

Hyperborea on Maps – Always to the North

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Abstract

Even if an almost entirely imaginary vision, the Hyperboreans remain the most productive and persistent Northern motif in ancient Greek literature. The Hyperboreans were thought to have traversed Greece during its mythical prehistory and to have left their mark on some of its innermost and sanctified places, thus helping to create, and sometimes to maintain, important values in Greek thought, such as justice, right, moral purity and religiosity. This study presents the roots of the Hyperborean myth, the main Hyperborean characters, Hyperborea's location on maps according to ancient sources, the exploitation of the myth throughout the ages and some contemporary attempts to locate the Hyperborean lands.

Keywords: Hyperborea, maps of Hyperborea, Apollo, Abaris, Delos, mythology, Ancient Greece, history of religion.

1. Hyperborea

Compared with other legendary places in Antiquity the mythology of Hyperborea had a significant specificity for the Greeks. If the Elysian Fields, the final resting place of the souls, belonged to an unearthly world, and the once rich and powerful Atlantis had long ago sunk into the ocean, Hyperborea, on the contrary, was considered by many poets as a completely real, although extremely difficult to reach territory – "neither by ships nor on foot" (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.29).

Hyperborea was inhabited by people who lived in the far northern part of the known world, "beyond Boreas" (ὑπἑρ Βορἑā) – beyond the North Wind. Despite its frigid location, Hyperborea was a sunny, temperate, divinely-blessed land, north of the Riphean Mountains and a favorite place of Apollo. The Hyperboreans founded Apollo's shrine at Delos and, according to Pausanias (10.5.8), at Delphi. They were portrayed as a fair, virtuous, creative people, with a social structure by poets, musicians and philosophers – an unattainable ideal for the Greeks. They were vegetarians (Cl. Alex. *Stromata* 1.15.72), holy people, experiencing no disease or war (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.40), lived to an extreme old age (Pliny 4.26). The godlike Hyperboreans seem to outshine the Greeks at every turn (Romm, 1992: 61). Hyperborea was an otherworldly paradise, a mythical utopia, which was both part of the mythical past and ever present in Greek literature (Bridgman, 2005: 3).

- Inscriptions from 4th century BC record that the temple of Apollo on Delos received gifts from somebody referred to as the Hyperboreans.
- Graves of Hyperboreans on Delos were identified and excavated in the 1920s.
- The Hyperborean Abaris saves cities from storms and sickness, gives oracles, and heals.
- The Hyperboreans founded an important center of Greek religion in Delos, But they also might have Delphian and Olympian connection.

The Hyperborean myth may date from as early as the 8th century BC, and possibly even earlier (Bridgman, 2005: 71). The first extant written sources explicitly discussing Hyperborea, however, date back to the 5th century BC with Herodotus, Pindar, Simonides of Ceos, and Hellanicus of Lesbos, who referenced earlier, mostly lost sources describing Hyperborea by Hesiod, Homer, and Aristeas. The oldest reference to Herodotus was the 7th century BC, now lost, poem Arimaspea of Aristeas of Proconnesus.1

2. Apollo

Crucial for understanding Hyperborea is knowing Apollo.² Apollo was the son of Zeus and Leto. Leto was born on this island [Hyperborea], and for that reason Apollo is honoured among them above all other gods; and the inhabitants are looked upon as priests of Apollo (Diod. 2.47).

Due to the vengeful jealousy of Zeus' wife – Hera, Leto is forced to flee. She finds refuge and gives birth to her children, Apollo and Artemis, on the island of Asteria, which is named in honor of Apollo Delos, meaning "bright", "shining" (Gočeva, 1993). Just as Hyperborea, Delos was halfway between the world of the gods and that of humankind. It acted as a portal through which humans could communicate with the gods (Bridgman, 2005: 26; cf. Homeric Hymn to Apollo).

