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.246; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 32, 56–61, *Oracles of Zeus* 27.

58. Durrbach (F), “Fouilles de Délos,” *BCH* 35 (1911) 5–85, esp. 5ff No. 1; Coupry (J), “Etudes d’épigraphie délienne II. Notes sur un compte-rendu de gestion amphiktyonique,” *BCH* 62.1 (1938) 85–96.
59. Homolle (T), “Documents nouveaux sur l’amphictyonie attico-déliennne,” *BCH* 8 (1884) 282–327, esp. 317 No. 19 and 323 No. 2; IG 11.2 1636 A.1.8; Coupry, *BCH* 62.1 (1938) 85ff.
60. Jacoby, *RE* S2 (1913) Cols. 247, 267, 269; Roussel (P), *Délos, Colonie athénienne*, Paris, 1916 208 note 8; Laidlaw (W.A), *A History of Delos*, Oxford, 1933 41, 46–47; Tréheux, “Offrandes” in Mylonas and Raymond, *Studies* 761–763.
61. Halicarnassus itself had cult to Apollo. The Athenian context is furthered by the fact that Herodotus retired to Thurii, an Athenian colony in southern Italy; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 107–108; Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 9; Evans, *Herodotus* 67.
62. ID 29 1b, ID 292, 294 and 306 are part of the same inscription see Davis, *BCH* 61 (1937) 109–135; *Vallois, Architecture* Volume 1 63 note 4, 423, addenda ad p. 21 No. 1 and 37 note 2; Tréheux, “Offrandes” in Mylonas and Raymond, *Studies* 771ff; Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 280–281.
63. IG II 2, 158, A, 11 74–75, 75; 161, A, 1.112; 287, A, 11.72–73, 11.76–77; Tréheux, “Offrandes” in Mylonas and Raymond, *Studies* 771 note 67.
64. IG II 2, 287.A.1.73; Holleaux (M), “Fouilles au temple d’Apollon Ptoos,” *BCH* 14 (1890) 1–64, esp. 50; *BCH* 14 (1890) 500.
65. For the latter hypothesis see Parvan (V), *La pénétration hellénique et hellénistique dans la vallée du Danube*, read before the Fifth Historical Congress, Brussels, 1923 84–126; Seltman, *CR* 32 (1928) 155; Nock, CR 43 (1929) S126; How and Wells, *Herodotus* 1.34–35; Harmatta, *AAnt* 3 (1955) 57–64 dates the origin of the Hyperborean myth to the second millennium; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 246; Beck (C.W), Southard (G.C) and Adams (A.B), “Analysis and Provenance of Minoan and Mycenaean Amber II: Tiryns,” *GRBS* 9 (1968) 5–20; Harding (D.W) and Hughes-Brock (H), “Amber in the Mycenaean World,” *BSA* (1974) 145–170; Ahl, *AJP* 103 (1982) 395–396; Evans, *Herodotus* 68.
66. Defradas, *Propagande delphique* 12, 13, 15, 21; Malkin (I), *Religion and Greek Colonization*, Leiden, 1987 90 writes: “It is possible that in certain respects, colonization resembled a crime because it took land from someone else, for this reason, it was important that the acts of colonization receive moral sanction from Apollo.” If we take this statement as being accurate, colonization was closely linked with the legends and myths about Zeus, Leto, Artemis, Apollo, Ilithyia and the Hyperboreans.
67. Parke, *Festivals* 152.
68. It had been suggested that Herodotus rationalized this part of the myth and that Abaris originally carried the arrow, rather than flying on it, but there is no evidence for this see Meuli, *Hermes* 70 (1935) 160; Dodds, *Greeks* 161 note 33.
69. For discussion and analysis of this remark see Rennell (J), *The Geographical System of Herodotus*, London, 1800 (repr. 1830) 198–199; Myres (J.L), “An Attempt to Reconstruct the Maps Used by Herodotus,” *GJ* 8 (1896) 605–631, esp. 608; Berger (H), *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde des Griechen* 2 (1903) 125; Jacoby, *RE* S2 (1913) Cols. 432, 470; Hadas (M), “Utopian Sources in Herodotus,” *CR* 30 (1935) 113–121; Tozer (H.F), *A History of Ancient Geography*, Oxford, 1935 2 78; How and Wells, *Herodotus* 1 (1936) 316; Legrand (P), “Herodotea,” *REA* 60 (1938) 225–234, esp. 282 note 2, “Notice” in *Hérodote. Histoires: Livre IV Melpomène*, Paris, 1949 (Budé) 42; Guthrie, *Greeks* 78 note 2; Delcourt, *L’Oracle de Delphes* 159–160; Bunbury, *HAG* 1 (1959) 160–175; Sale, *HThR* 54.2 (1961) 76–78; Myres (J), *Herodotus, Father of History*, Oxford, 1953 (repr. Chicago 1971) 40; Hartog (F), *Le mirroir d’Hérodote*, Paris, 1980 271–282; Gould (J), *Herodotus*, London, 1989 90–92; Romm (J.S), “Herodotus and Mythic Geography: the Case of the Hyperboreans,” *TAPA* 119 (1989) 97–113.

70. For information on the writings of Hellanicus of Lesbos and the Hyperboreans see Gudmann, RE 8.1 (1912) Cols. 104–105, esp. Col. 132; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 (1923) 4.149–150 F185.8, 187a, b, c; Kommentar 4, 454, 474.
71. Hellanicus of Lesbos in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.15.72.2 Stählin; Hellanicus in Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 4F 187b.
72. Bolton, *Aristeas* 174 said that he believed this fragment to derive from Aristeas' *Arimaspea*, but supplied no evidence on which to base his hypothesis.
73. Parke, *Greek Oracles* 9–10.
74. Ferguson, *Utopias* 18.
75. Seepages 12–22.
76. Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter* 289.
77. Müller, *FHG* 2 64–67; Wellman, *RE* 4.2 (1901) Cols. 2150–2051; Adler, *Suda* 4 41; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1.5 T1 152–153; Desautels, REG 84 (1971) 293.
78. Müller, *FHG* 2 Frag. 1.65; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 5 F1 153–154.
79. Aelian Herodian, *De Prosodia Catholica* 5 182–190 (Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci* 1 [1965] 114–115); Jacoby, FGrH 1 F1 153; Bunbury, *HAG* 1 (1959) 102–103; Bolton, *Aristeas* 39; Thomson (J.O.), *A History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge, 1948 (repr. New York, 1965) 102.
80. Lateiner, *CA* 9.2 (1990) 241 note 27 believed that Damastes placed the Hyperboreans in Thrace, however, he based his speculation on a fragment which did not specifically mention the Hyperboreans by name see Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 5 F1.11B.
81. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* 650.3 Meineke, cf. Stephanus of Byzantium 118.16 Meineke; Damastes of Sigeum in Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 No. 5 F1 153. Seepages 101–115.
82. Desautels, *REG* 84 (1971) 294–296.
83. Desautels, *REG* 84 (1971) 295–296.
84. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 118.16, 650.3 Meineke; Damastes of Sigeum in Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 No. 5 F1 153; Aelian Herodian, *De Prosodia Catholica* 1.114–115 Lentz, 103 Wyss, 141 Matthews.
85. Nothing is really known about Protarchus see Ziegler, *RE* 23.1 (1957) Cols. 923–924.
86. Seepages 101–115.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. For sources concerning Heraclides Ponticus and the Hyperboreans see Voss (O), *De Heraclides Pontici vita et scriptis*, Rostock, 1896 6, 8, 23–24, 28, 40–58; Schultz, *RE* 8.1 (1912) Col. 473; Boyancé (P), "Sur l'Abaris d'Heraclides le Pontique," *REA* 36 (1934) 321–352; Wehrli (F), *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, Basel, 1953 Volume 7 20–21, 84–86, *RE S11* (1968) 680; von Fritz (K), *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy*, New York, 1977; Guthrie, *Greek Philosophy* 5 (1989) 483–489, esp. 484, 488, 489; Gottschalk (H.B), *Heraclides of Pontus*, Oxford, 1980 (repr. 1998); Dillon (J), *The Heirs of Plato: A Study of the Old Academy (347–274 B.C.)*, Oxford, 2003 33–34, 118, 204–216.
2. Dillon (J) and Hershbell (J), *Iamblichus. On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, Atlanta, 1991 215 note 2 and 115 note 1.
3. See pages 117–125.
4. Bolton, *Aristeas* 143 writes "at Delphi presumably," as Delos was not an oracular center, but he has no concrete evidence for either.
5. Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 162–163, 232, 294.
6. Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 162–163.
7. Strabo 7.3.6 C299; Diodorus of Sicily 2.47.1.5–7; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.1; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius II B675 Wendel; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 11–64, Diels and Kranz

