THE most beautiful of all the shining passages in which Plato has recorded for us the last days of Socrates is that in which the Sage, who was also the Seer and the Saint, compares himself to the Wild Swans who wait upon Apollo. Playfully at first, (but evidently the playfulness is only on the surface) he asks Simmias, whether he really thinks him inferior in prophetic power to the swans, or less able than they to greet the unseen with a song. "For they, who sing at other times also, when they feel that they are to die, sing most and best in their joy that they are to go to the god whose servants they are. . . . For they are Apollo's birds, and they have prophetic vision, and, because they have fore-knowledge of the blessings of the other world, they sing and rejoice in that day more than ever before."

With these birds Socrates compares himself, and, as if he were actually one of them, in the face of the River of Death,

"Ruffles his pure cold plume and takes the flood
With swarthy webs."

When one has read over, once and again, those noble words from the Phaedo, it seems almost a bathos to ask the commentators for a footnote, and to bid them tell us why the Swans are described as Apollo's Birds. Perhaps they do not know; and in that case they may tell us something we do not ask, as, for instance, that gods and goddesses have ornithological tastes, that Jupiter owns an Eagle and was, perhaps, once a Woodpecker; that Juno is or was a cuckoo; and that the doves of Aphrodite describe her simplicity, or some other quality. If, however, they are wise commentators, they will tell us
that there is a prior question to that of Apollo's Birds, and that is the
question of Apollo himself. Was he, perhaps, like Zeus, originally a
bird, or a bird-man, or even himself a Swan, the first and greatest of
the clan? So we may properly begin investigation, with the object of
elucidating the Socratic speech, by going in search of the god himself
whose servant Socrates professed to be.

Modern enquiries on this line have commonly accepted as a starting-
point the old Greek tradition, that Apollo was an importation from
Northern regions. The Greeks had much to say about his Hyper-
borean origin, and about Hyperboreans in general, who were supposed
to live in tranquil blessedness somewhere out of reach of verification,
and suitably placed, in consequence, for objects of faith. It is therefore
commonly said that the Fair God and the Happy Folk lived at the
Back of the North Wind, and many attempts have been made to
bring this interpretation of Hyperborean into the region of intelligibility.
One explanation was that it meant "on the other side of the
mountains"; and it has been suggested that Boreas himself might be
cognate with a Slavonic root, which actually does mean "mountain," in
which case the next step would be to say that Apollo was a migrant
deity from the other side of the Balkans. After all, the exact
etymology of Hyperboreans does not concern us; for, without
importing an unnatural subtlety into the meaning of the term, we may
recognise it as the equivalent of Far-north, and say that Apollo was
a deity from the Far North, without introducing the Balkans or any
particular chain of mountains into the discussion.

If this is the right way to regard the migrant deity, the question at
once arises whether the swans, who have attached themselves in some
way to his cult, may not be also migrant birds, with whom he was
acquainted in his Northern home, and did not lose by coming south.
To make the suggestion is almost to verify it; for the swan is a migrant
bird; and now, instead of leaving the swans in order to make an
intellectual pursuit of Apollo, we leave him, rather, and go in
ornithological search of the birds—on their way from Northern Europe
somewhere into Southern Europe, maybe even into Africa or Asia
Minor. And here the Phaedo, which was not meant to be a treatise
on ornithology, except as regards the preening of wings for a final flight
out of the dusk into the day, gives us a hint of a distinction in bird-life
of which the Greeks themselves appear to have been unaware. For
the swans in the *Phaedo* are musical birds; they sing always, and at last more than ever. But this is not so with the swans of our ornamental waters, for instance; they are domesticated and dumb; and they were dumb before they were domesticated. They are migrant, but have nothing to say for themselves, or about their wanderings. Thus there are two main species of swans, the musical and the mute; and they are perfectly distinct, as even a superficial examination of bill and feathers will show. The Greeks, however, do not seem to have observed this; or rather, having made observations which were contradictory, according to which one group said “the swan sings,” and another said, “the swan is mute,” it seemed more philosophical to form two schools on the question, without recourse to further experiment. The dispute went on for many centuries, and Gregory of Nazianzus even goes so far as to say that he will believe that swans sing, when magpies cease to chatter. Thus the matter is settled by a humorous epigram; and what more attractive method could be found for settling a problem, either in theology or in ornithology! If at a later date some natural philosopher should actually produce the swan notes on a phonograph, it will still be possible to say as Mr. D’Arcy Thompson does in his *Glossary of Greek Birds* (p. 107) that, if the creature does sing, it is in any case very bad music. So we settle the question with a musical *argumentum ad cysnum*. Dechelette (*Manuel d’Archéologie*, ii. 19, n.) is also among the “enraged musicians”; “il était célèbre auprès les Hellènes pour son chant mélodieux, alors qu’en réalité le cri du cygne ne justifie en rien cette réputation.” Let us, however, see how the swan-music impressed another critic when he heard it in the Far North. Mr. Baring Gould, who may be regarded as a good judge of music, if somewhat defective in scientific criticism, tells us that once when sleeping under a tent in Iceland, “I was wakened with a start by a wild triumphant strain as of clarions pealing from the sky. I crept from under canvas to look up, and saw a flight of the Hooper swans on their way to the lakes of the interior, high up, lit by the sun, like flakes of gold-leaf against the green sky of an arctic night.” Does not that ‘take both ear and eye?’ And is it unworthy of Apollo?

Plato’s swans then are the Wild Swans that sing: and now we have really taken a step forward in our search for them, and for the deity whom they serve: for the migrant swan is a creature of
practically unvarying habits. It nests in the same spot, year after year; and marks the stages of its northern or southern migration, on the same cliffs or islets. This is brought out incidentally by Walter Scott in his little poem on Highland Nora who would not marry the Earlie:

"Still in the water-lily's shade
   Her wonted nest the wild-swan made";

that is true to nature; and we may, therefore, go in search of the wonted nests and the habitual halts of the sacred bird, with the assurance that except where ruthless civilisation has made nesting or resting impossible, or when colder weather than usual has driven the birds from their normal line of flight, we shall find them on the same spots in the Far North, from which in prehistoric times they made their way into Middle Europe or the Mediterranean.¹

Now let us turn to the writers on Bird-lore for accounts of the Wild Swan and its ways. We shall find a number of ornithological authorities quoted in Morris, Dictionary of British Birds; or in Newton, Dictionary of Birds; or in Dresser, Birds of Europe, etc. etc. For example:

Newton, Dict. of Birds, p. 931:

"The Cygnus musicas or C. ferus of most authors, which was doubtless always a winter visitant to this country. . . . It usually appears in November, but is more frequently seen from December to March. . . . This entirely distinct species is a native of Iceland, Eastern Lapland and Northern Russia, whence it wanders southward in autumn, and the musical notes it utters (contrasting with the silence that has caused its relative to be often called the Mute Swan) have been celebrated from the time of Homer to our own."

Dresser, Birds of Europe, vi. 433, s. 99:

"It usually appears in November, but is more frequently seen from December to March. . . . The return of these fine birds in spring, on their passage northward, is occasionally remarked. . . . It usually arrives in the Outer Hebrides in November, though earlier than that in some years especially during the prevalence of Northerly winds, and about the middle of April, Mr. Robert Gray says, the noble congregation breaks up into detachments, as the Bernacle Geese are

¹Dresser: Birds of Europe, vi. 440: "In the vast, almost unapproachable morasses of the high north, its nest . . . is placed upon a tussock, and is used, should the bird not be molested, for several years in succession."
known to do; and after much sounding of bugles summoning the feathered hosts into the air, they soon get into their line of flight, and are afterwards seen at a great height steering for their northern home.”

According to Dr. Saxby (Birds of Shetland), “the Whooper arrives in large flocks in September and October, only staying long enough to rest; and it reappears sometimes as early as the end of February, but usually in March and April, on its passage northward. . . ."

The range of its migrations in Europe, apart from the British Isles, is summed up by Morris as follows:—

“The Hooper [i.e. the Whooper or musical] Swan visits Prussia, Turkey, Greece, Hungary, Poland, France, Denmark, Holland and Italy; occasionally seen also in different parts of Germany, particularly it is said in Westphalia, Saxony, Dessau, and Wörlitz, from its northern breeding grounds in Iceland, Norway, Lapland, Sweden, Spitzbergen, and the extreme north of Russia in Europe; it appears now to be only a straggler to Greenland; it appears likewise that it travels as far as Africa, to Egypt and Barbary. . . . They migrate, according to the season, in March or April, and October, northward in the former months, and southward in the later one.”

This rapid survey will indicate what we are to go in quest of, when Greek writers speak of the Wild Swan and its music and of the connection of the bird with the service and the rites of Apollo. So we turn now to the Greek literature.

A good place to begin will be the first chorus in the Ion of Euripides, where the hero is scaring away, by his bow and arrow, the flights of birds, great and small, who ineditate a descent on the cornice of the temple at Delphi. Having driven off the eagle, he next, to our surprise, orders off the swan and bids it “away to Delos,” as not being wanted here in Delphi; here are the lines in Mr. Way’s translation:

‘Lo, yonder the pinion-oars come rowing
Of another, a swan, to the altar:—away!
Speed hence thy feet in the dawn of rose-glowing;
Else Phoebus’ lyre that accordeth its lay
To thy notes, from death shall redeem not thee.
Waft outward thy wings of snow:
Light down on the Delian mere oversea,
Lest the blood-rush choke, if thou do not so,
Thy sweet throat’s melody.’"
The important point to notice here is the seeming contradiction in the choric song. The swan is not wanted in Delphi: he can go to Delos: that is, from one temple of Apollo to the other, as though he were, and were not, the bird of Apollo; then a surprising statement is made that the lyre of Apollo is itself tuned to the song of the swan; so friendly relations are restored in the musical world, when they seem to be lost or doubtful, in the world of religion. What does Ion mean by the harmony in question,

ά φόρμυγξ ά Φοίβου σύμμολπος?

Suppose we turn to Hecatæus, whose account of the elusive Hyperboreans is preserved for us in Diodorus Siculus. From him we learn that there is in the Far North a people who live on a certain island and worship Apollo in a round temple; they are on very friendly terms, from early times, with the Athenians and the people of Delos. Hecatæus tells us that Apollo himself comes to the island every nineteen years, and that then they begin their choral service at the spring equinox, and that the wild swans come down from the Rhipæan mountains, and join their notes harmoniously with the human voices.

