

ΥΠΕΡΒΟΡΕΟΣ

Here you will find a collection of very serious texts written by scientists who would never take off their jackets and ties for anything in the world, and a few texts, unfortunately poorly edited, by characters who are not at all respectable, but much more serious and fascinating. The two blend together harmoniously, apart from a few spelling mistakes, for which I am not responsible.

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The concept of the Hyperboreans. Its vicissitudes throughout Antiquity

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propension of the world's powerful leaders, conductors of peoples or chefs d'armées, to incline in a direction favourable to their designs or prestige, representations of geography had, as was natural, its most noticeable effects on those representations that had a mythical or schematic character.

The case of the Herboréens is interesting in that it shows that scientific thought itself was influenced by this, at least in some of its approaches.

The purely Greek name of Herboréens bears the mark of a reflection that took place, well before the classical age, on one of the most striking physical phenomena specific to Mediterranean nature: the cold north wind, known today as the *Bona* or the Dismal, which the ancient Greeks called *Boreas*. From time to time, it sweeps down towards the coast, skimming the ground with such violence that the poet Callimachus said it was capable of knocking down walls.

It was thought that by going against this green towards the interior of the continent, as if going up the course of a torrent, one would eventually reach the place where it originated, and these places were imagined as mountains communicating the cold air of their snows. The Greeks gave these imaginary northern mountains the name Rhipées, already present in archaic poetry and considered by the grammarian Servius* to be formed from the Greek word *ῥίπτω*, which rhymes with the action of throwing or launching. From the top of the Rhipées mountains, Boreas was, in a way, launched towards the Mediterranean plains.

This figure, one of the oldest to emerge from the mythical geography of the Greeks, was also one of those that resisted the progress of objective knowledge for the longest time. Even in Roman imperial times, the Rhipaeen Mountains were still included in descriptions of Europe.

1. *Hymnes*, IV, 25.

a. Sounds the form 'Pinoctoe App. First known mention in Access, poet gut viva it à Sparte vers 650 & Want J.-C. (& ERGK, 06f08 Ijff36s gzaeci, i 88a, frag s8, p. i i i).

3 Commentary on the *Georgiques*, II I, 38a. Same opinion in ISIDORE rs Sz rzz, *it yrnologies*, XIV, 8, 8.

We find them again in the 2nd century AD in Ptolemy's Geography (II I, 5, 10), albeit relegated to the little-known regions where this scholar placed the source of the Tanais River, north of the Palus Méotide. A Latin geographer who preceded Ptolemy by about a century, Pomponius Mela, a contemporary of Emperor Claudius, remained faithful to the traditional view when he depicted these eastern Rhipêcs mountains as extending towards the southern shores of Europe, the waters of the Tanais: "*banals ex Rhi paco monte de(eclus... praeceps rail .*"

It was a representation less distant from geographical realities than that of an "other sea", as described by a Greek historian contemporary with Herodotus. Saugnant au nord le contour du continent se pose de savoir comment une telle notion a pu naître en l'esprit des Grecs des temps préclassiques, alors que rien, dans l'univers qui leur était familier, n'était de nature à leur faire imaginer des rivages maritimes septentrionaux³.

This feature of Europe's general configuration could only be brought to their attention through contact with foreigners who had seen the Baltic or the North Sea with their own eyes.

*Contacts with Hellenes with the septentrional
on the occasion of trade of the year*

This is a useful orientation that Herodotus (II I, x 15-16) provides for our research when, after rejecting as unfounded the belief in the existence of a river called Ur, he states that "jetant dans la mer septentrionale ce qu'on dit être, viendrait de l'Inde" as well as in the existence of "the Cassiterides Islands from whence we would get tin", he asserts as an indisputable fact that tin and the tree "come from the end of the world".

The tin was indeed of British origin, while the shadow was collected on the west coast of Jutland, especially on the Baltic Sea coast, at the foot of the western cliffs of the Samland peninsula. Near the mouth of the Vistula River⁴.

1. *From chorographia*, I, 116.

2. *Daukszone Siobs*, frygm. i, *«fans ira gm. Mist. gzaec.* Müller,

t. II, p. 65.

3. "I have heard donner ris à la question, il est évident (IIT, I 15), "I cannot believe anyone who has seen with their own eyes that there are no such canaries in Europe" (Ph.-E. Légran'l).

4. A commercial route frequently used by the Vikings is traced by the course of the river downstream from Bismarck. Pringle CGT Ovi lje fitt la ite old. 33 a ro marketable found tie thirty-six

IIe mil-To reach the shores of the Mediterranean, these precious materials had to cross the entire European continent, and this has been the case since at least the second half of the 1st millennium BCE, at least as far as trees are concerned.

A the Helladic (zzoo-xs8o) (zzoo-xs8o before), observes M.-P. Nilsson *, there is still no trace of amber from the north in Greece. This amber becomes by against abundant from the late Helladic or Mycenaean period (x58o-zzoo). Three of the shaft tombs discovered by Schliemann on the Acropolis of Mycenae and one of the dome tombs of Nestor's Pylos have provided hundreds of beads. The tree is depicted in the *Odyssey* as a highly coveted object of adornment. The fact that the Hellenes received the shade gathered on the shores of northern seas did not necessarily imply necessarily that they knew thethe situation of the deposits supplying this material. The history of trade offers more than one example of cases where the users or consumers of a purchased item considered it to originate not from the country where it was actually collected or created, but from the country where the markets that supplied it were located. This was the case, among the Greeks, for the tree, which legend represented as originating from the solidification of the tears shed by the Heliades, sisters of Phaëton, the reckless driver of the sun chariot, when they paid funeral honours to their brother, who had been struck down by Zeus and plunged into the river Üridan * (a name that Herodotus indicates as referring to a river on the northern coast of Europe, but which was also used, in poetic language, to refer to the course of the Po). Apollonius of Rhodes, in the part of his *Argonautica* (IV, sos-so6 and s96-61z) where he raps s this legend, set near the Adriatic coast where the Üridan flows into the sea, a fabulous island called Ülectris (island of trees), which is the poetic representation of a tree market. In ancient times, the bottom of the Adriatic Gulf was indeed

moiinai es gi ecques des §0 et v• siècles (R. Müni xiiorr, *Deutsche A ltertunsslonde*. t. I, i 89o, p. z x 3).

i. *Geschichte der griechischen Ref*giOW*, Z, I Q@ . p. 308.

2 **H. K. KORIMER, SOLL Owd the** *otiometits*, i q5o, p. i 6. The succinic acid content of succinic acid in this amber reveals its Baltic origin (A. Giizzo, s. v. Bernstein, in Max EBBRT, *RealAxibon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. I, * 9*4. P- 439 CE 44°) -

3 IV, 73 ; XV, 4 '463; XVZII, z@5 °96.

4. DionoRE ne SiciuR (V, z 3) gives this version of the myth: "The fall of The Phaeton took place at the mouth elected Pô, formerly known as Jridan. His sisters wept bitterly for his death; their grief was so great that they changed their nature and were transformed into poplar trees. Every year, at the same time, these trees shed tears. Now these solidified tears constitute the a/citron (i.e. the tree).

5. **POLYBE, II, 16, 6.**

Bulletin Budé

Greek, one of the main licux the outcome * key landings through which the tree collected on the northern shores of Europe was transported to the Mediterranean world.

This traffic could even have taken place without the Hellenes had contact with the possesssurs or exploitants des gisements cl'ambrc. Herocles recounts (IV, 33) that that in his time, the people of Delos remembered that the offerings, once sent from northern Europe to this famous island, celebrated in the ancient Roman world the li< u <lc birth of Apollo °, were successively taken care of by the peoples whose territory they had to cross to reach Delos, at the end of a series of stages, one of the last of which was located on the Adriatic coast. Joseph Déchelct tc * believes that, in the same way, several peoples along the route took turns transporting the tree elu fi^T ord to the Mediterranean countries.

Hais Hérocote also mentions in the same passage that this method of transport was used, as the septen-trional messengers of the offerings destined for the sanctuary of Delos had themselves accompanied them to the end of their journey, and that on that occasion they had flown away to the Delians, who called them Perplières.

Plinc l'Aocien, while describing many of the astonishing things that were said about these men of the North as fabulous, nevertheless considered their offerings to Delos to be a reality that could not be denied.

In any case, we cannot reject a priori the idea that in

Long before the classical Greek period, the Hellenic peoples had direct relations with the bearers of the superior civilisation that flourished in Jutland during the Bronze Age, as well as with the Ilc daIJOises, whose National Museum in Denmark, and Copenhagen, , preserves brilliant testimonies *.

1. J. DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, t. II, 1^{re} partie : *Age du bronze*, 1924, p. 19-21. J. PERRET, éd. TACITE, *La Germanie*, 1949 ; Introduction, p. 15.

2. Strilion (X, 4, 1 p) r:appelle que lo lūgî etat c iii' T yeirrgt:c, t ii tp iūtē "the example.s et ct't•ii st'igncmnt s, v3sita Oūlos po ur y cōiis i:ltr Ap»llon. Dans cette île de Délos, écrit-il encore (X, 5, 4), le rassemblement religieux annuel, dit Panégyrie, « a toujours eu quelque peu le caractère

3. J. DÉCHELETTE, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

4. *H. N.*, IV, 91. » atlo.iaticyie , il'ci yn'cirliii t délits and things, and more than bcucs chairs, more than pe>ignarels, swords et tle bij>iix longte qu'entre Hambourg et Stockholm. C'est là, et non dans la Gaule, plus rŃps autardec .iii trava ii cie ia pierre, ql:c s upamiiii ia force et l'airain. » (C. JULLIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 6^e éd., 1926, t. I, p. 236.)

The fact that votive objects from the North were carried across Europe to Delos to be presented as ritual offerings proves that these relations developed as much in terms of the exchange of beliefs and ideas as in terms of the economy. In protohistoric times, in the eastern part of the Po Valley, particularly in Veneto*, among the peoples who controlled the main markets for amber, archaeological evidence reveals representations mythical of the swan and the solar disc, which have their counterparts on the other side of Europe among the peoples who controlled the regions where amber was produced °. In Greek mythology of the classical age, the memory of these ancient cultic links is preserved by the legend of a migrating Apollo, who periodically left Greece to stay among the inhabitants of the northern sea and return from there riding a swan or an aerial chariot pulled by a flock of swans.

From the peoples of the North to the Hellenes, the communication of certain religious attitudes went hand in hand with the transmission of more than one geographical notion. Without reference to these ancient relationships, it is impossible to explain how Homer could have imagined summer nights so short that a shepherd capable of going without sleep (itunvoc) would still be able to see clearly enough to guard, for twenty-four hours straight, a herd of oxen, then a flock of sheep, and thus earn double wages.

Above all, the Greeks learned from their visitors from the North, that the northern edge of the world was a habitable seashore. Their image of the universe was therefore no longer limited on the northern side by the Hhipécs mountains. It was enriched by a new domain, which was the space occupied by the peoples beyond the Rhipées. In times that Pausanias (V, y, 8), by his reference to the poet Olen ® lions, allows us to consider as prior to history,

1. J. DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, t. II, 1^{re} partie : *Age du bronze*, 1924, p. 430.

2. J. DÉCHELETTE, *Ibid.*, p. 18-19.

3. P. GRIMAL, *fiic/oiittiafrc de fr tuytliologie grecque el roitioiite*, e ° éd. , i 958, at the word: Hyyerborécia s.

4. J. Dùc ri nnnzzu, *Ibid.*, p. 4*e.

5. *id.* K, 8z-8ti. It is possible that the men who communicated this information to the Hellenes had themselves received it from a more northern people with whom they had had contact.

G. The priest Olen, identified by scholars as the first to mention the H erбореans in his verses, was considered a contemporary of Orpheus. He **appears** in a legend recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (IV, 5•) that in **Thessaly at the time of Jason**, the name h erboréesi was surrounded by an aura

gran Et **presti ge**. According to HÛRODOTE (15^, 3*) . tes Hyrerboréeiis are named ilavts Hûsiono.

The Greeks gave these peoples the name *Wyrbordan*, whose meaning was clear. The Hyperboreans, explains Diodorus of Sicily (I 1, 4y), are "so named because they live beyond the point where Boreas blows", that is, beyond the imaginary Rhipaeon Mountains where Boreas is said to have his birthplace. Herodotus (IV, 36) refuses to consider the name Hyperboreans as the authentic name of a non-Hellenic people, denouncing it as a Greek invention. But he cannot avoid using it, for lack of another term at his disposal, when he wants to inform his reader (IV, 33-33) of the memory

that the ancient relations which had once been established between the peoples of the North and Greece, taking the form of ritual offerings sent in connection with the commemoration of Apollo's birth, were preserved at Delos. **forme** ritual offerings related to the commemoration of Apollo's birth, had once been established between the peoples of the North and Greece. It was also under the name of Hyperboreans that mythology referred to the distant peoples among whom Apollo was supposed to make periodic stays.

' geographical location of the Hyperboreans.

Created to express the idea of the far north, the name Hyperboreans was in fact, in its original meaning applied applied by the ancients to all those European peoples who were considered to be the most distant in the north, north-west and north-east. It could thus be used to refer to peoples who, according to modern geographical nomenclature, would not be classified as northerners. This is demonstrated, among other examples, by the way in which Herodotus and Pindar in their references to a great transcontinental route, which, under the name allegorically Ister or Istros (Danube), started from the Celts neighbouring the Pyrenees and the Océan and ended, **nur laut Pc on the banks of the euro, at the mouth of the real Danube: "The Istros, " says Herodotus (II, 33) "begins in the land of the Celts near the town of Pyréné"; while Pindare, in his ^{ZZZe} *Ofynpis* (t=s=), locates the "shady" source of Ister " Hyperboréens servants of Apollon " (ce**

i. APOLLO NI OS DE R monos, *Agoriaut i gres*, II, *75 < zúE D'ABDÜR3S
Cité par IODORE. De Si Cios, H, 49.

z. Ce name is in reality that of a mountain, cf ARISTOTR, *ffil.*, I,
* 3. • 0 "The first impression that the Ancients had of Gaul was that... **the Pyrenees stretched** from one shore **to the other and that between** their maritime extremities there was **ava** it only seven days' walk.
Perhaps, as early as le ^{ma} Century, **caravans** loaded with cl'üt.min, de citivre, cl'ambre **and rle callais** sct were organised at the foot septei-trional of the Pyrenees **between the region of Ile Pasajes and ccUe ôte Port-Vendres.** (C. J..... au, *Histoire de la G«ol*, 6e 5J., i gz 6, t. Z, p. i 88- i 8g.)

word: ombreux, synonymous with: located on the side of the night, that is to say that is to say: at sunset, meaning that, in Pindar's thinking, the Celts, backed by the Atlantic slope
 parent ä a sörïe of peoples Hyperboreans are succession from west to east on the oceanic fringe of the world (). Aeschylus

also located the source of the Istros * among the Hyperboreans. The assimilation of the Celts with the Hyperboreans reappears in the 4th century BC, in a work by a contemporary author of Alexander the Great, Hecataeus of Abdera, whom Plutarch tells us attributed the capture of Rome by the Gauls around 390 to "an armed that had come from the Hyperboreans". From himself, a contemporary historian of Alexander the Great, Hecataeus of Abdera, names the Hyperboreans and describes them as worshippers of Apollo, periodically visited by this god, the inhabitants of a northern Ee which can hardly be anything other than Great Britain, for, says Diodorus of Sicily (II, 47). through whom we know this fragment of Hecataeus, it is "no less large than Sicily and located beyond Celtic territory, in the Ocean". The British sea area will still be described as Hyperborean by a poet of the late Roman Empire *.

However distant they may be from one another, the peoples that Herodotus' contemporaries called Hyperboreans were supposed to live on the shores of the same sea, the "other sea" as the historian Damastus of Sigeum called it, as we have seen. Enveloping the side of the European continent opposite the Mediterranean, this "other sea", more often called the sea Extérieure, was the one that together formed the part of the ocean now called the Bay of Biscay, the seas British, the North Sea and the one that Herodotus refers to (III, 115), without being able to confirm the reality of its tence, as « la existence, the northern sea from which it is said that we

the tree comes from" (this is the present-day Baltic Sea). According to Damascius of Sigea ^, the "other sea" extended eastwards, with the Hyperboreans as its inhabitants, to the north of the area where the Scythians live, inhabitants of the present-day Russian plain.

The testimony of this historian and that of Pindar, which complement each other, thus bring us together the memory of a time when the Greeks saw in their imagination, beyond the supposed mountains they called Ohipées, stretching along the Outer Sea, from the tip

x. TroinëiùZ« *dëlioré*, lost tragedy. The content of the passage relating to the Istros is known from a scholia to Aroconios on Roonns, Argonau-z*ggg, IV, e84

z. Gard/II, >>. 3 > The author mentioned is Hûmccinz on Pour, disciple of Pmzon and ARISTOTLE.

3. Ci. Rome, *From III coiisulatu Zfoomiü*, 55-5fi.

. tra m. Z-liiii. *graec.*, MüccnR, t. II, p. 65, fragm. z. Dxuxszu or Sioño is a contemporary historian of HûnODOTE.

oceanic from the Pyrenees to the borders of Asia, a hyperborean fringe, whose outline and position in latitude they were unable to define.

Herodotus (III, 215, and I 3*, 43) allows us to gauge the extent of this ignorance, which persisted for a long time after him.

A scholar who preceded Caesar by only thirty years, Posidonius, still claimed, if we are to believe a scholiast of Apollonius of Rhodes, that the Alps bordered the regions inhabited by the Hyperboreans.

Until the Roman conquest, Hyperborea and the Rlii-pécs, these two mythical representations inseparable from one another, persisted, without competition, s'imposer aux esprits

comme des notions géographiques fondamentales. Là où, autrefois, there was no empty space, this fiction implied the existence of an inhabited shore, traced a line of relief features along this shore, and suggested the key to climatic phenomena in relation to these relief features. It finally provided the means to designate

those who were the peoples of the extra-méditerranéenne, whose names were unknown as how they were named themselves.

Subsequently, as we learned to know them, the authentic names of these peoples, the indigenous names, were replaced by the name Hypoboréens, whose applications were found to be progressively reduced in

Strabo (VII, 3. i) qu'à l'époque où écrivait ce géographe, the penetration of the armées romaines, in revealing the noms real des populations qui se succédaient, le long du rivage méditerranéen, jusqu'à l'estuaire de l'Elbe, et en faisant

The light on the essential features of the physical configuration of the place had closed the Hyperboreans off from the rest of the Western world, and had created the Rliipées mountains. However, this did not lead to a systematic and total rejection of mythical geography in enlightened circles. Historians and geographers continued to use it to describe the unexplored territories that stretched east of Elba, towards the middle of the 2^e siècle de notre ère, by the geographer Pomponius Mela (I, 22-23, et III, 3*). we find the Hyperboréens and the îlots Ithipées relegated to the north of la mer Caspienne, en Asie septentrionale. In the 11^e century finally, clans in the Géographie de Ptolémée (III, 5, 5Ct 10), closed mountains Rhipéens reappear in the north Palus Méotide (the article de la mer d'Azov) et le qualificatif d'hyper-

1. *Argonautiques*. Scolie à II, 675.

2. STRABON, VII, 3, 1.

3. J. CARCOPINO, *Promenades historiques au pays de la dame de Vix*, 1957, p. 59-60.

Boreal still clings to the confines of the northern world
 : the mountains **Hyperboreans** (V, 8, y) and the **Sarmatians**
 Hyperboreans (V, 8, io) **represent** everything that **physical geography**
 and human geography can perceive in northern Asia, while off the western
 shores of Europe, an ocean Hyperborean (II, z, x) is reported
 north of Ireland.

in ges de /élicifé associated with son

hyfer boreal.

Whether they depicted their country in a favourable light, or rather than their quality as residents of a Ocean forming the boundary of the world, led them to attribute to Ice the advantages enjoyed, in Honaère *, the inhabitants of the Chamr*-*'=lysées, similarly located "at the very end of the earth", where "the sweetest life is offered to the HuiT ains, without snow, without harsh winters... ", the horrrmes of the North who brought their offerings to Vélos were not considered by the Hellenes to suffer from an inclement climate. Described as a "holy nation" by Pindar, the Hyperboreans are portrayed by this poet, and later by Hecataeus of Abdera, as a pious and wise people, made happy and peaceful by a climate without extremes and fertile land. Pindar evokes the "magnificent hecatombs" they offer to Apollo, their ritual banquets which are, for this god, "the most vivid joy" and the "wonderful path that leads to their festivals", while in Aeschylus' tragedy * these same Hyperboreans are said to have e r= rtage even more than supreme happiness.

Without tloutc, clans in the minds of the Greeks, the idea of coldness was She is inseparable from the name dc Boréc. But they located the Hyberorean shores beyond the mountains Rhi_ées, from whence Boreas sprang. One could imagine that these cold mountains had no more effect on the climate of the hyperborean maritime Orange than the snows of Eina rt'en have on the coastline that stretches below them. Pindar, alluding in his O/yiii ique (a -34) to a journey made by Heracles to the hyperborean sources of the allegorical Istros, expresses it thus
 ' visited this region beyond the cold winds of Boreas; there, when he stopped, he admired the trees...' The poet specifies that olive trees were among the trees that adorned the Hyperborean landscape as described by...

1. *Odyssée*, IV, 563-568.
 2. ἱερᾶ γεινᾶ (*Pyth.* X, 43).
 3. Passage connu par DIODORE DE SICILE, II, 47.
 4. *X^e Pythique*, 29-35.
 5. *Les Choéphores*, 372-374.
- G. Tradliiction A. P uech. Paci s, Ed. Les Bel les L.cttres, 1 QJ 8.

Heracles, and he suggests that the hero ask the Hyperboreans to give him an olive tree sapling, which he plans to take back to Greece to plant near the sanctuary at Olympia, which would thus be endowed with a tree "providing shade for the crowds of visitors and wreaths for the athletes".

This fable, obviously invented by Mediterranean people incapable of imagining a vegetation other than that of the world familiar to them, stemmed from an error less serious, all things considered, than that which would have consisted in considering the word "hyperboréen" as expressing the situation of a people subjected to the rigours of the polar climate. It is a fact that, in the latitudes where they grow, the shores where the tree grew, on the edge of the North Sea and the Baltic, enjoy a relatively mild climate, and it may be that there was some element of truth in the legend attributing high fertility to the Hyperborean soil. The rich soil of Denmark may be considered wonderfully fertile by its inhabitants when they have the opportunity to compare it to the rocky soil of Greece.

Among the Latins, Pomponius Mela (III, 36-37) and Pliny the Elder (H. N. IV, 8g-gz) took note of the favourable image that Greek literature painted of the character of the Hyperboreans and the Hyperborean nature. It is clear from all these accounts that the people whom Herodotus and other authors describe as crossing Europe to bring the first fruits of their harvests to Delos lived in a land that was not only habitable but also capable of feeding its population well.

Sudden alteration of the climate attributed far la légèè au monde hyper boréè.

Amidst this chorus of praise, the Georgians strike a discordant note. Contrary to the traditional view that the Hyperboreans were protected from the cold by their geographical location to the part of the world from which Boreas blew, Virgil places the origin of this wind, which he calls the mighty Aquilon, on their very territory, and describes the atmosphere in which they live as glacial.

His opinion is shared by one of his contemporaries, the Geographer Strabo, who expresses opinions about the Hyperboreans that similarly contradict the ideas commonly accepted for centuries.

i. PiNnxee, *Ol.* III, iq-co.

It is found again in PxusxwiAS, V, 7•7

j. IiËcAiËs o'Azofèr, in DioDoRs De Siclrz, II, py.

4. Mgxio dsnsxs (*Geozg.* III, rç6).

5. *Hyperboreas glacies* (*Georg.* IV, 5i).

Strabo (I, 3. 2) criticises Herodotus "for supposing that the name Hyperboreans could refer to peoples among whom Boreas does not blow". He argues that Boreas blows from the pole itself, just as its opposite, the south wind (*notos*), blows from the equator, and that these two extreme limits of the winds' domain are also those of the extension of peoples on the surface of the earth, so that the Hyperboreans, whom he says are the most northerly, Qopsiozdouc, of all peoples must be, if taken literally, considered to live in the glacial zone, at the very confines of the pole.

How could he, without betraying himself, agree to present his readers with such a view of things, when nowhere does he dispute the tradition recounted by Herodotus (IV,33) and considered by Pliny (*H.N.* IV, gr) to be historical fact, according to which the Hyperboreans carried the first fruits of their harvests across Europe to the sanctuary of Oelos? Strabo surprises us here even more

as he professes elsewhere (II, 118) that the regions close to the poles are uninhabitable due to the cold : *ca np6ç τῶ πῶλον δια ψῦχος (ἀολικητά εστι)*. He admits in effect (II, 2, 1-3) the division of the globe into five zones, as explained by Posidonius, who attributed the invention to Parmenides of Itea a torrid zone extending on either side of the equator two temperate zones, one in the northern hemisphere, the other in the southern hemisphere; and two glacial zones corresponding to the two polar ice caps poles and characterised one the other by the fact that the cold prevents people from settling there permanently.

At the time when Strabo wrote (), Greek astronomy () had also discovered, several centuries earlier, that the pole was subject to alternating periods of continuous daylight lasting six consecutive months and continuous night of the same duration.

To place men in such living conditions that tradition represented as des people happy gathering the fruits of a generous land was nonsense. It would have been just as well to remove the name of the Hyperboreans from historical and geographical vocabulary, as one would have done with a pure fiction donut if it was not appropriate for a reasonable man to burden his

i. The phenomenon had been anticipated as early as the 6th century by the Ionian philosopher Xerxanes of Docorion, based on his observation that the further one moves away from the equator, the greater the difference between the length of the longest day and that of the shortest day. (H. BERGER. *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Zfdkunde der GfIs*+*<*. 93)

AGRO DOTÉ (IV. 23) heard it said that far away, in the unknown regions of the North, there were men who slept for half the year. He declares that he does not believe it. Perhaps an allusion to the polar night was hidden in this story.

esprit. But that is what neither Strabo nor, after him, Poinponius Mela could do. Pliny the Naturalist. Pliny the Naturalist, 's reputation was so well established

established the prestige of the old récits où the Hyperboreans played a role that incorporated them à la European society of mythiques. Il n'est pris possible, dit Plirie, de questions the existence of this people: *bec /icuf de bitare de gente en '*, and this is precisely what Strabo himself admits im_r licitcmciit when he agrees to discuss the very ancient opinion established according to which the HyJ erboréens liabitaïen t cri outside the regions

balayées par le souffle de Borée.

In the 1st century AD, Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder found themselves, in their research on the Hyperboreans, faced with two contradictory pieces of information. One was established by a tradition dating back more than five centuries; the other was recent, but had the high authority of Virgil and Strabo behind it. The surprising is that they ta aie rit cru clv voir rc jeter ni l'une neither. How did they not see that acting thus they were going to au-clcvant dc criaiitcs al.,urditùs ?

ñlela (I I I, 36), drawing conclusions from Strabo's statement on the conditions under which Boreas manifests itself and on the position of the "most wptentrionaux" among men, situates the I lypcrborécns below the point in the sky r at which the pivot *pcardo*) passes, around which the revolution of the stars takes place: *sub i fiso sideruni cardine*. This is the very definition of the pole as represented by Greek astronomy. And , so as not to leave any doubt that it is indeed the pole that he assigns as the dwelling place of the HyJ crborécns, Mela specifies that, for them, the year is divided between day that closes six months and a night of equal length.

duration. Then, without explaining how the rest of stan txttc can be reconciled .wee cc beginning, il assures that, on mmc earth naturally fertile (*per se /ertilis*) on nc lack nor the

forêts ni les bois sacrés, ces mêmes Hyperboréens vivent l'licircusc existence that their attributed antiqvtc Greek

. In different terms, we find in Pli ne (*H. W.* , IV, 9-9). la même association clv données inconciliables at the location keys "gon<1s of the universe " (*cazdines Monday*), That is to say, at the pole of merit, where the sun remains visible for six consecutive months, lives, in a pleasantly temperate atmosphere (*felici fainšuria*), among forests and sacred groves, the happy people (*gens /efix*) of Hyperborea, who made themselves known elu monde by offering that they made to the sanctuary of Delos from the first fruits of their harvest.

In short, ñlela and Plinc, in the passages rlciiit it s'aQît, would have faithfully followed Greek mythology if they had not cru had to move the Hyperboreans' residence to the pole himself. How could these scholars, who were certainly aware

pas la notion communément répandue d'un pôle inhabitable à cause élu froid, ont-ils pu juger opportun de défigurer ainsi une étonnée traditionnelle, fabuleuse en plus d'un point sans doute, mais contenant aussi des éléments de vérité qu'il devient impossible de mettre en évidence lorsqu'on représente les Hyper-boréens comme des habitants du pôle?

To hold Strabo responsible for this melancholic innovation...

This would only be a way of postponing the difficulty, aggravating it at the same time, because it would then be even less understandable why this geographer, in some of his assertions about the Hyperboreans •,r makes the opposite of the statements he himself makes elsewhere about the distribution of climates on the earth's surface. One cannot escape the impression that he does not believe, that he cannot believe in the existence of this humanity confined to a glacial zone, which is also evoked in the poetry of his contemporary Virgil by the words *Hyperborea*.

The only plausible explanation for this encounter between the poet and the geographer is to suppose that, on the point in question, they both obeyed a word.

order. Neither Virgil nor Strabo hide the fact that they put their poetry and science at the service of power and prestige prestigeisland Rome.

Següaniuz... tua, Maecenas, hard tiollia iussa said Virgil inles Georgics (III, 4 —4*). And Strabo (I, x, x6): "Geography geography is essentially oriented towards the needs of political life."

How could these authors serve the policies of Octavian or Augustus when they depicted the Hyperboreans as subject to the harsh polar climate?

To judge this, we would need to know what ideas the old Hyperborean myth, which was popular and still very much alive, aroused in the minds of the general public in Rome at the time, as evidenced by the reception it still received from writers of that era.

We have Clit COITITlent, which for centuries had been used to designate those •rcuples from the extra-Mediterranean part of the continent whose names were not yet known

; taken how the area of its applications had been reduced as the r a•ès of geographical knowledge had made known the names authentic of these

peoples. We see through Strabo (VII, 3, x) that in the century of Augustus, the name Hyperboreans was only used to refer to humans confined to the northern part of the world that remained outside the *Roman orb*.

Now, among the northern countries where Roman power had not yet been established was a large part of the British Isles, including Ireland, and this was not pleasing to the pride of a people to whom the gods had promised world empire (let us not understand this to mean possession of the planet

complete, but established dominance over the habitable part of what was known of the universe).

Whether, under Augustus, the conquest of the British Isles was deliberate, or whether one had to resign oneself to it under pressure of circumstances contrary to one's wishes, it nevertheless appears that Strabo was asked to explain to the informed public that if Rome had not made this conquest, it was because it had good reasons to refrain from doing so: the Romans, "who could have taken possession of Britain," he writes (Strabo, *Geographica*, 4.6.1), "disdained to do so." Caesar, however, had painted a picture of the part of the island where his military operations had taken place that was not that of a country devoid of natural advantages. He had pointed out in particular that the climate there was "more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold being less severe" (*B. G.*, V, 42, 6).

However, since the publication of *De Bello Gallico*, political circumstances in the West had taken a turn that prompted Strabo to adopt a different tone. True to the doctrine he professes (*I*, x, 28), which held that the purpose of geography was to serve those in government and accommodate their needs, he argued that the lands comprising the British archipelago were not worthy of conquest by Rome, either because of their natural features or the state of civilisation of their inhabitants. He cites, as an example, the case of Ireland, whose climate, he says repeatedly (4.4.1; *I*, 1, 12 and 13) is "peine supportable" cause du froid.

If it was inappropriate to present in a flattering light the physical and human characteristics of a part of Europe that had escaped the empire of Rome, it was even more important to refrain from attributing to the Hyperboreans, who were also Europeans escaping Roman domination, the favourable climate, the generous land and the exemplary customs that legend praised them for. That this Eden populated by pious and righteous men remained outside the orbis *Romanus* would have been contrary to the fundamental truth that Strabo (*XVII*, 3, 24), in the conclusion of his monumental work *Geographica*, formulates these terms in terms of: "Les Romains, supérieurs à tous les conquérants"

i. STRABON, *T.*, i, 26.

z. It is this second alternative that should be retained. Dion Cassius reports (*XLI* X. 38, 2; *LII* I, a 2, 5 and 25, 2) that on three occasions, in 34, in 60 and in 66, Augustus conceived the project of a descent to the island of St. Brendan. He gave up the first time because of the revolt of the Illyrians, the second time because of unrest in Gaul, and the third time because of a revolt by the Salasses and an uprising by the Cantabrians and Asturians. (E. J. Hübner, *Z-ancient history of the sea*, Brussels, 1960,

3. *B. G.*, V, 12-14.

4. The original text of the passage is: "Ile quædam est in Britannia, quæ ab omnibus hominibus neglecta est, quia non est utilis, nec utilis, nec utilis." (*I*, 13)

whose history has preserved their memory, came to possess the richest and most famous things on earth...' In Europe, of which they retain the very large part, what they leave outside their empire 'is or inhabitable or inhabitable only by populations miserable miserable and nomadic *'.

It was therefore desirable, in Auguste's time, that the name Hyperboreans should cease to evoke ideas of benevolence, virtuous humanity and bliss in the public mind. This is what authors, docile to the Master's suggestions, sought to achieve by portraying the Hyperborean world as subject to the rigours of the polar climate and having no other inhabitants, where there were humans, than beings sunk into the lowest barbarism.

Futile attempts. We have seen how, over the course of the following century, traditional images still found favour with Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder, who nevertheless refrained from denouncing the absurdity of transferring the Hyperboreans to the glacial zone. Having failed to challenge this recent and tendentious reworking of the legend, they accepted that their work should remain, on this point, tainted with a nonsense that is not the least of the misdeeds attributable to a geography that Strabo (I, x, 4) defines as having to be "above all political".

R. Dion.

i. Translation A. Tardieu.

The Eastern Celts. Hyperboreans, Celts, Galatians, Galli

André Lefèvre

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l'a i't:lii'olti' ic hi t' <li ist'ii i}ne exl iirrn: et cli: sst• k's <ldli ris la is-
sés par les races quaternaires, soit que l'ethnographie cher-
 clie •i rctr<iccr, il'après k's mori u ments et tl'après les indica-t ions iles
 pl iis :tn cie nS textes óCrits, les car;letires pliyiq ucs et molst ii x tlos 3
 i'tni lie li uma i ius c{u i so SOU (suei•ecl c, j ust:t-
 }a< s<ls o(atnalgiincs sui' no(i'o sol. Itien <le plis v<tüte qu'un e
 telle étutlo; but I can hardly bring myself to abort it at this point, it is too late to
 change anything, and it is too late to be certain of anything. La «ainmunic-
 ation that I want to sou iriet s a p<ni r Inst <le tlcterini n cr lo seu s and l'ein plti
 raliio n mel (the names are well known, but I will apply them to the following:
 (el-tcs, € <i kites and f ault>is. à<iiis, jo tlois l'avoue.r, si restrci ii I that soit iv
 cii sujet, il in'<i enti ainú <i quolques tlüi-c loj}r•-
 intents, poii r lestJ ucls jo solicits x•oti c liien veillaii te a hem -
tion.

'L'ant tl'in i:urtitutlc This is not the history: incit'm ri e <le l' fi. ri ro pe
 occitlentalc, a tell<• con fusion rüpné tl <i ns l'<iin delay <les norris etliii ii}nes : Ct'l
 tes, tial<it'<s, Ü:illi, Ici m r 3 s, (ju il inez } ii ra it pi.ii-dent <l'<bc:irter tout rl'alioi
 <l, <l oui lier iriénié, everything we have jai: liro <lails k's <"crix-aiii s le.s
 pl us autriri.s<'s, in

Michelet, dans Guizot, dans Amédée Thierry ou dans Henri
 martin. tîe3 my masters Cini ments nc poiiv<i icnt. be ryu'in'q*="*";
 ten in l. i niti<•s <iii x d\coiii er(es et a ux i int uctio ns <lo l'a iltll'P'O-polo ic et de
 le liii;q' uisti<Jiic. 'l'ous, sé<l tiita ir quelque tlegi t• par les pré,juges ils l:i
 c<'l'toiniin io, ils croyai ent }ilus ou matin s lt l'u nité <l'une i<ic• g.iuloisc, etiiblic
 rlo ten } es iinin<inorial sir r
 Jan Lois, in (rc l'Eseiitlt et la G<i i o ri ne, }iourv no tle ton tt)s
 the qualities that <lu'ol lo dc vaii transmitted to the people of i'.uiçais, of an ori
 ina,lc and }iuissan t' religion, ltd druirli fine, harliiuro without doubt, iiiiliü dej<t
 flouéo cl'u n gé nie inetaJ>liysicjue :iuquel Aristotti l ni-utérine rt•nrlait homme
 bc. They found in ancient authors, from a very distant past, the
 confirmation of theories that flattered their ardent aristotilianism. They
 hardly needed to look far to find the oracle of the Cumulus and the nn'galitlies,
 similar to which can be found today in various regions of Asia, the Isle of Fric
 ue et de

l'Luro{>e, without p:ii•lei• dc l'Ymerit}uc. Des noires néo-t:eli,i<Ju en“, under which these monuments have and designs da iis our Brittany, they had drawn, very hastily, conclusions that prehistory had dismissed. We all know now that

Io periods of time had elapsed before the Rhine, or at least the island, was crossed by the tall, blond conquerors who gave their name to Gaul; we are able to determine that, six hundred years

<iwant our ùi-e, <loini nalOIJ(11.1 is cl Î li hGne les Li ures, au seul rJes ßievan nes les Il ères ; cnfi n, the persistent extent of lirunes optilations <fans in the basins of the I.oirc and the Seine allows us to think that this important region of France was where the first bronze age civilisation was established by the ancestors of the people who still inhabit it today and who have survived.

All electrical invasions.

Did this race speak an Indo-European language? I believe that II. d'Arliois demonstrated this. Was it a branch of the Iiguris/ ? We all believe that it is impossible to pronounce on this point. Corinne le grouçac ausonixin, like the Ligurian group, belonged, for the most part, to this type of medium stature, with a rounded head, which can be traced throughout the entire Mediterranean region of Europe. Plausibility must suffice here, and he ends up carefully distinguishing it from certainty.

That the ßirocs iiient were able to gather, dc' l'lieniciens, some notions m'as i=ayucs on the <ltes rle l'.Yt1<tntiq ue, from the i3lan-clic ot <lo la mor elu Nord. That is what seems undeniable. But, on l'i ri térieur <les terres, they nc followed al solument mine. No n sen lmcn t I tËru<lotc, towards the ni ilicii of 2•e siècle, But L*olybe, three hundred years Jaltis tiird, admit that north-western Europe is p*ys ine<nnu. Well >liis, everything that was located north of <J c la 't'hrace and fl3•rie, a few days' journey from IJ<inulac, remained hidden from them in an impenetrable fog, where they placed the R,iq'^ cs mountains, the Ripl ees, the Tüarpathcs, and even the Alps. For Herodotus, TH pi s was the name of a river. Pô rünü, the P3 rënües, flowed from

and immediately put them in chains or norcl Ile la Li gustiq ue. Hero-ilote mentions them twice. .4'tais, <gares liii, lléarlritle ttc wrote it in his J'roifr *de t'aime*: "Following a story that was told to me, an army arrived in the country of the 1.13 per-liorrns, in the middle of , a Greek town(.) (=i>)(=') ?>r R,oine and located lit-Iras pre:s dc la ranc l c mer. E rifin, l'identité ttes II3 pcr-Jioreens and rice Celtes is consaci Je*,**tout** :i ii dübtit rlu te' century a -int .I.-t'. by oyape it philo r>jilie Pscirlon ios.

Ma is, x enr>ns ti u word fr/ic, <jii i efi, Holt }3l tls 'y l'I•llt lfiliS t'Ol-tic}ue, which was l• we do not l i>ii:i l <l'ii ri people: <iii t l'ii ri o tt iliu, m a inten ue .i l'ouest rle. .*Siiir•i i.liiwiiti* (Bel griirle) Jim- l'•xpan-sion ilos Sci-thes. maissini t cles pqi ou fees Jal iis r>u moi ns com-pacte en Illyrie (les St:ordisquecs), eu ?Ut3•ric et <'murs ki Pan-norii•. (the 'l'atiriscJucs'), in Domaine (J loïoliernti iu), the llc>ie and the Elvét•s, l ki masse i.l• the notion eta it fortinen t established in the 1st century, Jiicn <eva nt without clollte, d ki ri s Ht vallki• <lu Hh in , on la ri -c <li oite "=>r•j s la source <lu 13<rnube .jus<}u'cn l'•i is<•, sur la i'v e gauche „enfuis êtr-<islïoiir;q•, ou ch viron (A> ye>fo-

> at>), j usktil (iimno, jjiiscJii And the Escau t; the final fi iii-llrct<i-rie:lva it ütâ•, keys the first to ges d e l< <t> ncJu ttc, <•nvullie ct peu plee

Jaar bles tioltes. No one that the hassins Ile la

:S'eine and clv la f.oir<•. ne fussent <lej.t J;arcoui us p<i r <le ioin-

Ji'cuses baiirles, and q nc, r<•s sa fcinilation en tori ito>ii•i: Li p ni o,

Marseille n'ait eu a se défendre contre les Celtes Salluves, Salyes en grec, les premiers qui semblent avoir atteint le rivage méditerranéen.

.you v .if î•cle, the fcltcs c•nt fr<i nchi the l'')'i entres, pisi' the rriûmes clieiniti s sir, ns iloute tJuci les I.ip1 II tés ; se glissant en tre les t.iven nes and l:t haute Gaionne, they have, <iiit totlrnë

the chain of the t3rierit, either rlccoivert l<•. }iort tl o i'ën<ist}oc; they have rapidly occupied the centre of the puni nsnlc, and have run

west jjis'i 'en f3milice and Lusitania. -tin si formed the n<i-tion tles (3oltiliert's, iiié1.onde c> ii les ll>fires, vai n cris, n'en coin p-taëflt plus tTIOÛftS polll' 1ñ qlUfi fOP(O 3tl Pt; I'f:14lrrt'f}llPfi-IO ÛÛclJ, it is prtiscinent c<: who se pascsa <la ns la. J*riiiiico c•entralc; l<•s treated in niokliiî•rt•.ri t very little read a ricicns elements eth riques.

llél otlotti <:tin n:i it l'<xt<n'siu n oc.citlen Lale <Ice Coltes. .1c cite-rai les tlcux
 piissiige> oii il l:i inentic>n n< : "1. Istros, among the Lxelttis, v<:re l.i vil In tlt'
 l'u rüiL', ctiulc, tli x isant l'lüi ope

<'n <fen x pa i ties; Ice lx t'ltes are. en elchore out <i pür.l.i r ales colon ries uu st<:k s
 il'11<î i a l<It's, > oisi ii s tl<•s *fin* îl 'iioi, Ice dcE - niers Eur<>p<'ens <lu t:?'>ti <lc
 l't)rciklc n I

<ion trüc <Jui tlorni n c, a n-<less us ales tlinl>i iens, le l:~i.rpis ct l':1ll>i s, t:<ni la n (<
 .tit noi rl, s<: j<l te n I Plan.s l'Isli os r} u i (i <ivri se. to tote l'E til-o <: .i }iai ti r rl <s
 Itel tee, l(:s clk i n i<t s i}ii i, :ipl'üs l<is J& ttnt'(<•s, h.i I >it<'il t l'')cci rl e n I ».

\ it siü<:l' suit=.in I, Epli<•>i (:, crs :l>0, c<an stivt<i tju<• lv tî clti-f}u(<
 corn} ron<l lit plus gi iiiil<• p:il I ic <l' l'I lde i'ie j iis<ju'ii I .adi x. Dans le inéiöo
 loinps, le périphe al ti iliuc' ir St:ylki x nrus mon-~~tre~~ les t'elt<s on l.i <' lcs

l'ti itsiJ me of. l(i fo ntl <k l' \<l i i:iti<}u<•> et T"li
 i'op<.iinJi<• l u i' l'• t' it no il<*faitn i n hli t't: li.i i' k's (l'ltt's :i It x 1113•i icii s "

(tell e (:st r'ha lcrœn t I f:x}>r<:ssitin rl onl st' start A t-istoti' . I l n <i
 pas tl e n<i ti<a n s foi-(<x at:t's str r l<i top>o t <iJihi <', pN isc}it'il

fait sortir des Pyrénées le Danube et le Guadalquivir; [mais

il Sir it < tit iiu iii tvi us i l <lit, <jtic, clv cz les t3:ltee, the frtiitl s <in I
 i i our<•ux, <J iic: Ice l'3'i <îii&es sœ t si tunics en CelticJ ue, tl ti'il y

*i tlt*s I*cites em ll>*ric, it it-tlc•ssus, ú<6t -t; 'i p+of<.; il •sri it i}ui: Ice Cr:ltes on t }a
 i'is ltoiiiie. Il it fi n, l'a llianc<: <l' .\ li:xiim(l r<• <u> t•• les l.tilt<•s Plc l':ttl ri <stir me,
 I.:irniule, Styi ie, i:tinl, re k.s Ill ri<•ns (tlint. la Ha cütloine
 fiit low stern Jas trib@tai i e), test str ffisu ii i irieit
 con nae ; t'apr<:s l'tolërne, tile tle I.Argos, tle gé nú1 al nut a
 foiidi' l<i ti-enti<:in<•. cl) n nsti o i'¿•3 ptie n we), : trabon i<ipporte l'entretie n du
 hit iir e>n<J u<'ra n I a we <lms tl'k' u<:s c<iltes, <•t lv 'cl' *•

lleui'<•ust<•, it la fois h<i'c < I jVol ic : « Yous ne cigar ip non s
 rJu<• la <liute tl ti cix:l, indie (we melt on s <in-tl Jesus <k:

l'iiiiiti<• (l'iiø liiiiiit• It"i= you". "()iiols fanfïrons!" it it
 Alex anal rc; ni:i is <l'autrt:s (îi'ecs en s<r<ritit cJti'on await ink par-
**faitement compris le langage des Celtes; ceux-ci venaient de
 s'engager par serment : « Si nous enfreignons ce traité,
 avaient-ils dit, que le ciel, tombant sur nous, nous écrase ».**

in rüpond ant ä :ble.xandre, they laughed, repeating the sacred form,

and at the same time remind them of the pact they had just concluded. Alexander expected more direct flattery.

The alliance lasted as long as Alexander lived; in 323 BC, Ballylone, there were Celts among the élites who came to congratulate the conqueror of Asia. It was several years after peace was broken. Scythians, shaken by a Germanic invasion, by the arrival of the Quades and the Alarcomans, and the invading Celts, sent an embassy to the emperor. In 300 BC, the king Ptolemy Keraunos, attacked by them, sought the times of victory and life. He had allies, by the

or first, he had pushed

and pillage the temple of Delphi, 275-270 BC. At this time, he pushed at the Thierinopyles, defeated in the battle of the Pinnacles and the Indus, they repelled the Persians the lord and, crossing the Thracian, the Dardanelles, Asia Minor, they will end up in the cantons of

the Appaloche and the Phrygia. They were, as you know, the Trojans, the Phrygians and the Lycians, completely foreign, since their name is of Phrygia, the Boians and the Tectosages of the branch. They had not come from the Gauls or the Loire, but rather from the Styria and Illyria.

With this incursion in 27 BC, which was not successful, appears a new name, celui de Galates. Galates, returns synonymous with Galates. Galates, this substitution: everyone will seek to explain it at . Let us examine the ancient texts where the word is used. The first of these references is a votive inscription from 27 BC. Galates, an Athenian, was killed by the Trojans, in the battle of the Pinnacles. His helmet was hung under the portico of Zeus Libérateur, à l'Épithète, with these verses: "Under this helmet, Galates extended his left arm for the first time, when the impetuous Arus struck against the Galates." A short epitaph brings together the two names, Galates and Galates. These are young girls who were massacred in

Galates, in 27 BC: "We have all left, Galates, Galates, Galates, in repelling the criminal outrage of the lawless Galates. There were three, old men and women: this is how the violent

.ti és cles tieltes:t chanpú our destiny. We did not suffer the unholy union.
 .tik:s a üt6 our p protector and our <•poux".

The same synonym can be found in a hymn by Callima-

Where the speaker says, "the guerre, launches against the I iellúncs It•s
 fialatcs, "petiple insens<i, cierniers nés des 'l'itirns" . Eratos-the no (2;10)
 itppelle Galates It•s Celtos <l'lli<•rio. lii fin , l'ol ybe, au ii siücle, se sert
 intlifferoinicent cles **deux** norms, traitant l:t inúino tribu, les G aisates par
 exeinple, ta n txt d<• *K flor*, tant6t de *Galatar*; la fiaul<• cia alpine, ici tle
Gaintia, lki llo

l•lus tirc1, after the death of Caesar, lor i u> l'ci ri ci in their homeland

fii•ltos <t:iiit oocupü', of rli'puis lon 3ti'in s, p:i i k:s t cr-mii nos, lorsque lo meurt
 ik• t'oltiq tio ü(iii L attri lin' d'Û nitiv<i-ment it ls G<ntlo centrale, làit<lc•i c <le
 Sicile ossa3•a <le <listin-quer on tre les Col tes et les f<ilaies. \oici coin rue il
 s'ixprimo .

"11 is iiii{ort.ii nt tl <: ilefi nir co q ue bi•aucoup il norcnt : on

"rlon does not norm tle This is i those cJu i lial>tcii t the interior of

"lands or-i.lessus Ile ilarscille, pr<j• ^•= "i•s ct <le ce cGt<i-ci

"rles l°yrèn res; nia is all those <j tri, :iu-ileki du pa ys ties (.cltes

"or Neftifré, live vei s lo norrl, prêts il<i l'Occaii ct <du inont t< *Herkunion* (

l°orüt Loire), j usrjii'à la Scyt.hic, sont ilesi-

"gnés le nom Ile t :ilates". For llio<loi t•, Itis (ni ira:tins coin t bles ti <il:itos.
 ha} pekint l'expérl it.<in d<! I.i'sar against the Supainf>ri or Sic;irnbres, il ilii t c] ue
 lo proconsti l, ayiint pushed the Ithin onto a marvellous bridge, "it tloi'riptt' the
 Il:il soul, they live beyond the river > .

l3ion Cassiis, on the contrary, .i l'in x crse, placoi-a la Si iit:iti a ii manche
 alu Ithin , .i droite la, Celtiq ue. It considers common tiel tes les
 fierin:rime Vsi,rites and 'l/enctüres and les Sué vos

<l':trioviste. "A few fi<*ltcs, <l it-il, rJiie m<us <i ppelons Ger-

mains"; inéHS Îl l*•gnc tlans sa pcns<ie un c grantl e confusion .