1966 240–241. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Hecataeus of Abdera see especially Radinger, *RE* 7.2 (1912) Cols. 2750–2769, esp. 2752–2753 and 2755–2758; Jacoby, FGrH 3A No. 264 T6, F7 (1), (4), (5), (7a), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (14), (20), Kommentar 3A No. 264 30–35, 52–60; Diels and Kranz 1966 240–241 1–6, 241–245 F1; Murray (O), "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 56 (1970) 141–171, esp. 145, 148, 159, 165; Meister (K), *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus,* Stuttgart, 1990 137–142, esp. 138; Lendle (O), *Einführung in die griechische Geschichtsschreibung von Hekataios bis Zosimos,* Darmstadt, 1992 269.

8. Müller, *FHG* 2 286 1 attributed this fragment to Hecataeus of Abdera; How and Wells, *Herodotus* 1 (1912) 313–314 implied it was from the writings of Hecataeus of Miletus; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 F2 (10) and *RE* 7 (1912) Cols. 2750–2769 attribute it to Hecataeus of Abdera; Berkowitz and Squitier, *TLG,* 1986, 1990 lists it under Hecataeus of Abdera as does Dumont (J-P), Delattre (D) et Poirier (J-L), *Les Présocratiques,* Paris, 1988 959–960, 1509–1512. See also Diels and Kranz 73B4; Wendel (C), *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera,* Berlin, 1935 (repr. 1958) II B675 180.
9. Seepages 127–140.
10. For bibliography concerning the Locrians see Bérard, *Bibliographie* 62; Lerat (L), *Les Locriens de l'Ouest,* Paris, 1952; de Franciscis (A), "Ancient Locri," *Archaeology* 11.3 (1958) 206–212; Woodhead (A.G), *The Greeks in the West,* London, 1962 57; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 386; Fossey (J.M), *The Ancient Topography of Eastern Phokis,* Amsterdam, 1986; Boardman, *Greeks* 172, 184–185, 191; Amandry (P), Luce (J.M) and Rousset (D), "Autour de Delphes," *DossArch* 151 (1990) 26–31, esp. 26; Fossey (J.M), *The Ancient Topography of Opuntian Lokris,* Amsterdam, 1990; Luraghi (N), "In margine alla tradizione sulla metropoli dei Locresi Epizefiri," *Historia* 40 (1991) 143–159, esp. 150–151.
11. Hammond (N.G.L), *A History of Greece,* Oxford, 1986 109–121; Boardman, *Greeks* 172, 184–185, 191.
12. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.70, 79.
13. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.18–19, 1.49–81, 1.99–100, 1.323; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 6–55; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 16, 386 L83.
14. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.62.
15. Courby, EAD 12 268; Parke and Wormell, Delphic Oracle 1.71, 99, 112 note5.
16. Boardman, *Greeks* 180.
17. Boardman, *Greeks* 198.
18. Woodhead, *Greeks 63,* 86, 155–156.
19. Von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics* 11, 18, 76, 89, 105.
20. Virgil, *Georgics* 2.84; Probus Commentary on Virgil's *Georgics* 2.84; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1A No. 12 Frag. 19.
21. Freeman (P.M), *The Earliest Classical Sources on the Celts: a Linguistic and Historical Study,* UMI, 1994 56–57 (Harvard).
22. Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 6.580a17; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 4.4; Antigonus of Carystius, *Historium mirabilium collectio* 56 Giannini 1965.
23. Wehrli, *RE* S5 (1931) Col. 571; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C No. 769 Frag. 2 and No. 271/2 Frag. 23 (Nicander); Celoria (F), *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis,* London/New York, 1992 94, 203, 204 and note 402
24. For more details on the relationship between Apollo, Artemis, the Wolf and Boreas see Fürtwängler, *ALGRM* 1 (1884–1886) Cols. 422–468; Kretschmer (P), *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache,* Göttingen, 1896 370ff; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (U von), *Das Ilias und Homer,* Berlin, 1916 451; Wehrli, *RE* S5 (1931) Cols. 565–569; Eckels (R.P), *Greek Wolf-Lore,* Philadelphia, 1937 64ff; Sale, *HThR* 4.2 (1961) 76; Laroche (L), "Les dieux de la Lycie classique d'après les textes lyciens" in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique: Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'Etudes anatoliennes à Istanbul,* Paris, 1980 1–6; Desautels, *Dieux* 538–539.

25. Borghini (A), "Costanti Simbolico-Imaginarie nei Raconti su Letona," *SCO* 38 (1988) 391–399, esp. 392.
26. Borghini, *SCO* 38 (1988) 392–393.
27. See pages 127–140.
28. See also Müller, *FHG* 1 308, J, 2B 588, G and H 240.
29. The earliest Apolline oracles at Delphi issued from the laurel and may have been supposed to have been delivered by the tree itself (Pausanias 10.5.5, 24.7). Later on, the Pythia may have prophesied from amid the laurels (Amandry, *Mantique* 126ff; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 26ff). Zeus' oracle at Dodona had the oak tree speak. It is interesting that the laurel has changed into a bay here, not a palm (Delos) or an Olive (Olympia, Delos). The laurel was sacred to the cult of Apollo too (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 394).
30. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 223–226.
31. Jacoby, *FGrH* 2B No. 115 F248 (Theopompus) pp. 588–589; Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis* 8.397–398.
32. Bolton, *Aristeas* 106.
33. See pages 127–140.
34. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 228–230.
35. Bolton, Aristeas 166–167.
36. For the Hyperboreans in the writings of Megasthenes see Stein, *RE* 15.1 (1931) Cols. 230–326, esp. Col. 242; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3C 715 603–639, esp. 632 F27; Connor (W.R), "Historical Writing in the Fourth Century B.C. and the Hellenistic Period" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 458–472, esp. 463.
37. Chandragupta, who had his capital at Pataliputra, was known to the Greeks as Sandrocottus see Müller, *FHG* 2 423–424 Frag, 30; Rohde, *Roman* 218 note 120; Bevan (E.R), "India in Early Greek and Latin Literature" in Rapson (E.J), *CHI* 1 (1922) 391–426, esp. 399–402; Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 104.
38. Rzach, *RE* 8.1 (1912) Col. 1214. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Callimachus see especially Kirchner, *RE* 10.2 (1919) Cols. 1644–1645; Fluss, *RE* S5 (1931) Cols. 386–454; Lobel (E), Wagner (E.P). Roberts (C.H) and Bell (H.I), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London, Volume 9, 1948 No. 2214; Pfeiffer (R), *Callimachus fragmenta*, Oxonii, 1949 Volume 1 155–159; Wimmel (W), *Kallimachos in Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1960; Fraser (P.M), *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972 293, 496, 521, 661, 731; Herter, *RE S13* (1973) Cols. 184–266; Ferguson (J), *Callimachus*, Boston, 1980 105–127; Bulloch (A.W), "Callimachus" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 549–570, esp. 567–568; Hutchinson (G.O), *Hellenistic Poetry*, Oxford, 1988 36, 40, 68–71; Dillery (J), "Hecataeus of Abdera: Hyperboreans, Egypt and the *Interpretatio Graeca*" *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 256–275, esp. 272; Livrea (E), "Callimacho e Gli Iperborei a Delo," *ZPE* 120 (1998) 23–27.
39. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* 280.
40. Livrea, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 23–27.
41. GXI (2) 145, 44; Holleaux, *BCH* 14 (1890) 510 No. 161A89.133; Schulhof (E), "Fouilles de Délos," *BCH* 32 (1908) 449–498, esp. 484.55 and commentary 487; Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* 1 156.
42. Guthrie (W.K.C), *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, New York, 1966 13 and 24 note 4.
43. Lobel, Wagner, Robert and Bell, *Oxyrhynchus* 9 (1948) No. 2214 35–38.
44. See pages 101–125 for discussion.
45. Dillery, *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 272.
46. Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 264 Fragment 12.
47. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2 720 note 11 and Mineur (W), *Callimachus' Hymn to Delos*, Leiden, 1984 231 and 292; Dillery, *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 273.
48. Mineur, *Hymn to Delos* 208 and 250; Dillery, *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 273.
49. Mineur, *Hymn to Delos* 226 and 283ff; Dillery, *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 273.