The importance of these statements must be conceded: they establish, so far as tradition can, the existence of an island in which there was a cult of Apollo, and also that the inhabitants of this island were in touch by religious embassy with Greece itself, and with Delos as the ultimate centre to be reached, Apollo in the North or North-West being thus linked with Apollo in the South-East. In fact Hecatæus tells us the history of one particular embassy, to which we shall refer presently, when a certain priest of Apollo left his island sanctuary, visited the sacred shrines in Greece, and became, so they say, a disciple of Pythagoras. Hecatæus gives also some astronomical and ornithological data, as that there was a nineteen-year cycle involved in the ritual, and that there was a migration of wild swans at the spring equinox. It is customary to regard as unimportant the reference to the nineteen-year cycle, as being borrowed from the Metonic cycle at Athens. Meton is, in fact, credited with having discovered, in the fifth century before Christ that nineteen Solar years were almost exactly equal to 235 lunations; so that if, for example, it was full moon at sunset at the spring equinox in any given year, it would again be full moon at the same hour in nineteen years' time. It
should, perhaps, be left open for further enquiry as to whether the Metonic cycle may not be older than Meton; for the Hyperborean temple is suspiciously like a Solar temple, accurately oriented, in which case discoveries might be made as to the coincidence of sun and moon, without actual numerical calculation.

However that may be, no doubt can exist with regard to the equinox and the migration of the wild swans, because they take part in the musical ritual of the temple, and the equinox that dates their arrival is said to be the spring equinox, which is roughly the time when the birds are moving northward into the Arctic regions for the breeding season. A difficulty arises from the statement that the swans come down from the Rhipæan, which we might otherwise suppose to be the Norwegian mountains: but as we do not know the exact geographical position of these mountains, we may leave them out of the story. It must be remembered, too, that Scandinavia itself (like California in a later age) was believed to be an island by the ancients and is, therefore, not prohibited from putting in a claim for identification with Hyperborea.

For our purpose the most important element in the tradition is the descent of the wild swans on the temple of Apollo; we need no further explanation why they are Apollo's birds nor why their songs are said to blend with the lyrics of the temple. What Hecataeus tells us of the Apolline sanctuary is repeated, more or less concordantly, by Ἀλειαῖον; it is interesting to examine his statements, on account of the stress which is laid on the rhythmic and choral harmony between the piping birds and the temple music: it was this concord to which we drew attention in the chorus of Euripides' Ion where Phoebus himself is said to have attuned his lyre to the swan-song. In Ἀλειαῖον as we have said, we get the same emphasis laid on the concord of sweet sounds, and where Euripides speaks of a φόρμιγξ σύμμολπος Ἀλειαῖον has the cognate expression συναναμέληπτον. They are both of them, Euripides and Ἀλειαῖον, in the Hyperborean tradition.

What Ἀλειαῖον tells us (Hist. Anim., x. 1), is to the following effect: "there are three priests in the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo, all sons of Boreas and Chione (the North Wind and our Lady of the Snows), six cubits high, each one of them. At the regular season of the year when they are conducting the customary rites, the swans fly down in clouds from the Rhipæan mountains, they
sweep round the temple, almost as though they were making a ceremonial purification of the building with their wings, and then they alight in the circuit of the sanctuary. When the songmen hymn the god in their own art, and the harpists are twangling a harmonious accompaniment, the swans make their concordant music (συμαναμέλπουσιν) not losing time or tune, as though they had got the keynote from the choir conductor, and were joining their natural music with that of the artists of the sacred minstrelsy; and then, when the hymn ends, away they fly, having discharged the wonted service in honour of the god.”

No doubt Ælian is following Hecataeus: he says so; but in any case he gives as vivid a picture as could be wished of the migrating birds and their part in the Easter Hyperborean festival. They were chanting to Apollo, they were singing with Apollo; even the rush of their wings was a kind of music. As Aristophanes says,

(Av., 771), συμμιγγή βοην ὁμοῦ πτεροῖς κρέκοντες ἰακχον Ἄπολλω.

Now let us go a little further in quest of the Hyperboreans and in the attempt to locate them and to find the northern temple of Apollo.

Of the Far-North men themselves we have a single figure identifiable in the Greek tradition. We have already referred to one Abaris, who came into Greece on a religious and political mission. Hecataeus says that it was to revive the ancient goodwill and kinship (εὔνοιαν τε καὶ εὐγένειαν) between the Hyperboreans and the Delians. The mission was from temple of Apollo to temple of Apollo, and was, therefore, analogous to those trans-European expeditions of which Herodotus speaks, which brought the sacred gifts of the North in mysterious tabooed packages through Scythian lands to Delphi and Delos. And Abaris himself is stated to have been a priest of Apollo, of venerable age and corresponding wisdom. Herodotus, who knows the traditions about him, is wickedly sceptical, and leaves us without the information he evidently possesses. So we are obliged to seek it elsewhere from much later authorities, such as Stephanus of Byzantium, the geographer, and Jamblichus and Porphyry in their closely related Lives of Pythagoras. From the former we learn, with Hecateus again as the ultimate authority, that the name of the island on which the temple stood was Helixoia, with some other information
about its position; from the two philosophers we learn many details about Abaris, his priesthood, his wisdom, his long journey and his intercourse with Pythagoras. It appears that he went to Greece, not only to give but to get. He was collecting money for Apollo at home (τὸν ἄγερθέντα χρυσὸν τῷ θεῷ); he came home, so it is said, via Italy, and there he came across Pythagoras. He was so struck with the resemblance of the great philosopher to the representation of Apollo which he had at home (some carved wooden image or what not), that he saluted him as Apollo, and underwent some kind of initiation, which we may imagine to have been in elementary mathematics and vegetarianism. In the latter direction, however, he must have had limited opportunity for practice, for Herodotus suggests that he did not eat at all, in which case the problem of dietetics was much simplified. He then gave to Pythagoras his greatest treasure, the golden arrow which he had brought from the temple at home. This arrow had been his guide, philosopher, and friend: he had crossed rivers on its back, and traversed forests and morasses by its aid: it had also purificatory powers, could drive away distempers, subdue tempests, and furnish blessings to the cities which he visited. Apparently these powers were now transferred to Pythagoras as Apollo. The whole recitation is full of marvel, and Herodotus ought not to have disbelieved it. Another form of the arrow-magic (the arrow itself reminds us of a witch’s broomstick) says that Pythagoras shared these powers with three of his greatest disciples, viz., Empedocles, Epimenides and Abaris; Empedocles was known as the Averter, Epimenides as the Cathartic (was he not once summoned to Athens to stay a plague?) and Abaris was called Aethrobares, because he could ride the air on his arrow. We note that the golden arrow was part of the temple furniture in Helixoia. But where is Helixoia? Jamblichus calls Abaris a Scythian, which does not, to our ordinary apprehension connote an islander, and to readers of Herodotus, hardly suggests a Far-North man.

We turn to Stephanus of Byzantium; as we have said, he is quoting from Hecateus: he tells us that Helixoia is as large as Sicily and that it lies below the river Karambuka. The islanders are called Karambukaæ after the name of the river, as Hecateus of Abdera states. Here, then, is more geography and more perplexity. It must be a big river that gives its name to the inhabitants of a great island in
the northern sea. Is it Great Britain, with Stonehenge for the necessary solar temple? or is it Heligoland, now much eroded by the sea, but, at one time of a greater compass, as old maps show. It, too, had a famous temple, which stood till it was destroyed by St. Liudger, in the Christian interest. This was a temple of Fosete, the son of Balder and Nanna, and the ancestor of all our Forsyth and Fawcett and Balder-son clans; and it has been conjectured that Balder, who thus comes on the scene, is the Northern Apollo. Or perhaps it may be Scandinavia, which, as was said above, was thought by the ancients to be an island and has the tradition of one of the great pagan temples of antiquity. Or there is the island of Rügen, which has much to recommend it as an identification; it also has a temple which was destroyed by Waldemar I, the Christian King of Denmark; it lies not very far from Dantzig whence the Amber Routes start for the Adriatic and the Black Sea, routes which are supposed to be the Sacred Roads of Apollo: and best of all, it is still a resting-place for the wild swans in their northerly and southerly migrations. They are said to have been on Rügen in great numbers in October, 1852, on their southward flight.

Another possible identification of the sacred island of Apollo and his birds may be found in the outer Hebrides. In Martin’s Description of the Western Isles (1705), we are told of the island Lingay (one of the Uist group) that “the Swans come hither in great numbers in the month of October, with North-East Winds, and live in the fresh Lakes, where they feed on Trout and Water plants till March, at which time they fly away again with a South-East Wind.”

Martin further remarks (which makes an excellent illustration for our quest) that “this Island was held as consecrated for several Ages, in so much that the Natives would not presume to cut any [peat] Fuel in it.”

These are the directions in which we are to look for the lost Hyperboreans.

Turning again to Stephanus of Byzantium, we notice that the termination of the name is not unlike those of the islands in the Odyssey; there is Ἑaea, the island of Kirkē, there is Hypereia, the home of Nausicaa; and Ogygia the haunt of Kalypso; these are not Mediterranean names; probably a large part of Odyssean geography comes from the North Sea; the termination of the island names is the
Norse *ey* (Orkney *ay*) with which we are familiar. Kirkè's island, *ay-ay*, is a mere reduplication;¹ *Hypereia* probably stands for an original *Upper-ey*, and so on. Is it possible to resolve *Helixoia* into *Heligs-ey*? That would bring us very near to Helig-oland,² about whose original form there has been much dispute. The case will be clearer if we can show that the wild swans make Heligoland one of their resting-places on migration.

Let us see what Gätke says of Heligoland, as a centre for the observation of the migration of birds, a study to which he devoted fifty years of his life. We transcribe a passage from the chapter on the "Course of Migration in Heligoland," in order to give some idea of the central position of the island for ornithological study. The writer is making a record for a time of severe frost.

"Countless multitudes of all sorts of species are seen speeding towards all parts, and in all directions, in companies great and small, solitary and in pairs. Indeed I have known days on which I have seen, far as the eye could reach, in all quarters of the sky, swarms of these birds crossing each other in all directions; and more astonishing still, on looking upward, have beheld above me a teeming multitude, so thick that the highest swarms presented the appearance of scarcely discernible clouds of dust. . . . Nowhere does the quick observant eye find rest. Suddenly are heard—first faintly, then in increasing loudness—sounds like distant trumpet-blasts, and once more our eyes are attracted upwards, where a long chain of Whooper Swans, eighteen or twenty in number, in snow-white plumage, calmly pursue their way with measured beating of their wings."³

When Gätke comes to describe in detail the various birds that visit Heligoland, he says (p. 519): "This swan [the musical swan] occurs here more or less numerously every winter, being most frequently seen during long-continued frost; on such occasions it is not uncommon

¹ We have something like it in the Hebrides, where the maps show the island of Egg: *Egg* (*Eogh*) is a collateral form of the Norse *Ey* which is the first syllable in Island, in which word, as is well-known, the letter *s* is intrusive. A similar case in Islay, where again the *s* is recent and intrusive, and the name a reduplication. Lund-y (*Puffin island*) is another case.

