FAMOUS HYPERBOREANS

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Introduction
I share with the northernmost Classics Professor in the world an affiliation with and sentimental attachment to the regions of the utmost North, real and imaginary. Synnøve has explored this theme in her research (e.g., des Bouvrie 1996), and I would like to honour her with a technical contribution in this same area. My article takes the form of a catalogue enumerating the individual Hyperbo reans mentioned in the literature of Greco-Roman Antiquity. The Hyperboreans were a people of Greek myth imagined to reside in the northernmost part of the world (“beyond the North Wind”, as the name was understood to mean), nevertheless having had important dealings with the Greeks until historical times. This paper reviews the sources that mention Hyperborean individuals, commenting on noteworthy features of and some more or less bone-dry philological problems in the texts. On particular points that invite novel observation or treatment or are simply deemed to be especially worthy of interest, the text goes into larger detail than ordinary, while usually keeping to the level of synthesis and epitome of the source material. I shall not discuss the myth or indeed the reality of the Hyperboreans in general, but touch upon some of its various aspects while treating individual sources. The famous Hyperboreans will be presented according to the chronological order of the sources that mention them first, that is approximately in the order of fame.1

1. Abaris

1 See especially the articles in the major German encyclopedias of Antiquity for introductions and bibliography: Daebritz in RE ix 1 258–79, Werhahn in RAC xvi 967–86, Ambühl in NP v 802–3. A series of articles with Swedish translations of all ancient Greek and Latin sources for the myth of the Hyperboreans is currently in progress (Sandin 2011, Sandin forthcoming).

2 The source collections include complete references up to and including the seventh century AD and a selection of later instances. To each source is attached a Roman numeral, with Arabic numerals indicating multiple quotations from the same author or work. These numerals index the source in question in the discussions. An asterisk by the abbreviated title of an author, work or number of fragment indicates that the attribution is uncertain; a question mark after a source indicates that the mention of the Hyperborean(s) in question is in some way conjectural, for instance restored in the text by emendation. Abbreviations not explained in the list of references at the end of the article follow the standard of LSJ, Lampe, or OCD (for works of Plutarch, Eusebius and Latin authors).
To the ancient Greeks, Abaris was the most famous Hyperborean. He visited Greece carrying (in later versions riding on) a mystical arrow, associated with Apollo. His legend developed throughout the centuries, but he seems always to have been regarded as a spiritual or magical authority (III, V) and an ascetic (II); soon we hear of him as a seer and prophet (e.g., IV, V 5, X, XXIV 2–3).

Pindar (I) said, according to Harpocration (XVI), that Abaris was a contemporary of king Croesus of Lydia. If the lexicographer cites accurately, Abaris is then the Hyperborean individual mentioned first in known Greek sources, while at the same time being one of the youngest of the known Hyperboreans, belonging in the historical rather than mythic age. Herodotus (II) is the first to reveal concrete details of the legend, dismissing it as unworthy of his attention:

Thus much then, and no more, concerning the Hyperboreans. As for the tale of Abaris, who is said to have been a Hyperborean, and to have gone with his arrow all round the world without once eating, I shall pass it by in silence. (Rawlinson 1910)

Heraclides of Pontus (V 1) enhanced the narrative and let Abaris fly upon the arrow, which incidentally turned aerobatics and the magical arrow into his defining attributes in late antiquity. Abaris is mentioned offhandedly in a slightly ironical tone as a Hyperborean with magical or pharmaceutical competence by Socrates in Plato's Charmides (III), but the earliest source that prima facie has more than a few lines of substance to offer is the speech Against Menesaechmus of Lycurgus (IV), preserved in fragments. Abaris is here said to have come to Greece in order to seek help, as the Hyperboreans and the rest of the world were subject to plague or famine, and Apollo ordained that Athens must pray for all nations in order to abjure the disaster. As for this fragment, it is uncertain how much of the information attributed to Lycurgus really derives from the orator, though. For reasons which the allotted space will not allow me to develop here, I find it unlikely that the versions given by the scholiast tradition to Gregory of Nazianzus (XXXVIII, etc.), which have Abaris entering the service of Apollo and uttering divinations, really originate in the speech of Lycurgus. I think they belong rather to

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3 Firmicus Maternus (XXVI) uniquely dates Abaris to before the fall of Troy (see n. 7). Almost all who supply a chronological context agree with Pindar (I), but Hippostratus (IX) allegedly dated him to the third Olympiad (768–764 f.Kr.), although this according to Jacoby ad loc. is due to a misunderstanding or error in the text tradition. Harpocration (XVI) says that "others" place him in the twenty-first Olympiad (696–693 f.Kr.).

4 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑπερμορίου πέρι εἰρήσθη. τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβαρίου λόγον τὸν λεγομένον εἶναι ᾨπερμορίου οὐ λέγοντα ὡς τὸν οὗτον περὶμέρει κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν στειμένος.

5 XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXIV 2, XXVIII, XXX 1–3, XXXI, XXXIII, XLII 1, XLIII 2; cf. no. 11 below. Iamblichus (XXIV 2, 28.140–42) and perhaps Procopius of Gaza (XXXIII) also preserve morsels of what may have been a realistic version of the myth, taking the arrow as an instrument of navigation, like a compass.

6 Cf. Conomis 1961, 146, hinting at a similar assessment. The fragment is inadequately presented in the editions of Conomis 1970 and Blass 1899, partly due to their lack of (good) editions of the sources. We still lack a comprehensive critical edition of the anonymous scholia to the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, which might well reveal another, perhaps even archetypical version of this particular scholiun. The editors should have referred to Cosmas of Maiuma (XXXIX), though, who may be the source (Moroni 1995) of the anonymous “scholium Clarkianum” (XXXVII) that they choose to print. Cosmas himself here cites pseudo-Nonnus (XXXVIII verbatim, who is taken to be of only secondary interest by Blass and Conomis. The editors will be
theological and Pythagorean traditions concerning Abaris, deriving perhaps on the one hand from Heraclides of Pontus (see below), on the other from Bolus of Mendes and his contemporaries and/or Pythagorean predecessors (see n. 8).