50. For material concerning the Hyperboreans in the writings of Simmias see especially Fränkel (H), *De Simia Rhodio,* Berlin, 1915 17.32, 35.11, 43.2; Powell (J), *Fragments of Euphorion and Other Hellenistic Poets, Collectanea Alexandrina,* Oxford, 1925 (repr. 1970) 109–111; Lloyd-Jones (H) and Parsons (P), *Supplementum Hellenisticum,* Berlin, 1983 No. 906 411–412.
51. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.51 and Valerius Flaccus 5.593ff gave the name as Caspasus see Bolton, *Aristeas* 70.
52. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 109.
53. See pages 28–36.
54. Seepages 127–140.
55. Seepages 141–150.
56. Hunter (R), "Apollo and the Argonauts. Two Notes on Ap. Rhod. 2, 669–719," MH 43 (1986) 50–60, esp. 50 and note 1.
57. Menecrates of Xanthus in Antoninus Liberalis 35 and Nicander in Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 271/2 Frag. 23, No. 769 Frag. 2; Feeney (D.C), *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition,* Oxford, 1991 71; De Forest (M), *Apollonius' Argonautica: a Callimachean Epic,* Leiden, 1994 78.
58. Hunter, MH 43 (1986) 55.
59. Campbell (M), *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica III 1–471,* Leiden, 1994 141, 309; De Forest, *Argonautica* 82.
60. See page 60 for discussion of Herodotus' text.
61. Kidd (I.G), *Posidonius 2.2. The Commentary,* Cambridge, 1988 919.
62. For material concerning the Hyperboreans in the writings of Apollodorus see Jacoby, *FGrH* 2B 244 F95–99 p. 1061, F126 p. 1078; van der Valk (M), "On Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca,*" *REG* 71 (1958) 100–168, esp. 127.
63. Hesiod, *Theogony* 215ff, 517–519; Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 394ff; Apollonius Rhodius 4.1396ff with the scholiast on 1396; Diodorus of Sicily 4.26; Daremberg et Saglio, "Hercules," *DAGR* 3 (1881) 96–98; Sittig, *RE* 8.1 (1912) Cols. 1243–1248; Weiss, RE 8.1 (1912) Col. 1243; Gantz, EGM 6–7, 410–413.
64. See pages 151–155.
65. For source material pertaining to the Hyperboreans in the writings of Strabo see Aly (W), *Strabonis Geographica,* Bonn, 1957 Volume 4 387; Aujac (G) et Lasserre (F), *Strabon Géographie,* Paris, 1969 8, 45; Silbermann, *RPh* 64 (1990)(troisième série) 99–110, esp. 103; Roseman (C.H), *Pytheas of Massalia: On the Ocean. Text, Translation and Commentary,* Chicago, 1994 69–70.
66. Reinach (S), "Les Hyperboréens," *RC* 12 (1891) 163–166; Diller, *MGG* 165ff, 189; Bunbury, *HAG* 1 (1959) 69ff; Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 210; Müller, *GGM* 1 (1990) lxxiv ff.
67. Seepages 127–140.
68. Boreios means "belonging to the North Wind, northern" see LSJ 246; Bailly, *DG-F* 368.
69. Müllenhoff (K.V), *Deutsche Altertumskunde,* Berlin, 1870 Band 1 89.
70. See section three chapter three pages 127–140 for a detailed discussion about Elixoea; Reinach, RC 12 (1891) 163–166.
71. For discussion and dating of this dialogue see Fedderson (O.M), *Uber den pseudo-platonischen Dialog Axiochus,* Cuxhaven, 1875 17; Swoboda, *RE* 7.2 (1912) Cols. 1548–1551; Chevalier (J), *Etudes critiques du dialogue pseudoplatonicien l'Axiochus sur la mort et l'immortalité de l'âme,* Paris, 1915 44–63, 94, 107, 115; Souilhé (J), *Platon, Oeuvres complètes,* Paris, 1930 (Budé), Tome XIII, troisième partie 117–135, 147–148; Burnet (I), *Platonis Opera,* Oxford, 1987 Volume 5 595.
72. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* 1.156 feels there could be a relation between Callimachus' "divine planks" (Callimachus, *Aetia* Frag. 186.3) and these tablets, but regards the tradition as changed from the original story.

