Germanic Mythology Study (1)

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Initiator of the Norwegian studies, the Norwegian philologist Sophus Bugge (1833 - 1907), after in-depth studies, published in Danish language a work entitled Studier Over De Nordiske Gude- Og Heltesagns Oprindelse , which had a great impact, because it presented the thesis according to which the Eddas and all ancient Norse literature did not have a purely Nordic character, but had both Greco-Latin and Christian influence, and that the mythical and heroic poetry of the North was no older than the Viking Age. In its wake, historian, politician and theologian Christian Bang (1840 - 1913), in an in-depth study of the Vǫluspá (literally, The Prophecies of the Sybil), which he read before the Christiania Science Society in 1879 ( Vøluspaa og de Sibyllinske Orakler , Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania, Forhandlinger Aar 1879, nr. 9, 1–23, Christiania), argued that the unknown author of this work had only adapted to Nordic mythology the beliefs and procedures of the Sibylline oracles, this creation of the Alexandrian Jews of the second century BC, of ​​which the Christians, in the continuity of Judaism, then made an instrument propaganda of their cult (\*).

These revisionist works were what prompted the Swedish writer, publicist, poet and politician Viktor Rydberg (1828 - 1895) to immerse himself in the study of Norse mythology. For years he devoted himself almost exclusively to this study, so much so that he would spend days and nights working at his desk, almost without eating or drinking, his mind entirely occupied with his work. and that when he ventured outside he spoke to no one, his mind entirely taken up by the subject he was dealing with. The result of these years of tireless and meticulous work was the publication of Undersökningar i germanisk mythologiin two volumes, the first in 1886, the second in 1889. The publication of a German edition, a French edition and an English edition was announced, but only the English one saw the light of day, under the title of Teutonic Mythology: Gods and Goddesses from the Northland , in 1889. While he had set out to write it with the aim of showing that the myths contained in the Edda had not been subjected to any Christian or Greco-Roman influence, Rydberg must soon have become disillusioned. It has been decades since, with all due respect to Dumézil and his disciples, "The question is no longer to know," said the Germanist M. Golther (1863 - 1945), whether Norse mythology was incorporated into foreign elements, but to what extent and to what extent it did so ”.

The text published below is the first part of the second chapter of the first volume of Undersökningar i germanisk mythologi , to which we return in passing its title.

II. The sagas of medieval migrations

A. The learned saga of the emigration from Troy-Ásgarðr

7. The Heimskringla and the Edda in prose.

In the previous pages we have given the reasons why it seems appropriate to assume that ancient Teutonia, within some indefinable limits, included the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea, which the Scandinavian countries were a part of. of this ancient Teutonia and that they were populated by Germans since the time of the Stone Age.

The subject that I am about to study forces one to wonder about the judgment which the Germans carried on this question in the most distant times that we know. Did they see themselves as aborigines or immigrants to Teutonia? For mythology, the answer to this question is of great importance. For pragmatic history, on the contrary, the answer is irrelevant, because what they believed provides no reliable basis for drawing conclusions about historical facts. Although they considered themselves aborigines, this did not prevent them from having immigrated to prehistoric times, even if their traditions had ceased to speak of it. If they considered themselves immigrants, it does not follow that immigration traditions have a historical background.An example of the first possibility is provided to us by the Brahmins and the upper castes in India: their orthodoxy obliges them to consider themselves as aborigines, but it is obvious that they are immigrants. An example of the second possibility is provided to us by the Swedes: the people of this country have been taught to believe that a greater or lesser part of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, would have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ and that this immigration, whether it concerned many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that the history Swedish could well start when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.their orthodoxy forces them to think of themselves as aborigines, but it is obvious that they are immigrants. An example of the second possibility is provided to us by the Swedes: the people of this country have been taught to believe that a greater or lesser part of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, would have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ and that this immigration, whether it concerned many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that the history Swedish could well start when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.their orthodoxy forces them to think of themselves as aborigines, but it is obvious that they are immigrants. An example of the second possibility is provided to us by the Swedes: the people of this country have been taught to believe that a greater or lesser part of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, would have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ and that this immigration, whether it concerned many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that the history Swedish could well start when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.the people of this country have been taught to believe that a more or less large part of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, would have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus -Christ and that this immigration, whether it affected many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that Swedish history could well begin when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil .the people of this country have been taught to believe that a more or less large part of the inhabitants of Sweden are the descendants of the immigrants who, under the leadership of Óðinn, would have come there a hundred years before the birth of Jesus -Christ and that this immigration, whether it affected many or few people, had a most decisive influence on the culture of the country, so that Swedish history may well begin when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil .so that the Swedish story might well begin when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.so that the Swedish story might well begin when Óðinn landed on Swedish soil.

The most accessible sources of traditions on Óðinn's immigration to Scandinavia can be found in Icelandic works, the Heimskringla and the Edda in prose. They were both written at the same time, that is to say in the 12th century, more than two hundred years after the end of the era of forn siðr in Iceland (1).

We will first examine the account made by the Heimskringla. A river, named Tanakvisl, or Vanakvisl (2), flows into the Black Sea. This river separates Asia from Europe. East of Tanakvisl, that is to say, therefore, in Asia, is a country formerly called the land of the Ases, or Asaheim; and the fortress or the main town of this country was called Ásgarðr. Great sacrifices were made there and a chief known as Óðinn resided there. He had given the government to twelve men, who were high priests and judges. Óðinn was a great leader and a great conqueror and had won so many victories that his men remained convinced that the victory was his. They used to ask him to bless them with the laying on of hands, convinced that they would thus be victorious in all things. If they found themselves in danger, they immediately called upon his name,certain that he would help them. He often went far away and often stayed away for six months. His kingdom was then ruled by his brothers Vile and Ve. It happened that he was away so long that the Aesir thought he would never come back. His brothers both claimed the hand of his wife, Frigg. But he eventually returned and took possession of Frigg.

The Aesir had for neighbor a people called Vanes. Óðinn waged war against the Vanir, but they bravely defended themselves. After each experienced victory and defeat, the two groups grew weary of fighting, made peace and exchanged hostages. The Vanir gave their best man, Njörd, his son Frey and also Kvasir as hostages to Óðinn; and these gave them in exchange Honir and Mimir. Óðinn made Njörd and Frey priests. Frey's sister, Freyja, also became a priestess. The Vanir treated the hostages they had received with equal consideration and made Honir a leader and a judge. But they seem to have quickly realized that Honir was a fool. They felt aggrieved by the exchange and, as it angered them, they cut off the head, not of Honir, but of his wise brother Mimir and sent him to Óðinn.He embalmed her head, enchanted her with incantations, so that she could talk to him and teach him strange things.

The land of the Aesir, where Óðinn reigned, is separated by a large mountain range in Tyrkland, that is, in the Heimskringla, Asia Minor, of which the famous Troy would have been the capital. In Tyrkland, Óðinn also had large holdings. But, at this time, the Romans invaded and subdued all countries and it was because of this that many rulers fled their kingdoms. And Óðinn, being wise and versed in the art of magic and therefore knowing that his descendants were to populate the northern part of the world, left his kingdom to his brothers Vile and Ve and emigrated with many followers to Gardariki, that is, say in Russia. Njörd, Frey and Freyja and the other priests to whom he had entrusted the government in Ásgarðr accompanied him and his sons. From Gardariki he went to Saxony, conquered vast territories and divided them among his sons. From Saxony he went to the island of Funen and settled there. Seeland did not yet exist.Óðinn sent Gefjon to the north, across the sea, to explore the land there. At that time a chief named Gylfe reigned in Svíþjóð. He gave Gefjon a field of arable land and, with the help of four giants turned into oxen and harnessed to a plow, Gefjon untied him and dragged him into the sea near the island of Funen, which is today called Seeland. Where the field was detached now extends a lake called Logrin. Skjold, Óðinn's son, acquired this land and married Gefjon. And when Gefjon informed Óðinn that Gylfe had good soil, Óðinn went there and Gylfe, being unable to resist, although he was also a wise man and versed in magic and witchcraft, negotiated a peace treaty, by virtue of which Óðinn acquired a vast territory around Logrin; and in Sigtuna he built a great temple,where the sacrifices were henceforth made according to the custom of the Ases. He gave mansions to the priests - Noatun in Njörd, Uppsala in Frey, Himminbjorg in Heimdal, Thrudvang in Þórr, Breidablik in Balder, etc. Óðinn introduced many arts to North and he and the Aesir taught them to the people. Among other things, he taught her poetry and runes. Óðinn himself always spoke in measured rhymes. Besides, he was an excellent wizard. He could change shape, make his enemies deaf and blind; he was a wizard and could wake the dead. He owned the Skíðblaðnir ship, which could fold like a linen. He had two crows, whom he had learned to talk to and who brought him news from all over the world.He knew where all the treasures were buried and he knew the incantations by which the earth, the cliffs, the rocks and the mounds opened before him. He introduced customs such as the cremation of the dead, the construction of burial mounds in memory of great men, the erection of Bauta stones in commemoration of others; and he introduced the three great sacrificial festivals - that of the good year, that of the good harvests and that of the victory. Óðinn died in Svíþjóð. When he felt death approaching, he allowed his body to be cut with the point of a spear and declared that he would visit his friends in Godheim and welcome all those who had fallen in battle. This is what the Swedes believed. They have loved it ever since,convinced that he enjoyed eternal life in ancient Ásgarðr and they thought he revealed himself to them as the great battles approached. On the throne of the Svea (3) he was followed by Njörd, the ancestor of the stock of Ynglings.

Let us now turn to the Edda in prose, which in its foreword gives us, in the style of the time, a general overview of history and religion.

First, he borrows the creation story and the flood story from the Bible. Next comes a long history of the construction of the Tower of Babel. The descendants of Noah's son, Ham, faced and defeated the sons of Shem, and in their arrogance attempted to build a tower that was to reach heaven. The main instigator of this enterprise was Zoroaster, and seventy-two foreman masons served under him. But God spread confusion in the language of this arrogant people, so that each of the seventy-two male foremen would have his own language, which the others could not understand, after which each went his own way and it was in this way that spread the seventy-two languages ​​of the world. Before that time, only one language was spoken and that was Hebrew.A city was built where they had tried to build the tower, and it was called Babylon. Zoroaster became king and ruled over many Assyrian nations, among whom he introduced idolatry and who worshiped him under the name of Baal. The tribes who left with their foremen also fell into idolatry, with the exception of one tribe, which retained the Hebrew language. It also retained the original faith in all its purity. So, while Babylon had become one of the main altars of pagan worship, the island of Crete became another. A man named Saturn was born who became to the Cretans and Macedonians what Zoroaster was to the Assyrians.Saturn's knowledge and skill in the realm of magic and his ability to produce gold from red-hot iron made him the equal of a prince in Crete; and as, moreover, he controlled all invisible forces, the Cretans and Macedonians believed him to be a god and he encouraged them to believe him. He had three sons - Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. Jupiter resembled his father in his skills and magical science and was a great warrior, who conquered many kingdoms. When Saturn divided his kingdom among his sons, a quarrel arose. Pluto was given hell and, as it was the least advantageous part, he also received the dog named Cerberus. Jupiter received the sky and was not satisfied with it: he wanted the earth in addition. He made war on his father,who had to take refuge in Italy, where, for fear of Jupiter, he changed his name and called himself Njörd and where he became a useful king, teaching the inhabitants, who lived on acorns and roots, to plow and plant the vine.