² *Oland* is the same as *Aland* both of which forms occur in the Gulf of Bothnia, and mean again Island.

³ *Heligoland, an ornithological observatory* (Eng. trans., 1895), pp. 21-22.
to see flights of ten, twenty or even much larger numbers migrating high overhead in a long row one behind the other, uttering loud trumpet-calls as they pass along.”

That will be the observation of the southerly migration. I have not found any corresponding reference to the spring migration in the opposite direction. It is however, a necessary complement to the other; and we may, therefore, take it as established that Heligoland is one of the stations frequented by the migrating swan of Apollo, and that the accounts which Hecataeus and other Greek writers give of the Hyperborean swan are based upon actual observation made on an island in the Northern sea, and that it is highly probable that Heligoland is the island to which they refer.

Now let us return and examine the Greek tradition somewhat more closely.

There is a central figure in the story, named Abaris, a man of venerable age, honorable by station as a priest of Apollo, and endowed with various magical and prophetical powers. He is said to have carried with him through Europe a magical golden arrow taken from the temple of Apollo, in Heligoland, or wherever it was, and transferred it to the keeping of Pythagoras the philosopher, in whom Abaris recognised an incarnation of Apollo himself. The arrow was Apollo’s arrow, as the swans were Apollo’s birds. The conjunction of Apollo and the arrow is sufficiently familiar to every student of Greek antiquity, whether in literature or in art. Both Apollo and Artemis are archers and carry their weapons about with them. We are not surprised, therefore, that Abaris, as a priest of Apollo, should have carried the sacred symbol, but we question if students have sufficiently realised the significance of the arrow in the tradition with regard to Apollo. For example, we have already referred to a chorus in the Ion of Euripides, in which the lyre of Apollo is harmonious with the song of the wild swans. Ion, who is temple-warden to Apollo, appears on the stage with bow and arrow, threatens the birds, even the eagle and the swan, when they propose to alight on the sanctuary. A little later, when Xuthus comes forward to greet Ion with a paternal salutation, as directed by the Oracle, Ion becomes angry, and is on the point of lodging an arrow in the breast of his newly-assigned father. It will be admitted that there is some parallel between Abaris, with the temple arrow, and
Ion at Delphi. So the thought arises whether the name Ion does not contain a reference to the Greek word for arrow (ἰός) in which case Ion would be the Arrow-man, acting as deputy for Phœbus Apollo, and his weapon would be a temple weapon.¹

In that event Euripides must be held to have acquaintance with the meaning of his hero's name, but he hides his knowledge, and constructs an etymological myth. The god has informed Xuthus, who has come to him lamenting his childless condition, that the first person whom he meets when he goes from the oracle to the sanctuary is designed for his son. He is playing with the participle ἔων (going), neglecting the quantity of the vowel, which is long in ἰός (arrow) and short in the verb. After that explanation, he will offer another, namely, that Ion is to be the father of the Ionian race in Asia Minor. It will be convenient to set down the principal passages.

In the opening speech Hermes explains how Apollo, who has Ion under his patronage, is planning the youth's future:

δώσει γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μαντεῖον τόδε
Ξεύθρο τοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖδα . . .
"Ἰωνα δ' αὐτὸν, κτίστορ 'Ἀσιάδος χθονός,
ὁνόμα κεκλησθαί δήσεται καθ' Ἑλλάδα.

He shall give Xuthus, when he entereth
His own child. . . .
And Ion shall he cause him to be called
Through Greece, the founder of an Asian realm.

Here we should have expected εἰσοώντι for εἰσελθόντι, if the new name of the child is to be justified; but perhaps we may allow a certain reticence to Hermes, who must not let the secret be known too soon. Later in the play (l. 661) Xuthus fulfils the oracle and says:

"Ἰωνα δ' ὄνομάζω σε τῇ τύχῃ πρέπον,
δούνεκ' ἀδύτων ἐξιόντει μοι θεοῦ
'ιχνος συνήψαι πρώτος.

Ion I name thee, of that happy chance
In that, as forth Apollo's shrine I came,
First lighted Ion thee.

—(Way)

¹ An illuminating parallel may be found in the Delphic festival of Stepterion, where the conflict between Apollo and the Python was dramatically enacted, and a youth of noble birth played the part of Apollo and shot the serpent with his arrow. (See A. B. Cook, Folklore, 1904, xv., p. 403 f. for references.)
and again, the play on the name is brought out in full simplicity in l. 831:

'Ἰών, ἵνα δῆθεν ὅτι συνήπτετο,

where Mr. Way ingeniously transfers, as in the previous case, the word-play into English,

Ion-set eye on him the first, forsooth.

It need hardly be said that this is all "rude magic" of the great tragedian. The name Ion was never connected with the verb to go, either in going out or in going in, nor is it a patronymic of the Ionian race. It seems, then, probable that Euripides knew more than he actually reveals. The temple warden at Delphi was the arrow-man. Was the same thing true of Abaris who, in the Hyperborean legend, played tricks with the temple-arrow? To answer this question we must go deeper and ask why an arrow should be a sacred symbol at all, and in particular, why of Apollo and Artemis. To this there will be ready answers from various quarters, as that divination by arrows is one of the oldest forms of mantic, and that Apollo is represented as engaged on this special kind of divination on certain Greek coins, such as those of the Seleucid kings. Others will show from the Greek literature that Apollo as god of light and practically equivalent to the Sun himself, sends out his beams like arrows, far and wide, all over the world. It is not denied that these are good illustrations for Apollo and his arrow. Suppose, however, we imagine a more primitive state of human culture; for, after all, the discovery of the use of the arrow is one of the forward steps in human progress. What is the difference between the man who shoots an arrow and the one who can only throw a stone or a javelin? The answer is that he can throw further, he can operate at a greater distance. If now the hero who discovers the method of propulsion of an arrow from a string obtains his just deserts, what more likely than that he will be described as the Far-thrower, or Farthest-thrower, or Far-worker? And these are the actual titles of Apollo in Greek Mythology: the perplexing names ἐκατηβόλος or ἐκηβόλος or ἐκάργυρος which we usually render, when they occur in Homer, as Far-darter and the like, with a reference to the rays of the sun. They are really the complimentary titles of the inventor of the arrow. In them we recognise the reason for the historic connection between Apollo and the arrow, and for its preservation in his Northern Temple.
The suggestion also arises as to whether Ion is the name, not only of Apollo’s temple-warden at Delphi, but also of Apollo himself. If it were so, it would explain, at least in part, the vociferation ‘Iē Παῖαν, with which the worshippers greet the god, ιέ being a vocative formation from ιός arrow, and not a mere senseless interjection. The very appearance of Ion, on the temple-platform at Delphi, in Euripides’ play, youthful, beautiful, with his bow and arrow, suggests that he is the incarnation of Apollo.

We now return to Abaris and ask whether by name, and priesthood, or by his arrow, he is in any way related to Apollo. The first examination does not seem very promising. No vocable implying either “bow” or “arrow” suggests itself, as in the case of Ion. Herodotus (iv. 36) says that Abaris carried about (περιέβαλε) the sacred arrow, and ate nothing (νυσώκετο συνεόμενος). The word “carried about” suggests the ambassadors to Delos, from the north, who were called Perpherees, because they brought the sacred gifts and had charge of the sacred maidens.

But what does it mean that Abaris, who had charge of the arrow, ate nothing? Northern mythology furnishes an explanation. Mr. A. B. Cook has shown, in articles on the Sky-god in Folklore, that the food of the northern gods was from the sacred apple-tree, and that, when one was provided with this nutriment, he became, like the gods, regenerated and immortal. For example, in the story of Connla the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple; he then goes for a month without meat or drink, living only on the magic apple which is renewed again as fast as it is eaten. Can we find any trace of a belief that Abaris had been supplied with such magic apples from the temple of Apollo? There is something suggestive of it in a fragment of Heracleides Ponticus (Bekker, Anecd. Gr., i. 145; 22 ff.) to which Mr. Cook has drawn my attention. The writer is telling of matters pertaining to Abaris, and says that the divinity took the form of a young man, and laid the tree upon him (Abaris) with injunction to believe that, as far as possible, the gods interest themselves in human

1 The suggestion that Ion was a name for Apollo had already been made by others, interpreting Ion as the healer from Ιάω, see Gruppe, Gr. Myth., ii. 7409, “Wahrscheinlich ist Ια-F-ov, Ιαv, der Heiler, alte Kultzeichnung des Apollon”. So Pape-Benseler, Wört. der Gr. Eigennamen, i. 583.
affairs. If, as seems likely, the young divinity here is Apollo, the tree would be the apple-tree, sacred to Apollo, and at the foundation of his cult. Abaris would then be carrying sacred apples with him. We suspect, also, from other sources, that among the sacred gifts despatched to Delos and Delphi were sacred apples packed in straw. It would therefore be quite natural for Abaris to eat the fruit of the immortal gods on his embassy, and, in consequence, like Connla the Red, to be without desire for any other food. The identification would be practically complete, if we could have made a satisfactory explanation of the name Abaris from an earlier form Abalis; in which case we should have the sacred-apple (abād) incorporated in the name of the priest and messenger of Apollo. But to this attractive solution there are serious objections; the change from l to r does not appear to be attested in Western philology; though, in the opposite direction, place-names show some variation of r to l: there is also a difficulty about the termination of the name.

However that may be, we have before us the probability that both arrow and apple are among the great sanctities of Northern Europe: the discovery of the one and the first culture of the other may be traced to the Baltic and the North Sea. Each of them is under the patronage of Apollo. With the addition of the sacred bird and perhaps a plant or two, they constitute his religious apparatus. Both apple and arrow can be shown to have a place in the great art of divination.

The explanation of the discovery of the arrow as being the conquest of distance, by the hunter in the first place, and later by the warrior, can be illustrated from a statement of Sir John Evans in his Ancient Stone Implements:

P. 321. “The discovery of the bow, as a means of propelling javelins on a small scale to a distance, seems to belong to a higher grade of culture, and its use is not universal among modern savages. . . . In Europe, however, the use of the bow seems to date back to a very remote period, for in some of the cave deposits of the Reindeer Period of the South of France, what appear to be undoubted arrow-heads occur.”

1 We may assume that this fragment of Heracleides on the story of Abaris is taken from the same source as our other Hyperborean legends, viz., the writings of Hecataeus. That would at once explain who the youthful divinity was, and what the nature of the sacred tree.
The advance step in culture is thus affirmed to be, as we have said, the conquest of distance, and we may continue to call Apollo the *Far-darter*, if we remember that at the beginning the *dart* was a real dart, what the Greeks would call a *βέλος*, and not a symbol or a sunbeam. It is clear now why in the Orphic Hymn Apollo is addressed as *χρυσοβέλεμυ*, *He of the Golden Missile*.