"Sui vant lni, it is the tialatcs cjui, in .tti0, who have taken shame,

and it is tlans cl<s comli<its si ngtiliors against (3cltes <que

.4Ian line and à'alërius, in 3(>0 and J49, earned the nicknames 4"orqiiatus and
 Corvus. The rl-ouble error Ile. làiorloi e, Flo Dion, and Ile some
 anti es, is not sa ns in(érét. File

proves that the ancients distinguished between "l'eiiton rlu Celte,
 I enter them into L:•lto traditional, with red hair
 •iwaïen t éU accustomed to regarrler les 1 assins du llliin ct <lu
 1 itltt-éd rt<le>, cont inc le d oina inc, c(vinnie lli jî atric des (.eltcs. Where,
 then, did the forces, familiar for three centuries with the name Kelt.os,
 suddenly begin, in 280, to triiiter de G al.att s les tieltes
 invaders of 'lhessalie, T1ir<ce and Ile l' _tsic mineure? Is this, as imagined
 by icilicn ri see, ve.rs ü6G, because 'j• e fialat<s was
 son of la hmm ch<• fi<rt atéc ct. of the terrible old-pliüine? (Ltr liicii,
 continu* le su pposc Pl marque (iti-lüÜ rlc notre t*re), because <jue lléral<lùs,
 traversiiii t la Celti<pie aprcs le meu rrtt<• <le tiéryon, would have had a daughter
 auloise un fi ls no rn me (3alctùs. mette dernière fantaisie inyt.hologitJtic iin plis
 u<• tl u moins l'origine t:elte <los fJalate>- ; mia is t•lle no nous a pprenl rien . Sil'Ø
 in tcri o3c le mcml en lui-iiiôin<i, tin r<•con ri ait qu'i t est piir-faitein<•.B t
 celtiiJue. In the kingdom of B<aiiis cie:ilpin», in 237, they were called *sick*. i> "al,
 in irlan:la is, sion ilie en core « lli i>•oure,
 <'exploit'. *KPI*, in Kelto-•, does not have the same meaning. fie cou t probal>loincii t
 (the cx variants rliak<-ct:tles, <ju i ne (litl'ür<nt cJ ne piir unes iitte n tration rlc la
 3ultul ale f•, it is the i ri section of a
 vo, e.11c forinati\rg y, l ge suffix is ki inemc. The i'orni<i Neftoi,
 /Fr/loi, is the pltis <i rieien ri e; it has been hidden for a long time in the
 north, where the los ti erin<i iris have protected it causing the
 ordinary substitution to flee the hero's spirit;
 Hildelira nd; *Ilil'li'* ou f.'ëifdi,s, <leesse rlc
 1: ;p•iierc <lane 14 in* tl <logi* scandina 'c : <*t la dCsi ri civ:e
 i'émi ri i nc liien ct>irnue, Clothi/rfis. Brunfii/dts, ri c are ijn<• ilcs forms gornan
 itjuc•s de *Keltos* de/fi« and *ILelln*. 'ilat<•.s es t thirty unknown to the Youtons.
 This word, <lit II. <l' trbois, with a gr itrle apJ>arence Flo v<'•vité, n'<i pris <lo
 valeur cthnogr<ipliique <ju'après 1:i tllisso-1u tion de cc <ju'il a a >elle l'Elfi iil'e
 <elte, t:tiipfi eu rleux pis r le pl'ugi<^s, pii i la i /v<ilt<•, <des ti crni a i iis J>oiissait
 lli ma sert cel-

lique au-delà Rhin, rejetant par dessus les Alpes et le
 Danube les restes des Cénomans, des Boïes, des Lingons, des

Let us stir the bed, not stir the Italic, and the i is the ales 'l'ccto-sages <(djs 'l'olistoJioïcs su r l'IIcll1iit1<• ct l'.'tsie. Here are the propro's ext missions de l'aut<it i : « l.<• iøot (•øf<te scinJile title

" la forinu lc <l c l:i sepa.ration tl u in<ilide <i:ltique r:onti rien l:il
 " t:n if cii x prou}ics, l'fur oet:ill cntrtl et con s'rv'a ten r ("j, Lz'ell<i•
 "en (iarik<•, é?r/tici, î!<•lti!><•i i r.ii li»pa;q' n<•, l'a iitr<• orii• nt:i I ct
 " rüv ol utitin it.i i re, lps (tit l.item. Jlrçn nos :+ >ui't.ë cc no in i:tl-i
 " ii i<'}iic:j us<] ii'<t j)c IpIt es <n ü7'). ct, <t }ia l'ti r rl it it t" s i ücl
 "av.iw t .l.-I .. , k'is l? m'es l'<nrt <i lil l'id u(.i tons l«s ti<:ltes sa n s
 " tl is(i w<tin n , it i;<ti x tlt: l'o In's I iJu i n't: n fa is.tits n I pa s tisk(i(q<•',
 " <-o in trio .r c('iix <lt' l'cs I tj It i le lt•u r iii'iiien I ii}apris. n

G<(t<• cv ii,j cct ltre i it c ni'iiisc ii: jette-t-elle as <j ucl< ti'
 l u iv iè two on i- l i fQrinc l:it i r i<3 fl ulli, l i< } iiclle . } itü i vuc it u \ftiyt• n-
Age d'une terminaison ensis, Gallensis, a donné le mot Gau-
lois ? Que Gallus vienne de Galata, non ; le latin, riche en
 iikiscul i us le i lni iit's l i:ti' f, n <viii"uit en :iiii:u tic r iison rl' r<*jet<r Čřifitki ; m
 a is, tin liien k'is lt<rliot-'s, l.It us<J tit:s, 3 ü n f'tes, hin-duiens ii Div:i i o n I
 en tt•ii it it q rna l i< p rciø i'rt: sy lla.lto rl ii li oln , on l i<i n les ba rb<i res
 s<.II o in iwi i<inl. o ii x-iri<.in es I*olt, < l i<i,t i ii Gulf, Iran'
 assi rn ilal itin , trt:s or <l i n ai i c en lit ti ii , <In i .i l'f : (i<i p-peloiis l*oliüleid'e's, é tr.
 Isa.flu I e, l.iti n l*offer'. , t't en core' iJilii.s-sens, <ti'ti std . Ü'ffi@cr, l:tt.

L-"lli.s.se. , <liil'ru , lati n leer i/iii<i. I ' iic: void } <i s, **po**
 in<i part , ce < } ui f iit ili i c <l hf. <l' -trl>ois . <t l.c hymn l i i , lin <lt. ,
 t i t' l tcs <:st, Gtftt.s, <l'tarigiir unknown nut' . »
 full.us t:st., tin ftin<:iüremeiit iik:nlirJuc it well.os, ou fol'int' (l' l<t

même racine que Galata ; et cette racine est une forme atté-
 n use tl'it n } 3l us <i.n<ien Nu(on Kal.. Il exists, il 'a il John's u n 0
 for i iie internitsli.tire, k• i<>in d <• couple C"aletos les hal3i(iill ts
 <l u days tl c (ian x. Dui s<i ilt'ut oi'ii it r}u'u n Cir i i<:hois sc>it si ≥ -
 chs' party n I flu l i i' i os, /i<•fit, <In l ier Nc/fo.s et clit f;imeii x
 Ūalak's' ?

Il test iii<in<• proliu file c ue• Giilt. Gal.1, Gallu.s i ntüricu i s it
 lululu. Diliil;q• rc l:i Plate rrt•ente tles liistoii'ic*.iis latins c}uo nous poss<il <in s, <iri n
 <•, pt•iit <Iiit<ir f{u' ils n <' i:o } ient tl os <loc:it rnt•n ts aø <bit us t't n'a ien t recucilli
 tl<:s ti -i<li(itins it<:<•p(üü<• tons; il is l iu n üv itle n t cJ tic, tlcü l'a rrvite Plus
 C<•lt<:- lance lit v<tllcc

From the 5th century onwards, the Latins referred to them as *Galli*, and gave them the name *Lomliard* i.e., in l'Éinilie, i.e. *hellip*, *lq'isalpina* or *Citer ion*. The torril>les tenons <le l'<in 390, ii plus forte raison, étaient *Galli*, e,t leur a ncienii e capitiile Sms, jforte iincore aii,jjo urd'hui leur li om Bati<anti1, Seite <J<f/ic<, Si ni yaglia. lues (Greeks, 3rd century, began li se trou- > er in relation to *LCn* with the Roiriains' ; the torine G</fus raised their familiar; and he their will have been and all the more easy to confuse, eli *Gctlatñs*, "i l A foi *Goffiis et Keltos*.

As for the Latins, they were forced to leave the *nom* de *C'qeltes* to the *xi<li*ci* ct *birfrif* > i r l'Espa nc, without <haute also to the f,cltcs of the Ichi ri, reserving *Gnlfi r t G of/i<* jioin lcs Gaul<ois d'It:tlie and the traule cisalpi ne. ti'est tl< to be (Gauls, and rii>ii r l'others, that is, the I nstibres of Milan, <Ice l3oïcs rte Or, as the author of *Origines* writes in his work, which has been somewhat misinterpreted: *Geîfia iluas res industriosissiiine pereeguitur, sem inil'dai grî&et aryule loqui*: "it is rleiix chc>ses that the ti aule <:u1li •t, with the utmost care, make li giierre ct speak finely". And, until the last third of the 2nd century, *Gaul*, the province of the table, attributed, every two or five years, a proconsul, *Virus l'ætus* en t'.IH, *Scipion* en l'0*a, l.iv iris *Sol iiiiiitor*, 185, *I*abi us Il nico*, 152, *Glaudius Pulcher*, 47ô, etc., note, is the north Italy, including *Istria* itself, and *Stj-riz*, because *Noréia*, today's *Fieninarl*, was naked vi llc gan loïsc. i3'oi'üc que est ia *Gafli<*, ierivaii, i> l:< ron <lu second siéelc, a lost historian, *Seiupronius* tscllio.

J or sque, called 'tu secotn's *Ile Situ seille*, in 12.i, con tre. the *Salluves*, the consuls and proconsuls l'u l v. *Flaccus. üextiis Calvinus, Doinitius, l*alaius*, have passed lcs .Al pcs, defeated both the *Ligures* and the *Celtes* :tllôJiroges and *A i'v<•rnes*, u ne pi c-miùre *Galfia ullet tot* is constituët• around d':lix, fi çiiis *Se:ntiæ*; then a second one in 118, around *Sorbonne*, *R^arbo-Martine*. From then on, the name rle *Goffi<* is <tciid u of the Alps and Pyrenees, from the *Isère* to the *Cévennes* and the *Haute-Garonne*. This is *Gallici ht ucala*. When *Cicero* speaks of the t au le, he is referring to the

Griffin *bi acalu*. Sa ris doute, J>ondan t lo r^m* century before our üi o, l'us<i e s'est r<' }iiii d u tlc tt o ri ne i' le i rom de Galli, môme nu x Celtibüres, aux *Gallrci* (Galieicns), même aux Ga-latex <l' Asie ; but *Gallia*, without its epithet, remains, jus-chu:tu te' 1** ^c ^*^*=i , l.i prOvinco rom:ii ne. The rest<• do la

G:iule, y ctnripris l':Aquitaine ct la DclgifJ ue, s'appelle ou va s'<ippe lcr ("=j' niis That) Ga/fio Comafe, Piaule hair. And <Je <ctt<• gr ande Gau le a division goes, ütre attributed to the red-haired Celts, lo t<•rritoire q ii'ils on t <•onqu is, i l <:st ra i, but oti their <i nd a l:iis>ü lu iioi ns <le tir.iccs, le pa3 s ccn mal en ti o la €ia-Rome *rii Iii* Seine, 1s *Geltiyue* <le *Llt'sur*.

It is said that the ancient Celts, who lived on the left bank of the Ichi River, were quite lon stein ps, chan gè de ilünoinination . One important layer celtiqiic or Celtic-Germanic, but speaking Celtic, had come to reinforce the Celtic tribes. These were the *Votks*, Dofgs or ltelges; they left behind the himliour2•, the .trelenn<'s, the Hai-raït, the l'icartlie, the ' , the 'l'i evirer, the ' , the Jiliu rtins, the ' , the ñ'orviens, the Itérnes, the üuessions, l'icis liellovaques, the .t t,rül ates, the; uels ont

.i the ii tou r franchi lo l'iis-de-Calais, envilhi l' Angleterre et pushed j i:srj u'en Ir lantl<• ; the i'oll<s (fou le, peu ple), including los .i l l<*inaiitls zut fi it lc•urs *With, l'ltcltes, li'allotis*, dont certaines tribus célèbres, les **Tectosages, les Arécomiks, avaient** d'>'ja pñctrü j usqu"ii 'loulouse et jus< u t NFinès, — let us recall the "l'eetosa e» d' .Asie. — the Yc-ll<s lakes, or flolgs (a less common variant), had spread to the northern G:cule, as far as Sei ne, l<• non de l3elgic(ue).

In short, I have without seeming to insist too much on the chronological and historical use of the Celtic, Italic and Gallic names. However, I did not want to leave you without any information on the meaning of these words, which are essentially synonymous. Even today, we voluntarily leave the €iiletcs, if any remain, who ravaged the East in 271 BC. .ltsis is used, somewhat counterintuitively — but that doesn't matter, if we agree — in other contexts, reserving the norm for the (*aulois type gr and.

'et blonrl clii bord, don nant le nom de ("elles aux populati<ins 'moyennes et brtines du Centre, rJui ont certainement prücédü de mille ans les Keller r1'Hécatee et il'IIéroüotc sur le sol qu'elles occupent encore. fi*11es-là took the name of Celts around the time of Caesar. We will avoid any confusion by adopting the term 'Pre-Celts', or 'Celtic-1.i;q•iire'.

Dîscusstozt

iii. R. Gof.LI<ixos. --- Our colleague, who is well versed in science and history, has just explained to us the reasons that lead us to accept the absolute reality of the faithful and true Ksle- p(r « =-•. He has shown us that, contrary to the theories *put forward by hl.* Al. Bertraii d il ne s'a;q•issait lit ni **dedeux** per-'ples, ni rriôinc <le tleux fractions <lily rentes d'u ii intime peuple, inc is bien <l'u ne coucJic etli ii ig ne, <sr'ai-je ilii e rl'un ?•tat politique, the name, over the centuries, has varied in the mouths of its opponents, the Irish and the Americans. For them, these generic terms never meant anything to him.

l:itions granules l>londe and dolicho<<lplialcs, al istocixitic quei - riüre tra in:int in battle <i his wake the popul:itions vaiiicucs and enslaved among the Juolles, it had been held in place by force.

I cannot agree with this opinion, which seems entirely unfounded. In the end, the Celts and the Tikil<ites <le l'histoire were very similar to the Dolichocephalic, as were their brothers, who later entered into the sun<', Cimlii es, (>erniai ns, Cotlis, l*rancl<s, Bur ondes < u fikirmaiirJs. I do not believe that any anthropologist who has studied the question of national origins can deny this. However, in France, and in general in the West , all anthropologists, perhaps too much to the letter and text and not to the spirit, continue to dismiss as Celts those small brachycephalic humans whose prototype is the Vergnet of Haut-Saint-Sectaire. In doing so, all of us, myself foremost among them, are committing a historical error, that is *undeniable*, and *we know it*.

[ail.ement. itf:i is nous y sonores lien con tra i ri ts, car, si faisant tuttle i-asc, unis cule vons ii ccn x-ci l'cticJiiettcc~~CON~~motuelleiicci t liion dūfi ri io que leur àvait tlon rice liroca, par quoi la i einplacerons-nous ? Offer us a name that is acceptable, sufficiently sufficient to satisfy all the requirements of the

we will celebrate him, on l»eut en ctrc assu rt . Only, oie k• i.non v eur? Will we get the "l*rë ccl tes"†:l'iais a lers, h la iirtirli:i l ct(ïro-àla(q• no, t lrooiy and l'Jlorrnc-ñlort, races lii en differcn tes, son(elles pl('c•oltit} tio l•r<indrons-norts, avec II. I.<ftivi e k' nom hist>ric} ne <lo In igul es'* — bIiinc di lficiiltî•. All tied: Wong Pas, we must liion the i ecoii naitrt', cc qu'r'taitint <i natoin irJ ueiicci t the Ligiïres. The texts: tncit•ns we tlécri vtiii t cousin c p<:tifs, bi ii ris, set:s, a pi lts and ti <•s rt•sista nts ii kt fat igiic, }ia» u n inot <le pltis. The hopes of the people were dashed by the neo-liberalism of the south, which was imposed on them.

<dues, by removing the tlochocépliales t'évenols and the ç réri ce ns, can, .i j ust< title, s '*P1°li*I'itir ces <l'éternain iiti fs i in pr<t:is . lliins la L iqu i'ic pro} rc ell c-inc m c ri ou s ti'< uvon» <l's ii ns ct des a iitt'es. If lii } (!tite süri<: de l

m<ritagnr+rtls tl ii t.<al d'ï 'l"cn<Je, r<j

iit<îs /ipures, <le ùl. (iillelei t d'llei'court ct J)uliousset, ilous ae<:ii s<i u ri ii li nich yct' {s lia lie ce rt.ii n e, <l'<i tite quart toute lit po] re-

lation tl ii li(toi .il tlc l'antiqu l iqu rie soit ou l'ï'in cc, soit eu Ita-

lie, est dolichocéphale. En sorte que je me déclare absolument

liors tl'ïtat <l'<ïffirliier if Liptire is true, Start flielielitcc}ilia le or inxiciç

e<pli:il<: . I):rus e<•s co ntlitioiis, it would be <rssiir<"nien t }irfiina,-tii rt' d <: veni

oi i r<•in {aliteci ii n trin c d cvcn ii pr<eis }i;i r l'tl;s<i pt: li:i r uit .iuti (• ucis qiii

n'uffrirait pas de

ara n tine pl iis ;g• raiiiles.

I ii igriure }ias }iou rta n t i}iie les tr<s in dc n ieiises dfiduction s dc ll. <J

.trliois <lc .Jul3ii i nv ille sur l'aire dti rãp<irtiti<in des siif - lixcs, tels qric

aseo, decit, useo,

SCOS lioi iii, ant, etc., etc., n<: l

iiu lcr que

<lts inoins prolukiniatif, ucs,

viciid i•.ient

î•ta yor cotte attriliu tion ot lii rontlro minte vraisemblajilo. tl y

a tras certai ncmn t ii ne co ncortlaii cc int0ressante .i rctoni r r t rc l'.iirc

rl(is suffixes li ures and ccllc <lc the JiracliyCt I**lale race

dite celtique par Broca. J'ajouterai même qu'un passage extrê-

iiieiiit•n t peu con n u tl'.t ri>totc, tlont je l epretto tle ue plis re-

Find at this moment the justification, showing that the Ligurian land was the historical centre where Latin historians and geographers located it, then... This author describes the loss of the Rhone (Li Coupy) from a mine that could not be doubted, locating this phenomenon among the Ligurians. However, it does not follow that we can be certain *that* the entire group of the races constituted a Ligurian state before the arrival of the Gauls, or that it had been there for a long time.

Luis revciiuns done ti nott•e point of departure. That is to say Since we do not know the real names that these people once bore, we must provisionally retain the names given to them by Broca, or, if we find this too difficult, do as I have done in my recent work on our national ethnology, and employ anatomical terms. This is not an ideal solution, and I am aware that it is not perfect, but I do not currently see any other option. The only practical solution will be, one day or another, an ancient sculpture, prerom:iine and }i"eCCI t'L< uc will have delivered us, I do not read brachycephalic skulls, we have •r revcndrc, but brachycephalic skulls *clearly* and *absolutely similar* to those of our Yu vergnats, modern Bretons or Savoyards, to make a t3•pe station and to read "lace de X" " as units rlis<ns raco de Cro-àlagiion or race d'Grrrou3•, or even the race of Hallstsd, a generic name adopted at the Corigrüs <le Druxellos in 189.1 to designate, or safeguarding all National susceptibilities, the northern dolichocephalic and blond race, have made it possible to give a uniform name to the Celts, the Galatians, the Franks, the Scandinavians, the Germans and all the peoples of the same origin.

I have just said that we must distinguish between dolichocephalics and use criteria other than cephalic index to separate races. This seems so obvious that I may appear to be stating the obvious. However, this is not the case, and the Society will excuse me for digressing on this point. Many authors, some in France, others in

Italy, cri lliissic, etc., j c ue eau ra is rl i rc tl'auti es, but **LOU** en .Il lemitg mt', }a rofusseii t pou r le cli i llre de l'i ri tlice ctpli iii ig ue un respect qui tion t tlu fétieliisine et rpie je ne p:rvicns pasā m'expliquer. For others among them, the essence of a population can be summed up as follows: there are 100 bipedal creatures and so many tlochocépliales. (That's more pi <icis, they say, than an o mo3•on nc c(i l appu i Flo this option we see remain ri ii' of clichés tléinodés dü.j.i in 18G0. I•liis precise, either if 1s population studied is the fl-uit ilii mixture tle two r<ieos seulcmn t, but, if the chiimp <tfiuetion s'élartq•i t, it is chaos. I believe I have shown the Society that the brachycephalic test (83 on vi ron) is not valid. Its characteristics and jion r } roches nearby we find: brachycephalic liracliycepha type élit celtir ue Çln<l. moyen nc 8G); 2° <li•s dolichoc<phalc.s lirii ns; .4" clos <lulir:hoc:<-plialkis lilontls. leone, <'<'te .i t:\ te, and ira turellcrrent more or less creiisccs and fontl nes lee u ri zs d nns les <mm es, voilît rJuati c rac<'s (sa n s }aiirler bles ty}aes *vii i ce*) to utcs }iirfii itorne ri t tt isti notes et nettement <sara.cté•risccs. 1.ce in< ç, en ii<is ea nto na les d'i n-tlicc•. en i:e c<is son t forcéirt ent i inpi-i'•<•iscs, in:iis l'étit<lc <ltis c<i-ractüres socoridiiires, haute ur il ii cr:In c, tlc ki face, du ri ez, largeur <lo ki f:ice, etc., ett:., per permettent dt< th'l rouiller le mr-large. En reva rielle si, you want to improve your tone, -" vç>çoze.r k' pourcent:ig<• il<•s lii-a<:hycephales ii celui ck<•s <loli-clioc<ph<il es, >ous n'obtiendriez plus qu'un trompe-l'œil, plei ri , -'• j>' <niic'ro vue Ile i-ri\cisions in•***I• seixiit un non-s 'ns ethnograpliiq ue.

I conclude that it is essential to continue to refer to races and label them with a historical name, if possible, or invent one if no other can be found, but always with acceptable universality. The word Ccltc a_{ri}»"- who a our J rachyce} hales ne l is not, ri o saui'i i t {i<i s l'ütrc, c't'tait ct c'est encore un nom rt attente. Il est >ouai <i <lis, a ren-lorsrJ ii'on <ru r<i trou> ü mien x .

If we take a broader view, it becomes clear that the current debate is based on a fact that I have been emphasising for years, after others before me, but with a continuous

Personal observations on health for uro perinetti e cl c docu nier ter l't) ainion q ue,j e soutiens. J< i em x di i'e la }iersis-tance des races primitives. In broad terms, the current French population is the same as it was in the time of Cüsav and, indeed, as it was many centuries before him. It was called Ccltiq lie, then Gaul, then France, a name was given to it by successive rulers. The details provided by the new arrivals are sometimes preserved, such as those at Lasquines, which are named after the Fiorinands, who own part of the town that bears their name, or, to remain in the time of the Gauls, the ri x bles 1.euro> icc.s cjiii still form a blond lot around L.iin<a es, etc., etc., but they have often appeared. The > iiiicu a, Ilé york le vainc}ucur, and the

'>)'= r"')*ique de cc tlei nier s'est eva noui. me fait s'explique very well. :Y aristocracy batnillouse. the race bles in vahisseurs, fieltes, fialatcs or Fraiiicl s found itself subject to the two causes of destruction that these words imply; aristocracy, it had to disappear, <as itpr<:s cJuelques Afin tration s c'est le lot do toutes les clas>rs privilé• iëcs, cruel chu c soit le r u'elles portent rt:iris l'hi st<irc, ü p:ii tiates, sol <lrts d'.llexiin-dre, senat Ile Hz:ne, f.un illes i o y<ie.s inorlcrn es < u même plus raoul ustement, l':ippr<ind dc C:i n<lolle,

de film c : solrlats, ils siibissaient rliireinnn t les lois Ile li: gu erre ; qii'o li s e iSoii vi (*lirie c'n (i <nil ii d es rna ssiif:res Upël"ès by Caesar after his victories over the ñ cry ions d:iris in his second campaign, over the Vëiiütes, rl a, ns in the third, over the >tllu<itiir ucs and. the ju-rons denis la (i°, pl us t>rrd <le. croisii<les, rlç• la ;q•querre dt< ccli t ans, bles iinoinbrali les ynerl<•s loca les tjui ens.an glaritürcn t le mo.yen-ilpqe en fra pp.ni t.

proportional would make and with regard to i leiii petit nom lare, d<iv:in tage l(*s che!'s <Jut• the soldiers and we had the elc cl i• these pccrn:mien cès; the ruling classes have £ÏÏ 3itl'u pushed itself from one ec•n ti'e to another like successive waves on the l'iv<t e, the people e3t rcstë.

ÜÏ. DE AÏORTI LLEP. — The communications corner <le nos two col- l ügues are the most reinarq utah les and pour'ta nt they cannot

and will never be able to, because each of them has been destroyed.

II. Left vi c•, with profound insight, extreme sensitivity of appreciation and a more accurate chronological understanding, we recognise the opinion of ancient authors on the (êltos, the flalatcs and the G iulois.

II. t,olli no, thanks to its i,= »o.,•,,tcs i'eclircclies, liilsües

Based on the work of TLC.S Co Nsei1s TLC Rû Visüon, we have perfected the Eco crii-a<:tî:i tés d es I sites ct des f} aulois tl' s anth ropo-logiio» :ictu<ils. II:i is there any critical information on the Cache.s and (i.iii1ois cl e s anthropol and c'ix bles iiiit'irrs .inci ens“?

.Ie rité le ci'c>is taken.

Whether it be the authors who have put in circulati(ali the words cell i:s and g.a tilois. It is tlonc t1 î:s int purt(i nt tl c bieri coi-naitrc <t Ile bi'<n c talili r ce rprils en ten<la i'<n t ><ir ces mots. C'est cc r tie III. I.cfû -ro <i fii it Ile uni iii <lc uni î ti t•. t 'i> t'<i ints sO ri (ttiit t tl'a bord clés <csi En ii(iori s x ii dues a p}il if}uic3 <i dits {ao iii la tio ns i nctiii ri ues all L f:tit, <(lii i va ltd ri tsa ii nc>iii <l' In-diens d<innüs ati.x li:i Jiita ntsde l':Vinci ique, jin montent tlc lit rl(•co ti verte <k' c' i” .text <:tîi ti ne nt. l'<ii <i {feu, l'< sti lis tt es île ux mots se resti'ci ul, mais il run ic sri ii-:iiit la d<ite et l'•i,i,,io,, dès rliv<r.; <isite ri re, plus >ii iiioi:is bien i riforms. Eu fi ii , it tightens, it ec coiirlon so. 13 ri tre l t*s mm i ns tlc (,Ls<ir, la (4<i iile is u ri kirantl everything that c•in)ii asse ki iii'.i ri ec <ictuell c, ki Switzerland and l:i html il nc ; lii Ccltit{mc ri'est qu'u ue ptn'tioii , un tier.s dc la Get lc•, Plein: lu.s t.ultesSUNL <les tiailùis. Cel<r est if > irai c ne 1s garN r< d is t aii1<is fi ri it pitr lii dt'l'<iite ttc d'or cing<'torix, chief bles Ar and nes, poJiiil<itions alu ccn tre <le ki CelticJu• !

Il is tlolic }a:ii f.iitoinc•n(in useful tlc seek tlc the ai ntl n o{ o-louie <l:ms k's author”” :in cit'ris. t.es a utours ii'on ont point font. They s't:ri k'naicnt <i ki ac s “aI* 410 }io1itir{ie, tout coininc <le nos jou re <{u<ii1(1 OU d Ît, <i q uc1rJ u es rm néés (lo ilistanec, l':Ustice cet lii Lol'i“tine son t Ki“ançiiis'<.s on bien sont :¥ Hcrn;i n-ÔtjS. Î“Oiiit coin”” ¶ uanrl on considers lu S<tvuic ct Nice, corinne it.alien ii es, < }uiiiid elles irj a}äartien ri ené h Italy and France €jïian tt el les ii}>3<ii'tio n ri e iit <i la l'i'.in ct'. t“es rrlotl i fi ca-

tions, which are very important from a historical point of view, have little influence from an anthropological point of view. They usually only introduce a few new ethnic elements, which soon blend in and disappear into the general population without having any noticeable effect.

If Cf. Lefèvre remains in *Plen dans l'histoire*, III. Collignon

This could be seen in an equally exclusive manner in anthropology. Anthropologists who studied ancient human types in France divided them into two groups: tall blond people with blue eyes and short brown-haired people with dark eyes. Authors who oftensaid that the northern peoples, including the inhabitants of Gaul, were tall, blond and blue-eyed, the first group was unhesitatingly given the name Gaulish. The second group had to be named: it was called the Celts. On this point, anthropologists agreed. Their Gallic and Celtic types are well known. When they talk about them, we know exactly what they mean. (This may be sufficient for the study, but is it accurate? Certainly not from a historical point of view. A. Crillon made a very interesting presentation on the two types and their distribution in France, but does this presentation have any connection with that of Cf. Lefèvre? I don't think so. Our colleagues **leux** have made good use of each other's work and the same names, but in the mouths of each of them, these names have a different meaning, a different significance, a different value. This is an example of the disadvantages of giving a historical name to a race based on current documents.

Furthermore, isn't the duality of Celts and Gauls, as far as the population of France is concerned — as indeed for all other populations — too absolute? Between brachycephalics and dolichocephalics, there are nuances and various gradations. The same is true with regard to short and tall stature. Why limit ourselves to grouping together only the extreme characteristics?

brachycephalic and dolichocephalic, there is a large majority of intermediates. This majority is not composed solely of mixed races. There are certainly several races. We must therefore not limit ourselves to seeing only Celts and Thracians. Through in-depth and meticulous study, we must recognise and identify the various races. To achieve this, the historical research of Ff. Left vrc, linguistiques Ile itl. d'>trbois de J ubain ville, itn-th ropologiques d• iII. tiollignon, are most useful. Let us also add the work of p.aethnologiques. It is only by combining all these ieherclies, all these studies, all these efforts and by calling upon all the sciences, that we will succeed.

I have serious doubts about the population of the island.

ÉI. ÛABOROWSKI. — I have requested the floor in order to further support the observations presented by âI. IL de Jtlortil let. For if we do not adhere to the distinctions he has made, we will undoubtedly expose ourselves to inextricable confusion. Anthropologists have the right to use the names they need in history. In the case of a region where there were two main ethnic groups, they used two historical names. It is certainly not the name Galatians or Gauls that they could apply to the small, brown-skinned group. I remember very well that Iiuiiri itlai'ti ii, pai' uaoiiiiplo, always maintained that the true originators of the name and

The Celtic idiots were the great fools. And, if I am not mistaken, it has not been possible to prove that he was completely wrong, even though others have always seen in the small brown the first element (through language) of Western Europe. I also remember very well that Ilroca clearly explained that he believed the inhabitants of Celti-

< /vie do (Caesar . lit il. tndre Lefèvre vi ent précisément de rap-peler avec beaucoup d'ii-propos et de justesse, ce qui s'est passé dans la €ieltique.

The tall blondes formed a small aristocracy, and eventually disappeared, or nearly so. The natives were

those little dark hairs. They incite the rabble and they are called names. They were not years old warriors, and that is why the ancients considered them as it was, perhaps by appealing to the people, for they were considered to be the leaders of their people. à la is, :tttix:liü a u sol <J it'ils cul-ti vaient, ils kurt, pour ec iiioti f in'•nie, survécu <i les rs <lorni-n ateu re. Ce cara etc•rc inoi>>il se retrou 'c cli ez les autre•s peu-ples Flo même r<rc. Ht ri o ri. • sommes tellein<°nt ha Jui (ues ii recon na iti-o leur »liysionornic, sous le iron tlc F.t<1tt .s, ccii cit-crc, r'l'a il le. u rs, jta r rice travau x <'on si(J ir.ilxl es C(lli, eIl all met-tant < ue ce none ait tt es iicon •ën ients, ri e jmourra it plus être changé. It is quite obvious that the name Ur.a.ncc will never be changed, and. I(HT, Ûe} s n<1 a nt, pt•r,on n <i ouj<> urrl'li ni n <: cse represen t• its inhabitants, and, moreover, the typical French character, under the features of history.

For those who are interested in reading, the story is not very interesting. .31:iis sa, n s prêteidl rc conti trier lili rien ses rechercl es p<rticuli è.nes, <i el le r}tli s'OtI(III)9Û C)1* Ievtilntin political dos }iciiples, while we ri ous pr<io ccupons d es caractères et tlu rôle <le leurs lüinen t s t'th lJ *llcs, nous a vons give the name 'le Li une. li un ccrta i ri tÿli<: cràn ten . l'.t I don't I don't know dc ntiin who lives with him n' mimi.x, ca r ce ty) it's good col ui < ui a doniin<i• ep J_i i.i ri o, <:J"_" r nD}ilr l igin e. Cepen dan l , iitaus Je re(rotiv<ins en lt:i li<•, <i ri ri c Jpoc}ue trt<s reculie, bien an terieure .i la vcnllH €III)3c^I"°- •j "" j*

toire. tous le retl ouvons. m Orne en Espa En <i, il une: époque Perhaps even more reluctant. thorn ment: is it possible to go back to the beginning? the igtiolc. elected, he has no choice but to acknowledge the presence of this ancient element, non s ri e prëtcnrlon s n ulleincent q a'ati x ni<'In other periods, we find it again, "replenished". The laugh occurred ti ic>ni {>lialeinen t, assui ant par conquests, their existence, or their location ptoliticJuc.

The fi>lnriel Du oosssz. — -ty.iiitl.>cauc<iii j <i< y0, ,I know that iit* the dociiiiicii t <iiitlii o j>o l o q i <jue also const:ix ri cici,ix fpi'il soit, <lt>it, pou i u tteiiicli c u n r<isul fat ii tilt•, éti'e co rr<ol (irL• par tlc noiuhreuaes cuns(atatioos du même er i'a et nfca(ovis, quc

dans le principe, on s'est un peu trop pressé d'établir des moyennes, je suis donc de l'opinion du Dr Collignon rappelant cette vérité de ne pas conclure, à la légère, avec un bagage restreint d'expériences; il le sait, mieux que personne, puisque

Je t'ai accompagné, en 1868, dans un voyage, je viens d'ailleurs m'occuper de la question, sur les populations de la Ligurie, dans les environs du col Tende. M. le Dr Gillebert d'Hercourt et moi, qui avons fait ensemble ce petit voyage, nous ne sommes allés dans ce pays d'une grande rusticité, que parce que l'endroit nous avait été signalé comme renfermant les types les moins mélangés des sujets dits Ligures, qu'on sait encore bien reconnaître dans les populations travailleuses de Monaco, Nice et Menton et, ni mon compagnon, ni moi, n'espérons par la modeste observation que nous communiquons à la Société, en 1868, faire autre chose que d'apporter un document sérieusement établi comme petite contribution confirmant la ténacité de ces montagnards à habiter de si rudes contrées, avec l'apparence d'un type dont la persistance les distingue des autres.

Los «mimian» fincl» itn:is l'umhro ot ls lltkiraMiro ancienno.

PAR M. GLOTZ,

Pro l'ossour d'histoire aa Lyc60 Clichelet.

On sait qu'on rencontre très fréquemment dans l'ambre des insectes, des vers et même de petits reptiles qui ont été enveloppés par l'ambre liquide alors qu'il coulait de l'écorce du *pinites succinifer tertiaire*. Les anciens connaissaient bien ces particularités de l'ambre, mais Grecs et Romains ne s'en sont pas également occupés.

Hyperborea

by Claudio Mutti

The Hyperborean people, who lived in the far north, are mentioned by numerous authors of Latin and Greek antiquity.

The first reference dates back to **Hecataeus of Miletus** in the 6th century BCE, who placed them in the far north of the earth, between the Ocean and the Rifei Mountains.

Similar, but more detailed, information is provided by **Herodotus**, who writes: "Aristeas of Proconnesus, son of Castrobio, in composing an epic poem, says that he arrived, obsessed by Phoebus, among the Issedons, and that beyond them live the Arimapses, Cyclops men, and beyond them the Griffins, guardians of gold, and beyond them, the Hyperboreans, who extend as far as the sea. All of these, except the Hyperboreans, beginning with their neighbours the Arimapse, are constantly attacking each other, so that the Arimapse were driven out of their country by the Issedons, and the Issedons were driven out by the Scythians; and the Cimmerians who lived on the southern sea (the Black Sea), pressed by the Scythians, abandoned the country" (IV-13). Hecataeus of Abdera, 4th-3rd century BCE, author of a work on the Hyperboreans of which only a few fragments have survived, also places them in the North, on an island in the Ocean "no smaller in extent than Sicily". On this island, it is possible to see the Moon up close, and the three sons of Boreas worship Apollo*, accompanied by the song of a group of swans from the Rifei Mountains.

Other references can be found in the first pseudo-Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, in the writings of Pindar, Aeschylus, Diodorus of Sicily, and Lucan. Strabo, for his part, places the Hyperboreans between the Black Sea, the Danube, and the Adriatic:

"All the peoples to the north were named Scythians or Celto-Scythians by Greek historians, but writers from even earlier times, adding further distinctions between them, called those who lived around the Pontus Euxinus, the Istros and the Adriatic 'Hyperboreans'" (*Geography*, 11, 6, 2).

Among the Latin writers, we find this note from Virgil: "Such are the savage people who, in the Hyperborean north whipped by the Rif wind, cover their bodies with wild animal skins" (*Georgics* 3, 381-383). But the richest testimony is that of Pliny the Elder: "Then there are the Rif Mountains and the region called Pterrophoros because of the frequent snowfall, which resembles feathers, a part of the world condemned by nature and immersed in dense darkness, occupied only by the action of frost and the cold receptacles of the north wind. Behind these mountains and beyond the north wind, a fortunate people (if we are to believe him), called Hyperboreans, live to a ripe old age, famous for their legendary wonders. It is believed that this place is the "hinge" of the world and the extreme limits of the revolutions of the stars, with six months of light and a single day (of six months, r.t.) without sun; not, as the inexperienced have said ¹, from the spring equinox to the autumn equinox: for them, the sun rises once a year, at the summer solstice, and sets once, at the winter solstice. It is a bright region with a mild climate, free from harmful pests. Their homes are woods and forests, which they deeply revere.

¹**Inexperienced:** He was obviously mistaken, because the annual auroras and twilights – which are very long – are aligned with the equinoxes! And the maximum periods of light and darkness are aligned with the solstices: this results in one day and one night per year: see the sine wave diagram!

The gods* are shared* and discord and disease are unknown. And they do not die, except out of a desire to no longer live, after banquets and in old age full of comfort; they throw themselves into the sea from a rock: this type of burial is the happiest (...) There can be no doubt about this people: many authors say that they used to send to Delos, to the god Apollo, whom they worshipped above all others, and especially on the first day of the month, a few revered virgins (Vestals) who brought offerings every year to Delos, but one year, the pact of hospitality between the peoples was broken and the Hyperboreans decided to carry the sacred offerings to their borders, so their close neighbours themselves carried the offerings to another border, causing their other neighbours to pass the offerings on to Delos" (Natural History: IV, 88-91).

In our opinion, a reminiscence of the Hyperborean theme can even be glimpsed in the Odyssey: "The first classical author to conceive of the North as having connotations that could be reduced to real terms was the author of the Odyssey, whose verses give a precise idea of what the North meant to Mediterranean peoples. When Ulysses descends into the underworld, he finds the entrance in the dark and icy land of the Cimmerians. Whether it was the land of the Cimmerians or the Laestrygonians, where continuous light reigns during the summer, Homer had obtained this information from merchants who frequented the ports of the northern Black Sea, where the Greeks had settled in the 8th century." (β-1).

In reality, the Greeks may have had some idea of the characteristics of the northern regions of the globe as early as the Mycenaean period, when they imported amber* from the Baltic. However, it cannot be ruled out that Book X of the Odyssey retained an element relating to the original settlement of Indo-European peoples in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions; similar elements have been preserved in the Vedic hymns, as demonstrated by Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak (β-2). (cf. art. r.t Origine* pol.)

In Telepylus Lestrigonien ² indeed, according to everything the bard says, the shepherd [the shepherd star, n r.t.] "calls the shepherd on his way home, and the shepherd answers on his way out. Here, a man suffering from insomnia, *ahypnos*, would receive two wages: one as a cowherd, the other as a shepherd of innocent Greeks; in fact, the paths of Night and Day are close together" Odyssey, X, 82-86. In other words, a shepherd capable of staying awake continuously could work a double day, because in the land of the Laestrygonians, daylight lasts for about twenty-four hours. The image of the paths of Day and Night becomes clearer in this sense if we compare it with that of Hesiod (Theogony: 746 ff.).

The phenomenon described by Homer can be compared to what actually happens in the far north; and also the word "Lâmos", quoted in the passage in question, curiously recalls, as has been observed, Lamøy, an island near the northern coast of Norway (β-3)! Finally, we should not overlook the fact that "Telepilo Lestrigoni" could very well mean "Gateway to Lestrigonia", in which case we would have a phrase analogous to "Ultima Thule". [cf. N r.t 2]

* In an ancient Taoist text, the Lieh-tzu or *True Book of the Sublime Virtue of Emptiness and Void*, there is a long description of a country, the kingdom of the far north.

"which lies north of the northern sea, I do not know how many miles or tens of miles from the central provinces." This country, where the climate is mild, "has no wind, rain, frost or dew, and does not give life to birds and animals, insects and fish, grasses and trees."

² **Telepyle Lestrigonien**: the true Columns of Hercules/ Atlas for <racines.traditions.free.fr>!

The geography of this country is reminiscent, in some respects, of certain descriptions of Paradise*: "Between the four sides, it is completely flat and surrounded by steep hills. In the middle of the kingdom there is a jar-shaped mountain called Hu-ling, on top of which is an opening in the shape of a round bracelet (Tore) and, from this cave of abundance*, springs forth a water called Supernatural Spring: it has a stronger scent than orchids and spices, a stronger taste than musk. From the spring, the waters divide into four streams, which flow down the mountain and irrigate the whole country."

The inhabitants of the far north, **Lieh-tzu** continues, live a happy life. They are "kind and accommodating in character, neither quarrelling nor disputing; soft-hearted and weak-boned, they are neither haughty nor servile; they live with the elderly separated from the young, and have neither masters nor subjects; men and women live together, they have neither virgins (paranymphes³) nor marriages; living near water, they neither plough nor sow; the climate being mild and uniform, they neither weave nor dress. They die at the age of one hundred without premature death or disease; the people multiply in great numbers, enjoy pleasures and joys, and know no decadence or old age, sadness or pain. They are usually fond of music and, taking their lyres in hand, sing all day long without ever stopping. When they are hungry and tired, they drink from the Supernatural Spring and their strength and will are revived; if they overindulge and become intoxicated, they sober up after ten days. By bathing in the Supernatural Spring, their skin becomes smooth and shiny, and the fragrance fades after only ten days. (β-4).

* The themes of the Hyperborean paradise and polar origins, attested in older traditional forms, are definitively represented together in the more recent traditional form of **Islam**, which located the "Celestial Earth" of Hûrqalyâ in the far north. This doctrine, expounded in the contemporary age by the Shaykhî and Ishrâqî Shiite schools, takes up the Mazdean theme of the "Transfigured Earth": indeed, the geographer Yaqût asserted that Mount Qâf, the "mother of all mountains" from which the polar route to Allah (All) departs, was formerly called Alborz. Henry Corbin, for his part, warns that the East referred to in Avicenna's cosmology must be sought in the "polar dimension" and not in the east indicated on our geographical maps. "In fact," explains Corbin, "this East is the celestial pole, the 'centre' of every conceivable orientation. It must be sought in the direction of the cosmic North, that of the 'Land of Light' (β-5). In his *Book of the Perfect Man*, Kitâb al-insân al-kâ-mil, cAbd al-Karîm al-Jîlî, 1365-1403, speaks of a place that the Qur'an (VII, 44 and 46) refers to as al-Acrâf, 'the Highest Ones', and which (in LIV, 55) is defined as 'the abode of truth, near a powerful king'. Those who dwell in this place are "awake" or "vigilant", in Arabic *yaqzân*, equivalent to the Homeric insomniac *ahypnos*; Moreover, the neighbouring country of the angel Yûh, over which Sayyidn`â al-Khidr reigns, is the land of the midnight sun, where Salât al-maghreb does not survive, because there dawn precedes sunset⁴.

* "Where was it, where was it not, beyond the seven countries and a seventh, beyond the Glass Mountain, beyond the sea of Operencia, once upon a time..." (β-6) in

³ **Paranymphes**: This term, translated from Italian, seems to refer to the custom of "the presentation of the bride (fiancée) by three (!) virgins before (para) the wedding of the Nymph: para nymph. These three represent the fairies, the three Fates/Norns... of the propitiatory marriage rite!!!

(⁴) **sunset**: long dawn-twilight before the sun rises...

motif of the "six countries and a seventh" (*hetedhétország*) or the "seven worlds" (*hétvilág*), which appears to be customary in the introduction to **Hungarian folk tales, Magyar folklore** has preserved the fossilised remains of an element of traditional doctrine that was widespread in Eurasian cultures. The "seven countries" of the Magyar tradition can indeed be compared to the sacred geography of the Hindu Purânas, which speak of seven *dwîpa*, i.e. seven continental "islands" that emerged one after the other. But the motif of the "seven lands" is also present in traditional Iranian geography, which distinguishes seven *keshvar*, Avestan *karshvar*, seven "climates", which are in reality seven zones of the Earth. The central *keshvar*, which represents the terrestrial place currently accessible to humans, has been subdivided, for example by al-Bîrûnî, into the following seven regions: 1, India, 2, Arabia and Abyssinia, 3, Syria and Egypt, 4, Iran, 5, Byzantium and the Slavic world, 6, Turkestan, 7, China and Tibet. In Islamic esotericism, the "seven lands" represent seven different categories, *tabaqât*, of earthly existence: each is governed by a Pole (*Qutb*) and the seven Poles are subordinate to the Supreme Pole, *al-Qutb al-Ghawth*. The seven Poles of Islam (the seven *rsi* of India, the seven sages of Greek antiquity, etc.) correspond to the seven Magyar (*hetumoger*) mentioned in medieval chronicles, the *hét vezér* of the Hungarian tribes led by Árpád.

Beyond the "seven countries", beyond the "seven worlds", among the other fairy-tale characters there is also Jean the Mighty (Erös János, Erös Jancsi). In this character, who corresponds to Batyr Ivan from the fables and Starker Hans ⁵ [phallic figure, n r.t] for the Germans, we find the fairy-tale reflection of a whole series of mythical "divine children" to whom, as Károly Kerényi has shown (B.7), Kullervo from the Kalevala and Mir-susne-hum from Vogul mythology also belong. Some fables tell that János the Strong is the son of a widow, like Perceval and Mani; others say that he has neither father nor mother, like Melchizedek (Jude 7:3), whom some identify with Sayyidnâ `al-Khidr. The illustration of the "divine child" also alludes elsewhere to an archer; and often this archer 'is accompanied by "polar" and Hyperborean references.

In a fable, Forte János commands obedience from a bear he found in the forest; some variations explain the boy's exceptional physical strength by attributing his paternity to a bear. It is noteworthy that the symbol* of the bear corresponds, in one of its meanings, to the north: it reminds us of the Great Bear (the constellation Ursa Major), but also of the geographical and astronomical terminology relating to the north, which originates from the Greek word one of its meanings, to the North: it reminds us of the Bear (the constellation Ursa Major), but also of the geographical and astronomical terminology relating to the North, which originates from the Greek word *arktos*, meaning "bear", in various languages. However, according to Hindu tradition, the northern "land" of the bear had previously been the "land" of the boar Vârâhî, because the boar, in Sanskrit *varâha*, embodies the third "reincarnation" or "*avatara*" of Vishnu in the current *manvantara*, or in the present cycle of humanity. René Guénon explains that such a change in name would be the result of a revolt by the chaste warrior against the priesthood, a cycle that ends with the sixth *avatara* of Vishnu, Parashu-Râma.

Now, if János the Strong merely subdued the Bear, his role would be identical to that of Parashu-Râma, and the hero of the Hungarian fable would be a folkloric variant of the *avatâra* illustration. Or better still, to remain in the Hungaro-Finnish domain, János would identify with *Mir-susne-hum*, who pursues and defeats the bear. But János combines in his own person both the bear and the boar, demonstrating the fact that "the two symbols of the boar and the bear do not always appear necessarily..."

⁵ **Hans**: phallic symbol... for German women (*Wie ist de Nase, ist der Johan*)

(⁶) **The archer**: Sagittarius-December, old Janus will give way to Janus-son at the winter solstice...

in opposition or conflict, but, in certain cases, may represent spiritual authority and temporal power, or the two castes of druids and horsemen, in their normal and harmonious relations" (β-8). Therefore, if the confusion of the two symbols in this fable is not accidental, it should allude to a distant era in which perfect harmony still existed between the two functions*

Finally, a comment on the name of the protagonist. In his study on the "Hyperborean Dacians" (β-9), Geticus, alias Vasile Lovinescu, transferred the name Ion to Jeanvanni who, according to his interpretation, the "King" of the World refers to in Romanian folk tradition as Janus, the god who ruled over Latium in the Golden Age. But we could add that the Latin Janus, regardless of any etymological considerations*, also presents a curious assonance with the Hungarian János; and to this fortuitous phonetic analogy between the two names is added an essential analogy between the two illustrations because both the two-faced Janus and János, who dominates the bear and the boar, represent a primordial unity not yet dissociated in duality.

Geticus-Lovinescu's thesis is well known. In his opinion, the country of Dacia was, during a certain period of antiquity, the seat of a spiritual centre of Hyperborean origin; in other words, the Hyperboreans, moving their northern seat of origin southwards, settled in the territory between the Danube and the Carpathians and made it their secondary seat. In order to support his thesis, the author of *La Dacie Hyperboréenne* reviews a vast amount of documentary material, substantially derived from the work of Densușianu (β-10): folklore, toponymy, numismatics, Greek and Latin sources, and even *the History of the Romanian Principalities* according to Geticus-Lovinescu confirm the hypothesis that the Dacian tradition survived relatively intact until recent times.

Geticus-Lovinescu expounded these views in a series of articles published under the title "Études Traditionnelles" between 1936 and 1937. Fifty years later, these writings would have a wider resonance when, following the Italian edition in 1984 and the French edition in 1987, Vintilia Horia spoke of them with admiration, while in Romania Virgil Candea drew attention to the image of the archaic Dacian traced by "B.P. Hasdeu, Nicola Densușianu, Mihail Sadoveanu, Matila Ghyka, Mircea Eliade, Mihai Valsan, Mihai Avramescu, Vasile, and also Horia Lovinescu, Nichita Stănescu, to name only those authors who have passed away and who cultivated the *philosophia perennis* with varying degrees of ambition and results" (β-11). The French edition reawakened the interest of specialists, in particular Charles Ridoux and Paul Georges Sansonetti; the latter, a student of Henry Corbin and Gilbert Durand, gave a course at the Sorbonne on "Hyperborean Dacia".

The ideas contained in *Hyperborean Dacia* were further developed in Russia in the writings of Alexander Dugin, who, as early as 1991, circulated his *Giperborejskaja teorija* (β-12) in samizdat. Dugin wrote:

"Geticus' *Hyperborean Dacia* represents the common centre of two opposing circles: "The southern Mediterranean circle and the northern (...) Russian-Slavic circle to which it also belongs. (...) In any case, 'Hyperborean Dacia' represented the southern limit of Hyperborean Gardarika-Russia, concentrating within itself the sacred energies of the North and the mythical Hyperborean-solar motifs. Nevertheless, its intermediate position between the two aforementioned circles means that it does indeed perform a special function within the 'economy of the sacred', thus partly explaining the deep roots of Hyperborean tendencies in Romanian territory" (β-13). Also in Russia, in 1997, Valerij Diomin led a scientific expedition to the

The Kola Peninsula, where the remains of a civilisation dating back twenty thousand years have been discovered. Referring to the findings of this expedition, the Russian press announced that Hyperborea was the "cradle of all Indo-European peoples* (...) not only did it exist, but it was also located on northern Russian territory (β-14)."

Claudio Mutti

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The religion of Pindar

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VARIÉTÉS

In A HELICION 13 li Pih' D.4HE

The great Joosie Iriipic des Grocs drew its distinctive character from its religious origins. Accompanied by music and dance, it had its place in ceremonies and celebrations, in processions and in choirs of action. In studying the text stripped of its musical embellishments, as handed down to us by tradition, we cannot emphasise enough its profound religious significance. In these odes sung at solemn feasts, how can we imagine that the words were not also imbued with the religious sentiments that animated the choristers and spectators? If, through the Odes, the poet occupies, through the elevation of his thoughts, a place that has brought him closer to Plato, the credit for this goes to Mademoiselle Jacqueline Ducii EAFitN d'fYOLP flssilyü for deepening the meaning of her religion by carefully studying the divine sources of her inspiration, her attitude towards the religious tradition of her time, and the symbolic and mystical value of her poetic expression. She has thus successfully defined her sacred mission as a poet: the lofty idea that Pindar has of his art comes from what is posed as Apollo's ἵερπλιῦτρ and as the dispenser of immortality (i).

The Muses and Charites are the main inspirations for Pindaric poetry. Nil* • D. is not wrong, with regard to these deities, worshipped in various forms in several places in Boeotia, to point out, between Pindar and Hesiod, a commonality of inspiration which will manifest itself on other points as well (a).

But Olles seeks a more distant origin and questions the often contested etymology of the name Fluses. If the equivalence of buse and hlnüinosyno [*Nêni*. VII, i i sqq.) invites us to link it to the root iiten-, ingenious comparisons with the Sumerian cleavages of running water would justify the etymology to partir du nom de la montagne. La Muse nr serait pets *9 propremrnt parler la G Dame de la Úmontagn43 » rnais la "D.enc tle ha trench du canal • where: roll the waters fertilising

(i) Jucquefine *DU DU SitIIN. Piidare*. po<Ite and *propliêle* (C•oll. d'Etudes an-c:i•rtres). l'arls, des Belles-f•3ttres. zg55. lrx-8°, 3go p. z .woo fr.