73. Guthrie, *HGP* 5 396. The Pythagoreans liked to recall the Hyperborean legend and called their master Apollo Hyperboreus see Mayer, *ALGRM* 1 (1886–1890) Cols. 2836–2841.
74. See pages 53–60.
75. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.214, 2.51; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 32–33, 60–61; *Oracles of Zeus* 120–121; Burn (A.R), *Lyric Age of Greece*. London, 1960 (repr. 1978) 57.
76. Parke, *Greek Oracles* 56–90; Romm, *Edges* 44–66.
77. Chevalier, *Axiochus* 91.
78. For the Hyperboreans in Mela's writings see Gissinger, *RE* 21.2 (1952) Cols. 2360–2411, esp. 2365, 2379, 2403; Bunbury, *HAG* 2 (1959) 353–370, esp. 356 and 363; Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 373; Silbermann (A), *Pomponius Mela Chorographie*, Paris, 1988 (Budé) vii–liv, esp. xxiv, xxviii, xxxiv–xxxv; *RPh* 64 (1990) 92–110, esp. 99–108; Roseman, *Pytheas* 82–83; Romer (F.E), *Pomponius Mela: De Chorographia*, Ann Arbor, 1998 37, 65, 110–111.
79. For bibliography concerning the Hyperboreans in the works of Pliny see Ditten (H), "Plinius der Alterer" in Hermann (J), *Griechische und Lateinische Quellen Frügeschichte Mitteleuropas bis zur des 1. Jahrtausends*, Berlin, 1988 Band 1 560–582, esp. 564; Silbermann, *RPh* (1990) 99–110; Beagon (M), *Roman Nature, the Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford, 1992 78–79, 239. See pages 32–36.
80. Bolton, *Aristeas* 99 believed the Attacorae were located in China.
81. For discussion and analysis of the Hyperboreans in the writings of Hierocles see Müller, *FHG* 4.430; Jacoby, *RE* 8.2 (1913) Cols. 1478–1479.
82. Simmias of Rhodes Frag. 2 Powell; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 20 Powell, Martini p. 95. For discussion and analysis of the Hyperboreans in the writings of Antoninus Liberalis see Oder (E), *De Antonino Liberali*, Bonn, 1886 7, 19; Papathomopoulos (M)(ed. and trans), *Antoninus Liberalis: les métamorphoses*, Paris, 1968 (Budé) 34–35, 115; Celoria (F), *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis*, London/New York, 1992 75, 159–162, 204.
83. Romm, *Edges* 64 note 47.
84. Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 24–25; Bolton, *Aristeas* 69; Celoria, *Metamorphoses* 75.
85. Bolton, *Aristeas* 69; Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 109.
86. Bolton, *Aristeas* 69; Celoria 159–162.
87. See pages 32–33.
88. For the Hyperboreans in the works of Pausanias see especially Bearzot (C), *Storie e storiografia ellenistica in Pausanias il periegeta*, Venezia, 1992 120.62.
89. For source material concerning the Hyperboreans in the writings of Hyperides see Blass (F), *Hyperides, orationes sex cum ceterarum fragmentis*, third edition, Leipzig, 1894 106–107; Jensen (C), *Hyperides orationes sex cum ceterarum fragmentis*, Leipzig, 1917 (repr. Stuttgart 1963) 124–125; Bartoloni (G), *Iperide: Rassegna di problemi e di studi (1912–1972)*, Padova, 1977, Proagones Studi 13 106 and note 3.
90. Harris, *JHS* 45 (1925) 235; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1.3 (1954) 173; Gallet de Santerre, *REG* 72 (1959) 433; Sale, *HThR* 54.2 (1961) 89; Bruneau, *Recherches* 42–44, "Deliaca," *BCH* 114 (1990) 554–591, esp. 589–591.
91. Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.49–65, 1.78–79, 1.418; Parke, *Greek Oracles* 32, 37, 45, 49, 140, *Oracles of Apollo* 10, *Oracles of Zeus* 282–283, 286.
92. For more information on Sinope and Apolline cults at Sinope see Robinson (D.M), *Ancient Sinope*, Chicago, 1906; Ruge, *RE* 3A.1 (1927) Cols. 252–255; Magie (D), *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton, 1950 185ff; Roebuck (C), *Ionian Trade and Colonization*, New York, 1959 117ff; Boardman, *Greeks* 242–255; Braccesi (L), *Grecità Adriatica, Un Capitolo della colonizzazione greca in Occidente*, Bologna, 1977 139–141, 311–322; Hind, *CAH* 6.2 (1994) 489–500; Hornblower, *CAH* 6.2 (1994) 221.
93. Ruge, *RE* 3A1 (1927) Cols. 252–255; Magie, *Roman Rule* 185ff; Roebuck, *Ionian Trade* 117ff; Drews (R), "The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea," *JHS* 96 (1976) 18–31 argued the earliest Greek colonization of the Black Sea area was designed to provide access

to metals, especially to iron ore from Pontic Cappadocia. See also Braccesi, *Grecità* 139–141, 311–322; Boardman, *Greeks* 240, 242, 254–255; Hind (J), *CAH* 6.2 (1994) 489–500; Hornblower, *CAH* 6.2 (1994) 221.

94. Roussel, *DCA* 199–225; Laidlaw, *Delos* 41–42; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.193–194, 234–235; Gallet de Santerre, *Délos* 93–96, 165–173, 271–272; "Compte rendu bibliographique," *REG* 72 (1959) 431–433, esp. 433; Bruneau, *Recherches* 38–48; Bruneau et Ducat, *Guide de Délos* 18–23; Lacroix, BCL 49 (1983) 85.
95. Sale, *HThR* 54.2 (1961) 85–86 does not agree: "His testimony seems independent of Herodotus and Callimachus since the former does not attach this ceremony to Opis, while the latter included Loxo and uses the Oupis form of the name, and from neither could Pausanias infer that the ceremony no longer takes place."
96. A similar legend for Delos is reported by Plutarch, *De Musica* 14.6. For the role of bees in Delphian rites see the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 558ff; Pindar, *Pythian* 4.60; Callimachus, *Zeus* 49–50; Diodorus of Sicily 5.70 and Delcourt, *L'oracle de Delphes* 162; Amandry, *Mantique* 61; Chamoux (F), *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris, 1958 267; Sale, *HThR* 54.2 (1961) 87–88; Bodson (L),'Ιερὰ ζωια, Bruxelles, 1975 26ff; Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 85; the passage implies the gifts arrived during a festival of Apollo.
97. Herodotus 4.35; Callimachus, *Delian* [4] 305; *Suda* 3.608 Adler (Hesychius).
98. Aujac (G), *La géographie de Ptolémée*, Paris, 1998 23g, 263.
99. Seepages 127–140.
100. Müller, *GGM 2 210.*
101. Müller, *GGM 2* 637–665, esp. 642.
102. Rohde, *Roman* 218; Mau (J), *Plutarchi Moralia*, Leipzig, 1971 Volume 5.2.1 does say this and emphasizes that people in Britain grow old and live longer because of the colder weather conditions. This could well be a Hyperborean attribute. The Ethiopians, on the other hand, burned by the sun, age faster. Contrary to what Rohde has written, Tacitus does not say this.
103. Müller, *GGM* 1 195.
104. Müller, *GGM* 1 181.
105. Müller, *GGM* 1 559.
106. Müller, *GGM* 1 560.
107. Hawkes (C.F.C), "Pytheas: Europe and the Greek Explorers," *The Eighth J.L. Myers Memorial Lecture*, a lecture delivered at New College, Oxford on 20th May 1975; Müller, *GGM* 2.357.
108. For the Hyperboreans in the writings of Iamblichus see Delatte (A), "9. Le catéchisme des Acousmatiques," *Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Sciences Historiques et Philosophiques* 217 (1915) 271–312, esp. 279; Nauck (A), *Iamblici De Vita Pythagorica accedit epimetrum De Pythagorae Aureo carmine*, Saint Petersburg, 1884 (repr. Amsterdam 1965) lvi; Dillon (J) and Hershbell (J), *Iamblichus. On the Pythagorean Way of Life. Text, Translation and Notes*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1991 5, 55, 115, 155, 159, 215, 259; Brison (L), et Segonds (A.Ph), *Jamblique. Vie de Pythagore*, Paris, 1996 xxiii, xxxiv, li.
109. Herodotus 4.36; Porphyry, *Vita plotini* 28–29; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 90.
110. Note the resemblance to the Greek custom of sending offerings, often made of precious metals, to sanctuaries such as Delos and Delphi.
111. The legend of the golden thigh appears to derive from Aristotle, but is elaborated by Hermippus (Apollonius, *Mirabilia* 6; Diogenes Laertius 8.11). It may be a confused recollection of initiation rituals see Burkert, *Lore and Science* 141–144, 159–160, 170, 181, 293; Dillon and Hershbell, *Iamblichus* 117. The golden thigh story is otherwise told in connection with his appearance at Olympia (Plutarch, *Numa* 8; Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 25; Aelian, *Varia Historia* 2.26, 4.17; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 140). The