Several of the sources for the life of Abaris are preserved only in fragments. He was generally represented as a paragon of virtue, to judge from Strabon (XII), who reflects on the superior virtue of ancient barbarians, seeing (in the manner of Tacitus *Germania*) Abaris and other illustrious foreigners of old as in possession of high moral integrity by virtue of not having been corrupted by modern ways of life introduced by trade and innovation (cf. below, no. 9). Of the earlier sources, Heraclides of Pontus (V) in particular may have portrayed Abaris as a saintly figure, as suggested by Plutarch’s disparaging remarks (XV = V 2) and by the titles of works of Heraclides that are said to have featured him: *On righteousness* (V 1), *On the Soul* (V 5). The preserved fragments yield little of interest, apart from an assertion of the existence and benign disposition of the gods, given by someone who may be Abaris, having been revealed to him by a spirit (V 4). A few examples of a moral stand or ethical characterization are found in later sources (cf. XIX, XXIX, XXIV 1–3). The Christians, mentioning Abaris briefly in various contexts (XX, XXII, XXV, XXVIII, XXXIII, XLII, XLIII), are generally neutral and do not condemn him as a pagan sorcerer, except for Firmicus Maternus (XXVI), who asserts that he is a despicable Scythian savage and hints that he is a con artist and/or necromancer.7

The most comprehensive extant accounts of Abaris are found in Iamblichus’ *Life of Pythagoras* (XXIV). The legend has here been incorporated into that of Pythagoras in the latter’s cultic identity as “the Hyperborean Apollo” (cf. no. 3). The neopythagoreans invoke the testimony of the Hyperborean Abaris as a verification of this pretension (XXIV 1, 2; a brief account also in Porphyry, XXXIII).8 Abaris in effect playing the part of *prodromos* (as John the Baptist to Christ) to the divine protagonist. The central narrative is found in chapter 19 (XXIV 1). Abaris meets Pythagoras in Italy on his way home to Hyperborea,9 having collected gold for the Hyperborean temple. He recognizes the philosopher as Apollo and gives him his arrow. He is persuaded to remain and share his gold with the Pythagorean community, and receives instruction by Pythagoras. Much of this is repeated in chapter 28 (XXIV 2). Iamblichus later (XXIV 3) describes a philosophical conversation taking place between Abaris, Pythagoras, and the evil tyrant Phalaris, who is said to have imprisoned the divine philosopher (the details are garbled and apparently abbreviated from the source). Most of the content of the conversation is attributed to Pythagoras, but a theological tenet concerning divine providence (possibly drawing on Heraclides; see on V 4 above) is put in the mouth of Abaris:

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7 Maternus cites an eccentric legend, perhaps of Euhemerist origin (cf. no. 3), according to which the famous Palladium, the Trojan idol of Athena brought by Aeneas to Rome, was originally created by Abaris out of the bones of Pelops (cf. Clem.Al. Protr. 4.47.6) and sold to the Trojans.

8 It must be regarded as uncertain whether this fusion of the two legends appeared in the Aristotelian *De Pythagoreis* (VI). In contrast to Rose (1886), Gigon (1987) does not include the neopythagorean material about Abaris in his edition of the fragments of Aristotle (Iambl. VP 28.142–43 constitutes Gigon’s Arist. fr. 172). A likelier original source for the information that Abaris and Pythagoras met may have been Bolus of Mendes (X), a third-century B.C. Pythagorean mysticist from Egypt. The first six chapters of Apollonius’ *Mirabilia*, describing the quasi-Pythagorean holy men Epimenides, Aristeas, Hermotimus, Abaris, Pherecydes, and finally Pythagoras himself, are likely to have been adapted from Bolus (the probably lacunose ms. has Βώλου at the beginning: see Giannini 1964, 123–24 for discussion with further references). Another lost source that perhaps dealt with Abaris is Nicomachus, a Neopythagorean mathematician born around 60 AD, possibly one of the main sources for Porphyry’s and Iamblichus’ *Lives of Pythagoras* (cf. Porph. VP 20, 59; Iambl. VP 35.251).

9 Perhaps then located in or beyond the Alps; cf. below text for n. 37.
Abaris turned the conversation away from those things, towards those that appeared manifest to all; and arguing from spiritual entities and divine benefaction being present in helpless circumstances, that is insufferable wars, incurable disease, the destruction of crops, the ravage of plague, and other such entirely grievous and desperate things, he tried to persuade of the existence of a divine providence, exceeding every human expectancy and strength.\(^{10}\)

Pythagoras gets the last word, humiliating the tyrant, and the prophet and the divine philosopher are both condemned to death, but Phalaris is assassinated before the sentence is carried out. The narrative appears to be related to a fictive Letter to Phalaris in which Abaris declines an invitation from the tyrant (XIX); cf. also [Phalar.] Ep. 23 and 74.\(^{11}\)

2. The maidens and young men visiting Delos

The Hyperboreans were famous for sending offerings to the Delian temple of Apollo.\(^{12}\) This was done via intermediaries, but the practice was said to have been instigated by Hyperborean young women and men coming to Delos in person. Long before that, other Hyperborean maidens are said to have been the nurses of the gods, Apollo and Artemis, who were born on Delos.\(^{13}\)

The oldest and most comprehensive source mentioning these ancient visitors is Herodotus:

Two damsels, they say, named Hyperoche and Laodice, were first sent by the Hyperboreans bringing offerings; and with them the Hyperboreans sent five men to keep them from all harm by the way; these are the persons whom the Delians call “Perpherees,” and to whom great honours are paid at Delos. […] The damsels sent by the Hyperboreans died in Delos; and in their honour all the Delian girls and youths are wont to cut off their hair. […] They add that, once before, there came to Delos by the same road as Hyperoche and Laodice, two other virgins from the Hyperboreans, whose names were Arge and Opis. Hyperoche and Laodice came to bring to Eileithyia the offering which they had laid upon themselves, in acknowledgment of their quick labours; but Arge and Opis came at the same time as the gods themselves, and are honoured by the Delians in a different way. For the Delian women make collections in these maidens’ names, and invoke them in the hymn which Olen, a Lycian, composed for them; and the rest of the islanders, and even the Ionians, have been taught by the Delians to do the like.