Jupiter had a large number of sons. From one of them, Dardanos, descended into the fifth generation Priam of Troy. Priam's son, Hector, was the most illustrious man in the world by size and strength. From the Trojans the Romans are the descendants; and when Rome became a great power, it adopted many laws and customs which had prevailed among the Trojans before. Troy was located in Tyrkland, near the center of the earth. Under Priam, the chief, there were twelve tributary kings and they each spoke a different language. These twelve tributary kings were extremely wise; they received the honors of the gods and all European sovereigns descended from them. One of them was called Munon or Mennon. He was married to a daughter of Priam and had a son by her, Tror, "whom we call Þórr".He was a very handsome man, his hair was shinier than gold, and at twelve he was mature and so strong that he could lift twelve bearskins at a time. He killed his adoptive father and adoptive mother, took possession of his adoptive father's kingdom, Thrace, "which we call Thrudheim", and from then on he traveled the world, triumphing over berserkers, giants and the greatest dragon, among other wonders. In the North, he met a prophetess named Sibil (Sibyl), "whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, "whom we call Óðinn", a very wise and very learned man, who married Frigida, "whom we call Frigg".He killed his adoptive father and adoptive mother, took possession of his adoptive father's kingdom, Thrace, "which we call Thrudheim", and from then on he traveled the world, triumphing over berserkers, giants and the greatest dragon, among other wonders. In the North, he met a prophetess named Sibil (Sibyl), "whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, "whom we call Óðinn", a very wise and very learned man, who married Frigida, "whom we call Frigg".He killed his adoptive father and adoptive mother, took possession of his adoptive father's kingdom, Thrace, "which we call Thrudheim", and from then on he traveled the world, triumphing over berserkers, giants and the greatest dragon, among other wonders. In the North, he met a prophetess named Sibil (Sibyl), "whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, "whom we call Óðinn", a very wise and very learned man, who married Frigida, "whom we call Frigg"."Whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, "whom we call Óðinn", a very wise and very learned man, who married Frigida, "whom we call Frigg"."Whom we call Sif" and married her. From him descended in the twentieth generation Voðinn, "whom we call Óðinn", a very wise and very learned man, who married Frigida, "whom we call Frigg".

At this time, the Roman general Pompey was waging war in Asia and also threatened the empire of Óðinn. Meanwhile, Óðinn and his wife had learned through prophetic inspiration that a glorious future awaited them in the northern part of the world. He therefore left Tyrkland; a great multitude, composed of men and women of all ages followed him, carrying many precious objects. Everywhere they went, the inhabitants mistook them for gods and not for men. And they walked without stopping, until they arrived in a northern country called today Saxony. Óðinn stayed there for a long time. He established one of his sons, Veggdegg, king of Saxony, another, Beldegg, "whom we call Balder", king of Westphalia, a third, Siggi, king of Frankland.Then Óðinn continued on his way north and reached Reidgothaland, which today bears the name of Jutland, and took possession of whatever was to his liking. There he made his son Skjold king; then he came to Svíþjóð.

The Svíþjóð was ruled by Gylfe. When he heard of Óðinn's expedition and his Asians, he went out to meet them and offered Óðinn as much land and as much power as he wanted in his kingdom. One of the reasons people so warmly welcomed Óðinn and offered him land and power in the countries he passed through is that whenever Óðinn and his men lingered in their village, the crops were bountiful and, therefore, they believed that Óðinn and his men controlled the weather and mastered the cultivation of grains. Óðinn accompanied Gylfe to Lake Logrin and, finding the soil there to be good, built his capital there,which bears the name of Sigtuna today and where he established the same institutions that previously existed in Troy and to which his companions were accustomed. He established twelve chiefs responsible for making laws and settling disputes. Du Svíþjóð Óðinn won Norway and made his son Sæming king there. But he had left the government of Svíþjóð to his son Yngvi, from whom the Ynglings race descended. The Aesir and their sons married the women of the land they had taken possession of and their descendants, who retained the language spoken in Troy, reproduced so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the old idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, of Norway, Denmark and Saxony and subsequently also England.Du Svíþjóð Óðinn reached Norway and made his son Sæming king there. But he had left the government of Svíþjóð to his son Yngvi, from whom the Ynglings race descended. The Aesir and their sons married the women of the land they had taken possession of and their descendants, who retained the language spoken in Troy, reproduced so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the old idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, of Norway, Denmark and Saxony and subsequently also England.Du Svíþjóð Óðinn won Norway and made his son Sæming king there. But he had left the government of Svíþjóð to his son Yngvi, from whom the Ynglings race descended. The Aesir and their sons married the women of the land they had taken possession of and their descendants, who retained the language spoken in Troy, reproduced so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the old idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, of Norway, Denmark and Saxony and subsequently also England.reproduced themselves so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the old idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, Norway, Denmark and Saxony and later also of England.reproduced so rapidly that the language of Troy replaced the old idiom and became the language of Svíþjóð, Norway, Denmark and Saxony and subsequently also of England.

The first part of the Edda in prose, the Gylfaginning, consists of a collection of mythological tales which are made to the reader in the form of a conversation between the aforementioned king of Sweden (Gylfe) and the Aesir. Before the Aesir had set out north, Gylfe would have learned that they were a wise and intelligent people whose endeavors were all successful. And since he believed that this was due either to the very nature of these people or to the peculiar nature of their worship, he resolved to study the problem in secret and therefore went to Ásgarðr in the disguise of an old man. But, endowed with prescience, the Aesir had been informed of his trip and decided to receive him by all kinds of witchcraft acts, which could give him a high opinion of them. He finally came to a fortress,whose thatched roof was covered with golden shields and whose hall was so high that it was difficult to kiss her eyes. At the entrance was a man playing with sharp objects, which he tossed into the air in his hand and then caught up, while seven axes were constantly in the air. This man asked the traveler his name. The latter replied that his name was Gangleri, that he had made a long journey on bad roads and asked for hospitality for the night. He also asked who owned the fortress. The juggler replied that it belonged to their king and led Gylfe into the hall, where he saw a room in which many people were assembled. Some drank while sitting, others engaged in various exercises, and still others practiced weapons. In the room,there were three high-chairs, arranged one above the other and on each one sat a man. On the lower throne sat the king; and the juggler informed Gylfe that the king's name was Hár; that the one who sat right above him was called Jafnhár; and that the one who occupied the upper throne was called Thride (Þriði). Hár questioned the stranger about the reason for his trip and invited him to eat and drink. Gylfe replied that he wanted above all to know if there was a wise man in the room. Hár replied that the stranger would not come out of the room safe and sound, unless he was the wiser himself. Gylfe then begins to ask his questions, all of which relate to the cult of the Aesir and the three men on the thrones gave him answers. From the first answer,it is clear that the Ásgarðr where Gylfe thinks he went is, in the author's opinion, a new Ásgarðr and probably the same as that which the author of theHeimskringla places beyond the Tanakvisl river, but that there was an ancient Ásgarðr, identical to Troy, in Tyrkland, where, according to the Heimskringla, Óðinn had vast possessions when the Romans began to invade the East. When Gylfe had learned through his questions the most important facts concerning the religion of Ásgarðr and had been instructed in the destruction and regeneration of the world, he heard a rumbling and, when he looked around, the fortress and the hall. had disappeared and there was only the sky above him. He returned to Svíþjóð and told all he had seen and heard among the Ases; but, when he was gone, they took counsel and agreed to be called by the names they had used in the stories they had told Gylfe. These sagas, remark the Gylfaginning, were in reality nothing more than historical events transformed into traditions about deities. They described events that had taken place in ancient Ásgarðr - that is, Troy. The core of the stories Gylfe told about Þórr were Hector's exploits in Troy and the Loke that Gylfe had heard of was, in fact, only Ulixes (Ulysses), who was the enemy of the Trojans and therefore , was represented as the enemy of the gods.

The Gylfaginning is followed by another part of the prose Edda called Bragaroedur ( The Speech of Brage), which comes in a similar form. On Lesso, it is said, once lived a man named Ægir. Like Gylfe, he had heard the tales of wisdom from the Aesir and decided to visit them. Like Gylfe, he came to a place where the Aesir greeted him with all kinds of magical acts and led him into a room which was lit in the evening by glowing swords. There he was invited to sit next to Brage and there were twelve thrones on which sat men named Þórr, Njörd, Frey, etc. and women named Frigg, Freyja, Nanna, etc. The room was beautifully decorated with shields. The mead that was served was exquisite and the talkative Brage taught the guests the traditions relating to the poetic art of the Aesir.A postscript to the treaty warns young scalds not to believe the stories told to Gylfe and Ægir. The author of the postscript says that they are only valuable insofar as they provide the key to the many metaphors that are found in the poems of the great scalds, but that, on the whole, they are invented deceptions. by the Ases (Asians) to make people believe they were gods. However, the author believes that these falsifications have a historical background. They are based, he believes, on what happened in ancient Ásgarðr, ie Troy. So, for example, Ragnarök was originally nothing other than the siege of Troy; Þórr is, as indicated, Hector; the serpent Miðgarðr is one of the heroes killed by Hector; the wolf Fenris is Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who killed Priam (Óðinn); and Víðarr,who survived Ragnarök, is Aeneas.

8. The Saga of Troy in the Heimskringla and the Edda in prose (continued).

The sources of traditions relating to Asian immigration to the North belong to Icelandic literature and to it alone. The Historia Danica Saxo, whose first books were written in the late twelfth century, overlooks this his own particular point of view, to be discussed below. The differences in the Icelandic accounts relate only to questions of unimportant detail; the fundamental point of view is the same and these stories all come from the same vein. Their content can be summarized as follows:

Among the tribes who, after the confusion of tongues that came to Babylon, migrated to various countries, there was a group of peoples who settled in Asia Minor and introduced their language to that region, which in the sagas is called Tyrkland; in Greece, which in the sagas is called Macedonia; and in Crete. In Tyrkland they founded the great city which was called Troy. This city was attacked by the Greeks during the reign of King Priam of Troy. Priam was descended from Jupiter and its father (Saturn) and therefore belonged to a race which the pagans considered divine. Troy was a very large city; twelve languages ​​were spoken there and twelve kings were subject to Priam. But as powerful as the Trojans were,as valiant as they defended themselves under the leadership of the son of Priam's daughter, the valiant hero Þórr, they were defeated. Troy was captured and burned by the Greeks and Priam himself was killed. From the Trojan survivors, two troops emigrated in different directions. They seem to have been well informed in advance of the characteristics of certain foreign countries; Þórr, the son of Priam's daughter, had made many expeditions in which he had fought giants and monsters. In his travels, he had even gone to the North, where he had met Sibil, the famous prophetess, whom he married. One of the troops of Trojan emigrants embarked for Italy under the leadership of Aeneas and founded Rome. The other troop, accompanied by Þórr's son, Loridi, set out for Asia,which is separated from Tyrkland by a mountain range and from Europe by the Tanaïs or Tanakvisl river. There he founded a new city called Ásgarðr and preserved the old ways and customs brought from Troy. Consequently, he instituted in Ásgarðr, as in Troy, a council of twelve men, who were high priests and judges. The new colonies of Troy in Rome and Ásgarðr had no political contact with each other for several centuries, even though both remembered well their Trojan origin and the Romans regulated many of their institutions according to the model of the old homeland. During this time, Rome had grown into one of the most powerful empires in the world and was starting to send armies to Tyrkland. At that time an extremely wise king-prophet reigned in Ásgarðr,Óðinn who was skilled in the magical arts and who had descended in the twentieth generation from the Þórr mentioned above. Óðinn had fought many victorious wars. The hardest of these wars was that which opposed him to one of the neighboring peoples, the Vanir; but it ended with a peace treaty. In Tyrkland, the ancient homeland, Óðinn had had large possessions, which fell into the hands of the Romans. This event reinforced his determination to emigrate to northern Europe. Thanks to his inspiration, prophetic, he had predicted that his descendants would rule there. So he walked north with his many sons, accompanied by twelve priests and a great number of men, but not by all the inhabitants of the land of Ases and Ásgarðr. Part of the population stayed at home; and, among her,Óðinn's brothers, Vile and Ve. The expedition made its way to Saxony through the Gardariki; then, across the Danish islands, to Svíþjóð and Norway. Everywhere this great multitude of migrants was well received by the inhabitants. Óðinn's superior wisdom and wonderful magical powers, as well as the fact that his progress was followed everywhere by bountiful harvests, caused the people to regard him as a god and to place their thrones at his disposal. As a result, he established his sons as kings of Saxony, Denmark, Svíþjóð and Norway. Gylfe, the king of Svíþjóð, submitted to his superiority and gave him a beautiful land around Lake Mäler, to rule there. Óðinn built Sigtuna there, whose institutions were an imitation of those of Ásgarðr and Troy.Poetry and many other arts were introduced by Óðinn in the Germanic countries and thus also the language of Troy. Like his ancestors, Saturn and Jupiter, he was able to obtain the protection of the gods, which was also granted to the twelve priests. The religious traditions which he spread among the people and which were followed until the introduction of Christianity were distortions of the memories of the historical fate of Troy and its destruction and of the events that had taken place in Ásgarðr.The religious traditions which he spread among the people and which were followed until the introduction of Christianity were distortions of the memories of the historical fate of Troy and its destruction and of the events that had taken place in Ásgarðr.The religious traditions which he spread among the people and which were followed until the introduction of Christianity were distortions of the memories of the historical fate of Troy and its destruction and of the events that had taken place in Ásgarðr.