The earliest source for the Hyperboreans as Apollo's chosen ones is the poet Alcaeus of Mytilene (625/620-580 BC). Although the text is lost, it is paraphrased in prose by the 4th century rhetor Himerius (*Orațio* 48.10):

¹ Arimaspea, composed in three books (Suda, s.v. Aristeas), remained for a long time the only detailed report of the further North for the rest of the Greek world and a rich new source about Hyperborea. It was widely known in the Archaic and Classical periods, especially among the worshipers of Apollo and continued to be read at least into the Imperial period. It disappeared before the founding of the Library of Alexandria, and therefore it is unlikely that any large passages from it can be found in papyri (Bolton, 1962: 20-38). The surviving fragments of Arimaspea do not mention the Hyperboreans, and are very small and few in number - the longest extant fragment consists of six lines quoted by Pseudo-Longinus in On the Sublime 10.4 (Bowra, 1956: 1). However, a number of borrowings from the poem are contained in the works of Pindar, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and possibly Hecataeus of Abdera, Alcman, Pliny, Aelian, Plautus, Ennius, Aeschylus (Bolton, 1962: 39-73). Arimaspea is probably to be dated in the middle third of the 7th century BC (Phillips, 1955: 163); 615-595 BC (Dowden 2019); early-to-mid 6th century (Gagné, 2021: 246).

² Apollo has often been described as the "most Greek of the gods". His worship is spread throughout the Greek world, and pervades both the state and the private domain – theophoric names such as Apelles, Apollonios, Apollodorus, far from a few cities in Thrace, Illyria, Anatolia and Africa were named Apollonia. The diffusion of the Apollo cult is already complete at the time when our written sources begin, c. 700 BC. In the epics, Apollo is one of the most important gods. In spite of this, the impression remains that Apollo is not only a youthful god, but also a young god for the Greeks. There is no clear evidence for him in Linear B. On Delos, the real mistress of the sanctuary is Artemis; the earliest temple, constructed c. 700 BC, belongs to her; Apollo's temple lies at the periphery, though it did contain the monumental, gilded image. In Delphi, the central temenos always belonged to Apollo, but it was not founded before 750 BC. From the 5th century BC onwards, Apollo began to be understood as a sun god (Burkert 1985: 143, 149). See also Graf (2008); cf. Gagné (2021: 139-149); Graf (2022).

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When Apollo was born, Zeus outfitted him with a gold headband and lyre. He also gave him a chariot to drive – it was pulled by swans – and sent him to Delphi <and>to the Castalian waters to expound justice and law to the Greeks from there. But Apollo got on his chariot and ordered the swans to fly to the Hyperboreans. (Penella, 2007: 262)

Nor are we at liberty to entertain any doubts as to the existence of this race [the Hyperboreans]; so many authors are there who assert that they were in the habit of sending their first-fruits to Delos to present them to Apollo, whom in especial they worship (Pliny 4.26).



Figure 1. Swans drawing Apollo's chariot.

Figure 2. The return of Apollo to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans in a chariot draw by winged horses (text on museum's plate). Amphora from Melos, c. 640 BC, National Archaeological Museum in Athens (cf. Gagné, 2021: 154)

Figure 3. Detail of Fig. 2, Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., v. 12, 1911: 476, Fig. 9

Preserved inscriptions from the 4th century BC record that the temple of Apollo on the island of Delos received gifts, apparently symbolical sacrificial offerings, from somebody referred to as the Hyperboreans (Sandin, 2018: 14; see Coupry, 1972). Herodotus (4.32-36) also depicts individual Hyperboreans in ancient times bearing gifts to the temple of Apollo – the Hyperborean maidens.

3. The Hyperborean maidens

The first two Hyperborean maidens were Arge and Opis, who "came with the gods" (Hdt. 4.35) – probably Apollo and Artemis (Leto and Eileithyia, according to Gagné, 2021: 118; cf. Sandin, 2014: 210), followed by Hyperoche and Laodice accompanied by five Hyperboreans to protect the girls on their dangerous trip. All maidens could not return home and died on Delos.³ For that reason the Hyperboreans started sending gifts to the temple of Apollo on Delos not in person, but through intermediaries.⁴

In 426 BC, a purification took place on Delos as a response to an oracle. All dead bodies in the area of the sanctuary, save those believed to be those of the Hyperborean maidens, were dug up and transported off the island, as the oracle had said there should be neither births nor deaths on Delos (Thuc. 1.8, 3.104; Diod. 12.58). The Hyperborean legend and the story of the Hyperborean maidens coming to Delos would seem to be a very strong and important myth for

³ According to Herodotus, the grave of Hyperoche and Laodice stood on the left at the door to the temple of Artemis (4.34); Opis' and Arge's grave was behind the sanctuary (4.35). The graves were identified and excavated in the 1920s by French archaeologists (Courby, 1921; Picard, 1924). The nearby fragments of pottery were dated 16th-15th century BC (Kolosovskaya, 1982: 66-67; cf. Burkert, 1985: 49).