(Rawlinson 1910, slightly revised.)\(^{14}\)

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\(^{10}\) ὁ δ’ Ἀβαρὶς μετῆγε τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ πᾶσι φαινόμενα ἐναργῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, ἢ τοῖς πολέμοις ἢ τοῖς ἔνωσις ἢ τοῖς καρπῶν φθοραῖς ἢ λοιμῶν φοραῖς ἢ ἔλλην τοῖς τυφώσις παγχαλέποις καὶ ἀνηκέστοις παραγεγραμμένοι δαιμονίων τούν καὶ θειὸν εὐφρενοματών ἐπειρᾶτο συμπείθειν, ὡς ἐστὶ θεία πρόνοια, πάσαιν ἔνωσιν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ κύκλῳ ὑπαρχοῦσα.

\(^{11}\) See also Thesleff 1968, 169, with further references.

\(^{12}\) The process cannot have been an entirely legendary one, since later inscriptions preserve official records from the temple administration which show that they indeed kept what they called “the sacred offerings from the Hyperboreans” in the precinct ([τὰ Υπερβορέων ἱερά, Inscr.Délos 100.49, 104-3A.8]), whoever these Hyperboreans may have been. This problem is not addressed in this article. See especially Tréheux 1953 for a discussion and review of the sources.

\(^{13}\) For a discussion of the Hyperborean maidens and their role in Delian and Greek cult, see Sale 1961.

\(^{14}\) πρῶτον δὲ [sc. Δήλιοι λέγουσι] τοὺς Υπερβορέους πέμψα τὸν ἅριον κύριον, τάς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι τὸν Υπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ὡς δὲ αὐτήσα ἀσφαλείς εἶνεκεν πέμψα τοὺς Υπερβορέους τὸν
2.1. Hyperoche and Laodice
I. Hdt. 4.33–35. II. Clem-Al. Protr. 3.45.2. III. Eus. PE 2.6.4. (= II).

These two are forgotten in later elaborations of the embassies of the Hyperborean maidens, or merged with Arge and Opis (see 2.3). They are, however, mentioned briefly by Clement of Alexandria (II, cited by III). Mss. of Herodotus give a variant reading Δυσδόκης: cf. no. 10 Laodocus.

2.2 The Perpherees
I. Hdt. 4.33–34. II. Call. Del. 293–99. III. Hsch. s.v. Πέρφερες (π 2010)?

The five men who accompanied Hyperoche and Laodice are rarely mentioned after Herodotus. Possibly some of the Hyperboreans named by Pausanias and others, Laodocus and Hyperochus in particular (no. 10), are meant to be individual Perpherees, drawing on some Hellenistic expansion of the myth, for instance “Bœo” (no. 8). Hesychius (III) glosses Πέρφερες (sic) with θεωρομ, i.e., properly pagan pilgrim-ambassadors who were sent out by the Greek states to the sacred festivals, but used also in an extended sense, for instance of Abaris (1 XXXIV). The only one who unmistakably refers to the myth of the Perpherees after Herodotus is Callimachus (II). He speaks of them as:

The men who at that time were best
Of the young. Nor did these men come back returning to their home;
But well-endowed by fate and never without repute were they.15

The passage deserves comment since Callimachus with his talk of “best” is clearly suggesting an etymology for Πέρφερες, relating the word to ὑπερφέρω, “excel”, and perhaps to the adjective ὑπερφερής.16

2.3 Arge/Hecaërge, Opis/Upis, and Loxo

ἀστῶν ἄρρας πέντε ποιμένων, τούτων οἱ νῦν Περφερέας καλοῦνται, τιμᾶς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. [...] τήσι ἀπετέλεσεν ταύτης τῆς Ἑλλήνων τελευτήσης ἐν Δήλῳ κηρύσσετο καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐν Δήλῳ. [...] Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἁργήν τε καὶ τὴν Ἡλίαν, εὐφύσες παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπίκεδια ἐς Δήλον ἔτερον Ὑπερμόρχης τε καὶ Λοδίκης τοῖς μὲν τὴν Ἐλευθερίαν ἄποροτον ἀντί του ὑκτούκον τὸν ἐπάξιον φόρον ἀπίκεδια, τῆν δὲ Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ἡλίαν ἄμα αὐτοὶ τοίς τεθεῖσι ἀπίκεδια. Λέγουσιν καὶ σφί τιμᾶς ἄλλας διδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγέραιν σφί τὰς γυμνάκιας, ἑπονομαζόμενος τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐν τῷ ὑμνῷ τὸν σφί Ωλήν ἀνήρ Λυκίος ἔποιησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νηστώτας τε καὶ Ἰωνίας ἴμνεων θεῖν τε καὶ Ἑρατην ὑομαζόντας τε καὶ ἀγέραιντας. (Hdt. 4.32–35)

15 ἄρρας οἱ τότε ἄρρασι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οὖν ὑπερμόρεας οὐκαὶ ἰκόνος ἐπίμοιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀκλέες οὕσποτ' ἐκεῖνοι. ἐκεῖνοι has been condemned on stylistic grounds: “utterly flat, not to say completely otiose” (Mimeur 1984 ad loc.). But it may be an unproblematic epic expansion. Editors should not put a comma before καὶ, which indeed makes the expression awkward (“they were well-endowed by fate, and never without repute were these”). Instead ἐκεῖνοι is the subject of ἐγένοντο, καὶ coordinating the two predicative adjectives, whereas οὕσποτ' negates ἀκλέες only. The postplaced negative is often combined with a particle (Schwyzer–Debrunner 1950, 596), and ἀκλέες serves as an approximate antonym to εὐσυμοί, providing the expression with several parallels in poetry (Cooper–Krüger 2002, 2713, §2.66.1.3B). For the quasi-formulaic use of the subject ἐκεῖνοι at the end of clause and verse, cf. II. 18.188, Od. 24.437.