9. Saxo's narration of the story of Troy

This is, for the most part, the story that was going on in Iceland in the 13th century and which made its way to Scandinavia through the prose Edda and the Heimskringla , concerning the immigration of Óðinn and the Ases. . Slightly older than these works is Historia Danica by Danish chronicler Saxo. Sturluson, the author of the Heimskringla, was eight years old, when Saxo started writing his story and Sturluson certainly hadn't started writing it, when Saxo completed the first nine books of his work, which are based on the songs and traditions of the forn siðr that exist still in Denmark. It is as if Saxo did not know the Icelandic theories about an Asian immigration to the North and he says nothing about the traditions according to which Óðinn reigned as king or chief throughout Scandinavia. This is all the more remarkable in that he thinks, like the Icelanders and the chroniclers of the Middle Ages in general, that the myths of the time of the forn siðr were accounts of historical events and that the gods of the forn siðr were historical figures, of whom men had made divinities; and our astonishment increases,when one considers that Saxo, in the songs and traditions of the forn siðr on which he based the first part of his work, often finds the name of Óðinn and that, therefore, he could not help but to present as an important figure in the history of Denmark. In Saxo, as in the Icelandic works, Óðinn is a human being and at the same time an extremely powerful wizard. Saxo and the Icelanders also agree that Óðinn came from the East. The only difference is that, while the Icelandic hypothesis makes him reign in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; but it is not far from ancient Troy, where thetherefore, he could not help but present him as an important figure in Danish history. In Saxo, as in the Icelandic works, Óðinn is a human being and at the same time an extremely powerful wizard. Saxo and the Icelanders also agree that Óðinn came from the East. The only difference is that, while the Icelandic hypothesis makes him reign in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; but it is not far from ancient Troy, where thetherefore, he could not help but present him as an important figure in Danish history. In Saxo, as in the Icelandic works, Óðinn is a human being and at the same time an extremely powerful wizard. Saxo and the Icelanders also agree that Óðinn came from the East. The only difference is that, while the Icelandic hypothesis makes him reign in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; but it is not far from ancient Troy, where thewhereas the Icelandic hypothesis makes him reign in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; but it is not far from ancient Troy, where thewhereas the Icelandic hypothesis makes him reign in Ásgarðr, Saxo locates his residence in Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; but it is not far from ancient Troy, where theEdda in prose locates her ancestors. From Byzantium, according to Saxo, the fame of its magical arts and miracles reached as far as northern Europe. Because of these miracles, he was revered as a god by the peoples and, to honor him, the kings of the North sent to Byzantium a golden statue, to which Óðinn, through the magical arts, gave the use of word. This is the myth of Mimir's head that Saxo tells here. But the kings of the North did not know him only by reputation; they also knew him in person. He visited Uppsala, a place he "liked very much". Saxo, like the Heimskringla, reports that Óðinn was absent from his capital for a long time; and, when we examine his statements on this point, we find that Saxo relates here in his own way the myth of the war the Vanir waged against the Asir and that of Óðinn's expulsion from the mythical Ásgarðr, located in heaven ( Hist. Dan. , p. 42-44;. See p. 36). Saxo also indicates that Óðinn's son, Balder, was elected king by the Danes "because of his personal merits and his admirable qualities". But Óðinn himself never had, according to Saxo, any possessions or authority in the North, although he was worshiped there as a god and, as has already been mentioned, Saxo said absolutely nothing about the immigration of a people from Asia to Scandinavia under the leadership of Óðinn.

A comparison between Icelanders and Saxo immediately shows that, although they are both evhemianists and make Óðinn a deified man, Saxo confines himself more faithfully to popular myths and seeks as much as possible to make history out of them; while the Icelanders begin with the scholarly theory of the original kinship of the northern races with the Trojans and the Romans and embroider around this fundamental theory the same myths that Saxo relates historically.

10. The earliest periods of the Trojan saga

How did the belief that Troy was the original home of the Germans originate? Is it based on indigenous traditions? Was it inspired by the sagas and traditions which were current among the Germans themselves and whose background contains "a tenuous memory of immigration from Asia" or is it quite a thought? foreign to the Germanic world of forn siðr, introduced in Christian times by scholars? These questions must now be examined.

As early as the seventh century - that is, more than five hundred years before the Heimskringla and the Edda were written in prose - a chronicler told a Teutonic people that he was of the same blood as the Romans, that he, like the Romans, had emigrated from Troy and that he had the same share as the Romans in the glorious exploits of the heroes of Troy. This people were the Franks. Their oldest chronicler, Grégoire, bishop of Tours, who a hundred years earlier - that is to say in the 6th century - had written their history in ten books, does not say a word about it. He too wants to find the homeland of the Franks ( Hist. Franc., ii. 9) and situates it quite far from the regions of Bas-Rhin, where they make their entry onto the stage of history; but nevertheless no further than Pannonia. Of the provenance of the Franks of Troy, neither Gregory nor the ancient authors, Sulpice Alexander and others, whose works he studied to find information on the beginning of the history of the Franks, say nothing. But, in the middle of the following century, around 650, an unknown author, who, for unknown reasons, is called Frédégaire, writes a chronicle, which partly takes up the historical work of Gregory, but also contains various other elements concerning the protohistory. of the Franks and, among these, the indication that they would have emigrated from Troy. He even gives us the sources from which he got this information. His sources are, by his own admission, not Frankish,are not Frankish folk songs or traditions, but two Latin authors - the father of the Church Hieronym and the poet Virgil. If we consult these sources in order to compare Frederick's statement with his authority, we find that Hieronymus mentions the Franks once in passing, but never refers to their Trojan origin, and Virgil does not even mention the Franks. Nevertheless, the reference to Virgil is the key to the riddle, as we will see below. Here is what Frederick said about the emigration of the Franks: a Frankish king named Priam reigned in Troy when this city was conquered by the cunning of Odysseus. The Franks therefore emigrated and were then ruled by a king named Friga. During his reign, a dispute arose between them and they split into two groups,one of whom settled in Macedonia, while the other, who took the name of Frigiens, of King Friga (Phrygians), traveled through Asia and settled there. They divided again there and part of them migrated to Europe under King Francio, entered the continent and settled, with women and children, near the Rhine, where they undertook to build a city that 'they called Troy, and they planned to organize it in the same way as ancient Troy, but the city was not completed. The other troop chose a king, called Turchot, and took the name of Turks, from that of their king. But those who settled on the Rhine, the Franks, received their name from their king Francio and later chose a king, named Theudemer who descended from Priam, Friga and Francio. So much for the chronicle of Frédégaire.who took the name of Frigiens, of King Friga (Phrygians), traveled through Asia and settled there. 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About seventy years later, another Frankish chronicle saw the light of day - the Gesta regum Francorum . We learn more about the emigration of the Franks from Troy. The Gesta Francorumtells the following story: In Asia is the city of the Trojans, called Ilium, where King Aeneas once reigned. The Trojans were a strong and courageous people who were at war with all their neighbors. But then the kings of the Greeks united and raised a great army against Aeneas, king of the Trojans. There were great battles and a lot of blood flowed and most of the Trojans fell. Aeneas fled, along with those who had survived, to the city of Ilion, which the Greeks had conquered after a ten-year siege. The Trojans who had fled themselves divided into two groups. One, led by King Aeneas, went to Italy, where he hoped to receive reinforcements. Other prominent Trojans became leaders of the other group, which numbered 12,000 men.They embarked on board ships and arrived on the banks of the Tanaïs river. They pushed forward and entered Pannonia, near the Meotic Marshes (navigantes pervenerunt intra terminos Pannoniarum juxta Mœotidas Paludes), where they founded a city which they called Sicambria and where they remained for many years and became a powerful people. There came a time when the Roman Emperor Valentinian went to war against a criminal people called Alamans (also Alani). He led a great army against them. The Alamans were beaten and fled to the Meotic swamps. The emperor then published that he would exempt from tributes for ten years those who dared to enter these marshes and drive out the Alamans. When the Trojans heard this, they entered the marshes, accompanied by a Roman army,attacked the Alamans and slaughtered them with the sword. Then, the Trojans received from the Emperor Valentinian the name of "Franks", which, adds the chronicle, in the Attic language means "savage" (Feri), "because the Trojans had a rebellious and indomitable character. "

For the next ten years, the Trojans, or Franks, were not bothered by Roman tax collectors; it was then that the Roman emperor demanded that they pay tribute. They refused and killed the tax collectors sent to them. The emperor assembled a large army under the command of Aristarchus, reinforced it with auxiliary forces from many countries and attacked the Franks, who were defeated by these superior forces, lost their leader Priam and had to flee. Under the leadership of Marcomir (son of Priam) and Sunnon (son of Antênor), they left Sicambria and settled near the Rhine. So much for this column.

About fifty years after it was written - that is, during the time of Charlemagne and, to be more precise, in 787 - the well-known Lombard historian Paulus Diaconus wrote a history of the bishops of Metz. One of these bishops was Frank Arnulf, from whom Charlemagne descended in the fifth generation. Arnulf had two sons, one of whom was named Ansgisel, in a contracted form Ansgis. Paulus points out that the name "Ansgis" would come from that of the father of Aeneas, Anchises, who came from Troy in Italy; and he adds that, according to older testimonies, the Franks were the descendants of the Trojans. These older testimonies - the Chronicle of Frédégaire and the Gesta gerum Francorum-, we have examined them above. In the meantime, this shows that the belief that the Franks were of Trojan origin kept spreading over time. It is hardly necessary to add that there is no reason to believe that Ansgisel, or Ansgis, is derived from Anchises. Ansgisel is an authentic Teutonic name. (See p. 123 regarding Ansgisel, the leader of the Germanic myth emigration.)

Now let's move on to the second half of the 10th century and the Saxon chronicler Widukind. Regarding the history of the origin of the Saxon people, he presents two contradictory accounts. One is taken from original Saxon texts, from ancient indigenous traditions, which we will discuss below; the other comes from documents written by scholars and claims that the Saxons are of Macedonian descent. According to the latter account, they were the remnants of Alexander the Great's Macedonian army, which, as Widukind had learned, after Alexander's untimely death, had spread throughout the earth. The Macedonians were at the time considered Hellenized Trojans. In this regard, I draw the reader's attention to the Chronicle of Frédégaire, which says that the Trojans, under the reign of Friga,did not get along with each other and that part of them emigrated and settled in Macedonia. Thus, the Saxons, like the Franks, could claim a Trojan origin; and as England was to a great extent peopled by Saxon conquerors, the same honor was evidently claimed by her people. To highlight this and to show that the belief that the Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was widespread in England during the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will only repeat here a collection of Pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very bad Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (and as England was to a great extent peopled by Saxon conquerors, the same honor was evidently claimed by her people. To highlight this and to show that the belief that the Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was widespread in England during the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will only repeat here a collection of Pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very bad Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (and as England was to a great extent peopled by Saxon conquerors, the same honor was evidently claimed by her people. To highlight this and to show that the belief that the Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was very widespread in England during the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will only repeat here a collection of Pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very bad Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (To highlight this and to show that the belief that the Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was very widespread in England during the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will only repeat here a collection of Pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very bad Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (To highlight this and to show that the belief that the Saxons and Angles were of Trojan blood was widespread in England during the centuries following the writing of Widukind's chronicle, I will only repeat here a collection of Pseudo-Sibylline oracles found in Oxford and written in very bad Latin. It was examined by the French scholar Alexandre (Excursus ad Sibyllina , p. 298). It is said that Great Britain is an island inhabited by the survivors of the Trojans (insulam reliquiis Trojanorum inhabitatam). In another collection of British pseudo-Sibylline oracles, it is stated that the Sibyl was a daughter of King Priam of Troy; and efforts were made to give weight and dignity to this document by integrating it into the work of the well-known Church historian Bede and, therefore, to trace it back to the beginning of the 8th century, but the manuscript itself is a compilation dating from the time of Frédéric Barberousse ( Excurs ad Sib., p. 289). Other pseudo-Sibylline oracles in Latin mention a Sibylla who lived and prophesied in Troy. I emphasize this fact for the reason that in the foreword to the prose Edda it is also stated that Þórr, the son of Priam's daughter, married Sibil (Sibylla).