We may conclude with one or two reflections as to the probability of the acquaintance of Euripides, when writing his drama, with the story of Hecateus concerning the Hyperboreans. The opening scene on the sacred platform at Delphi where the lovely youth appears, carrying the temple bow and arrow, tells us, even before Hermes speaks, that Ion is Apollo, or as near to an exact equation as the stage can furnish; and the emphasis which Euripides lays on the sacred arrow in these opening scenes shows that he knew of another derivation for Ion, than the foolish oracular bit of grammar and unnatural present participle. We have also seen that he describes the swan-song in terms borrowed from Hecataeus. Indeed we not only detect traces of Hecateus in the opening of the play; we suspect that the moral of the drama may be found in the same quarter. We have already quoted from a fragment of Heraclides Ponticus, which appears to derive from the same source as Herodotus and the other authors who discourse on Hyperborea and the Hyperboreans, viz.: the writings of Hecateus. Here, then, we are told that it was the word of Apollo to Abaris that *one must believe that the gods have a concern for human affairs*. The same sentiment is involved in the message of Apollo through Athena to Ion and his mother, at the close of the play. Athena shows how Apollo had done all things well, in his oversight of the mother and the son; whereupon Ion breaks out with a *πιστευομεν* in response to the narration by Athena of the providence over his mother and himself:

"Pallas, Daughter of the Highest, child of Zeus, we will receive
These thy words with no unfaith, but Loxias I do believe
Sire to me, and her my mother: *never was this past belief*":

to which confession of faith the sceptical Creusa also gives her reluctant consent, and Athena moralises that

"Slow the Gods' hands haply are, but mightily at last fulfil."
We may now add some observations in confirmation of the foregoing argument.

First of all we have made it plain that the word Far-darter belongs in the first instance to Apollo and his arrow and only in a secondary way to Helios and his beams. The kinship between Helios and Apollo is, however, so close that they even shared sanctities and divided ritual honours. There must, therefore be a point of view from which Helios and Apollo are the same. Perhaps it was the comparison of the Sun to a golden apple in the firmament that caused the identification and led to the participation in honours.

Now let us turn to a fragment of the lyric poet Timotheus: we find a striking example of the fusion of the two divinities in the following lines:

\[
\text{Apollo-Helios}\nn\text{σύ τ' Ω τον ἄει πόλον οὐράνιον
λαμπραῖς ἥκτίσων Ἀλε βᾶλλων,
πέμπου ἐκαβάλλον ἐθροῖς βέλος}
σάς ἀπὸ νευρᾶς, Ω εἰ παιαν.\]


Here Helios, who is always striking the pole of the heaven with his rays, is invoked, as Apollo, to send his far-darting dart from his string: the language shows that the arrows are the primary missiles, and the solar rays are secondary; and the assonance between the Far-darter and the dart makes it clear that the Apolline title was bestowed, when the dart became an arrow. Thus the arrow is the true symbol of Apollo.

The adjectives which are applied to the god confirm this conclusion; e.g., Apollo is addressed as

\[\text{ἐκηβόλε, τοξοβέλεμε}\]

—Orphic Hymn, 34.

Nor should we fail to note that in the line quoted, and in all the early Hyperborean references, the “arrow” is still a “missile” (βέλος), not yet differentiated by title from a javelin or a “dart.” In a fragment, for instance, of Lycurgus, we are told that Abaris went all round Hellas with the arrow which was the token of Apollo (μετὰ τοῦ βέλους) and used it for purposes of Divination (κρατῶν
The golden arrow which Hecateus tells us Abaris took from the temple of Apollo in Hyperborea is, of course, responsible for the title χρυσόβελεμνε given to the god in the Orphic hymns.

With regard to Abaris himself we are still in somewhat of a perplexity over his name. It would be natural to suppose that it represented his relation to Apollo, or to some function or property of Apollo, such as his arrow, his apple, his swan, or his divining rod. For instance, the name Abaris appears to be a parallel to Τοξαρίς, but where shall we find anything relating to Apollo in the stem Aba-? Perhaps it may help us that one of the most famous centres of divination by the oracle of Apollo was at Abai on the Malian gulf, in which case we should have identified the last station on the Sacred Way leading to Delphi. This would be parallel to Apollonia on the Gulf of Corinth for the Via Sacra from the West. But how can Abai denote Apollo or his properties? Hesychius suggests that "Αβαρις = τρόχος, so that perhaps it is the solar wheel that is involved, which is so often represented on pre-historic monuments. This is, as yet, too uncertain a parallel, to justify the use of the "wheel" for the explanation of our ambassador's name: so we leave the matter for future elucidation.

A question may be asked with regard to the island Helixoia, which we have provisionally identified with Heligoland. How could Hecateus or his sources ever have said that Heligoland was larger than Sicily; what did they know of the size of Sicily, or he of the size of Heligoland? Even if we allow for centuries of erosion, Heligoland would still be an island for wild birds rather than for civilized man. We suggest that Hecateus got confused in his geography between Heligoland and Great Britain. In the ancient maps, our island is a three-cornered affair, exactly like Sicily, and certain on that account to have invited comparison with the other Trinacria. In many ways it would have suited us to identify Great Britain as Helixoia, for then Stonehenge would have been the Solar temple; but there is no reason to suppose that the Wild Swans ever
frequented the Wiltshire downs. So we suggest that Hecataeus made a mistake in transcribing his geographical notes.

What he said of Sicily may be important, if a comparison was really made between the one island and the other. Here is something that suggests an early invasion of the Mediterranean by the Kelts. The name of the Land’s End in the earliest Greek geographers is Belerion, which is preserved in modern nomenclature as Pelurrian. The promontory of Sicily which runs out at the Straits of Messina is known to the Greeks as Pelōron: it has been commonly supposed that this name (the Monster) referred to Scylla on the opposite shore:¹ it is, however, suspiciously like a Keltic importation.

The perception that the arrow was a distance weapon, was suggested by Preller, Griechische Mythologie, ii. 290: "Apollon ist immer vorzugsweise der Schütze, der Ferntreffer, d. h. der aus der Ferne sicher Treffende geblieben, daher die alten Beinamen u. s. w." There does not appear, however, to be any idea, on Preller’s part, that the prominence given to the arrow was an evolutionary necessity, or that it marked a forward step in civilisation.

II. APOLLO, HELIOS AND HERAKLES.

Our previous investigation into the relation between Apollo and the Swans of whom he is the patron has restored to reality a number of traditions which appeared to be wholly legendary. We have shown that the swans were real swans, who found one of their points of migration on a real island, where there was a temple of a deity, a god who, like the swans, was himself a migrant from Northern seas to Southern lands and shrines (probably from Heligoland to Delphi and Delos).

In this Northern temple there was a divinised arrow, a golden arrow, the symbol, no doubt, of the god worshipped there, who may be taken as the apotheosis of that hunter-inventor to whom civilisation owes the weapon in question, and who is named after it the Far-darter (έκατερβόλος) or Far-operator (έκαέργος). Having then thrown some light upon the god of light, we now propose to cast a ray or two upon the Sun himself, considered as a natural object of adoration.

¹ Cf. Homer: Od. 1257 αὕτη δ’ αὑτε πέλωρ κακόν.
It is well known that in Greek Mythology, Apollo and Helios are closely related deities, in fact almost interchangeable, so that their cults exist side by side, and sometimes their sanctuaries are common. This dual relationship is a difficult one to explain. My first thought (and it may after all be correct) was that, as I had proved the equivalence, in a former enquiry, of Apollo and the Apple-tree, it was permissible to consider that the Sun itself might, to the primitive mind, look like a great apple hung in the firmament. This not unnatural hypothesis appeared to have a philological confirmation in the fact that, according to Hesychius, the name of Helios in Cretan was ἄβελεος, which seemed to be very near that of Apollo in certain areas, as, for instance, when he is called Abellio in the Pyrenees. My learned friends, however, protest against this identification, so we are left with our hypothetical apple-tree unproped by the supports of etymology. This does not mean that the hypothesis is unsupported or unsupportable; there may be confirmation in other directions for the Solar Apple.

In this, and in similar quests, (as we need to remind ourselves and others) we are working on a paucity of material with a plenitude of imagination. Our written documents are a handful of traditions (like those we dealt with from Hecataeus regarding the Hyperboreans and the priest-ambassador Abaris), plus a collection of carved symbols relating to the Solar or the Apolline cults. But the documents, though not voluminous, may bear valuable matter.

For instance, we find, on the monuments of certain prehistoric tribes, delineations, on the same stone, of the solar wheel or disc and of the swan whom we have already identified with the worship of Apollo. The swan, then, is common property in two cults, and we have another confirmation of the equivalence of Apollo and Helios. But where shall we turn to for supporting proof when the anthropologist fails us, and tombs and monuments and rock-carvings are scanned in vain? The answer is that we fall back on Folk-lore, and learn to rewrite into intelligible and modern forms the tales which are told of all mankind, from China to Peru.

The process has its pitfalls, and we enter upon our present enquiry with feelings akin to those of the storm-tost mariners in the Acts of the Apostles, who were afraid that they might be driven on to the African sand-banks: for us the dread is the great Syrtis of Max-müllerism, where the carcases of many a tall ship lie buried. Heaven help us if
we are drifting that way! Here is a little tale which is told in the Bukovina, and is to be found in the *Bukowinaer Tales and Legends* of Von Wlislocki.

There was a golden-haired youth of such beauty that his parents thought he had all the characteristics of a Solar Hero, that he was, in fact, more than a prince, being the incarnation of Heaven itself. His parents dreamt that a girl all dressed in red came to them and said that, if they wanted their son to be the Solar Hero in deed, and not only in name, they should let him go and search for the Tree of the Sun, and when he found it, pluck a golden apple and bring it home. The prince searched and at last found the tree, and the girl in red appeared to him and told him to guard it nine days and nine nights from the ravages of two black wolves. If he did not succeed, the Sun would kill him. On the eighth day he failed and fell asleep and the tree was damaged, but a fairy had put all things, except one, under a spell not to kill him, and the Sun had only one instrument to use against him. In the end, however, when hunting he stooped to drink, and a crab, (the only thing not under the spell) tore out his tongue and he died.

When we hear a tale of this kind, we at once recognise some threads of familiar narrative. How like the Prince is, in some respects, to Balder the Beautiful, whose life was talismaned against the ill-will of all creatures, except the mistletoe! This is curious, and to us significant, for Balder is our Northern Apollo.