(s) She could have used a fairly superficial but comprehensive study, but 3.- k. Scott: *zt comparative study of Hesiod and Pindar* Chicago, i8j8.

to preserve their purity 'by staying in both worlds'. Although this doctrine was adopted by the Orphics and Pythagoreans, no evidence Athenian or ever opposed it, ju thought, that they in aicnl exclusively. Therefore, I consider that they must have borrowed it from **con-**coptions religious earlier (i J, and perhaps independently of each other (z). When Pindar and Plato mention a myth (3) evoking Ía eroyanen at the migration of souls, they no the dssigwent ever as a teaching of Pythagoras or Orpheus. Does it not rather belong to the religious tradition of the Greeks, without attributing its origin to a particular sect? P I•otirquoi Moreover, this profession of faith orphiquir would address itself to Thóron d'Agripente? G'rst, we reply, that the poet would have known precisely eiz Sicilo les coui•ants oi phico-pytltagoricirns (p. ioz). Saris doubts the Agrigentine origin of Einpëdocle (still very young, however, during Pindar's stay with do Tltéi on rn Şçü J rcnd-elle x raisemblable la sur-x ivanco drs ldües pythagoricicnixes esx Sicilo ati dübut du s•= siüclo. ñCais must we assume r no from his arrival üo at A@i igentc, at'ec laquolle a roincid6 the rsdao-tion of the II° *Olym piquø*, the indarc is done, with the role of a núophyte, the propagator of ideas that he was going to düeotis'rir P Or is it not better to assume that these religious ideas, known to him for a long time, naturally came to his mind for the expression of his xle sa moral doctrine?

Gollfolttiint, Hans the second, 3 c t3aa•Ílr., *ie nte••sigr. tlinJari tkc• el In frodition,* çŞU» D. constalc that, among the dicux, Zeus of -4.pollon occiipent a p'lace de clxoiX in the verses of I*indare. Zeus e.ct lo dieu suprüinc (p. ia z), lo dieu par excellence, é 0eŞzi, z oitsue il le sci•a sutivont chez Escltylc. Doit-<n laire un sort au fragment citi: J,a, Clémeni d'Ælexandric (fr. i/ço ScL.) "What is that God P Co that is the Toat ", and on draw urie metaphysics I* 11 no fiatit pas lø rapproel•er de In düvotion à Pan Ç. i ü3, n. i). cetlx: ðtymologie lantaisisto ütant iixtñ•ol•able chez Pindare, }our qui Pan d'Arcndia est avant tout uit musicien aitu dev ülnrñrs. compognon dc In Grande žifür« (Oq*A., III, 78 ** ** . 9* *!"!"). (*)• Apollon» is even more implied şrúsent in the verses of Pindar, øt soub his aspects. 11 is naturally the god of Delphi (ü). As such, he is frequently mentioned in the *Pythíctzes*. However, he is also the god who inspires poets. He plays a role in many myths, as the lover of Cin3 •raa. dø Gyrüne, etc. Pure of Iømcø, he is the origin of an oracle founded by him:i:i at Olympic. He is lc god guúrisscur to whom is dedicated lc Púan (0).

(1) **H. Fraenkel.** *Dicüurip onit I'h Vns'opfiii• de.v ,t'i-tr•ltcci* fii•ia'cfierifuits, :Äew-WorÄc, 19 5x, p. 3where.

(2) **Garnet et Boulanger.** The Gdnie drec déns fu *religion*. Paris, iç3n. p. i iř3. tñ) Ph#dre, çfi9 A, etc.

Plato was the first without •lo>te. *Cræii yte*, zŞg D. explicitly states lc 1•«typrochemØElt dQ @an and u 'ž'out. kxe žr. 9 t TO Pižždaro (c:Ě. läotG d l z. ueP . t. IV, t. Iş8, It. •S) tñ•Y aucultP l-üsoit3ltf:e fnët.9plJ sique.

fŞl xL }ii•opo.o de l•q < dün'otio>3 Inert cionnue de l*iztAam à l'ügai•d du dieu •le Delpltes », oit aurait miná qu>lques préעיםions. 3'oir J. Defradas. Z.øt **Thèmes de la Propagande** *deyltiquu*, l•aris, i gü\$, p. i gg, ii. i , ct l¥l. Delcourl, *L'Æacie de Dcşpfies*, Paris, zç5ü, p. a5.5-s6 x.

(f) fns References relating to an l'ir:ut.}* i i o. n. i. -s>nl ihsu fžisa>ttes. h*oir **J. Defradas, op. cit., p. 80, n. 7.**

reason for the functions they perform, (to) Pindar again and (to) others J>ôtcs en grand nombr, tous ceux qui sont x'raiment divins. »

All rpories, already found in classical poetry, are not an invention of poets. They represent a divine personification of certain abstractions, frequent in the religion Greek and of which traces have been found in oriml religions, in the literary sources of flesiode for example. It is not always clear in the text of the poets whether we are **dealing** with the tlivllitü or the U/ntråctton: it is **often the** <-as }Iottr XsOtÇ, Moiscæ, t•tcjz•i and its plural Oip:-+x. All allegorical cases are present in the poetry of I*iiicl.arc, and ù4 D. devotes to each of them remarkable remarks to which one can usefully refer. When she **endeavours** <lr ilefinir l'originalité de Pind. are par rapport à ses dcavanciers (p. i fjo siJiJ.), elle la voit cl'abord dans < une forme de personnilication qu'il n'a crrtOS j. as inventée lui-ini•mo, rnais dont il a trûs fréquemment usé, celle 'Certain geographical realities, names of towns and islands, far from

norm of a region, the Lib3e". She adds that it is above all through his art that Pindar brings the allG(ories to life. A visual imagination, tin sens 6chlant de la i culeur lui permettent de les animer d'une vie incomp.arable. L tucl pr:ciso du mylho de Typhon dans la première P ytiifue (s- i fi-of) met rn value le rricanisme <le son imagination.

SI IO HU'tlo c•lltlellt l'42sselltiel £ e l'odo »ill£ itrique, old n'en cofinprond pas lou *jours* liieii l.a **raison** d'être. It will be to the credit of Jt}lIC D. to have, through subtle analysis of **several ivy flics**, given their true meaning and justified leur

jiriisenc slans l'epinicie (i). If the my the rst become a ornament literary, it has r.vision Ile <lire }i. r5Jt-5) that, integrating itself into the f•pinicio, which ctait

tl'aboril tin li,jmne ritual. il vonsers-o do ses origines uno x•aleur religieuse. Sans s'.attacher trop lurigtoups au problème de la inoralisation des **mythes**,

— mine that, on this point, he had ÿtû }>ossilile de to place Pindar in a lraditcon, which I have **attempted** to define as Delphic (ri), — IY1 *• D., shows

Immortality rites and initiation rites play a prominent role in Pindaric myths . This is fr , the fountain of immortality in **the history** of the OIG[3.S (I* Ú)f.); cC .These are the **initiatory** rites in **the history** of the OIG[3.S (I* Ú)f.); c•fiS(aUSSi lit Jul.a< i• <li• choix l'aitr .cix Dioscuros (p. i8o sqq.). By evoking these liüros, which have become iiiiinorlrIs 'a rime aux c•preux•es in itiatiques, **as** well as **thanks** to their iiiii•rites }iorsonnels. •i lour vrrl u rt •i leur pureté, **the poète confers on those**

dont il Chitnte P•Jl•r l:i }4rotl:rSSr rll' \$'ilt4llrlt'Î.ll itt' qsl'ilS ŷ.9ynernt 4•ll In

(1) Voir déjà H. Fraenkel. *Dichtung und Philosophie...*, p. 552.

(2) P. 157,

ll. ü, JÆl D. t'roit voit', « l it Suite des scholiastes, un43 **illusi**ot l la lviii >orl trü}>iod mars *OL*, IX, 3•. The allusion would be bien <bscrtte, and l.w }ilus .aiicionic that one would encounter in a literary text. **But** the t•olltpSte stggüre }3lutÔt qtie, in la lcat a il lC• tlc Pylo.5, HCraclès a tfrt2nta Ü l@ fuis Poseicl4n . -S}irilliss t•t .S rlc-inis.

JYfais Why is it that, having defined the meaning of myth in the epinicio p̄indarique,)I ° D. ne resists not a sort of enchantment or J̄liico-p3'lhagoric'ien? The enchantment of Pūlop s and that do Gan)'mūde, syoi- lioles certain d'iminorlalitè, iloixcnt-ils nfn:essaircinent ūvoquoi• la Basili o de la Porte ū'ijucure P And, if l'ūlo,ps receives from Poseidon the chariot of victory. Does this mean that it is a matter of tl@ raclaĀ. due to .sols ln6ritC Jxersc•nnel and add: "torment not to recognise there a transparent allusion . to dogmas orpliii;ues and to relūs-oinent personal nuquel accūdi• the initiè ? • (p. i6s).

The enselgfil42ĪTlent che C11il•oll (} . I o) ri }3rcIEcl figttre d'ū@tlcatirlll }arfaite, UP module from all the ūducatons, oti same of an initiation, p.ar which the ŪĪPfiltaurc tr•9IISlnot to its (lisci)lles les n1erS'ei lut4x secrets dCt grè-tĪld at-t **Je guŌrtr.** les im ūratifs rūvèlts il'uno morale dopniatique. la pratique de l.a liravoiJre vnfin. d'uno liravoure {uasi surnaturelle capable th dompter les forces lio.s-tiles } . Why is that? The lessons of the CC'ntauro remind us that it is "a des figures rūvcrūes par le.s Pytliagoricieus" (p. i 7o, ii. 3). when we consider rapic•ici-trt•n precisely, after A. Puecli, the existence of a poem lièsiolique on *Enseignements de Chiron*, well suffisante }our ex}iliquer le milo do cc p̄ersonnapo dans la truilition lii•roique et .aristoi:rat i{ue collected }ar P indare (i) P

Or would have, at least, played the role of the liiū•o.s in the odc J̄indai•iquo, HO lit .sfij̄lllfiC•8l **loĪ dtl** cUlto llūFOlqUO £)9ĒIS 9eS Pa(2)IOFts aYot: les croy4tliceS ,t l'iimortalitè (), r.apprrr le rZ•le jouĪ par l'Oraeic <le Dcl{ }lies <lans la J̄ro-pa{;ation d•s chiites liūroii;ues (3) et si nalei• times more a rapprochement **between** the idtūs delplliqlles ot IP.s idt•os do l indaro, Ūtr\$ **ollt •9tlorateur dtl 4ĪPt** de Del{3llc:*. **ISt•9Ī-11 aUSSt dC ŪOYttIO** làiŪtlOdO, qtZalld les DIOScUFe5 **SQft** mis }ar Pildarr atl rang dcs jr•3tcclèllrs clt•s *JHttK* OlymJliqtles, d'tt:riro (p. i8a): "In Roman times, we know that the Dionysian legend featured among the symbols of political importance : the Pythagoreans of the Gate

%lajeuze l'ont rcp̄résentūe sur les murs de leur Bosilique »:* N'cūt-il pas **etlieUx** A'alU S'iFt {errOget- SUF la IO} {Dtld42 dOS DtOSūUrCS à l'ū}Itlt]UC elitSsit{t3,G Ū On eūt

J̄out-ūtre then find <l'aul reasons.s to ūvocations of the Lacedaemonian Tjndarides So often raj̄i;irocliū.s of l'llèraclūs th6bain (ft). Let us add that, further on, they discuss the problem of the alternation of the Gūnioaux's stays on earth and in Olympus , ūllo D. recognises that the solution ailō}tto por l'indare is contrary to that of the Pythagoreans (j̄. i 83).

These criticisms do not detract from the value of the interpretation of the role of the mysteries in initiation. But it would be better to link them to official and well-known Greek myths, which bear a resemblance to Orphic-Pythagorean **beliefs**, dont nous soupçonnoixs diffi:ilement le contenu ct mè c lo dCgrŪ d'existencō alt tōftl}Is do Piāldare. Hais, from this fl'ucūclts43 ūtudo

(i) l'otir une a }̄j̄r̄it̄ciation J̄Jus sūre J u rūlc rle (2liiron , rt.

II.-I. ālurrpti.

Histoire de l'Éducation dans l'Antiquité. 2^e éd., Paris, 1948, p. 32 et p. 472, n. 11.

(Ñ) LC li8'Fe C)t• Farllell est }OUPttttlt £'itt: il Stt toit à IIIHYĪ rPF £}t20 l'On potlA'ait el1ŷ'isa@er la qtttestioiA elu ĒĪollorn ĒĪes sectes Ot'plElco-pYtlIa@oi'ik'iennes.

(a) See the nuanced opinion in 41. Delcourt, *L't i-ocle. de Del plier*. [i.

1' 7 sqq.

(4) Rapprochement signalé ra)»<lerrient p. zeta. See also and C.-hT.

#OWFG.

Pindnr, Iylyhiati .Yf, tīl. Q. 3o, ij:4G.p. izy-ifti. — On s't•tonne de ne tE'ŪejS"fir QtCIIIIO E'c'ĒF'cy1f:G aU tiVE'C d* . elsa(3OUtllicT° SRIE' les GiOS'ktrefi'.

retiresi. I t' "iuti•rs conclusion. The exinj»le elki líci•os persneŁ à l'ltontnlc de Èagncr l'io•ainoi•t. ulité: Castos• ct Pollux. l'tin iitimortel. The other mortal, **con-** ITDissClÍ 1.9 rltē:HU dDsttnúc. There are '3 c onc ttne lcle•itité^ the natul•e ontrr les llomíllech rt los tleuX. This is the Íltàse qur PindarÈi atralt oxprlnN in a fiormtltr aoiis'eit ttee. ct dont Nílle D. donite une rter,rütation dífférenteilo vllede.t. Puech: "1:á J6çi:»Z)8æ.» -švo« (.h'ém., VI. I). She translates:

"Unique• is the i•ace, tíriique the rak o rles dicux and des hommeh" (p . i85) (z).

This statement is solicleineit élayúe by a útude príusc of the context.

Nlais il aurait Sull,i }xcut-é•trr raJpc•ler que, hiew sotivent, Pindare, fidúle à In conception tlelphit}ue du « Connais-toi toi-müsna •, avait souligné la diffé-rence fnitciúrr entre la italure divine et la nature humaine : "Il ne fnut clemandrr aux tlietix qtte re qui convient à des cœurs mortels, il Íatit regarded-it nos }ncds, ne t)as oublier itotre condition. O πζον ùμβ, s3. uij iiro p as ù la

, in.ais ü}uise lo rlt.sivip dti possible . (Yfh., III, s sqq.).

Il f.ant xltrltc him I:ompredi-e <c cllie la formtile initialc de la sixiúme

Nénič•ennc ii rlc r6s-oltlioiua:in e : utiasi Pindare la justifie-t-il aussitót en

l'attúntiant : κ L'huin. unitē zi'cst que nüont, ct Íe cicl d'airain. rúsidence de.«

É letfi, detnetirc ifRmu.9bJe. -i S'll ya potlr l'lloHtsnc un cspolr d'lfmrtialité'. She c o u l d not smile at Janet- Ā (*PlIr dē•s dicux: I rPtrotlŸ-c Hans oett•* i)tittlde lNíLtrlí íč £}uc }•č•rl1,jqir>li. 1r« m.9 ù intCs tlelplllqurs.

Usie **ois** dúinoitti•úe l.o }i•iü. utitü dii sentinseitt religieti.v clan-* l'Ouvre de I*indai tr, ñJllr D. so troviv•uit or ientór. }our expliquer l' « liermütisme • do son atiteui . x oi-i une solutio)t qizi des.aíl. en accentuer enooi•e le caractúre dc poésie i }tiicllc•. -k la lin do *la dexiúvie Ofympique*, dans un texte capital pour déziüüi• sii }osition à l'égard de srs ri<aux, Pindare s'úcrie (s . ç i sqq.) :

"I have sow Ic elbow, in my car what, rapid strokes in large numbers; ds know púnútrrr the boits rsprits; poui• to reach)a foulc, it is liesoin dñ-tørprètes. " l l .ojoutc øiissitù: "The stable man (so@'l\ is ecllii c}ui takes his great knowledge from nature; ecu.v c}ui ne saveitt c}uo pour ax oir learned,

like crows, with their incessant chattering, croaking vainly against the divine bird of Sense 1 We understand, aided by the scholiasts, that we are in the midst of a literary dispute. Pindar, a difficult author and lover of rare and recherché words, found himself accused of obscurity.

like Esolye later in the dispute of *the Frogs*. He replied, and his

response is normal in the context of a dispute, that his verses only make sense to the ulule, who alone is capable of understanding them; there is only contempt for the

useless person who needs interpretation. He adds, to justify the elevation of his style, that he takes it from nature, that is, from divine inspiration (he is the bird of Zeus) and not from work.

Isn't it pa." l'úternel probl•me da Iя possir, poč•sie claire ct siniple pbur le

vũlgoire, poósie savantø and inspiration for the title P

Olle D. a- eti perhaps too serious about the attitude of **Pin-**

tare, stating that his t)üsitr needed interpreters for the vulgar. She concludes that he "uses poetry for religious p u r p o s e s , a poetry steeped in religious symbols. However, eri

ç i) üi. •otlssi II. Fr.uenkel, *ÉtieltunJ* iitJ *YbtLOSOR!**!«'•j•. • sqq-

He thus pronounced it in writing, giving us at least a remarkable interpretation of his poetic expression, his images and his symbols. I would almost say that, rather than a positive assessment of his poetic processes, he succeeded in giving us a true psychoanalysis of his poetry, revealing to us the profound and subconscious reasons, rooted in a distant atheism, that dictate Pindar's choices in the world of images (i).

By increasing the frequency of warm colours, dazzling images of gold and light, it is easy to see different expressions in them. I only think of the numerous compositions composed by

do not think that the numerous small compositions composed of yellow are stéréo-typical or that the author has no other intention than to describe. "The concern for the fantastic is, in all these examples, largely outdated. Inspiration here is increasingly drawn from the religious world." (p. 100). Ello rap-

Indeed, iollo, ipie, pour Jéro and safran have ritual value, and the lunineuse lilancheur creates a sacred elimal, that of divine épiphanies (s). A pertinent discussion in an article by H.L. Iorimer (3), which linked inscriptions on poems and archaeological monuments, allows him to raise the question in a profound way: yes, if only the poets. Jicintres and sculptors attribute gold and purple to the deity — in Greece too well as @uc tle9fils all other civilisations, — c'est @ue gold and purple, — the colour of the sun and the colour of blood, — have always been seen by men as the symbolic colours of life and are the normal attributes of divinities who enjoy immortality. Our poet, who is not merely a beginner, has received from his ancient predecessors, and certainly also from literary traditions, the wealth of nameless attributes that convey so many epithets. «At9ttPS t:OfIpOSÓeS Pat l'hOl2YteUl' files dleUx. He has T8çLt des l'lütYleS eOUrCeS lo sentiment, transmitted from figo eit âge, de ln x-aleur divine do la lunnüre et du caractCre sal'rü RIC l'or. 8 (p. 100). We see how these remarks relate to the interpretation of Pindaric poetry. They shed light on expressions such as wtt úztp y *loo.n .J.pla (Of., XI, 13), or 6zov* .Jpu«(p (Pyth., X, ho): the symbolic colour marks the divine character of the olive tree and of the laurel, considered as foliage düminortalitò (p. 106).

Passing by m rovu a few curiosities drs favourite images of Pindar, Miss D. applies the same method psyi:hanalytiquo (fi): « zÿ n'y s oir çjue des images, one would be lom to have grasped all that they bring, coming from far beyond the senses. » (p. n nQ). The most frequent are still linked to rites of immortality: the flowers thrown on graves, symbols of the renewal of nature, to immortalise los souls of the deceased; les images of travel. — la route, le cli•ar, les nax•iros, les ailes, — qui conduisent au paya des

(i) These iclet's ne sent }as nous elles }our les lectoiirs de la Zt. f•. lí., ou %l *o D. the axes were exposed in an article in .9 5s: *Essay on rymtioliswe pindariçfuc : or. miimère cl coalyurs.*

(a) But there is no need to invoke mystical reasons (p. aou) to explain the name of the Delphic Phodriades, says El. Bourguet «Éúcri\$ 'Scla\$ ttatls des }ages ç'tassif}ttes Ócs Rutnes de D4filphefi.

(3) *Gold and Juory izt Creek Mytltology (free.It Hoetry çnd Life. Mè!.* G. Muway Oxford p06) .

(4i) On we can see how much deeper this method is than that of

G. Norwood (Pindar, Berkeley, 1945), dont Mlle D. célèbre les louanges avec some o.xcts. The latter sought only, and rather arbitrarily, pnr-law', the dominant image of an ode. then ipie ûl *• D. seeks the deeper meaning ç.i hides from images.

Hyperboreans. There is much to be found in this chapter on *symbols* and signs. , however, one must guard against an excessive tendency towards generalisation and a certain philological imprudence. Thus, Miss D. notes that, among flowers, the violet is associated with knowledge and, more specifically, with prophetic gifts. She is undoubtedly right to associate it with the violet: not because of « aux l'essos » iolettes- », but because of the braided hair of A'ioletteü ' (p. 3 Ü). Üfais }loilrqtloi fattt-il qtIH, **emportée** **lar** <it> malheu-reux ùlan, cllle veulllc Fełrotl vPr Ĩ a **H1L14AJ rüsotlañCe** mystlque choZ lamofl. ' ĨOE and laléinos, « them also sons of'.t}»ollou" (}). a*tn) P However, it is impossible to put ct rayoyrt tn• <°yīc •. cf. ĩat. *vioio*, ct 'ts |x•'ç (— ww) . ĩalSmos {would be the symbol 41st cry ĩR. As for Ion, eponym of the IonirllS ('Ĩ JovEç), ĩ paPait ltlī **aĩlssi** appftrĩcflir ù Une **aUtrP** faŸMlle (Ĩ).

Forget these few exceptional indiscretions. No. We will know thanks to)\$ UO D. ĩle **nOt2S** aVOiP **FtāOĩĩFP** qtlello)•aleUr nouVelle On pOtJYalt dOf2nOr

images do Pindaro, ĩlont "les ĩ ilus brillantes, los plus développées, pla-cées à la Jil•ace la plus x'isibli*, sotis ent en tête <lu pouĩne. sont prũcis6mont like talismans of x-ir, symbols of belonging to a world of more intense reality. (}). :t6.4). This is a remarkable introduction to Pindar's "her-in6tisine".

The last article in the book. ĩa *Wifi.sriori .xiirrie dti poc•fe*, is in fact the conclusion. . tsar the divine dreams of his inspiration, Jai• his attitude towards the clioux, through the symbolism of his impressions, Pindaro showed himself to be a poet essentially religious. ha haute ĩclũe qu'ĩl se fait de son art, son orgueil d'artiste ĩlls}3ĩrũ par .J}3ollole tollll ĩsent 11<9turcllem43nt Ũllo D. Ñ the formula she gave as the title of her book: f•ĩndcre, ĩodfe ef propãdtr. The image of the ĩmfe.s, of the pot:te to whom the <lieu dictates his inspiration propliõtique no has never been better realised ĩ{u'eiĩ him. ĩĩar ĩant d'une mission sacr6e du poète, hJlle D. however va ĩlus still far away in the definition of the attitude

from Ĩ°ĩndare. The ode, as we have seen, a ĩiti• <lc•finie as a ritual song

t h r o u g h myth and imagery, the Jiouè, using a kind of magical rhyme, assimilates the victor of the Games to the heroes of religion and grants him immortality. "The notion of immortality appears to us as the indisputable centre of Pindar's poetry." (p. ado).

The poet's mission is thus likened to that of the sculptor who erects a monument on a tomb: many images feature the same themes found in the decoration of sarcophagi and other styles. The scenes of burial, the themes of travel and nan ĩgatiolr mentioned above are reminiscent of funerary art. It is therefore a comparison profonde that connects the ode and the stele, erected by les àluses. tello that we the ĩnd in the eighth .YJrricenne (see ft6-fty): Funeral music and trioĩnpliau themes have the same meaning and serve the same purpose of immortalisation. Is this not the sacred mission of music and poetry, represented by the numerous musical figurations on the tomb?

Here so raises the crucial issue , which we have already encountered ĩls:

(t) Des explications aussi ĩunt<isistc.s avaient ütũ <formées par R. Ron.x, *The prohlēĩĩ •.tes Argonautes, De Bocard, 1949, p. à3ii*, which rattaehait les soins de res memes personnages •v la root si,e,uiti ant **guēĩr**.

phismø in classical times (i), I would prefer to mention one religion to which the Saxons, according to Pindar's own testimony, were attached. This religion really existed, and other thinkers of the classical period recognised it as a source of wisdom. It is the religion of Apollo of Delphi. The Seven Sages offered him the maxims he had inspired. Herodotus devoted many excursions to him. Socrates pursued his rules de we ct de }>cnsO. Plato asked Apollo to teach him the laws of his eitø. Why should we not accept all these concordant testimonies, rather than the testimony of the ócrāvalns and Inolltlments of the Roman era? Z belle D. clearly established that, among the dietix of Pindar, n z(pollon is... the closest to his thinking" (p. Üjo); for him, the world beyond is located among the Hyperhorcéno. Pnuqnoi explains Apollinism through Pythagorean inspiration. The Theban poet describes Apollo as a simple reflection of the god of Delphi (PytJt., XI, i I sqq.) (z). It is not that Pind. are. a s ancient tradition claimed, was a fervent acloratcur of l'-4pollon delpliien P If we are to compare Pindar's peitsée with a contemporary religious , jc prüfüi crai lc consider as the disciple of a doctrsne iie)phiqtie, qtie as a srrtaleur of Orpheus and Pythagoras.

Jean Dzmmts>.xs.

(z) Gf. L. t3loulinirr, iSrfilli•L• cz l'Gr plüisiti e û l'i"poçtio cltissiqüe, l°aris, Les

Úclles-í.ættres, zg55.

(z) See ittt•s Yhêrne.x Sc• l.3 l'i-oşargznde. •lrlyliiçite, y. 6 z ct tş. t80 sq-

The name California and the Song of Roland

Lucien Gallois

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extensive areas long the coasts of British Guiana, where exploitation begins (42B6 t. erit 9 i 8), from the P•u ya ne hol la ndai se and even, on weaker surfaces, la mon tagn c se rapp rochan t du l i ttc ral, d e' la Guyane fran çaise ; des baux i t os d u No rd - Est d u H rG ni l. Des The rich alumina deposits have been reported in the II i n as G4 i at Iliës il et in many parts of the tropical Afi-i; the banks of French Guinea were particularly affected and were on the verge of being exploited. exploited.

The geographical distribution of the building stock is uneven, i.e. (in tropical countries z, or in non-tropical countries subject to atropical climate during a geological period that is no longer relevant, such as, for example, the the Mediterranean region at the time of the Cenozoic era, the United States of the Northeast to the Abu Tertiary; the bauxite, like the 1st terite, is found from the superfluous chemical composition of the rocks, if intense, on the sai t, sou the climatic conditions. The bauxite prosperity frōquem me nt en p lac e su r des i'ocli es cri 스타-1 i nes, fr(•ki)(•) ein ni e ri t au ssi , cō m nui nous we have observed that the finance and tax fo rin o de sōd i m e n ts e n lex'es ä. des massifs ci i stall ins ptiis deposits s by waters cour ari tes su r surfaces are flat. 11 It is permissible to request, in certain cases, the building, when it is not located on terri ai ns c ri stall i ri s, does not have a continuous deposit revealing a flat surface.

R. Musset.

THE NAME OF CALIFORNIA AND THE SONG OF ROLAND

RUTH l•UTN A V, €efiJornie : i'te *R'am e*. With the collaboration of HziilSERT l. l'ixs re z v, Assistant Professor of History, University of California (G'n ieêr-*.si:z/ of L, 'alifo i n io f'ublica lion.e izz /fis/ory*, t. 1Y, n° 4, p. *iJ3-365, t9\ 1, t pi. map. Liaiv. of California Press, Berkeley).

Miss R. Puzoam published in 1991, with the collaboration of by HERBERT I. Pe real cex , u ne èt u de qu i about i t a cet te s inguli è re conc l u si on that the name California seems to have been taken from another *Song of Roland*. The unlikely inv, in fact, ne often comes from n of ignorance. Voyous doric quels sont les fait et comment ensuite on peut les interpréter.

t.o i sq ne l'ci iand Corte z se l'u t <lùfi ni vivement i endu iii alt i e de lle x ico, il se pi ñoccupa au saitöt de faii'< i econn'aître los pays qui s'étendaient ve i s le Nord et aussi l.a note <le l'Océan Pacifique apei'çuc pom i la pi'emi è re l'ois par Bal boa en t 5t 3, et qu'on appelait alo rs la me i du Su d. Ce s explorations avni• n t su rt out u n but p ratiq ue. De pu is q u 'il e ta it avè rè q u o les te res

Golomb's green ducks were not the real ones. It was a matter of finding the direct path that would lead to the episodes. G'< st e n cli' r-

i . G<, ni pare r o ri Pra ric o los latè riten d u 4lass if Cen ti'al et l a rgil o ii sl lev <l u No i'<, l'• i •yttgqtq t d tt Su l from Bassin de hari s, touts tl i:u x conntitueda during u ri o Jiô r it'de de cl imo t ttropical, l'f3ocè ne, to u tee de u x du es à la <löcozn poaiyon c hitni9 ue intons c à la s u rfac o d'uno np, lea promis ron do Γόνόπλαι rool;e c r jstallin en, Tes sooo rides de rocher era,y e u s es.

LE NOM DE CALIFORNIE ET LA CHANSON DE ROLAND. 461

ch an t ce passaç•. qu e ālagel lan , ap res avo i i pō ne tré dan the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, c
Ā ait descended further and further south and finally discovered, in 152Ū, the de It oi t "j u i po i te so n n r m
. .11 ais n'y ava i i -il pas a more direct route? From 122
onwards, < .o i te z fai sa it ro n s t i u i re des nav i i es su r la có te du Paci Ū que ; il s<: p i o po sit it de fai
re v i si te i m in u t i c use m< i t toute cette côte rers le .tord e I vt• re le S u <l jusq u 'l ce qu'on t i
ou vā t li'ameux passaç•. 11 i ct ue illkai t to us les i e n s r c ion cm ents qu i port vaie n t l u i
r•*vunir su r ces te i i'es ct ces me i's e n co re i it co n nues. In l ?i2 Ī, in u nu I et t i < q
ii'il be i it e n octo b r t "Ghai'les Qu i n I, il i a conte qu'u ii <lc ses lieti -
te no tits l u i a fa it savo i r qu'5 dix jou i s de la có te, according to information from i iid
igē nes, there is an î le liabitē<' se u lt• mc n I by of women whose may'is ne > i si te it t I}u'ú des
ū poq it cs < l Pte i m i n• es. If they don't want to, they don't have to. With them, the girls can get rid
of their worries. -

I.e. tte. tle e st ri cli c e n oi < t e it p• i k s. 11 • j > u te q u'il va essaye i < l e s' < n assu i e r. r• n l > .3ū, u n
i'ival d e Coi I ez, Nu ñ o d t' Gti z ma or , é c i i I d i: ni ě rii e in I?harl es-Qu i n t qu': di x jou i s de l'e n d i o i t
out il se ti ou ve, i l y a d < s Amazon i's
{ } u i habi te n t q ue lq ue part dans la me i , et que leu rs r nari s n e i site ii t qii' i
< les ěpoq ues fi x ees.

The exceptions la i icec s > ai' weite z. n'aha u ti i'e it t it' a low id qu'it. < t es
< l ū sast i'es. Lc i i a vi i t' d e l l t i i t a d o d e .He n r lo za st j i i' r l i t c o i p s e t b i c n s. Ē• u l l r' p i l o t e X i m c'
hez l u t i c h a p t o b a b ĩ e m e r i t < t la có te d * I a [t < st' u' l i t' d e G a l i - f o r n i t • o t i d u i e l l e v o i s i i e ; m a i s i
f u I t o i' p a i' l e s i n d i (t ū i i e . s . l i' e s t a l o l - s i) n t • C o r t • z s r • r l i c i c i < a c i { a i t i r l t i i - m l' i i i c . l : i t l . i . 3 ū , i l a
b r i d a 5 l' e x t r d i i i i t ū d e l a
> } ū r i n s u l t' < l a i t s u i t' m a i e e r i t u t i' f o t l' l l e s q u' i l a p > e l a b a i < r l < * : < a n l a p t u 2 . 11
could not; I am no longer there. I.e. < r' t n i' q i t i l o n g e a l t e Ō t e t i i e n t a l e d e l a p r e > - q i i' l l c : f u t . I
l a i c f a n , c n I o ' t l i . 11 p t i i e I i a m é m e : s i s s e z l o < i r i d a i s l e (o l o i i d p , r j s e I t t e a u t o
n d i r V o l t' e . l' . r i 1 5 i * , t i a b r i l l o e x p l o t e a l a r Ō t i' o c < i d i' n t a l e c t a t t r' i g i i i t l e t e i' i' t o i e d e l' I
t a t a c . t u e I d e h a l i r o i i i e . t i' e s t d a i t s s a i e l a l i n t
t { u e i i o u s t r b } I t y r i l i s p o u r l a p t r • m i é r e f o i s l e n o f n i l' t a r t l i f i t i' r i i • < a } > l i q u e q l a { ū n i i s i t l c' < t i I
l' e n i p t o i c c o m m e S' i l i * t a i t < l ě j c i t i s u e l : « L e i I i m a i i c l i e ū j u
i l . l i' t , t l i t - i l , i i o i t s a r r i v a m e s e n v u o < l c l a C a l i f o n i e (G a i / i < o r i i t n) . " l . < i n è n i < - i i o i n i r v i e i i t
i l r : u x a u t r e s f o i s d a n s < l e i a • r i t . I l v a è t r e d u s o i' l n : i s c o n r a i i t n i • i i t t' i i p l o j' e' l .

(Oll Se rle iii: iitlcii t de ti U is l f l p t l l l (i s i f' o t i c e l l t B i T l p O U V a i t p r o v e i i i j' . l o i s q u e ,
e n) S f i' 2 , l c' f l * I l x c e l e d é r o u v i' i t d a i t s u n r u n i . i i i < s p a p i i o l d i t d e b u t d i t x x r o s i' t' - Īc : L a s
s e i' g a s b e l' m . f l i t i i l i c i i t , c i r i g t i t i' t i t e p j r l i c , q u i t ; t a j o u (y e a p i' c s c c i l t [i , d t l i : ū l t' l t i' t' o l n a n < l' 4
i i r r i s' f c' (i a t i f c , ū c i - i I e n p m t' ø - g a s i i u x v' : s i è l l r' , l i i l i i i t < i t' s p a t i t o l , p l t i < t) i t i s l a p l u p ; t r t d e s
l a l t p i t e s < j e l' t i t t' b j i . G' e s t l e t r a < l u c t e u r i' e s [> a t ; i i o l , . C l o s i x i s o , q t i i c s t l' a u t < i i r < j e
t e l l i' i i i t t' l i y t r i t' p a l t i t' p u b l i i t' S i l t s t l u u t e d a t i s I t' s p r i * r i q l è i e s Q t y j t i t . o i l u s k' c' l i : , r
i t i I l < x i s t' i t i c t l l d t l t t l' u i i e S i x l ū l i l e [i a l t i e . d a t ū e d e S j i t l ; t i i i : \ M < l u c' , I > l o . I k'
i i u u w < l i x x u p y l ū m e i t s . s * a j u u I é t < t i I s u c r a s s i v u i i t • i i t < <
I . i' ū (a . t i c) i i p t i i t i i I i q i i l i i i I | a i' < t i c u r i i p t' < j u s q u ' a r l i x .
E s { } l a i i d i c a n t • s t l c' Ū l s < l . l m a d i s d i' (i a u l e . T o u s d e u x s o n I v e n i t s a t t

I l , a } i i i i i i i' r o c t i - t e i i c t i l o s l i i i s c - i' i l . o s I i - i : l l o i t o I I i R r 3 o t i ; y t y R R t t x . i l i t t t • t j i • } y , 4 y . } : t • ç p • .
mité méridionale de la péninsule porte : C. California. Au Sud, se trouve une île appelée
l' . a t e / e r ĩ e , a u t a t i I i l t m o i n s < j i' o n } o t i t l i r o s u r l o f e e - s i i u i l o d t t n t * } q p b t q o p t - y t ŝ t ,

dry or of the emperor of stanti n ople me nacé par le King of Persia, Armato, who invited all the pagan princes to unite with him against the Christians. In response he replied the beautiful Halafi, a young queen of the Black Amazons who lived in a located to the right of the Indes, presided over by Pgradi S terres tre. Crette l surrounded by councils is very rich in gold and precious stones. There are also griffins, winged monsters with the body of a lion, which are known nowhere else. The Amazons have brought five hundred of these griffins, which are truly marvellous. They are the aircraft of the time. Guarded by their g u a r d i a n s, they fly from space and swoop down on the Christians, whom they carry away in their claws to devour. But now don the assault. The griffins distinguishes plus, in the melee, Gh r ö t i e n s and I n f i d ù l e s. They throw themselves indiscriminately at each other. It is a v i a i d é s a s t r e. With great difficulty, they decide to respond to the voice of their guardian who in their cages. Everything ends, as it should, with a marriage. The beautiful Calafi falls in love with Esplandari, who makes her his wife by one of of comrades in arms. She converts with all her presses. It is now only a matter of t i a l a t i a and her Amazons in the 8 i x i è m e p e i t i e, but she appears in l a s e p t i è m e.

The legend of the Amazons dates back to ancient times. It originates from Homer and Hrodote. In the Middle Ages, Jac9uz8 riz Vrrn r, in his *Hi.storia orienfofi.*, mentions a town located in the middle of a river, at the foot of the Caspian mountains (*ju-cla montes Ca pro.*) and which is inhabited by very beautiful women. Li• u i s maris ne visits them only once a year. If they put me to mon a son, they only keep him until he is six years old, then they send him back to father. They only keep the daughters. .à l ö m e l è g e n d e in AnaM DE BRÉ uz which places these Amazons in the northern seas*.

It will spread throughout the world of navigators. Marco Polo claims to have heard from that off the coast of on the west coast of the Indies, between Mekran and Socotra, there are two inhabited islands, one by men, the other by women, who are meetmeet only once a year, and always with the stipulation that the male children are sent back to the p è i e s and the fille s kept by feu rs m è i e s °. It is not surprising that such authority has given the legend a new vitality.

fih risto J)he Coloiri b lu i - rnenie, in his logbook , on the dates of 6 January 1993, recounts that, according to the Indians, in the East of Yamaye (la J arri a'i q ue) there exists rich rich in gold u n i q u e m e n t pai dea feni mea <t q ue ce tte lle is located ten days' sail from Jamaica or dlHoiti Eûe s is called Matitino, and fi cötë is located on the island of I.ai ib, inhabited by des And he reads it almost like the stars, by Jacques de viiry. r igur«tta, the pilot of uagellan, the i epi end ä son tou i u n p e u later, rrinis pou i the apply f i u n e t l e d'A col o ro, located èe quel que part d dans l'fJcùan ind ie n, « ou -de asoue » de leva la Grande. Whether the name of the Mazones was given in 1493 to the great river of America

See p. Hny xorto B ra/.ce: v, 7 de /7rtu>n off mor/cru *Gooj rophy, t. II, p. 645*
y, Mq gcp Pol.o, ddft. YUL C—COBlii KR, Clos p. X ¥ xl, vol. II, p. 404 and 0tjïV.

From the south by Grel la na, com pag non de Pi zar re, who said the first and claimed to have found on its shores a village where there were only women .

What the law des A mazones ait also found in the vicinity of the Co i te z neighbourhoods, there is dou te. Les de ux let tres ö Gharles-Qu i tit p rGc éd e m 'ne nt cit ées le prou ve n t. Mais co n naissaie nt-ils l'A niadis de tiu ale e i so ri r.o in plé me ri t bas sert oi <le SspfanJion ?

dues ro mans <l'avent u res répo n da ie n t au beso in de me rveiie u x que les horn mes, following the ù poq ues, trou vent tou jon rs de nou veau x m oy ens de satisfai re. ll e ure nt, ä n'e ri pas dou te i , u ri é no i me su ccès dan s les Spanish countries. It is therefore legitimate to admit that readers even in America, even if may break the boredom of these long exiles. 0 n a b/ en t I ouvë in tranchéesallemand s tractionsde P•uL DE Kocx. Il paralt mêmequ plus tard on inte rdit l'entrée-,dans les colonnesespagnoles,detoutecettelittérature,r.equi shows clearly that it had penetrated. But here, as far as *Amadis de Gaule* is concerned, is decisive proof. An old companion of Cortez, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who ended his long career in Guatemala, spent the last years of his life, from 1368 to 1572, writing the history of the true conquest of the New World (*His iorin orrda fera <le In c.onq'isf's de la Nuei'a Ei patia*). P.a i kan t d e l'e n ti'é e des Esp agn ols ä Me x i c ri, il rl it que this superb city made such an impression on them that the most beautiful illustrations <l'4 m«d .< dr Oaule. If Cortez's companions believed so many other ä la lège n de des Amazons, if they knew the island of I".al i forni e de l'am u san t i'é r. it d'Ëispland ian , it is clear that the ti ri d'e u x ai t pu don ne i ce n oin à une te i e situ ëe p i éci sé - m'e nt in the pages o ü de vagues ra co n ta rs pe rme t taie nt de si tue r une lle hab itée par des fern mes.

Res te fi savoi r d'o ii l'au teu r d'fis{>la nd ian ava i t t i i ü <e nom de i bal i - forn ie . Ori c ri a do ri ri ë lo. s ü ty<nolo ie s le s pl u s vari des, m ã me le s pl u è fair - taisistes sans q u'a ue u ii e. so i t sali sfai san te. Isn't it possible that he may have borrowed from another work of imagination, whose author was more talented than him? l C/brins ii <le Rola ciel, où il est fai t inc n ti on d'u ri pays de Cali fe r ne. Clia i le inagn e se lain e rite su r la mo rt de son neveu ; il ën u më re les no m b re u x e n ne mis q ui le m e na ce ri t :

Mor' is put ni es k i tant solei t cunquere
Encounter me reveal runt li Seis ne (Snxo ns] And H un
gre and lliigre and tante ge nt averse, ltoina in, Puillein
and tu it c il de Palerne
bit c i l <l'A ífrique et cil de Cal i fe i•ne

At the end of the la f?/tan.<on of *Itola ri* 1, there is no identifying the name of Calife rne. G'c st sans don te u ri de ées no iii s i ri vt'ri tés qu i so nt n ombres x dans le pou me ; il es t tt ùs p ossible q u'il n'a i t < II in is lù que pou r l'asso-nance . But wherever it comes from, there is a Californian and **Colife mc** resemblance such that one can decide whether it is or fo i fuite.

L. GALLOIS.

On Heraclides Ponticus's "Abaris"

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ON

h' 'AB.4RIS = D'HÉRACLIDP LE PONTIOUE

The recent works of M. I. Le-y'grprit have drawn the attention of the scholarly public to the work of Heraclides Ponticus, and in particular to his *A baris* ⁽¹⁾. They have reconstructed with rare ingenuity what can be imagined of this lost dialogue, and from this reconstruction have drawn very far-reaching conclusions. *Abaris* is said to have played a leading role in the history of the legend of Pythagoras. Its development marks the crucial intervention of Plato's disciples *. But M. I. Lévy does not stop there; he believes that the most important episode in *Abaris* was Pythagoras' descent into the Underworld, a mythical tale that was to become very popular, since it was from this that such famous works as the sixth canto of *the Iliad*, Lucian's *True Histories* and various Hebrew accounts of Moses' descent into Hades ° were more or less directly derived.

The science and insight of this eminent historian thus manage to draw truly prodigious benefit from the fragments we have of Heraclides' work. However, one cannot help but feel a little daunted when looking at these miserable texts and finding that they provide such a narrow basis for such an imposing edifice. Wouldn't an effort to broaden it be welcome? That is what we thought, leading us to propose a hypothesis on *Abarre* which, if accepted, would give us more than just fragments of this work: a relatively precise and fairly detailed analysis.

I

We have a few lines from Plutarch that give us
I'A bar as a general idea: "dXXñ x<xl civ 'A8nptv Rév 'Ilp<ix-

1. *Research into the sources of Pythagoras*, Paris, 1927; Z.a *lé gene <ie I•ythn-*
gore de Prdce en Palestine, Hid., same date.

2. *Yes sources*... Conclusion, p. 4 49: "L'N hurle est ie signe de la capture pat' l'A cadem ie de la tradition, dont
Héracli de tire urie curieuse fiction philosophi quo. n

3. Id gertzfe... , livre I T, chap. i.

λείδου καὶ τὸν Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀρίστωνος διεργόμενοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν
OGP.LTD{A°At)é íZ .u0c*o-;í*.. ". "Very brief indication," he said.

Mr. Lévy, "which nevertheless gives an idea of the book, a philosophical tale that insinuates certain things = 3' <°>• }=y.<" * -;ye- " °. It seems to us that the words "tale" and "insinuate" add little to this vague information. Both suggest the idea of a mythical tale, where doctrine is hidden under the veil of narration³. To clarify Mr. Lévy's thinking, let us say that the aim is to find the story of Pythagoras' descent into the Underworld. But if we look closely, we see that nothing in the *M6aris* excludes the presence of strictly dogmatic parts. *Aéyyzzz* p.sgt.p.Pvt yu8o7.c•/ip, rather than a tale, brings to mind a work of a philosophical nature mixed with mythical parts, in the manner of Plato's dialogues. Nor does Plutarch's text impose the idea of a work that is not what the other works of Heraclides are, namely a dialogue. There is no reason to think that the dialogue itself is reduced, as is sometimes the case with Plutarch, to serving as a simple framework for a long central narrative.

In the catalogue of Ponticus' writings, which we find in Diogenes Laërtius, *Abaris* is not mentioned. This absence is undoubtedly not surprising, since the catalogue is incomplete. Nevertheless, more than one critic has thought that it could be hidden under the name of one of the works in the catalogue, and the hypothesis is quite plausible. Several identifications have been proposed. Crusius thought of the flcot 'buy re *; Hirzel of LLeat ôtxz'ooúv-r,c *.

Mr. L. Levy would rather adopt Voss's hypothesis, which he finds in II 2i c» '-3 J. He briefly dismisses the assumptions of Crusius and Hirzel as implausible. However, it is the latter's hypothesis that we would like to defend on our part.

M. I. Levy has clearly established that *Abaris* was a relatively large building, divided into at least two and probably three Ζότst. However, in Diogenes Laertius' catalogue,

4. Plutarch, *De it udiendie yoelis*, I, p. 14 E.

2. *does sources*. . . , p. 24.

3. 11s are, in fact, already used by Hirzel, *Der Diagog*, I, p. 328.

4. See Hirzel, *fler.f9iuto g*, I, p. 321 ff.

5. VI II, 4

G. Crusius, *Roschers' Le:liken*. . . , vol. I, 2828 (art. *Ilyper boreer* .

7. *Der H iagog*, I, p. 329, n. 1.

8. Voss, *De Heraclidis I•oniici aim ci Scr*. "k! •"•, dissert. Rostoc k, 4 89G, p. 5f.

9. *L.ee sotircec*, p. 25.

The works mentioned by this historian, when they comprise several books, are followed by a number indicating this. However, neither *l l zç''- yüyr,c*, nor *Ileot zñ)v •? i* are in this case. They therefore probably comprise only one book. On the other hand, *fIs2l ù z.x'ocv•vv* comprised three. This is a sufficient reason not to accept the identification of *A bar is* with the latter dialogue, but to reject that with the other two.

One might well ask whether one can trust entirely... men L au x indications of Diogenes, if the letter indicating the number could not have been easily overlooked by a careless copyist. But at least for the *Ilss'. -tuv *V Ñôou a me nti* on that the author of *Contre Cofote.s* confirms that he understood only one book °. This writer speaks, in fact, of Aristotle's books on the sky and those dealing with the soul, of Theophrastus' books against the Physicists, of Dicearchus' books on the soul and, on the other hand, of Heraclides' book on the things that are in Hades. Let us add that Hades may well refer here to the underground realm of the dead³. Indeed, in Diogenes' catalogue, it is classified among the physical dialogues, and *Against Co/otès* confirms this indication, we read that the authors of the various treatises cited at the same time as Heraclides' work oppose Plato on the most important *physical* questions. Thus, the nature of *Ile° -kw cv {ù.000* is well established. We would readily assume that it formed a whole with *fli;d p«»•*, the latter dealing with celestial matters, the former with the part of the universe located below the moon. It is this region that he *f aud* would mean by "Hades". The tradition was introduced into Greek philosophy, perhaps as early as Empedocles⁴, of giving this name to the interpretations, which differed from the common ones. Plato*, like Heraclitus, did the same.

Undoubtedly, a writing of this nature could contain considerations considerations on the nature and fate of souls after death. €iar cet.to

1. Tùmoigná gt: unsigned c {nai it ü la p'l urali t ù des li v res pa r l3 iia*ene T,aü rre, \', (U, et pi; r At.liénùe, XII, r 523 f.

2. rscudo.rIutarque, v€Ju. bof, p. €€15 h.

3. We will meet, in part, in this hypothesis bryce (Íorssen, *Rhrinisclie. >Ih-ee mm*, 4 91 2, p. 28, who notes that, incidentally, I Iadès seems to understand u in a celestial sense r ar II éraclide in the myth of fimpédotime.

4. I3idez., *Lu bio gra phil d'K-'zin >é*•!/- r* 4 22; cf. l°seudo- I*yt ha gore, ap. Diog. La ercr, VII I, 3t -32. On the date of the first text, see Wellmario, *Hermès*, 4 01 9, p. 22ff ff. Delatte, *Vie de Pythias gore de H io gény Lairce*, critical edition, Brussels, 4 022, p. 226.

5. f•orgi<zs, p. 403 1). It comes from the famous passage where rlatooi recounts the doctrine of a "his bilc man, no doubt some Sicilian or Italian".

This question was linked very early on to the description of the sublunary region. It is even certain that the first of these questions, concerning the nature of the soul, was dealt with in the *Ils pl i0v iv chou. refais*. It is important to understand the spirit in which this was done. Heraclides, like Aristotle and that is why he is classified here among the Peripatetics¹, supported a thesis that tended to *lirriiter*. Plutarch even said to suppress the substantial existence of the soul. This was so surprising in a student of Plato that some refused to acknowledge his authorship of this work, while others, rather bizarrely, wanted him to have composed it solely for the purpose of refutation. It is not clear what immortality could be referred to here; it is not at all clear how a descent into Hell similar to that in the sixth canto of the *Inferno* could appear in a work of this nature.

All these reasons ces raisons nous interdisent absolutely prevent us from identifying the Aôris with the *fl•21miv (v yôou*. The respective dimensions of these two works are not the same. The nature of the second of these does not allow us to plausibly replace the fragments we have of the first. Will we have better luck with *IIip< 6txetocu »r,ç?* As we have seen, it alone possesses the three books that must have comprised *A ôaris*. But that is only one reason that makes identification possible. Others are needed to make it plausible or certain.

Hirzel was led to propose it by a consideration that is not insignificant⁴. It is the only work in Diogenes' catalogue where we can be sure that Abaris is mentioned. Heraclitus spoke of Abaris travelling on his

4. Plutarch, *H friiin cinimae ciri corboris sit li bido el ne griliido*, clia p •(r 690}. *Ct. Corssen*,

2. The Ariens readily classified Heraclides among the Peripatetics. Diogenes Laërtius does so, since he mentions him in Book V, which he devotes to Aristotle and his pupils; he recalls, according to Sotion, that Heraclides had followed the teachings of Aristotle. Stobaeus, *2fl. Phys.*, I, xxvii, 1, also places Heraclides among the Peripatetics. Voss criticises Sotion's tradition and considers it worthless for very serious chronological reasons. What emerges with certainty from *Against Coloeus 1115 A* is that he differed from Plato on very important "physical" questions and that he is therefore compared to Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Dicearchus. Plutarch, in addition to the book on the things of Hades, whose authenticity may be doubtful, quotes *Zoroaster* and the *IC§Í TÛ9 < {iuoixNj Pro pou ti*v< v, S.*

3. This view is curiously reminiscent of Alexander of Aphrodisias' theory on Aristotle's dialogues (Elias, *in Arist. enreg.*, p. 24 li, 33). In his dialogues, Aristotle is said to have expressed not his own views, but those of others (*rà à1,1oiç ðox.oüvv« vâ ysu6 j*). Cf. W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, Berlin, 1923, p. 32.

k. *Der Diaco g*, I, p. 329.

li. Voss claimed that this passage referred only to Apollo's arrow and not to Abaris, but he only had an incomplete text of the fragment at his disposal. Cf. Relim, *Plteiniscliea M usetim*, 1912, r k 16.

flüclíc iniraculeuse, that of Apollo Hyperborean. Was it just a simple "allusion"? The fragment of the epitome of Eratosthenes' *Catnsté-rtsmies*, which refers to him, seems to prove otherwise. If, in the treatise on Justice, Heraclides was content with a simple allusion to Abaris, only to speak of him at greater length elsewhere, why would his legend refer to this treatise and not to this other, more detailed work? The reason given by Hirzel seems, on reflection, to be the most solid. But can we go further? Can we not discover other traces of this Abaris in the lives of Pythagoras by the Neoplatonists? Is there not, in fact, somewhere in these works a question of Justice mixed with that of the relationship between Pythagoras and Abaris? This is indeed the case, and the encounter is striking in a few pages of the Rio de Jamblique.