So once the Franks and Saxons were made Trojans - those Thoroughbred Trojans and these Hellenized Trojans - it was not long before their northern parents were given the same credit. origin. Quite naturally, the first to see it allotted were the Normans who conquered and colonized Normandy within the “Trojan” Franks. A hundred years after they had settled there, they produced a chronicler, Dudon, deacon of Saint-Quentin. I have already shown that the Macedonians were considered Hellenized Trojans. Hellenized, they had been given the name Danai, a term that applied to all Greeks. In his Chronique des Normands, which dates from 996, Dudon reports ( De moribus et gestis, & c., Lib. I.) that the Normans considered themselves Danai, since the Danes (Scandinavians in general) and Danai were considered the name of the same race. With the Normans, the Scandinavians too, from which they descended, consequently had to be transformed into Trojans. And so the question was understood by readers of Dudon; and when Robert Wace wrote his rhymed chronicle, Roman de Rou , on the Nordic conquerors of Normandy and wanted to account for their origin, he could say, on the basis of a common tradition:

"When long ago fu destroyed Troy,

So the eyelash of Greece orent great joy,

More ki escapers are porent,

Ki people, ki born, ki aver porent,

O fames, o serjanz and o filz

By granz labors by granz perilz

By more lands s' Spread out, Populated

lands, cite made,

A people of Troy escaped,

Ki in Danmarche attacked. "

I have now followed the learned tradition of the origin of the Trojan Teutons from the chronicle where this tradition was first recorded until the time when Ari, the first historian of Iceland, lived and where the Icelandic Sæmund is said to have studied in Paris, in the same century when Sturluson, the author of the Heimskringla, reached manly age. Saxo rejected the theory that was current among the scholars of his time that the northern races were the Danai-Trojans. He knew that Dudon de Saint-Quentin was the authority on which this belief was mainly based and he attributes to the Danes a completely different origin, quanquam Dudon, rerum Aquitanicarum scriptor, Danos a Danais ortos nuncupatosque recenseat. The Icelanders, on the contrary, accepted and continued to maintain the belief, founded on an authority which was five hundred years old, that Troy had been the starting point of the Teutonic race; and, in Iceland, the theory was worked out and systematized as we have already seen and was conceived in such a way as to fit into the framework of world history. The stories of the Heimskringla and the Eddain prose on the emigration of Ásgarðr form the natural outcome of an era which had lasted several centuries and during which the events of antiquity could be gathered around a common center. All peoples and rulers were located around the Mediterranean Sea and every event and hero was somehow connected with Troy.

In fact, a large part of the peoples subject to the Roman scepter were, in ancient literature, related in some way to the Trojan War and its consequences: Macedonia and Epirus through the Trojan emigrant Helenos; Illyria and Veneto through the Trojan emigrant Antênor; Rhetia and Vindélicia through the Amazons, allies of the Trojans, from which the inhabitants of these provinces are said to have descended ( Servius ad Virg, i. 248) .; Etruria through Dardanos, which is said to have emigrated from Etruria to Troy; Lazio and Campania through the Æneids; Sicily, the very homeland of Aenean traditions, through the royal families of Troy and Sicily; Sardinia (see Salluste); Gaul (see Lucain and Ammien Marcellin); Carthage through the visit of Aeneas to Dido; and, of course, all of Asia Minor. That's not all. According to the (lost) book of the ArgolicsAnaxicrates, Scamander, son of Hector and Andromache, emigrated to Scythia with companions and settled on the banks of the Tanaïs; and hardly had Germany made itself known to the Romans when it was integrated into the cycle of Trojan stories, at least insofar as it was said that Odysseus had visited this country during his numerous travels and adventures (Tacitus, Germ. ). All educated Greeks and Romans saw only through Troy as soon as they entered school, and traces of Dardanians and Danaeans were everywhere to be found, just as the English in our time believe they have found traces of the ten lost tribes of 'Israel in both the old and the new world.

As Christianity did, Church teaching and Latin manuscripts spread among the Germanic tribes, so knowledge of and interest in the great stories of Troy spread among them. Christianity dealt terrible blows to native stories of Germanic gods and heroes, which nevertheless survived in another form in folklore and continued in their new guise to command the attention and devotion of the Germans. . New stories, drawn from Latin literature, about Ilion, the conflicts between the Trojans and the Greeks, migrations, the founding of colonies on foreign shores and the creation of new empires,were those which most stimulated the curiosity and most captivated the imagination of the class of scholars who formed among the Christianized Germans. Latin literature which was more or less accessible to Teutonic priests, or to priests charged with evangelizing the Teutons, provided abundant material on Troy, both among classical authors and among pseudo-classical authors. Suffice it to quote Virgil and his commentator Servius who became a mine for the whole of the Middle Ages and, among the pseudo-classical works, to theSuffice it to quote Virgil and his commentator Servius who became a mine for the whole of the Middle Ages and, among the pseudo-classical works, to theSuffice it to quote Virgil and his commentator Servius who became a mine for the whole of the Middle Ages and, among the pseudo-classical works, to theHistoria de Excidio Trojæ by Darès the Phrygian (which would have been written by a Trojan and translated by Cornelius Nepos!), To the Ephemeris belli Trojani of Dictys of Crete (the original of which is believed to have been Phoenician and was found in the alleged tomb from Dictys of Crete after an earthquake in the time of Nero!) and to ( vulgo Pindari Thebani ) Epitome Iliados Homeri .

Before the story of the Franks' Trojan origin was invented, the Teutonic Jordanes, a mid-sixth century writer, had already found a place for his Gothic compatriots in the events of the great epic of Troy. Not that he made the Goths the descendants of the Greeks or the Trojans. Rather, he maintained the traditions of the Goths about their origin and place of origin, an issue I will discuss below. But, according to Orosius who is the authority of Jordanes, the Goths were identical to the Getae and, once the identity of these two peoples had been admitted, it was easy for Jordanes to associate the history of the Goths with the Homeric accounts. . A Gothic leader marries Priam's sister and fights with Achilles and Ulysses ( Jord., vs. 9) and Ilium, not having recovered from the war with Agamemnon, is destroyed a second time by the Goths (c. 20).

11. The origin of the history of the Trojan ancestry of the Franks

We must now return to the Frankish chronicles, to the Gesta Francorum of Frédégaire, where the theory of the Trojan origin of a Germanic tribe is presented for the first time and therefore relaunches the campaign carried out in antiquity to try to make any ancient history a system of events radiating from Troy, their center. I think I am able to indicate the sources of all the testimony of these chronicles on this subject and also to find the very origin of the illusion concerning the Trojan ancestry of the Franks.

As indicated above, Frédégaire admits that Virgil is the first authority to have affirmed that the Franks are the descendants of the Trojans. Fredégaire's predecessor, Gregory of Tours, was unaware of this and, as we have already shown, the word "Franks" is nowhere to be found in Virgil. The discovery that he nevertheless gave information about the Franks and their origin must therefore have been made or known in the interval between the chronicle of Gregory and that of Frédégaire. What then can be the passage from Virgil's poems in which the discoverer succeeds in finding proof that the Franks were Trojans? A careful examination of all the circumstances relating to the matter leads to the conclusion that the passage is in Aeneis , lib. U, 242 sqq .:

“Potuit Antenor, Mediis elapsus Achivis,

Illyricos sinus penetrare atque intima tutus

Regna Liburnorum, and Fontem superare Timavi;

Unde par ora novem Vasto eum murmere Montis

Il proruptum mare, et pelago premit arva sonanti.

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit

Teucrorum. "

“Deceiving the iron of the Greeks, seeking a homeland,

Antênor flees to the seas enclosed by Illyria;

From the Liburnian shores, in famous shipwrecks,

Its nave crosses the winding canals in peace;

He crosses the Timave, and these deep caves

From which the rumbling river will push back the waves.

Give cherished names to new peoples;

And finally in Padua, the end of his work,

His weary companions, now without alarms,

Found Pergamum and suspended their weapons. "

The first substantial evidence that this is the passage which was interpreted to refer to the ancient history of the Franks is based on the following circumstances:

Grégoire de Tours had found in the story of Sulpice Alexander accounts of violent conflicts on the west bank of the Rhine between the Romans and the Franks, the latter then being under the leadership of Marcomir and Sunnon (Greg., Hist ., Ii . 9).

The Gesta Francorum borrowed these two names from Grégoire. According to the Gesta , the Franks, under the command of Marcomir and Sunnon, emigrated from Pannonia, where they resided near the Moetic marshes and settled in the Rhineland. The hypothesis that they had lived in Pannonia before emigrating to the Rhineland, the author of the Gesta had drawn it from Gregory. The Gesta makes Marcomir a son of the Trojan Priam and Sunnon a son of the Trojan Antênor.

From this point of view, Virgil's account of Antênor and the trip of his Trojans to Europe following the fall of this city refers to the emigration of the father of the Frankish chief Sunnon at the head of a tribe of Franks. And as the predecessor of the author of the Gesta , Frédégaire, invokes Virgil in support of the thesis of Frankish emigration and that Antênor's peregrinations are not mentioned anywhere else by the Roman poet, he makes no Doubt that the lines cited above were those which were considered as proof that the Franks had emigrated from Troy.

But how did they come to be regarded as evidence?

Virgil says that Antênor, once he had escaped the Achivians, succeeded in penetrating Illyricos sinus, the very heart of Illyria. The name “Illyria” was used to designate all the regions inhabited by related tribes, from the Alps at the mouth of the Danube and the Danube to the Adriatic Sea and the Hemus Mountains (cp., Marquardt Röm. Staatsverwalt , 295). Illyria included the Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia and the Pannonians were an Illyrian tribe. Grégoire de Tours had located the home of the Franks in Pannonia. Anténor, with his Trojans, during their journey to the West, crosses the same regions as those from which, according to Gregory, the Franks had left for the Rhine.

Virgil also says that Antênor continued on his way to the kingdom of the Liburnians (regna Liburnorum). From Servius' commentary on this passage the Middle Ages had learned that the kingdom of the Liburnians was Rhaetia and Vindélicia (Rhetia Vindelici ipsi sunt Liburni). Rhaetia and Vindélicie separate Pannonia from the Rhine. Antênor, therefore, takes the same route westward that the Franks must have taken, if they emigrated from Pannonia to the Rhine.

Virgil makes Antênor cross a river, which, it is true, is called Timave, but which is described as a mighty river which flows with a crash from a mountainous region where it takes its source, carrying with it a mass of water that the poet compares it to a sea and forming, before reaching the sea, a delta, the plains of which are submerged by the waves, before emptying through numerous mouths into the ocean. Virgil says "nine"; but Servius interprets this word as meaning "much": "finitus est numerus pro infinito. "

We must forgive the Frankish scribes for mistaking this river for the Rhine; because if it is necessary to seek in Europe to the west of the country of the Liburnians a watercourse which corresponds to the description of Virgil, this watercourse can only be the Rhine, on the edges of which the ancestors of the Franks appear for the first time in history.

Once again, Virgil tells us that Antênor settled near this river and founded a colony - Patavium - in the low plains located upstream of his delta. The Francs Saliens took possession of the vast plains around the mouths of the Rhine (Insula Batavorum) in 287 and also of the lands to the south, up to the Scheldt; and, after prolonged wars, the Romans had to give them control of this region. By the sole fact that they occupied this lowland, its conquerors could rightly be called the Batavian Franks. It suffices to draw attention to the similarity of the words of “Patavi” and of “Bataves”, to show at the same time that one can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that Virgil would refer to the immigration of the Franks, when he spoke of Antênor's peregrinations, especially since,Since time immemorial, the initials B and P have a similar pronunciation in German. In the conquered territory, the Franks founded a city (Ammien. Marc., XVII. 2, 5).