16 He thus anticipates the influential etymology, if not the semantic interpretation, of Ahrens 1862, 340–42.
It is uncertain what Herodotus (I, cited above) means exactly by Arge and Opis coming “at the same time as the gods themselves”. Legrand (1938, 231) ingeniously emended to αὐτῆσι τῇσι θεοῖσι, “the goddesses themselves”, i.e., Leto, who came to Delos to give birth to Apollo and Artemis, and Eileithyia, who came to assist.\(^\text{17}\) Both goddesses are said to have come from the Hyperboreans. Approximately the same sense may perhaps be intended by the reading of the mss., if sound. The masculine gender then implies that Herodotus includes Apollo (and Artemis) in the number of gods who “came” to Delos, in this case brought in utero, in order to be born. This is in accordance with a version of the myth preserved in a few sources, which has the elder Hyperborean maidens nursing the infants Apollo and Artemis, hence giving their own names as epithets to the gods.\(^\text{18}\) This may have been the version offered by Phanodicus (IV), an author of uncertain date who wrote a Δηλιακά, “Delian matters”. A comprehensive account is given in Servius Danielis (XII):

\begin{enumerate}
\item Some say that Opis and Hekaërge were the first who came from the Hyperboreans to the island Delos, bringing sacred offerings hidden in bundles of sheaf. Others believe that Opis and Hekaërge [corrected from Hecaërgos\(^\text{19}\)] were the nurses of Apollo and Diana: Diana herself is accordingly called Opis, as stated above, and Apollo Hecaërgos.\(^\text{20}\)

\item And Virgil did not make her [the character Opis: see below no. 2.3.1] up like Tarpeia and others, but seems to have invested her with her own proper name: for the Greeks tell that ἀμαλλοφόροι [“sheaf-bringers”] came to Latona from the Hyperboreans, who are themselves also Thracians [cf. below, text for nn. 29–30]: and this woman [i.e., Opis] and Hekaërge [corrected from Hecaërgos] nursed Apollo and Diana, as may also be seen from the epithets of the gods, she being called Opis and he Hecaërgos, of which more has been said above.\(^\text{21}\)
\end{enumerate}

Callimachus (II 1) is the oldest extant source for the former version, letting these maidens take over the role that Herodotus assigned to Laodice and Hyperoche, that is of bringing the first Hyperborean offerings to Delos. As we saw, he or a source he has used other than Herodotus alters the name Arge to Hecaerêge, thenceforth canonical (“Arge” never appears

\(^{17}\) Arist. HA 580a, Ael. NA 4.4.3, Paus. 1.18.5.

\(^{18}\) Cf. Sale 1961, 82–83 for a discussion, albeit I think too rigid in its interpretation of the turn of phrase in question. ἀμαλλοφόροι τοῖσι θεοῖσι is surely a valid expression to use even if the maidens and both goddesses did not arrive together and deliver the twins on the very same day, but only in the same general timeframe (as opposed to the much later Hyperoche and Laodice). Herodotus may have been intentionally vague: if he knew of a legend depicting the physical delivery of gods in the presence of mortals, he may have considered explicit mention of it as improper, just as he consistently avoids mentioning the death of gods when treating foreign myths and ritual (Sandin 2008).

\(^{19}\) In both cases we read Hecaergon where we would have expected Hecaergen, which may be a misunderstanding due to limited erudition, either of Servius himself or a later scribe.

\(^{20}\) Quidam dicunt Opim et Hecaergen primas ex Hyperboreis sacra in insulam Delum occultata in fascibus mergitum pertulisse. aliu putant Opim et Hecaergen [Hecaergen mss.] nutritores Apollinis et Dianae fuisse: hinc itaque Opim ipsam Dianam cognominatam, quod supra dictum est, Apollinem vero Hecaergon.

\(^{21}\) Et hanc Vergilius non ita finxit, ut Tarpeiam et ceteras, sed proprio nomine videtur induxisse: Graeci enim tradunt ἀμαλλοφόρους ex Hyperboreis, qui et ipsi sunt Thraeces, ad Latonam venisse: hanc et Hecaergen [Hecaergen mss.] Apollinem et Dionam educasse, ut etiam ex cognominibus deorum, cum illa Opis et hic Hecaergos appellatur, agnoscitur: quod supra plenius dictum est.

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He uses the form Οὖπις (Upis) for Herodotus’ Ὄπις, and makes two further changes to the narrative; claiming that the maidens are the daughters of Boreas (see below, no. 5), and adding a third companion, Λοξώ. Just as Hecaërge, Loxo is connected with Apollo by the latter’s epithet Loxias (cf. XIX), but most later sources ignore her. In the pseudo-Platonic Axiochus (VI, perhaps first century B.C. or AD), Opis and Hecaërge are said to have brought sacred bronze tablets from the Hyperboreans to Delos, containing elaborate descriptions of the underworld (similar to the so-called Orphic gold tablets, but on a larger scale). Compare the role of Abaris (no. 1) in Pythagorean sacred legends.

In Latin sources and Nonnus (V, XIII, XIV), the Hyperborean maidens feature as semi-divine servants of Artemis, but we have no information as to how this change from their status as Hyperborean mortals occurred. Claudian (XIII) touches upon the matter, though, mentioning Opis and Hecaërge as two of the seven chiefs of Diana’s virgin band:

*There join them the twin sisters Hecaërge, terror of beasts, and Opis, deity beloved of hunters, Scythian maids; their preference for Delos over the Hyperborean frosts made them goddesses and queens of the woods.*

(Platnauer 1922, slightly revised.)

### 2.3.1 Opis/Upis

Later in the same poem of Claudian (277, 292), Opis accompanies Diana as charioteer on a particular mission. She is in fact singled out for individual treatment in several sources dealing with the myth of Artemis as the mistress of formidable virgins, functioning as a hypostasis of the epithet Οὖπις of the goddess. We will take a closer look at the passages in question here, the interrelations of which may have been neglected to a degree.

In the *Hymn to Artemis*, Callimachus addresses the goddess as Οὖπι ἄνασσα on two occasions (204, 240), both occurring in the context of her associating with virgin females. The first address (II 2), which I believe should be seen as a proper allusion to the Hyperborean Opis, occurs in a catalogue of maidens who have been befriended by the goddess (Britomartis/Dictynna, Cyrene, Procles and Anticleia). The epithet is used in a verse where Callimachus describes how the goddess is named after Dictynna, hence serving as an implied justification for the case of a goddess being named after a lesser being.