The critics who have reviewed it are generally very harsh.

for them. "There is probably no passage in the biographical literature on Pythagoras that has been more reviled than this one." Nauck is shocked by the implausibilities of a story that brings together Pythagoras, Abaris and Phalaris * in defiance of all chronology. Rohde declares that, even in the jumble of late Pythagorean legend, this little tale is unrivalled in its lack of taste and mendacious inventions ⁴; he attributes its authorship to Apollonius of Tyana and highlights the similarities between this story and that of the meeting between Apollonius himself and Domitian at Philostratus. Lethin is of the same opinion and endeavours to show that nothing in it can be traced back to Heraclides. ⁵ Voss ⁶, Dyrolf ⁷ and Bertermann ⁸ are of the opposite opinion, but have not insisted on it. Bertermann, for example, as well as Delatte ⁹, believes that Apollonius is the direct source and that his model was Timaeus. Mr. Levy, on the other hand, recognised that Heraclidian ideas are numerous in these pages, and we owe a great deal to the valuable comparisons he has made.

Are we really dealing with such inconsistencies,

¹ I. Sources..., p. 27.

2. Ln kigerizfb. . . , p. 40.

3. É di tion do la die zfe r'fftpoi'ele .larøJlitj ui. /+. *Rheiniöchee Museum*, 487z*, p. . 44-45.

o. *TffeiriiscAe.9 Mn.ueum*, 1912, p. 422. ò. *Pte fferaclidis*. . . , p. 58.

7. 6/iiöofogcza, 1900, y. 6t3, n. 3.

8. *De fontibus*.

9. *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne*, p. 25, n. 3.

* The aim will be to make it easier to understand the text by placing it alongside the translation (see =rr•ncticc}cten lni proposing a translation:

" But the greatest of all rnar<Jucs can give [the courage of P tha gore] is in his speeches and in his i:ondiite towards I°halaris, where one > toi t ii irresistible fra ii-hisu. F.o O Il'et, co iii me he was a prisoner of l'halaris, the }ilus barbare des tç rans. and <Jue had joined him a su • *_r erboréen de iiaissa ricc u†, whose name was .kharis, and who was i t x•fl II ii precisely intending }>to meet him, the latter interrupts him with a series of questions true-llloIt sa cr des, on the statues and worship r us confor nde a la p iété, on the providence of the gods towards those who are in heaven and do <c c;ui se p assc sur la terre. (24 G) Pythagoras replied with tciuto l'inspiration divine ijui ét a it dans sa nature, with all the force of truth and persuasion, at the point_r do c harliier ceux qui were listening to him. It was then that Phalaris was overcome with rage against :\ Baris, who praised Pythagoras, became angry with Pythagoras himself. He went so far as to utter threats against the 13 most formidable of the BlaSΓ herms , just as one one might expect from him. Abaris, in response, confessed his recognition birth in Pythagoras; then he questioned him on the question of the celestial origin of the arrangement and government of all things, which, among other proofs, would be attested to by the efficacy of sacred things. Far from judging Pythagoras a charlatan for expounding this doctrine, he gave him \$OI adiiii'a tioii cuiinu ä nu dieu. On this point, Phalaris denied divination and also bluntly denied what takes place in religious ceremonies. (217) But Aba-rr' steered the conversation away from these facts towards those that are clearly evident to the eyes of all and, taking argument from the benefits that, in difficult circumstances, wars that are hard to bear, incurable diseases, crop destruction, epidemics of plagues and , which cannot be remedied, are distributed by demons or gods, he sought to show that there is a divine Providence that surpasses all human expectations and strength. But Phalaris, in the face of these words, remained insolent and only became more audacious. It was then that Pythagoras, suspecting that Phalaris was bringing about his death, but knowing that he was not vulnerable to Phalaris' blows, began to speak with the greatest freedom. (218) Turning to Abaris, he said to him

that from the sky, the transition occurs naturally towards the region between the air and the surface of the earth; he expounded at length on the conformity of all things in heaven to the most familiar things on earth; he gave an irrefutable demonstration of the faculty of free will residing in the soul, and, continuing his discourse, he dealt comprehensively with the question of the perfect activity of the logos and of the sons; ci.

Let us be frank, p the united nations and all the advantages illegitimate gains due to luck, injustice and all human greed, he demonstrated that they have no value; then he made an inspired exhortation about the better life and contrasted it with the worst; then, on the subject of the street, its pleasures, its

passions, he revealed its nature in the clearest possible terms, which was the most beautiful thing of all, he showed that the gods are not responsible for evil, and that illnesses and ailments of the body

are the seed of faults, and, regarding what they have said wrongly in myths, he confused the authors of speeches and poets and, taking up Phalaris, he blamed him and showed by facts how accurate and how great the power of heaven is;

Regarding the punishment that is d according to the law, he brought forth numerous testimonies that it is done justly; he showed very clearly the difference between man and other other animals; he spoke with knowledge of inner speech and outer speech; he gave a complete exposition on the *self* and the knowledge that comes from it, as well as many other ethical considerations related to these; he gave a very useful teaching on what is good in life, and he added exhortations that were in harmony with it, others to turn away from what should not be done, and, most importantly, he distinguished between what is according to destiny and what is according to reason, and he also said many wise and learned things about demons and the immortality of the soul. It is clear that Amblique has completely forgotten his purpose, which was to talk about Pythagoras' courage. He knows of a work in which Pythagoras' attitude towards Phalaris demonstrates this virtue. But instead of limiting himself to this historical or pseudo-historical note, he allows himself to be carried away into giving us a lengthy summary, and thus we move from the realm of narration to a completely different realm. What is it? We immediately have the impression *that we are dealing with a dialogue*, and there are many indications that this is the case. confirm.

The critics who have studied these pages may not have paid enough attention to

considered their structure. They would then have seen that, according to Rohde, they cannot be considered as coming from a biography of Pythagoras by Apollonius of Tyana.

And, first of all, how do they fit into the t(e of *3ai*
oblique? Their purpose is to prove Pythagoras' courage. The philosopher's attitude towards Phalaris is, in fact, calm and heroic. But is this what is emphasised? Obviously not. The gestures and actions disappear behind a seemingly confused jumble of dogmatic speeches that have nothing to do with the goal that Pythagoras has set for himself. Where does this come from? Undoubtedly from the fact that he adapts a work that has nothing to do with his present purpose, in which Pythagoras' courage undoubtedly appears, but which has no biographical or, if you will, hagiographic character .

Secondly, there is little need to show that Ambigue summarises this work. We are dealing with a genuine summary that gives us only the chapter titles, and many of the absurdities for which it is criticised can be explained by this. On the contrary, we shall see that the doctrine is followed and is relatively coherent. Let us quote just a few sentences that prove that we are dealing with a summary: "Abaris steered the conversation away from these facts... he spoke *at length* about the conformity of all things to heaven, the *things most familiar to all*... he dealt *thoroughly* with the question of the perfect activity of *the logos* and the nous..., on the subject of punishment according to the law, he brought forth *clear* evidence that it is just..., he also said *many things* full of knowledge about demons and the immortality of the soul."

But this work that Iamblichus summarises, do we not see what it is? *A dialogue*. It is curious that no one has noticed this. Pythagoras is a prisoner of Phalaris; under what conditions? We are not told. If our pages were part of a continuous narrative, of the life of Pythagoras, such an omission would be surprising. It is easily explained if, through dialogue, we are immediately transported into a given situation. The conversation begins with questions asked by Abaris; Pythagoras answers. At this point, Phalaris, who is present at the interview, becomes angry with Abaris and Pythagoras: we therefore have three interlocutors. Then, new questions from Abaris, who plays the role of the disciple; new answers from Pythagoras, who plays the role of the master. New intervention from Phalaris, who plays the role of the opponent. This time he speaks,

seiiible-t-il, in a different tone; he resorts, no longer to simple blasphemies, but to a full-blown polemic against divination and religious ceremonies. This is followed by a long speech by Ebaris, followed by words from Phalaris, who is completely unmoved by what he has just heard. Finally, the master delivers a very long speech, a veritable exposition of a system whose philosophical and dogmatic character is evident.

The manner in which this summary ends is no less curious and no less significant than the manner in which it began. Iamblichus is so aware that he has strayed from his goal that he follows Pythagoras' speech with an awkward paragraph in which he clumsily links what has gone before to the question of Pythagoras' courage. He then declares that the best proof Pythagoras gave of this virtue was that he was the one who freed Sicily from the tyranny of Phalaris⁵. One might think that this is the continuation of an account of the relationship between Pythagoras and Phalaris. But we see from what immediately follows³ that this alleged feat of the Sage is not *known* to Iamblichus from his source, but *is concluded* by him from a number of clues, oracles of Apollo, and chronological concordance between the meeting of Pythagoras, Abaris and Phalaris and the murder of the latter. But this is something quite surprising. We are entitled to think that Jamblichus' source for the long conversation that precedes did not mention the subsequent events, since he is forced to imagine them with the help of

of conjecture. But this silence is itself quite singular. Ου γ'...

It is if we assume that the above summarises a narrative. On the contrary, it is not at all, and is best explained by

1. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἂν εἶη τρόπος λόγων, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς περὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιτηδεύμασι προσήκει. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέσοις ἐμβεβηκῶς τοῖς δεινοῖς σταθερᾶ τῇ γνώμῃ φιλοσοφῶν ἐφαίνετο καὶ παντάπασι παρατεταγμένως καὶ καρτερούντως ἡμύνετο τὴν τύχην καὶ εἰ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπάγοντα τοὺς κινδύνους ἐξουσία καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος ἔνδηλος ἦν, πάντως που καταφρονητικῶς εἶχε τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι δεινῶν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ὄντων. Καὶ εἰ τοῦ θανάτου προσδοκωμένου, ὅσα γε δὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ὠλιγῶρει τούτου παντάπασι καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τῇ παρούσῃ τότε προσδοκία, εἴηλον δῆπουθεν ὡς εἰλικρινῶς ἀδεῆς ἦν πρὸς θάνατον. (Vita P. 219-220.)

2. Καὶ τούτων δὲ ἔτι γενναιότερον διεπράξατο τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ κατασχῶν μὲν τὸν τύραννον μέλλοντα ἀνηκέστους συμφορὰς ἐπάγειν τοῖς θρώποις, ἐλευθερώσας δὲ τῆς ὠμοτάτης τυραννίδος Σικελίαν. (Vita P. 220.)

3. Ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα κατορθώσας, τεκμήριον μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν τοῦ Ἀπίλλωνος, τότε τὴν κατάλυσιν διασημαινόντων τῷ Φαλάριδι γενήσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτε κρείττονες καὶ ὁμονοητικώτεροι γένοιτο καὶ συνιστάμενοι μετ' ἀλλήλων οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, οἷοι καὶ τότε ἐγένοντο Πυθαγόρου παρόντος διὰ τὰς ὑφηγήσεις καὶ παιδεύσεις αὐτοῦ. Τούτου δ' ἔτι μείζον τεκμήριον ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Πυθαγόρα τε καὶ Ἀθάριδι Φάλαρις ἐπῆγε κίνδυνον θανάτου καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλεύόντων ἀπεσώθη.

It is indeed, if he were to engage in dialogue. (The latter places us at a moment given in the reports of Phalaris and Pythagoras: it is natural that he should tell us nothing of their outcome, or that this should be evoked only through allusions (oracles of Apollo, chronological concordance) whose veiled threat suits admirably the particular atmosphere, the ethos of a drama.

Thus, the structure of our extract, the way in which it connects to the whole, evoking gestures and attitudes in detail while leaving out essential facts, all of this shows that the Republic summarises a dialogue here. It is highly unlikely that this dialogue, in which Abaris is one of the main interlocutors, is an act, unlike the dialogue of Heraclides Ponticus, who enjoyed great fame, as we see from Plutarch, and who must have been particularly collected and used by those interested in Pythagoreanism⁴. And perhaps, by examining the content of the pages of Iamblichus more closely, we would find new reasons to strengthen our conviction.

The philosophical dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus readily featured historical figures. Cicero considered this new form of dialogue to be characteristic of this author, distinguishing it, alongside the Platonic and Aristotelian genres, as a Heraclitean genre. Diogenes Laërtius tells us that the works of Heraclides Ponticus featured philosophers, politicians and strategists. In the *Timaeus*, it was Empedocles⁵. Elsewhere, in the *Protagoras* and the *Crito*, it was probably the Socratic circle. There are others whose actions are similar to those of Aher(s), as we suppose. In one of them, we see a man coming to the court of Gelon and recounting a journey around Libya; in another, Pythagoras himself comes to the court of another tyrant, Leon of Phlionte. It is worth noting the particular interest that Heraclides seems to have shown in Sicily and in *Timaeus*, whom *Timaeus* criticised harshly, reproaching him for

4. *Timaeus*, 17c, 17d; *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111.

5. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

6. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, XV, 13; *In Verrem*, I, 1, etc. ("Hic cum Iulio Cæsare") cut p[ro]p[ri]e c[on]siliis in u[er]o.

7. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

8. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

9. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

10. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

11. *Diogenes Laërtius*, I, 111, 112.

(See his critique of *Timaeus*, *Diogenes Laërtius*, VIII, 7 (Hirzel, I, p. 324). See also *Timaeus*, I, 1, p. 98; cf. Hirzel, I, p. 324.

Timaeus, I, 1, p. 97 West.

iiiivraisiiiiblanCeS gFOSSiüres. We are entitled to say that the idea of bringing together Abaris, Pythagoras and Phalaris is consistent with everything we know about Heraclitus' imagination.

As for the substance of the dialogue, one thing is clear at first glance: it pits the Sage against Tyran. The aim is to prove that, between the two, it is the Sage who is the happiest. Undoubtedly, the latter's misfortunes and the former's insolent prosperity cast doubt on this. One may well wonder whether divine Providence is truly visible in a world where such contrasts are possible. It is in this situation that the dialogue begins. Abaris arrives and is surprised to find the Sage in chains. He therefore questions him about Providence. Phalaris blasphemes, denying the intervention of the gods in the world. It can be said that the theme of Providence, proven in a way that we will have to study, fills the entire first part of the dialogue, up to Pythagoras' great speech. But it is also clear that this theme is linked to the Sage's situation, and that is the idea that, since there is Providence, injustice cannot triumph for long.

1. Pythagoras' discourse begins with an affirmation of the solidarity and sympathy of all things in the universe , it is a matter of showing, through cosmological considerations, how divine action in the world is possible. From there, we move on to questions that seem unrelated in Iamblichus' summary of the above , considerations on human freedom and the soul; but what follows shows us why they are introduced. Let us quote again the sentence that connects these two parts of Pythagoras' discourse: "He demonstrated that the gods are not responsible for evil, and that diseases and afflictions of the body are the seeds of faults." In these considerations on the soul, intended to explain the origin of evil, whose existence should not cause us to doubt the Providence of the Gods, there are some very important views on morality, speaking of tyranny and all the illegitimate advantages due to force, of *envy* and all human covetousness, he demonstrated that they have no value. This has an obvious connection with the situation of Pythagoras and Phalaris and shows that the author does not lose sight of his purpose: all the apparent advantages of the wicked are not such, if one considers that they are due to fortune and unrelated to the faculty of free will that resides in the soul.

Pythagoras then criticises the idea that poets have given us.

bles l'ic ux, et tJui consists obviously na iient eIi this tJu'11s we iioiit+ciit the l1ie u x responsible for the iaialhe urs of the ho in nies. In response to Halaris, who had bluntly exposed the division and weakness of the sacred ceremonies, he established the power of heaven. Here, there is no obscure phrase, rita is, which will become clear in a moment.

"Ëu suj and ch ati ice nt t}ui is done according to the law, il a}iportait numerous r' eu des qu'il se fait j ust lire nt." The dis cours then returns to on the moral. The hospital is not an animal like the others il not only external discourse, but also internal discourse, which comes from the presence of the voice within him. This has practical consequences ly in this life and in the next, and that is why the discourse ends pwith considerations on demons and the immortality of the soul. How do these new psychological and spiritual developments relate to the above? To tell the truth, it is not entirely clear. They seem to aim to refute a conception that likens humans to animals and would be implied in Phalaris' atheism.

In his useful teaching, which overlooks details, the idea that dominates Pythagoras' discourse is still that of divine Providence, but this time considered in a more philosophical manner in its relationship with the government of the universe on the one hand, and with the problem of evil on the other.

Does not the title Ntr fo ytzsī ice invite us to the whole that we Let us analyse this. The dialogue summarised by Jainblique aims to establish that the triumph of evil cannot be complete, because there are forces at work in the world that take it upon themselves to punish the wicked. If this were indeed the work of Heraclides, we would understand very well why she had a greater gift than anyone else for irritating the Epicureans. She closely linked the questions that they strove to dissociate from justice and divine providence; el! e les li ait d'une manière bien propre à leur dé- please, emphasising the miraculous intervention of the gods by the path of religion. This hostility of the Epicureans may perhaps enable us to understand the sentence: "On the subject of punishment according to the law, he brought forth many proofs that it is just. > Phalaris had undoubtedly argued that human justice is purely conventional. Heraclides argues against him that the law is based on justice, namely on a justice

1. Diogène Laërce, V, 92, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀντόδωρος (Ἀντόδωρος Β. Ρ.) ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων.

natural. This thesis, inspired by the Gorgias web , clashed head-on. The Epicureans.

Can we plausibly attribute to Heraclides the idea of a general idea of these pages? 1 The multiple borrowings made by Heraclides from the Stoic and Neoplatonic vocabulary? Heraclides was a disciple of Plato, and in some respects the work we are analysing is truly Platonic in spirit. The opposition between Pythagoras and Phalaris brings to mind another opposition as famous as that between Alcibiades and Pericles: that of Archelaus II, son of Socrates, in *Goi-gras*. The tyrant whose triumph is but apparent, who stubbornly and vainly believes himself to be happy, it is he whom we find there. I.a

Qu'épigraphique revient aussi sur cette opposition du philosophe et du tyran , and, too, it could, as we know, inherit the title de

Sur la justice.

Is not the Platonic approach also the way in which the problem of evil is dealt with? The condemnation of poets is clearly inspired, too, by *De'pti blique*. Here and there, they are accused of presenting us with a false and offensive idea of divine action. The gods are innocent of evil. Where does evil come from? We cannot even find it in man in his rational aspect; rriais, if we have correctly interpreted the way in which the issues on the soul are inextricably intertwined in our summary of views on justice and Providence, of man as he is composed of a soul and a body. "Illnesses and all bodily ailments are the seeds of faults," says Pseudo-Pythagoras. Is this not what Plato said in the Republic: "No one is willingly wicked, but it is a bad state of the body and uneducated growth that make him wicked, méchant *?"

But can a Platonist have proven divine justice and Providence by miraculous events and through established religion? Is there not in the pages we are studying a kind of devout and even superstitious attitude here that would bring to mind the Neoplatonists? even the most credulous among them? We believe it is very important, both for religious history and for the history of philosophy, to note that Heraclides adopted an attitude on this subject that was as affirmative as that of the most fervent Neoplatonists. This is not surprising on the part of a person

1. *République*, p. 576 b-588 a.

2. *Timée*, 86 E.

ringing that a significant anecdote, even if false, shows him seeking to make people believe in his own divinity *. In the pages before us, we see Phalaris fighting against the belief in divination. We can conclude that it is defended against him by Abaris and Pythagoras. Now, we know how interested Heraclides was in divination °. He had composed a treatise on the oracles. Cicero, Plutarch ' cite, according to him, examples of prophetic dreams. We also know that he dealt with the Sibyls. From these indications, we can deduce not only the idea, but also the method, the taste for pseudo-historical documentation, for collections of miraculous facts. A fragment that Voss attributes to Héit cuæ6e(œç is particularly significant in this regard. It concerns a catastrophe that had severely affected the Greeks: a kind of tidal wave that had destroyed the city of Hélikè. While the 'Physicists', as Diodorus says, in this case Aristotle, sought to explain the cataclysm by natural causes °, Heraclides did not hesitate to attribute it to the wrath of Poseidon, who had been angered by the attitude of the inhabitants and the Achaeans. Here, our summary shows several times that the work summarised by Iamblichus must have contained lists of facts of this kind. Abaris cites "the blessings which, in circumstances that are difficult to bear, incurable diseases, wars that are hard to endure, destruction of crops, epidemics... are distributed".

by demons and gods. Pythagoras shows *by the •i• its* what exactly what the power of heaven is and how great it is. One

on

we need only think of Plato's dialogues, where there is no pseudo-historical documentation of this kind °, to see that there is an element there that is very characteristic of Heraclides' methods.

These general reasons, drawn from the form and content of Jambli's pages, make it seem likely, in our opinion, that we should see in them a kind of fairly free summary of Hep1 ôt xztoouvs\$, itself identical to *I'Abarre*. The likelihood would increase further and would be close to becoming a certainty if we could

1. Diogenes Laërce, V, 6 (according to Demetrius le ûfagnète, in his *Womon;/mot*).

2. Gioéron, *As diviruitione*, I, 173, 46; Tertullian, *de nrinin.*, chap. xc-x.

3. Plutarch, *Areopagitica*, 26. On the Hep't /§Y}œzv}p tiny, see Miller, *Fragm. hisi. groec.*, I I, p. 197.

6. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom alas*, I, 323 C- D; Laetance, I, 6, t 2.

5. Strabo, VIII; 7, p. 384 (A'oss, îrgt 12). The catastrophe is mentioned by Aristotle (*Méleorol.*, I I, 8, p. 366); Ûphore (Sérièque, Çiinesf. fY'nf., V I I, 1 6), Callisthènes *Ibid.*, VT, 23); Pseudo-Arist., *De miindn*, p. 396 a, 21).

6. Diodorus, X V, 68. Il èraclido is obviously among the oic«go s« et tievoi npÔ y *o Oeov.

show that, within the framework thus outlined, the fragments that have been handed down to us either under the title of *fr. 21* or under *fr. 113* of *I'Ahans*, come to take their rightful place.

II

fragments *I'Ahans*, premier, comme a montré

M. I. Lévy refers to an episode from Pythagoras' descent into Hell, an episode that is known from an extract from Hieronymus of Rhodes *. It is the punishment of Philomela and Hesiod, punished, according to Hieronymus, for what they said about the gods. Hieronymus also cites the punishment of adulterous spouses as related to this catastrophe. M. I. Lévy believes that Hieronymus used Hesiod as his source, and that Hesiod therefore also mentions the punishment of adulterers and even included the entire account of the Descent into Hell. This has not been proven in any way, whatever Corssen may have thought about it. There is no decisive evidence that there was not, as Rohde believed, a Pythagorean Cata base from which Heraclides and Hieronymus each drew independently. Sophocles already seems to be aware of a Descent of Pythagoras into Hell.

What is certain is that what appears to belong to *A Paris*, a reminder of the episode relating to the punishment of poets, can be precisely located in the work summarised by Jamblique. M. I. Lévy himself made the connection: 'Pythagoras, on the subject of what they said wrongly in the myth, confused the authors of dis-

1. Bekker, *Anecd.*, p. 178 = Voss, *frgt.* 39 : 'Ηρακλείδου Ποντικού ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐγγύς φωλεῶν ἐξείρπυσαν ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα σφοδρῶς ὀρούοντες, ἐκωλύοντο μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ὑλακτούντων αὐτούς. Cf. Hieronymus, ap. Diog. L., VIII, 21 : φησὶ δ' Ἱερώνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν (scil. Πυθαγορὰν) εἰς ἄβου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίξουσαν, τὴν δὲ Ὀμήρου κρεμαμένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὄφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ' ὧν εἶπον περὶ θεῶν, κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας συνεῖναι ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναῖξιν.

To tell the truth, however, we must admit that the connection established between these two passages rests everything on the detail of the serpents (and also on the identification of the Nibris

au *Περὶ* ziiiv tv <x6ou). As we have shown above, this must be formed *cllemo ri t re-*

. So all that remains is the detail of the snakes: does it have any decisive value? I • word

wt pz in the fragment of Heraclitus is quite remarkable, if it applies to the soul!

2. Gorsseri, *op. cit.*, p. 22; I. Lévy, *Les sources*... , p. 25.

3. *Pacha*, trans. Raymond, Paris, 1928, p. 619.

fi. ophōele, Rfecfre, verses 62-661

6Ϝ γὰρ εἰδὲν ἴσως ἄν τις νοήσει ὡς

λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας εἶθ' ὅταν δόμους
ἔλθωσιν αὐθις, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον.

Scholars see this as an allusion to Pythagoras. Cf. Diog. L.; V I I I, p . 24: xci Gīt xœl
G II TOR O T fi/0J9@ t tfnô Tcii9 2v KQ fTi•ut (cf. Dietericli, Nefryin, p.433).

courses and poets." What they said that was wrong, as the context shows, was about God's action in the world. Here we recognise the reproach of a Platonist. The fragment from *Abarres* adds only . As befits a fragment , it gives concrete details about how Pythagoras went about it; he tells Phalaris an episode from his Descent into Hell in order to frighten him.

This episode would thus probably be the only one to have found its way into the *A boris* *. It should be noted, however, that a more extensive account of the *Cat.abase* may have appeared, for example, among "things full of knowledge about demons and the immortality of the soul". Nothing prevents us from believing this. Nor does anything authorise us to do so. The hypothesis that the Paris manuscript contained a complete account of Pythagoras' descent into Hades is not strictly speaking excluded if we accept our demonstrations, but it remains unverifiable.

The second fragment of *I'Abarre* is even more obscure, if that is possible. If we accept the corrections made or proposed by Mr. I. Lévy, we see someone declaring that a demon, who had become a young man, showed a third character a tree, and accompanied this gesture with an invitation to believe in the existence and Providence of the Gods. For Mr. Lévy, this would be linked to the episode from *supplice dos poètes* ³. The tree would be the one to which, according to

Hiéronymos, Homer's \$ me is suspended. The narrator would be *Abarre*. The demon who became a young man would be Pythagoras, who would thereby manifest his Apollonian nature °. As for the "visitor" to whom he addresses himself, he remains "anonymous" to us. Mr. Puech has raised an objection to this interpretation that seems decisive to us ⁵. Our fragment invites us to conclude that there are gods and that they concern themselves with human affairs. But Homer and Hesiod are in no way known for denying this. Neither of them are atheists. Their fault with regard to the gods is not to deny their existence, or even their providence, but to compromise them in stories where they are seen doing evil. Our fragment therefore does not refer to their torment. Let us note for our part

1. See the reservations made in note 1 on the previous page.

2. Text given by Bekker (p. 145): Ἡπνχ7.τι8ου floyziroü miv s il "A8æ piv <ivepep o- μένων· ἔφη δὲ τὸ δένδρον αὐτῷ τὸν δαίμονα, νεανίαν γενόμενον, ἐπιθεῖναι, προστάξαι δὲ πιστεύειν περὶ θεῶν ὅτι ὡς οἶον τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστρέφονται πραγμάτων. il. I. Lévy corrects, with Corssen (*Rh. ftis.*, 1912, p. 28), ἔφ' τ8Eivæet to ἐnt6eiÏR i, and, moreover, reads τιç e i<ffv instead of τι) ç o(ov re.

3. See especially Lu tēgsnds. . ., p. 80.

4. La fēgenōe. . ., p. 84.

5. Joiiwt des *SavaM*, 1928, pp. 9–10.

remains: there is a locative agreement between a phrase from the *resu rrié* and the only clear sentence in the fragment: the one that refers to the existence and providence of the Gods.

A third, much more explicit and interesting from a philosophical point of view, has sometimes been linked to the *Asclepiad*. It has been preserved by Proclus, who attributes it to the "discourse of Pythagoras to Abaris". There has been some hesitation in linking this text to the work of Heraclides, because it was believed that the form introducing the previous fragments suggested that in this book Abaris — and not Pythagoras — was the speaker. If we refer to Iamblichus' summary, we see that it allows us to resolve this difficulty. It contains both the speeches of Abaris and those of Pythagoras — and even a speech that can be said to be par excellence: the great dogmatic exposition of the second part. Now, this speech is preceded by the formula: *Se toizrnniit donc* *A haris...* It is therefore specifically addressed to this character; it deserves in every respect the that Proclus gives it.

It may be necessary to deduce from the formula introducing the two first fragments that Abaris is the one who, from a bout *ia l' a utre*, is the narrator: *rriais* he then only reports a dialogue that took place between Pythagoras, Phalaris and himself. This is a technique well known in Plato's works. A dialogue is framed within a narrative, or even within another dialogue, as in the *Phaedo*, where the character of that name recounts to Laches the dialogue he witnessed between Socrates, who was about to die, and his disciples, of whom he himself was one. Let us note in passing that there is a dramatic analogy between the *Phaedo* and our *A ba-ris*: in both cases, a Sage is in prison. We could also consider this particular technique in relation to the *Tlépu blique*, whose possible influence we have already had occasion to mention. As we know, Socrates recounts a dialogue that took place in Piraeus during the Bendidies. The considerable length of the work did not prevent Plato from resorting to this fiction any more than the three books of the *A bcsres* hindered Heraclides.

But, based on his doctrine, can this third fragment be related to Heraclides on the one hand, and to our summary on the other? It establishes analogies between the eye and fire. One is the highest of the organs

1. *In Plat. Tim.*, 141 D : ὅτι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνάλογον εἶναι τῷ πυρὶ δείκνυσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθαριν λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνωτάτω τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ πῦρ τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ ὀξείαις ἐνεργείαις χρῆται ὡς ἐκεῖνο, τὸ τε κωνοειδὲς ὁμοιότητα ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πυραμοειδὲς οὐκ ὀλίγην.

ganes of sensation, just as fire is, of the elements, the highest in the universe. Both have deg òŞe'zt ev p-teí x: Err fin and this is both the most obscure at first glance and the most interesting "the conical has a great analogy with the pyramidal". What does this last sentence mean? Comparison with other texts allows us to establish that it refers to root y ttz *. These speculations on the Iornie of the rotyetz no us are also given to us by these other texts as Pythagorean. But we know elsewhere that Heraclides professed the doctrine that is at their basis*, which is why Diels, a good judge in this matter ³, and Voss do not hesitate to attribute our fragment to him.

It is based, as we can see, on the analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm: fire is to the universe, to a certain extent, what the eye is to the body. As the origins of this doctrine have long been attributed to the Middle Portico and in particular to Posidonius, it is worth emphasising its archaic nature and showing that it may well have been professed by Heraclides ⁴. Tradition attributes to Democritus the expression p.txpéc xóçfyoc applied to man. It also attributes it to Pythagoras. In both cases, it shows in the horn a xóøJ c in reduction. But a valuable passage from Aristotle's *Physics* proves to us that philosophers had already used the comparison in the opposite sense and saw in the »*« .ç an Otto'⁷. This passage seems to refer to other pen-

s. 'oss, op. htizf., p. 63.

2. This kind of atomism is very reminiscent of that of the Pythagorean Ekphantos, who, according to A°oss (p. 64), who may well be right, was nothing more than a more or less fictional character featured in a dialogue by Heraclides.

3. Cf. his capital outrage ffsmsuœm.

!+. On lcs origines oi'iontales, see especially Reitzenstein-Scheder, *St udien sum anliken S ynkretism tee. Ans Iran trial L•'rieclientand*, Leipzig, 1926, I, p. 3. The authors followed from the I ride to the Orphism the representation of the world as a man or as a Dicu. It seems that there is a continuous tradition up to the Manicheism, where it was studied in particular by Cumont, *HecJtercies stir fe maritc/téisme*, p. 26. See also Bolt-Bezold, *Sf9Prigfniú6e iirtó fiterrizfetiing*, 4th edition, revised r by Clu ndel, p. 1ò7, where we find bibliographical references comprehensive colles dc Bouclié-Leclorcq, *L'nsirofngio grecif cre*, p. 7G Ct 9H*V.

5. Davicl, Prof., 38, 14 (Ba9se) Democritus, frgt B, 36, Diels. C•alène attributes it more vaguely to dcs fivò"pej næXæioi asp i Øú mm t xcv oi (*De us et parti tim* III, 10 (11I, 241 k; I, 417, '10 Halm).

Photiu9, bibl. cod. 249 (*Gif. Fytk.l*, p. 440 a, 33 Bekker. This fragment is reported by Zoller and Jaege\$, - Nsmesios rori *Emesa*, p. 135, as belonging to the "earliest Neo-Pythagoreanism".

7. Aristo te, Pfiijsi9ite, p. 2Èi2 B, 24 and ff. ••• L•i ò' év Şÿti zofizo ðuvævòv yeve«ón i,

τί κωλύει τὸ αὐτὸ συμβῆναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ πᾶν; Εἰ γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ κόσμῳ γίνεται, καὶ ἐν >•T*v ; Jaeger himself (*op. cit.*, p. 436) that Aristotle does not seem to refer to Democritus here: "Aristoteles suclit nielit inn Çÿov den zóøtioç sondern inn uóçp.oç den (tøOv wie-der" Aristotle presents the argument as an objection to the eternity of the world.

This objection was actually made to Aristotle: was it by the Platonists in the

ti e la creatioib dm monde 2

seurs than Democritus, who has sometimes been considered. In which school should we seek the origin of this comparison? Phippas expressly attributes this form of comparison to Pythagoras as well.¹ Notably, we see the stars and z

z.«x' o5pzv*•v øzoty,eī«. Diels would in fact attribute this doctrine mentioned by Epiphanius to Heraclides of Pontus: the latter gives Pythagoras and the Peripatetics as its authors, that is to say, quite probably Pythagoras among the Peripatetics, here Heraclides, who was generally considered as such. Moreover, a famous comparison, that of the sun with the heart, was also made according to ancient tradition by

"certain Pythagoreans*". We will show in another work that this tradition is worthy of respect and that the modern interpretation attributing the authorship of the image to Posidonius is unfounded. However, regarding the origins of this comparison between the microcosm and the macrocosm, the most curious and reliable document is undoubtedly the *Περί εβδωπ.ζβ •*, attributed to Hippocrates². The Pythagorean influence is evident in this treatise, in which one chapter develops the analogies between plants and animals on the one hand, and the universe on the other. Bones are compared to rocks, flesh to earth, and the various "humours" to the moisture and heat of the earth and the water of rivers (marshes and sea). The moon is linked to the seat of intelligence, etc. It may be that the "Middle Portico" taken up these comparisons and acted as an intermediary in their transmission to Neoplatonism, although its role was neither as important nor as clear as is generally claimed. But what is certain is that it merely took up the views of these Pythagoreans, particularly those of the medical schools, whose influence on the very origins of Stoicism was demonstrated by M. Bréhier, following Wøllmann⁷. Before them, the Platonists had not felt it, as *Zimée* proves. He-

1. *Épiphane, Adye haer.*, I, 7 (*Boro g. graec.*, I, 8189) «rñtæ 6th Tibet elvæt rōv 8th roūr' ' æv' v ó 8 of - úE α ürou xα i rà filkæ Gætte sv æv8 Ğnu» "ž toy xæ i 'red'•z

2. Diels, *Doxo g. graec.*, i°rofeg., p. 152.

3. Tliéon of Smyrna, I I I, c. 15.

k. The attribution to Posidonius was supported above all by Cumont, *Lo ffiéofogie sofnire dans te pa ganisme romain (Mémoires de l'Académie dev I cri plioris, X I I, 2 (1909), p. 458)*, and by K. Reinhardt, *Zfosznos rind Sym pathre*, Munich, 1926, p. 333. Lille was challenged with excellent arguments by R. M; Jones, *C'lossicif ph iloloQy*, XXV II (4932), p. 4 t3-4 35.

5. This writing was the subject of numerous important works by Roscher. See also Pfeiffer, *Sftidieri ziim anlifen Sternglenberi*, Leipzig, 4 94 6, p. 36 ff.

6. Ch. 'l.

7. *ž'i.sfoire de ict pt ifoso)Jtéé*, vol. I, 2, Paris, 1931, pp. 294-296.

Raclides could therefore very well, as Diels and Voss wanted, have attributed these considerations to Pythagoras.

Does this fragment fit easily into the pages of Jambli, more specifically into Pythagoras' discourse? Although it does not directly address the question of the macrocosm and the microcosm, we see that this part of the work began with cosmological considerations. It dealt at length about the 'conformity of everything in heaven' and 'the influence exerted by heaven on earth'. In short, expounded a doctrine whose connections with the question of the macrocosm and microcosm are well known, that of universal solidarity and sympathy.

However, the analogy between the eye and fire attests to the connection between celestial and terrestrial things; perhaps it was one of "those things most familiar to all" that Pythagoras invokes to support the exposition of these ideas.

The attested fragments of the *A abaris* seem to us to be able to be placed without too much difficulty in the pages of Iamblichus. Will the same be true of the fragments of *On Justice* that we have identified with him? They are much more extensive. They are two edifying stories, both of which have been preserved for us by Athenaeus.

The Sybarite, when they had overthrown the tyranny of Teles, were about to disappear and put to death those who had participated in the affairs. They presented themselves at the altars. Then, because of these blasphemies, the statue of Hera turned away; blood began to flow from the ceiling, to such an extent that they closed off the entire neighbouring area with bronze doors, hoping to stop the blood from gushing out. That is why they were ruined from top to bottom and all perished, they who had also wanted to suppress the struggle of the famous Olympic Games. Having, in fact, neglected the moment when it takes place, they sought to attract the athletes to their home with the superiority of the rewards.

Heraclides Ponticus, in his second book on justice, states:

1. Athénée, XII, p. 521 e : 'Ηρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικός ἐν τῷ περὶ δικαιοσύνης φησὶ· Συβαρίται τὴν Τήλους τυραννίδα κατὰλύσαντες τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιροῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἀπῆντησαν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις τούτοις τράφη μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἰπρας ἄγαλμα, τὸ δ' ἔδαφος ἄνηκε πηγὴν αἵματος ὥστε τὸν σύνεγγυς ἅπαντα τόπον κατεχάλκωσαν θυρίσι, βουλόμενοι στήσαι τὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀναφορὰν διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῶν πάντων βολῆ ὡς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς.

tale: the city of the Milesians fell into misfortune because of the mollesc of its life and political hatreds; without regard for what was mine, they destroyed their enemies from top to bottom. Indeed, the rich and the common people (the class they call tier-githes) fought each other, and at first the people prevailed, driving out the rich and gathering the children of the banished in threshing floors; they brought oxen which crushed them all and dragged them to their most criminal death. That is why, when, in a reversal of fortune, the rich took power, they covered with pitch all those they captured, as well as their children. While they were burning, among other wonders, it is said that an olive tree caught fire by itself. That is why the god kept them away from his oracle for a long time, and when they asked why they were being kept away, he replied:

"I hold dear the murder of the peaceful Gergithes, the misfortune of those who were smeared with pitch, and the ever- , flowering tree*."

How can these two stories be part of a discussion on justice? Obviously, because in both cases divine justice intervenes and, through its intervention, criminals are punished. It is a justice linked to divine providence, but not to a philosophical and refined providence, but rather to one that can manifest itself through the miracles of religion. Now, is it necessary to point this out? These are precisely the reasons that allowed us to see a Sept $\delta\tau\chi\zeta:\omicron\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\gg 9c$ in the pages of the Bible. Here we find a highly original conception, mixed with devotion and philosophy, that of the man who, in opposition to Aristotle, explained the catastrophe of Helike by the wrath of Poseidon. Is there not something striking about such an encounter, after the one we have just highlighted?

At what point in the dialogue should we place our fragments?

Ψu para aphe 117, we see Abaris listing a series of facts

1. Athénée, XII, p. 523 f. 'Ηρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ δικαιοσύνης φη-
 ἢ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυχίαις διὰ τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἐχθρας·
 οἱ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ριζῶν ἀνείλον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. Στασιαζόντων γὰρ τῶν τὰς
 οὐσίας ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι γέργιθας ἐκάλουν, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας
 δῆμος καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἐκθάλων καὶ συναγαγὼν τὰ τέκνα τῶν φυγόντων εἰς ἀλωνίας,
 ;*oû? ο».°Το:Τ#wTtÇ Ευρυχο& cas Wsi παρανομιωτάτῳ θανάτῳ d:égbeipev' 7'oiyàpai w4-
)çv ot w)ouεcoti X(/ε ,çFçXWTEç απαντας ὧν κύριοι κατέστησαν μετὰ τῶν τεχνῶν κατεπίτ-
 τῶσαν. *Ὡν καιομένων φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γενέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν ἱερὰν αὐτομά-
 την ἀναφῆναι. Διόπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπήλαυεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου καὶ ἐπε-
 ρωτῶντων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελεύονται, εἶπε,

Καί μοι γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμιστῶν
 Πι:σσήρων τε μόρος, καὶ δένδρεον αἰὲν ἀθαλλές.

iniräcule ux which prove the intervention of the gods and deb' de inoris. But these are blessings, and our fragments show us punishments. Perhaps we should focus more on the passage where Pythagoras "*shows through facts* exactly what the power of heaven is and how great it is". We see that human punishments are mentioned immediately afterwards: divine punishments may also have been mentioned.

The first of the fragments of *l' 4 battre* is given to us as coming from the second book. Similarly, the second of the fragments of *Sept ôi xætGnÛV<c* belongs to this second book. Pythagoras' great speech would therefore belong to the second book and would undoubtedly spill over into the third. At the end of paragraph 217, we note an adverb which, in itself, remains obscure: "It was then that Pythagoras, suspecting that Phalaris was plotting his death, but knowing that he was not vulnerable to his blows, began to speak with the greatest freedom." Could this be the beginning of the second book?

ht

Our fragments from *11:pt oixzionuv'ic* will also enable us to better understand certain strange expressions and to respond to an objection that cannot fail to arise once we have understood them. Abaris, it is said, questions Pythagoras "about the statues". Further on, he asks him to speak "about this question of the celestial origin of the arrangement of the government of all things, which, among other proofs, would be evidenced by the efficacy of sacred things." What does this mean? Regarding the first point, Abaris asks his question about "statues and the cult most in accordance with piety", one might think that he is referring to those theories about inner piety as opposed to religious worship, which tradition sometimes attributes to Pythagoras, but which are more likely to be those of Theophrastus in his *ns,i "««.i»*; or later of the Stoics. But if we compare the first quotation with the second, everything becomes clear. The "eflicacité" of sacred things is an expression that can be explained if we consider, for example, Claude Alien's *liet 0eiw•z i•zsp-jei«*», which refers to miraculous "statues". The word *t»epy«* refers to the divine power that resided in certain statues and gave them the ability to perform miracles*.

1. U'einreicli, A mike H eiliici gsss'untler. Uiiiero mcti en ken --tim YP under gras herr der tit-ieclien

However, one of our fragments presents us with a miracle performed by a statue of Hera. It is this statue that manifests divine intervention in the world. We see here, in a way that Jamblique's dry exposition did not allow us to understand, the connection between the two objects to which Pythagoras responds to Aha-ris : statues and worship in accordance with piety on the one hand, providence on the other. The two problems are linked as they could be in another work, in which Claude Alien also spoke of miraculous statues, entitled *De O providence*. Let us add that divine statues appear in two other stories recounted by Heraclides. The first is the story of the catastrophe of Helike. Poseidon's anger stems from the fact that the inhabitants of this city responded negatively to a request concerning a statue. The second is in the account of a dream by the mother of Phalaris; she sees statues of gods that she herself had consecrated in her home, among them that of Mercury, who appears to be pouring blood from a patera he holds in his right hand. The blood touches the ground and seems to flood the entire house. This dream is interpreted as having foretold the monstrous cruelty of her son. This last account seems to combine the belief in the power of consecrated statues (it is not without intention, in all likelihood, that Heraclides recalls this latter characteristic) with the faith in divination through dreams; it is so closely linked to the cruelty of Phalaris, which is highlighted in our *Aharis*, that one might wonder whether it should not be attributed to him rather than to the (Icpl Jpv•i<fx9p/w), as suggested by Voss. All these accounts establish irrefutably that Heraclides, many centuries before the Neo-Pythagoreans, believed in the special value of sacred statues. The term d N_SPT etœ, which in the pages of Iamblichus, may not be his own; the idea appears to him

Our fragment of Ileÿt ôt xætoouñ9S thus allows us to respond to the serious chronological objection that could be drawn from the question of the statues. It is to a later period that we usually refer to the texts in which it is raised. tt Iamblichus",

"rtc/ f/ömer (dslc g. desert. fers. uzzd. Worczr6.), Giessen, t009, y. t33. Gf.Ch. Clrc, is
t°olaltves au culte des iznoges, Paris, t924, ÿ. 33, 37 ct suiv.

lltéorias

1. Héraclide, ap. Strabon, *loc. laud.* : « ... τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλικῆς ἐκπεσόντας Ἴωνας αἰτεῖν πέμψαντας παρὰ τῶν Ἑλικέων μάλιστα μὲν τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ
ût tsj, King Te fe pol vJv ù9i6p univ... »

2. Cicero, *De divinatione* I, 23, k 6.

Written, for example, by II. Clerc ¹, "he attributes a miraculous origin to statues: the gods are present in them, or at least communicate supernatural virtues to them". Julian and Proclus profess similar opinions. In their own lives, these philosophers see these wonders manifest themselves. Dominos, a friend of Proclus, hears the statue of Asclepius speak.

To give the objection its full force, it should even be added that Jainblique's text contains a connection of ideas reminiscent of Plotinus. An obscure sentence in the text will thus be clarified. It is the idea that there is a passage (6< ><5) from heaven to earth. What is this passage? It is that this doctrine explains, through physics, the intervention of divine power in the world. Now, we can see in Plotinus how such a doctrine can serve to explain more particularly this intervention of divine power, which consists in the action of miraculous statues. For this philosopher, the early sages who established shrines and statues brought to them their understanding of the nature of the whole, and they knew "that the nature of the soul is easy to lead everywhere, but that it would be particularly easy to gather it if something sympathetic (ups "b-s <<) capable of gathering it somewhere °." We can see what this formula of Iamblichus means, affirming that there is a passage from heaven to earth. It is a way of representing pres that materially the solidarity and sympathy that govern the universe and of explaining the "effectiveness of sacred things".

The fragment of the preserved by Athenaeus is sufficient proof that it would be a mistake, for a chronological reason of considerable importance, to deny Heraides the possibility of having professed these ideas. But since they are of great importance, since this is a question that concerns both the history of religions and the history of ideas, we shall be permitted to dwell on it.

We see from *De dixinatione* that this idea of a "passage"

¹, p. lu ud., y. 2ü2, note 2.

2. See also Cumont, *Les reti gioiis orientintes duits de pu gariisine i omaiit*, Paris, 4 920, p. 240, note 71.

3. Plotinus, *2fnéadea*, IV, 3; I I, p. 380 EF: . . . tiç RæVTCEJOÜ JéV G'uE7>T°* J*X 9* '• 6(Çæw8æ < s ttýv o*troy æv cry áaüv mv, ci ziç uponwu8eç zi -exJvæ cro •ðnoü.şan9x: 6vvcí p.t vov moi pri v v i•zæ æxüvī, c. h4. Cumori t rattat'lie ù la religi on ëgy ptionno los id ées do

Plotiri on divine statues: *I.e. this égrýç*ñieri and ts ni; *siicisnt e ils P'lolin (Mon nm eula* ĩ°ioĩ, XXI¹⁷, 4 921, p. 79). We believe that Plotiri refers to .o ntri do mys tères ri ù-terriinés, but rather to a general idea of the "m) sterc hcll énisti rJ ne ", a sort of ro tvs, where all kinds of elements.

served as a reason for divination*. This is also the case in our *A barre*, where divination is one of the sacred things whose value is debated. How far back can we trace the origin of this explanation through universal solidarity? If Reinhardt is to be believed, it is Posidonius who is responsible for the explanation by sympathetic centre of celestial and terrestrial things. It is not impossible that Posidonius was, in fact, the first to analyse this concept of "sympathy" and to give it the appearance of a scientific notion. It does not matter to us, because the doctrine

The theory attributed to him shows a level of sophistication that our *A baris* does not possess. Reinhardt's theory seeks to establish, as he himself points out, that there can be sympathy between heaven and earth, *despite the almost infinite distance that separates them*⁴. Our *A baris* is not familiar with this difficulty and presents an earlier version of the problem. Prior to whom? Essentially to the criticism of Panetius. According to Reinhardt, it was in order to resolve the difficulties raised by this philosopher that Posidonius developed his theory: and these difficulties, as we see in *De divinatorum*, stemmed precisely from the idea of a *comagio*.

Which thinkers does Panetius target? Essentially, the controversial page refers to defenders of astrology. It follows from this page that, among the Stoics, Diogenes of Babylon had *accepted* Chaldean doctrines to a certain extent and that Panetius polemicises against him⁵. But there is no reason to believe that Diogenes was the target of these criticisms⁶. To anyone reading the page of *De divinatione* without prejudice, it seems clear that Diogenes is presented as accepting only part of the thesis of those who defend the Chaldeans, and by these we must obviously mean the philosophers*. The mention of Eudoxus, who combats the Chaldeans, proves to us how far back in antiquity these ideas go

lanùti us asks (II, 43, 92): "fjuac potes t iquitur contagio ex infinito paene i ii teruallo pertinere ad lun am nel poti us ad terrani?"

Iloamos und Symfallyir., f. 245.

o. n years his important report on the NôitirigiscJis gefefirferi .4 ri-eige, Polileii x, recalling the texts of fhrysippe on the meaning of "sympathy", essentially admits the thesis of Hei nha ind t (4 92G, pp. 276-277).

! . And p. fûctd., . 52-53.

ñ. "Qui l'us etiam Diogc nes S toicus conx:edif aliquid... negril..." {PI, @, 90).

û. Çhzi btzs from the previous note refers to "isti, who liaoc Chaldaeorum 'natali cia J>raetic tu defericlunt." It takes a great deal of arbitrariness to attribute to I3iogène the paternity of *the philosophical* ideas defended by these isti!

7. First of all, the Stoics as a whole: cf. § 88: "Panaetius, who unus e b"toicis astrologo-mm praedicta reiecit."

our subject, and we do not see why it should be necessary to reduce the value of this indication¹.

In fact, such theses, if considered in the precise form of an '*oritagio*', were almost inevitably those that defended belief in astrology. In order to attribute them to Heraclitus, as our demonstration invites us to do, we need only ask ourselves whether this philosopher posed such problems and in what spirit he resolved them.

However, there are indications that suggest he did so in the manner we suggest.

We learn from De Mamma *Deoru Ni* that Hera Clide Divi riisait tour à toui le r-up.o- (*rnundus*), the " S (mine), the planets, the earth and the sky *. What did he mean by $\chi\eta\mu\sigma\iota$? The sphere of the fixed stars? Or the universe? What is certain is that by deifying both the celestial bodies and le *nous*, he is closer to the Stoics. On the oth , among the stars, he chose above all the planets, and in this he seems shows astrological tendencies. We know that he was influenced by the East more than any other Platonist (perhaps because of his origins). One of his treatises, probably the one on celestial matters, bore the significant title of "*Zoroaster*". We also know that he saw in the soul a luminous principle⁴. This thesis is bizarre, but it can be explained if it is of Iranian origin, as Ileitzenstein suggests⁵. Finally, we know that it was he who placed the origin of souls⁶ on the celestial path.

We have no direct evidence that he believed in astrology, but we do have evidence that he believed in what Pfeiÿter calls astro-meteorology, that is, the influence of the stars on the weather. This is attested to by a passage from *De divinatione*⁷. But if we pay attention to the way this text is used by Cicero, it probably teaches us even more. In Cicero, and in Posidonius

4. *I biü.*, § 87.

z'. Cicuron, de *zofira* éeoruzri, I, 4.3, 3*.

0. I iirz el, *fer Dialog*, I, p. 328; see also the anecdote in ülu;e int ii tiüüüü suyr*i*, p. 330.

c. 11a ero le, ú'om menf. in *Com in. Act p.*, I, 1.4, 19; A etius, Ntocio, I V, 3, ii.

ú. die /ielleniufic/ie Afí/slerierirefi morien, 3^o úditi on, Leipzig, 4.927, (a. 275- U b1.

ti. Jumliqic, ap. Sto1>ée, *h"klo g*, I, xi.ix, 39.

7. *i9e di uinat torre*, I, ii7, 30 (rgt 93 l'ose): i'iteni- f?eos acci;irrius orlum U:i i iiciil ao diligeixter quo tan nis solere scruarc coiijecturas q ue caperc, ut scri Li t l• onticus Ueracliel c*s salu In is nc an pes tilens amans futures sit. Nam. si oliscui-i or (et) quasi caliginosa stei la exstiterit, pingue et concrctum esse caelum, ut eius adspiratio grauis et pestilens futura sit, siri illustris et perl ucida stella apparuerit, sigui ficari caelum esse Len ne purumq ue et propterea saluLre.

When he borrows it, he is part of a discussion on divination; he wants to establish that celestial things influence earthly things and, in this, he is making an argument by analogy in favour of astrology. Did it play another role for Heraclides himself, this Heraclides whom so many clues show us to have been so preoccupied with mantics? How can we believe that, with regard to astrology, a mind as prone to superstition as his was any more severe than that of Theophrastus? Did not Theophrastus, in a text whose authenticity is now accepted, express his admiration for the Chaldeans? Did he not also give the influence of the stars and universal sympathy a major role in his meteorology?