Thus, it appears that the Franks would have migrated towards the Rhine under the direction of Antênor. The first Frankish leaders whose names are known after their arrival on the banks of the Rhine are Marcomir and Sunnon. The conclusion was drawn that Sunnon was the son of Antênor; and as Marcomir was to be the son of a famous Trojan chief, he was made the son of Priam. We have therefore explained the fact that Frederick invokes Virgil in support of the thesis of the Trojan origin of these Franks. This origin seemed to be definitively established.

The wars around the Moetic marshes between the Emperor Valentinian, the Alamans and the Franks, which are discussed in the Gesta, are not totally imaginary. The historical background to this confused semi-mythical tale is that Valentinian actually fought the Alamans and that the Franks were for a time allies of the Romans and came into conflict with these same Alamans (Ammian. Marc., Libs .. XXX., XXXI). But the theater of these battles is not the Moetic marshes and Pannonia, as the Gesta supposes, but the regions bordering the Rhine.

Gregory's unhistorical claim that the Franks came from Pannonia is based solely on the fact that the Frankish warriors for a time formed a cohors Sicambra, which around AD 26 was incorporated into the Roman troops stationed in Pannonia and in Thrace. The cohort would have remained in Hungary and would have formed a colony where Buda is today. According to the Gesta , Pannonia extended from the Moetic marshes to Tanaïs, since, according to Gregory and previous chroniclers, these marshes formed the border between Europe and Asia and Asia was considered a synonym for the Empire of Troy. Virgil had called the Trojan kingdom "Asia": Postquam res Asiae Priamic evertere gentem, & c, ( Aeneid , iii 1.).

Thus, we have exposed the seed from which the fable of the ancestry of the Franks became a tree which spread its branches all over Teutonic Europe, in the same way as, in an earlier epoch, the fable, which, if it did not originate in Sicily, at least developed there, from the Trojan origin of the Romans had become a tree which eclipsed all the peoples around the Mediterranean and one of whose branches grew through Gaul, the Great Britain, to Ireland. (The Bretons' first son, "Brutus", was, according to Galfred, a great grandson of Aeneas and migrated from Alba Longa to Ireland!)

As for the Gauls, the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul into the Roman Empire and the Romanization of the Gauls who lived there had very early on given rise to the belief that they had the same origin and were of the same blood as the Gauls. Romans. Therefore, they were also Trojans. This point of view, encouraged by Roman policy, gradually penetrated the Gauls who resided on the other side of the Rhine; and, even before the time of Caesar, the Roman senate, in its letters to the Aedui, had often called them the "brothers and relatives" of the Romans (Fratres consanguineique -. Caesar, De Bell. Gall. , i 33, 2. ). Des Arvernes Lucain says (i. 427): Averni… ausi Latio soi fingere Fratres, sanguine ab Iliaco populi.

Thus, we see that, when the Franks, after having made themselves masters of Romanized Gaul, claimed Trojan ancestry, they only resumed a history that had once been going on in Gaul for many centuries. After the Frankish conquest, the population of Gaul for the second time consisted of two nationalities with different languages ​​and customs and, at that time as before, it was most important, from a political point of view, to bring these together. two nationalities as closely as possible by the belief in a common origin. The Roman Gauls and the Franks were represented as having been one and the same people during the time of the Trojan War. After the fall of their common homeland, they split into two distinct tribes, with separate fates,until they both met in western Europe and settled together again in Gaul. This explains how it happened that, when they thought they had found evidence of this view in Virgil, this evidence was immediately accepted and so eagerly adopted that the ancient traditions of the origin and migration of the Franks were discarded and fell. forgotten. History repeated itself a third time, when the Normans conquered and made themselves masters of this part of Gaul which was later called Normandy. Dudon, their chronicler, said that they considered themselves to be progenitos ex Antenore, descendants of Antênor. This is sufficient proof that they had borrowed from the Franks the tradition of their Trojan origin.

12. Why Óðinn took Antênor's place as head of the Trojan immigration

As long as the Franks were the only Teutonic people who claimed to be descended from the Trojans, it was enough that the Teutono-Trojan immigration had as its leader the father of a Frankish leader. But as the belief in a Trojan origin spread among the other Germanic tribes and took on the character of an equally important proclamation for all Germanic tribes, the idea would naturally arise that the leader of the great immigration had was an important Teuton. It was not the names that were missing. Most notable was the mythical Teutonic Patriarch of whom Tacitus speaks and whom he calls Mannus ( Germania, 2), the grandson of the goddess Jord (Earth). There is no doubt that he was remembered under this name (Mann) or under another name (because almost all mythical Teutons have several names), since it reappears at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Heinrich Frauenlob under that of Mennor, the patriarch of the German people and of the German language. But Mannus had to give way to another mythical universal Teutonic character, Óðinn, and this for reasons which we will now present.

As Christianity was gradually introduced among the Germanic peoples, they were faced with the question of what kind of beings had been the gods in whom they and their ancestors had believed for so long. Their Christian teachers had two answers and the two were easily reconciled. The common answer, that which was generally given to the converted masses, was that the gods of their ancestors were demons, evil spirits, who made men fall into superstition to be worshiped as divine beings. The other answer, which was more apt to please the noble Teutonic families, who believed themselves to be the descendants of the gods, was that these deities were originally human beings - kings, rulers, legislators, who,endowed with superior wisdom and secret knowledge, used it to make people believe that they were gods and to urge them to worship them as such. The two answers were, as I have indicated, not difficult to reconcile, for it was evident that when these proud and deceptive rulers died, their unhappy spirits joined the ranks of the evil demons and the demons continued to deceive the people, in order to maintain from time to time a cult hostile to the true religion. These two views are common among the Germanic races throughout the Middle Ages. One who properly presents the ancient gods as evil demons is found in the popular traditions of this period. The other, who presents the ancient gods as mortals,chiefs and legislators with magical powers, appears more often in Teutonic chronicles and was considered by scholars as the scientific point of view.

It necessarily followed that Óðinn, the head of the Germanic gods, whose descendants the Germanic royal houses liked to call themselves, must also have been a wise king of antiquity skilled in the art of magic; and these houses evidently sought with the greatest interest information on the place where he had reigned and on his origin. There were two sources of research on this question. One was the treasury of the mythical songs and traditions of the Germanic race. But what might have been history in these seemed to be so much superstition and the imagination that not much information was learned. But there was another source, which, historically speaking, seemed incomparably more reliable and that was Latin literature which was found in monastic libraries.

During the centuries when the Germans employed no other art than poetry to preserve the memory of the life and deeds of their ancestors, the Romans, as we know, wrote systematic annals on parchment and papyrus. Therefore, this source had to be more reliable. But what did this source have to say - what did the Roman annals or Roman literature in general have to say about Óðinn? Absolutely nothing, it seems, since the name Óðinn, or Wotan, is not found in any of the authors of ancient literature. But that was only an apparent obstacle. The ancient king of our race, Óðinn, they said,had many names - one name in such and such a people and another in such and such and there can be no doubt that he is the same person that the Romans called Mercury and the Greeks Hermes.

The proof of the correctness of the identification of Óðinn with Mercury and Hermes, researchers would have found in the work of Tacitus on Germany, where it is stated in the ninth chapter that the main god of the Germans is the same as Mercury among the Romans. But Tacitus was almost unknown in the monasteries and schools of this period of the Middle Ages. They couldn't use this proof, but they had another proof, which made up for it fully.

Originally, the Romans did not divide time into seven-day weeks. Instead, they had eight-day weeks and the farmer worked seven days and went to the market on the eighth. But the seven-day week had existed for a very long time among some Semitic peoples, and by the time of the Republic many Jews lived in Rome and Italy. Thanks to them, the seven-day week became known to all Romans. The Jewish custom of observing the sanctity of the Sabbath on the first day of the week by abstaining from all work could not fail to be noticed by the strangers among whom they lived (4). The Jews, however, did not have a specific name for each day of the week. But Eastern, Egyptian and Greek astrologers and astronomers,who were very numerous to seek their fortunes in Rome, did more than the Jews to introduce the week of seven days in all the classes of the metropolis and the astrologers had particular names for each of the seven days of the week. Saturday was that of the planet and the god-planet Saturn; Sunday, that of the sun; Monday, that of the moon; Tuesday, that of March; Wednesday, that of Mercury; Thursday, that of Jupiter; Friday, the day of Venus. From the beginning of the Empire, these names of days were very common in Italy. Astrological almanacs, which circulated under the name of Egyptian Petosiris to all families who could afford to buy them, greatly contributed to this result. From Italy the taste for astrology and the adoption of the seven-day week,with the names mentioned above, spread not only to Spain and Gaul, but also to the regions of Germany that had been incorporated into the Roman Empire, Upper Germania and Lower Germania, the center of which was Cologne (Civitas Ubiorum) and where the Romanization of the people was making great progress. The Teutons who served as officers or soldiers in the Roman armies and who were familiar with the daily practices of the Romans were in different parts of the independent Teutonic territory and so it is not strange that the seven-day week, with a different name for every day, was known and used more or less widely throughout Teutonia even before Christianity had taken root east of the Rhine and long before Rome itself had been converted to Christianity.But [, in Germania,] this introduction of the seven-day week did not lead to the adoption of the Roman names of days. The Teutons translated these names into their own language and, in doing so, chose among their own deities those that most closely matched the Roman women. The translation of these names was done with a discrimination which seems to show that it was done in the border region of Germania, controlled by the Romans, by people who knew the Roman gods as well as their own. In this border region, there must have been priests of Teutonic origin who celebrated Roman religious ceremonies. The day of the sun and that of the moon could retain their Roman name. They were called on Sunday and Monday respectively. On the day of the god of war, Mars,became the day of god of war Tire, Tuesday. The day of Mercury became the day of Óðinn, Wednesday. The day of Jupiter Fulgurator became the day of Þórr the thunderbolt, Thursday. The day of the goddess of love, Venus, became that of the goddess of love, Freyja, on Friday. Saturn, which in astrology is an aqueous star and has its home in the sign of the boatman, was among the Romans and, before them, among the Greeks and Chaldeans, the lord of the seventh day. Among the Germans of the North, or, at least, among some of them, its day takes its name from laug, "bath" and it is worth noting in this connection that the author of the preface to thebecame that of the goddess of love, Freyja, on Friday. Saturn, which in astrology is an aqueous star and has its home in the sign of the boatman, was among the Romans and, before them, among the Greeks and Chaldeans, the lord of the seventh day. Among the Germans of the North, or, at least, among some of them, its day takes its name from laug, "bath" and it is worth noting in this connection that the author of the preface to thebecame that of the goddess of love, Freyja, on Friday. Saturn, which in astrology is an aqueous star and has its home in the sign of the boatman, was among the Romans and, before them, among the Greeks and Chaldeans, the lord of the seventh day. Among the Germans of the North, or, at least, among some of them, its day takes its name from laug, "bath" and it is worth noting in this connection that the author of the preface to the"Bath" and it is worth underlining in this connection that the author of the preface to"Bath" and it is worth underlining in this connection that the author of the preface toEdda in prose identifies Saturn with the Norse god of the sea Njörd.

The scholars held what seemed to them a convincing proof that the Óðinn of which their traditions spoke so much was the same historical figure as the one whom the Romans worshiped under the name of Mercury and that he was recognized as such by those of their ancestors who had lived at the time of forn siðr.

At first glance, it may seem strange that Mercury and Óðinn would have been considered the same. We are used to conceiving of Hermes (Mercury) as the Greek sculptors represented him, the ideal of beauty and alert youth, while we imagine Óðinn as a man with a mysterious, contemplative gaze. And while Óðinn, in Teutonic mythology, is the father and master of the gods, Mercury, in the Roman, obviously occupies, as the son of Zeus, a high rank, but his dignity does not exempt him from being the busy messenger of the Olympian gods. But neither the Greeks, nor the Romans, nor the Teutons attached much importance to these details in the samples which we have of their respective mythology.The Romans knew that the same god can be represented differently among the same people and that local traditions sometimes differ as to the kinship and rank of a deity. They therefore paid more attention to what Tacitus calls vis numinis - that is, the meaning of divinity as a symbol of nature, or its relation to the affairs of the community and its culture. Mercury was the symbol of wisdom and intelligence; Óðinn too. Mercury was the god of eloquence; Óðinn too. Mercury had introduced poetry and song among men; Óðinn too. Mercury had taught men the art of writing; Óðinn had given them the runes. Mercury did not hesitate to have recourse to trickery, when he could not do otherwise to obtain what he wanted;Óðinn was not too scrupulous about the means either. Mercury, wearing a winged hat, with similar heels, flew over the world and often appeared as a traveler among men; Óðinn, the master of the wind, did the same. Mercury was the god of martial games, without really being the god of war; Óðinn was also the chief of games and martial games, but the function of god of war he had left to Tire. In all important respects, therefore, Mercury and Óðinn were alike.Óðinn was also the chief of games and martial games, but the function of god of war he had left to Tire. In all important respects, therefore, Mercury and Óðinn were alike.Óðinn was also the chief of games and martial games, but the function of god of war he had left to Tire. In all important respects, therefore, Mercury and Óðinn were alike.