If the maidens first came to Delos bringing offerings to the temple, as suggested elsewhere by Callimachus (II 1), they cannot have nursed the gods there, who were obviously born before their cult was instigated. Callimachus may have preferred a different aition for the epithet Οὖπις of Artemis, equivalent to her adoption of the name Dictynna, which occurred after the latter nymph escaped ravishing by Minos (II 2). Callimachus seems to have treated an extension of the narrative of Opis in his *Aetia*, in a passage preserved in fragments of a papyrus (II 3). The narrative concerns the offerings of the Hyperboreans and their itinerary to Delos (vv. 1–14), after which appears a fragmented passage featuring “beetling Ilion”, “drinking of water”, “Antiope” (usually an Amazon), and a little later:

*favour/pleasure/grace they could not … most lewd … sheaf … about … defence against a shameless eye the goddess put an end [to the outrage, Hybris?]*

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*igiungunt se geminae metuenda feris Hecaërge | et soror, optatum numen venantibus, Opis | progenitae Scythia: divas nemorumque potentes | fecit Hyperboreis Delos praelata pruinis (3.253–56).*

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22 *Iungunt se geminae metuenda feris Hecaërge | et soror, optatum numen venantibus, Opis | progenitae Scythia: divas nemorumque potentes | fecit Hyperboreis Delos praelata pruinis (3.253–56).*
you deer-hunting daughter of Zeus  
... race. 23

As Pfeiffer ad loc. notes, the word “sheaf” (ἁμάλλης) in combination with sexual innuendo and intervention of Artemis suggests that Callimachus has narrated a special version of the myth of the death of Orion, described in a Homeric scholium (XVI), citing Euphorion (III) as its authority:

As when Orion [...] The meaning is, “as when Day took Orion”. For the Day fell in love with him and took him away from Tanagra to Delos, where he saw the sheaf-bearing Upis and wanted to force himself upon her. For this, the goddess [i.e., Artemis] was wroth and killed him, as Euphorion shows. 24

In the passage of Homer to which the scholium refers (Od. 5.121), Orion is slain by Artemis for having an amorous liaison with the goddess Eos, Dawn, even (according to the nymph Calypso, who is the narrator) with the full consent of the latter. But the version involving Opis is found also in the Library of pseudo-Apollodorus (VII).

I believe that the myth in a verse of Euphorion may shed light on a verse of Virgil, the meaning of which has been debated. 25 Opis features in the Aeneid (V) as a servant of Diana. Neither Macrobius, nor any of the modern commentators on Virgil that I have seen, 26 except perhaps Williams 1973, who is unclear on the subject, takes this Opis to be the Hyperborean maiden, although the identical names are duly noted. Servius, however (XII 2, contradicting XII 1), and Ambühl in NP viii 1256, correctly identify them. 27 In the Aeneid, Diana assigns to Opis the mission of avenging Camilla, another favourite of the goddess, slain in battle by the Etruscan Arruns. Right before killing Arruns, Opis utters (11.857):

Shall even you die by the shafts of Diana? 28

The arrows of Artemis have slain many a proud male, and Arruns is not one of the more illustrious or honourable victims. But I believe that this in the mouth of Opis should be an allusion to Orion in particular, in her experience the first and most glorious target, and intimately connected with her own fate. As the age of Heroes is coming to an end, Opis reflects on the distance in time and stature between Orion, the Great Hunter, and Arruns, the Etruscan; just conceivably with a nuance of regret. If Artemis had not slain Orion, but he had had his way, as Heracles had with Palantho (see no. 7), the destiny of Opis must have been another than the eternal maidenhood that Artemis seems to have conferred on her (cf. Claudian, XIII, cited above). We may ask ourselves if the advances of Orion were entirely unwelcome in all versions of the myth. Servius identifies a note of “immense bitterness” in the utterance of Opis, claiming that she grudges (invidet) Arruns the honourable manner of death. But perhaps she is jealous of his very mortality.

23 ἴν χάριν οὐκ ἔδον ὡς ἔπαυσε θεή | ἂν αἰτός ἁμάλλης | ἰματός νοῦς | ἀναιδέος θμάτος ἀναίρει | ἢ θεός κεμαδοσσόε | ἕπαυσε θεή | ὰρίωνα ἐλαβεν ἢ ἢμέρα | ἄλκαρ | ὓβριν ἔπαυσε | θεή | | ἰπέρ | | ἄλκαρ | ἠθέλησε βιάσασθαι | ἄκαθ | ἀκαθαύτη | ἀναιρεῖ αὐτόν, ὡς Εὔφοριον δηλοι.  
24 ὡς μὲν ὃς ὃς ὃς ὃς ὃς θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζει θαυμάζεi
Virgil calls his Opis a Thracian (11.858), which may be a poetical epithet meaning little more than “somewhere north of Greece and Anatolia”, but it may also imply that he follows Callimachus, making Opis a Thracian by birth as a daughter of Boreas. The latter is Thracian by authoritative poetic tradition; and his sons Zetes and Calais were born in Thracia according to Apollonius Rhodius (1.213; cf. no. 5.1); cf. also Aen. 10.350 *tris quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema*, “and three Thracians, of the most noble [or ‘furthest away’?] family of Boreas”.

### 2.4 Achaeïa

I. Paus. 5.7.8

According to Pausanias, the mythological epic poet Olen (cf. no. 8) composed a poem in honour of Αχαιία, who came from the Hyperboreans to Delos. Pausanias says nothing about her except that she came later than Opis and Hecaërge, whose praises the equally mythological Melanopus in turn sang (see above no. 2.3). It is unclear whether Pausanias means that Melanopus mentioned Achaeïa as well. In Herodtous (I), Olen’s hymn is devoted to Opis and Arge.

### 3. Pythagoras and the mortal Apollo (son of Zeus and Leto)


As a rule, only mortals are included in this collection, but several sources, for instance Aristotle (I) as cited by Aelian (IV), claim that the followers of Pythagoras considered their master to be “the Hyperborean Apollo” (see above, no. 1). This has been deemed mortal enough to meet our criteria for inclusion. To this post is added two instances of the Hyperborean Apollo featuring in Euhemeristic sources (II–III), that is portrayed as a mortal man, although there are no implications of this Euhemeristic Apollo being identical to Pythagoras. Cicero (II), who relates the opinions of the Euhemerists, says that the Apollo that came from the Hyperboreans was the “third Apollo”, i.e., the third mortal man contributing to the myth of the god, and that he was the son of the “third Zeus” and of Latona, i.e., Leto. Perhaps the Apollo who is said by Diodorus Siculus (III) to have fallen in love with Cybele and walked with her to the Hyperboreans is then only the “second” Apollo according to the Euhemeristic system (and not, strictly, himself a Hyperborean).