But there is more in the tale than that. The Sun appears in possession of a tree with golden apples on it, which the Solar Hero is to plunder. In our study entitled the *Origin of the Cult of Apollo* we showed that Balder was etymologically the same thing as Apple-Tree, and that the beautiful Balder was the northern Apollo. Here then, in the Bukovina, we find, in combination, the Sun, the Sun-Hero, the Apple-tree, and the Apple-God. The concurrence of the elements in the story can be explained at once by our hypothesis that the Sun is itself a red apple on the top of an apple-tree.

Naturally, such a fruit in such a position lends itself to the creation of the myth as to its being the food of the gods. Happy the man who can attain to it: its self is food and eke drink, it is the northern ambrosia and nectar.

1 Also in Andrew Lang's *Yellow Fairy-Book.*
When we ask how this tree is to be found and how robbed, another Solar Hero comes on the scene. Who has not heard of the golden apples that grew in the West, in a garden watched by a great serpent, and tended by three or four fair-maids; Heracles he hight, that must find that tree, in the Atlas mountain or wherever it might be. That is one story of Heracles and his apple-hunting. But there is another which comes nearer to the original form. Heracles is said, by the Greeks, to have, once upon a time, endeavoured to shoot the sun. He threatened him with his arrow, whereupon the Luminary, to make peace with the aggressor, and prevent the light of man from extinction, lends Heracles the golden boat in which he made his nocturnal journey by the ocean stream from West to East. When we recall the other story of Heracles going to the West in search of apples, it is not unreasonable to suggest that his intention was to bring that Solar apple down by a well-directed shot. Thus Heracles is introduced into the cycle of Solar Myths, and grouped with Helios and Apollo, and Balder and the Apple-Tree.

The latter story is so important for our enquiry that we must examine it more in detail. In passing we remark that the fancy of shooting the sky is found elsewhere. Herodotus tells us that the Getae in Thracia used to shoot their arrows heavenward in threat to the god, believing that they could, in this way, kill the Thunder and Lightning. But to return to Herakles: the story of his relations with Helios is as follows: Heracles drew his bow on the Sun as if he were going to shoot, and Helios bid him desist, which he did, under fear of Helios. Thereupon Helios compensated him by giving him the golden cup (δέσπας) in which he and his horses used to go on the Ocean tract from West to East. The story, of course, has embellishments. Not knowing why Herakles should want to shoot the Sun, one writer suggests that he lost his temper from being over-heated. Another suggests that Herakles got the cup through the intervention of Oceanus himself, presumably because he was, as the all-night pilot of Helios,

1 This suggestion I owe to Mr. A. B. Cook.
2 Herod. 4, 94. οὕτωι δὲ αὐτὸι Θρήκες καὶ πρὸς βροντῆν τε καὶ ἄστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἀνώ πρὸς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀπειλεῖσθι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεῷ νομίζουσε εἶναι εἰ μὴ τῶν σφέτερον.
3 The source is a fragment of Pherecydes, preserved in Athenæus 470 C; cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr., i. 80.
4 Apollodorus, Bibl. ii. v. 10.
on good terms with his celestial majesty. When we remove the obvious accretions, it seems clear that the Solar Hero claims the right to go round the world or the islands of the West in the same manner as the Sun himself.

It will be interesting at least to the student of Folk-lore, if we now turn aside from our main theme to see how the legend of Herakles and the Solar Boat has discoloured popular story-telling.

In the recently published volume of Caucasian Folk-tales, collected by Adolf Dirr, there is a story entitled *The Rose of Paradise*. It tells how the daughter of a peasant desired to possess a rose of paradise, which grew in the garden of a Div. She got the rose, and was forthwith pursued and imprisoned by the Div, who designed to destroy her cruelly. In her prison, the *Rose of Paradise* (for so she must now be called) discovered "a coffin, in which lay the body of a handsome youth, the son of the king of that country. *He had one day shot at the sun*, and from that time had been dead during the day, though he came to life every night. His father had built the little house, and put the coffin with his dead-alive son into it. Every evening the prince came alive, left his coffin, ate the food that had been brought him, and in the morning laid himself again in his coffin." No need to pursue the story further. It is clear that the beautiful youth is a Solar Hero, who, like Herakles, shoots at the Sun. He does not get off on such easy terms, but the story suggests something of an arrangement between the youth, and the Sun whom he has offended. When the Sun passes to his daily death, the youth arises; it is much the same as saying that the Sun and his hero alternate; when the one is not using the boat, the other may. Only, it will be noticed, the boat has now become a coffin, that is, in Greek language, a basket.

We return now to Heracles and his story; to find, to our surprise, that a basket figures in it also. In the various forms in which the Heraklean legend has come down to us, the Cup of the Sun is described as a dish (δείπνος), a bowl (φαγούς), a cauldron (λέβης). The pertinent point is that they all agree in putting the Sun to sea in a circular boat. If we look at the attached representation of an early red-figured Attic vase, we shall see what Herakles looked like when

he was afloat. Clearly he is afloat, for the little fishes and octopodies are swimming round him. And he has been shooting the Sun or threatening to do so, for his bow is in his hand; his club identifies his person, the bow betrays his recent action. It will be agreed that he is not beautiful; the word καλός which the artist has written over his head, refers to the Art-work and not to his subject. And, as we have said, the ship is round. When we ask the reason for this seemingly irrational specimen of nautical architecture, the answer is that “In the beginning” men put out to sea, not only in dug-out canoes but in circular wicker baskets. Navigation with these began on rivers, and gradually extended seawards. They are yet in use on the Severn and the Dee and till recently on the Menai Straits. Consequently, when men speculated as to how the Sun was to find his way round from West to East, they concluded that the great River, named Ocean, would carry him, if he got into a coracle; he could even carry his horses with him for use next morning on the other side of the world. This is why we see Herakles represented as being transported on water, but his vessel should have been, not the

1 Also on the Spey and in Donegal, etc.
round goblet in which we see him, but a wicker basket such as our ancestors used.

May we go further and say that this sort of sailing vessel belongs primarily to the West, that it is Keltic and præ-Keltic? The hypothesis is an attractive one; travelling by the ocean stream is not an idea that would readily occur to an inland people. It will be well, however, to go slowly. Circular boats are still in use on the Tigris at Bagdad. They go by the name Balem, a word which is neither Arabic nor Syriac. The suggestion of a non-Semitic origin is natural, but will it take us from the Tigris to the Ocean River? We note, in passing, that these boats and the associated rafts (supported on inflated goat skins) are represented on Assyrian monuments. The raft is now-a-days called Kellik, and this again is non-Semitic. We have ourselves traversed the Cañon of the Upper Euphrates on such a Kellik. It is a very ancient mode of navigation. But who invented it? The coracle of the Western seas and rivers is a diminutive of the Keltic curragh [Latinised by Adamnan as curruca] and this suggests some relation to the Mesopotamian kelik. The accompanying reproduction of a modern Iraq stamp will assist the imagination as to the transport of men and animals in a coracle; we can see that Herakles could transport the oxen of Geryon, and Helios could take his own team of horses with him from West to East.¹

We have now shown the intimate connection between Apollo,

¹ The border of the stamp is adorned with cowry-shells, the small change of the India currency.
Helios and the Solar Hero Herakles. The bow of Herakles is a companion to the arrow of Apollo, and we may find traces of an original common sanctuary for one and the other.

There is a story, told by Apollodoros, of Philocrates the Greek hero, who founded a settlement in Campania, near Croton and Thurium. His own migrations being over, he built a sanctuary of the Migrant Apollo (Απόλλων Ἄλαίος) to whom also he dedicated his bow. Here then is a tradition of a sacred bow in a temple of Apollo, corresponding to that of the sacred arrow in the Hyperborean temple. Not only so, but the bow was said to be that of Herakles himself. For we learn from Aristotle (Mirab. Auscult. 107) that Philoctetes was divinised in Campania, and that at a place called Maculla he had dedicated the bow of Herakles in the temple of Apollo Halaios. And the people of Croton carried off the sacred bow and lodged it in their own temple of Apollo. It seems natural to conclude that the bow and the arrow which we have been considering are inventions earlier in time than the deities to whom they are dedicated. The divinisation of weapons is one of the earliest forms of devotion in an advancing culture; the temple and the deity to whom the sacred weapons belong may very well be a later development.

It is possible that our study of the inter-relation of this group of deities may lead to the explanation of the name of Abaris, that ambassador of Apollo who came across Europe from Hyperborea to Delos. It looks as if the name ought to have some cult value. Legend tells us that when Herakles borrowed the Solar Boat in order to seize the oxen of Geryon, he lodged on his first landing across the strait on Mt. Abas; such a piece of mythical Geography, when coupled with the explanation of Abaris as meaning the one that has no boat (βάρσ), suggests that the ancients, like ourselves, had been speculating over Abaris, and that they connected him with Herakles as well as with Apollo.

III. Why not Britain?

In the foregoing investigation in which we tried to trace the locality of Apollo's Northern Temple, we were inclined to identify the unknown island on which it once stood, and to which Hecatæus refers,

1 See Frazer, Apollodoros, ii. 261.
with Heligoland. That island, as we have shown, has been for ages an important centre in the migration of the Wild Swans, and its name is not incapable of an etymological identification with Helixoia, of which Hecataeus tells us, or religiously with the worship of Apollo.

The most serious objection to this supposition, however, is the fact that, in the existing records, a parallel is drawn between the island of the Temple and the island of Sicily. Even if we allow for the changes made by the erosion of ages, by the North Sea (an erosion which is still going on), it is very unlikely that Heligoland at any time resembled Sicily either in shape or dimension. On the other hand, and as though to justify at once a transference of interest, there is abundant proof that the early geographers and cartographers imagined Great Britain as triangular in form, a fact from which the Sicilian parallel was almost inevitable.

When Julius Caesar in his Gallic campaigns comes to the point where he contemplates the crossing of the Channel, and the invasion of Britain, he thus describes the country:

"The natural shape of the island is triangular, and one side lies opposite to Gaul. Of this side one angle which is in Kent (where almost all the ships from Gaul come in to land), faces the east, the lower angle faces south. . . . This side stretches about five hundred miles. The second side bears towards Spain and the west, in which direction lies Ireland, smaller by one half, as it is thought, than Britain; the sea-passage is of equal length to that from Gaul to Britain. Here in mid-channel is an island called Man; in addition, several smaller islands are supposed to lie close to land, as touching which some have written that, in midwinter, night, there, lasts for thirty whole days. We could discover nothing about this by enquiries; but by exact water measurements, we observed that the nights were shorter than on the Continent. The length of this side, according to the belief of the natives, is seven hundred miles. The third side bears northward, and has no land confronting it; the angle, however, of that side faces on the whole toward Germany. The side is supposed to be eight hundred miles long."—Caesar, De bell Gall., v. 13.