Hyperboreans had contributed to the founding of Olympia by giving Heracles the sacred olive tree which grew in their own lands (Pindar, *Olympian* 3.11–17, 23–24).
112. Herodotus is the earliest ancient source, but does not make any connection with Pythagoras, Dillon and Hershbell, *Iamblichus* 159 note 7.
113. Burkert, *Lore and Science* 141ff, 149 note 154.
114. Von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics*.
115. Le Roy (C), "La naissance d'Apollon et les palmiers déliens," *Etudes déliennes BCH* S1 (1973) 363–286, esp. 264; Romm, *Edges* 61; Koenen, *TAPA* 124 (1994) 1–34; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 385–410.
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118. Romm, *Edges* 45–49, 66.
119. Romm, *Edges* 60.
120. Wehrli, *RE* S5 (1931) Cols. 555–576, esp. 555–564; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 247; Bolton, *Aristeas* 93–94; Romm, *Edges* 3–202; Simón (F.M), "Ἕσκατοι ἀνδρῶν: La idealización de Celtas e Hyperbóreos en las fuentas griegas," *DHA* 26.2 (2000) 121–147, esp. 133 and 141.
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122. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 106–120; Herodotus 4.33–34; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.5.36–37, 4.89–91; Mela 5.36–37.
123. Brown, *Phoenix* 46 (1992); Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 5l.4 (1998) 395.
124. Brown, *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 100–102; Dillon, *Hermathena* 153 (1992) 24, 34 and note 9; Kyriazopoulos, *Parnassos* (1993) 396; Koenen, *TAPA* 124 (1994) 1–34; Romm, *Edges* 62; Brown, *Mnemosyne* 51.4 (1998) 385.
125. Rohde, *Roman* 204–208; Romm, *Edges* 67. For Theopompus' tendency to idealize the "dwellers beside the Ocean" see Athenaeus 52.6d-f; Jacoby, *FGrH* Frag. 62. Theopompus; tale of Meropis is also connected with Plato's myth of Atlantis see Bidez (J), *Eos ou Platon et l'Orient*, Bruxelles, 1946 36–40; Romm, *Edges* 121–136.
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127. Weber, *RhMus* 82 (1933) 185; Nilsson, *GGR* 1 (1941) 518; Harmatta, *AAnt* 3 (1955) 58, 61. There is in reality only extremely scanty evidence for the Hyperboreans as an Egyptian myth. See Dillery, *Historia* 47.3 (1998) 255–275.
128. Weber, *RhMus* 82 (1933) 185; Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936) 159–204; Nilsson, *GGR* 1 (1941) 518; Harmatta, *AAnt* 3 (1955) 58, 61.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Stephanus of Byzantium 650.3 Meineke, 118.16 Meineke; Damastes of Sigeum in Jacoby, *FGrH 1 No.* 5 F1 page 153, 103 Wyss, 141 Matthews.
2. Damastes of Sigeum in Müller, *FHG* 2.64–67; Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 No. 5 T1 152–153. Seepages 63–64.
3. Braccesi's hypothesis that Philistus of Syracuse penned these fragments is totally unacceptable both from the points of view of chronology and hard evidence: Laqueur, *RE 19.2* (1938) Cols. 2409–2429; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3B (1969) No. 566 551–567 and Kommentar

496–514; Briquel (D), *Les Pélasques en Italie*, Rome, 1984 45ff; Braccesi (L), *Grecità di Frontiera*, Padua, 1994 91, 100–101; Malkin, *Returns* 248.

4. Apollodorus in Jacoby, *FGrH* 244 Frag. 74 in Diodorus of Sicily 13.108.1; *Suda* 1.237.29 Adler; 4 and 9 Wyss; 1 and 2 Gentili-Prato; 1 and 3 Matthews, 2B 343; Jacoby (F), *Apollodorus Chronik. Eine Sammlung der Fragmente*, Berlin, 1902 299; Gomme (A.W), *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford, 1945 (1956) Volume 1 36.; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 41; Serrao (G), *Storia e Civilità dei Greci*, Milan, 1979 299 says oddly that Apollodorus puts Antimachus' *floruit* during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358); Gentili (B) and Prato (C), *Poetae Elegiaci: Testimonia and Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1985 108; Matthews, *Antimachus* 15–17.
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7. Pfeiffer, *HCS* 94; Wehrli, *RE* 11 (1968) Cols. 2434–2435; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 449; Matthews, *Antimachus* 47, 49.
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9. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 189.
10. Matthews, *Panyassis* T10a-c and pp. 31–32, *Antimachus* 20, 67, 75.
11. Matthews, *Antimachus* 19.
12. Wyss XXV; Matthews, *Antimachus* 42.
13. Veyne, *Greeks* 14, 60, 62; Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 86.
14. Pearson (L), *The Greek Historians of the West*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1987 4–5, 53–90.
15. For source material dealing with Greek colonization see Dunbabin (T.J), *The Western Greeks: the History of Sicily and the South of Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.*, Oxford, 1948; Bérard (J), *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile*, Paris, 1957, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecque*, Paris, 1960; Graham (A.J), *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Chicago, 1983; Malkin (I), *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden, 1987; Boardman (J), *The Greeks Overseas*, London, 1988; Hall (E), *Inventing the Barbarian*, Oxford, 1989; Descoeudres (J.P, ed), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A.D.Trendall, Sydney 9–14 July 1985, Canberra/Oxford, 1990; Murray (O), *Early Greece*, London, 1993, Chapter Seven; Tsetskhlaze (G) and De Angelis (F)(eds), *The Western Greeks. Classical Civilization in the Western Mediterranean*, London, 1996; Malkin (I), *The Returns of Odysseus*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998.
16. Pearson, *Greek Historians* 4–5.
17. Wehrli, *RE* S5 (1931) Col. 506; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* 1.67; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 138–139 Q27, 278; Malkin, *Returns* 1–31. Lesky, *HGL* 46 writes that Odysseus had the North Star on his left, so that Ortygia must lie in the extreme west (Homer, *Odyssey* 5.270–277). He also says that in his opinion "clearly adventures in the east, drawn from the saga of Jason and the Argonauts, have been thrust in among those depicted in the West." Wade-Gery adds that line 16 of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* pairs Delos with Ortygia and that Cynaethus did this because he was performing for a Syracusan audience in 505 (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 16; Pindar, *Nemean* 1.2–4; *Pythian* 2.6–7). Pindar says that Delos was once called Ortygia (Pindar, *Paean* 12.14).
18. Pearson, *Greek Historians* 5, 13, 53–90; Gruen (E.S), *Culture and National Identity. Republican Rome*, Ithaca, 1992 6–51; Malkin, *Returns* 20–21; Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 105–106.
19. Seepages 141–150.