### 4. Hyperboreos


Phanodemus (I) is said to have claimed that the Hyperboreans took their name after Ὑπερβόρεος (or Ὑπερβοραῖος), an Athenian. Philostratus of Cyrene (II) on the other hand said that this Hyperboreos was from Thessaly. Whether they imagined that the Hyperboreans originated as a Greek colony or were at a crucial period in their history led by a Greek in exile is not known.

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29 Cf. *Serv.Dan*. (XII 2), cited above. Thracian = “northern” is attested in (late) Greek, apparently interpolated from a gloss in a ms. to *Zos.Alch.*, Παντὸς θείου δόταρος (p. 31.18 Mertens).


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5. The Boread family
Some of the individual Hyperboreans mentioned in literature are said to have been sons and daughters, or descendants, of Boreas, the North Wind (himself a Thracian: see n. 30). Neither of the explicitly named mothers, Oreithyia and Chione (also found as a daughter of Boreas; see 5.1), is ever said to be a Hyperborean. The sources are also in conflict as to whether the sons and daughters resided in Hyperborea or somewhere else. Here are gathered those sources that explicitly state that the offspring or descendants of Boreas at some time resided in the land of the Hyperboreans.

5.1. Zetes and Calaïs (sons of Oreithyia)

The brothers Zetes and Calaïs were two of the Argonauts, mortal and eventually slain by Heracles on the island of Tenos. Two sources, cited in a scholium to Apollonius Rhodius (III), claim that they came to the expedition from the Hyperboreans. Their sisters, Cleopatra and Chione (cf. 5.2), are never said to be Hyperborean.²¹

5.2. Hyperborean priests and rulers (sons and descendants of Chione)

Hecataeus of Abdera, whose lost work on the Hyperboreans is cited by later authors (FGrH 264 frr. 7–14), mention high priests and/or theocratic rulers. The two sources, Diodorus Siculus (II) and Aelian (III), which preserve these fragments, are in disagreement as to the exact pedigree of the priests, if indeed the same Boreads are intended in both cases. In one case (I 2), the three sons of Boreas and Chione (who is elsewhere said to be the daughter rather than consort of Boreas; see 5.1) are high priests, six cubits tall, in the Hyperborean temple of Apollo. In the other case (I 1), the priesthood and theocratic leadership of the city of the Hyperboreans are inherited among the descendants of Boreas, the leaders being called the Boreads. Either of the secondary sources may have misunderstood Hecataeus; or possibly he referred to different time frames, a golden age in the past when the sons of Boreas ruled, and the present state under their descendants. Hecataeus elsewhere (fr. 10 ap. Σ Α.Ρ. 2.675) explicitly claimed that the Hyperboreans still existed in his own time.

5.3. Opis, Loxo and Hecaërge (mother unknown)
See 2.3. Only Callimachus (Del. 293) explicitly claims these to be the daughters of Boreas.

6. Arimaspus

A fragment by Pherenicus, an obscure Hellenistic poet from Heraclea Pontica, states that the Hyperboreans “grew from the blood of the Titans” (from the earth fertilized by their spilled blood?), and that they were led into the north by their leader Άριμασπός.²²

¹¹ [Apollod.] 3.199, A.R. 2.234, Paus. 3.15.2.
²² Herodotus (4.13) mentions the Arimaspı as a separate people, neighbours of the Hyperboreans (cf. no. 9), but Antimachus (fr. 141 Matthews ap. Στ.Βyz. s.v. Υπερβορέοι) and perhaps Callimachus (Del. 291; cf. fr. 186.12 Pfeiffer) consider the Hyperboreans and the Arimaspı to be identical. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. also claims that the latter are an ἔθνος Υπερβορέων, “people among the Hyperboreans”.

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7. Palantho and her father


According to Dionysius from Halicarnassus (II), Latinus, the eponymous king of the Italic tribe of the Latins, was not the biological son of Faunus, king of the Aborigines, but of Heracles and “some Hyperborean woman that Heracles brought with him after her father had submitted her as a hostage”.33 King Faunus took this woman, pregnant by Heracles, as his wife. Latin sources, allegedly deriving from a Greek author Silenus (uncertain which34), give her name as Palantho (IV) or Palanto (III), claiming this to be the eponym of the Palatine hill in Rome, where she was observed having sexual intercourse with Heracles.35

The context in which Heracles receives as hostage the daughter of a Hyperborean is not explained by Dionysius, but Pindar mentions that he visited the Hyperboreans, introducing the olive plant from there to Greece.36 The narrative of Dionysius should perhaps be seen in light of the learned tradition that locates the Hyperboreans in or beyond the Alps,37 which may fall back on the Olympian Ode in question, in which they reside by the source of the Istros (Danube). Dionysius claims that Heracles sailed to Italy with the girl, though.

8. Pagasus, Agyieus, and Olen

I. Boeo fr. 1–2 Powell (ap. II).  II. Paus. 10.5.7–8.  III. (*Agath.) Σ Paus. 10.5.8.  IV. Suda s.v. Ωλήν (ω 71).

Pausanias (II) cites a female poet Boeo (I)38 for the information that the Delphic oracle was instituted by Hyperboreans. In the quotations offered by Pausanias, Boeo mentions the Hyperboreans Παγασός, Ἀγυιεύς and Ωλήν, claiming that the last-named, in all other sources (including Pausanias elsewhere) a Lycian,39 was the very first epic poet. Pausanias reports that Boeo lists yet more names of Hyperboreans in a catalogue section of her poem (cf. no. 10).