Mr. Edwards, whose translation we have been quoting, recognises that Caesar has been reading the account which Pytheas of Marseilles gives of his great northern journey. That being so, it shows that Britain must have been regarded from very early times as a triangular shaped island, with three necessary promontories, a true Trinacria which, sooner or later, would suggest comparison with Sicily.²

¹ I.e. the Water clock.
² Tacitus (Agricola 10) compares it to an axe-head (bipennis).
At this point we remember that Homer also knew of an island which he calls *Trinakie*, to which Odysseus comes after he has escaped from the charms of Circe, and is on his way to meet the Sirens and the perils of Scylla and Charybdis. This *Trinacria* is always identified by commentators with Sicily on account of the adjacent Scylla and Charybdis; we have, however, removed the corner stone from the edifice of the Odyssean identification in the Mediterranean, by taking Scylla and Charybdis into the Northern seas; and the Homeric commentator, who consents to our reasoning, is now, in honour, bound to admit the existence of a three-cornered island in the Northern Ocean. But this is what Pytheas is credited with having discovered. We may boldly say that in this description of a triangular Britain Pytheas has followed with Homer in the track of earlier voyagers. *These seas were navigated in much earlier times than has commonly been supposed.* Britain is the Trinacria of the North. It was here that the companions of Odysseus found the tabooed herds of oxen belonging to Helios, which is another way of saying that there was a solar temple in Britain, and that the priests who had charge of it, possessed both “land and beves,” like Mr. Justice Shallow in Shakespeare, as is customary with magistrates and priests the world over. *Was the temple Stonehenge?*

Now let us return to Hecataeus and his Holy Isle, which he compares with Sicily.

The first thing we note is that the parallel between the two islands must have been noted before the time of Pytheas; and if Hecataeus stands sponsor for the comparison, we may surely expect that the early geographers not only said that Britain and Sicily are of like dimensions, but also similar in shape.

The Greek tradition is constant for a triangular Britain, and they even knew, or invented, names for the principal promontories. From Diodorus Siculus and from Ptolemy we learn that we may call the Eastern promontory Cantion, the Western Belerion or Bolerion, and the Northern Orcas. It is customary to identify these with the N. Foreland in Kent, the Land’s End in Cornwall, and with Cape Wrath or some other projection of the Scottish coast towards the Orkneys. Now this is extremely interesting, because of the survival of these names in our own day. Cantion betrays at once the county
of Kent, Orcas has something to do with the Orcades or Orkney islands: but what of Belerion?

I have just been staying in a hotel near the Lizard Point in Cornwall, which is called the Pelurian. It is evident, if (as we think) the word is a truly local one, that the name Pelurian is the same as the Belerion of Ptolemy and Diodore, and presumably of Pytheas and even earlier geographers.

But this is not all that leaps to light from our identification. The promontory in Sicily that marks the entrance to the Straits of Messina on the North, is called Pelorom, which can only be the same name as Pelurian, with the least possible variation. It was one of Victor Bérard’s strong points in his book on the Odyssey, that Pelorom, which in Greek means “a monster” was so called on account of its proximity to the rock of Skylla. The name, however, is Keltic, or some closely related dialect; it is not Greek. Bearing in mind the importance, by their persistence, of place-names, as a guide to the migrations and settlements of populations, we say that Sicily shows signs of having been originally a Keltic or Ligurian colony, before ever the Greeks came into the Mediterranean. Astonishing as this conclusion may seem, it agrees with the evidence of tradition on the one hand, and of Archæology on the other. These unite to show that Sicily was settled, in the first instance, by the Ligures and the Sikeli. The Ligures are a branch of the Keltic family.

Returning to Britain, we notice further, that the common explanation that the Belerion of Ptolemy is the Land’s End will not hold, in view of our recent discovery. Pelurian is the name of a cove, but it is a cove a few miles from the Lizard Point, and very many miles from the Land’s End. The confusion was natural to the early geographer; our modern maps are better equipped with latitude and longitude lines than those of Ptolemy or Pytheas. They looked for the Lands End at the farthest West: but if they had looked for the

1 “Un calembour fit de Skylla un monstre horrible, pelor. . . . En face de Skylla, en effet, la côte sicilienne projette un long promontoire qui, durant toute l’antiquité et jusqu’à nos jours, a porté le nom de Peloros, Pelorus, Peloro. Ce nom paraît n’avoir présenté déjà aucun sens aux navigateurs classiques.”—Berard, Les Phéniciens et l’Odyssee, ii. 356.

The Greeks did not regard it as the name of a Monster; the coins of Messana show the head of a beautiful nymph, named Pelorias; she is the genius of the shore!
promontory at the farthest South, where a coasting vessel would turn northward, it would have been evident at a glance that Pelurrian is the Lizard and not the Land's End. Belerion, as Caesar says, faces southward. To make sure that the name was an ancient one, I enquired of the fishermen what they called this particular cove at the head of which the Pelurrian hotel is situated, and they told me, (what was otherwise confirmed from the oldest inhabitants), that they called it B’lurrian, almost exactly as in the old Greek maps. Britain, then, to the ancients was a Trinacria, and its shape was triangular, with Keltic or related names for its principal promontories. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the island might be the one referred to, in the traditional story of Apollo’s Northern temple. Our identification with Heligoland assumes that Hecateus had made a geographical confusion between Britain and Helixoia, and had credited the dimensions of one island to the other.

The really important objection to a British identification arises from the matter of the migrating swans. There is no place for these on Salisbury Plain; we might imagine them on the Norfolk Broads, for they still frequent those waters, but there is no water on the Wiltshire downs where a swan could swim. Now and then a few wild swans fly across the middle of England to the Thames, but there is no known heliolithic temple in the Thames valley. So we conclude, provisionally, against such an identification.

The final decision cannot yet be made. There may be other factors in the solution over and above those we have dealt with. Some will object to the location of Fosete (our quasi-Apollo) in Heligoland, and will maintain that the proper home of his cult is in one of the Frisian islands. On that point further light may be cast by renewed investigation, but for the present we see no reason to doubt that Fosete is the true divinity of Heligoland.

It may be worth while observing, in this connection, that there is no need to regard either Heligoland or a Frisian island as too small to be credited with such great religious influence. Sanctity has nothing to do with size. In the far-off Hebrides, in the Uist group, there is an island which till the eighteenth century was regarded by the natives

1 This statement requires some further scrutiny: Ptolemy has the Lizard promontory as well as the Land’s End. We will add a Supplementary note dealing with his description of W. Cornwall.
as so sacred that they would not even venture to cut turf on it. What is more remarkable still, as relating to our subject, is the fact that it was a Wild Swan Island. The reader may care to have the reference for our statement, which is in Martin's Description of the Western Isles (A.D. 1705), p. 71 [Island Lingay]:

"The swans come hither in great numbers in the month of October, with north-east winds, and live in the fresh lakes, where they feed upon trout and water plants till March, at which time they fly away again with a south-west wind. When the natives kill a swan it is common for the eaters of it to make a negative vow (i.e., they swear to do something that is in itself impracticable) before they taste of the fowl.

"This island was held as consecrated for several ages, so much that the natives would not presume to cut any fuel in it."

IV. WHY NOT THE HEBRIDES?

If we are to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of the location of the northern temple and island sanctuary of Apollo, we must keep an open mind for the possibility of an alternative or a better identification than the one for which we have already expressed a preference. We have stated briefly the claims of Great Britain and Stonehenge as against Heligoland and the temple of Fosete, but there may be other solutions. The mere mention of Stonehenge reminds us of the fact that we are dealing with prehistoric matters and working over the remains of neolithic times. And this remembrance is reinforced from the reflection that the temple of Apollo was connected in some way with the discovery and divinisation of the arrow. That discovery and fetish-worship generally takes us a long way back.

We may consider further that the civilisation of which we find traces in Northern and Western seas has been acquiring, in modern researches, a unity as well as an antiquity of its own. Wherever we find the stone circles and the related stone avenues we infer that they indicate a common culture, whether in Brittany, in Wiltshire, in the Orkneys, or in Iceland. They represent not merely the culture which is now commonly called helioculture, but also culture in migration and self-propagation in quest of products which were not sufficiently found in the lands from which the migration emanated. It is evident, for example, in view of recent discoveries in Portugal, and related finds in Ireland, that the quest for gold, and other desirable objects, brought civilisation along the Atlantic seaboard into the Irish Sea and beyond,
at a date when Britain itself was not so much visited. Such considera-
tions show us that we must not exclude from our minds the possibility
of finding the Hyperboreans in Ireland or in the Hebrides.

It will, no doubt, surprise our readers, as it did ourselves, at first,
to find that this possible solution had been proposed as far back as the
beginning of the eighteenth century, and had been defended with an
amount of erudition and apt quotation to which the twentieth century
has little to add. The author to whom we refer is the celebrated
Toland, and his identification is the Hebrides, with the island of
Lewis as a special centre of preference on account of its containing the
remains of one of the great neolithic temples of antiquity, known to-
day as the Callernish stones.

It requires courage to re-introduce Toland to the notice of modern
scholars, because of a certain artificial cloud of detraction which
accompanies his name. He was probably one of the most detested
theologians of his day, and it is only by reading him without prejudice
that one finds out what a splendid scholar he was, and how perfectly
fair in his treatment alike of the themes he discussed and of the
adversaries whom he refuted. That he should suffer from detraction,
and from the poverty to which detraction leads the way, was natural
enough. He had exploded the Royal Authorship of the *Eikon
Basilike*, and so had brought upon himself the undying hatred of
one political party. Add to this the fact that in his writings he never
spared the pretensions of priests and priestcraft, and we can understand
why to the present day, he has been covered with obloquy and
regarded as little better than an infidel. In reality, he was only a very
modest anticipation of a modernist, and to all appearance, a humble
Christian.

Let us then see what Toland says of Hyperborea and of Abaris,
or, if we prefer, what others say of Toland and his Hyperborean Island.
The best modern book on the Hebrides is Mackenzie’s *History of
the Outer Hebrides*, in which we find the following observations:—

"The apotheosis of the Callernish stones [in the I. of Lewis] was
reached when Toland, an Irishman and a Presbyterian, who was born in
1670 and died in 1722, wrote his history of the Druids, a famous work in
its time and still occasionally quoted. Toland had been reading Martin’s
account of the Callernish remains, and had seized upon that description as

1 Paisley 1913, p. xxvi.
yielding strong proof of his pet theories about the Druidic cult. He found no difficulty in believing that the "temple stood astronomically" (a view also held by modern antiquarians), denoting the twelve signs of the zodiac, the four principal winds subdivided each into four others, by which, and the nineteen stones on each side the avenue, betokening the cycle of nineteen years." He goes on to say that "he can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the sun; but subordinately to the seasons and elements, particularly to the sea and the winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle." The resemblance of the central stone to a rudder was a fancy of Martin's, who little foresaw that it would be seized upon by a prophet of the Druids to guide his reasoning faculties into an abyss of conjecture.