We can therefore conclude with some certainty that, given Heraclides' admiration for the East and his well-known inclination towards religious beliefs, if he did consider the problem of astrological divination, he resolved it in a favourable manner. Now, it seems from the fragment preserved by *De diuinatione* that he did so and that he resolved it with the idea, which also appears in Theophrastus, of the general influence of celestial things on earthly things, an influence attested to above all by "astro-meteorology". When faced with the problem of divine statues, he decided to resolve it in a similar manner. However, fragments attest that he believed in divine statues. We must therefore assume that he preceded the Neoplatonists in their explanation; we can apply to him without reservation, if not always the vocabulary of Jamblichus' summary, at least the essence of his ideas.

It is important, however, not to attach too much importance to these arguments drawn from vocabulary, given that so little of Heraclides' work has survived. The sentence, for example, which states that "Pythagoras spoke with knowledge of internal and external discourse", may seem to be a clear allusion to the doctrine generally considered to be Stoic in Πόροϛ ἰνέτύθεζοϛ and du Xo-/οϛ wpo\$optxόϛ *. This distinction, found in Plutarch, Ghez Sextus Empiricus, in Heraclitus, the author of *the Alet-gories hornériqueo*, is it not explicitly reported by Porphyry to the Stoics ⁴? But Zeller himself agrees that

1. Proche, in *J'izziuetim*, I I I, 4 50, 28 D; cf. Pfeiffer, *op. land*, p. 48-ia0.

2. Pfeiffer, *Ibid.* Aristotle already gave him as an example to a certain extent (Liefsorofog., I, 2, p. 339 a, 4 9 et seq.); cf. Pfeiffer, p. 47.

3. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechischen*, II I, 3rd edition, p. 67.

4. Plutarch, p. 777; Heraclitus, c. 71i, p. 469; Sextus Empiricus, VIII, 275, cf. also numerous passages from Philo.

Everything we know about Heraclides does not suggest that he was a man preoccupied with questions of chronology. We can see quite clearly how he conceived the dramatic idea of *Abaris*. Pythagoras the Wise came into opposition with Phalaris the Tyrant in his imagination before he concerned himself, if indeed he ever did, with basing his dialogue on the history of Sicily and its chronology.

It could also be pointed out that the dates of the two events mentioned in the fragments of *the Sui-la j List ice nc perrin:t* hardly allow us to suppose that Pythagoras could have referred to them in a speech given in 534. To this we might reply that Pythagoras is too obviously the author's mouthpiece for the latter to have been particularly concerned about whether or not his words were anachronistic. But we would first point out that one of these events relates to Sybaris and the other to Miletus, and that at least one resemblance is preserved: that of places, since Pythagoras draws his examples from the two countries he knows best, Corinth and Miletus. And we would note that there is no anachronism in supposing that Pythagoras knew each of these events, but only in supposing that he knew both of them together. And we will note that there is no anachronism in supposing that Pythagoras knew about each of these events, but only in supposing that he knew about both of them. Let us explain. The capture of Sybaris, following the fall of the tyrant Telys, took place in 510*. This entire story is, moreover, expressly linked to Pythagoras °. But this is obviously in the chronological systems that place Pythagoras in the second half of the 6th century. On the other hand, the events concerning Miletus relate to a period that Husolt extends from 580 to 540 and are chronologically consistent with the thesis that Pythagoras lived early enough to meet Phalaris*. If we accept that what inspired Heraclides' thesis was not history but the requirements of his work, it is easy to understand why he could not help but forget this and attribute to his Pythagoras knowledge of facts that Pythagoras is more generally known — could have had. Having thus reduced and explained the anachronism, we perhaps no longer need to be concerned about it.

Thus, these objections do not seem to us to prevail over the arguments

indicate that the history of Pythagoras, Abaris and Phalaris dates back to the 1st millennium BC.

tt. *Research...*, p. 119, ii. 4.

1. Busolt, II, 2nd edition, p. 770.

2. *Jbisf*.

3. *iaid.*, p. 482.

ments that we proposed above and which led us to see in Jamblique, *Life of Pythagoras* 215-2'18, the summary of the dialogue of A laurie himself identified with Nier la ru.stice. Along the way, we were led to study the doctrine contained in this work by Ponticus. By comparing these pages with the attested fragments of Heraclides, we saw before our eyes a very singular philosophy, if one can still call it that. It is not enough to see with Erich Frank in this writing...

"A kind populariser." Pres•)ue everything that characterises Neo-Platonic mysticism in its most popular form was already more than foreshadowed in him: Pythagoreanism, oriental influences, belief in the canticle, a taste for miracles. S^r oilä, enough to disconcert a student of the Academy. But such astonishment is salutary. It shows us how much, even among those who had received these unique teachings, their highest part remained misunderstood. A Speusippus, a Xenocrates are better students; but even among them we would find more than one of the traits that strike us in Heraclides. It was immediately after Plato's death that Neoplatonism began. The new Academy interrupted its course for a moment; but when the generation of Posidonius (we deliberately avoid saying Posidonius) returned to this

"mysticis me", it could hardly be more faithful to the true spirit of Plato than Heraclitus had been three centuries earlier *.

PIERRE BOYANCE.

APPEND. UE

JAMBLIQUE, *Vie de Pythagore*

(215) ... (Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔχοι τις ἂν λέγειν τεκμήρια καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῷ κατορθωθέντα), μέγιστα δὲ πάντων ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς Φάλαριν αὐτῷ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀνυποστάτου ῥηθέντα τε καὶ πραχθέντα. Ὅτε γὰρ ὑπὸ Φαλάριδος τοῦ ὠμοτάτου τῶν τυράννων κατείχετο, καὶ συνέμιξεν αὐτῷ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ Ὑπερβόρεος τὸ γένος, Ἄβαρις τοῦνομα, αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα ἀφικόμενος τοῦ συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ, λόγους τε ἠρώτησε καὶ μάλιστα ἱερούς, περὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τῆς ὀσιωτάτης θεραπείας καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας, τῶν τε κατ' οὐρανὸν ὄντων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν περιστρεφομένων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπέθετο. (216) Ὁ δὲ Πυθαγόρας, οἷος ἦν, ἐνθέως σφόδρα καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας πάσης ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ πειθοῦς, ὥστε προσαγαγέσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας. Τότε ἔ Φάλαρις ἀνεφλέχθη μὲν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς

1. We would like to thank our distinguished colleague Mr. Daudin, whose vigilant censorship has preserved us from a few errors. The criticisms he has kindly offered us have been very **valuable**, and our **most fervent desire would be to have taken better** advantage of them.

πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα Πυθαγόραν Ἄβαριν, ἡγρίαινε δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πυθαγόραν, ἐτόλμα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς βλασφημίας δεινὰς προφέρειν καὶ τοιαύτας, οἷας ἂν ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν. Ὁ δ' Ἄβαρις πρὸς ταῦτα ὠμολόγει μὲν χάριν Πυθαγόρα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐμάνθανε παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανόθεν ἠρτῆσθαι καὶ εἰκονομεῖσθαι πάντα ἀπ' ἄλλων τε πλειόνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῶν ἱερῶν, πολλοῦ τε ἔδει γόητα νομίζειν Πυθαγόραν τὸν ταῦτα παιδεύοντα, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθάρμαζεν ὡς ἂν θεὸν ὑπερφυῶς. Πρὸς ταῦτα Φάλαρις ἀνήρει μὲν τὴν μαντείαν, ἀνήρει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς δρῶμενα περιφανῶς. (217) Ὁ δὲ Ἄβαρις μετῆγε τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ πᾶσι φαινόμενα ἐναργῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, ἤτοι πολέμοις ἀτλήτοις ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις ἢ καρπῶν φθοραῖς ἢ λοιμῶν φοραῖς ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιούτοις παγχαλέποις καὶ ἀνηκέστοις, παραγινομένων δαιμονίων τινῶν καὶ θείων εὐεργετημάτων ἐπειρᾶτο συμπεῖθειν ὡς ἔστι θεία πρόνοια, πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δύναμιν ὑπεραίρουσα. Ὁ δὲ Φάλαρις ἠνησχύντει πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ἀπεθρασύνετο. Αὐθις οὖν ὁ Πυθαγόρας, ὑποπτεύων μὲν, ὅτι Φάλαρις αὐτῷ ῥάπτοι θάνατον, ὅμως δὲ εἰδῶς, ὡς οὐκ εἶη Φαλάριδι μόρσιμος, ἐξουσιαστικῶς ἐπεχειρεῖ λέγειν. (218) Ἀπιδὼν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἔφη, ὅτι οὐρανόθεν ἢ διάθασις εἰς τε τὰ ἀέρια καὶ ἐπίγεια φέρεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ ἔτι περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀκολουθίας πάντων διεξῆλθε γνωριμώτατα τοῖς πᾶσι, περὶ τε τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτεξουσίου δυνάμεως ἀναμφισβητήτως ἀπέδειξε, καὶ προϊῶν περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τελείας ἐνεργείας ἐπεξῆλθεν ἱκανῶς, καὶ ἔπειτα μετὰ παρρησίας περὶ τυραννίδος τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τύχην πλεονεκτημάτων πάντων, ἀδικίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πλεονεξίας ὅλης στερεῶς ἀνεδίδαξεν, ὅτι οὐδενός ἐστι ταῦτα ἄξια, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θείαν παραινέσιν ἐποιήσατο περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου βίου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν χάριστον ἀντιπαραβολὴν αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἀντιπαρέτεινε, περὶ ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν παθῶν ὅπως ἔχει ταῦτα σαφέστατα ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον πάντων ἐπέδειξεν, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν κακῶν εἰσιν ἀνάιτιοι καὶ ὅτι νόσοι καὶ ἔσα πάθη σώματος ἀκολασίας ἐστὶ σπέρματα, περὶ τε τῶν λεγομένων ἐν τοῖς μύθοις διήλεγξε τοὺς λογοποιούς τε καὶ ποιητάς, τὸν τε Φάλαριν μετελέγχων ἐνουθέτει, καὶ τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δύναμιν ὅποια τίς ἐστι καὶ ὅση δι' ἔργων ἐπεδείκνυε, περὶ τε τῆς κατὰ νόμου κολάσεως ὡς εἰκότως γίνεται τεκμήρια πολλὰ παρέθετο, περὶ τε τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα παρέδειξε περιφανῶς, περὶ τε τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἔξω προϊόντος ἐπιστημονικῶς διεξῆλθε, περὶ τε νοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατιούσης γνώσεως ἀπέδειξε τελείως, ἠθικά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων δόγματα. (219) Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρηστῶν ὠφελιμώτατα ἐπαίδευσε, παραινέσεις τε συμφώνους τούτοις συνήρμωσεν ἐπιεικέστατα, ἀπαγορεύσεις τε ὧν οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν παρέθετο, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, καθ' εἰμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ νοῦν δρωμένων τὴν διάκρισιν ἐποίησατο [καὶ τῶν κατὰ πεπρωμένην καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην], περὶ δαιμόνων τε πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ διελέχθη καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας.

ABARIS THE SCYTHIAN, epic poet of the 6th century BC.

Summary

**Apollonius Dyscolus, *Marvelous Stories*, 6 Scholia on
Aristophanes, *Knights*, 725 Clement of Alexandria,
Stromata, I.21e Diodorus, II.47
Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funeral Oration for Basil*, 21.4 Scholia
on Gregory of Nazianzus, *Cat. Bibl. Bodl.* p.51 Harpocration
(Phot. Berol.) s.v. "Αβαρις
Herodotus IV.36 Himerius,
Discourse, 25
Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 19
Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 28
Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 32
Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 36
Julian, *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens*, 1
Lycurgus, *Against Menesaichmos*, F5a Nicomachus of
Gerasa
Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XI
Nonnus, *Narrations*, 7
Origen, *Against Celsus*, III
Pausanias III.13.2
Philodemos, *On Piety* (Περὶ εὐσεβείας) 4688-4707 Obbink Philostratus, *Life
of Apollonius of Tyana*, VII.10
Pindar, F270 Maehler Plato,
Charmides, 158b
Plutarch, *On the Manner of Reading Poets*, ^{14th} Porphyry,
Life of Pythagoras, 28-29
Souda, s.v. *Abaris* ("Αβαρις), α 18 ^{Adler1} Souda, s.v.
Pythagoras
Strabo VII.3.8
Tzetzes, *Chiliades* I.640-642
Anonymous, *Peri suntaxeōs* ap. Bekk. *Anecd. Gr.* I p.145
Anonymous, *Peri suntaxeōs* ap. Bekk. *Anecd. Gr.* I p.178
P. Oxy. 1611, F11.245-248**

Testimonies

Biographia

T1. Suda, s.v. Abaris ("Αβαρις), α 18 ^{Adler2}

10th AD

Scythian, son of Seuthus. He wrote down the oracles called Scythic; and Gamon
"Εβρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ Καθαρμοῦς· καὶ Θεογονίαν καταλογάδην· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄφιξιν εἰς
Hyperboreans, measured. He came from the Scythians to Greece. This is the mythological Oisthos, who ^{flew} from
Greece to the Hyperborean Scythians, and was given to him by

¹ = BNJ 34 T1 = Kinkel, p.242

² = BNJ 34 T1 = Kinkel, p.242

³ τοῦ πετομένου *corruptum* (ἐφ' οὗ πετόμενος ἀφίκετο *vel sim.*?); Σκυθῶν *om. S, fortasse recte, sed cf.* 35F1a; ἦν GT, κῆ S, ἦ AMB, ἦ *propter haplographiam vel errorem* (cf. FGrH 35 F1) *omissum*.

Apollo. ... and they say that Abaris from Hyperborea arrived as ambassador during the $\eta\tilde{\gamma}$ Olympiad.

A Scythian, son of Seuthes. Wrote the 'Scythian' *Oracles*, the *Marriage of the (River) Hebrus*, the *Purifications*, the prose *Theogony*, and the verse *Arrival of Apollo amongst the Hyperboreans*. His was the legendary arrow on which he flew from Greece as far as the Hyperborean Scythians; it was given to him by Apollo. ... and Abaris they say arrived from the Hyperboreans as an old man in the 53rd Olympiad (568-565 BC).

The *Suda* entry, in the part not printed by Jacoby in *FGrH*, tells the story of the plague, oracle and embassies as in T2. It is either confused or corrupt: it is not clear how τοῦ πετομένου fits into the grammar, and the direction of travel, from Greece to Scythia, appears to be wrong. The *Suda* appears to think that 'Hyperborean' is an adjective to apply to nations (apparently, 'far-northern') both here, of Scythians, and in 35 T1, of Arimaspians. If Abaris, who is fictional, arrived in Greece in the time of Croesus (T2) or even as specifically as in the 53rd Olympiad (a clear emendation, already applied by some manuscripts), then his story, and any of his texts that really existed, must have been created a good generation or two after that. The end of the sixth century BC, in the wake of the collection and transcription of texts, notably at Athens (e.g., in the so-called 'Pisistratean recension' of Homer), seems a useful initial context; cf. also the forgeries of Onomacritus reported by Herodotus (7.6), and the emergence of other pseudonymous authors (Musaeus, Orpheus, etc.).

Jacoby thought the prose theogony a fabrication by Lobon of Argos. Lobon wrote an *On the Poets* (perhaps in the second century BC) which is cited in the context of Thales and Epimenides by Diogenes Laertius (1.34, 112), and in the anonymous *Life of Sophocles* – after emendation, see O. Vox, 'Lobone de Argo ed Eraclide Pontico', *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 23 (1981), 83-90, at

83. The modern critical story begins with E. Hiller, 'Beiträge zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte', *RhM* 33 (1878), 518–29, who saw Lobon as desperate to reconstruct the literary activity of the Sages (e.g., Thales) and perhaps even concerned to parody Callimachus' methods (Vox, 'Lobone', 83), complete with line counts and samples. Then W. Crönert, 'de Lobone Argivo', *Xáριτες F. Leo* (Berlin 1911), 123-45, refined Hiller's thesis, noting the key features of Lobon's activity, for instance the ascription to these ancient poets of works in prose (Vox, 'Lobone', 83-4).

Holy men in the archaic age who performed miracles (like the cleansing of Sparta by Abaris, Iamblichos, *Pythagorean Life*, 92), according to M.L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 15, were almost expected to have written a theogony. However, it appears to be more specific than that: the work of Lobon systematically invented these titles for legendary authors and characteristically added a prose work to the list (Vox, 'Lobone', 84). On the other hand, as in the case of Ptolemy Chennos (see commentary on *BNJ* 56 F1b), we should not see Lobon as entirely a free agent acting without authority. A significant part of his inventions may go back to Heracleides Ponticos (Vox, 'Lobone', 85-87). Jacoby also gradually retreated from the view that Abaris, or at least his *Theogony*, might be viewed as invented by Lobon (cf. his Addenda to *FGrH* authors 34 and 35).

T2. Harpocraton (Phot. Berol.) s.v. "Αβαρις = *BNJ* 34 T2

2nd AD

"Αβαρις ὄνομα κύριον⁴ ἄλκυργος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μενεσαίχμου. λοιμοῦ γάρ φασι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην γεγονότος, Apollo told the Greeks and barbarians to pray to the Athenian people above all others; And many nations sent ambassadors to them, and they say that an ambassador from the Hyperboreans arrived. But there is disagreement about the time when this happened. For Hippostratus says that it happened during the same Olympiad, but Pindar says that it happened during the reign of Croesus, king of Lydia, while others say it was during the $\kappa\alpha$ Olympiad.

Abaris. A proper name. <Lycourgos in his speech *Against Menesaichmos* [F14.5b Conomis] (is a source)> They say that when plague occurred throughout the entire inhabited world, Apollo gave a response to the Greeks and barbarians who consulted his oracle that the Athenian *demos* should pray on behalf of all. Many peoples sent ambassadors to them, and they say that Abaris, an ambassador, arrived from the Hyperboreans. But there is disagreement about when this happened. For Hippostratos [*FGrH* 568 F4] says that it took place during the 53rd Olympiad (568/5 BC). However, Pindar [F270 Snell] says it was when Croesus was King of the Lydians (c. 560-546 BC), but other authors say in the 21st Olympiad (696/3 BC).

I have added this *testimonial* as it includes what is probably the earliest mention of Abaris, by Pindar (H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* 2 (Leipzig 1989) F270), and an indication of the supposed date of his arrival in Greece (time of Croesus). This clearly supports the emendation of the numeral for the Olympiad in the text of the *Suda* (T1). On the date, see further Jacoby on Hippostratos, *FGrH* 568 F4.

⁴Theodoridis (Photios) Conomis (Lykurgos) Keaney Dindorf; omitted Jacoby

Chronology

Pindar, F270 Maehler = F283 Bowra = F390 Turyn = Harpocraton, s.v. Abaris = 6A4 Colli 5th BC

... Abaris lived during the time of Croesus, king of the Lydians.

The figure of Abaris, about whom Pindar's account is the oldest, is also historically established, but it is punctuated with mythical additions.

Pindar's chronological determination refers to the middle of the 6th century BC (the capture of Sardis dates from 556 BC), but Rohde II.91.1 would like to bring Abaris' life forward a little (cf. Souda, s.v. *Abaris*). It would thus have taken place between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 6th century. The arrival of Abaris, mentioned in the fragment, occurs among the Hyperboreans: cf. Herodotus, IV.36; Plato, *Charmides*, 158b; Lycurgus, F5a; Suda, s.v. *Abaris*.

Tzetzes, *Chiliades* I.640-642

Stesichorus was a lyric poet, as were his daughters. His homeland was Himera, a city in Sicily. He was a contemporary of Abaris and Pythagoras.

Way of life Journey

to Greece

Herodotus IV.36 = 6A6 Colli

5th BC

For I do not recount the words concerning Abaris, who is said to be Hyperborean, according to whom he travelled across the whole earth without taking any food.

It goes without saying that the arrow is one of Apollo's dominant symbols. Herodotus' account that Abaris "carried" the arrow is confirmed by a fairly ancient fragment by Lycurgus (F5a). I agree with Rohde in considering this tradition not only older, but also more credible than the one according to which Abaris flew "riding" an arrow (although today some prefer the latter, cf. e.g. Dodds *Irr.* 161,33: this latter version was probably invented by Heraclides of Pontus (who created an entirely fabulous Abaris).

Lycurgus, *Against Meneasichmos*, F5a = Harpocraton, s.v. Abaris = 6A8 Colli

4th BC

Abaris, after being possessed by the god, travelled throughout Greece with an arrow, pronouncing oracles and prophetic speeches. The orator Lycurgus reports in his speech *Against Meneasichmos* that Abaris, during a famine among the Hyperboreans, left and became Apollo's mercenary. After learning the oracular answers from him, he travelled throughout Greece, holding the arrow, symbol of Apollo, and delivered oracles.

This testimony from the 4th century BC concerning Abaris specifies that he left the Hyperboreans because of a famine (see also Souda, s.v. *Abaris*) and adds explicitly – more importantly – that Abaris' activity throughout Greece had been that of a soothsayer.

Nonnos, *Narrations*, 7

Abaris was Hyperborean; this nation lives at the far end of Scythia, closest to the pole. Abaris, having become a supernatural being, travelled all around Greece on an arrow; and, in this capacity, he delivered oracles and prophecies. The rhetorician Lycurgus mentions him, saying that during the plague that ravaged the Hyperboreans, Abaris came to Greece, entered the service of Apollo, learned the art of divination from him, and then kept the arrow, which is the symbol of this god.

Souda, s.v. *Abaris* = 6B5 Colli

10th AD

It is reported that when a plague ravaged the entire inhabited world, Apollo replied to the Greeks and barbarians who had come to consult the oracle that the Athenian people should make a vow on behalf of all. And as many peoples sent ambassadors to the Athenians

Athenians, it is said that Abaris was the envoy of the Hyperboreans during the fifty-third Olympiad [568-565].

The testimony of the Suda incorporates the information from Lycurgus (F5a), but the accuracy of the account cannot be verified.

Diodorus, II.47

It is even claimed that several Greeks came to visit the Hyperboreans, leaving behind rich offerings bearing Greek inscriptions, and that, conversely, Abaris, the Hyperborean, had once travelled to Greece to renew the friendship that existed between the two peoples with the Delians.

Pausanias III.13.2

(*In Sparta*) Opposite the Olympian Aphrodite is the temple of Kore Soteira, daughter of Demeter, a temple said to have been built by Orpheus of Thrace, or, according to others, by Abaris, who came from the land of the Hyperboreans.

Origen, *Against Celsus*, III

That being the case, are there not all sorts of reasons to conclude that Jesus, who succeeded in such an undertaking, was accompanied by a truly divine power, but that there was nothing divine either in Aristaeus, whatever command Apollo may have given to place him among the gods, or in those others of whom Celsus tells us? He says that "no one takes the Hyperborean Abaris for God, even though he had the privilege of flying through the air at the same speed as his arrow." But this should come as no surprise, for what purpose would the Divinity have given Abaris such a privilege? What use could he make of it for the good of other men or for his own, even if I were to concede that this is not a fable, but the effect of some supernatural cause?

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funeral Oration for Basil*, 21.4

For what is the point of mentioning the arrow of Abaris the Hyperborean or Pegasus the Argive, for whom it was less great to be transported through the air than for us to rise to God through each other and with each other?

Summarised by the Suda, s.v. Abaris.

Scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus, Cat. Bibl. Bodl. p.51

"Αβαρις ἔνθους γενόμενος κύκλωι περιήκει μετὰ βέλους τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ χρησμούς τινας ἔλεγε καὶ μαντείας. The orator Lycurgus says in his work *Against Menesaichmos* that when famine struck the Hyperboreans, Abaris came and hired himself out to Apollo, and having learned the oracles from him, he travelled around Greece with the symbol of Apollo's arrow, practising divination.

Abaris, inspired by the god, travelled around Greece holding an arrow and reciting oracles and prophecies. The orator Lycourgos in his *Against Menesaichmos* says that when famine befell the Hyperboreans, Abaris came and hired himself out to Apollo, and once he had learned oracles from him, with the arrow of Apollo as a token, proceeded to tour Greece giving oracles (F14.5a Conomis).

An essential element of Delian cult, the story of the Hyperboreans provided a mythical precedent for the official *theoria* (or pilgrimage) to the island. Herodotus (4.32-5) gives us the itinerary followed by the bearers of the Hyperborean gifts as they made their way to Delos: first to Dodona, then across the Malian Gulf to Euboea, Carystos, Tenos (not Andros, as Herodotus states), and finally Delos. So important was this rite for Delos's cult and myth that the Athenians invented an alternative route whereby the gifts arrived at Prasiai (a deme on the eastern coast of Attica) before completing the final leg of the journey to Delos (Pausanias 1.31.2). In classical times, an Athenian *theoria* may actually have originated at Prasiai, possibly in an attempt to emulate the Hyperborean route to the island. For the Athenian *theoria* to Delos, see F6 with commentary.

The stop at Athens prior to arrival at Delos was obviously part of the Athenian reworking of the myths related to the sacred island, which only intensified during the period of Athenian control. Bruneau Ph., *Research on the cults of Delos in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods*, Paris, 1970, 42-4, argued that the alteration of the route in order to introduce an Athenian locality dates to the second Athenian purification of Delos in 426/5. The Attidographer Phanodemos (*BNJ* 325 F2, with Jacoby's commentary) may also have discussed the route in an attempt to mark Athens as a key stage of the itinerary.

Therefore Lycourgos's interest in the Hyperboreans in the context of a 'Delian' oration is readily intelligible (and thus I cannot follow Conomis N., 'Notes on the Fragments of Lycurgus', *Klio* 39, 1961, 146: 'it is highly improbable that Lycurgus touched upon the whole story of the Hyperboreans in general!').

But what about Abaris? Abaris was a legendary sage from the north, who travelled throughout Greece, giving oracles and/or curing people (*BNJ* 34). The principal ancient source is Herodotus, who, though declining to give full details, states that Abaris was a Hyperborean travelling the world while fasting and carrying an arrow (4.36; see also Harpocration, s.v. Ἄβαρις; *Suda*, s.v. Ἄβαρις (α 18 Adler); and Σ Aristophanes, *Knights* 729). Widely divergent dates for Abaris, however, are recorded by Harpocration: the 3rd Olympiad (768-65, Hippostratos, *BNJ* 568 F4); the 21st Olympiad (696-93, see commentary on *BNJ* 34 T1); and the reign of Croesus (560-46, Pindar, F270 Snell-Maehler). Be that as it may, Lycourgos motivates Abaris's arrival in Greece by famine (*limos*) among the Hyperboreans. Since a famine (*aphoria*) also provides Lycourgos's explanation for the use at Athens of the 'suppliant-branch' called the *eiresione* (F1a and F1b), Abaris himself could be linked with Athens and specifically with the aetiology for the festival Pyanopsia, which, according to Lycourgos, was celebrated in order to escape a famine (see commentary on F 1a). Abaris could be linked with this first festival and dedication of the *eiresione* to Apollo. But Harpocration (and *Suda*) provide a somewhat different story: when plague befell both Greeks and barbarians alike, Apollo's oracle declared that the Athenians should make prayers on behalf of all. 'Thus many peoples sent ambassadors to them, and Abaris, they say, came as ambassador of the Hyperboreans'.

Since Lycourgos is reworking Athenian myths, another possibility is that he tailored the story of Abaris in such a way that the Athenians could be represented as praying on behalf of all Greeks and even barbarians and thus be cast as saviours of the entire world – a world, moreover, with Athens at its centre. Such an Atheno-centric portrayal would be in line with other strands of Athenian tradition, such as the myth of the hero Triptolemos, in which Athens is made to appear as the place where grain (and therefore civilisation) originated. At the same time, Lycourgos may also have attempted to downplay the importance of the Hyperboreans. According to our fragment, Abaris is not a 'sage from the north', but a visitor who learns the art of prophecy from Apollo in Greece (see Humphreys S., 'Lycurgus of Boutadai: an Athenian aristocrat', in *The Strangeness of Gods: Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion*, Oxford, 2004, 102).

On the Hyperboreans and their gifts to Delos, see also Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 267–94. Secondary literature includes Tréheux J., 'La réalité historique des offrandes hyperboréennes', in Mylonas G.E. & Raymond D. (eds.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* 2, St. Louis, 1953, 758-74; Parke H.W., *The Oracles of Zeus, Dodona, Olympia, Ammon*, Oxford, 1967, Appendix 3, 279-86; Bruneau Ph., *Recherches*, 38-48, with a collection of the testimonia; Bridgman T., *Hyperboreans: Myth and History in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts*, London, 2005; and Chankowski V., *Athens and Delos in the Classical Period: Research on the Administration of the Sanctuary of Apollo Delian*, Athens, 2008, 106-8. Accounts of the 370s at Delos mention the gifts of the Hyperboreans, implying that these gifts were considered real in historical times (τὰ ἐξ Ἑ]περβορέων ἱερὰ: *ID* 100.49; see also *ID* 104[3].A8). For Abaris, see Lesky A., *A History of Greek Literature*, London, 1966, 158–9; and Gottschalk H.B., *Heraclides of Pontus*, Oxford, 1980, 123–6.

Nonnos, *Narrations*, 7

"Abaris was a Hyperborean; this nation lives at the far end of Scythia, closest to the pole. Abaris, having become a supernatural being, travelled all around Greece on an arrow; and, in this capacity, he delivered oracles and prophecies. The rhetorician Lycurgus speaks of this, saying that during the plague that ravaged the Hyperboreans, Abaris came to Greece, entered the service of Apollo, learned the art of divination from him, and then kept the arrow, which is the symbol of this god."

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XI

You have heard of this Abaris, whom Phoebus himself launched into the air on a winged and travelling arrow.

Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, VII.10

As he was thinking these thoughts and preparing to write to the proconsul of Asia to give orders to seize Apollonius and bring him to Rome, Apollonius foresaw everything, as was his custom, thanks to his supernatural powers. He told his friends that he had to make a secret journey. This reminded old Abaris, and it was believed that Apollonius was about to undertake some journey of this kind.

Himerius, *Discourse*, 25

They relate that Abaris the Sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Grecian in speech, and resembling a Scythian in his habit and appearance. Whenever he moved his tongue, you would imagine him to be someone out of the midst of the Academy or very Lyceum. (...) Abaris came to

⁵This mythical figure from the Hyperborean regions is depicted as a priest of Apollo, who had received from his god the singular gift of flying through the air on an arrow, and who thus made many journeys.

Athens, holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his shoulders, his body wrapped up in a plaid, girded about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing breeches reaching from the soles of his feet to his waist. (. . .) He was affable and pleasant in conversation, in dispatching great affairs secret and industrious, quicksighted in present exigencies, in preventing future dangers circumspect, a searcher after wisdom, desirous of friendship, trusting indeed little to fortune, and having everything trusted to him for his prudence.

Scholia on Aristophanes, *The Knights*, 725 = Kinkel, p.242

Abaris said that the Hyperboreans would bring a god to Greece, Apollo, and thus wrote down all the prophecies that Abaris was now proclaiming.

Abaris, Hyperboreans, Greece, Apollo Cf.

Apollonius, *Hist. Mirab.* 4.

Incantations

Plato, *Charmides*, 158b = 6A7 Colli

4th BC

If you already possess your own mastery, as Critias here present affirms, and if you have sufficient control, then you have no need of the incantations of Zalmoxis or those of Abaris the Hyperborean, and I can give you the remedy for your headache right away without incantations; but if you still believe you need these incantations, they must be performed before I give you the remedy.

Plato's account adds the attribution of magic to Abaris.

Miracle worker

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, I.21e

The great Pythagoras devoted himself to the study of divination and believed in the oracles of this art. The same was true of Abaris the Hyperborean, Aristæus of Proconnesus, Epimenides the Cretan who came to Sparta, Zoroaster the Mede, Empedocles of Agrigentum, Phormion of Lacedaemon, Polyaratos of Thasos, Empedotimos of Syracuse, and finally, and above all, the Athenian Socrates.

Apollonius Dyscolus, *Wonderful Stories*, 6

Epimenides, Aristeas, Hermotimus, Abaris and Pherecydes were succeeded by Pythagoras (...) who never wanted to give up the art of performing miracles.

Nicomachus of Gerasa

Following in the footsteps of Pythagoras, Empedocles of Agrigento, Epimenides the Cretan and Abaris the Hyperborean often performed similar miracles.

Disciple of Pythagoras

Souda, s.v. *Pythagoras*

10th AD

Then [Pythagoras was taught by] Abaris the Hyperborean and Zares the mage.

Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 19

Generally, however, it should be known that Pythagoras discovered many paths of erudition, but that he communicated to each only that part of wisdom which was appropriate to the recipient's nature and power, of which the following is an appropriate striking illustration. When Abaris the Scythian came from the Hyperboreans, he was already of an advanced age, and unskilled and uninitiated in Greek learning. Pythagoras did not compel him to wade through introductory theorems, the period of silence, and long auscultation, not to mention other trials, but considered him to be fit for an immediate listener to his doctrines, and instructed him in the shortest way, in his

treatise *On Nature*, and one *On the God*. This Hyperborean Abaris was elderly, and most wise in sacred concerns, being a priest of the Apollo worshipped there. At that time he was returning from Greece to his country, in order to consecrate the gold which he had collected to the God in his temple among the Hyperboreans. As therefore he was passing through Italy, he saw Pythagoras, and identified him as the God of whom he was the priest.

Believing that Pythagoras resembled no man, but was none other than the god himself, Apollo, both from the venerable associations he saw around him, and from those the priest already knew, he paid him homage by giving him a sacred dart. This dart he had taken with him when he had left his temple, as an implement that would stand him in good stead in the difficulties that might befall him on such a long journey. For in passing through inaccessible places, such as rivers, lakes, marshes, mountains and the like, it carried him, and by it he was said to have performed lustrations and expelled winds and pestilences from the cities that requested him to liberate them from such evils. For instance, it was said that Lacedaemon, after having been purified by him, was no longer infected with pestilence, which had formerly been endemic, due to the miasmatic nature of the ground, in the suffocating heat produced by the overhanging mountain Taygetus, just as happens with Cnossus in Crete. Many other similar circumstances were reported of Abaris.

Pythagoras, however, accepted the dart, without expressing any amazement at the novelty of the thing, nor asking why the dart was presented to him, as if he really was a god. Then he took Abaris aside, and showed him his golden thigh, as an indication that he was not wholly mistaken (in his estimate of his real nature). Then Pythagoras described to him several details of his distant Hyperborean temple, as proof of deserving to be considered divine. Pythagoras also added that he came (into the regions of mortality) to remedy and improve the condition of the human race, having assumed human form lest men disturbed by the novelty of his transcendence should avoid the discipline he advised. He advised Abaris to stay with him, to aid him in correcting (the manners and morals) of those they might meet, and to share the common resources of himself and associates, whose reason led them to practise the precept that the possessions of friends are common. So Abaris stayed with him, and was taught physiology and theology in a concise manner; and instead of living by the entrails of beasts, he revealed to him the art of prognostication by numbers, conceiving this to be a method purer, more divine and more akin to the celestial numbers of the Gods. He also taught Abaris other studies for which he was suited.

Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 28 (135-136)

It is also a matter of common report that he showed his golden thigh to the Hyperborean Abaris, who said that he resembled the Apollo worshipped among the Hyperboreans, and of whom Abaris was the priest; and that he had done this so that he was not deceived therein. (. . .) The power of effecting miracles of this kind was achieved by Empedocles of Agrigentum, Epimenides the Cretan, and Abaris the Hyperborean, and these persons performed them in many places. Their deeds were so manifest that Empedocles was surnamed a wind-stiller, Epimenides an expiator, and Abaris an air-walker, because, carried on the dart given him by the Hyperborean Apollo, he passed over rivers, and seas and inaccessible places like one carried on air. (. . .) When Abaris performed sacred rites according to his customs, he procured a foreknowledge of events, which is studiously cultivated by all the Barbarians, by sacrificing animals, especially birds; for they think that the entrails of such animals are particularly adapted to this purpose.

Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 32

A Hyperborean sage named Abaris visited him, to converse with him on many topics, especially sacred ones, respecting statues and worship, divine providence, terrestrial and celestial natures, and the like. Pythagoras, under divine inspiration, answered him boldly, sincerely and persuasively, so that he converted all listeners. This aroused Phalaris's anger against Abaris, for praising Pythagoras, and increased the tyrant's resentment against Pythagoras. Phalaris swore proudly as was his wont, and uttered blasphemies against the Gods themselves. Abaris, however, was grateful.

to him, and learned from him that all things are suspended from, and governed by the heavens; which he proved from many considerations, but especially from the potency of sacred rites. For teaching him these things, Abaris was so far from thinking Pythagoras an enchanter that his reverence for him increased until he considered him a god. Phalaris tried to counteract this by discrediting divination and publicly denying that there was any efficacy in the sacraments performed in sacred rites. Abaris, however, guided the controversy towards such things as are granted by all men, seeking to persuade him of the existence of a divine providence, from circumstances that lie above human influence, such as immense wars, incurable diseases, the decay of fruits, incursions of pestilence, or the like, which are hard to endure, and are deplorable, arising from the beneficent (purifying) energy of the celestial and divine powers. Shamelessly and boldly Phalaris opposed all this. Then Pythagoras, suspecting that Phalaris intended to put him to death, but knowing he was not destined to die through Phalaris, retorted with great freedom of speech. Looking at Abaris, he said that from the heavens to aerial and terrestrial beings there was a certain descending communication. Then from instances generally known he showed that all things follow the heavens. Then he demonstrated the existence of an indisputable power of free will in the soul, proceeding further to discuss at length the perfect energy of reason and intellect. With his (usual) freedom of will, he even (dared to) discuss tyranny and all the prerogatives of fortune concerning injustice and human avarice, teaching firmly that all these are of no value. Further, he gave Phalaris a divine admonition concerning the most excellent life, earnestly comparing it with the most depraved. He likewise clearly unfolded the manner of subsistence of the soul, its powers and passions; and, what was the most beautiful of all, demonstrated to him that the Gods are not the authors of evils, and that diseases and bodily calamities are the results of intemperance, at the same time finding fault with the poets and mythologists for the unadvisedness of many of their fables. Then he directly confuted Phalaris, and admonished him, experimentally demonstrating to him the power and magnitude of heaven, and by many arguments demonstrated to him that reason dictates that punishments should be legal. He demonstrated to him the difference between men and other animals, scientifically demonstrating the difference between internal and external speech. Then he expounded the nature of intellect, and the knowledge that is derived therefrom; with its ethical corollaries. Then he discoursed about the most beneficial of useful things, adding the mildest possible implied admonitions and prohibitions of what ought not to be done. Most important of all, he unfolded to him the distinction between the productions of fate and intellect, and the difference between the results of destiny and fate. Then he reasoned about the divinities and the immortality of the soul. All this, really, belongs to some other chapter, the present one's topic being the development of fortitude. For if, when situated in the midst of the most dreadful circumstances, Pythagoras philosophised with firmness of decision, if on all sides he resisted fortune, and repelled it, enduring its attacks strenuously, if he employed the greatest boldness of speech towards him who threatened his life, it must be evident that he entirely despised those things generally considered dreadful, rating them as unworthy of attention. If also he despised execution, when this appeared imminent, and was not moved by its imminence, it is evident that he was perfectly free from the fear of death, (and all possible torments).

But he did something even more generous, bringing about the end of tyranny, restraining the tyrant when he was about to bring the most deplorable calamities on mankind, and liberating Sicily from the most cruel and imperious power. That it was Pythagoras who accomplished this is evident from the oracles of Apollo, which had predicted that the dominion of Phalaris would come to an end when his subjects would become better men and cooperate, which also happened through the presence of Pythagoras and his imparting of instruction and good principles to them. The best proof of this may be found in the time when it happened. For on the very day that Phalaris condemned Pythagoras and Abaris to death, he himself was slain by stratagem.

Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 36

It is probable that the majority of the Pythagoreans were anonymous, and remain unknown. But the following names are known and celebrated: . . . Of the Hyperboreans, Abaris.

Porphry, *Life of Pythagoras*, 28-29

28. It is well known that he showed his golden thigh to Abaris the Hyperborean, to confirm him in the opinion that he was the Hyperborean Apollo, whose priest Abaris was. A ship was coming into the harbour, and his friends expressed the wish to own the goods it contained. "Then," said Pythagoras, "you would own a corpse!" On the ship's arrival, this was found to be the true state of affairs. Of Pythagoras many other more wonderful and divine things are persistently and unanimously related, so that we have no hesitation in saying never was more attributed to any man, nor was any more eminent.

29. Verified predictions of earthquakes are handed down, also that he immediately chased away pestilence, suppressed violent winds and hail, calmed storms both on rivers and on seas, for the comfort and safe passage of his friends. As their poems attest, the like was often performed by Empedocles, Epimenides and Abaris, who had learned the art of doing these things from him. Empedocles, indeed, was surnamed Alexanemos, as the chaser of winds; Epimenides, Cathartes, the lustrator. Abaris was called Aethrobates, the walker in air; for he was carried in the air on an arrow of the Hyperborean Apollo, over rivers, seas and inaccessible places. It is believed that this was the method employed by Pythagoras when on the same day he discoursed with his friends at Metapontum and Tauromenium.

Judgement

Strabo VII.3.8 = Kinkel, I.242

The same simplicity prevails in the *letters of the ancient Persians* and in what remains of *the apophthegms* of the Egyptians, Babylonians and Indians; and if Anacharsis, Abaris and other Scythians acquired such fame among the Greeks, it was because they possessed to the highest degree what might be called the characteristic virtues of their nation: gentleness, simplicity and justice.

Julian, *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens*, 1

For it is easy to give oneself the false reputation of being a just man, and it may happen, without it being extraordinary, that a good man may be found among a large number of wicked men. Is it not thus that Déjocès is praised among the Medes, Abaris among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis among the ^{Scythians?}

Julian, *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens*, 2

It is therefore only natural that you should not consider only the greatness of a man's achievements, even if he were capable of travelling the earth with incredible speed and tireless vigour, as if he were flying through the ^{air}, but that you should examine whether he acts in accordance with justice.

The Abaris of *Heraclides of Pontus*

Plutarch, *On the Manner of Reading Poets*, ^{14th} = Kinkel I.242

They (*young people*) read with a kind of enthusiasm, not only Aesop's fables and works filled with poetic fiction, such as Heraclides' *Abaris* and Ariston's *Lycon*, but also the writings of philosophers on the nature and attributes of the soul, when they are enlivened by the embellishments of fable.

⁶ Déjoces, founder of the Median Empire, shook off the yoke of the Assyrians and built the city of Ecbatana. He was judge of a district of Media when his fairness led him to be called to the throne. - Abaris, high priest of Apollo among the Hyperboreans, came to Greece and delivered oracles that made him regarded as a demigod. - Anacharsis, famous Scythian philosopher. See his life in Diogenes Laërtius, book I, chapter VIII, vol. 1, p. 49, trans. Zévvort.

⁷ Allusion to the soothsayer Abaris, who, it is said, travelled the whole earth carried on a mysterious arrow.

Anonymous, *Peri syntaxeôs* ap. Bekk. *Anecd. Gr.* I p.145 = Kinkel I.243

epistropheomai: anti tou epimeleian poioumai kai phrontizô, meta genikês. Hêrakleidou Pontikou tôn eis *Abaris anapheromenôn*: “ephê de to dendron autô ton daimona, neanian genomenon, epitheinai, prostaxai de pisteuein peri theôn, hoti hôs hoion te kai tôn anthrôpinôn epistrophontai pragmatôn.”

Anonymous, *Peri syntaxeôs* ap. Bekk. *Anecd. Gr.* I p.178 = Kinkel I.243

hulaktô: aitiatikê. Hêrakleidou Pontikou ek tou deuteroû logou tôn eis tôn *Abarin anapheromenôn*: “ek de tôn eggês phôleôn exeirpusan opheis epi to sôma sphodrôs orouontes. ekôluonto mentoi hupo tôn kunôn, hulaktountôn autous”.

Fragments

Theogony

BNJ 34 F1. Philodemos, *On Piety* (Περὶ εὐσεβείας) 4688-4707 Obbink

1st BC

..... ἐν δὲ τοῖς [εἰς Ἐπι]μενίδην [ἐξ Ἀέρος] καὶ Νυκτὸς [τᾶλλα σ]υστῆναι, [ἀλλὰ δὴ]

Homer [declares] that Oceanus [from] Tethys [begot] the new gods; "Oceanus [begot] the gods and [μητέρα] Τ[ηθύ]ν» εἰ[πών]. "Ἀβα]ρις δὲ Κρό[νον τε καὶ [Ῥ]έα, οἱ δὲ [Δία καὶ] Ἥραν πατέ[ρα καὶ] μητέρα θε[ῶν νο]μίζουσιν. Pindar, too, from Cybele, his mother, in the verses ascribed to Epimenides (457 F4b, F6b Fowler) the universe is formed from Air and Night. But Homer (Iliad 14.201, 302) ...

But in the verses ascribed to Epimenides (457 F4b, F6b Fowler) the universe is formed from Air and Night. But Homer (Iliad 14.201, 302) declared that Oceanos begot the new gods from Tethys: 'Oceanos birth of the gods and their mother Tethys'. But Abaris thinks Cronos and Rhea, others that Zeus and Hera are father and mother of the gods. But Pindar (F80 Maehler) thinks they come from Cybele mother in the [poem beginning] 'mistress Cybele mother'.

This fragment first appeared in Jacoby's addenda. I supply here the text of D. Obbink, *Philodemos on Piety* Part 2 (Oxford, forthcoming), which he kindly provided for me (for full detail of the papyrological markings, see his edition). Jacoby's text was referenced as '47a 2ff. p. 19 Gomperz'. The text includes Epimenides, H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁵ (Berlin 1934) 3B5 i.e. R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* (Oxford 2000) F6b (= Acousilaos F6d Fowler). 'Abaris' is probably correctly restored in the papyrus – Bücheler (quoted by Jacoby, *FGrH I A, Addenda*, p. *13 n. 4) suggested ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ, 'amongst others', but it is grammatically difficult (for other variants, see Obbink, *Philodemos on Piety*).

Which were the primal gods or elements in the universe? According to Abaris, apparently in a *Theogony*, although it does not confirm or refute that the *Theogony* was in prose (T1), it was Cronos and Rhea, who emerge only at a later stage in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (453). Thus, beside the complex abstractions and elaborations of Hesiod, this would be a relatively simple text, dealing apparently in personal gods. More generally: on different ways of beginning the world, see L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*⁴ 1.1 (Berlin 1887), 31-43; on theogonic poetry, see M.L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966), 12-16, and, on Greek theogonies altogether, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: a Guide to Literary and Artistic sources* (Baltimore, MD 1993), Chap. 1, K. Ziegler, 'Theogonien', W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1915), 1469-1554, J.N. Bremmer, 'Canonical and Alternative Creation Myths in Ancient Greece', G.H. van Kooten (ed.), *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretation of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity and Modern Physics* (Leiden 2005), 73-96, G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation* (Cambridge 2004), and H. Schwabl, 'Weltschöpfung', *RE Suppl.* 9 (1962), cols. 1434-582.

One cannot rule out, however, that a *grammatikos* (literary expert) took the view, in accumulating opinions on which were the primal gods, that someone ought to have said 'Cronos and Rhea' and then declared, or thought he remembered, that it had been Abaris. Lists of mythological variants are prone to supplementation, as we can see from Ptolemy Chennos (see commentary on *BNJ* 56 F1b). If that is the case, then the text may never have existed. The Lobon theory (see above) holds that a prose work for a sage of this era indicates invention by Lobon.

Arrival of Apollo amongst the Hyperboreans

BNJ 34 F2. P. Oxy. 1611, F11.245-248

3rd AD

245 Ἄβ]αρις ἔφατον[...]. τοὺς Ἰσσηδόνα[...]. ἠδόνας· «ὁ δὲ Ἄσση[δών 248 ...]ν [σ]τρατεῦσι περ[... column ends

[continuing from Palaiphatos 44 F3bis:] Abaris remotest <...> the Issedones <.....> dones: 'But the Asse<donian ..> may campaign around <...

This text appears in Jacoby's addenda. *P. Oxy 1611* is a discussion of literature, possibly by Didymus: see *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XIII* (London 1919), 132. The papyrus dates from AD c. 200–250. The papyrus was rehandled in an important contribution by E. Lobel, *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 4 no. 38 (Oxford 1923), 48, reassembling column ii by combining fragments 8, 10, 11, 18, 19. I have also examined the papyrus myself.

It is not easy to understand the drift of the text, but a suggestion can be made. The word ἔθνος appears high in the column and ἔσχατον here (though the σχ is badly damaged), and clearly named peoples are under discussion. It would make sense if the author is gathering opinions on *which is the remotest people*, whether in the south (Arabia, Red Sea) or in the north.

The scenario clearly belongs broadly in Aristeas' *Arimaspeia* (*BNJ* 35), but the variant name *Assedones*, if it is such, may help us to believe that this is not mere confusion with Aristeas. We can guess that this refers to the *Arrival of Apollo amongst the Hyperboreans*. The concept of 'extremity' (cf. ἔσχατον) in any case belongs with these northern parts where Scythians live; cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 1-2, 418 and (*penitissimos*) 35 T4.

Lobel, *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 4 no. 38, stated that the variant 'Assedon' may also have been what Alcman wrote (Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰσσηδόνας, where the readings are Ἰσσηδόνας R, Ἀσσηδόνας V), and that it (in the form ἄσιδών) is present in the manuscripts of Herodian, *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 9.179 = A. Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci* 3.2 (Leipzig 1870), p. 914.20. Herodian and Pseudo-Herodian, however, consistently use the form beginning with *I-*, and though they cite Alcman as using the form with *E-*, regard the sole variant of interest as being a short -ε- for the second vowel (*περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*, Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci* 3.2, p. 527.5). If Abaris used *Assedon*, that is his unique decision or a bad copy in front of the author of the papyrus text.

If, as seems likely, 'Abaris' is the correct completion of line 245, he is reported as having claimed that the remotest nation were the Issedones, or rather Assedones because that is what he called them (Ἀσσηδόνας in 247?). The author then, I think, quotes Abaris, 'but the Assedonian might campaign around.....'. στρατεύοι does not command much confidence: it seems the wrong word for a nomadic tribe, and it is baffling why it should be in the optative, even if we can fit, e.g., a κἔν in before it. In addition, it appears only five times in the entire *TLG* corpus, and only once before the second century AD, in a fragment of the philosopher Oinomaos of Gadara, quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5.21.2.

With Issedonians under discussion here (cf. Aristeas, *BNJ* 35), it is tempting to reconstruct the .ρμ. two lines earlier (γὰρ τὴν .ρμ.[...]/ν.ανευτεν [.] εἰ [/ = Palaiphatos, 44 F3bis, *ad fin.*) as 'Arimaspians' (Lobel was so tempted according to Jacoby, *FGrH* Text I.A, *17 n. 4) or 'Arimphaioi' who were the remotest nation according to Pliny, *HN* 6.34 (from Dionysios of Miletos in the view of L. Herrmann, 'Issedoi', *RE* 9 (1916), cols. 2235, 2238, and cf. E. Kiessling, 'Ῥίπαια ὄρη', *RE* 1A.2 (1980), cols. 846-916, at 822). However, the traces in the papyrus (before and after .ρμ.) seem inconsistent with both suggestions. The letter following could just be π, in which case some part of χρίπτω ('draw near, bring near') might be at issue.

Biographical Essay

Abaris is a Scythian, or rather Hyperborean, who played a role in the new, sixth-century and in this instance Pythagorean, mythology at a time when colonisation and tribal movements had accentuated interest in the far North. As a figure he is rather like Zalmoxis, a work of Greek fiction. The rationale for his original inclusion by Jacoby is that some of 'his' writings will have constituted 'Genealogie und Mythographie'.

The evidence for the story of Abaris is scattered from Pindar (H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* 2 (Leipzig 1989), F270) and Herodotus (4.36) to Iamblichus (*Pythagorean Life* 90-2), with an important place being occupied by the interest of Heracleides Ponticos in the soul (the *Abaris*, F. Wehrli, *Heracleides Pontikos* (Basel 1953) F73-5). Important elements of the story were, however, present early on. The arrow is present in Herodotus, though in an already rationalised form; cf. W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, trans. E.L. Minar Jr. (Cambridge, MA 1972), 143, but contrast, e.g., J. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London 2002), 33. And the story that he 'was present/arrived' (παργενέσθαι), presumably following on from the story of the plague in Greece and request to all nations for assistance, is already in Pindar (T2). The arrow, which by the time of Heracleides Ponticos had realistically become 'very large' (ὑπερμεγέθης. Wehrli, *Heracleides Pontikos* F51a), was designed (at least according to the story that reached Iamblichos) to help Abaris fly across impassable land, notably waters, which gives some limited credence to the apparently absurd thought in Hesychios (s.v. *Abaris*, α 74: K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* 1 (Copenhagen 1953) that his name denotes one 'without a baris', namely a mainlander who has no boat (ὁ ἡπειρώτης καὶ μὴ ἔχων βᾶριν)!