For scholars this must have been further proof that what the Romans called Mercury and the Teutons Óðinn had been one and the same historical figure, who had lived in the distant past and had prompted the Greeks, Romans and Goths to worship like a god. To obtain additional and more reliable information on this Óðinn-Mercury than that which could be brought by the original Germanic traditions, it was enough, however, to study and correctly interpret what Roman history had to say about Mercury.

As is known, some mysterious documents called the Sibylline Books were kept in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. The Roman state owned them and guarded them jealously, so that their contents were not known to anyone except those whose position gave them the right to read them. A college of priests, men of high rank, was appointed to guard them and to consult them, when circumstances demanded. The common view that the Roman state consulted them for information about future events is incorrect. He only consulted them to find out by what ceremonies of atonement (5) and propitiation the anger of the higher powers could be turned aside, when Rome was in danger,or when some miracle had aroused the plebs and raised fears of imminent danger. Then the Sibylline books were produced by duly named persons, and in a certain line or passage they found which deity was angry and needed to be appeased, after which they published their interpretation of that passage, but did not disclose the words or phrases from the passage, because the text of the cryptic books was not to be known to the public. The books had been written in the Greek language.but did not disclose the words or phrases of the passage, for the text of the Sibylline books was not to be known to the public. The books had been written in the Greek language.but did not disclose the words or phrases of the passage, for the text of the Sibylline books was not to be known to the public. The books had been written in the Greek language.

The text which says that these books came into the possession of the Roman state after a woman had sold them to Tarquin - according to one version Tarquin the Elder, according to another Tarquin the Younger - can be found with well-known Roman authors and widely read throughout the middle ages. The woman was a Sibyl, according to Varro the Eritrean, so named after a Greek city in Asia Minor; according to Virgil the Cumaean, a prophetess from Cumae in southern Italy. The two versions can easily be reconciled, for Cumae was a Greek colony in Asia Minor; and we read in Servius' comments on Virgil's poems that the Eritrean Sibyl Sibylla was considered by many to be identical to that of Cumae. From Asia Minor she would have come to Cumae.

Western Europeans in the Middle Ages claimed that there were twelve Sibyls: Persian, Libyan, Delphic, Cimmerian, Eritrean, Samian, Cuman, Hellespontian or Trojan, Phrygian and Tiburnienne as well as the Europa Sibyl and the Agrippa Sibyl. The first ten of them are mentioned by the father of the Lactantium Church and the Visigothist historian Isidore of Seville. The last two, Europa and Agrippa, were simply added so that the number of Sibyls was the same as that of the prophets and apostles.

But medieval scholars had also learned from Servius that the Cuman Sibyl was in fact the same as the Eritrean; and from the father of the Church Lactantius - which was widely read in the Middle Ages - that Eritrean was identical to Trojan. Thanks to Lactantius, they also believed that they could precisely determine the birthplace of the Trojan Sibyl. His hometown was the city of Marpessus, near Mount Ida de Troade. From the same Father of the Church they learned that the actual content of the Sibylline books consisted of accounts of the events in Troy, the lives of the kings of Troy, etc., and also of prophecies concerning the fall of Troy and other events. to come and that the poet Homer in his works was a simple plagiarist who had found a copy of the books of the Sibyl, had recast it,falsified and published under his name in the form of heroic poems on Troy.

This seemed to establish the fact that these books, which the wife of Cumae had sold to the Roman king Tarquin, had been written by a Sibyl born in Troy, and that the books Tarquin had purchased from her contained tales and prophecies - in particular, stories about the leaders and heroes of Troy glorified later in Homer's poems. As the Romans had come from Troy, these chiefs and heroes were their ancestors and, as such, they were entitled to the worship which the Romans considered to be due to the souls of their ancestors. From a Christian point of view, this was of course idolatry; and since the Sibyls were believed to have made predictions even with regard to Christ, it might seem inappropriate for Christians to promote the cause of idolatry in this way.But Lactantius gave a satisfactory explanation. The Sibyl, he said, had certainly made true predictions about Christ; but she had done it under divine constraint and in moments of divine inspiration. By birth and by her sympathies, she was a pagan, and when she was in the grip of her genuine inspirations, she proclaimed pagan and idolatrous doctrines.

All of this may sound fanciful in our critical century. But careful examination has shown that these representations have a historical background. And the historical fact behind all of this is that the Sibylline books that were kept in Rome were in fact written in Asia Minor in the ancient territory of Troy; or, in other words, that the oldest known collection of Sibylline oracles had been made at Marpessus, near the Trojan mountain Ida, in Solon's time. From Marpessus the collection had been taken to the neighboring town of Gergis and had been kept in the temple of Apollo; from Gergis it had been brought to Cumae and from Cumae to Rome in the time of the kings. We don't know how he got there. The story of the Cumaean Sibyl and Tarquin is an invention and exists in various forms.It is also evident that the Sibylline books in Rome did not contain accounts of the heroes of the Trojan War. On the other hand, it is absolutely certain that they referred to gods and a cult which, on the whole, were unknown to the Romans before the Sibylline books were introduced to Rome and the introduction of these books. is mainly due to the remarkable change that took place in Roman mythology over the Republican centuries. Roman mythology, which from the beginning had only a few gods clearly identical to the Greek gods, developed especially during this time and welcomed gods and goddesses who were worshiped in Greece and in the Greek and Hellenized part of Greece. Asia Minor, where the Sibylline books came from. Whenever the Romans, in trouble or in distress,were consulting the cryptic books, the oracle's response was that this or that Greco-Asian god or goddess was angry and needed to be appeased. As part of propitiatory ceremonies, the god or goddess was received into the Roman pantheon and, sooner or later, a temple was built for him; and therefore the Romans were quick to appropriate the myths that were current in Greece concerning these imported deities. This explains why Roman mythology, which in its earliest sources is so original and so different from Greek, assumed an almost entirely Greek character in the golden age of Roman literature; this explains why, at the time, Roman mythology and Greek mythology can be considered to be roughly identical. Nevertheless, the Romans could,even in the later period of Antiquity, distinguish between their native gods and those who had been introduced by the Sibylline books. These were worshiped according to the Roman ritual, these according to the Greek. Among these gods of foreign origin were Apollo, Artemis, Latona, Ceres, Hermes-Mercury, Proserpina, Cybele, Venus and Aesculapius; and the Romans well knew that the Sibylline books were a Greco-Trojan work, which came from Asia Minor and the territory of Troy. When the temple of Jupiter Capitoline was burned down in 84 BC, the Sibylline books were lost. But the state could not do without it.A new collection had to be made and it was done mainly by gathering the oracles that one could find one by one in the places through which the Trojan Sibyl or the Eritrean Sibyl had passed, that is to say, in Asia Minor. , especially in Eritrea and Ilion, the ancient Troy.

Regarding Hermes-Mercury, the Roman annals inform us that he obtained his first lectisternium in 399 BC on the order of the Sibylline books. The Lectisternium was a sacrifice: the statue of the god was placed on a bed, a pillow under the left arm, and next to the statue was placed a table, on which was a meal, which was offered as a sacrifice to the god. A hundred years before this time, the first temple in honor of Hermes-Mercury had been built in Rome.

Therefore, Hermes-Mercury, like Apollo, Venus, Aesculapius and others, therefore seems to have been originally unknown to the Romans; it was the Trojan Sibyl who had recommended them to worship him.

This was known to medieval scholars. Now we must keep in mind that they considered it scientifically incontestable that the gods were originally men, rulers and heroes and that the deified ruler whom the Romans worshiped under the name of Mercury and the Greeks under that of Hermes was the same one that the Teutons called Óðinn and whose great Teutonic families claimed to be descendants. We must also remember that they believed that the Sibyl who was supposed to have recommended the Romans to worship the old king Óðinn-Mercury was a Trojan and that they believed her books to have contained tales of the heroes of Troy, in more than various prophecies,so that they came to the conclusion that the gods who had been introduced to Rome through the Sibylline books were the illustrious Trojans who had lived and fought in the days before the fall of Troy. Another inevitable and logical conclusion was that Óðinn had been a Trojan chieftain, and when he appeared in Germanic mythology as the chieftain of the gods, it seemed most likely that he was identical to King of Troy Priam and that Priam was the same. at Hermès-Mercure.it seemed very likely that he was identical to King Priam of Troy and that Priam was identical to Hermes-Mercury.it seemed very likely that he was identical to King Priam of Troy and that Priam was identical to Hermes-Mercury.

Now, as the ancestors of the Romans were supposed to have emigrated from Troy to Italy under the leadership of Aeneas, it had to be assumed that the Romans were not the only ones to have emigrated from Troy, because, as the main god of the Germans was Óðinn -Priam-Hermès and that a certain number of Teutonic families traced their descendants to this Óðinn, the Teutons also must have emigrated from Troy. But, inasmuch as the Germanic dialects were very different from the Roman language, the Romans and Troy Teutons must have separated a very long time ago.

They must have separated immediately after the fall of Troy and taken different directions, and as the Romans had come to Europe from the south, the Teutons must have come from the north. It was also evident to these scholars that the Romans had come to Europe several centuries before the Teutons, since Rome had been founded as early as 754, or 753, BC, but the Teutons are not mentioned in the annals before the period. which immediately preceded the birth of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the Teutons must have stopped somewhere on their journey north. This judgment must have lasted for several centuries and, of course, like the Romans, they must have founded a city, from which they must have ruled over territory in commemoration of their destroyed city, Troy. At that time,very little was known of Asia, where this German-Trojan colony would have been located, but, from Orose and, later, from Grégoire de Tours, we learned that our world is divided into three major parts - the Asia, Europe and Africa - and that Asia and Europe are separated by a river called Tanaïs. And, having learned from Grégoire de Tours not only that the Teutonic Franks would have lived in Pannonia in ancient times, but that the Moetic marshes are to the east of Pannonia and that the Tanaïs flows into these marshes, they had marked out the route by which the Teutons had come to Europe - that is, through the Tanais and the Moetic marshes. Not knowing anything important about Asia beyond the Tanaïs, it was natural that they locate the colony of the Teutonic Trojans on the banks of this river.

I think I have now highlighted the main threads of the web of this scholarly novel woven from monastic culture concerning a Germanic emigration from Troy and Asia, a web that extends from the Frankish chronicle of Frederick and the chronicles following from the Middle Ages to the Heimskringla and the foreword to the Edda in prose. According to Frankish chronicle, the Gesta Francorum, the emigration of the Franks from the colony of Troy near Tanaïs would have occurred very late; that is, at the time of Valentinian I, or, in other words, between 364 and 375 AD. Icelandic writers were well aware that the Germanic tribes had advanced very far into Europe long before this time and that the kingdoms they had founded in the north indicated that they must have emigrated from the colony of Tanaïs long before the Franks. . As the attack of the Romans had caused the emigration of the Franks, it seems probable that these conquerors had also pushed the Germanic tribes to emigrate of Tanaïs previously;and as Pompey's expedition to Asia was the most glorious of all the expeditions made by the Romans in the East - Pompey went so far as to enter Jerusalem and visit his Temple - it was considered very useful to have the Asir emigrate to the time of Pompey, not without leaving some Teutons near Tanaïs, under the leadership of the young brothers of Óðinn Vile and Ve, so that this colony could continue to exist until the emigration of the Franks took place.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the saga of the migration of Troy, which originated and developed in antiquity, in no way indicates that Europe was populated later than Asia, nor that its population came from there. 'Asia. The immigration of the Trojans to Europe was seen as a return of the Trojans to their original homes. Dardanos, the founder of Troy, was considered the leader of an emigration from Etruria to Asia ( Aeneid , III, 165 ff, Serv. Comm. ). As a rule, the European peoples of antiquity considered themselves indigenous, when they did not regard themselves as peoples who had immigrated from European regions to the territories they inhabited in historic times.