⁴ The origin of the Hyperborean gifts is to be found in the thank offering for the birth goddess Eileithyia for her role in the birth of Artemis and Apollo. Thus, the original gift was not to Apollo, but became associated with his cult (Bridgman, 2005: 40). Cf. Gagné (2021: 312) about the "probable point of origin for the offerings [in Hdt. 4.33], which does not point to the further North, but more prosaically to nearby Thrace."

the Greeks to go against an oracle by leaving the graves of the Hyperborean maidens on the island while all others had to be removed (Bridgman, 2005: 39).

4. Abaris

The Hyperboreans appeared at key moments in the history of Ancient Greece, bringing innovations to its culture, revealing the mysteries of the universe, helping in time of need.

To the Greeks, Abaris was the most famous Hyperborean. He visited Greece to renew the good-will and kinship of his people to the Delians (Diod. 2.47) carrying (in later versions riding on) a mystical arrow, associated with Apollo. His legend developed throughout the centuries, but he seems always to have been regarded as a spiritual or magical authority (Plat. *Charm.* 158b; Heraclid. Pont. 73-75) and an ascetic (Hdt. 4.36); soon we hear of him as a seer and prophet (Lycurg. 14.5, Iambl. *VP* 138, 221).

Pindar (F 270) said, according to Harpocration (s.v. Abaris), that Abaris was a contemporary of king Croesus of Lydia (585-546 BC). If the lexicographer cites accurately, Abaris is then the Hyperborean individual mentioned first in known Greek sources, while at the same time being one of the youngest of the known Hyperboreans, belonging in the historical rather than mythical age. Herodotus (4.36) is the first to reveal concrete details of the legend, dismissing it as unworthy of his attention (cf. Gagné, 2020: 243):

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

Heraclides of Pontus (51c) enhanced the narrative and let Abaris fly upon the arrow, which incidentally turned aerobatics and the magical arrow into his defining attributes in late antiquity. Abaris is mentioned offhandedly in a slightly ironical tone as a Hyperborean with magical or pharmaceutical competence by Socrates in Plato's *Charmides* (158b), but the earliest source that seems to have more than a few lines of substance to offer is the speech *Against Menesaechmus* of Lycurgus (14.5), preserved in fragments. Abaris is here said to have come to Greece in order to seek help, as the Hyperboreans and the rest of the world were subject to plague or famine, and Apollo ordained that Athens must pray for all nations in order to abjure the disaster (Sandin, 2014: 206).⁵

As a priest of Apollo in Hyperborea, Abaris organizes a worldwide collection of gold for the temple of the god in his country (Iambl. *VP* 91).⁶ But he also brings his own offerings. He notably goes to Delos itself and reinstitutes the tribute. Sparta owed him its safety and cure from plague (Apollon. *Mirab*. 4; Lazova, 1993: 1; Graf, 2008: 39). He saved cities from storms and sickness, gave oracles, and healed. Abaris, in the service of Apollo, wrote down the oracles that he learned from Apollo, which are still known as the *Oracles of Abaris* (Gagné, 2021: 290, 369).

5. Hyperborean role in Delphi and Olympia. Further development of the myth

The Hyperborean role in the founding of the oracle of Apollo at Delos is undeniable. But according to Pausanias (10.5.7), a woman of the district of Delphi named Boeo wrote a

⁵ The implication here is that Athens is the center of the world. Moreover, the Hyperborean legend seems to have taken on more of an Athenian slant, or perhaps had been appropriated by Athens as propaganda comprising a mythical prehistory of the city and how the Hyperboreans helped Athens in its hour of need (Bridgman, 2005: 50).

⁶ Gold is used to represent the conditions of life enjoyed by the gods. Gold is a metal that binds both the real world of the Greeks and their mythical parallel world of gods together (Bridgman, 2005: 15, 69).

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Delphian hymn which said Hyperboreans led by the poet Olen are the founders of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.⁷ In a legend related by Pindar (*Ol.* 3) the Hyperboreans gave Heracles the sacred olive trees which later became the crown/wreath of victorious Olympic athletes (see Gagné, 2021: 4-24). Thus, the Hyperboreans might had a significant role to play in the founding of three important centers of Greek religion (Bridgman, 2005: 71; cf. Gagné, 2021: 83-200).