More interesting is the connection that has been made with Hebrew and reconstructable Phoenician forms to explain the Hesychios entry ἀβαρταί· πτηνά. Κύπριοι – ‘*abartai*’ (means) winged creatures/birds. Cypriots (use this word)’ (α 81 Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, and cf. Latte’s footnote accepting the Semitic etymology). On this, see K. Dowden, ‘Apollon et l’esprit dans la machine: origines’, *REG* 92 (1979), 308, M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden 1967), 275-6, and H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin 1895), 8. Abaris then, like griffins, would on this view be a near-eastern import. The feel of the name would however be ‘Scythian’: as A. Boeckh argued long ago (A. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 2 (Berlin 1843), 112col. B), -αρῖς names are Scythian (Σάγαρις, Τόξαρις) whereas -αρῆς names are Persian (Κυαζάρης, Μαχάρης). Both Scythians (Sakai) and Persians belong to the Iranian linguistic group.

Baudy G., 'Abaris' Brill's New Pauly 1 (Leiden 2002), 4-5

Ἄβαρις. Mythical figure derived from the cult of Apollo, formed on the model of shamanistic miracle-working priests [1; 2; 3; 4]. Dated by Pindar in the time of Croesus (F270 Maehler), also dated earlier by other authors [5. 16]. According to Hdt. 4.36 A., coming from the imaginary northern land of the Hyperborei, carried the spear of Apollo around Greece, without partaking of any food. He prophesied in a state of divine possession (Lycurg. F86 = *Orat. Att.* p. 271 Baiterus/Sauppius), carried out exorcist healings (Pl. *Chrm.* 158b) and defended the towns from epidemics and violent weather (Iambl. *VP* 91; Apollo. *mirab.* 4). He collected money as payment for his services, as an itinerant alms gatherer (Iambl. *VP* 91). A collection of Scythian oracles and various religious poems were attributed to A. (Suda, s. v. Ἄβαρις).

The lower Italian Pythagoras legend cast A. as a pupil of Pythagoras [1]: A. recognised in him an incarnation of Apollo and handed over to him the spear of the god, with which, according to this version, Apollo flew through the air to Greece (Porph. *vita Pythagorae* 28 f.; Iambl. *VP* 90-93). Usually ascribed to Heracleides Ponticus, who had written a book about A. (F73-75 Wehrli [6.38 ff.]). Herodotus' version is often called a secondary rationalisation of the supposedly older legend of the miraculous spear. Yet presumably Hdt. 4.36 reproduces only the visible external side of the custom to which the flight on the spear belongs, accompanied by ritual, as a shamanistic fantasy [4.126 f.]. The spear of A. is identical with that spear of Apollo which had earlier flown with a sheaf of grain from the Hyperboreans to Greece (Ps.-Eratosth. *Cat.* 29; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.15 [2.91, n.2; 6.40]) -- a disguised agrarian myth about the origins of civilisation, against the background of which A. was regarded as the renewer of the Delian Hyperboreans theory (Diod. Sic. 2.47.5) and as founder of a Spartan Kore sanctuary (Paus. 3.13.2).

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**THE MYTH OF THE NORTH POLE:
THE HYPERBOREANS, APOLLO
THE SEA UNICORN AND THE POLAR STAR**

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In the Greco-Latin tradition, in Eurasia, India, China, and even in certain regions of Africa, a sacred geography* of the cardinal points has become universally established. The north is frequently associated with the male, creation, strength, light, virginal innocence, and justice, while the south is "female" and "matricial."

Apollo, the most singular Greek god, is the god of the North, the god of the Hyperboreans. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Guillaume Postel's geographical-mystical tradition placed paradise* at the North Pole. In the 17th century, the North Pole was often seen as a watery abyss and a place of rebirth and death. In the 19th century, scholarly geography considered it an "ice-free" sea.

Finally, the North Star, a reference point for all navigators, is often considered to be the absolute centre around which the sky revolves, the "navel" of the sky for the Yakuts, the "pillar" for the Lapps.

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Nietzsche(1)

*"Beyond the North, beyond the ice, beyond today
Beyond death, apart Our
life, our happiness Neither
on land nor sea
You will not find the hunter who leads To us,
Hyperboreans*.
It is from us, too
A wise mouth prophesied."*

— THE MYTH OF HYPERBOREAN —

Myth*, the archetype of thought, is the memory of ancient times. It is the allegorical expression of an experience, a fabulous attempt at explanation.

For the Eskimo, the Inuit, it was the incestuous union between a sister and a brother that led to the creation of the Sun (the sister) and the Moon (the brother). The North Greenland Inuit believe that their patron father is a dog who, in the form of excrement in a cocoon of intestines, impregnated an Inuit girl who did not want a husband. Thus were born the seals, the wolves, the Tornit, the Inuit and the white people. As for the world, it is an original sin that, under the sign of water and a woman, is linked to the destiny of the Inuit, who have always been connected to the sea. The original sin could have caused man to lose a vital space for his existence: the sea, a liquid foetal sac, the source of life...

The Chukchi people believe that the North Star is a hole through which shamans can pass through the celestial vault, where hunters can experience eternal paradise if they have respected the great taboos during their earthly existence. This paradise* is reminiscent of the one where, long, long ago, the Arctic peoples lived on earth in symbiosis with the wind, water, plants and animals, in perfect harmony with nature and supernatural forces. Today, the Hyperboreans live with nostalgia for this lost unity and conceive of their universe vertically, from the depths to the sky, with the earth as a bridge.

A SACRED GEOGRAPHY

Thought is history, and it is worth asking why, in mythical life, the cardinal points have a specific symbolic value. The North is under the sign of the high, that is, the land of souls, but also of strength, light, and virginal innocence, while the South is female, hot and dry. In Old Norse, the moon is masculine and the sun is feminine, as in the Inuit language. It appears that in China, India, Germania and the Mediterranean countries, the North is Night, a starting point, a space of gestation; the South is Day, the end of a journey; it is by going from north to south that we give meaning to destiny* and to life.

In China (whose influence on the sacred geography of Arctic societies has been overlooked until now, and where cardinal geography has always been essential and remains so), yin, feminine, is the West and the North; it is shadow and humidity. Yang, masculine, is the East and the South; it is heat and dryness. The Taoist body is, moreover, an inner space, man in his physical dimension being assimilated to a country with its cardinal geography.

In the most ancient Brahmanic texts, the earthly world is represented by the four cardinal points; Buddha has four heads; there are four classes. Ordinary humanity lives in the plains, in the south. The initiate lives at altitude, in the north, in the mountains, where, through asceticism, he can attain the highest spirituality.

The Veddas evoke this primordial time when, under a sky turning above their heads like a hat and where night lasts six months, a humanity of initiates* lived in the Far North. The reference to the North can be explained because, in Indian thought, the Gods* lived in the mountains, in the clouds. The first demigods lived in these mountains; it was after losing their "divinity" that they descended to the plains of the South.

In all Indian epic mythology, it is by going north that one goes towards the gods. The North is the Land of the Brahmins. Every Brahmin seeks to have relatives in his genealogy who are located in the North. In a village, the Brahmins live in the northern quarter. The Far North is beyond the Himalayas, the land of deliverance; once you reach it, you are no longer condemned to be reborn to bear fruit. Land of Northern Deliverance, or Ultimate Land where one lives in the Paradise of Shiva.

THE HYPERBOREAN*

Descended from the semi-divine giant peoples* of antediluvian times, the Hyperboreans lived in the Far North, a legendary land of bliss; belief in this land was widespread throughout Greek thought and formed the very basis of Apollonian cults and rites. It is too often forgotten that the Mediterranean populations came in successive waves from periglacial countries where the life of the Arctic hunters, the Great Ancestors, was magnified through geographical relays – Boreas: the Caucasus, Scythia, Mongolia, Hyperborea. Over a long period of time, Mediterranean countries were influenced by the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and Northern Siberia, whose myths, through syncretism, became organised and homogenised in the south.

The North, mountains, primordial humanity, happy and immortal people: these ideas are found in several ancient civilisations, like nesting dolls. Fragments of these mythical ideas are scattered throughout civilisations as far north as the Arctic. The Eskimos, although latecomers to the Arctic – arriving no earlier than 10,000 years ago – retain memories from Siberia to Greenland of a pre-Eskimo people, stronger and more conquering, the Tornit or Tunit, an anti-ethnic people. It is remarkable, in fact, that southern Greenland still had, in the 19th century, an acute awareness of the existence in the north, far north, of a people of giants* who were taller, stronger and cannibals. In the region of the Boothia Peninsula (northeastern Canada), I was shown the enormous stones with which these "Tunit" built large igloos.

In Thule, a few words from the vocabulary of this people lost in the mists of the dark ages have even been preserved. "They are our fathers," the Inuit of Thule told me. The Polar Eskimos vaguely mentioned to Peary this powerful people who had preceded them.

The Aztecs – Azlan is the North, the land of the dead, the place of Whiteness – kept with them, all the way to Central America, as if in a Holy Ark, the memory of the time when they walked along the Bering Strait in the Arctic tundra (2). In China, the Emperor, directly above the celestial pole, is the North Pole; wherever the Emperor is, there is the Pole. He is the "Ohrava" (the Germ, the fixed point) around which everything revolves; as Paul Muss liked to say, on his chariot, the compass always points south. "For in East Asia, the king is conceived as the priest of 'a celestial religion that serves as an intermediary between men and God, who dwells at the North Pole, the Celestial Pole' (3).

Let us continue this exploration: according to biblical tradition, evil is in the north – it is cold, glaciation, sterility, enemies (Syria). The south, Jeremiah tells us, is warmth, affection, intelligence. The north (*Sapun*) in Hebrew refers to what is hidden, dark. The Hebrew people, too, have lived since Noah in nostalgia for a happy time, mainly of nomadic life, when they lived in unity with God. Since Noah, man has been walking backwards towards the future, that is, advancing backwards towards the future, with his face turned towards the past. Christian tradition, on the other hand, is oriented in the opposite direction: the Jordan River flows north to south; Jesus comes from Galilee and goes south to Jerusalem, where he will assert himself as God*; the cross in its symbolism represents the cardinal points, with the head of Christ in the north.

In cruciform cathedrals, there is always a small door on the north transept (the North representing the Night before the beginning) that one must pass through with one's head bowed because it is so low: this is the door of light leading to the sanctuary. According to Judeo-Masonic* tradition, the temple*, oriented west-east (with the door to the west), receives the initiate* in the northeast. This is the place where, by his presence, he constitutes the cornerstone of the Temple, whereas, once he becomes a Fellow Craft, he will move southwards in rotation.

THE PERVERSIONS OF MYTH

Until the Age of Enlightenment, the tradition of a race of Nordic giants, a people close to the gods, remained constant in one form or another in Western thought. It persisted until the 19th century: the reality of a primordial Nordic race was a permanent feature of pan-Germanic, millenarian Teutonic thought. It led to the Gesellschaft Thule, or Thule Society, founded before 1914 for ethnographic and esoteric research: Adolf Hitler was a "Gast" or visiting brother *in 1919*. But these ideas led to disastrous aberrations. The followers of the Nordic Aryans, "bearers of light" and descendants of this primordial boreal people, formed the basis of Nazi thinking through the Thule Society. But it all started there. "The secret teachings we were able to draw from it served us more in gaining power than the SA or SS divisions." (A. Rosenberg).

BACK TO THE MYTH

If, in our hemisphere, Hyperborea Elysium is said to be in the North, above our heads, it is because it is located at the edge of the horizon, where the round Earth and the Sky meet, at the boundary between Heaven and Earth. The Pole is supposed to be Paradise. "These extreme regions seem to possess everything that is most beautiful and rare in our eyes," says Herodotus. This mysterious Earth exists: "One day, an immense Earth will be rediscovered," prophesies Seneca, "and Thule will no longer be the last of the lands."

Avicenna, the famous Iranian philosopher, "prince of philosophers", declared in the 11th century in a visionary account: "You will have heard of the darkness that reigns permanently around the Pole. Those who face this darkness will reach a vast, boundless space filled with misery. The first sight that meets them is a living spring whose water flows like a river... anyone who bathes in this spring becomes light enough to walk on water..."

In the Middle Ages, the myth persisted; in a map dated 1596, Gerard Mercator placed a tall black rock – "*Rupes nigra et altissima*" – at the Pole, from which the four rivers of Genesis converged. Guillaume Postel drew on the same mythical inspiration in 1569, when he placed paradise at the Pole on the first polar projection map of the world, a frozen ocean where the indigenous peoples communicated with each other from Siberia to America via an ice bridge.

In many texts, there is a nostalgia for a regional space, uniformly white, a colour that has become a symbol of purity and peace; there is a nostalgia for a golden age lost at the Pole, where the Hyperboreans fraternally pursued a communal feast with the gods* without waging war on neighbouring peoples; an Arctic society

strong and powerful men. According to Plutarch, these men were immortal, and old men who threw themselves into the water were resurrected. Some, by plunging nine times into Lake Triton, were reborn as birds. It was a northern civilisation where initiates* such as shamans had divinatory powers that enabled them to attain the original truth*, a knowledge of the correspondences and balances between the earth, the sea, fauna, flora and man. "According to Pindar, neither disease nor old age affect this holy race of Hyperboreans, who are ignorant of labour and combat. They live sheltered from the vengeful Nemesis."

It is in the north that souls rise (Plato). According to Homer, Boreas is the wind of generation; he leads and brings souls. So strong is the mythical power that, despite the geographical evidence reported by travellers – cold, ice, polar night – the northern region is a place of happiness for the Greeks; its climate is so mild that the earth yields two harvests a year. The people there live blissfully by "magic*"; they are eternal. Hyperborean kings, descendants of Boreas and called Boreads, guide these peoples.

Apollo*, the Hyperborean*: the most mysterious god* in Greece, the most beautiful of the gods, Apollo regenerates himself there every year; thus he can remain the god of light and eternally young. In memory of the journey he made in his childhood (carried by swans, birds of the North that sing only to die) to Hyperborea. According to Callimachus, Apollo was born "where seals and sea monsters give birth, on remote rocks."

Apollo, god of hunting and wolves, god of archers, returns every autumn to the Far North, "beyond the north wind", so that in spring he can exercise, like a shaman, with the qualities of a medium, his great prophetic oracular powers at Delphi.

Like shamans, he is above all a miracle worker, the god who wards off evil, a healer and a seer. Eternally young, with hair that is never cut, Apollo is the god of the spirit who inspires and orders matter; he is the master of harmony in the world. As a solar deity, Apollo opposes the forces of night and the underworld. He is also the god who eases social tensions; he brings people together and fosters community. It is these annual winter journeys to the Far North that explain why some Apollonian cults are Hyperborean in inspiration. During initiation rites, the priests of Apollo attached bird feathers, raven feathers, to the initiate – as in the dances in the Bering Strait – to remind him of his celestial origin, the bird being, like the raven among the Koriaks, a guardian. The raven, black as the polar night, long-lived and with a great memory, is, according to Siberian tradition, a human animal.

Apollo, the Hyperborean, god of light, is the god of wisdom. According to Plato, he is the god who sets forth the fundamental laws of the Republic, of civil life, "the first laws", the laws that unite men with the gods and establish "the first Alliance". "This god," says Plato, "traditional interpreter of religion, established himself at the centre and navel of the Earth to guide mankind." The Arctic dimension of Greek thought and the role of the Pelasgians is essential – it is also noticeable in the structure of Spartan society, which retains traces of the North in its rigour and deontology. Aristeas, initiated into the cult of Apollo to such an extent that he was called the possessed one of Apollo, assimilated Apollo to the black raven, the guardian bird of the Arctic peoples of northern Siberia. Was not one of the most illustrious Greek figures, Pythagoras,

a wise man or shaman as his teacher, who came from the east or the far north, from a place where, according to history, "uninterrupted daylight lasts for half the year"?

Knowledge of this space is not geopolitical. It is experienced visually. Herodotus recalls that "the land of the Hyperboreans is further from Greece than Egypt or Cyprus". Diodorus of Sicily places them beyond, north of the Celtic countries*, and the moon appears to be a short distance from Earth. Ancient Greek geographers imagined that there was a mountain range north of Europe*, the Hyperborean Mountains, separating the primordial people from other humans. It is also said that they were a coastal, Arctic people, living in a land of ice lit by a particularly visible moon, and for some, with six months of night.

Méla is precise: "They do not see the sun rise and set every day as we do, but they enjoy its presence on the horizon from the spring equinox to the autumn equinox. For this reason, they have a day that lasts six months and a night of equal length. A sacred land*, their region is exposed to the sun and blessed with great fertility. The customs of social euthanasia and the peaceful spirit of this people are described. They are said to be vegetarians. Did Abaris, the legendary Greek shaman and famous healer, not "recharge his batteries" in the Far North before operating in the South? He travelled there on a Hyperborean hunter's arrow.

Myths* and beliefs were so widespread that at the end of the Roman Empire, it was traditional in Alexandria, Athens and Rome to travel north to Britain and Germania to consult the Hyperborean sages.

THULE, POLE OF LIGHT

This northern region has a name: Thule. Thule-Tele: "far away"; Thu-al: "North" in Celtic; Tholos or Tolos: "fog" (Greek); Tula: "balance" in Sanskrit; Tular is, in Mexican esoteric tradition, the "Distant Land, the White Island, the Pole of Lights, the Sanctuary of the World". Thule, the Bay of the North Star, is directly above the celestial pole. Like Jerusalem, the Judeo-Christian pole, or Mecca, with the Kaaba, the pole of Islam, Thule is the pole of the Hyperboreans.

In the Book of Enoch, considered apocryphal according to Jewish tradition – Enoch is the "Righteous One" of antediluvian times who, at the end of a life of wisdom, was taken up to God* (Eccl. 44-16) – the northern land is a kingdom between the North and the West where the angels had received ropes to measure the place reserved for the "Righteous and the Elect". Thule is specifically mentioned in the Book of Enoch: it is the country where "the sons of God* taught their descendants in Hyperborea, the sons of the intelligences from outside, sorcery, enchantments, the art of observing the stars, signs, astronomy, and the movements of the Moon and Sun."

A legendary time, or rather a biblical one, since Genesis clearly refers to this life of men before the flood, when God and men lived in harmony. "Now there were giants* on the earth in those days, for after the sons of God had united with the daughters of men, children were born who became powerful and illustrious men in ancient times. " (Genesis VI, 4). Nephilim (4), fallen angels according to orthodox tradition, "fallen from heaven", ancient pre-

humans. "There was no forgiveness for the ancient giants who rebelled because of their strength" (Ecclesiastes XVI, 7). The Sons of Anaq are said to have descended from them.

In Numbers, the Hebrews who came from Egypt hesitate to continue on to Judea. Didn't the last descendants of the antediluvian giants occupy the land of Canaan? Scouts sent by Moses declared: "We saw there monsters, the sons of Enoch, and they have descendants of the race of giants, among whom we appear as grasshoppers" (Numbers XIII, 34). What became of these giants mentioned by the Greeks and the Hebrews? Were they massacred or did they disappear elsewhere... to the north, at least in the imagination of some?

Invasions follow one another in the West. The myth remains: Plato's Atlantis* or Hyperborea, according to ancient Swedish myths, the Garden of the Hesperides, the cradle of the first race of men, the new Holy Grail, Thule expressed the darkest Celtic-Germanic tradition, where before the flood* a people close to the gods* the Atlanteans, who survived the deluge only by fleeing to the hypothetical Agartha. The Pole of the world, the capital, the island, the mountain of the "Masters of the Night", of the "Twelve Sages". This initiatory island or mountain*, where would it be located?

"The centre in question is the fixed point," says René Guénon, "which all traditions agree to designate symbolically as the Pole, since it is around it that the rotation of the world takes place, generally represented by the Wheel among the Celts, as well as among the Chaldeans and Hindus."

"The Nephilim appeared on Earth at that time and even afterwards, when the god-men* mingled with the daughters of men and they bore them children. These were mighty men, men of renown from of old" (translation by the French Rabbinate).

According to Rechi's commentaries in the 12th century, the "Nephilim" comes from the verb to fall. They fell and caused humanity to fall. In Hebrew, the word means giants... Strong men, rebelling against God... Another explanation: this name has the same meaning as ruin. They caused the ruin of humanity... [Nrt2]

THE MYTH OF THE POLE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In 1714, an anonymous author described a journey taking him from the North Pole to the South Pole through the interior of the Earth: "Near the Pole, there are many birds with red beaks. At the Pole, there is a chasm of water, a 'great turning of water'. As we continue to approach the centre, we realise that this supposed island was nothing more than a high foam on the waters rushing and plunging into this abyss, formed on the surface."

In the 17th century, the North Pole was often thought of as a watery abyss where the waters of the sea converged and disappeared into the earth [Nrt 3]; but also as a place of rebirth and death. In the 19th century, learned geographers, notably the famous German geographer Augustus Petermann, considered the North Pole to be – scientifically speaking – an "ice-free" sea, a route to China. One of the great American explorers of the time, L.L. Hayes, even wrote a book entitled "*The Free Sea of the Pole*" (5) upon his return from his exploration of northern Greenland in 1862.

In the 19th century, the Romantics (Bernardin de Saint Pierre) evoked *the axis mundi* as a veritable Arcadia, Jules Verne as a volcano from which the aurora borealis emerged, Edgar Poe as a water of birth and death, and Lovecraft as Atlantis, a bridge between earth and sky.

Second pole: the magnetic pole, which haunted navigators.

Third pole, the most essential: the celestial pole. The North Star – a reference point for all navigators – is considered the absolute centre around which the sky revolves: it is the pole of the universe. For the Lapps, it is the "pillar", the "hub" of the world. For the Yakuts, it is the navel of the sky. In many Altaic populations, the altar faces the North Star.

According to Islamic tradition, the North Star and the Kaaba are connected. In Christian tradition, it was a star that guided the Magi to the Son of God.

SYMBOLISM OF THIS MYTHOLOGY

It may be worth noting that the key words of this fantastical mythology* draw on complex symbolism* that has little to do with universal geography. The keys are undoubtedly to be found elsewhere, and a semiology of symbolism remains to be deciphered within the context of global history [Nrt 4]. It should be noted that this vision of the passage of time is contrary to the Western idea of Progress; the notion of a lost Paradise*, a Golden Age at the Pole [Nrt 5], and a primordial antediluvian people presupposes that a primordial humanity lived in the north, in Hyperborea*, living in symbiosis with Nature and the Gods*. This is a notion of the passage of historical time that is radically contrary to our logic, since it is based on the idea that peoples, moving from north to south, live with a future that has already been lived.

Shall I recall the Lappish myth? Long, long ago, man lived in harmony with animals and Nature. But man asserted himself as man and had the disastrous idea of conquering fire. So the animals and Nature, terrified, fled from man, for he had, through this knowledge, ruined the ancient alliance. This echoes the myth of Chronos, god of the Golden Age. As we know, he managed to maintain balance by devouring all his children born to Rhea, daughter of Earth and Sky. Zeus survived, hidden by his mother in a cave. The great balance was thus lost. And it was Zeus, fighting against the new gods, who punished Prometheus, thief of heavenly fire, whose invention, known as "progress", definitively broke the ancient alliance between man and the gods.

THE INUIT OF THULE AND THE UNICORN

It is remarkable that the Eskimos of northern Greenland, to whom Westerners sought to assign a destiny* by naming their capital Thule, wisely reverted to the ancient name of Qaanaaq and placed their history under the protection of their patron god: the extraordinary narwhal tooth*, that "sea unicorn" – the ancient narwhal

— which reproduces every three years in the Arctic waters of Thule.

Unicorn*: symbol* of purity, associated with the moon? In the Middle Ages, it was associated with the Virgin Mary. For Saint Bonaventure, it is the "Tree of Life". For the Priest John, it lives at the entrance to Paradise, where it ensures the tradition

In the troubled and threatening times we live in, there is no doubt that popular consciousness still attributes a balancing power to the Earth's axis, one of the three North Poles. As the gateway to heaven, the North Star is also, according to the most sacred mythology, the seat of the divine Being, the throne of the Supreme God*. *Quaesi-vit arcana Polividet Dei* (8). **TRANSPOL'AIR © 2007**

Editor's note:

- (1) Poésies, t VIII, 2nd volume, Paris, Gallimard
- (2) DUVERGER Christian, L'Esprit du jeu chez les Aztèques, EPHE, 6th sect, 1973, 504 p. (p. 72).
- (3) GUENON R.
- (4) "The Nephilim were on the earth in those days (and also afterwards) when the sons of God united with the daughters of men and they bore children to them. These are the heroes of old, those famous men." (Genesis. Jerusalem Bible, Paris, 1962, p. 57).
- (5) HAYES (Isaac, Israel). - The Free Sea of the Pole. Paris: Hachette, 1868.
- (6) MALAURIE Jean. - Another interpretation of the Arctic region for a sacred geography of places. In Arctic Ethnology and Anthropogeography. Paris: CNRS, 1986, pp. 159-160. MALAURIE Jean. - Ultima Thule. Paris: Pion, 1988 (Terre Humaine).
- WHITAKER Ian. - The Hyperboreans of the Ancient World Inter-Nord, no. 16, Paris: CNRS, 1983, pp. 139-157.
- (7) MALAURIE Jean, -. : Les derniers rois de Thulé. Paris, Pion 1965.
- (8) Inscription on the pediment of the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. "*He sought the secrets of the Pole; he saw those of God.*"

[Notes from < racines.traditions.free.fr >](http://racines.traditions.free.fr)

- [Note 1]: Regarding the author's note (4) concerning "the Nephilines", we should point out the Nordic root *Nifl*, ald *Nebel*: mist! They are therefore the daughters of Niflheim, now under the waters of the Borean Flood*, Mermaids who haunt the misty Dogger Bank to this day...

- [Nrt 2]: Note – as is often the case – the pejorative reversal! When did this begin? During the battle against Canaan, where they claim to have put the entire population, women and children included, to the sword (The Torah)?

The latest archaeological and historical research by Israeli researchers reminds us that this battle was fought by the Egyptians (one of their three ethnocultural components). We see this in various places, but especially in Our Art. Borean Atlantis*.

- [Nrt 3]: This is where the collision/confusion between the myth* of the collapse of the Atlantean plateau and the myth of the maelstrom (see our article Ulysses* decoded) begins, widely exploited by an American novelist who thus did enormous harm to subsequent research into Our Roots...

- [Nrt 4]: This is what we are trying to do on our website: are we succeeding?

- [Nrt 5]: We also clarify this point in our article Hyperborea*!

- **N.B.:** Please note that words marked with an asterisk* are titles of articles that can also be found in the association's CD book, which contains our entire study on

The Origins of the May Tree as originating from a pre-cataclysmic Borean Atlantis in the 13th century BCE. The articles in the two parts: Thesis and Folklore + "The Sources" are being uploaded to the website *gradually* and are updated based on **our** discoveries **and your** contributions via email @...

Visit us regularly because:

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Ἵπερβορέος

The land close to the Sun

The Saami refer to themselves as the
people close to the Sun

And rightly so, since nowhere else is the
Sun so close to the horizon that it is
below it for
half the year

Ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν <κεν> εὐροῖς
to the Hyperboreans' contest, a marvellous road

Nor on ships

Will you discover
leads to the feasts

Nor on foot

The marvellous road That
Of the Hyperboreans



In Septentrionalibus partibus Bargu insule (insulae)
sunt inquit M. Paulus Ven. (Marco Polo,
Venetian) lib.j (book 1) cap. 6j (61; but the
Mercator's reference is incorrect...), that (quae) they
lean so far north that the North Pole appears to them
to deflect towards the south.

Mor is placed nies ki tant soleit cunquere

Encuntre mei revelerunt le Saisne

And Hungre and Bugre and many adverse
peoples Roman, Pullain and all those from
Palerne And those from Africa and those
from Califerne

There, where it lies beneath the Pole
The Hyperborean mountains appear

PINDARE OLYMPIC VIII

ΑΛΚΙΜΕΔΟΝΤΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΛΑΙΣΤΗ

Mater, O golden-crowned

ἀέθλων, Οὐλυμπία,

mistress of truth; so that men who are skilled
in divination may be guided by Zeus, the
thunderer, 5

if anyone has reason to speak of great things
concerning men

to receive virtue in their

hearts, but to forget their

labours; and he will be

honoured for the sake of

σεβίας ἀνδρῶν λιταῖς. 10

But, O Pisas, a beautiful tree on the Alpheus, this
crown and wreath,

. Great glory to you forever,

ᾧτινι σὸν γέρας ἔσπητ' ἀγλαόν· 15

But others went to another
place of good things, and
many paths with the gods
of good fortune.

Timosthenes, and the branch of Zeus was cut
down on his birthday, he who gave you 20

In Nemea,

but he placed Alkimedonta on the hill of

Kronos as an Olympian champion.

He was handsome to behold, but
his deeds were not in keeping
with his appearance. 25 He was a
powerful ruler,

Ἰα δολιγήρετμον Αἴγιναν πάτραν· ἔνθα
σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται
Θέμις

The most excellent of men. For he
who is very much and very often
inclined,

ὀρθᾶ διακρίνειν φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρόν,
δυσπαλές· τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ τάνδ'
ἀλιερκέα χώραν

he established a pillar of demonism for
strangers everywhere

but time, repeating this, does
not allow the Dorian people
to store up
from Aeacus; 40

The son of Latus, Eurymedon and Poseidon,
who were going to Ilium to win the
crown, called upon a fellow-worker
of the wall, for it was destined
of wars that were brewing 45 to
take swift action in battles to
extinguish the smoke.

But the blue dragons, when the new tower was
built, shook the three towers,

οἱ δύο μὲν κάπετον, 50

but then they threw down their weapons
in despair; one of them cried out in
anguish.

Ἐννεπε δ' ἀντίον ὄρμαί-νων

τέρας εὐθύς, Ἀπόλλων·

"Pergamos, surrounded by trees,

rōs, cherōs ergasiēi alisketai; 56 ὧς emō

phasma legē Kronida pempthēn

barygdoupos Diōs;

not without children there, but at

once with the first ones it is said

60

καὶ τερτάτοις. "Ὡς ἄρα θεὸς σάφα εἶπαις Ξάνθον

ἤπειγεν καὶ Ἀμαζόνας εὐίπ-

and to Istros.

'Orsotriaina d' ep' Isthmō pontia harma

thōn tanyen, 65

sending Aeacus away

away on golden horses, and

taking Corinth's brave and

swift-footed horse.

Τερπνὸν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔσσεται οὐδέν.

If I, Melesius, from a family of nobles, 71 ran

to you with praise,

let not rough envy cast me down with

stones; for in Nemæa likewise

I sing these words, 75

but then the men's battle

From pankration. It is easier to teach this to
someone who knows nothing;

mon dē tō mē promathēn;

for the minds of the inexperienced are more
fragile. 80 But he would say that those

works more perfect than others,

what manner of man would be

from sacred contests?

He was eager to bring glory. 85 Now he

himself had won thirty victories over

Alkimedon;

who, by chance, was possessed by a daemon,

nor did he fall into despair

he died in the midst of four children, 90 leaving
behind a bitter and dishonourable legacy and
a hidden enemy,

but his father inspired his father with rage, an
old man's rival.

Ἄϊδα τοι λάθεται 95

ἄρμενα πράξαι ἀνήρ.

But I must remember

ἀνεγείροντα φράσαι

with my hands, Blepsiadai, sixth among
those who already wear the crown of laurels
from the games.

There is also a part that is dead, even
though they enforce the law; but it is
not covered by dust

the honour of their ancestors. 105

Ἑρμᾶ δὲ θυγατρὸς ἀκούσας Ἰφίων

Agelia, who gave birth to

Callimachus, a rich man

in Olympia, whom Zeus had given them

ὤπασεν. Ἐσλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἐσλοῖς 110

I will give you a gift, and I

will cure your diseases. I pray

that you will not be divided in

your opinions about me,

νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν·

But if he leads them to live a life of
abstinence, he will save them and
the city.

VIII

TO THE YOUNG ALCIMEDON (126),
victor in the wrestling contest (127)

O tender mother! Who delights in adorning the foreheads of your athletes with shining crowns, Olympia, lend an ear to my words!

Sanctuary (128) of truth, it is within your walls that august priests consult the smoking entrails (129) of victims to discern the will of the master of thunder, upon these men whose arduous labours lead them to the most sublime virtues and to rest, a worthy reward for their successes; and Jupiter, sensitive to their piety and prayers, reveals his decrees to them.

And you, verdant Altis, whose thick shade embellishes the course of the Alpheus, receive this (130) hymn and these crowns. What glory is not reserved for the mortal fortunate enough to obtain one of your palms! But the same blessings are not reserved for all men, and the gods in their goodness have opened a thousand paths to happiness.

Thus, O Timosthenes! fortune has bestowed upon your brother and you the blessings of Jupiter, progenitor of your race, by granting you victory at Nemea and giving Alcimedon the palm of Olympia, at the foot of Saturn's hill. How beautiful he was to behold! And how his valour added charm to the graces of his face! Victorious in the contest, he covered with glory (131) his powerful homeland on the Aegean Sea, Aegina, where Themis, advisor to Jupiter the Hospitable, is honoured with solemn worship.

It is undoubtedly very difficult to judge wisely amid so many passions and diverse interests. But the gods, by special decree, willed that this land should rise like a pillar amid the waves and that (132) strangers should find equal support there. Ah! May time in its rapid flight never shake it!

Aegina was ruled by the Dorians (133), starting with Aeacus, whom the son of Latona and the mighty Neptune enlisted to help them when they were preparing to complete the walls of Troy. This was decreed by Fate so that the walls of Ilion could collapse amid dark swirls of smoke and the bloody ravages of war. No sooner was the fatal wall completed than three (134) dragons rushed against these new entrenchments: two fell and rolled to the foot of the towers where they expired in terror; but the third threw itself into the city and emitted horrible hisses. Then Apollo, meditating on this ominous omen, uttered these words: "I see Pergamon taken by this very place that your hands have just fortified (135), O Aeacus! Thus explain it to me the

prodigies sent to us by the son of Saturn, the mighty lord of thunder. Your children are no strangers to this catastrophe: I see (136) your sons beginning it and your great-grandsons consummating it."

With these words, interpreter of the will of Fate, Apollo departs and goes to walk the banks of the Xanthus; then he retreats to the warlike Amazons and the regions watered by the Ister. The god whose hands are armed with the trident allows Aeacus to return to Aegina and directs his golden steeds towards the heights of Corinth, to (138) contemplate the games celebrated there in his honour.

It is impossible to please all mortals equally. Let envy not be aroused against me, then, if I celebrate in my hymns the glory that Milesius reaps from the successes of his young pupils: Nemea also saw him distinguish himself; later, in manhood, victory crowned his efforts in the pankration. Teaching is easy for a skilled master, but teaching without knowledge of one's art is the greatest folly: any precept that is not based on experience is useless and vain.

Who better than Milesias can teach what training is required to become an athlete who burns with the desire to win victory in our sacred contests? Ah! How richly he is now rewarded for his

Care for Alcimedon! This young hero has just won a palm that thirty others before him owed to the lessons of Milesias. Fortune, it is true, lavished its favours on him; but does he not owe it to his courage to have left the marks of defeat on the limbs of four young rivals and forced them to hide their shame in darkness and silence? The joy this gave his grandfather (140) rejuvenated his old age, for prosperity and glory easily make a man forget death. and the dark empire...

But, in celebrating Alcimedon's victory, must I not recall the memory of the Blepsiades (141). Once upon a time, their hands also gathered the palms of triumph: today, their worthy offspring add a sixth crown to those they earned in our battles. Thus, the glory of the living shines on those who are no longer with us, and the dust of the grave does not deprive the children of the glory of their children.

O Iphion (142)! (143) As soon as Fame, daughter of Mercury, brings you news in Hades of your son's victory, hasten to inform Callimachus; let him know that an athlete descended from his blood has shown himself worthy of Jupiter's favour and the honours of Olympia.

May this favourable god always shower the descendants of the Blepsiades with his blessings! May he drive away from them (144) swift and cruel diseases! May he compel Nemesis (145) never to envy them the happiness they owe solely to their virtues, grant them a life free from evil, and increase their happiness and the prosperity of their homeland!

PINDAR OLYMPIC II 46

TO THERON (16) OF AGRIGENTO,

Winner of the chariot race (17). III

ΘΗΡΩΝΙ ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΙ ΑΡΜΑΤΙ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ

Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξείνοις ἀδεῖν καλ-

λιπλοκάμῳ θ' Ἑλένα

I pray for the glorious Akragas, that you may

sing the Olympic hymn of Theron, 5

ἵππων ἄωτον. Μοῖσα δ' οὔτω ποι παρ-έστα

μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον Δωρίῳ

φωνὰν ἑναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ

with a beautiful voice. Since they rejoice,

wearing crowns upon their heads, 11

With this divine duty, I must perform various
tasks and play the flute and the lyre.

Ainesidamus' child, as is fitting, and Pisa, as I
have done; the 16 theomori nisont' ep' anthrōpōs

aidaí, to which, κρίνων εφετμάς

Ἡρακλέος προτέρας, 20

ἀτρεκῆς Ἑλλανοδίκας γλεφάρων Αἰ-τωλὸς

ἀνὴρ ὑπόθεν

around his hair he will place a blue

κόχροα κόσμον ἑλαίας· τάν ποτε

Ἴστρου ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν πα-

γᾶν ἔνεικεν Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας, 26

memorial of the most beautiful of the Olympic
games, Hyperborean, with persuasive words,
Apollo's servant.

Πιστὰ φρονέων Διὸς αἴτει πανδόκῳ 30 ἄλσει

σκιαρόν τε φύτευμα ξυνὸν ἀν-θρώποις

στέφανόν τ' ἀρετᾶν.

For he himself, father of sacred altars

σθέντων, διχόμενης ὄλον χρυσάρματος 35

ἑσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μήνα,

καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ἀμᾶ

θῆκε ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημοῖς Ἄλφειῦ·

but the space was not suitable for planting trees in the 40 bases of Kronios Pelopos. Of these, he thought it best to plant naked oaks

xéiais hypakouemen augaí héliou.

Δὴ τότε ἔς γαῖαν πορεύεν θυμὸς ὤρμα 45

Ἰστρίαν νιν· ἔνθα Λατοῦς

Ἴπποσόα θυγάτηρ

received him when he came from Arcadia

from the cave and the many-branched

myrtles,

well-known for her good deeds,

γυθῆος ἔντω' ἀνάγκα πατρόθεν 51

χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον θή-

leian axonth', han pote Taygeta

opposed Orthosia wrote as sacred.

Seeing this, he took up his bow and shot the deer.

ἄς ὄπιθεν Βορέα 56

ψυχροῦ. Τόθι δένδρεα θάμβαινε σταθείς. Τῶν νιν

γλυκὺς ἴμερος ἔσχεν δωδεκά-

gnarpton peri terma dromou

ἵππων φυτεῦσαι. Καί νυν ἐς ταύταν ἔορ-τὰν

ἴλαος ἀντιθέοισιν νίσσεται 61

with deep-voiced twin sons of Leda. For he

allowed Olympus to hold a contest to

determine the winner. 65

On the virtues of men and the double-edged sword

of poetry. But I am filled with a spirit that

τρυνεί φάμεν Ἐμμενίδαῖς

Thêron to bring honour, giving them fine horses

Tyndarides, because they are the most numerous of
mortals 71 They entertain them at their tables, with
pious minds guarding

the rites of the blessed.

Εἰ δ' ἀριστεύει μὲν ὕδωρ, κτεάνων δὲ 75 χρυσὸς αἰδοιέστατος, νῦν δὲ πρὸς

ἔσχατιάν Θή-

, it is now touching the end of

Thessalonica.

. Τὸ πόρσω δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον 80 κάσφοις.

Οὐ νιν διώξω· κεινὸς εἶην.

III

TO THERON (34)

May the thirty-five sons of Tyndareus, protectors of hospitality, and the beautiful Helen be favourable to my songs today! I celebrate Agrigento and the illustrious Theron, who so successfully races his swift and tireless steeds in the Olympic arena.

My Muse inspires me with extraordinary songs, urging me to combine the varied chords of the Dorian mode with the accents of my voice, which adorns feasts. Already the brow of the victor, crowned with the triumphant olive branch, invites me to fulfil a sacred duty, to unite the sounds of my lyre with the modulations of the flute to celebrate in my hymns the glorious son of Oenésidame. You also command me to sing, O Pisa! Divine source, from which mortals always draw the most sublime praise.

Following the ancient custom established by Hercules, a citizen of Aetolia (36), an honest judge of our contests, adorns the forehead of the victorious athlete with a crown of green olive leaves. The son of Amphitryon once brought (37) this tree from the shady springs of (38) the Ister, having obtained it (39) from the

Hyperborean peoples, faithful worshippers (40) of Apollo, to obtain it for him. He wanted its branches to be the glorious reward for our triumphs.

He was still meditating in his heart on a beautiful plan, that of dedicating to Jupiter a grove capable of accommodating all the children of Greece, and of providing shade for spectators and crowns for victorious athletes with its foliage. The hero had already erected an altar to his father in this place, while Phoebe, on her silver chariot, showed her luminous disc in its entirety. He had already established the tribunal of incorruptible judges for the contest and decreed that every five years these great games would be celebrated on the banks of the Alpheus. But these beautiful trees, whose delightful appearance charms our eyes today, did not yet embellish (41) Cronium and the valley of Pelops. This place had neither shade nor greenery. It was exposed on all sides to the rays of a burning sun.

However, Jupiter's son was eager to travel to Istria, where the warlike daughter of Latona had once welcomed him when he descended from the hills and winding valleys of Arcadia and, obeying his father's oracle and carrying out the orders (42) of Eurystheus, he pursued the golden-horned doe that (43) Taygetus had once consecrated to Diana (44) of Orthosia.

Following its tracks, he arrived in these regions that Boreas never tormented (45) with his icy breath. Struck by the beauty of the trees that grow there, he immediately formed a plan to adorn the quarry where (46) twelve

equal contours measure the end of the race. And today, he honours the pomp of this festival (47) with the twins of the beautiful Leda, for when the hero ascended to Olympus, he charged them with presiding over these noble contests and judging the strength of the athletes and the skill of the charioteers in making a chariot fly around the arena...

But, O my Muse! hasten to celebrate the immortal glory that Theron and the (48) Emmenides have just acquired through the protection of the illustrious sons of Tyndareus. What mortals are more worthy of being sung about? No one opens their generous table to hospitality as they do. None fulfil the sacred duties imposed on us by the gods with greater devotion. Yes, if water reigns over the elements, if gold is the most precious of all possessions, ah! Theron's virtues are still a thousand times more desirable! They have led him to the Pillars of Hercules, beyond which no mortal, not even the wisest, will ever presume to venture... Let us cease our songs: any further praise would be presumptuous.

Pindar Pythian 10 excerpt

This layout and commentary are not mine, GT

**Alas! Neither on a ship nor on land have we ever found
The fantastic routes of the Hyperboreans. (1)**

Among this people, only Perseus feasted, that soul of a leader:

He entered their houses,

Where the hecatomb of magnificent donkeys was

being prepared For the god. (2) These people

And their cheers please Apollo,

Who smiles at the struggling herds.

Stanza 3

The Muse is not absent from their lives: in their homes, everywhere choirs of young girls sing, the charm of lyres and the high notes of flutes mingle (3); they crown their foreheads with golden laurel (4),

And they feast heartily.

Never do illness or old age taint

This sacred race. Far from hard labour and wars, Antistrophe

3

They are preserved from bitter vengeance. And it was with a valiant heart that the son of Danaë, guided by Athena, once arrived among these blessed ones. (5)

It was there that he slew Gorgon (6), and returned,

Having brought back the bloody head, filled with snakes, And

petrifying for the Ilian people.

Pindar, Olympiad 3

Epode 1 Yes, speak of him who obeyed the first orders of Heracles, The upright judge of the Hellenes, that Aetolian,

Who placed above his eyes, On his forehead,

The verdant foliage of the olive tree, which, in times past, From obscure sources

From the Ister (7) brought back the son of Amphitryon, This memory of the Olympic games,

Strophe 2 After having so convincingly persuaded the Hyperboreans, Servants of Apollo (8), with the brilliance of his words.

Benevolent, he desired for the pleasant Grove of Zeus a plant providing shade

For men, to crown their exploits.

And already, while the altars to the Father

Already were dedicated, and the golden
chariot of evening had set her eyes ablaze, the
Moon,

Antistrophe 2 The arbiters of the jousts, As well as the quinquennial games,
Were founded by him on the sacred cliffs of the Alpheus;

But the lovely trees were not abundant In the valleys of Cronion,
the land of Pelops:

Everything was poor, and the place appeared
to him Crushed by the fiery heat of the
sun.

Then his heart urged him to go to the land

Epode 2 Istrian (9); there, Leto, horse trainer, welcomed him (10), he who was returning from the regions of
Arcadia

With winding hillsides,
thrown into this adventure

By Eurystheus, compelled also by the heavenly Father, To
bring back the doe with golden horns,

Which Taigète
Had given to Orthosia as a sacred offering.

Stanza 3 In his pursuit, he discovered a land
the North; before these trees, he was fascinated! (11)

A burning desire drove him

To plant them along the space twelve times marked by towers,
Where horses run. And today, at the festival,

Full of kindness, he comes,
Accompanied by the Twins, children of the slender Leda.

Spared by the cold, howling winds of

In principle, for the ancients, Istros means the Danube... And Ister/Istria... the lower course of the Danube.

In other words, it is in the Danube region that we must look for the Hyperboreans.

Leto, the horse breeder, also corresponds to Hesiod's account (the Hyperboreans with beautiful horses). Other traditions tell us that Leto, mother of Apollo, was a native of Hyperborea, and according to Pindar, she resided in the land of Istria...

Pindar Pythian Odes 10

TO HIPPOCLES OF THESSALIA, WINNER OF THE DOUBLE STADIUM.

ΙΠΠΟΚΛΕΙ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΔΡΟΜΩΙ

Argument. — Hippocles, victor at Delphi in the double stadium race, had won the stadium prize on the same day. Pindar makes no mention of this second victory, no doubt because another poet had been commissioned to celebrate it. Phricias, Hippocles' father, had made a name for himself with a Pythian victory and two Olympic victories. Hippocles was from Pelinna, a city in Thessaly, but Pindar had not been invited by the hero's family to sing his praises: this task had been entrusted to him by the Alevae of Larissa. They ruled there and cherished the young Hippocles, their relative. The inhabitants of Cranon formed the chorus.

Pindar announces that he has come to sing the praises of Hippodes' victory. — Praise for father and son. Happiness for this family: may the gods preserve it for them! — Fable of the

Hyperboreans; Perseus is led by Minerva to their country, inaccessible to other mortals; the pure and constant pleasures enjoyed by this people. — Return to the subject. The poet hopes that his verses will increase the glory of Hippocles among his fellow citizens. Pindar ends by praising Thorax and his brothers: it was Thorax who asked him to compose this song.

Here again, Pindar combines praise for his hero with advice on moderation. Hippocles' family is rich, powerful and happy; however, there is a people on earth who enjoy a more complete and secure happiness: the Hyperboreans. Let them therefore recognise the limits of their fortune.

Date of victory: 502 BC.

Location of the scene: Pelinna, a city in Thessaly?

Ὀλβια Λακεδαίμων,

Thessaly is blessed; both fathers are descended from the same noble lineage, Heracles reigns supreme.

What am I waiting for? But with Pytho and Pelinnaion, Aleu's children, Hippocleus's sons, willing 5

[10] to lead a glorious procession of men.

For he tastes of the fruits of victory;

and Parnassius, commander of the army, sent him to

lead the children in the race.

Apollon, sweet end of men, begins with the demon's cry; 10

he did this without consulting the gods;

[20] but his relatives followed in their father's footsteps

Olympionika twice in battle

with the weapons of Ares;

and under Cyrus he fought with deep wounds 15

holding the Friki stone in his hand.

Ἔσποιτο μοῖρα καὶ Ὑστέραισιν

ἐν ἀμέραις ἀγάνορα πλοῦτον ἀνθεῖν σφίσιν· τῶν

δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν

[30] having received no small gift, lest the gods, in their jealousy, 20

metatropiai epikyrsai. Theos eie

be wise and good; and this man becomes happy and praiseworthy to the wise,
whoever holds fast to virtue with his hands or feet.

τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλη τόλμα τε καὶ σθένει, καὶ

ζώων ἔτι νεαρὸν 25

[40] If you see a son wearing the crowns of Pythia.

The bronze sky is never unattainable to him.

But those mortal nations that touch the clouds, he passes by on his final voyage.

Nor will you find ships or foot soldiers <ken>

To the Hyperboreans' contest, a marvellous journey. 30

[50] Where Perseus once ploughed the fields,

entering the chambers,

he sacrificed a hundred horses to the god, 30

with abundant offerings, Apollo rejoices most of all, 35

rejoices, laughing as he sees the arrogance of the proud.

But Moisa does not repay

in their own ways; but in all things, the dances of the virgins

[60] λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·

with golden laurel wreaths adorning their heads, they dance joyfully. 40 Neither

sickness nor old age can harm

in the sacred race; but pain and struggle

have fled from their homes

ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν. Θρασεΐα δὲ πνέων καρδία

[70] once molested Danae's children, Athena was carried away, 45

to the company of fortunate men; he slew Gorgon, and with the varied skulls of dragons he brought fear to the sailors.

Bringing death by stone. But to me, it seems

impossible that the gods have ever done anything

that is not wonderful. 50

[80] Break the oar, quickly lower the anchor into the earth, the pig's

hoof of stone.

For I sing hymns of praise

one after another, like a bee gathering words.

Ἔλπομαι δ' Ἐφυραίων 55

ὄπ' ἀμφὶ Πηνεῖον γλυκεῖαν προχεόντων ἑμᾶν τὸν

Ἴπποκλέαν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν ἀοιδαῖς

[90] ἔκατι στεφάνων θαητὸν ἐν ἄλιξι θησέμεν ἐν καὶ παλαιτέροις, νέαισιν τε

παρθένοισι μέλημα. Καὶ γὰρ

ἑτέροις ἑτέρων ἔρωσ ὑπέκνισε φρένας· 60 τῶν

δ' ἕκαστος ὀρούει,

happening to grasp the care of the feet; but they must provide

for the year without delay.

[100] I believed in the hospitality of Thoracus, as if he were doing me a favour.

He harnessed the four-horse chariot of Pierides, 65
beloved by friends, driving it with skill and skill.

But when you are tempted, you must have gold in
your possession and sound judgment.

Let us praise the brothers, who uphold the law of
the Thessalians, 70

[110] αὔξοντες· ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖνται
πατρώϊαι κεδναὶ πολίων κυβερνάσιες.

Str. 1. — Happy is Lacedaemon; fortunate is Thessaly; for both are ruled by a race descended from the same father, the mighty Hercules (242). Why this untimely boasting? Ah! It is Pytho, it is Pelimnae (243) that

; it is the sons of Aev (244), eager to bring the choir of men with beautiful voices to Hippocles.

Ant. 1. — For he tempts struggles; and, in the assembly of neighbouring peoples, the valley of (245) Parnassus proclaimed him the foremost of the young men who run the double stadium. O Apollo, although men finish or begin with happiness, success comes from a god, and advice 212 guided Hippocles; then naturally he followed in the footsteps of a father (246)

Ep. 1. — Twice Olympian with the weapons of war of (247) Mars. Phricias again, under the rock of Cirrha (248) with its vast meadows, won the foot race. May fortune protect them also in the days to come, so that they may have the flower of magnificent riches!

Str. 2. — If their share in the glories of Greece has not been small, may the gods not subject them to cruel vicissitudes! May the deities favour them wholeheartedly! He is fortunate, and the wise must sing his praises, this mortal victor through the

strength of his hands or feet, who owes the most noble prizes to his courage and strength;

Ant. 2. — Who (249) lived long enough to see a young son (250) loyally win the crowns of Pytho. He will never ascend to the bronze sky; but he has attained the ultimate in all the joys that we mortals can achieve. **Neither by ship nor on foot will you discover the marvellous road that leads to the feasts of the Hyperboreans (251);**

Ep. 2. — Where Perseus (252), leader of the peoples, was once welcomed, entering their palaces and finding them sacrificing magnificent hecatombs of donkeys to the god. Their endless banquets and cries of joy charm Apollo above all; he laughs as he sees the lustful animals rise up.

Str. 3. — The Muse, however, is not banned by their customs. But on all sides the choirs of virgins, the noisy lyres and the

sonorous flutes are in motion; their hair crowned with golden laurels, they give themselves over to the joy of feasting; neither disease nor fatal old age approach this holy nation; far from fatigue and war, they live sheltered from the vengeance of Nemesis.

Ant. 3. — But one day, he whose heart breathed only boldness, the son of Danaë (253), entered, guided by Minerva, into the assembly of these happy mortals; and he slew the Gorgon (254), and with her head, bristling with a mane of serpents, he returned to bring death to the islanders (255), whom she had petrified.