13. The materials of the Icelandic Trojan saga

We hope that the facts presented above have convinced the reader that the saga concerning the immigration of Óðinn and the Aesir to Europe is on the whole a product of medieval monastic culture. That it was born and developed independently of the forn siðr is what will be made even more evident by the additional evidence that is available in the matter. It may, however, be of some interest to dwell on certain details in the Heimskringla and in the Edda in prose and to indicate their source.

It should be borne in mind that, according to the prose Edda , it was Zoroaster who first thought of building the Tower of Babel and that in this endeavor he was assisted by seventy-two architects. The name "Zoroaster" is, as we know, another form of the Bactrian or Iranian name of "Zarathustra", the name of the prophet and religious reformer who is glorified on every page of the holy books of the Avesta.and who, in prehistoric times, founded the religion which the Persians practiced for a long time and which is still practiced by their descendants in India and is characterized by an austere and moral conception of the world. In Persian literature and in classical literature, this Zoroaster has nothing to do with Babel, much less with the Tower of Babel. But, from the first century of Christianity, if not earlier, traditions spread which made Zoroaster the founder of witchcraft, magic and astrology (Pliny, Hist Nat., xxx 2); and since astrology in particular was believed to originate from Babylon, it was natural to assume that Babel had been the scene of Zoroaster's activity. The Greco-Roman chronicler Ammien Marcellin who lived in the 4th century AD still knows that Zoroaster was originally from Bactria and not from Babylon, but he already imagines that Zoroaster had drawn much of his wisdom from the writings of the Babylonians. Among the Fathers of the Church, the saga develops in this direction and it is the Fathers of the Church who bring it into the Latin chronicles. The Christian historian Orosius also knows that Zoroaster was originally from Bactria, but he already associates Zoroaster with the history of Nineveh and Babylon and indicates that Ninus waged war on him in Babylon and defeated him.Orose made him the inventor of witchcraft and magical arts. Gregory of Tours declared in his time that Zoroaster was identical to the grandson of Noah, Chus, son of Cham, that this Chus visited the Persians and that the Persians called him Zoroaster, a name which would mean "the living star" . Gregory also relates that this Zoroaster was the first person who taught men the art of witchcraft and made them fall into idolatry and that, as he knew the art of making the stars and fire fall from the sky, men would see him as the equal of a god. At that time, continues Gregory, the men wanted to build a tower which was to reach to the sky. But God confused their tongues and thwarted their project. Nimrod who was supposed to have built Babel was, according to Gregory, a son of Zoroaster.

If we compare this account with what the foreword to Edda saysin prose we find that here too Zoroaster is a descendant of the son of Noah (Cham) and the founder of idolatry and that he was worshiped as a god. It is obvious that the author of the foreword drew these statements from a source linked to the history of Gregory. Of the 72 masons foremen who would have helped Zoroaster in the construction of the tower and from which come the 72 languages ​​of the world, Gregory has nothing to say, while the saga of these builders was known to all in the Middle Ages. In the earlier Anglo-Saxon literature there is a very naive little work, very characteristic of the time, called Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, in which Saturn tests Solomon's knowledge and asks him all kinds of questions about the Bible,to which Solomon finds the answers partly in the Bible and partly in sagas of biblical inspiration. Among other things, Saturn informs Solomon that Adam was created from various elements, that he weighed a total of eight pounds, and that at birth he was only 116 cm tall. Solomon said that Shem the son of Noah had thirty sons, Ham thirty and Japheth twelve - which makes Noah 72 grandsons; and since there can be no doubt that the author was of the opinion that all the languages ​​of the world, which would have been 72 in number, originated from the Tower of Babel and had been distributed throughout the world by these 72 small- son of Noah, this allows us to find out who were these 72 foreman masons who, according to thethat he weighed a total of eight pounds and that at birth he was only 116 cm tall. Solomon said that Shem the son of Noah had thirty sons, Ham thirty and Japheth twelve - which makes Noah 72 grandsons; and as there can be no doubt that the author was of the opinion that all the languages ​​of the world, which would have been 72 in number, originated from the Tower of Babel and had been distributed throughout the world by these 72 small son of Noah, this allows us to find out who were these 72 foreman masons who, according to thethat he weighed a total of eight pounds and that at birth he was only 116 cm tall. Solomon said that Shem the son of Noah had thirty sons, Ham thirty and Japheth twelve - which makes Noah 72 grandsons; and as there can be no doubt that the author was of the opinion that all the languages ​​of the world, which would have been 72 in number, originated from the Tower of Babel and had been distributed throughout the world by these 72 small- son of Noah, this allows us to find out who were these 72 foreman masons who, according to thecame from the Tower of Babel and had been distributed around the world by these 72 grandsons of Noah, this allows us to find out who were these 72 foreman masons who, according to thecame from the Tower of Babel and had been distributed around the world by these 72 grandsons of Noah, this allows us to find out who were these 72 foreman masons who, according to theEdda , had helped Zoroaster build the tower. So they were his brothers. Luther's contemporary, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, who in his work De occulta philosophia, collects a lot of data on superstition through the ages, contains a chapter on the power and the sacred meaning of various numbers and says about the number 72: “To the number 72 corresponds the 72 languages, the 72 elders of the synagogue, the 72 commentators of the Old Testament, the 72 disciples of Christ, the 72 names of God, the 72 angels who govern the 72 divisions of the zodiac, each division of which corresponds to one of the 72 languages. This shows well enough how widespread the tradition concerning the 72 foreman-masons was in the Middle Ages. The Russian chronicle of Nestor itself knows this tradition. It continued to enjoy a certain authority in the 17th century. An edition of Opera Omniade Sulpice Sévère printed in 1647 still considers it necessary to underline that a certain commentator had expressed a doubt as to the correctness of the number 72. Among the skeptics, we find Rudbeck, in his Atlantica .

What Edda says about King Saturn and his son, King Jupiter, is generally found partly in the father of the Church, Lactantius, partly in Virgil's commentator, Servius, known and read during all the middle ages. As the Edda claims that Saturn knew the art of producing gold from molten cast iron and that the only coins that existed at that time were gold, this must be taken as an interpretation of the claim made. in Latin sources that the age of Saturn was the golden age - aurea secula, aurea regna. Among the Romans, Saturn was the keeper of the treasures and the Romans' treasury was in the temple of Saturn at the Forum.

The genealogy which is found in the Edda of the Trojan king Priam, believed to be the oldest and the true Óðinn and descended in the sixth generation of Jupiter, is taken from the Latin chronicles. Herikon de l ' Edda , grandson of Jupiter, is the Greco-Roman Erichthonios; The Lamedon of Edda is Laomedon. The Edda therefore has the heavy task of continuing this genealogy in the dark centuries, from the burning of Troy to the immigration of the young Óðinn in Europe. Of course, Latin sources are of no help to Edda.and she is obliged to look elsewhere. It first considers indigenous sources. She notes that Þórr is also called Lorridi, Indriði and Vingþórr there and that he had two sons, Móði and Magni; but she also discovers a genealogy drawn up in the 12th century, in which these different names of Þórr are applied to different people, so that Lorridi is the son of Þórr, Indriði the son of Lorridi, Vingþórr the son of Indriði, etc. It was common to compile genealogies in this way in Iceland in the 12th century and, before that time, among Anglo-Saxon Christians. Thereupon, the Eddacontinues his genealogy with Bedvig, Atra, Itrman, Heremod, Skjaldun or Skold, Bjæf, Jat, Gudolf, Fjarlaf or Fridleif and finally Óðinn, that is to say the young Óðinn, who had taken the name of his deified ancestor Hermès -Priam. All this genealogy is taken from a Saxon source and is found name for name in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. From Óðinn the family tree is divided into two branches, that of Veggdegg and that of Beldegg or Balder. The first branch has the names of Veggdegg, Vitrgils, Ritta, Heingest. These names are found in the same order in a genealogy by the English Church historian, Bede, in a genealogy by the English chronicler Nennius, and in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. The Edda got them from one of these three sources and the only difference is that the Eddamust have made a mistake in one place and called Vitta Ritta. The other branch, which begins with Balder or Beldegg, has eight names, which are arranged in exactly the same order in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle.

Regarding Balder, the Edda says that Óðinn establishes him King of Westphalia. This testimony is based on the tradition that Balder was known among the Germans and Scandinavians of the time of forn siðr as Fal (Falr, see p. 92), with its variant Fol. At a time when it was believed that Sweden owed its name to a king named Sven, Götaland to a king named Göt, Denmark to a king named Dan, England to a king named Angul, the Franks to a duke named Francio, one might expect that Falen (East and North Westphalia) owed his to a king named Fal. I will give further proof on page 92 that this name was recognized as belonging to Balder, not only in Germany, but also in Scandinavia.

As already stated, Þórr was, according to the Edda , married to Sibil, i.e. the Sibyl and the Edda adds that this Sibil is called Sif in the North. In Teutonic mythology, the wife of Þórr is the goddess Sif. It has already been mentioned that it was believed in the Middle Ages that the Cuman Sibyl or the Eritrean Sibyl originated in Troy and so it is not strange that the author of the Eddain prose, which speaks of the Trojan origin of Óðinn and his people, married Þórr to the most famous of the Trojans. However, this marriage was not invented by the author. The testimony has an older basis and, all things considered, has its origins in Germany, where Sif, during the time of forn siðr, was as well known as Þórr. The Norse form Sif corresponds to the Gothic form Sibba, Old English Sib, Old Saxon Sibbia, and High German Sibba; and Sibil, Sibilla would have been yet another form of the same name. The belief, based on the supposed fact that Þórr's wife, Sif, was identical to the Sibyl, explains a phenomenon that has not yet been understood in the world of sagas and ecclesiastical sculpture of the Middle Ages, and on this period, I now have a few remarks to make.

In Norse mythology, several goddesses or sayings take, as we know, the appearance of feathers, with which they fly in the air. Freyja has a coat of falcon feathers; several sayings have the shape of a swan ( Volundarkv ., Helreid. Brynh ., 6). One of these swan girls was Sif (see p. 123). Sif could therefore appear sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of the most beautiful aquatic bird, the swan.

A legend, originating in Italy, says that when the Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon, she had to cross a stream in one place. A tree or a beam was thrown as a bridge. The wise queen stopped, not wanting to put her foot on the beam. She preferred to ford the stream, and when asked why, she replied that in a prophetic vision she saw that the time would come when that tree would become a cross on which the Savior of the world should suffer.

The legend also reached Germany, but here it is added that the Queen of Sheba was rewarded for this act of piety and freed from a deformity, by fording the stream. One of her feet was human in shape, but the other looked like the paw of a water bird, until she pulled it out of the stream. Ecclesiastical sculpture from the Middle Ages sometimes depicted the Queen of Sheba as a well-formed woman, except that she had a foot that resembled the paw of an aquatic bird. How the Germans came to represent it with this malformation, foreign to the Italian legend, that is what has not been explained until now,although the influence of Greco-Roman mythology on the legends of Romance-speaking peoples and that of Germanic mythology on Germanic legends has been established in many cases.

During the Middle Ages, the Queen of Sheba was called Queen Seba, due to the fact that in the Latin translation of the Bible she is named Regina Seba. This name suggested its identity, on the one hand, with Sibba, Sif, whose representation in the form of a swan lived in traditions; on the other hand, with Sibilla and especially with her, since Queen Seba had proved to be in possession of prophetic inspiration, the main characteristic of the Sibyl. Seba, Sibba and Sibilla blended into the popular imagination. This explains how Queen Seba, among the Germans, but not among the Italians, has the malformation that reminds us of the swan form of Þórr's wife, Sibba. And since it was concluded that Þórr was a Trojan, his wife Sif must have been a Trojan.And since it was known that the Sibyl was from Troy and that Queen Seba was a Sibyl, it was almost inevitable that this assimilation would occur. Latin scholars found new evidence of this identity in a document of Greek origin which claimed that Jupiter had a Sibyl, called Lamia, as his mistress and had by her a daughter called Herophile, who was endowed with prophetic inspiration. from his mother. As we know, Mercury corresponds to Óðinn, Þórr to Jupiter, in the names of the days of the week. It followed therefore Þórr was related to the Sibyl.Latin scholars found new evidence of this identity in a document of Greek origin which claimed that Jupiter had a Sibyl, called Lamia, as his mistress and had by her a daughter called Herophile, who was endowed with prophetic inspiration. from his mother. As we know, Mercury corresponds to Óðinn, Þórr to Jupiter, in the names of the days of the week. It followed therefore Þórr was related to the Sibyl.Latin scholars found new evidence of this identity in a document of Greek origin which claimed that Jupiter had a Sibyl, called Lamia, as his mistress and had by her a daughter called Herophile, who was endowed with prophetic inspiration. from his mother. As we know, Mercury corresponds to Óðinn, Þórr to Jupiter, in the names of the days of the week. It followed therefore Þórr was related to the Sibyl.