9. A Hyperborean native in the Arimaspea


The epic Arimaspea of Aristeas is said to have depicted a journey of the author to various peoples of the North, including the Arimaspi and Hyperboreans. Possibly Aristeas, allegedly a very ancient poet, is a construct of the imagination of Herodotus (4.13, 4.16). The epic poem circulating in the Roman period was at any rate pseudepigraphic, as suspected already by its contemporaries (D.H. Th. 2). One of the fragments is found in pseudo-Longinus (II):

*Here is another thing also that fills us with feelings of wonder,*  
*Men that dwell on the water, away from the earth, on the ocean.*  
*Sorrowful wretches they are, and theirs is a grievous employment:*  
*Fixing their eyes on the stars, their lives they entrust to the waters.*

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33 έκ τινος Ὑπερβορίδος κόρης, ἣν πατρὸς εἰς ὁμηρείαν δόντος ἐπήγετο. The female ethnonym appears only here.
34 A Silenus from Chius and one from Caleacte are known, but see Tell 2014 on the possibility of the former being an entirely spurious entity.
35 The word used by Solinus, compressisse, does not necessarily suggest rape, as many translators seem to think (see OLD, L&S s.vv. compressio, compressus, comprimo).
36 Pi. O. 3.10–35, cf. Paus. 5.7.7.
38 On whom see Jacoby on Philoch. FGrH 328 fr. 214.
39 Hdt. 4.35, Cali. Del. 305, Paus. 5.7.8.
Often, I think, to the gods they lift up their hands and they pray:  
Ever their innermost parts are terribly tossed to and fro.  
(Fyfe 1995)

The speaker marvels over foreigners who willingly traverse the waves, obviously representing a people (“us”) unfamiliar with seafaring and boats. He is likely to be a Hyperborean native, as it is probable that the topic originates in an interpretation of the name Abaris (see no. 1). As Hesychius records, this may be understood as “without boat”.

10. Hyperochus and Amadocus/Laodocus
I. Paus. (1) 1.4.4, (2) 10.23.2.

Pausanias relates a supernatural event taking place during the invasion of Gauls into Greece in 279 B.C. At Delphi, warriors are said to have materialised out of thin air to the aid of the Hellenes (I 1):

…of these two are said to have come from the Hyperboreans, Hyperochus and Amadocus, and the third was Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles.

The story is repeated later (I 2), but the mss. then offer the name Λαόδοκος. The warriors have been conjectured to originate in the poem of Boeo (no. 8), but the names may also connect them with the maidens Hyperoche and Laodice/Laodoce mentioned by Herodotus (no. 2.1).

11. A Hyperborean sorcerer

One of the tall tales in Lucian’s Philopseudes concerns a nameless Hyperborean sorcerer who is able to fly (cf. no. 1, text for n. 5), walk on water, and cast spells of different kinds.

12. Zabius, Themisto, and Galeotes/Galeos

The main source for these very obscure Hyperboreans, king Zabius, princess Themisto, and Galeotes, the son of the latter by Apollo, is the geographical dictionary by Stephanus of Byzantium (II):

Galeots: a people in Sicily or in Attica, from Galeotes, the son of Apollo and Themisto, daughter of Zabius, king of the Hyperboreans, as will be told in the article on Telmissus. Some say that the Galeots are a kind of Sicilian seers. [...] They say that Galeotes (came) from the Hyperboreans,

40 ἠθμὰ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα φριέν ἠμετέρησιν. | ἰδέας οὖσα ναύσι μετὰ χθόνος ἐν πελάγεισιν | δύστηνοι τινὲς εἶσον. ἔξουσι γὰρ ἐγρα πονηρὰ | ὁμοίαν ἐν ἀστροισι, ψυχὴ δὲ ἐνὶ πόνῳ ἔχουσιν. | ἦς ποιήσα τὸν κυκλευσάντης κακῶς αὐτῷ κακῶς αὐτῷμένῳ.
41 “Longinus” cites disingenuously, infavourably comparing this to a storm in Homer. The purpose of “Aristeas” is not the depiction of the awe-inspiring (δεινά) and sublime forces of nature applied on man, but of the good-natured naivety of an inexperienced barbarian (cf. Strabon on Abaris, no. 1 above).
42 ὁ ἠπειρώτης καὶ μὴ ἔχων βάριν, “one who dwells on the mainland and does not have a boat” (Hsch. α 74). The word βάρις was used in particular of foreign ships, properly of a kind of Egyptian flat-bottomed vessel (being an Egyptian loan-word).
43 τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν, Ὑπέροχον καὶ Λιμάδοκον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Πήρρον ἐνία τῶν Αχιλλεώς.
Telmissus <from ...>, and that Apollo told them in an oracle in Dodona that the one should sail east, the other west, and that they should set up an altar at the place where an eagle would snatch the meat away as they were sacrificing. Galeotes accordingly came to Sicily and Telmissus to Caria, where there is a sanctuary of the Telmissian Apollo.44

“Galeos”45 is a variant reading in the first instance of the name, also found in Clement of Alexandria (I), who mentions “Telmessus in Caria and Galeos in Sicily” in a catalogue of ancient seers. The lacuna after Τελμισσόν is necessary: Telmissus (or Telmessus) was not a Hyperborean,46 but identical with the son of Apollo by “one of the daughters of Antenor”, mentioned by Dionysius of Chalcis.47 The further narrative promised “in the article on Telmessus” is not extant in the abbreviated version of Stephanus that has survived.

Observe that the notion of a Hyperborean king contradicts the theocratic polity described by Hecataeus (no. 5.2).

13. Passerus
I. (*Hdn.Gr. iii 2 564 GrGr ap.) Hsch. s.v. Πάσσηρος (π 1074).

The Lexicon of Hesychius states that Πάσσηρος48 the Hyperborean founded Εἰρήνη (“Peace”), adding that “it was called Eirene and Pelagussa”. While “Pelagussa” is unattested elsewhere, the island Kalaureia is said to have been once called Eirene.49 It is also said to have been originally sacred to Apollo,50 which would be in accordance with a Hyperborean foundation myth (cf. above, no. 8).

14. Seuthes
I. Suda s.v. Ἀβαρίς (α 18). II. [Zonar.] s.v. Ἀβαρίς.

Suda (I) claims that Abaris was Σεύθου υἱός, the son of Seuthes, which is repeated by pseudo-Zonaras (II). This Seuthes is not mentioned elsewhere, but the name belongs to several famous Thracian kings (illustrating the blurred distinctions in literature between “Thracian”, “Scythian”, and “Hyperborean”; cf. text for n. 7; no. 2.3; no. 2.3.1 fin.).