Ep. 3. — Nothing marvellous, when the gods intervene, seems incredible to me. Stop your oar (256), quickly, let the anchor thrown from the prow bite into the earth and save us from the hidden reef. For the praises of my flowery hymns, like bees, fly from one subject to another.

Str. 4. — I hope, therefore, that the Ephyréens (257) will spread the sweet sounds of my voice on the banks of the Peneus, and these songs will make the

Hippocles' crowns among young people of his age and the elderly; he will be the dream of young maidens. Every heart has its passion that spurs it on.

Ant. 4. — Anyone who has seen their wishes fulfilled must cherish the present: it is impossible to predict what will happen in a year's time. I am counting on the gracious hospitality of Thorax, who, in asking for my help, harnessed this quadriga of Pierides; a friend of a friend, a supporter of those who support him.

Ep. 4. — Trials bring out the best in gold and in an upright soul. We will also praise virtuous brothers, since they elevate and enlarge the land of Thessaly. The noble government of cities rests on men of heart, from father to son.

PAUSANIAS DESCRIPTION BOOK I, CH 4, PARAG 4

4. In this way, they saved the other Greeks. The Gauls, finding themselves on this side of Thermopylae, did not concern themselves with the other cities, eager as they were to plunder Delphi and the riches of the god. The inhabitants of Delphi and the Phocians from the neighbouring cities of Parnassus gathered to fight them, and the Aetolians, who at that time had a large and flourishing youth, also sent them help. No sooner had they come to blows than lightning struck the Gauls from all sides; rocks broke away from Parnassus and fell upon them, and fully armed warriors appeared, inspiring them with great fear. **Two of these warriors, Hyperochus and Hamadocus, were said to have come from the land of the Hyperboreans;** the third was Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, to whom the Delphians, since he came to their aid on this occasion, sacrifice as to a hero, whereas before, regarding him as an enemy, they even despised his tomb.

DIODORUS OF SICILY, Historical Library, Book 2, paragraph 47

XLVII. Since we have come to speak of the northern regions of Asia, it will not be out of place to say a word about the Hyperboreans. Among the historians who have recorded the traditions of antiquity in their annals, Hecate (GG) and a few others claim **that beyond Celtic lands, in the ocean, there is an island no smaller than Sicily. This island, located to the north, they say, is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, so named because they live beyond the point where the north wind blows. The soil of this island is excellent and so remarkably fertile that it produces two harvests a year. According to the same account, this is the birthplace of Latona, which explains why the islanders particularly venerate Apollo. They are all, so to speak, priests of this god: every day they sing hymns in his honour. On this island there is also a vast enclosure dedicated to Apollo, as well as a magnificent round temple adorned with numerous offerings; the city of these islanders is also**

dedicated to Apollo; its inhabitants are mostly zither players, who constantly celebrate the god's praises in the temple, accompanying the singing of hymns with their instruments. The Hyperboreans speak their own language; they are very kind to the Greeks, especially to the Athenians and Delians, and these feelings date back to ancient times. It is even claimed that several Greeks came to visit the Hyperboreans, leaving behind rich offerings bearing Greek inscriptions, and that, in return, Abaris, the Hyperborean, had once travelled to Greece to renew the friendship that existed between the two peoples with the Delians. It is further added that the moon, seen from this island, appears to be at a very short distance from the earth, and that uplifts of the terrain can be clearly observed there. Apollo is said to descend to this island every nineteen years. It is also at the end of this period that the stars, after their revolution, return to their starting point. This nineteen-year period is referred to by the Greeks as the Great Year (104).

(GG) During his appearance, this god is seen dancing every night to the accompaniment of the zither, from the spring equinox until the rising of the Pleiades, as if to rejoice in the honours bestowed upon him. The government of this city and the guarding of the temple are entrusted to kings called Boreads, the descendants and successors of Boreas.

(GG) This is Hecataeus of Abdera, On the Hyperboreans, lost book, quoted by Herodotus. GT

(GG) This refers to the Metonic cycle. GT

APOLLONIOS ARGONAUTICA II v 75

Ἵως φάτο, καὶ τοίων μὲν ἐλώφειον αὐτίκα μύθων,

εἰρεσίη δ' ἀλίσστον ἔχον πόνον· αἶψα δὲ τοίγε

[2,650] Ῥήβαν ὠκυρόην ποταμὸν σκόπελόν τε Κολώνης,

ἄκρην δ' οὐ μετὰ δηθὰ παρεξενέοντο Μέλαιναν, τῆ δ'

ἄρ' ἐπὶ προχοᾷς Φυλληίδας, ἔνθα πάροιθεν Διψακὸς

υἱ' Athanatos, who had taken refuge in their homes,

from where he fled the city of Orchomenus with his

wife.

655 but let him be a bride of the meadow; nor the arrogance

ἦνδανεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελημὸς ἐφ' ὕδασι πατρὸς ἐοῖο μητέρι

συνναίεσκεν ἐπάκτια πώεα φέρβων.

He took the sacred place, and the wide river
and the deep-flowing Calpe

660 δερκόμενοι παράμειβον, ὁμῶς δ' ἐπὶ ἧματι νύκτα
νήνεμον ἀκαμάτησιν ἐπερρώοντ' ἐλάτησιν.

For instance, they ploughed the fields,
they plough the fields, and around the plough a watering
trough is placed, made of reeds and a jug; and their eyes
665 are turned sideways under the yoke; and their mouths are
filled with saliva. But those who are in the earth, they
labour all day long.

The heroes, under the sea, were drawn by the waves.

But we neither have immortal light, nor yet the bright
dawn, 670 nor the thin moonlight of night, when they
call out to her, raising their voices, entering the harbour of
the deserted island.

Thynia, with his many-horned oxen, was ploughing.

But Leto's son, rising from Lycia

675 to the boundless people of Hyperborea, appeared; and golden
branches

were adorned with golden chains;

and a silver-coloured robe adorned his chest, and around his shoulders

ἰοδόκη τετάνυστο κατωμαδόν· ἠ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσίν

680 the whole island swayed, and the waves crashed
against the shore. But when they saw the wonder, they
were amazed; and no one dared to look up at the beautiful
eyes of the god.

But they bowed down to the earth; and he who was far away
was seen to be a point in the distance; and when he saw
this

685 Orpheus revealed the myth to the most learned, singing with his lyre.

"If we then close the sacred temple of Apollo,
since it seems to all to be a favourable time, we
shall do as we see fit,
having raised the altar and made the sacrifice; but if we delay

690 When we have reached Aimon, we shall rest, and
then we shall slaughter the goats for the feast.
Now, however, I am inclined to be more lenient
towards them. But if you are angry, be angry.

ᾠς ἄρ' he said; and some built altars with stones, 695
while others went around the island, searching for sheep or
goats, or more rural dwellings
of goats, as if grazing on deep pasture.
To those, however, Letoidis gave a fertile field; and
from all of them, with good fortune, they built a double
altar on sacred ground.

[2,700] καῖον, ἐπικλείοντες Ἑώιον Ἀπόλλωνα.

Ἀμφὶ δὲ δαιομένοις εὐρύν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο,

καλὸν Ἴηπαιήον' Ἴηπαιήονα Φοῖβον

melromenei; syn de sphin eus pais Oiagroio Vistoniei

formingi ligeis erchen aoides;

705 as once upon a rock beneath the shadow of Parnassus,

Delphus shot a huge arrow,

still naked, still covered with hair.

Ἰλήκοις· αἰεὶ τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι,

αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι· τῶς γὰρ θέμις. Οἴόθι δ' αὐτὴ 710

Λητῶ Κοιογένεια φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἀφάσσει.

Many Corycian nymphs, daughters of Pleistus, were
encouraged by their words, called Iie;

From there, she sang this beautiful hymn to Phoebus.

But when they sang to him in the chorus,

715 They agreed among themselves, and decided to be of
one mind in their thoughts,

touching the thyrsus; and even now there stands the
temple of Homoneia, which they themselves built
at that time, worshipping the daemon.

V. 648-719. He spoke thus; and immediately afterwards, finishing these words, the heroes set to work rowing continuously: soon the swift river Rhebas, the rock of Colonus, and shortly afterwards Cape Melas were passed, then the mouths of the river Phyllis; it was there that Dipsacos had once welcomed the son of Athamas into his home, when he was fleeing the city of Orchomenus with the ram. Dipsacos was the son of a nymph of the meadows; far from enjoying a life of pride, he was happy to live with his mother near the waters of the river, his father, and to graze flocks on the bank. Soon the temple dedicated to this hero, the spacious banks of the river and the plain, and the Calpé, which flows in a deep bed, appeared before their eyes, then were left behind. And yet, after the day came the night, which no wind disturbed, and they spent it rowing tirelessly. Like work oxen ploughing the soil of a wet and rich field, they toiled; from everywhere, from their flanks and necks, abundant sweat dripped; under the yoke, their eyes had a sidelong glance; from their dry muzzles, a noisy breath exhaled incessantly; and yet, sinking their cloven feet into the

On land, the paired animals labour all day long: like these oxen, the heroes ploughed the sea with their oars.

At the moment when the divine light does not yet shine and the darkness is no longer so deep, when that faint light which men call twilight has spread across the night, then, having brought the ship into the harbour of the deserted island of Thynias, they climbed with great difficulty onto the shore. **Now, before their eyes, the son of Leto, returning from Lycia and heading far away towards the innumerable people of the Hyperboreans, appeared.** On either side of his cheeks, curls of golden hair fell in clusters and swayed with his every movement. His left hand brandished a silver bow, and on his back was a quiver hanging from his shoulder. Beneath his feet, the entire island trembled, and the agitated waves overflowed onto the shore. At this sight, the heroes were seized with anguished terror: none of them dared to look into the god's shining eyes. They stood with their heads bowed to the ground. But the god was already far from them, passing through the air above the waves of the

Finally, Orpheus spoke these words to the heroes: "Come, let us dedicate this island to Apollo Matinal, and call it by his name, since it was here in the morning that he appeared to us all. Let us raise an altar on the shore to offer a sacrifice with what we have. If later he brings us back safely to the land of Haimonia, then, in his honour, we will place the thighs of horned goats on the altar. Now, let yourself be appeased by what we can offer you, by the smoke of burnt fat and by 72 libations, I beg you! Be favourable to us, O god!... Be favourable to us, you who appeared before us!..."

He spoke thus; and among the heroes, some immediately built an altar with stones; others spread out on either side of the island to see if they could find any wild boar or wild goat, for animals of this kind are found in great numbers in the deep forests. The Letoid led them to find game. All the animals they caught, they consumed on the altar, according to the rites, their thighs in a double envelope of fat, invoking Apollo.

Early in the morning. Around the victims who were burning, they formed a large dance choir; they celebrated the beautiful lépaiéôn, Phoibos lépaiéôn. And, with them, the noble son of Oiagros began a harmonious song on his phorminx from Bistonia: he told how, long ago, at the foot of the rocky mountain of Parnassus, the god had killed with his arrows and stripped the monstrous serpent Delphyné (Ah! Ah! GT); he was still very young and fought naked, happy with his curly hair...

"O favourable god, forgive me! Your hair shall never be cut, it shall never be harmed harmed: such is the eternal law. Coiogène Létô is the only one who can handle it in her friendly hands. " Orpheus also said how much the Corycian nymphs, daughters of Pleistos, encouraged him with their words, crying out to him: "O léios!", a cry from which came the beautiful refrain that accompanies the hymn of Phoebus.

When they had celebrated the god with this song and this chorus of dance, they swore to each other, making holy libations, to always help one another and to maintain perpetual harmony: and they made this oath with their hands on the victims. And even now, a sacred monument to the benevolent Concord still stands in this place, a monument which they erected with great reverence to the most illustrious goddess.

benevolent Concord, a monument they erected at that time, full of veneration, for the most illustrious goddess.

APOLLONIOS ARGONAUTICA IV v 611

When Argos cried out beneath the clouds, the
Tyndarids raised their hands and prayed to the
immortals for each of them. But Minyas had other
heroes. She drew them far ahead of the others, and
they threw down the mycenaean spear of Eris. where
once, shining brightly, he fell with a thunderbolt from
the sky, Phaethon, son of Helios, from his chariot.

λίμνης ἔς προχοᾶς πολυβενθέος· ἢ δ' ἔτι νῦν περ

trauma aithomeno barun anakekie atmon.600

No one can pour that water over the wings of a swift
bird, but the middle

φλογμῷ ἐπιθρόσκει πεποτημένος. Ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦραι

Ἡλιάδες ταναῆσιν ἐελμέναι αἰγείροισιν,

μύρονται κινυρὸν μέλαι γόον· ἐκ δὲ φαινὰς 605

ἠλέκτρου λιβάδας βλεφάρων προχέουσιν ἔραζε, αἱ μὲν

τ' ἠελίῳ ψαμάθοις ἔπι τερσαίνονται·

but when they hear the waters of the lake

with the breath of the wind,

Then everything rolls down to Eridanus with a roaring tide. The

Celts, however, set out on their journey.

As Apollo's tears flow from Leto's eyes, so too did
myriads of tears flow from Hyperborean soil,
having stolen the shining heavens from his father, 615
dwelling around the child, whom Koronis bore in
fertile Laconia, on the threshold of Amuroios.

And those things were called together with the men. But
they neither crave bread nor drink,
nor did their minds turn to earthly pleasures. But then 620

ἤματα μὲν στρεύγοντο περιβληχρὸν βαρύθοντες
with a white odour, they removed the irrelevant

When Phaethon was struck down, the Iridaeans wept
bitterly; and at night they mourned the sharp pain of the
Heliacs' loss. and the tears, fragrant like drops of oil,
flowed like water.

V. 592-626. Thus spoke Argos at twilight; but the Tyndarids rose and, stretching out their hands towards the immortals, offered up all the prayers that had been indicated; and a gloomy sadness came over the other Minyan heroes. But the ship was carried far ahead by its sail, and they threw themselves to the bottom of the Eridanus: it was there that Phaeton, struck in the heart by the fiery thunderbolt, fell half-consumed from Helios' chariot into the estuary, vast as a pond, of the deep river; and even now the river exhales heavy smoke from the burning wound. Above these waters, no bird can spread its light wings and glide: but its flight precipitates it.

in the midst of the glowing abyss. All around, the young Heliades, enclosed in tall black poplars, moan, the poor things! Their lamentations of mourning are plaintive; from their eyelids, transparent drops of amber spill and flow towards the earth, where they are dried by the sun on the sand. But when the black abyss swells and floods the shore under the action of the roaring wind, then everything on the shore is rolled into the Eridanus by the raging waters. **The Celts, however, attributed another origin to this phenomenon: they say that it is the tears of Leto's Apollo that are carried away in these whirlpools, the countless tears he shed long ago as he made his way to the sacred people of the Hyperboreans, driven from the shining sky by his father's reproaches; for he was angry about his son, the one whom the divine Coronis had borne him in rich Lacereia, near the mouth of the Amyros. Such is the tradition widespread among these men.** However, the heroes felt no desire to drink or to

eat, and their minds were not turned towards joy; during the day, they exhausted themselves in anguish, enduring with difficulty, and greatly inconvenienced, the heavy smell, the intolerable smell of Phaeton's smoking body that exhaled from the waters of the Eridanus; during the night, they heard the cruel lamentations, the piercing cries of the Heliades; and as they wept, their tears were carried on the waters, like drops of oil.

HERODOTUS IV, 33

XXXIII. The Delians speak of this at much greater length. They say that the offerings of the Hyperboreans came to them wrapped in wheat straw. They passed through the Scythians: then, passed from people to people, they were carried as far west as possible, to the Adriatic Sea. From there, they were sent southwards. The Dodonians were the first Greeks to receive them. They travelled from Dodona to the Malian Gulf, from where they passed to Euboea and, from city to city, to Carystus. From there, without touching Andros, the Carystians carried them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. According to the Delians, these offerings arrive on their island in this manner. They add that, in the early days, the Hyperboreans sent these offerings by two virgins, one of whom, according to them, was called Hyperoche,

and the other Laodice; that, for the safety of these young women, the Hyperboreans had them accompanied by five of their citizens, who are now called Perphers, and to whom great honours are paid in Delos; but when the Hyperboreans did not see them return, and considering it a very unfortunate thing that they never saw their deputies again, they decided to carry their offerings wrapped in wheat straw to their borders; they then handed them over to their neighbours, begging them to accompany them to another nation. Thus, according to the Delians, the offerings pass from people to people until they finally reach their island. I have noticed a custom among the women of Thrace and Paeonia that is very similar to that observed by the Hyperboreans with regard to their offerings. They never sacrifice to Diana the Royal without using wheat straw.

HERODOTUS IV, 36

For I do not recount the words concerning Abaris, who is said to be a Hyperborean, according to whom he travelled all over the earth with the arrow, without taking any food.

SERVIUS GRAMMATICUS

IN VERGIL'S AENEID

LIBRUM DECIMUM COMMENTARIUS, LIN.

179

[179] *alpheae ab origine pisae* The river Alpheus is between Pisa and Elis, cities of Arcadia, where there is a temple of Olympian Jupiter: from these places came those who founded Pisa in Italy, named after the ancient city, hence the addition of 'Etruscan city' after '*Alpheae ab Origine Pisae*'. Indeed, Pisa was founded in ancient times by those who came from the Peloponnese, or by those who came with Pelops to Elis. **Others say that Piso, king of the Celts, was the son of Apollo Hyperborean** and waged war against the Samnites, whose queen, after the death of her husband, ruled

successerat, receptum, in Etruria oppidum suo nomine condidisse. Others say that the place was founded by Pisas, the son of a god, a young man of great strength. Cato denies having found any information about the origins of Pisa before the arrival of the Etruscans, but he finds that Tarchon, a native of Tyrrhenia, founded Pisa after taking over from them, while before that, a certain Teutanes, who spoke Greek, had possessed the region. Others say that where Pisae now stands, there was once a Phocidian town, which leads us to believe that this town originated in the Peloponnese. Others say that the inhabitants of this town were called Teutas, and that the town itself was called Teutam, which later

†Pisas Lydia lingua sua singularem portum significare dixerunt; quare huic urbi a portu lane. Others say it was founded by Epeus, Trojan horse maker, who was cast out with other Greeks into this region: where, after the Trojan captives, fearing their mistresses to whom they were being led, set fire to the ships, he remained in despair of returning, founded the city, and named it Pisas after the one in the Peloponnese.

STRABON GÉOGRAPHIE XI, 6, 2

[2] Furthermore, on the right side, the continuous Scythians dwell with the Europeans, and the Sarmatians between the Tanais and this sea, most of them nomads, as we have said; but on the left are the Scythians who are closer, nomads these too, extending as far as the sea and India. All those who lived on the coast were commonly called Scythians and Celts by the ancient Greek writers; but, having divided them even earlier, called those who lived beyond the Euxine Sea, the Istros, and the Adrias Hyperboreans, Sauromatians, and Arimaspians, but those beyond the Caspian Sea they called the Saka and the Massagetae, having no accurate information about them, even though they recounted the war of Cyrus against the Massagetae. But nothing about them was known for certain, nor

The ancient Persian, Median, and Syrian writings did not inspire much confidence due to the simplicity of the authors and their love of myth.

XI, 6 - The Caspian Sea

2. When one enters the Caspian Sea, the peoples on one's right are those of the Scythians, who come immediately after the last peoples of Europe, and those of the Sarmatians, whom we mentioned earlier as being located between the Tanais and the Caspian Sea and as leading a predominantly nomadic life.

The peoples to their left are the Eastern Scythians, who also live a nomadic lifestyle and extend to the shores of the Eastern Sea and the borders of India. Greek historians have long understood all these northern peoples under the general names of Scythians and Celtic-Scythians; **but plus formerly and distinguished by the names**

Hyperboreans, Sauromatians and Arimaspians, the peoples who lived above the Euxine Sea, the Ister and the Adriatic, and by the double name of Saces and Massagetae, those beyond the Caspian Sea, without, however, having anything definite to say about these latter peoples; for, although all the histories mention a war between Cyrus and the Massagetae, none of them gives an accurate account of this event, and it must be admitted that the ancient history of Persia, Media and Syria offered little more certainty, given the extreme credulity of these early historians and their great love of the marvellous.

MACROBE'S DREAM OF SCIPIO BOOK II CHAPTER 7

It follows that the sun never crosses the boundaries of the torrid zone, because the oblique circle of the zodiac extends only from one tropic to the other. The intensity of the heat felt in this zone is therefore caused by the continual presence of the sun, the source and regulator of the ethereal flame. Consequently, the two zones furthest from this star, deprived of its presence, are constantly numbed by the most severe cold, while the two intermediate zones enjoy a moderate temperature due to their proximity to the neighbouring zones. However, of these two so-called temperate zones, the one in which we live has parts where the heat is stronger than in others because they are closer to the torrid zone: among these are Ethiopia, Arabia, Egypt and Libya. The atmosphere in these regions is so dilated by the heat that it

clouds rarely form there, and its inhabitants hardly ever experience rain. Conversely, the regions bordering the boreal glacial zone, such as the Palus-Méotide, those bathed by the Ister and the Tanaïs, **and finally those beyond Scythia, whose natives have been called Hyperboreans since ancient times, as having exceeded the natural limits of the north; these regions, I say, have a winter that lasts almost all year round, and it is difficult to imagine the harshness of the climate in which they live; but the centre of this zone owes its position to enjoying a uniform and beneficial temperature.**

LA DACIE HYPERBORÉENNE

III N des plus intéressants aspects de la manifestation cy-

RJ .clique is constituted by the grand úgmtioii h jieF-bor6enn.e. It is iique
•.dçserifp iii, d 1 uidiptiri*tyon poleire primordiale. in .Eles- inulfples\
mnniffsiatlons".SeconÔnies' of the .cycle. However, this is not the case
from a historical point of view
that this manifestation interests us, but rather from a historical point of
view, it is a sign of a deeper reality.

...
Le symbolisme de cette migration se rattache en somme à la manifestation de *Prakriti* : indistinction polaire originelle, rupture de l'équilibre des trois *gunas*, imposée par les nécessités de la manifestation des possibilités totales du cycle ; descente « *tamasique* » interrompue parfois par des étapes et des projections « *rajasiques* » à droite et à gauche sur divers plans de la possibilité universelle ; symbolisme crucial évident et, disons-le, fatal.

On peut concevoir d'après cela, que la migration hyperboréenne n'a rien d'une émigration ; qu'on n'y trouve rien d'improvisé, de hasardé, de gratuit, de précipité. Il faut nous arracher à tous les préjugés modernes pour nous bien représenter cette migration sacrée, avec ses sacerdotesses, transportant d'étape en étape, sans aucune improvisation, et selon une précise science géographique, ses « pénates », ses tabernacles, ses supports spirituels. Nous devons insister sur un point capital, sur lequel se base toute notre étude : ces étapes (qui duraient des millénaires) devaient avoir des « vertus » spéciales, des vertus « analogues » à celles des étapes

précédentes et de la Contrée primordiale. C'est là une vérité fondamentale qu'il ne faut jamais

losing sight. In other words
teymes: !Jei moötagnes!leseaux, lw geographical locations • Îgiî.fy norris,
the cēnūes, ées siippoFts spiritual: of a stage.had ' des! .viiFtus
analogous.h those of the previous stages. yi,' :pair
exeñipJei *there* were new F<fn, new Zfo

BiànshN, this was not at all the case, it must be said, in the mining towns of

New Orleans and New York! I like geography

is of all the traditional sciences; the most forgotten is Oc*dÉnt..

It is found that we know the two extremes of
:öesùënté • fa»iisiqic • of hyperborean migration: fé'

Pöle and Pelagian Greece; the migration route is the
vèiti è Nord-Suä, which connects these two points. Coolriie, inöiis l'avorui: dit,
there were several stages from the supreme hyper-centre
bñréeii.and projections. "röJ ç us" to the right and to the left,
and 'œ'cēntie had to be at the point qiün
essential point of this crucial configuration, which had as many
.b chm hoimintales as stages of the supreme centre siir the ni8êrentes
planes of cyclical existence.

If we look at a map (z), we see that historical dates confirm this
reasoning. For example, Carriole Julian acknowledges the existence of a
state occupying the shores of the Baltic Sea, made up of what later
became the Celts. Now, the Baltic Sea lies on *the vertical line* we have
drawn. We also note that this vertical line passes through **Dacia** (in
present-day Romania). There is much more information available about
this country.

A somewhat careful examination of anti-Jewish writers reveals the existence, in
northern Greece, on the banks
of the Danube and the Black Sea, a
a unified, harsh race

**1. Nous prions le lecteur de se servir d'une carte dans tout le cours de
notre étude, non seulement parce qu'il est question de lieux peu connus du
lecteur de l'Europe occidentale, mais aussi à cause du symbolisme géogra-
phique qui frappera les regards attentifs.**

such as language, customs and traditions, although politically divided. This is the Geto-Thracian race.

Herodotus (V. 3) states that the Thracians were the second largest people in the world after the Indians; this would be incomprehensible if we understood the Thracians to be only the ancient inhabitants of present-day Bulgaria; In reality, Herodotus included under this name all the other peoples of the same race, that is to say, the Thracians proper, the Dalmatians, the Pannonians, the Illyrians, the Getae, the Dacians, the Agathyrsi, the Sarmatians, the Scythians (i), the Arimaspi, etc., etc. (there are about fifty names). All belonged to the great Geto-Thracian race. Strabo writes that the Getae (who lived north of the Lower Danube and in present-day Ukraine) spoke the same language as the Getae. And Pliny says that the Dacians and the Tiraces are one and the same people. Moreover, ancient writers use the names we have mentioned indiscriminately when they speak of the peoples of the north of the Greece. All these peoples inhabited the territory occupied today by Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and southern Russia as far as the Volga. Herodotus' assertion is thus understandable. the Volga. Herodotus' statement thus becomes understandable.

A very curious thing has happened: in all these regions, the ancient Celtic race has been wiped out by barbarian invasions; the conquerors did not absorb them as the Germans did in Gaul. Today we have Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, Hungarians and Russians who have no connection with the ancient indigenous race and have inherited nothing from it; *even Romania*, the latest conquest of Rome (Tre-jai, io6}, has retained its Latin language, with a predominance of racial predominance due to Cique, q•••q•••l' sufficiently imbued with Slavic elements in the plains. The best proof of this is which still remains in Epirus, Macedonia and Dalmatia

1. By unph4nomtntnxluzel,ieeDyzsn(»s Jonuerotie num de 9cylhVB aux ejivahtaaceure elave8 des contrées uoeiciinernel hnbltees par le8 Setjbes: aai"q de sont en yf•alfi li deux peuples absolument df atncln. da l'avf's de toire

quelques épaves des tribus thraces, et qui parlent le roumain. Comme il n'a jamais existé de colonisation roumaine en ces lieux, le fait ne peut être expliqué que d'une unique façon : ces tribus et les Roumains sont les derniers représentants de la race autochtone des Gëto-thraces, l'identité de langue s'expliquant par la communauté raciale.

Or tous les anciens sont unanimes à affirmer que les Gètes étaient un peuple hyperboréen.

Pindar is the most erudite poet of Greece οιοατfe A Hou, after having been with Neptune and Eadue lei'

murs de Troie, retournant dans sa patrie de l'Hister (le bas-Danube), chez les Hyperboréens (Ξαυθον ηπειργεν ες Ιστρον ελκυων) (*Olymp.*, VIII, 46).

Strabon est catégorique : « Les premiers qui ont décrit les diverses parties du monde, disent que les Hyperboréens habitaient au-dessus du Pont-Euxin (la Mer Noire) et de l'Hister » (*Geogr.*, XI, 6, 2).

Clément d'Alexandrie est aussi précis : il appelle le prophète des Daces, Zalmoxis, Hyperboréen (*Stromata*, IV, 213).

Une des villes principales de la Dacie, d'après le géographe Ptolémée (*Geogr.*, III, 10), était située sur l'Hiérasus (auj. Sereth, fleuve de Moldavie) et s'appelait *Piribori-dava* (*dava* signifie ville, place), nom qui indique une cité hyperboréenne.

Macrobe est aussi précis que possible : *Regiones quas praeterfluunt Tanaïs et Ixter, omniaque super Scythia locum quorum vetustas Hyperboreos vocavit* (*Somnium Scipionis*, II, 7). « Les régions arrosées par le Don et le bas-Danube... que l'antiquité appelait hyperboréens. » Est-ce clair ?

Apollonius de Rhodes, dans ses *Argonautiques* (II v. 675) dit que les Hyperboréens sont des Pélasges habitant au Nord de la Thrace (1).

1. Comme tous les romantiques, Saint-Yves d'Alveydre avait la manie de résoudre les difficultés par des jeux de mots : il dit que les Pélasges étaient de race noire, nous verrons selon quelle interprétation. Or, en dehors de la citation d'Apollonius de Rhodes, nous trouvons d'autres affirmations aussi précises, que les Pélasges étaient un peuple hyperboréen. A Dodone, sanctuaire hyperboréen, Zeus était adoré sous le nom de Ζευς αναζπιλασγίνος. C'est ainsi qu'il est invoqué par Achille (*Iliade*, XVI, 232). Le Scoliaſte de

De nombreux auteurs parlent des monts Riphées des contrées hyperboréennes. Or, les Carpathes furent appelés dans l'antiquité *Montes Riphæi* : *Scythiam autem... includitur ab uno latere Ponto* (la Mer Noire), *ab altero montibus Riphæis* (Justin *Histor. Philip.* II, c. 2).

Pline l'Ancien parle du peuple des *Arimphæi* qui habitait près des Monts Riphées *haud dissimilem Hyperboreis gentem* (*Hist. nat.*, VI, 7).

On sait que les anciens entendaient par *axis boreus, cardines mundi*, Κίον Οὐράνου, le Pôle spirituel du monde.

Ovide qui fut exilé par Auguste à Tomi (aujourd'hui Constantza, port de Roumanie) se plaint d'être contraint à passer sa vie sous l'axe boréal, à gauche du Pont-Euxin (Mer Noire) :

*Vita procul patria peragenda sub axe boreo
Qua maris Euxini, terra sinistra jacet* (*Tristia*, IV, 41-42).

And: daos uau äütré .lettré: aôressYë k: ü: smî; Bacer'de

Rome il dit qu'il se trouve sous les *Cardines Mundi* mêmes, et qu'il parle en imagination avec son ami, *sous l'axe boréal dans le pays des Gètes (gelido... sub axe, inque Getas. Pont.,*

IIAnd) dans une "de sés plus bellès'ép es. ädreé

sée au soldat Marcellin *qui partait en expédition en Dacie*, appelle le Pôle, *geticus Polus*,

*Miles, Hyperboreoe, Marcelline, Triones
Et getici tuberis sidera pigra poli* (*Epigr*, IX, 46).

Pindare (*Ol.* III 28. *Fragm. hist. gv.* II 387) dit que Hyperboreus était fils de pataggoa: z[;ëño,jägF: Ifi4qûät:ä...raue'-pzlcordlxtä, Pêtcpép.'sêrxit-«a taize,c

plus correct même qu'Hyperboréen. Il est vrai que le poète Asius dit que Pelasgos est né de la " Terre noire " (γαία μέλαινα), mais outre l'évident symbolisme hermétique de ce mot, le terme désigne surtout l'indistinction primordiale. Pour nous donc, Pelasgos est le nom, dans la tradition hyperboréenne, de l'Homme Universel, de l'Adam Qadmon des traditions islamique et hébraïque. Interpréter " la Terre Noire " par " la Terre des Noirs " c'est du fétichisme.

Soldier of the bow, you now depart to take upon your shoulders the Cicf *hyrborèsn* and the stars of *Pôle* gdtiqa«.

To say *gc/iciis* §o/its, is that not to indicate very clearly that at a given moment the "Pôle" was close to the Getae? And *geffrits* is not a poetic figure of speech to indicate distance, because the Romans were well aware of the existence, north of the Getae, of other peoples even further away: the Venedi, the Icesti, the Gantae, and the Sucones, who inhabited Poland and Scandinavia.

Martial refers to Domitian's triumph over the Dacians as *M yperborsns lriiititf*Ms and elsewhere as *Giganles lriwnfyus* (É9. VIFt, 28), and finally:

Three times he crossed the treacherous passes of the Sarmatian Hister; three times he bathed his horse in the snow of the Getae; ever modest, he refused the triumphs he deserved and brought with him only the renown of the unique and formidable *Hipsboreans* [E.p. CIII (59)].
H ypsrboreens" [E p. CIII 5°]

And Claudian (del/. gefcii.s, v. s68) •rr•*• the Pole geiciis

plaustrus.

Let us conclude these quotations with two passages from Virgil who, as a true insider (like Ovid, for that matter), knew what it was all about:

Georgica, IV, v. 517 :

(Orpleus) Sofits *kyperboreas* gfacias, **Tauaiinqits iiiiualtm** Arvnqite Ri flmsi
iiuwfuani oïdn ila jbrriitiis Losffinbal rošfciii Erydiceiii,
ç«wea5, <ic.

< Alone, he roamed the hyperborean ice and the

"Don covered with ice, and fields never free of

snow, around the Itiphéeris mountains (Carpathians), until

"the Thracian women, angered by his contempt, declared him rérent ri, etc.

If Virgil had written: Orpheus roamed the Hyperborean ice, the snows of the Seine and the fields around the

Ætonts of the Arverni, until the Gallic women, **angered** by his contempt...; there is a good chance that the Hyperboreans inhabited Gaul...

And the more precise indication of Pèle represented by an Omplialos:

3fundis id at Scylliain picha que ardyus orcea,
Consurgil.

flic vzrfac iiaäis samfer siiLliniis (Georg. I, *s40-s4z).

Now, we shall see that this • vertex ii, this *POlus gr/it4is*, this • representation" dii Pole, exists in Romania in the Carpathians (Riphian Mountains), on the Om, and is still called by the people "**the Axle of Blonde**", the "Navel of the Earth". It must be said again: this is not the primitive Hyperborea that was strictly polar, but one of its main stages. In other words, Dacia was for several millennia the "supreme centre" of Hyperborea (*and therefore of the tnotide*) migrating southwards, and before the centre moved eastwards. We now need to show more precisely the analogies between Dacian Hyperborea and early Hyperborea. For analogy is not coincidence, but identity of "virtues", and that is all that matters:

As we will have to contribute the so-called

• folk-lore•, we must first clarify its importance and meaning. We quote these particularly significant lines from Mr. René Guénon on the Holy Grail (z):

" The very concept of *folklore*, as it is commonly understood, is based on a radically false idea, namely that there are 'popular creations', spontaneous products of the masses; and we can immediately see the close connection between this view and democratic prejudices." As has been rightly said, "the profound interest of all so-called popular traditions lies

1. Poilz d'fzià, Feb. and March t8IFl. O'eet noua qul Config none ,

siirtout in the fart that they are not popular in origin • ; and we will add that, if this is the case, *as with c'»s/ §resglie*

• j •* • cue, traditional elements, in the true sense of the word, *however* distorted, diminished or fragmentary they may sometimes be, and things with real symbolic value, all this, far from being of popular origin p

marine Jan d'originr 4ii aaiiii«. What may be popular,

It is only the result of 'survival', when your elements belong to traditional forms that have disappeared. The people thus preserve, without understanding them, the remnants of ancient traditions, *reunited with a past so distant that it is impossible to know what it was like, and which we dare to recall, for whatever reason, from the depths of our memory*; in this, it fulfils the function of a kind of collective memory, more subconscious than conscious, whose content clearly comes from elsewhere (z). What may seem most surprising is that when we get to the bottom of things, we find that what is thus preserved contains above all, under a more veiled form, *a considerable amount of esoteric knowledge*, that is to say, precisely everything that is *most* essential in essence; and this fact suggests an explanation that we will attempt to outline in a few words. When a traditional form is about to die out, its last representatives may well voluntarily contribute to this collective memory we have just mentioned, which would otherwise be lost forever; this is, in short, the only way to save what can be saved to a certain extent; and, at the same time, the natural incomprehension of the masses is a sufficient guarantee that what was esoteric in nature will not be plundered for celi, but will remain sculement,

1. It is Ță uye foocloa eaøentlelleæøot ° ĩunx(re e, at il eat è reoærqøer quo, eulvatit l'aatroløgie, In popular culture, it corresponds to the **Moon**, which is **always visible**. **nfilquB blien aort cRrB clcto pñroment pRs8If**, zneapebte a ȚntialLve ou de apootanãlt6 {Noto de Id. Guënoq}.

as a kind of testimony to the past, for those who, in other times, will be able to understand it.

These crucial remarks must be kept in mind throughout the rest of our study, for they dominate the entire problem and provide the key to it.

What we know about the first Hyperborea can be summarised in a few sentences. The main source of information is found

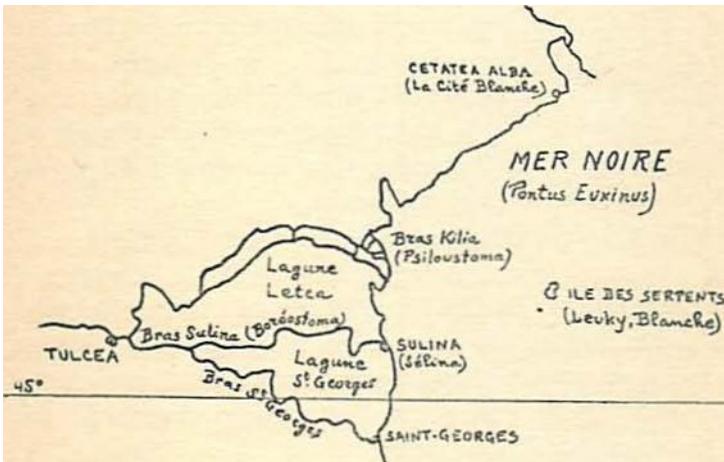
in the works of Heliodorus of Abdera, quoted by Diodorus of Sicily (I .471: «i Opposite the land of the Celts, in the parts of

The Ocean, there is tis they «t§§dér *Lenky*, that is to say *BloncM*. Latone, mother of Apollo, was born there, and because of this, Apollo is worshipped there more than the other gods (Apollo was also called *A folton Lentés*, *£eii#ios*, *Leuà«ios*). Because the Hyperl»oréens of the island celebrate this god every day and pay him the greatest homage, it is said that these men are the priests of Apollo... There is a temple of Apollo on this island. The inhabitants are mostly cytarrheded. From this island, one can see the moon (ü•I. »), not far away. The rulers are the Boreads, descendants of *Hotée*. This island was also called *?ffirce* (*Feliclaj* oti w,«« pznspov (the island of the blessed). Not far from it were the Riphæan Mountains. » Homme (armoured, VIII, i3) speaks of "iron gates" (":s ,citi =-i*") located near the 0èmiios *polarities*.

Before going any further, a few words must be said about the geography of Dacia. This geography is dominated by one central feature: the Transylvanian plateau, surrounded by the Carpathian Mountains and, to the west, the wildest and most impenetrable mountains in Europe. Surrounding this formidable natural fortress are the vast plains of the Dniester, Tisza and Danube rivers. These rivers form the natural borders of Dacia and give it an almost circular shape. The Danube enters Romania through the "Iron Gates" of the Carpathians... From the Ithin and the ALJxs to the Chinese wall, the wilderness reigns supreme: wasteland, regions that com-

-men t oñ ne t oñ ct fnissènt, òd nñ ,sail òò. In this .pécian dn possib tés, Dacia is the only country characterised by defining a geographical unit.

We have already seen two analogies: the **Carpathian Mountains** and the Carpathian Ripiées, the • gates of feï • polairm út the J: Danubian gates (i). This river flows into the !òËr Noirè by a Delta ã trots arms. 'Stràbon refers to the Sea Our co'vimie.run • new Ocean • (Cœgr., I, 12, to); auñie ãñalogie: the central part of the Delta was called "Boréost mon u: And ã days Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argon*, IV; x8zJ I Histèi èst le :Kçj« Oetscxysio B (the mouth of the Ocean): Here is a map of the mouth of the Danube; t h e ancient names are indicated in parentheses:



BâSeoUCHURE OF THE DANUBE

Hécotée.:d'Abdùre had spoken of a White Lady who lived there. There is a temple dedicated to Apollo.

1. Nous avons aussi été frappé par l'analogie entre la mer "intérieure" Noire et la mer intérieure Baltique. Le Danemark s'appelait dans l'antiquité "le Chersonèse cimbrique". Or sa ressemblance est frappante avec la Crimée (le Chersonèse taurique); seulement ils sont disposés en sens inverse en vertu de la "loi de réflexion"...

Or, juste en face du Delta danubien il y a la petite « Ile des Serpents » ; dans l'antiquité elle s'appelait *Leuky*, Blanche... Sur cette île Blanche se trouvent les ruines d'un grand temple d'Apollon. En 1823, une expédition russe enleva tout ce qui restait du temple. Voilà une partie du Mémoire de Köhler à l'Académie de Saint-Pétersbourg : « Les murs ont encore une hauteur de 1 m. 66. La construction est carrée, ayant 29 m. 76 de chaque côté. Le temple a été construit avec de très grands blocs d'une pierre calcaire ordinaire de couleur blanche, rudement taillés et placés les uns sur les autres sans mortier... Le Temple d'Apollon de l'Ile Leuké et les édifices que je viens de citer sont d'une antiquité très reculée et d'un genre que l'on comprend sous la dénomination d'architecture cyclopéenne. On est frappé par la grandeur de cet édifice.

Daiii. Antiquity: richly decorated with carved wood...

jette! tlc artait, in antiquity, the black of Leuk ou "llè

Blanche, non pas à cause de la blancheur de ses bords escarpés, mais à cause de la blancheur de ses édifices. D'après le rite ancien, selon Pausanias, tous les temples d'Apollon étaient construits en pierre blanche. »

D'ailleurs toutes les localités autour de l'île Blanche portent des noms similaires, Olbiopolis, l'île Apollonia, la moderne i C tât Alba. Ī* Cité Blnchë) pu:dù'Ōni t r, Bo d

(la ville blanche). On sait aussi que la mer qui entourait l'île de *Tula* s'appelait *Mare Cronium* ; or la Mer « Noire », renfermant l'île Blanche, germe d'or, est aussi une mer saturnienne par excellence.

Hécatéé d'Abdère écrit encore que de l'« Ile Blanche » des Hyperboréens, on voit la Lune (Σελήνη), qui en est peu éloignée... En face de l'Ile Blanche de la Mer Noire, sur le bras central du Delta danubien (le Boreostoma), il y a le port de *Sulina*... qui s'appela de tous temps *Selina*, comme le peuple le prononce encore, comme il se trouve désigné dans le *De administratione Imperii* de Constantin Porphyrogénète et dans le périple catalan de 1375.

The moulet of Apollonia and Olbia (S) il β!esi ñi ii; en diàlt rte!

populaire pélasge *Lete*. La lagune entre les bras supérieur et central du Delta s'appelle *Letea* (cet *ea* est une déformation très courante dans la langue roumaine : par exemple *Manu* est devenu *Manea* ; *Iovis*, *Iovea* ; *Corbus*, *Corbea* ; *Vulcanus*, *Valcea*).

Un peu plus haut que le point où le Danube se divise en trois bras, sur le manche du Trident, il y a le port de *Tulcea*. A propos de ce nom, nous avons à observer ceci : que l'*e* intercilè diânt/ l'n, it is the same linguistic phenomenon tique dont nous avons parlé quelques lignes plus haut ; quant à *c*, il est une forme adjective commune dans le roumain vulgaire et dont l'origine est slave (par exemple une Russe se dit en roumain *Rusa* ; en roumain vulgaire, *Rusca* ; *dě'même Ebvea*, Exercise; firmacr«, f•r(i)itsousec):

Eliminating dorié. as additions l'r and c, and what remains is
töute::leŕtii= on (i).

Let us now examine the question more closely and seek...
les:sourcièu iis: plus précieuxès, à notre pöint de vitè, dâiis lè Il ;:y a .et
soi-disant *folk-lore* roumain.

Roumanie un genre special d'incanüttons; les

Kolinde (2). Ce mot n'est autre que « Kalendae ». A Noël, au Nouvel An, à la Saint-Jean, les enfants se rassemblent par groupes, et vont de maison en maison pour annoncer la Bonne Nouvelle. C'est ce qui se faisait chez les Romains aux

Jar : The subject is a sacred episode that has nothing Christian about it except...

les noms des personnages ; quelquefois on mime un drame sacré où se trouvent, par exemple, parmi d'autres, les trois juges de l'Enfer. Ces *Kolinde* ne sont pas, bien entendu, latines, mais remontent à la source commune proto-pélasge, dans une antiquité abyssale ; elles sont ce qu'il y a de plus mystérieux dans la poésie populaire roumaine.

1. Nous ne parlons pas des nombreuses localités autour du Delta du Danube appelées *Tuzla*.

2. Nous avons à ce propos à rappeler une fois pour toutes au lecteur, que le roumain est une langue phonétique, c'est-à-dire qu'on le lit comme on l'écrit.

Now, all *Kolinde* begin with the evocation of a

• Great White Monastery located on an island; the
< Great White Monastery with nine altars •, •the Great and Holy White
Monastery located on an island in the Black Sea'. The location is therefore
described with all the precision one could wish for.

lalie l Lei-, Doauuie Ler l i In the
5rand ñk(inostère titane Offici ent neuf
pr utres
And nine cantors (*)...

Voi lù, Se ij;ricu r, dan s lls Mer
N oire,
No! Leroi', dalerò 't' Doanant l
The ftJ onnstete Blan c aua p au-tels.
Where candles shine
Do nt lo cire coule,
The drops form a lake of wine and honey
Where the Good Lord bathes (3) Se
ùtiigii c and sanctifies himself...

It is *the* water of St John {Joy -Sant-

1. Higher, ever higher

Oi" l Leroiida'i, leroi", Doai»ne!
Where all the Saints have gone Is a
monastery White and
Saint

At the walls Incens,
At the gates of the lemon tree,
At the thresholds of the matbre;
I have nine altars,
Nine windows facing the sun

Nine statues.
What lies within?

With nine precious stones,
Autn nt dc poiriarchvs And
Ile Diacres.
They laugh for weeks, but who hears
their prayers?
It is the 61c rc of God
With his Son in his arms.
I e l'ls throws a golden apple into lu
L,une

And it becomes full,
At noon, I throw an apple into the 5
nlcil.

t. Words, or first gbord, gug#t Incomprfheug*bleg eo rontMah> qu'eD Ìrançnla, \$ with the
exception of Donn1ne(Donfnt Sùgneur) Noos vorzonecequh fout penser ùe c'ette myst
érlnuae Ìnv ace'los.

S. • t. l'je gjar,cne deb ftyperborfens was inhabited by cytarbèdes.- . .
(H6catce of Abdüre).

3, gpnue fAius Phos Í oru8 Apollo).

Die:r'tRé...d/üo "haut *)

Ler, Doamne, Ler !

S'est élevé en haut

'A great cloud.'

:!Ju...jrand rtuage

S'est fait un grand homme

Avec une grande hache...

:And from the grattd Homnsc

S'est faite une Grande Forêt (2)

De la Grande Forêt

.On n cóopd. ya Grafiii Árbie ..

it we did pn G/mnd .ail onas-

tère Blanc (3)

With nine altars

And nine Trònès of **Or, avec des**

Lcttres.

**Dans le Grand Autel
Est Sainte-Marie la Grande**

**Les larmes lui coulaient,
Elles deviennent des lettres**

Dans le petit Autel

**Regarde la Mère de Dieu par
dessus l'épaule gauche**

Est Sainte-Marie la Petite.

Dans l'Autel du milieu

Est la Mère de Dieu ;

Elle lisait un livre,

And ne'it pers'nnc

Regò rde by the shoulder è':Ò.f/oi'te.

And saw Jean-Saint-4 èan...

•.Èè blonastère Blaiic is like the Sun. Near the Mooàà tère.il. there is a lake of fragrant oil and a stream of wine where the Good Lord and Old Christmas bathe and sanctify themselves. The path that leads from the shore to the 3Ionastèie is the Sacred Way i. :

After the Offii:e • which is very long, they arrive on the Jttèr

, •.in mite. Aré!;e •: te • Holy God • and the other Saints: • ;

. they sat in.: • <ités d'or •. Pårtois le Tempîe eàt

noróuté:• Fe Ñouàstère of the Lords •.

Deas l'I lé de la 'iler l'oire

cc Lionnstère dès Seigneurs

!a ! Voleranda leralui Doamne !

Avec 9 prêtres et 9 diacres ;

Behind m: ln, Gràndc. hlóntàgne , When the service ended

Se lève le Soleil.

Le grand prêtre sortit,

No, CO did not cite the Sun,

See the Solcil resplendissarit

C'est le Monastère Blanc,

Et lui adressa ces paroles...

1. Cette *Kolinda* s'appelle aussi " La Grande Nunération " et passe pour avoir un grand pouvoir magique.

2. *Grand nuage*, possibilité universelle; *Grand Homme*, l'Homme universel; *Grande forêt*, manifestation intégrale.

3. *Le Grand Arbre*, le Pôle: il est donc bien le Centre Suprême, ce Monas-

Dans le Grand Monastère Blanc	C'est <i>Ilion</i> , (<i>Hélios</i>)
<i>Aho ! Ler Doamne Ler !</i>	La Mère Sainte,
Le Monastère aux 9 autels	Sainte Marie la Grande.
Aux 9 Trônes d'or.	Sainte Marie la Petite
Mais qui est sur ces trônes ?	Le Vieux Noël
	Jean-Sain-Jean
	Et <i>Siva Vasilea...</i>

Donnons leurs vrais noms à ces personnages.

Le Bon Dieu, *Ilion*, *Alion*, c'est Apollon.

Le Vieux Noël, *Saturnus Senex* (1) ; en roumain, le Vieux *Craciun* ; ce mot vient de *creatione* donc le Vieux Noël est aussi le Cycle.

La Mère Sainte, *Latone*.

Sainte Marie la Grande, *Gaia*.

Sainte Marie la Petite, *Iana*, *Diana*, *Luna*.

Jean-Saint-Jean (*Ion-Sant-Ion*), *Janus*. Les deux aspects de Janus sont admirablement indiqués. Même le troisième aspect, occulte et synthétique est très clairement désigné par le « Saint » posé entre les deux « Jean ».

Siva-Vasilea, *Ops Consiva*, divinité des récoltes.

Apollon est y quelquefois appelé « Le Bon Dieu Fils ». C'est le même que le *Bonus Deus Puer*, ou *Bonus puer phosphorus*, épithètes d'Apollon dans les innombrables inscriptions consacrées à ce Dieu et trouvées en Dacie, surtout dans la ville d'Apulum, capitale de la province du même nom (*Dacia Apulensis*), appelée ainsi d'après le Dieu.

Dans quelques *Kolinde* le Bon Dieu apparaît comme Pasteur, avec une flûte et des boucles d'or.

Sur la Grande Montagne	Aux boucles d'or
Il y a un grand troupeau,	<i>Avec sa grande sœur</i> ,
Mais qui garde le troupeau ?	Il a une flûte d'or anelée
C'est le Saint Soleil	Et une <i>hache de pierre</i> .

1. Cette assimilation s'impose : il est vieux, il est froid, mais comme Saturne, il renferme en lui le Christ, Germe d'or et Joie du Monde.

On sait qu'Apollon garda les troupeaux du Roi Admète.

Là, sur la Grande Montagne
Ia (1) *Ler Doamne Ler* !
 Il a un beau troupeau,
 Mais qui garde le troupeau,

C'est le Seigneur Dieu
 Aux boucles d'or,
 Avec le Soleil sur la poitrine
 Et la Lune sur le front,
 Appuyé sur une lance,
 Avec une flûte anelée.

Hé, Jean,
 Jean-Saint-Jean !
 Regarde vers la Mer

A la droite du Saint Soleil
 Il y a une table ronde
 Avec des Anges autour.

Latona was persecuted by Jupiter, who made all the countries not to give shelter to Jupiter's lover.

Elle est descendue,
 La Sainte Mère sur la Terre,
 Le temps d'accoucher est arrivé,
 Elle va de maison en maison,
 Personne ne la reçoit
 Elle traverse 9 mers,
 Les mers ne la reçoivent pas,

Elle traverse 9 terres,
 Les terres ne la reçoivent pas,
 Elle traverse neuf montagnes,
 Les montagnes ne la reçoivent pas
 Un jeudi (2) elle arrive à un
Deal (3) (colline)
 Elle accouche d'un Empereur
 de Lumière.

"1" asse air întenaat İju"ü s'agit d'autre ükose joue. "

Here is another legend related to the Sun and 'i3ié iilaôcbe: the mighty Sun wanted to marry, so he searched the sky and the earth, the moon and the stars, for years and on four horses, but he could not find anyone. İiinq İée comàie he needed; there was one; his own sister.

fäiin' Cöisi'n zrii (p). He asks her: d'İétré her blnncÿe:

1. *Io, Iaho, Aho, Ia, ce sont des variantes du Grand Nom ineffable, Evohé,*

ao, Io, Ieve, İHVH.