The Hyperborean myth and cult had changed radically over time in relation to what it had been in earlier Greek literary sources and early belief – Hyperborea became a contemporary political, social or philosophical aspect which was described to follow a certain school of thought or to criticize Greek society.⁸ These stories of a northern paradise were grafted onto the original myth often to satisfy Alexandrian romantic tastes, especially during the 3rd century BC. They also comprise Athenian propaganda which had as its goal the control of two major religious sanctuaries in the Greek world – Delos and Delphi (Bridgman, 2005: 44, 72).

6. Location of Hyperborea

Ancient Greeks believed a golden-age utopia had existed in the time of Cronus, before Zeus' lordship over their parallel mythical world, and that it continued to exist in such places as the land of the Hyperboreans located on the edges of the world known to the Greeks (Bridgman, 2005: 17). Hyperborea was believed to be beyond the snowy Riphean Mountains, with Pausanias (5.7.7) describing the location as "the land of the Hyperboreans, men living beyond the home of North Wind (Boreas)." Hesiod (*WD* 508), like Homer (*Il.* 9.5), placed Boreas in Thrace, perhaps in Mount Haemus, and therefore Hyperborea should have been north of Thrace. In this archaic world picture, the northern horizon of the Greeks were the large mountain ranges – Thracian Rhodopes, Pangaion and Haemus (Podossinov, 2015, 2019: 194).

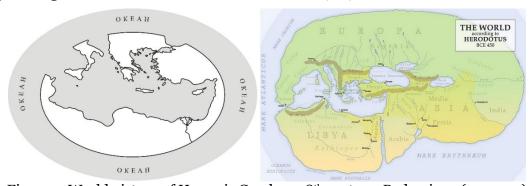


Figure 4. World picture of Homeric Greeks, c. 8th century. Podossinov (2015: 35)

Figure 5. The world according to Herodotus, 450 BC. The Challenger Reports, 1895

⁷ Romm (1992: 61-65); see also Farnell (1907: 98-111); Bridgman (2005: 67); Matveychev (2020: 14); Gagné (2021: 187). For the difference between mythological traditions of Delos and Delphi and the eventual older Delphian origin of the Hyperborean myth see Daebritz (1914: 267); Bridgman (2005: 26). The archaic Greeks attached great importance to the centrality of Delphi, which they saw as the "navel of the earth" (Strabo, 9.3.6).

⁸ In the 5th century BC Pindar's Hyperboreans are intentionally described as the exact opposites of the popular Scythian stereotype – "he seems deliberately to render his Hyperboreans as distinctly *non*-Scythian as possible; the intention of Pindar may have been to turn them into veritable *anti*-Scythians" (Sandin, 2018: 23, 27). In the Roman Empire during the 1st century the geographer Pomponius Mela and the historian Pliny generated positive visions of Hyperborea that can be read as subtle criticism of Roman autocratic control (Webb, 2018: 48).

⁹ Boreas, the god of the North Wind, is Thracian by authoritative poetic tradition (Ibyc. 5.9). "Thracian" is attested as "northern" in (late) Greek (Sandin, 2014: 213).

Hyperborea's location changed to accommodate changes in Greek geographical knowledge. It also appears to have been used in part to explain Greek territorial expansion and conquest by moving the Hyperborean homeland about Europe, Asia and western northern Africa, thereby pushing the edges of the world further afield as Greek colonization progressed, using the divine justification of Apollo as a basis (Bridgman, 2005: 71). In his PhD thesis Timothy Bridgman published a map of the supposed location of Hyperborea according to ancient sources.

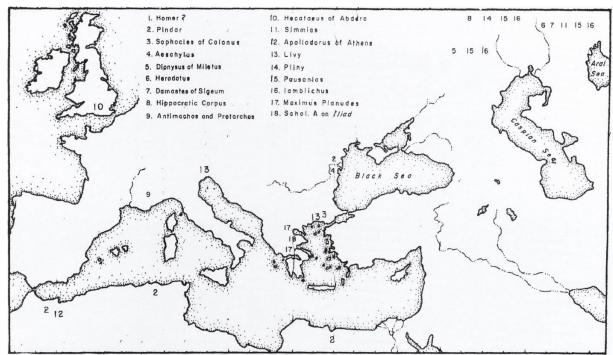


Figure 6. Summary of ancient Hyperborean lands. Bridgman (2005: 22)

In the Roman geographical tradition, the Riphean Mountains take their place steadily in the extreme north-east of Europe. Valerius Probus in the commentary to Vergil's *Georgics* (3.382) notes, that "some people took the Riphaean Mountains for the Alps. But the Riphean Mountains proper are in Scythia." The "Scythian" tradition was reproduced by Mela, Pliny, Solin, Julius Honorius, Paulus Orosius, other Latin authors and in this form was inherited in the Middle Ages (Podossinov, 2019b: 146). In the 1st century the geographer Pomponius Mela (3.36) describes midnight sun and polar night — a distinctive phenomenon of the Arctic Circle:

The Hyperboreans are located beyond the north wind, above the Riphaean Mountains, and under the very pole of the stars, where the sun rises, not every day as it does for us, but for the first time at the vernal equinox, and where it eventually sets at the autumnal equinox. Therefore, for six months daylight is completely uninterrupted, and for the next six months night is completely uninterrupted.