Coda
Apart from the utility of source collections as tools for future study, in this case of the myth of the Hyperboreans, and the small advances that have been claimed here on certain individual passages, one might ask if any immediate general conclusions may be drawn from the

44 Γαλεώται. έν τη Σικελία ή έν τη Αττικη, από Γαλεώτου υἱόν Απόλλωνος και Θημιστοῦς, τῆς θυγατρός Ζωής, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἄγριμπροιων, ός εἰρήσεται εν τῷ περί Τελμισσοῦ. τινὲς δὲ δὶ τοίο Εἰρήσεται μάντεων ἔνδος Σικελίων. [...]; φασι δὲ τού Γαλεώτην εἰς Ὑπερβορέων, Τελμισσόν <δὲ εκ *** ἔλθεν>, αἷς ἔχρησεν ο θεός ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς ὑπερβορέων, ὕπερ τῶν ἐν Καρίᾳ ἠλθεν, ἐνθα Απόλλωνος Τελμισσίου ἴδρυν. 45 γαλεοῦ N, γαλ.** QP. 46 Pace A. Lesky in RE V 2 1683 (s.v. Themisto 4). 47 Fr. 4 FHG (iv 394) ap. Phot. s.v. Τελμισσός. 48 Musurus emends to Πάσσηρος. 49 Anticl. FGrH 140 fr. 9 ap. Harp. s.v. Καλαύρεια, Plut. Quaest.Graec. 295c. 50 Strab. 8.6.14 cum Ephor. FGrH 70 fr. 150; Philosteph.Hist. fr. 18 FHG (iii 31) ap. Σ A.R. 3.1243; Paus. 2.33.2; App.Anth. 6.58; Call. fr. 593 Pfeiffer ap. Σ A. Eu. 27, Σ Lyc. 617, etc.

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material collected. For instance, one might pose the question whether any traces of a hypothetical lost, comprehensive narrative may be discernible; that is if any of these individuals may be connected in any way to others, indicating a shared origin in some lost epic or pseudo-historical treatment of the myth. While it cannot be ruled out that some of the more obscure names (cf. nos. 2.4, 8, 10, 12–13) were originally to be found in Hecataeus from Abdera (cf. no. 5.2) or a seminal epic poem now lost, for instance the Arimaspea (cf. no. 9) or Boeo (cf. no. 8), the material offers no evidence that either affirms or refutes this. We may also be fairly sure that most of the individual names can have no earlier origin than Hecataeus. Apart from Abaris (no. 1) and the visitors to Delos (no. 2), who, occurring in Herodotous and Pindar, probably emerge from oral narrative traditions, all other Hyperborean individuals listed here bear the mark of literary innovation and mythic embellishment in the Hellenistic fashion, and/or invention for the purpose of religious and political propaganda. Indeed most individuals seem to have been invented for purposes that are, to a degree, story-external, not fictional: foundation myths (8, 12, 13), eponymy (4, 6, 7), improved royal lineage (7). Taken together, then, the various obscure characters and narratives may also serve as a concise illustration of the manner in which ancient Greek mythological themes developed in Hellenistic literature.

Works Cited


Jacoby] See FGrH.


Sandin, Famous Hyperboreans


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Latin summary

*De Hyperboreis illustribus.* Singuli Hyperborei, qui in litteraturā antiquā apparent, exhibentur in respectū fontium Latinorum Graecorumque atque collectionum locorum allatorum. Pleraeque indoles mythologicae breviter disputabantur, sed traditio litteraria, quae spectat ad fabulum Abaridis atque “puellarum Hyperborearum” speciatim tractabantur. Quidam fontes litterariae in symbolā tractant analyysi inclusis adnotationibus philologicis locorum, qui sunt [Aristeas Epic.] fr. 11 Bernabé (hic locus interpretatione nominis Abaridis instigatur); Call. *Dian.* 204–5 (includitur allusio ad puellam Hyperborean, quae est Upis/Opis); Call. *Del.* 293–95 (hoc loco deliberatur de etymologia verbi Περφερέες; et ἐκεῖνοι in 295 bene se habet); Call. *Aet.* fr. 186.26–30 Pfeiffer (disputatio mythi Orioni atque Opidis); D.H. 1.43.1–2 (disputatio mythi ad Palanthonem et Heraclem spectantis); Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 frs. 7, 12 (disputatur differens nuntius de gubernatione Hyperboreica, qui in his duobus fragmentis praebetur); Hdt. 4.35 (interpretatio locutionis, quae est ᾧμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι); Iamb. *VH* 32.217 (opiniones exhibeae ab Abaride videntur similes esse eis prolatis in Heraclid. Pont. fr. 75 Wehrli); Verg. *Aen.* 11.857–58 (sententia, quam Opis profert, alludit ad mortem Orionis, quemadmodum invenitur apud Euphorionem, Callimachus atque pseudo-Apollodorum).

English summary

The individual Hyperboreans appearing in ancient literature are presented with a review of the Greek and Latin sources and collections of references. Most of the mythological characters are briefly discussed, but the literary evolution of the legends of Abaris and of the “Hyperborean maidens” are treated in some detail. Some of the literary sources receive scholarly treatment, the paper including philological notes on [Aristeas Epic.] fr. 11 Bernabé (the passage is inspired by an interpretation of the name Abaris); Call. *Dian.* 204–5 (includes an allusion to the Hyperborean maiden Upis/Opis); Call. *Del.* 293–95 (the passage hints at an etymology of the word Περφερέες; and ἐκεῖνοι in 295 is sound); Call. *Aet.* fr. 186.26–30 Pfeiffer (discussion of the myth of Orioni and Opis); D.H. 1.43.1–2 (discussion of the myth of Palantho and Heracles); Hecat.Abd. *FGrH* 264 frs. 7, 12 (discussion of the different information about the Hyperborean leadership that is given in the two fragments); Hdt. 4.35 (interpretation of the phrase ᾧμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι); Iamb. *VH* 32.217 (the stated opinions of Abaris seem similar to those professed in Heraclid. Pont. fr. 75 Wehrli); Verg. *Aen.* 11.857–58 (the utterance of Opis alludes to the death of Orion as presented in Euphorion, Callimachus and pseudo-Apollodorus).

Keywords