20. Ammerman (A.J), "The Eridanos Valley and the Athenian Agora," *AJA* 100.4 (1996) 699–715. Eridanus was a river-god of Athens see Escher, *RE* 6.1 (1907) Cols. 446–448; Belloni (C.G), "Eridanos II," *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 822–823. Homer does not mention the Eridanus in *Iliad* 12.20–22 see West, *Hesiod. Theogony* 259–260.
21. See section two pages 28–29.
22. Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 26; Luce, *Homer* 169; Guzzo, "South Italy" in Descoeudres, *Greek Colonists* 140; Ahl, *AJP* 103 (1982) 377, 400; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* 8; Pearson, *Greek Historians* 13; Gruen, *Rome* 6–51.
23. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* 1–3.
24. Boardman, *Greeks* 163; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* 4–54, *Returns* 21.
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31. Boardman, *Greeks* 162, 164, 165.
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34. Stesichorus, *Geryoneis* 6 Bergk (4), *PMG* 186, *SLG* S87 Page, Schol. Hesiod, *Theogony* 287 Di Gregorio 1975; Herodotus 1.163. See also pages 128–129.
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39. Fogolari (G de), L"art des situles" in Pallotino, *Etrusques* 200–205; Kruta, "Art" in Pallotino, *Etrusques* 206–213.
40. Boardman, *Greeks* 227 and figure 268.
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42. Braccesi, *Grecità Adriatica* 128–135; Colonna (G), "I Greci di Adria. Fine del VIe nel Ve sec. A.c.," *RSA* (1974) 1ff; Neni (G) e Vallet (G)(eds), *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, Volume 3, Pisa/Rome, 1984 38–56, esp. 40–43; Camporeale (G), "La vocation maritime des Etrusques" in Pallotino, *Etrusques* 44.
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44. Torelli, *PP* 26 (1971) 56ff; Boardman, *Greeks* 206.
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48. Boardman, *Greeks* 221; Berthelier-Ajot, "Vix" in Moscati, *Celts* 116; Frey, "Celtic Princes" in Moscati, *Celts* 74–75; Mohen (J-P), "The Princely Tombs of Burgundy" in Moscati, *Celts* 103–107, esp. 103–105.
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52. Polybius 6.11a7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46.3–5; Cicero, *De Republica* 2.19–20; Livy 1.34, 4.3; Strabo 5.2.1–3 C219, 8.6.20 C378; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 35.16, 152 and Blakeway (A), "Demaratus," *JRS* 45 (1935) 129–149, esp. 147–149; Salmon, *Wealthy*

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53. Boardman, *Greeks* 206.
54. Adam, Briquel, Gran-Aymerich, Ridgway, Stom, von Hase, "Relations" in Pallotino, *Etrusques* 184; Gran-Aymerich (J), "Les premières importations de Bourges" in Brun et Chaume, *Vix* 201–211, esp. 207.
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56. Boardman, *Greeks* 228; Kruta, "Art" in Pallotino, *Etrusques* 208.
57. Braccesi, *Grecità Adriatica* 157–159; Pare, "Commerce" in Brun et Chaume, *Vix* 273–274.
58. Braccesi, *Grecità Adriatica* 149–156.
59. Bintliff, "Iron Age" in Bintliff, *Evolution* 164; Pare, *PPS* 57.2 (1991) 191, 199; Raftery, *Celtic Ireland 10.* 26–35.
60. Boardman, *Greeks* 184.
61. See pages 47–64.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. C.F.C.Hawkes felt this was originally Ephorus' text cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia* 3.1.23, *Ethica Nicomachea* 2.7.7, Ephorus in Strabo 7.1.1–2 C289, 7.2.1 C293, 7, 7.3.8 C302, 11.1.4–5 C491–493. See also pages 65.
2. Aristotle in Plutarch, *Camillus* 22–23, Frag. 568 Rose; Theopompus in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 3.57, Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 115 F317.
3. Wehrli, *Schule* 32–35 and 90–94.
4. Gottschalk, *Heraclides Ponticus* 5, 55.
5. Plato, *Symposium* 203a, *Epinomis* 985c; Frags. 132–134, 171, 173 Wehrli; Diogenes Laertius 5.87=Frags. 176–178 Wehrli and Wehrli, *Schule* 54 and 122ff; Pfeiffer, *HCS* 70, 145; Dillon, *Heirs* 233.
6. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 129.
7. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 123.
8. Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 162–163, 232, 294. See pages 65–66.
9. Porphyry, *Vitae Pythagorae* 29; Apollonius, *Mirabilia* 4 Giannini; Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle* 162–163. See pages 65–66.
10. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 113, 116 note 96.
11. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 137.
12. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 91.
13. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 10.
14. I do not agree with Simón, *DHA* 26.2 (2000) 138 and 144 on this.
15. Boardman, *Greeks* 209.
16. Boardman, *Greeks 210.*
17. Malkin, *Returns* 156–209.
18. Pearson, *Greek Historians* 13.

19. Livy 37.37.2ff; Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.378–380, 3.94–96, 3.167–168, 7.206–207, 240; Magie, *Roman Rule* 103, 943–944 note 40; Pearson, *Greek Historians* 13; Gruen, *Republican Rome* 6–51; Holloway (R), *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium*, London/New York, 1994; Gabba (E), "La Roma dei Tarquini," *Athenaeum* 80.1 (1998) 5–13, esp. 6–7; Malkin, *Returns* 28–31.
20. Mommsen (T), *Römisches Staatsreicht*, Leipzig, 1887 Band 3.1 614ff; Merlin (A), *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1906 215; Alföldi (A), "Il sanctuario federale latino di Diana sull'Aventino," *SMSP* (1961) 21–39; Mazzarino (S), *Il pensiero storico classico*, Bari, 1966 Volume 1 195; Ampolo (C), "L'Artémide de Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino," *PP* (1970) 200–210; Clavel-Lévêque, *Marseille grecque* 128–129; Crawford (M.H), *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974 No. 448.3; Thomson (R), *King Servius Tullius: a Historical Synthesis*, Copenhagen, 1980 303–304; Cornell (T), *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 B.C.)*, London, 1995 295; Bats, "Greeks" in Carratelli, *Western Greeks* 583; Gabba, *Athenaeum* 80.1 (1998) 6–7.
21. Malkin, *Returns* 156–209.
22. Boardman, *Greeks* 174–175.
23. Hicks (R.D), *Aristoteles De Anima*, Amsterdam, 1907 (repr. Cambridge University Press, London, 1965 and Geirg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, 1990) xxix.
24. Hicks, *De Anima* xxxii.
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28. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 105; Finamore (J.F) and Dillon (J.M), *Iamblichus De Anima. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Leiden, 2002 96, 153; Dillon, Heirs 208 and 213.
29. Dillon, *Heirs* 214.
30. Dillon, *Heirs* 214 note 98.
31. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 105 note 60.
32. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 105 note 63; Dillon (J), *The Golden Chain. Studies in the Development of Platonism and Christianity*, Aldershot, 1990 XII 359; Finamore and Dillon, *Iamblichus* 96, 153; Dillon, *Heirs* 212 and 235.
33. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 99 note 35.
34. Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 97 note 28.
35. Frags. 132–134 Wehrli. Cf. Plato, *symp.* 203a; *Epinomis* 985c; Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 98 and note 32.
36. Frag. 102 Wehrli Kommentar page 94; Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 13 note 12.
37. For a discussion of this story see Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 94–95 and notes 22 and 23

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Spoerri (W), "Hekataios von Abdera" in Klaussen (T) und Dassman (E), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christendom*, Stuttgart, 1986 Band 13, Cols. 275–310, esp. 278 indicates he was born during the second half of the fourth century; Meister, *OCD* (1996) 67 gives his dates as 360–290.
2. Diogenes Laertius 9.69; Jacoby, *RE* 7.2 (1912) Col. 2751; Rohde, *Roman* 223–225; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 T3a, Kommentar (1954) 32; Diels and Kranz 1966 Frag 3; Spoerri, *RAC* 13 (1986) Col. 278.
3. Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.130, 133.4, 184.14, 5.113.1 Stählin; Plutarch, *Quaestionem convivalium* 4.3.1 666DE=Jacoby, *FGrH 3A* No. 264

T5 Frag 17; Diels and Kranz 1966 Frag 4; Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.22.183–206; *Suda* Volume 2 (1928) No. 359 page 213 Adler; Müller, *FHG* 2.396 Frag. 20.