"But Toland went further than enumerating mere generalities. He convinced himself, and probably others, that the Callernish stones are neither more nor less than the remains of the temple of Apollo in the Hyperborean island so celebrated in Greek literature. He claimed Hecataeus as an authority for this theory, and perhaps had as much reason on his side as those who have located the Hyperborean temple of the ancient Greeks at, respectively, Anglesea and Stonehenge. According to Toland, then, the Hyperboreans of the ancients were Lewismen, and Apollo's arrow was hidden in the island of Lewis. . . . In the same strain of reasoning, Toland did not hesitate to make the Druid Abaris a Lewisman; Abaris who paid a visit to Pythagoras, by whom he was taught the mysteries of the number seven. It is unkind of Archæology, with its contempt for romantic speculation, to demolish so pretty a theory."

We have quoted Mackenzie at length, as usefully summarising Toland, and also in order to show how superficially he has dealt with and dismissed Toland's theory. Where, for instance, is the archæological evidence that demolishes the possible theory of a Hebridean temple? If such evidence exists, it would apply equally to Stonehenge and Carnac. Toland may have been wrong in trying to associate the Druids with the civilisation which is represented by these ancient monuments; but he could not be wholly off the track, when Mackenzie himself admits that the astronomical origin of these temples is still a tenable hypothesis. Certainly it was so in the case of Stonehenge: and the parallel shows that the Hebridean temple had something to do with the marking of the seasons. Why should Mackenzie call Toland's enquiry an "abyss of conjecture"? For he admits that the I. of Lewis is not more irrational than Stonehenge, and Stonehenge is undoubtedly, as Toland would say, "principally dedicated to the sun." It is, therefore, we think, unjust to regard Toland's essay as an irrational product. He may be, now and then, fantastic; but, on the whole, he is a trustworthy and interesting writer.
It is specially praiseworthy that he has so keen an instinct for the antiquity of the archaic culture he is trying to recover. Take, for proof, the following sentences:


"'Tis certain that the more ancient Greec writers, such as Hecataeus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to speak of Dicearchus and others), knew a great deal of truth concerning the British Islands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Greeks into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians. . . . But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not only themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world: but treat as fabulous what their Predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness."

P. 177. "I have by good authorities shown before, that the ancientest Greec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the British Islands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open'd first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quit abandon'd."

It is important to observe that, even if our author is somewhat prone to exaggeration, his perceptions are right. He sees that the Hebrides contain memorials of an earlier civilisation than history has taken adequate account of. He may excite ridicule by trying to supply the lack himself, in terms of Phenicians and of prehistoric Greek voyages, but he was looking in the right direction; he was trying to evaluate a folk-memory. This should be constantly kept in mind when we are studying such traditions as are found in Hecataeus and the other Greek authors who deal with Hyperborea. For instance Martin, whom Toland follows and sometimes surpasses, was the first to emphasise the fertility of the Hebrides and the mildness of the climate. Toland accentuates this, no doubt because he has the Greek tradition about the islands where snow never falls and the fertility is phenomenal. If we ask how far these descriptions may be regarded as correct, the answer is, for us moderns, in terms of that invisible benefactor, the Gulf Stream. It is this force that explains even to-day the difference, in climate, between the East and the West of Scotland, but it does not explain the Folk-Memory to which we referred. If, however, we assume that there was a time, say at the break-up of the Glacial Period, when the Gulf Stream was going so much stronger as to be seen as well as felt (the supposition is quite within the bounds of possibility),
we should not only have reason to believe in an abnormal fertility of
the Western Islands, but we could also explain a primitive perplexity
in the Geography of the Ancients, viz. the question as to why the
Ocean was depicted as a stream that ran round the outer edge of the
known world. It would be the Gulf Stream as it was, that was
perpetuated in popular memory; and the Western Sea would be
marked, not by the rise and fall of the tide, but by the greater flux of
a beneficent current from the tropics; the Folk-Memory of which was
in the minds of the Early Geographers, though Herodotus would have
none of it.

There is nothing irrational in the suggestion that the Gulf Stream
is capable of recognition in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean which it
traverses. We may stimulate our imagination by what Wyville
Thomson says of its appearance in the present day:—

"The Gulf Stream, as it issues from the Strait of Florida, and
expands into the ocean on its northward course, is probably the most
glorious natural phenomenon on the face of the earth. The water is
of a clear crystalline transparency and intense blue, and long after it
has passed into the open sea it keeps itself apart, easily distinguished
by its warmth, its colour, and its clearness; and with its edges so
sharply defined that a ship may have her stem in the clear blue stream,
while her stern is still in the common water of the ocean."

This vivid description may help us to understand what the Gulf
Stream may have been like in Post-Glacial times.

A secondary, but not unimportant, piece of evidence which the
great river gives of itself, may be found in the transfer of tropical
wood and plants which is going on even at the present day from
Mexico to the coast of Ireland and to Spitzbergen.

These suggestions are made in order to show that Toland was
not a man to be derided, when he talked mythology or geography.
He may have carried the Druid identifications too far, in making them
priests of Apollo and the mysterious Abaris one of their number, but
for the purpose of our enquiry we have no quarrel with him. We
think his opinion that the Hyperborean island was the island of Lewis,
or one of its neighbours, is not to be hastily set aside. We have our-
selves shown that there was an island to the North of Lewis, that was

1 The Depths of the Sea, p. 382.
until quite recently taboo, and frequented by the wild swans. What occurred in one island may have happened at an earlier date in the other. Thus much in vindication of Toland, of whom we think nobly, even if we do not decide to leave Heligoland for the Hebrides.

V. CIRCE, CALYPSO AND THE ODYSSEAN ISLANDS.

When we were discussing Helios and his under-world or extra-world journeys from West to East, carried in his **curragh** or coracle by the Ocean stream, from one day's task to the next, we came across Circe the enchantress who turned the companions of Odysseus into swine. She lived in an island which Homer calls Aiaie; an island which must, from our new point of view, be located not in the Mediterranean but in the Northern and Western seas. Circe's island is somewhere in the Ocean stream. She is the daughter of Helios himself: and we are told by the Greek poet Stesichoros, that when Helios has done his day's work, he goes, in his circular boat to visit his mother, his bride, and his sons and daughters. Here is the passage:

> ἀμος δ' Τηρυονίδας δέπας ἐσκατέβανεν
> χρύσεον, ῥφρα δι' Ὀξείνου περάσας
> ἀφίκοιθ' ἱερὰς ποτὶ βέιθεα νυκτὸς ἑρμῦνας
> ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παῖδας τ' φίλους
> etc., etc.


If Helios is going to visit his family, he will begin in the West, with Circe, and with Aiaie as a point of departure. But where, we ask, is the rest of the family? The answer is that they are in another island named Aia, which is situated where the sun rises. This island is under the control of Circe's brother whose name is Aietes, and familiar to us as the father of Medea. Thus we have the royal family at both ends of the line; and since tradition makes the real name of Circe's island to be Aia and not the Homeric reduplicated form, we have to assume that the island Aia has a double position; it lies both East and West, unless these should providentially prove to be the same, in which case the confusion disappears.

We have already suggested that the reduplicated form in Homer is due to the fact that we are in Scandinavian waters, where **ay** and **ey** are the proper terms to describe an island, as in the Norse names
Guernsey, Jersey, etc., with the various Orkn-ey and Shetland Islands, such as Stronsay, Rousay, and the like. The reduplication is then exactly similar to what we find in our own maps, which mark the island of Egg in the Hebrides, the word Egg being an Anglicanism for Eigh, which is the same thing as the Norse ey. Thus Homer's Aiaie means island of Aia. This helps us over another difficulty. We have to explain how Aia has two positions, one East and one West. The absurdity will disappear if it is remembered that we have taken Odysseus into Northern lands: and it is one of the first of astronomical observations of the traveller into or towards Arctic regions that the sun sets and rises higher up on the horizon: the outgoings of the morning and the evening approach one another. If we go far enough north among the Cimmerians, Homer himself knows that they will coincide. If then, instead of speaking of East and West, we return to the original terms of Sunrise and Sunset, it is quite in order for the two to coincide, in which case the two islands Aia will meet and Circe will join her family.

The ancients were perplexed over this double location of the island, and resolved the difficulty in various ways. One was to put Circe in the far east, where she could share the island with Medea and the rest, after which she travelled, by special arrangement with her father Helios on his chariot from the far east to the far west; the goddess migrated, the island remained. We need not, however, occupy ourselves unduly with these mythological reconstructions. We assume that Circe lived on the island Aia in the West, and we explain the reduplication of the form in Homer in the simple manner described above.

This brings us to the next of the lady-loves of Odysseus and to the second of the Homeric islands. We have in the Odyssey the story of Odysseus and his intercourse with Calypso, with whom he spent seven years in an island called Ogygia. Much has been written about this island and its possible location and the meaning of its name. Our own explanation is a very simple one. Just as Aiaia is a reduplication of the Norse form for island so Ogygia is the reduplication of the Frisian word for the same. One has only to look at the names of the Frisian islands on a modern map to satisfy oneself that these commonly have the ending -ooge (Langeooge, Spickerooge, Wangerooge) which is easily seen to be the equivalent of island, and
related etymologically to the Norse ey (= eigh). Thus Ogygia is a parallel formation to Aiaia and only means I. of Island. This statement may, at first be received sceptically. How, it may be asked, can we possibly believe that such an accidental coincidence in the formation of names affected two separate islands at two distinct parts of the story of Odysseus? We might allow the reduplication for Circe's island because we have in Homer and elsewhere the two forms attested, but it is quite another matter (so it will be said) to offer the same explanation, when confirmatory proof is lacking.

Let us, however, look at the matter more closely. Are we quite sure we are dealing with separate and unconnected matter in the Circe and Calypso incidents? It can hardly fail to excite suspicion that Odysseus is twice over described as caught in the toils of a love that makes him forget his house and home. Consequently critics of the Homeric narrative have laboured hard to prove that the Calypso story is a pendent to the Circe legend and actually derived from it. In this point of view the original story of the Wandering and Return of Odysseus had no Calypso: the lady is introduced in the interest of chronology, in order to allow Odysseus a sufficient number of years of enforced absence!

Even if this were correct, it would not explain the introduction of the Frisian island into what is, in part at least, a Norse story. The unlikelihood of the Ogygian formation remains.