2. Jour de Jupiter.

"1": D0t0c...;:2

4 Call 6a aassi Ji#0eo Coas/nz#ao, te prhtelpat peraoaasge f6mlata éa

3x-Mytholoste: zoeatae. /ond, o'cctta fdaJaia ée /onus at aas't Ofaa (ratr"

épouse ». *Iana* habite près de la Mer Noire, là où est le port de *Sulina*, l'ancienne Σελίνη... Elle tisse sur un métier d'argent.

« Soleil, quand a-t-on jamais vu le Frère épouser la Sœur ? »
Et pour se donner du temps, elle lui demande :

Un' me iems:iin..ppýt de .ciii,

Un.bout sera ici

Près de la Mer Noire

Et à l'autre bout

Tu feras un Monastère Blanc,

De cire blanche (1)

Aveé:priests .of wax,

Li;. nous nous. mariCrons..

Et faisait le Soleil

Ce que la Lune désirait.

Puis, ils allèrent sur le Pont

Vers le Monastère Blanc

Pour s'épouser.

!Itlais under the heat of the midday sun, the wax melts; the sun and lana fall into the Her and drown... Is there any need to comment on such a clear symbolism?

!The sun and *lana* fall into the Her and drown... Is there any need to comment on such a clear symbol? Êo Ofer J aiFè

s'appelait dans l'antiquité le Pontus...

Que l'on relise ces légendes, que l'on regarde de nouveau la carte, avec cette mer Noire (*Pontus*) saturnienne, cachant dans son sein l'île Blanche, située vis-à-vis de *Selina*, avec, au nord, la *Cetatea Alba*, la solaire Cité Blanche et un peu plus au Sud la lunaire *Selina*, appelées couramment en Roumanie les « clefs de la Mer Noire » (les clefs d'or et d'argent des Pouvoirs sacerdotal et royal, des Grands et Petits Mystères, les Clefs de Janus, de Jean-Saint-Jean) ; que l'on regarde la lagune *Letea*, le Trident du Danube, avec, sur le manche « dans l'indistinction », *Tula* ; que l'on fasse cette observation

:capital 'and': closing the rear doors; que toiti ælā Is placed! Very precisely tim fè §5• fāfi lūk;..e*is-at- rigou-

reusement à la moitié de la distance entre le Pôle et l'Equateur

1. C'est-à-dire, tu feras un " Pont " entre la Cité lunaire (*Selina*) et la Cité Solaire (*Leuky*, Blanche). A Diane étaient consacrées les abeilles Le symbole de la Diane d'Ephèse était une abeille. Dans une inscription de la ville d'Apulum, Diane est appelée *mellifca*. Hérodote dit qu'au Nord de l'Hister il y avait des abeilles. L'Apollon de Delphes envoya un temple de cire aux Hyperboréens.

et l'on pourra dire en paraphrasant Saint Paul « qu'il y a
 'beatico.iip .de choäus.ä'de;'èt:des chöm .difficult ä.expliq.uer
 pazoe.que'nous.sommœ:lents à comprendre •...Xéazuoóms;
 il'paxalt.biéä ;établi qoe.ta Daciê a été le.. siège dii Centre
 suprême' à une date très éloignés.

GÉTICUS.

LA DACIE HYPERBORÉENNE

II

” using the geographical symbolism of the Delta dt
Z Danube, we have seen (I) that Dante was, in a very distant era, the seat of the supreme spiritual centre. We must mention another very convincing analogy on this question. It concerns the Caucasus. We know that there was first a polar Cantase, poign’d is said that Prometheus I&t was attached to the axis of the Pole. There is the Caucasus mo-

. However, we offer the reader these few excerpts from ' for reflection:

JaEus Florus (ITI, 5) says that the proconsul of Thrace, Pison, defeated ks barbara by pursuing her into the Rhodope Mountains; he then crossed into the Caux Mountains.

The geographer Julius Honorios, in Cosrnngre-ohio (F), speaks of two mountain ranges called Can-case, one in £ @:ii des **Atouts** Zf<tütus, and the other in the east of the Black Sea, in Asia.

Here is an inacrip'Hou found in Valacbie near the denve

Oct, szioenoeœent JMum:

àfaboois Aufaoib(us) | C(aius) | /ul(ius) ôfansue) tîz\$
Cf(üœ) i(egioo) | ^ (ioervae) | p(iae) f(ide1is) v(otum)
s(oi it) 1(ibeM) s> (erito) lu(it) | d Au <m l s <rfia>
| t•xf(•tc) | C«ucsai (COT\$|U*sg^g)• A /f4UV< J/ukm |0st)
frL of Mount Caucesz.

And in the oldest Russian chronicle, that of Nestor-

(XI^e siècle) : « Dans la partie nord du Pont-Euxin il y a le Danube, le Dniester, et les *Monts Caucases ou Hongrois* ».

Enfin citons en entier l'épigramme de Martial au soldat Marcellin, partant en expédition en Dacie : « Soldat Marcellin, tu pars maintenant pour prendre sur tes épaules le ciel des Hyperboréens et les astres paresseux du Pôle gétique.

13 '«a»•cædi *Pivaaiun* †dia cæfont fae•oa danslœe

Soon, you will pour all of this from your own jm x.
m tuomtpterasm roütiœ»oà résonnent lædonlems

*-?' /'dorès plerr , and you aj the one who was
•• reliable to endure such torment, could truly also
former le genre humain » (*Epigr. lib.*, X, 46).

Chez les Romains, dans les plus anciennes inscriptions et dans les Chants des Saliens, le Ciel apparaît sous le nom de *Caelus Manus, Cerus Manus, ou Duonus Cerus*. Or, nous trouvons en Roumanie les noms presque identiques *Cali-man*,

* zè'ef-mao; I/ououd (fa Lord) For, applied 6 of the 3iôö-

tagnes sacrées et à des Etres. Il y a en Roumanie trois Monts Karaiman et quatre Kaliman et tous sont sacrés. Le plus important des Kaliman est appelé aussi « Le Trône de Dieu » (1). Dans la poésie populaire le Ciel est adoré comme divinité. C'est le « Ciel sacré », le « Seigneur Ciel » (*duonus Cerus*), le « Haut Ciel », le « Bon Père ». Caraiman (*Cerus Manus*) nous apparaît comme "the Lord of the fo9dre and.do
/..E \$; le, "Great and powerful judge of the æonde". So in

les traditions roumaines Caliman désigne à la fois un Etre et une Montagne. Or, remarquons que le nom d'Orphée a la

daciques. Il se peut donc que *Ορφεος* soit une contraction de *Ο Ριφείος*, le Riphéen, name that désignated both a Being
.-@ ttzte"3Eöütagnè, this qtô is ezset•æeot the ças of Caïmaz

Tout cela est extrêmement important, parce que cela montre que Orphée et Caliman ont été des désignations du Roi du

1. Notons aussi que *Cerus Manus* est identique au *μεγας Ουρανος* d'Hésiode.

Monde. Notons aussi que le « Roy du Ciel » qui joue un rôle si important dans la « Geste » de Jeanne d'Arc, et qui, d'après certains désignerait le chef suprême du Centre Spirituel qui « missionna » la Pucelle (1), que le « Roy du Ciel » est la Traditional literary translation of CE and do Cirer-mon, mi6 des:dé& information from the King of \$tonde (or dNne de ace plui hautes "hypostases), in the Traditions mumainœ <itril yen pld-sieurs comme on le verra par la suite. On verra aussi *les faits* et les arguments qui nous font croire à l'existence d'un très grand centre spirituel dans la Dacie, jusqu'au delà du Moyen Age.

we have all seen that the < Vieua Noël • ôc la T tion - malne is identical to *Saâimus Se* : «Sfom» «- *dicitur* écrit Macrobe, et c'est une étymologie unanimement admise (*saturatio*, *Satya-Yuga*). En roumain on dit *Craciun satul-ul*, « Noël le Repu ».

Un autre aspect de Saturne en Roumanie est le héros populaire, *Nonne* (new). In French i Îfo {vJëf}. In Greek; *Kronos* est appelé « νεωτερος » (Hésiode, *Theog*, v. 132), et in «rt»ine, traditional Italian *Natni*: Ce Fæä»; co oç»àus is idmtâp» at ffæb bit liqn

Chose significative, *Novac*, quoique nouveau, est appelé « le Vieux *Novac* ». Or ces contrastes sont tout à fait la principale caractéristique de Saturne : Jeune-Vieux, Nouveau-Âcten, Black-Blaoc, Plootb-Or. Ca, which is even more rare- quable, c'est que *Novac* est appelé quelquefois *Manea*, *Minea*, ou *Mihnea*, noms qui dérivent de *Manu* (2).

• The Yioëx Noël has ig 4:here avr & Gëents; before the jenna <læRoiicæiaæ ••ItttaitleRoidæeasteur»»»«Noæcdtait the King of the Giants. • • Zfaiaë-reese liatdtelt <læu iæ giazld White Palace on high Mountain. r c Jif« -N«re« a'fon• of the city of SeligraÆ • "The eldest son of Noire was called re • (luca) and cœi and ta:t for m

••* !

zta'tza ize fžls, Gzušt, gužest appdn Gízzao-ef•le3* D"tdó•
got zaprseate to cót6 dn ia. rtgoaat. Icz, ooe Yariaŷtt8 ttz

curieuse du mythe connu : *Novac* et *Iovea* sont rivaux mais seulement en prouesses et en hauts faits. *Novac* a encore un fils illégitime, appelé aussi *Iovea*, qui l'assassine par surprise. Ec legitimate force kills the murderer and succeeds us in the palaigBlaoc de}xliate"3fætagoe.

Le Père de *Novac* est *Iancu* ce qui est un curieux renversement de la véritable hiérarchie. *Iancus* est le nom archaïque de *Janus* comme on le voit dans les Chants saliens : *Iancus*, *Iane*, *Duonus Ceruses* (1).

Chez certaines tribus pélasges de la Cappadoce, Saturne was adored æææe Zoe Aaj• t , Info 1*æppèteOoàizs /ffizcs ,É'zéif,æ d'aobæ terææ, il eet lé Oiea Oæe jæz

'Abu e üt m fait toote la Oa<ie æt mike soas t3zNzog{ypie ds Sétæazc Il jr a ausai zzae diyôntê collective daciguo, appd6e lxoazùt /aiis asdætide L Gain This asaïædaöce de ja di'd-

nité collective locale avec le grand Principe féminin, était 4ont t. milk coamnte in antiquity In the legends 'rou-maines *Dacia* est appelée *Dokia*, *Deciana*, *Baba Gaia*.

Ceci nous amène à parler des autels qui lui sont consacrés, sur la montagne sainte, Caraiman. Il est dit que ces pierres représentent *Dokia* et ses moutons, pétrifiés par le « Bon Dieu », qu'elle avait défié ; ce qui est une variante évidente du Mythe de Niobé et des Niolides. On les appelle aussi les *Babele*.

Ces autels se trouvent à 2.145 mètres, sur un immense plateau qui couronne le Mont Caraiman.

Read more lazpreaaïomæat qoe this abstract pzyaage. fës iaètes de montagnes environ autel give this vaate pla-tæatvleenbords d'une coupe. „Juste ou mlieu du plateau qui four kilometres of mountain range

1. Notons qu'en roumain on nomme les "Ion « (Jean) " Iancu „.

rocks. Their height varies between 3 and 4 m. They resemble ovaries in the centre of a giant natural landscape, awaiting celestial sperm. The whole scene is terribly, admirably bare. A "metaphysical" landscape par excellence, with its grass burnt by the harsh wind at the peaks, colourless, lifeless, bare...

There is a large black stone
 Read, *Doatii ne, Read t*
 Near her is the proud kneeling,
 — Like a Stone upon a stone —
 To give birth to the Son who is in the Stone... She gives birth to
 the Son of the Stone...

The Mystery of Mysteries...

Apart from these two groups of three rocks each, which are at the centre of the plateau, there are many other groups on the circumference, but they are too damaged by time for their shape to be discernible. This plateau with its rocks seems to have been an immense stela temple (x), like the one at Glastonbury. The six central rocks, grouped into two triangular figures, seem to have been dedicated to the twelve main gods and the twelve zodiacal constellations. The groups around the circumference of the plateau also symbolise constellations, although it is not possible to say which ones.

Three hours away, forming the massive massif that is Kaliman, lies the holiest of Romania's sacred mountains, Mount Yes. Let us first note the "coincidence" between this name and the sacred monosyllable of the Hindus. Among the Thessalians, Saturn was worshipped under the name of Op•l.out, which is identical to the Romanian form Oui-of, especially if we remove the suffix os, which is Greek. One means "man" in Romanian, and in this case, specifically, "universal man".
 , Saturn, the *Papacos*, the Old Man. It is his likeness that has

t . Velr R. Ooènon, • W Tes» a« s•i»ii ., ei•a•• w••iii«nnvfcs, Jaavlee 38.

gave its name to the mountain. Indeed, near the summit of Om, there is an enormous rock, about thirty metres high, which bears a striking resemblance to a human head. Of course, one risks being accused of frivolity by all the "specialists" if one dares to suggest that this rock has been sculpted. A mere "coincidence," say these gentlemen, for they cannot deny the resemblance. frap,ante... What a convenient "coincidence" I... Let us note that she does things well, that she takes her concern for truth so far as to imitate the Dacian pontifical tiara; let us also note

that1 F•ysans commonly call this rock "the Man" and that it gave its name to the most holy fountain in Romania.

At the very top of the "Om" (at 1,550 m), there is a gigantic phalos phalos measuring ten metres high and twenty metres wide. This is the *ga/ictis* jbonus, named by the people l' ct essieu dti à(onde" and the "Navel of the Earth".

In addition, the àlont Om is crossed by an immense cave, one of the largest in the world, in the sense that its end has not yet been found. Only about twenty kilometres of it have been explored, and that is all.

It is said that the supreme god of the Dacians was *Zaynoxis*. We must be clear. The supreme Dacian god is nameless and without qualification (Strabo). It is J2rn/imo cirg«no, as with others, it must be found in a tradition that was primordial. He is the serene sky: the turmoil in nature comes from the demons of the storm, the clouds, the hail. In order to contemplate Him, the god shoots arrows into the clouds. A simple custom which, when transposed, speaks volumes about the modes of realisation in the Primordial Tradition... The Dieti is worshipped in the high mountains, in the solitude where only eagles can fly. Pure Ouranian tradition, rigorously "monotheistic" and untroubled by any Clyonian orgies. As the poet says:

- And vaster than all worlds,
Zalmoxis himself disappears into his own shadow. •

This unlimited God is referred to only by the name of his representative, *Zalmoxis*. However, "*Zalinoxis* is a function like *Zoroastro*. As for the fable that makes *εαβαοζις* a slave and disciple of Pythagoras, it must be attributed to the incredible arrogance of the Greeks. A secular historian such as Pärvan describes it in his book as "Greek rationalist naivety" and adds: "Evhmerism existed in Greece long before the birth of Evhmerus". In reality, the opposite is true, for here it is indeed the case to say that "the Light came from the North". What should be remembered from **this** fable is that even the Greeks were struck by the similarity between the Pythagorean teachings and the doctrines of the Daoists. Moreover, a Greek, Hermippus Callimaclius, stated explicitly that Pythagoras was "αἰζπε" Ἰσσητικῶν πρῶτος, "disciple of the Thracian Sages".

Znfmnzis was a Satumian function. He is the 'Man' whose simulacrum is found on the Atout *Om*. The historian Alnaseas of Patrae tells us that the Getae worship Saturn, whom they call Demoni (frdg)a. *hisl*, gr., HI, •53) And

Diogenes Laertius (I. VIII): 'The Getae call Saturn

Zalmoxis »*. And Hesychius: Ζαλμοξις:- a Kim.s. If we remove the Greek suffix is from *Zalinoxis*, we are left with Ζαλτινος = Ζητίνος, which in English means '*Dieux-VifluK* •', which is none other than *Saluruus senex*. The Dacians called *Zalmoxis* 'our God and our King' (Plato, 6άρ' . st

The High Priest of the Dacians lived in the sacred mountain in a cave: he was God (Strabo). No one had the right to visit him except the King. He only came down on very rare occasions, when he had orders to give. One of these occasions was very significant: under King Burebista (a contemporary of Augustus), the cultivation of vines was strictly forbidden. The High Priest, Deceneus, came down from his mountain to deliver this order. However, for the High Priest-God to take the trouble to do this himself, it had to

it must have been something more than just a "prohibitionist" gesture. In our opinion, it was a matter of safeguarding the purity of

the Dacian Uranian and Apollonian doctrine of Dionysian influences from Thrace, which had itself received them from the East (i).

Once every four years, the nation made the highest sacrifice to the supreme god: a man who had the great mission of carrying the will of the nation there. And this sacrifice was so holy that **if the one** who was thrown to the priests did not die, it meant not that the God had spared him, but that he considered him unworthy to appear before him. The most rigorous asceticism led to Him. Those who embarked on the Path had to renounce women, wine and meat, and focus their thoughts on the Eternal One (Strabo).

There is another extremely remarkable fact about the supreme Lacial caste. This is what Jornan-dès, the historian of the Dacians, says: *iii referl bio qui hislvrias connu [Gelarnni] aofesçuo grieco slilo roiitşosiif, qui dixil friinum. Sarabos fereos, dcindc uotilalos fiilcalos moe, iştii iii vos generosi t.risicb int: ce çoibtis mis regis cf sacerdotzs orditiai-ttfr. u* The first among **them** were the **Sara bon f.rros**: from among them, kings and priests were ordained. *i* Thus, there was a single caste for priestly and royal functions: the *sarabos* held both offices. And indeed, there were High Priests who were also Kings: Dion Chrysostome speaks of Comosicus who simultaneously succeeded *1* Burebista, the King, and Deceneus, the High Priest, combining these two functions, **as** the king Anius dortt speaks of Virgil in the Aeneid:

.. Rcx fimnittitiii, Phae bisque sacerdos.

The brother of the last king of the Dacians, Decebalus, was High Priest.

What does this mean? That the *sarabos* were above the casfes, that they were *liamsa*. However, that a sur-

1. And Orpheus was killed by the Bacchae, in reference to this.

caste *hamsa*, *héréditaire, visible et accessible*, existât encore en plein *Kali-Yuga*, cela constitue un cas extraordinaire de survivance qui démontre en même temps la sublimité et l'importance de la Tradition dacique. Encore une preuve, parmi tant d'autres, qu'elle était la Tradition primordiale elle-même, car seulement des *hamsa* peuvent garder une Tradition *priglobal*; we emphasise that one cannot .not. gr üec

d' « ésotérisme dacique », exotérisme et ésotérisme étant en « indistinction » dans cette Tradition.

Le représentant du Dieu suprême ne peut être que le Roi du Monde ou un de ses aspects ; celui-ci fut le chef suprême du grand Centre spirituel qui subsista en Dacie après le déplacement du Centre Suprême vers l'Orient. *Zalmoxis*, fonction saturnienne désigne donc le Roi du Monde (1). Ce qui nous fait penser ainsi, ce sont les noms nombreux et *vaziéssesiesgodsestdésigabecettefoacticedaas la «Yaô-tioazocaaicep)pzaizeatvitxzsfe. Zl ætte•Yi«asNoét"ttü*

fut le « roi des Roumains », le « roi des Pasteurs ». Il est aussi le « Vieux *Novac* », qui régnait « dans un Grand Palais Blanc sur une haute Montagne ». Il est le « roi de la Roumanie », *Jei* < (Jean-Saint-Jean, Ion•Sant-Ion).

Dans les *Kolinde*, il a la place d'honneur près du « Bon Dieu » (*Apollon*). Il juge (fonction de justice). « Il intercède (fonction de justice) en faveur des hommes » (fonction de médiation) ; « il est grand (fonction de médiation) et les vents » (fonction de Paix). *ticier*.

Car je suis Jean-Saint-Jean
Envoyé par Dieu
To measure
The Earth with my steps, The
Sky with lù Foiïära

| Envoyé avec trois lois saintes,
Law of the Holy Cross
La Loi du Mariage
La Loi du Baptême.

1. *Zalmoxis* est appelé aussi le « Dieu à la double Hache ». Il est donc en rapports étroits avec la manifestation de *Parashu-Râma*.

Il accomplit un des plus grands mystères qui soit, le mystère de la Pierre :

En haut à la Clef du Paradis
Est rassemblé un groupe de Saints,
Ils lisent, ils prophétisent.

Ils lisent Dieu,
Mais ne savent pas Dieu
Mais Jean-Saint-Jean
Parle ainsi :
Vous lisez, vous prophétisez,

! God bless you

Et Dieu ne savez.
Mais moi je le sais
Il est en bas à la Clef du Paradis (1)
Enfermé dans une Borne-Pierre.

When the Saizits heard

*Ils volaient en haut
Se mêlaient aux nuages,
Descendaient en bas
Sur la Borne-Pierre (2).*

lis prennent" books

Ils lisent, ils prophétisent
Trois jours et trois nuits.
La Pierre Dieu éclate en quatre

Et Dieu naît.

C'est Jean-Saint-Jean qui a bâti le Monastère Blanc :

de.suis.'dC4cendu'.sur tp Terrç
Et j'ai bâti le Monastère Blanc

vers lo Soleil levant
Avec 9 portes, 9 autels.

Et ceci qui est décisif :

Moi Ion-Sant-Ion

Je prendrai les Clefs dans la main

Je descendrai sur la Terre

*J'ouvrirai des Monastères
the Jerai of Saints Riter•*

He is Órdoonaieirr par excellence:

Quand est descendu
Ion-Sant-Ion sur la Terre

Il a fait sortir des villages,

les trac5 des IimicdS..."

Notons que chez les Grecs *Janus* s'appelait *Ιων, Ιζων*, ce qui est identique à Ion. L'invocation *Io!* qui se trouve en tête des *Kolinde*, addressing him Ía Saiút-jean de Janvier is Ômeu' r&i èncore the greatest of the fêt s of: Roíímanie. Toutê la

1. Deux Clefs, une en haut, une en bas!

2. *Ascendit a Terra in Coelum. iterumque descendit in Terram; recepit vim superiorum et inferiorum. Sic habebit gloria toti mundi.*

population y participe. Encore aujourd'hui, le roi, le gouvernement, le corps diplomatique, se rendent en grande pompe au bord de la Dambovitza (rivière de Bucarest). Là, le Patriarche jette une croix d'or dans l'Eau. S'y jette qui veut et reward the one who finds the cross: Nêtons altar

l'intéressante remarque de Röscher, que le Temple de Janus

sÆdteàEiseMpæôeN-E. dxFonsn

We saw in the ffo a& the æysténeuae mvocœtion Zane t
fer Deeivins M; No l fr, K Waadô.

He is mentioned in Roman legends: a mystical figure
En-J Vie & L mp e r W... • W-fl and ie p&es*
great Emperor of Mo&ie.. He rules to æ.. fæit Dren
and greater than himself... He lives in a grand palace

Please £ Le-£ m... Several Romanians have, tromié le
**Palais de Ler-Empereur, mais n'en sont pas revenus... Tous
les courtisans de Ler-Empereur sont des moines... » Est-il**

qu "•j : W

He is a mysterious pearl dani ks Iëgmdee roomaince d'ims'
jopslatim, • Ice Doux • iæ 2t(A)»m«, læ 2taænaæ, les

end of the World, taken from Samedi ti}; IB a>nt all

êtres ; leur pays s'appelle *Makarele
des Bienheureux*). Les Portes du
Paradis sont près de là... Chez les Rohmanes on trouve de
the Water of Via and da l'Eude Mort... Les meilleurs parmi les

Semi never sleeps (The Arctic 1). • People still celebrate today the •
Rohmane Easter *, which arrives a week after the 9tqaes cbt6tîmaæ
the good feouozs throw into the river Iæ cogœs d*œafs which eBœ
oat prepared

dæ gAinos aoz P0goœ, jxær qu'elles ail leat jœgaëubesfeù

Rohmanes, dans l'Autre Rive. *Car les Rohmanes n'ont pas besoin de l'œuf entier, comme nous pécheurs ; la poche d'air leur suffit.*

« Un Moldave s'en alla avec une barque sur la Mer Noire. Après quelques jours de navigation, il vit une haute montagne, qui attirait sa barque comme le « fer empoisonné (l'äiman,t): In this place, the saints of *Rolimanès* lived. E.corüinen(ja to visit the place, fie-qui éme ëilla le plus:riôte

homme, ce fut l'Eau des *Rohmanes*, qui brûlait toute seule éooad .ont ji .albert laugh »uicac. Un' BnÀmnar le. encounter:

—:V —,tĩ be a waiter? — Yes, but on condition that

you teach me how to make this Eau fa F•m...

Agreed.'

Möldave 54 Vĩt 7a ps and learned how to prepare the Water" of

Flamme... » Sans commentaire...

: "The Rohmean live under the Earth... Once upon a time they lived on Sur.Ia. T ... At the end of ëu. Honde: God will bring them back to Earth..(x)!"

And this too:

• Le.:Roi-iles Boüma est *Ion-Sont-Ion*.

ët.this.;

"The Grefi'des Bolmamis is £o-£»iprrc«r., •

'fier, AfÔ•oi, Lrti, .her is the Name. The *Mantra* dii Roi dii Bonde, it was Him that the little children invoked when they went to leiirs Kolin& to announce Christmas from house to house in May. ,son. }a Bonne Nouvelle.

Nous avons donc trouvé dix noms, désignant dans la Tradition géto-roumaine la fonction de Roi du Monde : 1) Le Vieux Noël. 2) *Ion-Sant-Ion*. 3) Le Vieux *Novac*, 4) *Iovea*, :sõn fils! and .succeiueur. 5). ñfntit«, 6) OrpJifr, 7) *Zalmoxis*. 8) *Ler-Empereur*. 9) *Cali-man*. 10) *Karai-man*.

Regarding the 2toftntws, we must say that the strongest

1. * *L'Agartha* ne fut pas toujours souterraine et elle ne le demeurera pas toujours , (R. Guénon. *Le Roi du Monde*, p. 91 . " Les peuples d'*Agartha* sortiront de leurs cavernes et apparaîtront sur la surface de la terre " (l' prophétie du Roi du Monde en 1890, rapportée par M. Ossendovski. *Bêtes, Hommes et Dieux* p. 282). Ce valet ce que est que la Tradition géto-roumaine et roumaine

The most warlike of the Pelasgian peoples north of the Danube were the Dorians. Homer makes the earliest mention of them: the terrible giant *Typhon*, who fought the gods, was from the land of the Dorians. In the *Odyssey*, he calls them *Erimbi*, *Arav bee*, with *h* representing the nasal sound *o*. Dionysius the Periegetes calls them οἱ τῶν ποταμῶν (mountain dwellers). He says that they are of the race of the Titans. They are also called *Ariinphlcs*, *Ariinones*, *Ramtics*. Ptolemy calls one of the cities of Dacia *6smi-dant*,

One should not believe that the name Romanian is new. Among the people, Romanian is equivalent to native peasant. When he reorganised the Empire, Diocletian called all the subject lands inhabited by the Geto-Thracians Romania; if this name came from Rome, it would have been more appropriate for Italy. The truth is that **Rome**, Romania, and Roumanie are old Pelasgian names. The remnants of the old Thracian tribes of the Balkan Peninsula are called Aromanians and speak Romanian.

We believe that all these names derive from the Homeric *Arimoi*, and that they are related to the game. Romanian mythology mentions a *ficw-£»i;#rrmr*. In addition, there are a number of places with obvious connections to the sixth *dve/i<vrî: fois* (two places), *fouine*, *Com-nir*

{z departments), *A«»rsii*, *Citrix*, *Jtiginani'*, *Rnmn*, *ficm/id*, *Baris*, *Quoi*, *dr»ie»rusra*, *N rinnis*, *Ortnsiii*, *A<iiiiisro*, *fin•as-cniit*, etc.

There is a curious archaeological monument in Romania: the "Norac Furrow". It is enormous in length, largely ruined, but not so much so that one cannot

its continuity. It begins near

Budapest, descends between the Tisza and the Danube, crosses the Romanian Banat, re enters Wallachia through the "Iron Gates" of the Danube, criss-crosses this region along its entire length, parallel to the Carpathians, crosses southern Moldavia

, passes the Dniester and continues to the Don. Its height varies between 1 and 3 i Prince Cantemir, voivode of Ffol-

davie, qui le décrit au XVII^e siècle, indique le même tracé, mais le dit plus haut ce qui est naturel. Il l'appelle, on ne sait pourquoi *jossa Trajani imperatoris*.

Il existe un peu plus au Nord que ce sillon et parallèlement à lui « une série de pierres et de dalles traversant la Bessarabie et passant en Russie » (1). Et Cantemir décrit aussi cette *series maximorum lapidorum*.

Quinte-Curce dans sa vie d'Alexandre (VIII, 7) nous raconte que le héros macédonien, après avoir conquis les Perses et les Bactriens, fit une expédition contre les Scythes d'Europe. Il arriva au fleuve Tanaïs (Don) qui sépare les Bactriens des Scythes (détail important, car il précise bien la situation de la Scythie). Il passe le Tanaïs, défait les Scythes et les poursuit tout le jour *jusqu'au delà des bornes de Liber Pater*. Ces bornes de *Liber Pater* consistaient en de grandes dalles

.etipirrés.:pos4 :à de.petits intèrv.allèè les unùs dës autres.

Let us assume that *£rr* may be a contraction of *Libc!r.(ù), ':*

. ' ni nē signĩ either of origin tin- .que Ìes

°.: t d ì U

In Hérodote, he speaks of *lijoi' oóoi, z pis's e*
des:Scjitbes: Which signify this aiiiteôqtie sillon and these are
sacred? We must naturally exclude any military character

é õu.coimnëiüoratif.C'est du côté de lä géographie sactée
that an explanation is needed. See the legendary islands that
öpn;ent:touj oqyà. the last lights. We have seen due N'e«c
is identical to Saturn.

ijGe.sillon was traced. by *h'niac*, deal.Occtden t.j.:l.O.orient •.

.to .learn.: agriculture in Romania. He pulled the ùhämie himself.
The plough of i"feoc was pulled•e by

12 bœufs. *Novac a labouré en longueur et en hauteur ! Deux
bœufs, l'un noir et l'autre blanc ont tiré la charrue de Novac.*

@:ail lôn is the belt of the Earth (pu.ñe could not have put it better; for
it coincides with the ss• parallel; the iroitie.dë:ÿa.distänèè' èntre.le:
P61(i:et.l'Equatëui1): *No, I didn't want to draw it anywhere else.*

1. Rapport du capitaine Zaskuk à l'Etat-Major.

2. *Solem et Liberum patrem ejusdem numinis habendum !* (Macrobe).

sur le Nombriil de la Terre. Pendant qu'il labourait, *Novac* se fit faire de la musique par des *colzars* (cytarrhèdes) (1).

And «e.s») oette phræ qa is œæ dō ,aø oiaæ «.ix a'

Paæ4. a true diaæxnt badtionnèl qiá éclõirc m d&

points les plus importants de l'histoire sacrée :

"Z• Si iñšg g ó¥ #a djøzzr Be ••N•', azrz go'z P eztr
eoua z.'Oazærz•.

- aaæqza6tnî2@-fææøæ.cesuaæa'aat=c6•d«... l'o<<iaaita
i'Oricet •adlææ œtr«aaos,-l:ittæai•e ó«le

œigzaOöβ zt perboréooe ec.dQ C0nQe.Sugrê

\C4ttezalg t-

tion venant du Nord a rencontré le Danube, là où il fait un

aagle do gr•. Zlle a sozyi saz œæzs tafææac et æt œbde æ Ôaòè jar

læ « Portæ de Fæ» Aprisuoc stage dtœe dtude gaž aocæ æt žœœœœœ

daos csttø coatzdø, éBe e poæsožvž aoo chea'in vers i'Œicet,
coaduite par Žæ-Z'mgø'zæ' .,0 æt

to ztoter qua cesillaaæa Russië æ l6gerβéclúsbœæeat

Sud. Si on prolonge la ligne du sillon vers l'Asie, elle rencontre la Caucase... (se rappeler les trois Caucases, polaire, dacique et asiatique). Donc, la migration hyperboréenne fut verticale jusqu'au point où elle rencontra le 45° parallèle, la moitié de la distance between the Pole and the Equator. Zu, c'Zr sa. dtõllo so

branches horizontales. Une partie de la migration poursuivait la verticale jusqu'en Grèce. Quant à la branche occidentale, celtique, de l'Hyperborée, son itinéraire nous est indiqué par le symbolisme géographique, par le bon sens aussi, le cours supérieur du Danube (s). Et l'6 Crang /ur oiošl - bMZV s'(g).

fœ Celles sc oièlèreat with dœ žtœœenB 4izaogas, aotæa- œæet
atlaot4çzæ la tzaditioa celtique æt dœzæ bæoamp

1. Comme on le voit, *Novac* accomplit un rite.

2. Les anciens disaient que Celtes et Gètes s'avoisinaient. Nous avons vu que la Baltique fut une autre " étape " de l'Hyperborée antérieure à la Dacie. Il y eut peut-être là, une autre projection " rajasique ", qui constitua les Celtes d'Angleterre et d'Irlande.

3. Henri Martin : " Suivant les Triades, *Hu* amena les *Kimri* du " pays de l'été ", nommé *Delfraboni* " (du côté où est aujourd'hui Constantinople, ajoute un ancien commentateur).

4. Si on prolonge la verticale Pôle-Baltique-Dacie, elle traverse la Thrace, l'Archipel, l'Égypte et l'Éthiopie, pays de Koush... On voit que s'il y avait encore une géographie traditionnelle, c'est là le premier Méridien...

Il y a encore un mythe admirable qui se rapporte visiblement à ce même sillon : Il y avait jadis un serpent gigan-

tous ceux qui voulaient passer... Il désolait toute la contrée... Mais le vieux *Novac* l'attaqua dans sa caverne, le blessa, et le contraignit à en sortir... Le serpent s'enfuit,

,p&izcnfvi by Neo«c... In Craiova, ii lid toopa, d'ene Dčche, m morceao de la qnene • 8 l'Olt on aotrc, h Pitesti, £

cfiitč-et se jota in Ifer 11 oh is 1'lr of SerpmH

" " (Blaöche) and l'ezapolsoaua toote... C'est depužs 7ozs qu'eM à',appelle Mer Not.. » Seven localities in total... From point to :From a microcosmic perspective, the operation appears to be a more complex one.

bien dans le monde de la jeu! On peut voir ce qu'était se pæe

pbio < op6rative • It is only on nm cards that one kilometre ca2r4 and similar to another icifomètre carré.

Earth and im spiritual, analytical and physical organisation /Oic adæ iigne de force,dea needs dt pniæaocce qo'il fallAlt

déliar, canaliser, sublimer, résorber (et non pas détruire naturellement), opérations suprêmes entre toutes réservées -aa•D;eax o6Sia<zeprdsmtaots.i<s xoucc, leszzz.

GÉTICUS.

NORTHERN ISLANDS

GÉRÔME TAILLANDIER

I, along with my predecessors, have unearthed^{*(youwill notice} that I am using Ronsard's rule here and not Marot's), more brilliant than diamonds^{in the light of the new dawn,} several myths that had been buried under layers of archaeological and ideological filth for over a century, based on the cornerstone of our civilisation, written by two precursors of the new era, Hamlet's Mill.

Thanks to them, I have managed to elucidate 80% of the Grail of the Renaissance, known as the Gundestrup Cauldron, and the Caledonian stone of Hilton of Cadboll.

These myths are, as far as I can tell, the **<Myth of the Golden Age>** and that of **<the Hyperborean origin of the Indo-Europeans>**.

It is worth recalling these myths and their connection to that of **<Aurora, daughter of the god of Thunder and Lightning, abducted by Scorpius, the Smith of the dark regions, and freed from her**

prison by her two brothers, the Gemini, sons of the god, sent by him to search for their sister Eos/Usha/Aurora>.

All that remains for us, with James Bond, is to find a better fate for **<Vesper, goddess of the evening>**, and we will have found our ancestors where they await us with kindness.

A reminder of this myth for newcomers is in order. The Thunder God, armed with his Lightning Bolt, has ruled over the gods since he cut off the genitals of his ancestor Ouranos and threw the testicles into the sky in the form of Gemini and his penis in the form of the tail of Scorpio, according to Vedic myth.

Due to the precession of the equinoxes, in recent times, the winter solstice has been near Scorpius or Sagittarius. **The** Sun, female, Sonne, Sunna, Sól, is then withdrawn to a deep, subterranean region, abducted by the evil Smith of the Underworld, who forges material beings and who holds Aurora, Usha, Eos, captive during the dark period around the winter solstice.

In spring and then summer, Aurora was sought by her two Brothers/Sisters, Gemini/Ashvins/Stallions Evening and Morning Star/Zorze, and brought back to her father's kingdom in the constellation of Gemini, where she appears every morning in the company of the Seven Sisters, the Pleiades, according to the Rig Veda rite already studied.

It remains to be defined what happens at sunset, when Sól disappears into the night. This time has been named in our regions

West/Wis, Sanskrit Vas, hence the forms Hesperos/Vesperus. Unexpected help comes from James Bond, when we learn that Vesper Lynd is his only serious love, and that Vesper could well be, after all, the form of Aurora/Khrisè, and not a male being, so that Vesper and Bond are two unexpected returns of the Vespers.

It is now time to enter into the new mythèmes.

The easiest is that of the Golden Age, the reign of Saturn, Aun, Shalim, Fróði of the Gróttasöngur, (Fróðafrið), Arthur of the legend of the Round Table, and many others. Lovers of ancient things can go and unearth it under the hill of the tomb of Hsin-Tzeu Wang-Ti, in Hsin, or in the Hebrides, with Monsignor Carmichael.

<In the beginning of time, there was a Golden Age, where humans did not work, social ties did not exist, masters and slaves did not exist, and abundance brought peace among humans, who were all equal.

<Then a catastrophe occurred. The reign of King Saturnian came to an end, and the Thunder God took his place, with the storms and lightning that characterise his reign and govern all things.

<King Saturnian was killed in this first war of succession, and he was buried far from us on a distant island,

Avalon, or many other places. His tomb was buried under an imposing hill, not to forget him, but on the contrary, to protect him and await his return.

<**In fact, the King is not really dead, but in a state of slumber**, watched over by Virgins, his Daughters, who take care of him while awaiting his reawakening.

<**Moreover, his daughters often leave his tomb**, in the Hebrides for example, and in fact everywhere, in the form of serpents. Athena and the Pythia of Delphi are fine examples of this.

<In fact, **the King is not a human being, but a serpent**, at least since he has been in a state of slumber.

<This Serpent King is present everywhere, in the Americas in the Serpent Hill erected by Native Americans, in the south in the form of pyramids where, for example, Lady Wak Tuun consults him, and where the king appears in the form of the Serpent, as is the case with the Pythia of Delphi, whose father-lover is the Serpent Python, whom Apollo never killed, as that poor cretin boasts, sitting on his navel, the meteorite stone, which is worshipped everywhere among humans, and which Tvastr forges for his master Indra in Hinde, in order to make it a Thunderbolt of God Thunder.

It should be added that the countless virgins and saints trampling on the Serpent are in fact his daughters, and that they are only pretending to trample on him, while in reality they are watching over him, buried beneath the crypts of all Christian churches. The Norsemen and the

Wandes know this well, considering the Serpent to be the protector of the Church and the home, and would never embark on a voyage unless it was on a Draken, a feminine noun.

<It must therefore be remembered that the Saturnian King is not a human, but a Serpent, and that his daughters are Serpents, foremost among whom we know that in the Hebrides, Bhride assists women in childbirth, and is none other than Brigið, daughter of the Serpent, female goddess of the Celts, or Bhrid/Brigg.

<The Great Celtic Goddess is a Serpent.>

We can see why the *Tru-wid*, or Druids, are Serpents, living on the island of Môn, or Man, island of Lunus, *male* god of the Moon, before being massacred there by the Roman invaders.

We should remember that for our ancestors, the tumulus, barrow, cairn, dolmen, was a collection of steles arranged with great effort, then covered, without exception, with a mound of earth that disappeared with erosion and human stupidity. Thus, on the island of Heligoland, most of the numerous dolmens have been destroyed or are in the process of being destroyed due to the stupidity of the locals.

Stonehenge is therefore recognised as the most extraordinary resting place of the Saturnian kings of our regions, dwarfing even the Vatican.

Who will have the idea of making Stonehenge an independent state?

*

To this first mytheme, which I have studied extensively elsewhere, another should be added: the mytheme of **<the Hyperborean origin of the Aryans>**.

According to a well-established myth, the Aryans, or Indo-Europeans, descended from the North Star. Here again, we must remember that the North Star is not always the one we know, but the precession of the equinoxes shifts the geographical pole, so that 10 to 12,000 years ago, the pole was in Vega Lyrae, close to the Milky Way, the path of the dead. It is highly likely that this myth comes from the position of the pole in Vega, which I cannot prove...

It should be added that, at the time Mercator drew up his map, this myth was still very much alive, and Mercator's map of the Pole is nothing more than a representation of this myth.

At the Pole stands an isolated mountain, Mount Meru, alone in the middle of the Ocean. It serves as the axis of the four-part Solar Wheel, with which Mercator was perfectly familiar, forming the polar counties.

Then, following the ancient account, Mercator constructed the paths of the region, which I will discuss elsewhere.

In particular, he recalls that the north wind prevents navigators from approaching the Pole, but that this prohibition on reaching the Pole is due to the fact that, beyond the ocean, there is a region where peace, warm climate and abundance reign for the beings who live there, California, already established in the Song of Roland and in Camoens' Lusiads.

This region is none other than Hyperborea, and the question is why a legion of daring navigators decided to leave California, cross the barrier of winds, and descend into the cold, dark and desolate region of humans.

<However, one thing is certain: the men of this legion are the Aryans, and they come straight from the region of the Pole, where the deities who protect them watch over them.

<The first of these deities is Arkh-themis, the Justice of the Bear, the Great Bear, who watches over her cub, the Little Bear, or the Seven Dwarfs of Snow White, another name for Ursa Major.

A bolder Kelt travelled far down to Hellas and established a city there bearing the name of his people, Calydon, which means "Keltic region", another name for Keliton, Caledonia, home of the people wrongly called "Picts".

But humans are fickle and forgetful. **So much so that they neglect the rites due to Justice of the Bear, so that she, who watches over the proper functioning of the Sphere of the Fixed Stars and its harmony with human affairs, is forced to send them her Boar, Totem Kelt, the boar Varaha** among the Vedics, who,

by ravaging their crops, reminds them of the rites due to the goddess. That they forget these by sending the Hunter to kill the Boar shows how untrustworthy the human species is...>

*

This myth of Hyperborean origin has been developed by various authors, including Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak, whose work is not his best, but where one can find a wealth of information on the sources.

The supposed reader, or unlikely reader, of this text will no doubt wonder how these two mythèmes are connected, since ***there seems to be no trace of a connection between them.*** Faced with this shortcoming, one solution is to consider that we are dealing with two distinct groups of mythèmes, which is possible.

In particular, the development of the mytheme of **<the Cosmic Hunt and the Boar Varaha>** deserves to be pursued seriously, in connection with Tilak's work on Prajâpati, the possible ancestor of the Blacksmith, and especially with the difficult question of the **<transformation of the Antelope into the Bear in the Hunt of Orion>**, which forms the basis of Tilak's analysis and would lead us down unexplored paths...

I will stick to a simple but interesting trail here.

In my study of the Grail of the Renaissance, the Gundestrup Cauldron, I came to the conclusion that **the five inner plates are dedicated to a pentalphic calendar** of Celtic celebrations, but also Slavic ones, as the following has shown.

I have shown that each of the plates bears witness to the connection between the major dates of the solar cycle and the lives of the gods: Imbolc-Marzanna, Ôstarâ-Beltáin-Dzyady, Midsommar-Lugh na Sadh-Kupala Noc, Samhain-Dzyady-Halloween and, above all, the lost festival of the Twelve Nights, *Weihnachten*, because it was occupied by the new presence of the Son of God the Saviour, and which is in fact Belika Kolyada, the festival of the Ancestors returning to visit their loved ones, and not Halloween, where the festival was moved due to congestion at the winter solstice...

It is by returning once again to the Lugh Keraunos plaque that the connection can be established.

(I will make a useless aside, since I know that no one will take it into account, to point out that there is no Cernunnos in my home, this god being a bastardised version, dating from the Roman occupation and the destruction of the Celtic gods. On the other hand, there is a Lugh Keraunos, whose antlers signify the presence of the Great Deer God, the White Deer on Lugh's right, otherwise known as Bel, the Luminous One, who is found in Bel-Táin, Bel's herd, embodied in the Celtic sky by the Oxherd).

We have long known that the dancing Lugh holds the Boreal Crown in his right hand, the emblem of Lunus, the male Moon God, from whom the Celts descend, while in his left hand he holds a Serpent, thus giving the Celtic version of the myth of the struggle between Perun and Veles, the Serpent God being the local form of the god of the dark and wet season.

But a new detail comes into play.

If, as stated above, the Serpent is the figure of the Saturnian King, how can we connect this with the position of the Serpent in Lugh's hand?

Furthermore, if, as we know, the festival of the Saturnian King takes place during *Weihnachten*, nights outside the lunar cycle, what connection can be made with the mythical themes of the Golden Age and Hyperborea?

As is the case in any set of equations, the solution comes by eliminating one of the variables.

If we assume that, while the Sun is in Virgo, without specifying the date, due to precession, the Assembly of the People, or Lugh, is in Boötes, that is, Lugh Reigning and projecting his Thunderbolts, *Gromnice*, on the god of the dark season, it seems necessary and logical that Lugh or his shamanic ancestor from the cliffs of Sagan-Zaba should celebrate the unity of Time, holding in his two hands the time of human cycles, the lunar cycles, in his right hand, and the time of the kingdom of the Ancestor- ,

embodied in the Twelve Holy Nights, in this case in the form of the Veles-equivalent Serpent. So that the battle between Veles and Perun, Saint George and the Dragon, takes on a new meaning, that of the dynamic struggle between the two forces of nature, the dark season, domain of the Ancestors from which comes the fertility of crops and soil, and that of the world tree, around which is organised the rotation of the Fixed Sky, or the Benevolent Gods, who, with Arkh-Themis, watch over humans and the necessary cycles of the crops of the living.

The myth of the Golden Age, the Peace of Fróði, and the Saturnia Regna are thus well embodied on the Lugh plate by the presence of the Bear, accompanied by her cub, who watches over the proper performance of the rites by Lugh or his shaman.

Note the presence of the Serpent on the three plates of the Cauldron of Rebirth, whose orientation on their path indicates, along with that of the two donkeys on the Lugh plate, the direction of rotation of the times of celebration.

That said, we still need to explore this theme of the Serpent and its link with the Golden Age and the reign of Saturn in more depth, because for the moment, we still lack a connection between **Saturn/Kronos and the Serpent**, despite the many hints given to us by the virgins watching over their sleeping father.

IAM REDIT ET VIRGO .

REDEVNT SATVRNIA REGNA

*The black demon of battle Will
leave this land We will see here
below The goddess Astraea reign*

This note is preliminary to some difficulties in Indo-European mythology.

We wonder what the etymology of two well-known words might be: Auster and Wester/Wis-/.

We already know that Auster/Ôstarâ/Easter/öster refers to the return of the bright season, but also to the return of Aurora, Helen, **the Golden Dawn**, in the morning, but also at the vernal equinox.

Strangely enough, the etymology of Vesper/Hesperos is still largely unknown to us today...

We learn from ancient sources that Eos, Aurora, had two sons, one of whom was Astraios, Eosphoros, and the other was

Hesperos. Nothing could be more similar to the myth of the two Gemini who set out in search of their sister, Eos...

However, it seems unlikely that these two Gemini were born of their sister Eos.

First problem!

Furthermore, the daughter of Lady Eos and Astraios, the Star, is called Eosphoros, the bearer of Eos: this is indeed the Gemini who brings Eos back to her father, the Indo-European God of Thunder.

Second problem!

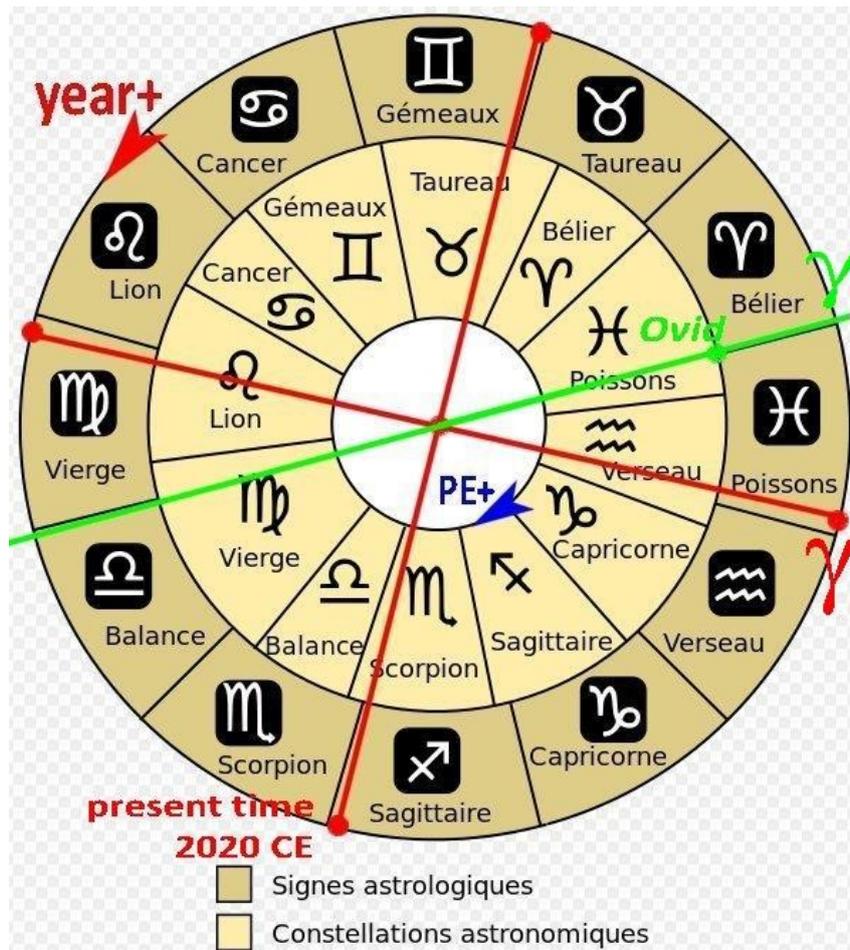
We find a way to catch our breath when we learn that Lady Eos has a daughter, Astraea, the last immortal to remain among humans at the end of the Golden Age; so it is not surprising that humans call for her return every time a Golden Age dawns among humans, during the Renaissance but also in the era of Preciosity.

We are even less surprised, when consulting the zodiac and the precession of the equinoxes at the time of Ovid, Eclogue 4, that Madame Astraea ascends among the gods in heaven, taking the place of Virgo, right next to Libra, the scales, which in our time designate the autumnal point.

There is just one *small problem*: why would Astrée, announcing the return of her mother, Aurora, come to occupy a place

that is that of **point autumnal**, beginning in the dark season?

Could it be that **dawn appears when night falls**? Could this be an Orphic theme?



Schweisthal aka

Gerome Taillandier 27

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HYPERBORE

Suppose, like the Ancients, that you live on a flat world, vast no doubt, but finite. The shape of this world is not very clear; it may be square, or round as in Norse mythology, where it is surrounded by a giant serpent that holds it together.

Beyond the world, there is nothing!

As a result, the Sun, which appears and disappears every day, must sink beneath the world. We will not concern ourselves with this.

On the other hand, if you travel a little on your *langskip*, you know that towards the "south" it gets hotter and hotter, and girls walk around naked – mind you, in Sweden too!

But there, it's really hot, and rowing in these conditions is a bit painful. What's more, the further south you go, the darker people are, even black!

Even a Viking gets dark if he stays in the area too long, that's how dark!

But that's not all!

We noticed long ago that the sky revolves above our heads around a fixed point, which we named after the goddess who undoubtedly resides there, Njordhr. What's more, this point is offset from the vertical, so that north is a precise direction for navigation.

But there's more! We have noticed that the further north we go, the colder it gets, it snows, it freezes, and the land becomes uncultivable. On the other hand, there is something wonderful about the north: if you go far enough north, there is a region where there is only one day per year! It must be great to live there!

In fact, there is a people further north, the Saami, who define themselves as the people who live close to the Sun. Should we be able to do the same?

There is one drawback: the gods are not very keen on us going up there. To prevent humans from doing so, they constantly blow icy, snowy winds, which some call Boreas. But it is certain that if we could overcome the barrier of the winds, we would arrive in a land where there is only one day per year. This land is called Hyperborea, beyond Boreas and his icy winds.

It is therefore clear that if we are condemned to live such a harsh life in the North, it is undoubtedly because we actually came from Hyperborea, a wonderful land where everything grows effortlessly and where daylight reigns forever. It is equally clear that

this is where humans come from! But they were forced to leave this region...

Therefore, les Norsemen proviennent comme tous les "Indo-Europeans", from a region located far to the north, near the edge of the world, and whose direction is indicated by the goddess Njordhr.

You can guess what happens next.