4. Graf, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Cols. 670–672; Jacoby, *RE* 7.2 (1912) Cols. 2753, 2755, 2757, 2788, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 29; Lesky, *HGL* 225–260.
5. Graf, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Col. 670–672; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 76–78; Dion, *REL* 43 (1965) 455.
6. Cary (M), "The Greeks and Ancient Trade with the Atlantic," *JHS* (1924) 169–170; Megaw, *Antiquity* 40 (1966) 40; Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers* 30–31, 45, 46, 255; Casson (L), *The Ancient Mariners, Seafarers and Seafighters of the Ancient Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, Princeton, 1991 61–80.
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8. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* 51–52.
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11. Fabre, *REA* 94 (1992) 13.
12. 6 Bergk (4), *PMG* 186, *SLG* S87 Page; Schol. Hesiod, *Theogony* 287 Di Gregorio 1975; Gantz, *EGM* 20, 22, 402–408.
13. Stesichorus in Strabo 3.2.11, i 288 Kramer, *Schol. Apollonius Rhodius* i 211 Wendel, *PMG* 184, 183, *SLG* S7 Page 6, S86 Page 24, Frag 32 *PEG*.
14. Athenaeus 11.469E; *PMG* 185, *SEG* S17 Page 12. See page 32.
15. Strabo 3.2.11, i 288 Kramer; *PMG* 184, *SLG* S7 Page 6.
16. For source material pertaining to the controversy about the existence of a Massaliot Periplus see especially Kostermann (E), "Zum Quellenproblem in Avienus: *Ora Maritima" Hermes* 68 (1933) 472–475; Berthelot (A), *Ora Maritima,* Paris, 1934 17–24, 117–124; Schulten (A), *Ora Maritima,* Barcelona, 1955; Holder (A), *Rufi Festi Avieni,* Leipzig, 1965; Stichtenoth (D), *Avienus: Ora Maritima,* Darmstadt, 1968; Hind (J), "Pyrene and the Date of the Massalian Sailing Manual," *RSA* 2 (1972) 39–52; Hawkes, "Pytheas" 1–46; Murphy (J.P), *Rufus Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima,* London, 1977; Villalba i Varneda (P), "El text critic de *l'Ora Maritima* d'Aviénus," *Faventia* 7.1 (1986) 17ff; Ugolini (D) et Olide (D.G), "Béziers et les côtes langedociennes dans *l'Ora Maritima* d'Aviénus," *RAN* 20 (1987) 143–154 postulated an itinerary based on a land route dating from the sixth or fifth centuries; Rankin (D), "The Celts Through Classical Eyes" in Green (M.J.) (ed.), *The Celtic World,* London and New York 21–33, esp. 22–23 believes Avienus' source may have been Scylax; Roseman, *Pytheas* suggest as Massaliot sources dating from about 525; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 134–135, 146, 149.
17. Hamilco the Carthaginian's voyage may have acted as a source for at least some of this material see Clavel-Lévêque, *Marseille grecque* 18; Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* 55–58; Piggott, *AE* 194–195; Fabre, *REA* 95 (1992) 14–15 believes some of the information came from Euthymenes; Aubet (M.E.), *The Phoenicians and the West: politics, colonies and trade* (translated from the Spanish by Mary Turton), New York, 1993 133–227; Cunliffe (B, ed.), *The Oxford Illustraed Prehistory of Europe,* Oxford/New York, 1994; Strobel (K), *Die Galater: Geschichte und Eigenart der Keltischen Staatsbildung auf dem Boden des*

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19. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 38–39.
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21. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 38.
22. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 53–57; Lesky, *HGL* 781.
23. Oldfather (C.H), *Diodorus of Sicily*, Cambridge, Mass/London, England, 1937 (repr. 1970) Volume 2 36–41, 47–48 believed it was Hecataeus of Miletus' text, but Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 103–104 wrote it was Hecataeus of Abdera's work. For commentaries and analysis of this passage see Jacoby, *RE* 7 (1912) Col. 2750; Rohde, *Roman* 204–220; Lacroix, *BCL* 49 (1983) 103–104.
24. Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius 2.675 Wendel; Diels and Kranz 1966 73B Frag. 4 [1] page 240.
25. Daebritz, *RE* 9.1 (1914) Col. 271 wrote that Hecataeus of Abdera was visibly under the influence of Alcaeus in telling of the happy folk's devotion to Apollo and of the holy precinct and temple. None of these matters are to be found in Himerius' account of Alcaeus' writings see Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 15ff; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 252 note 1. It is more likely that Hecataeus was using Neo-Pythagorean and utopian philosophers in an attempt to justify the existence of the Hyperboreans.
26. Jacoby, *FGrH* 264 Frag. 14; Mela 3.33; Pliny, Naturalis Historia 4.94, cf. Schol. Apollonius Rhodius 2.360–362 Wendel; Cary-Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, London, 1929 146; Voigt, *RE* S6 (1935) Col. 103ff; Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 58, note on 264 F11: (H)elixoia<Euhemerus 3C 63 Frag, 41.4, 59.
27. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 58; Heidel (W.A.), *The Frame of Ancient Greek Maps*, New York, 1937 42; Diels and Kranz 1966 73B; Bolton, *Aristeas* 24; Dumont, Delatte et Poirier, *Présocratiques* B1 and B1b 959–960, 1509–1512. Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.13.350a reads Parnassus see Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 85; Roseman, *Pytheas* 85 notes 82 and 83. Pliny reported the name of the river as Parapanisus (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.94). This originates from the writings of Ctesias and others writing on Alexander the Great (campaigns of 330–327) who called the Hindu Kush by this name and identified it as a tremendous watershed see Hawkes, *Pytheas* 38.
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33. Gripp (K), *Erdgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein,* Neumünster, 1964 (repr. 1966) 161–162; Roseman, *Pytheas* 3.
34. Boardman, *Greeks* 161–162; Py (M), *Les Gaulois du Midi,* Paris, 1993 83–259.
35. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 36–37; Roseman, *Pytheas* 5.
36. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 36–38.
37. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 7–8; Roseman, *Pytheas* 24–145.
38. For reactions of different authors to Pytheas of Massalia's voyage and information, as well as how they used it in their own writings, see especially Müller, *FHG* 2.225ff, *GGM* 1 97–110, 283–293; Martini, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Cols. 546–563, esp. 553; Broche, *Pythéas* 11–12, 19 and note 13, 104, 110 note 1; Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 134, 142, 143, 146–147, 153ff, 163–166, 205–208; Mette, *Pytheas* 10–11, 29–33, Frags. 10–13; Dicks (D.R), *The Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus,* London, 1960 29, 34, 179–182, 185–191, esp. Frags. 52–55, 60–61; Dion, *REL* 43 (1965) 443, 444, 456, 458; Wehrli (R), *Die Schule des Aristoteles,* Texte und Kommentar, Heft 1: *Dikaiarchos,* Basil, 1944 (repr. 1967) 34–36, 75–80, *RE* S11 (1968) Cols. 526–534; Fraser (P.M), "Eratosthenes of Cyrene," *PBA* 56 (1970) 175–207, esp. 202; Fabre (P), "Les Grecs à la découverte de l'Atlantique," *REA* 94 (1992) 11–21, esp. 15, 16, 20; Roseman, *Pytheas* 24–145.
39. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 39.
40. This is how local Celts referred to the English Channel/La Manche in Medieval times (Mor Breizh). This place name could easily predate written records, but this is speculation.
41. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 59.
42. See pages 72–77.
43. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 54, 56–57. See pages 118–119.
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45. Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 58.
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47. Roseman, *Pytheas* 2, 25, 45, 55, 67, 88, 132, 135, 156.
48. Hennig (R), "Die Anfänge des kulturellen und Handelsverkehr in der Mittelmeerwelt," *HZ* 139 (1928) 1–33.
49. See pages 32–35.
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53. Graf, *RE* 5.1 (1903) Cols. 670–672; Jacoby, *RE* 7, 2 (1912) Col. 2763, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 60ff; Lesky, *HGL* 781.
54. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3A No. 264 Kommentar (1954) 29–31, 81–87.
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56. Hawkes, *Pytheas* 38.
57. See pages 117–125.