The only way out of the difficulty is to say that Ogygia and Aiaia are the same island, and Calypso and Circe the same person. In fact, we are dealing with the same folk-lore theme, which has come down through two channels to the Odyssey, one being Norse, the other Frisian. Two versions of the same tale have been used in the Odyssey as though they were independent. The solution is very simple, and, to us, appears complete. It explains the concurrence in the formation of the names, and it shows us why the critics were right in maintaining that the two stories could not be regarded as independent. It will probably occasion no surprise, if we state that, as in other instances of simplified tradition, we are not the first to take the steps towards a final solution. For example, Propertius has given to Calypso the adjective Æaean, which properly belongs to Circe. This is hardly an accidental exchange of geographical title, for in the same way Aia and Ogygia are interchanged (or shall we say equated) by

Pomponius Mela. The change should be noted and covered by a "valeat quantum."

Without going so far as to suggest that Circe and Calypso are the same person, O. Immisch in Roscher's Lexicon calls the latter the Doppelgängerin of the former, which is really all the equivalence that our theory requires. He also remarks acutely that the island of Calypso had no proper name, it was just island; for when Hermes is sent by Zeus to bid Calypso release her captive lover, we are told that Hermes came to the island, without any intimation either from the text, of Zeus' instruction or Hermes' own movements, as to what island. Consequently the critics have essayed to prove that Ogygia is not a name but an adjective; in this they have overshot the mark, as we have shown by recovering the true meaning of the word.

As to the location of the island of the nymph, we know that the Greeks found it off the coast of Southern Italy, along with the rest of the geography of the Wanderings. But that island whether we call it Ain or C?atin is not in the Mediterranean at all; its name is older than Homer, older than the Greek Nation; it belongs to another race and to earlier days. After all, as the Egyptian priest said to Solon, the Greeks are but children, even when at their loveliest and best; and they are peculiarly child-like and elementary in their anthropology.

NOTE.—A reference to A. B. Cook's Zeus, i. 241 (note 14) will show that he has followed Immisch in regarding Kalypso as a doublet of Kirke. In particular he draws attention to the fact that Homer speaks, in both cases, of "a dread goddess endowed with human speech." We might add that each of the two ladies is capable of giving a wind to her parting lover.

Supplementary Note.

Was Belerion the Land's End or the Lizard? It is customary for those who write on the early geography of the British Isles to say that the promontory which went under the name of Belerion or Bolerion is either the Land's End or the adjacent Cape Cornwall: but we have suggested, on the evidence of a local place-name, that it is much more likely to have been the Lizard. The only objection to this that occurs to us is the fact that Ptolemy in his geography knows both the Land's End and the Lizard, and that he calls the former by the name of Belerion, the latter by the name of Okrion. Certainly, he
clearly distinguishes the one from the other: so if Ptolemy has the
tradition of Pytheas and the other associated travellers intact, we
ought to be very cautious in saying that Belerion is the Lizard. It
must, however, be remembered that Ptolemy is a more minute
geographer than those who preceded him, and that he shows on his
map many promontories and rivers which belong to later observation.
This applies to his description of the Lizard, which is supposed to be
a Greek name, since Okrion ("Οκριον), means 'jagged' in Greek, and
is not an unsuitable adjective to apply to the Lizard projection.

Then, there is a further consideration; all the traditions we have
been able to collect, speak of Great Britain as being triangular in form;
and that suggests that there are not more than three promontories, in
which case the sources of Ptolemy did not contain both the Land's
End and the Lizard, and we are at liberty to speculate as to which of
the two is covered by the title Belerion. In this connection it is
interesting, (and especially to myself as a West Country man), to
examine again the language in which Ptolemy describes the coast-line
from the Land's End eastward. He writes as follows:

(Bk. ii. 2, 3.) 
'Αντιονέστατων ἄκρων τὸ καὶ Ὁλιον ἄκρων.
Δαμνώνιον τὸ καὶ Ὁκριον ἄκρων.

The two promontories are, the one that faces West; (Ptolemy calls it
the Anti-West) which is also Bolerion: then comes the Damnonion
promontory, which is also called Okrion. Then follows his descrip-
tion of the coast-line and of the rivers that one passes in going up the
English Channel:

τῆς ἐφεξῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφή,
ἀπόκοκεται Πρεταυνικῶς Ἡλεανής.
μετὰ τὸ Ὁκριον ἄκρων
Κενῖνων ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖ.
Ταμάρων ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖ.
Τῆς ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖ.

I.e. after passing the Lizard, you come to the mouth of the Kenyon,
the mouth of the Tamar, and the mouth of the Exe.

German editors have been sorely exercised over these rivers: they
could not place the Kenyon, for the distance assigned to it by Ptolemy
would take one as far as the Tamar. So there are various specula-
tions as to whether it was Fowey harbour that was intended or one of
the branches of the Tamar estuary. Let us see if we can solve the Ptolemaic riddle for the perplexed geographers.

At the head of the estuary of the Fal stands the city of Truro. Adjacent to it, on a high hill, is the parish of Kenwyn, from which flows down to the tidal water a stream that bears to-day the name
of this district. Evidently, then, what we now call the Fal was originally known as the Kenwyn river, and if so it would correspond exactly with the Kenyon river of Ptolemy. Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* had rightly identified it with Falmouth Harbour.

The attached map will make the identification quite clear.

The perplexities over the distances in Ptolemy is probably due to their having been calculated from the Land's End and referred, by an easy error, to the Lizard.

**VI. CALYPSO A DAUGHTER OF THE SUN.**

If the previous investigation is on right lines, and if we have correctly deduced the equivalence of the two lady-loves of Odysseus, it should follow that Calypso like Kirki is a daughter of Helios. For even if the story of the latter suggests to us a folktale that has come into Greece from Scandinavia, and the story of the former a story that has migrated from Frisia, Odysseus is the same person in either tale, and the same Sun should affect with paternal solicitude his two companions. Is there any way of verifying the Solar character of Calypso?

In the first place we remark that Calypso's name is genuinely Greek; so that if Homer has absorbed a Frisian tale in this part of the Odyssey, as appears from the name of the island where Calypso has her cave, the poet must have, for some reason, translated the name of the lady while leaving the name of the island unaltered.

Our first business, then, in quest of the sun-maiden or whatever else she may be, is to translate her back into Frisian. A reference to Koolman's *Wörterbuch der alt-friesischen Sprache* will tell us that the Frisian word *hälern* means to hide, cover, secrete, etc., and that it has an early form *hela* corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon *helan*. This at once suggests to us that Calypso's real name was *Helan*, with a probable suffix-vowel. If we suppose that Homer had not used a translated form, the lady would have been known as *'Elänη*. It would have been better to keep this form, for the actual Homeric form is a misunderstanding, natural if you like, but regrettable. We may be fairly sure of this from the fact that the untranslated word passed over into Greek, and was explained to us by Hesychius as meaning λάμπας, a torch. If we turn to Athenæus, (lib. xv. 61,
p. 557), we find the same statement; "Homer calls torches (λαμπάδας) by the name of δεραί; but a torch is also called Ἕλάνη, as Amerias says". From the fact that Hesychius makes the same conjunction—

\[ \text{‘Ελάνη = λάμπας, δερή, } \]

we may probably infer his dependence on Athenæus, but Athenæus has another, more obscure, authority for the equivalence; so that we may say that if Calypso's real name is Helane, the proper Greek equivalent is λάμπας. Two directions for enquiry now open before us; the first is into the possibility that, by a natural confusion, Helen of Troy should also be identified with λάμπας; the second is the equivalence of such a personal name as λάμπας with Solar affinity.

Suppose we take the second point first. Greek Mythology has few stories more vivid than the attempt of Phaethon to drive the chariot of his father Helios across the sky. Ovid tells us magnificently the tale of that ill-starred motor-driving which at one moment burnt up the solid sky, and the next moment turned the earth to a cinder and set the seas boiling. The unfortunate Phaethon was arrested by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Now notice an interesting feature in the tale. Phaethon had a group of sisters who bewailed his fate. They had helped, so some say, to harness the Solar Chariot for him; they wept over him at his fall so copiously, that they were turned into poplar trees, and their tears into amber. Let us see what the Greeks called these maidens, who must have come from the North Sea or the Baltic, if they were to shed such costly tears. The tradition varies slightly, but we can make out the forms of Lampetīē, Lampedousa, Phaëthousa and Aiglē.

These ladies are all personified sunbeams: Phaëthousa is the feminine counterpart of her dazzling brother; Aiglē is solar splendour; the other two are a pair and perhaps a doublet, their radiance being derived from λάμπας a torch; but as they are all daughters of Helios, we have the complete proof that Lampad—, or which is the same thing Helan—, is the daughter of the Sun.

Incidentally we notice that the ‘torch’ connects them with the Sun in one direction, and with the tree that exudes amber in the other. Was it, perhaps, originally, a pine-knot that reproduced the Solar Splendour?
Our other question relates to Helen of Troy and the possible reaction from Helane to Helene. Does Helen ever become a tree, or is she ever thought of as a daughter of Helios?

In the island of Rhodes, where the cult of Helios is the leading religious feature, there was also a cult of Helen Δειδρίτες, Helen of the Tree. The appreciation has never been adequately explained; but we note that whatever it means, the Helen-cult and the Helios-cult are adjacent, and that Helen has a tree localisation.

We notice further that the Greeks seem to have been aware that Helen was capable of a torch interpretation. Among the many drear tales of the fall of the 'topless towers of Ilion,' it was said that Helen had, from the ramparts, made signals to the Greeks by means of a blazing torch. That torch was herself in symbol, the evil genius of the city. A further proof that Lampetiē is the daughter of the Sun (an observation which affects Calypso, so far as she is identified with Lampad—) lies in the myth that Lampetiē and Phaēthousa actually were herdswomen to Helios in the three-cornered island; and it was Lampetiē who went to her father Helios and reported the damage which the companions of Odysseus had done to his cattle. We have thus another proof that Lampad—, or Torch is a proper name for a daughter of the Sun.1

In this particular instance the Torch Lady is definitely in the North Sea, if our previous investigation is correct, and not very far from the islands of Circe and Calypso.

We infer from the foregoing enquiry that Calypso is a daughter of the Sun, and begin to suspect that the Trojan epic has been affected by northern traditions or infiltrations.

The same conclusions might have been drawn from Ptolemy Hephaestionis (quoted in Photius, Bibr., 480), who says definitely that Helen was the daughter of Helios and Leda. The monograph of Günther on Kalypso (Halle, 1919) has come to my hand since writing the foregoing pages. I have had no time to examine it closely. Günther is violently opposed to the identification of Kirkē and Kalypso, but sees clearly that the meaning of the latter name must be sought philologically, and in the direction we have intimated.

1 See Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 962 ff.: (Apollonius from his native place should be well-informed as to traditions of Helios and family). Cf. also Odyssey, xii. 127 ff.