The character of the anthropomorphized Óðinn, who is lawgiver and king in the Heimskringla and Edda prose description of him , is only partly based on indigenous Norse traditions concerning the god Óðinn, the ruler of the heavens. This young Óðinn, built by Christian authors, drew his main characteristics from documents that were in monastic libraries. When the Eddain prose tells that the chief who left Ásgarðr for Saxony and Scandinavia did not really bear the name of Óðinn, but had taken this name in homage to the old deified Óðinn-Priam of Troy, to make it appear that he was a god, there is nothing new here. Virgil's commentator, Servius, remarks that ancient kings very often took names that were by right only the gods and reproaches Virgil for declaring that Saturn descended from heavenly Olympus to found an age of gold in Italy. This Saturn, said Servius, was not a god from above, but a mortal king of Crete who had taken the name of the god Saturn. The way in which Saturn, on his arrival in Italy and in the environs of Rome, was received by Janus, the reigning king, reminds us of the way in which Óðinn, on his arrival in Svíþjóð, was received by King Gylfe.Janus is humble enough to leave some of his country and royal power to Saturn, and Gylfe makes the same concessions to Óðinn. Saturn introduces a superior culture to the people of Lazio and Óðinn gives a superior culture to the people of Scandinavia. The father of the Lactantius Church, like Servius, speaks of kings who tried to appropriate the name and worship of the gods and condemns them as enemies of truth and violators of the doctrine of the true God.speaks of kings who tried to appropriate the name and worship of the gods and condemns them as enemies of truth and violators of the doctrine of the true God.speaks of kings who tried to appropriate the name and worship of the gods and condemns them as enemies of truth and violators of the doctrine of the true God.

Regarding one of them, the Persian Mithras, who in the Middle Ages was confused with Zoroaster, Tertullian relates that Mithras, having foreseen the advent of Christianity, resolved to anticipate the true faith and introduced some of its practices (6). So, for example, Mithras, according to Tertullian, got into the habit of blessing by the laying on of hands those whose prosperity he wanted to ensure and also adopted among his mysteries a practice similar to the breaking of bread in the Eucharist. As for the blessing by the laying on of hands, Mithras practiced it primarily to give courage to the men he sent as soldiers to war. It is interesting to compare these words of Tertullian with the following passage from the Heimskringlaon Óðinn: “He used to put his hands on their heads and give them bjannak when he sent his men to war or on a mission. Bjannak is not a Norse word, nor even a Teutonic one, and its meaning is uncertain. The well-known Icelandic philologist Vigfusson, it seems to me, gave the correct definition of the word, by relating it to the Scottish word "bannock" and the Gaelic word "bangh", "bread". We can suppose that the author of the Heimskringla chooses this foreign word so as not to offend the religious feelings of his readers by an indigenous term, because if bjannak really means "bread" and that the author of the Heimskringlawished to indicate in this way that Óðinn, by certain uses of the Christian religion - in this case, by the laying on of hands and the breaking of bread -, had guaranteed victory to his warriors, it was within his power to modify , using a foreign word for “bread”, the unpleasant impression that there could be a similarity between forn siðr and Christian usage. But, at the same time, it is obvious that what Tertullian says about Mithras agrees with what the Heimskringla says about Óðinn.

What the Heimskringla says of Óðinn, namely that his spirit could leave his body and be transported to distant regions and that his body then plunged into a cataleptic sleep, was said, in the Middle Ages, of Zoroaster and Hermes- Mercury.

Neo-Platonic works had spoken a lot about a god originally Egyptian, which they associated with the Greek Hermes and called Hermes Trismegistus, - that is to say "three times very large". The name Hermes Trismegistus - was passed down by Latin authors to scholars of medieval monasteries, among whom those who believed Óðinn was identical to Hermes also considered him identical to Hermes Trismegistus. Going in search of Óðinn and his men, Gylfe came to a fortress which, according to the keeper, belonged to King Óðinn, but when he entered the hall he saw there, not a throne, but three thrones. , arranged one above the other, a chief seated on each of the thrones. When Gylfe asked for the names of these chiefs, he received an answer that said none of the three were Óðinn,but that the sorcerer Óðinn who was able to escape the sight of men was present in all of them. One of the three, says the porter, is called Hár, the second Jafnhár and the one who sits on the upper throne is Þriði. It seems likely to me that what gave rise to this account was the name "three times very great", which in the Middle Ages was attributed to Mercury and, therefore, was considered one of the epithets of Óðinn. The terms "three" and "higher" seem to echo the phrase "three times very large". It was therefore taken for granted that Óðinn had appropriated this name in order to anticipate Christianity with a sort of notion of trinity, as Zoroaster, his ancestor, had, under the name of Mithra, introduced uses which would later become those of Christians.

The other Heimskringla and Edda prose accounts of King Óðinn who immigrated to Europe are mainly taken from the stories contained in songs and mythological lore about the god Óðinn who reigned in the heavenly Valhöll. It is to these that the accounts of the war of Óðinn and the Asians against the Vanir belong. In the myth, this war was fought under the walls built by a giant around the heavenly Ásgarðr ( Völuspá, 25). The fortress in which Gylfe meets the triple Óðinn is decorated exactly like the Valhöll described by the scalds. Men who drink and exercise arms are the einherjar of the myth. Gylfe is a character who is taken from mythology, but by all appearances he does not play the role of a king, but of a giant living in Jötunheimr. The sagas of Fornaldar make him a descendant of Fornjótr who, with his sons, Hlér, Logi and Kári and his descendants, Jökull, Snaer, Geitir, etc., undoubtedly reside in Jötunheimr. As soon as Óðinn and the Ases were made immigrants to the North, it was only natural that the giants were made a historical people and, as such, they were considered the aborigines of the North. - a hypothesis which,as part of the fable of emigration from Asia, was accepted for centuries and still has its supporters. The myth that Óðinn, when he felt death approaching, allowed his body to be cut with the point of a spear, has its origin in the words that a song puts in Óðinn's mouth: "J ' was hung from the tree, swept by the winds, For nine long nights,

Pierced by a spear, Offered to Óðinn, Giving me to myself. ( Havam ., 138).

14. The result of previous research.

Thus ends the examination of the sagas on the Trojan origin of the Teutons and on the immigration of Óðinn and his Asians to Saxony, Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula. I highlighted the seed from which the sagas were born, the soil in which this seed could germinate and the way in which it gradually developed to give the sagas that we find in the Heimskringla and the Eddaprose. I have shown that they do not belong to the Germanic forn siðr, but that they were born, so to speak, out of necessity, in Christian times, among Germans converted to Christianity and that they are entirely the work of literati of the middle ages. The hypothesis according to which they contained a tradition which would have been preserved for centuries among the Germans themselves on an ancient emigration from Asia is quite improbable and is completely refuted by the sagas of authentically Germanic origin on the migration which have been saved from oblivion and which I analyze below. In my opinion, these ancient and authentic sagas on the migration of the Teutons cannot, from a purely historical point of view,claim to be more true to reality than the fables of the Christian era about Óðinn's emigration from Asia. Each case should be carefully considered. But what they provide the proof of is that the idea of ​​an immigration from Troy or Asia was completely foreign to the Germans who practiced forn siðr and on the other hand, they are of great interest, because of their link with what the myths have to say about the oldest domiciles, the history and the diffusion, if not of the human species, at least of the Germanic race.because of their connection with what the myths have to say about the oldest homes, the history and the spread, if not of the human species, at least of the Germanic race.because of their connection with what the myths have to say about the oldest homes, the history and the spread, if not of the human species, at least of the Germanic race.

As a general rule, all ancient sagas on migration, regardless of the race where they originated, should be treated with the utmost caution. Large portions of the earth's surface may have been taken over by various races, not by the sudden influx of large masses, but by a gradual increase in their populations and the consequent displacement of their borders, without any noticeable events or memorable are necessarily linked to it. An enlargement of the territory can take place and be so little noticed by the people living around the center that they do not really need to be aware of it and even less to remember it through sagas and songs.The fact that the arrival of a few colonists every year increases the size of a territory has no influence on the imagination and this insensible colonization can continue from generation to generation and lead to a formidable expansion, without the successive generations are therefore fully aware of the change underway. The spread of a people in new territory can be compared to the movement of the hour hand on a clock. It is not perceptible to the eye and is only noticed by continuous observation.The spread of a people in new territory can be compared to the movement of the hour hand on a clock. It is not perceptible to the eye and is only noticed by continuous observation.The spread of a people in new territory can be compared to the movement of the hour hand on a clock. It is not perceptible to the eye and is only noticed by continuous observation.

In many cases, however, the migration involved large numbers of people, who left their countries in search of new ones. These enterprises are worthy of being remembered and are followed by achievements which are easily fixed in memory. But, even in these cases, it is surprising how quickly real historical events are either completely forgotten or mixed up with fables, which little by little, because they appeal more to the imagination, monopolize the interest. The conquest and colonization of England by the Saxon and Scandinavian tribes - and this at a time when the art of writing was known - are the most remarkable examples. Hengist, under whose command the Saxons, according to their own migration saga, would have landed on British soil,is a saga character that was taken from mythology and we will find him again below (see p. 123). It is therefore not surprising that we find in mythology heroes under whose leadership the Lombards and Goths believed they had emigrated from their homes of Teutonic origin.

Viktor Rydberg, Teutonic Mythology, Gods and Goddesses of the Northland , The Norrœna Society, London Copenhagen, Stockholm, Berlin, New York, 1906, translated from English by BK

(\*) Virgil, whether he realized it or not, served as a transmission belt for the Sibylline Books, thus contributing to further contaminate the mos maiorum by spiritualist elements of Asian origin: “It was in the second century before Christ that the Hellenized Jews of Egypt, to spread among the pagans the dogmas of Jewish monotheism and the hopes of Messianic prophecy, imagined putting them on the lips of the Greek Sibyl. Hence those strange poems which poured with marvelous art the new wine of messianism and of a religion of universal salvation into the old skin of paganism. They spread, and spread with them in the upper layers of pagan thought an immense expectation and an immense hope. They came from Alexandria to Virgil, who eagerly collected with all his heart the echo of this divine world, which came from the East, and illuminated, without knowing it, from the ray of Isaiah,transmitted to the West the cry of David and the Sibyl. ”(James Darmesteter, Critique et politique, Calmann Lévy, 1895, p. 106).

According to Tacitus, Virgil, whom Dante would later make his guide, would have been influenced by Hebrew texts. It should also be noted that Michelangelo represented the Sibyl of Cumae in the Sistine Chapel, among the prophets of the Old Testament.

(1) Unlike the English translator, we will translate "hedendomens" ("paganism") by "forn siðr" ("the old custom") and not, precisely, by the pejorative term "paganism"; we will do the same for the derivative of " hedendomens ", " hedning " (pagan), at least whenever it applies to the worship of the ancient Scandinavians.

(2) Today called Don.

(3) Sweden. svea, plur. svear ; Old Norse svíar / suar: the people of Sweden and, by extension, Sweden.

(4) This is a slip of the tongue, since the “foreigners” were not the peoples among whom the Jews lived, but, on the contrary, the Jews who lived among these peoples.

(5) Regarding the notion of “atonement” among the ancient Romans, see <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/05/18/689/> .

(6) To avoid anachronism, it would be necessary to say, for example, "introduced some of the practices which would later be those of Christianity".