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¹⁰ The historian Megasthenes served as a diplomat from 302 to 291 BC on several Greek embassies, one of them in the Maurya Empire in northern India. He transposed the Hyperboreans to the zone above the districts of the Indus and the Ganges (Bridgman, 2005: 54; Gagné, 2021: 360).

Oceanus Seythieus Infalle Cophuse Scythicus pro

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Figure 7. Pomponius Mela's World Map. English translation of De Situ Orbis, 1540. http://myoldmaps.com/maps-from-antiquity-6200-bc/116-pomponius

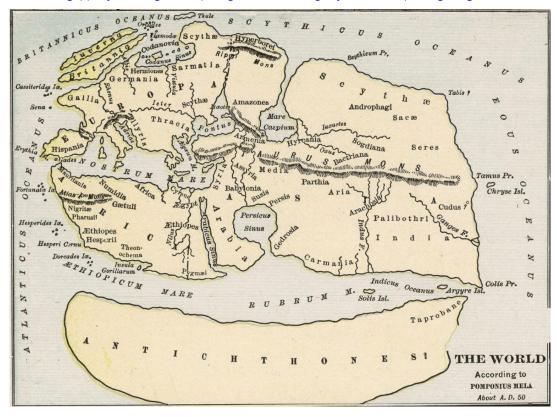


Figure 8. The World according to Pomponius Mela. About 50 AD. Cram (1901: 572)

For thirteen centuries, from 8th century BC until 5th century, many ancient people perceived Hyperborea as completely real and having significant impact on their lives. By the end of Antiquity, the former reverence for Hyperborea was replaced by skepticism and irony. In the Middle Ages, the subject of Hyperborea was almost completely marginalized in both public consciousness and scientific thought. One of the last mentions of Hyperborea is in the Byzantine

encyclopedia *Suda* from 10th century. Christianity has generated new interests, patterns, ideals and doctrines (Matveychev, 2017: 264; 2018: 68).¹¹

The idea of the existence of the Riphean Mountains was revived during the Renaissance, when the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Europe prompted the emergence of the discipline of cartography. The Riphean and Hyperborean Mountains started to emerge on 15th and 16th century maps as mobile markers of boundaries and "natural" demarcation lines of Europe's eastern territories. Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated from Greek into Latin in the early years of the 15th century and enjoyed immediate success across Europe. In 1507 the Italian Celestine monk Marco Beneventano published his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which included twenty-seven ancient maps depicting the Ptolemaic *oikoumene*, the inhabited world known to the Romans, next to six modern maps of newly discovered territories.



Figure 9. Marco Beneventano. Rome, 1507. *Tabula Moderna Polonie, Ungarie, Boemie, Germanie, Russie, Lithuanie*. Rapperswill, Polish Museum, CRP: 00100-04939. Map image from the Collection of Cartographia Rappersvilliana Polonorum Rapperswil, Switzerland.

Among the map's most prominent cartographic features are the Riphean Mountains, here called "Rissei Montes" (Piechocki, 2015: 77, 84).

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 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 11}$ Werhahn (1991: 983) insists, that the angels, almost exclusively depicted with wings since the 4th century, have nothing to do with the Hyperboreans.



Figure 10. Detail: Rissei [Riffei] Montes. Piechocki (2015: 85)

In the 16th century Hyperborea started appearing on maps as a northern continent. In 1569 Gerardus Mercator published his famous world map and insets of the Arctic region were separately published multiple time thereafter. In 1570 Abraham Ortelius published the first modern atlas of the world. In 1579 he began working on an inset map of the North Pole, as it can be imagined through the sources of Antiquity. Empirical evidence of the existence of the northern continent, however, was lacking, and by the middle of the 17th century the Arctic continent had "melted away" on most maps.