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2. Parke, *Greek Oracles* 37.
3. De Forest, *Argonautica* 70.
4. Boardman, *Greeks* 240; Casson, *Ancient Mariners* 55–60; Lévêque, *REA* 94.1–2 (1992) 49–56.
5. Meuli (K), *Odyssee und Argonautika*, Berlin, 1921 53ff; Page (D.L), *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955 2; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 60.
6. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 60.
7. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 61.
8. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 80–84; Bulloch, "Apollonius" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 587.
9. Bulloch, "Apollonius" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* 1 (1985) 588; Hunter, *OCD* (1996) 125; Clare (R.J), *The Path of the Argo. Language Imagery and Narrative*, Cambridge, England, 2002.
10. Pfeiffer, *HCS* 146–147.
11. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 452, 632–637.
12. Bulloch, "Apollonius" in Easterling and Knox, *CHCL* I (1985) 589–590, 596.
13. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 634–637.
14. See pages 101–115.
15. There is another interpretation possible here: the Euxine from the geographical context.
16. Diggle (J), *Euripides: Phaethon*, Cambridge, 1970 3–4.
17. Diggle, *Phaethon* 4; West, *Hesiod: Theogony* 134.
18. Knaack, *ALGRM* 3.2178ff; Türk, *RE* 19.2 (1938) Col. 1514; Diggle, *Phaethon* 10–27.
19. Diggle, *Phaethon* 5, 24.
20. Diggle, *Phaethon* 24.
21. Gow (A.S.F.) and Scholfield (A.F.), *Nicander: The poems and poetical fragments*, London, 1953 (repr. 1997) 3–8; Diggle, *Phaethon* 5.
22. Vollgraf (W), *Nikander und Ovid*, Groningen, 1909 105–109; Diggle, *Phaethon* 5.
23. Kind, *RE* 2A1 (1921) Col. 235; Diggle, *Phaethon* 5.
24. Diggle, *Phaethon* 5, 46.
25. Diggle, *Phaethon* 5.
26. Diggle, *Phaethon* 6.
27. Diggle, *Phaethon* 18.
28. Diggle, *Phaethon* 6. For this burial by a different set of nymphs see Diggle, *Phaethon* 195, 198.
29. Diggle, *Phaethon* 6 and note 2.
30. Diggle, *Phaethon* 6 and note 1.
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32. Green, *Argonautica* 317; Simón, *DHA* 26.2 (2000) 136–137.
33. Renfrew (C), *The Emergence of Civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.*, London, 1972 467ff; Harding and Hughes-Brock, *ABSA* 69 (1974) 152–153; Ahl, *AJP* 103 (1982) 395–396; Harding, *Mycenaeans* 73–74, 79–80, 82, 86, 214; Cunliffe, "Iron Age" in Cunliffe, *OIPE* (1994) 10; Guzzo, "Greeks in the Po Valley" in Carratelli, *Western Greeks* 555–558.
34. Vian (F), *Apollonius de Rhodes: Argonautiques*, Paris, 1981 Volume 3 170; Green, *Argonautika* 317.
35. See pages 36–39.
36. Thomson, *HAG* (1965) 84–85, 87; Hubert (H), *Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique depuis l'époque de la Tène*, Paris, 1932 (repr. 1973) 184; Hawkes, *Pytheas* 4 believed that this name is derived from the Celtic for "oak" and that it verified the presence of Celts in central Europe see Dottin (G), *La langue gauloise, grammaire, textes et glossaire*, Paris, 1920 (repr. Genéve 1980) 57; Lambert (P.Y.), *La langue gauloise*, Paris, 1994 37. The *Hercynei Saltus were* the inland districts of southern Germany, including the Black Forest, Bohemia and the Harz, where both Caesar and Tacitus intimate that the Celts had established settlements (Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.24; Tacitus, *Germania* 28).
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38. Fränkel (H), *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonius Rhodius*, Munich, 1968 507–509.
39. Vian, *Argonautiques* 3 97 note 3; Green, *Argonautika* 253–254, 317.
40. Vian, *Argonautiques* 3 97 note 3; Green, *Argonautika* 253–254, 317.
41. Green, *Argonautika* 318.
42. See pages 27–45.
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4. Malitz, *Zetemata* 79 (1983) 6, 13.
5. Nock, *JRS* 49.1 (1958) 1.
6. Reinhardt, *RE* 22 (1954) Cols. 622–681; Malitz, *Zetemata* 79 (1983) 13; Kidd (I.G), "Posidonian Methodology," *Entretiens Hardt* 32 (1986) 1–28, esp. 2, 3 (1999) 6.
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8. De Lacy (P), *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Berlin, 1978, Volume 1 259–359; Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius* 1 (1989) 49–55; Kidd 2 (1988) 153–178, 3 (1999) 86–93.
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10. Veyne, *Greeks* 24–147; Simón, *DHA* 26.2 (2000) 133.
11. Edelstein, *AJP* 57 (1936) 298 and note 52.
12. Nock, *JRS* 49.1 (1958) 6.
13. Edelstein, *AJP* 57 (1936) 296 note 40 doubts this definition belongs to Posidonius; Malitz, *Zetemata* 79 (1983) 419.
14. Pfeiffer, *HCS* 241.
15. Nock, *JRS* 49.1 (1958) 3; Simón, *DHA* 26.2 (2000) 133.
16. Kidd, *Posidonius* 3 (1999) 25–27.
17. Kidd, *Entretiens* 32 (1986) 20. See also Bringmann (K), "Geschichte und Psychologie bei Posidonius," *Entretiens Hardt* 32 (1986) 29–66, esp. 32 and 56.
18. Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius B675 Wendel page 180=Jacoby, *FGrH* 2C No. 87 Frag. 103J=Edelstein and Kidd 1 [1989] Frag. 270 page 235, 2 [1988] Frag. 270 page 919, 3 [1999] Frag. 270.
19. 6.233D-234C=Jacoby, *FGrH* 2C No. 87 Frag. 48 page 254=Edelstein and Kidd 1 (1989) Frag. 240a pages 213–214, Kidd 2 (1988) Frag. 240a pp. 837–838, 2 (1999) pp. 311–312.
20. Strabo 3.2.9 C147=Jacoby, *FGrH* No. 87 Frag. 47=Edelstein and Kidd I (1989) Frag. 239 211, Kidd 2.2 (1988) Frag. 239.3–7 commentary pp. 832–836; Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* 4.89=Kidd Frag. 240b.
21. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirabilia* 87.837a24ff; Seneca, *Epistle* 90.12 Frag. 284.52ff; Lucretius 5.1252–1257; Athenaeus Frag. 240a9ff; Diodorus of Sicily 5.35.3; Kidd 2.1 (1988) 832.
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NOTES TO CONCLUSION

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