Figure 11. Abraham Ortelius, Theatri Orbis Terrarum Parergon; Sive Veteris Geographiae Tabulae, Commentarijs Geographicis et Historicis illustratae. . .Balthasaris Moreti, Antwerp, 1624. Gagné (2021: 35)

Figure 12. Gerardus Mercator, Septentrionalium terrarum descriptio, Amsterdam, 1623

After Hyperborea was long forgotten by scientific thought, in the 16th-18th centuries interest in the Hyperborean theme began to awaken in some countries. This was the period of formation of national states. The notion of political interest connected with the international prestige of the state and with its historical rights to rule came to the fore. The elevation of its history to the most ancient, Hyperborean times was to serve as the strongest proof of the greatness of the nation and its "primogeniture" in world history. If the Italian Renaissance was marked by a

search for ideals in the heritage of their great ancestors – the ancient Romans, then Northern European scholars were looking for ways to prove the historical superiority of their peoples over the Greeks and Romans. The "scientific Hyperborea" gained particular importance in Sweden, which sought to be able to justify not only its exceptional role in world history, but also its claim to a leading position in Europe (Matveychev, 2018: 69; 2022: 83) – Olof Rudbeck (1679), professor of medicine, claimed that ancient Swedes were the same as ancient Hyperboreans (Roling, 2019: 263).

The supposed location of Hyperborea was moved to northern Central Asia by the French astronomer Jean Sylvain Bailly¹² (1775) and to the North Pole by the Swedish general and diplomat Magnus Björnstjerna (1843).¹³ The latter theory was later also shared by the first president of Boston University William Warren (1885: 185) and the British academic John Bennett (1963). The assumptions about Hyperborea's location continue even today: north of Altai, Russia (Machinsky, 1997); Serbia (Vasić, 1932, Budimir, 1969; refer to Palavestra, 2016); Poland (Chochorowski, 2020).

Despite all speculations Hyperborea remains a legitimate subject of scientific interest in historiography, archeology and linguistics, although it often acts as a suitable ground for the cultivation of various racial and nationalist theories, ideologies and pseudoscientific doctrines (Palavestra, 2016: 121).¹⁴

7. Conclusion

Even if an almost entirely imaginary vision, the Hyperboreans remain the most productive and persistent Northern motif in ancient Greek literature, embodying as it were the canonical North of Greek myth (Sandin, 2018: 14). The Hyperboreans were thought to have traversed Greece during its mythical prehistory and to have left their mark on some of its innermost and sanctified places (Romm, 1992: 61), thus helping to create, and sometimes to maintain, important values in Greek thought, such as justice, right, moral purity and religiosity (Bridgman, 2005: 71). They were unreachable by land or sea and most stories of travel to and fro involve flight – flying chariots. "There is something otherworldly as well as northerly about their land" (Ahl, 1982: 378). Pliny (4.26) insists that we are not "at liberty to entertain any doubts as to the existence of this race", which lived in a mythical golden-age utopian setting, halfway between the realm of the gods and that of humankind (Bridgman, 2005: 64). All of this makes Hyperborea one of the most interesting and mysterious aspects in the history of the ancient world. But Pindar's account (*Pyth.* 10.40) that the Hyperboreans live "without toil or battles" hints to the fact that they are in fact a peace-loving society, which understands that salvation of mankind is possible only through knowledge, wisdom, and self-improvement – an achievement of an evolved culture, and a hope for a humane future.

¹² Roling (2019: 263). See also Edelstein (2006: 272). Bailly, just as Rudbeck, claimed that Atlas, Saturn, and Uranus were historical figures – mathematicians and astronomers, whose discoveries marked the start of all science (Roling, 2019: 270).

¹³ Roling (2019: 275). As an ambassador in London, he had discovered Sanskrit studies and concluded that long before a massive flood c. 5000 BC, which would not have been able to destroy the whole of humanity, the Polar Regions must have been a salubrious territory with a mild climate. As temperatures dropped in the northern hemisphere, the Hyperboreans had at first migrated to the warmer parts of Siberia, Central Asia, and Tibet, and then to more southerly latitudes, into India. A journey to the western hemisphere has followed.

¹⁴ For an overview of pseudoscientific doctrines see Arnold (2018), Matveychev (2018). The Hyperborean myth was exploited by A. Rosenberg, the "official philosopher" of the Third Reich, and H. Wirth, the creator of the Ahnenerbe (Ancestral Heritage) institute under SS patronage (Mosionjnic, 2012: 81-86).

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