

INTRODUCTION.

*On the Nations inhabiting the Northern Frontiers
of Greece.*

1. **T**HE Dorians derived their origin from those districts in which the Grecian nation bordered towards the north upon numerous and dissimilar races of barbarians. As to the tribes which dwelt beyond these boundaries we are indeed wholly destitute of information; nor is there the slightest trace of any memorial or tradition that the Greeks originally came from those quarters. On these frontiers, however, the events took place which effected an entire alteration in the internal condition of the whole Grecian nation, and here were given many of those impulses, of which the effects were so long and generally experienced. The prevailing character of the events alluded to, was a perpetual pressing forward of the barbarous races, particularly of the Illyrians, into more southern districts; yet Greece, although harassed, confined, nay even compelled to abandon part of its territory, never attempted to make a united resistance to their encroachments. The cause of this negligence probably was, that all its views being turned to the south, no attention whatever was paid to the above quarters.

2. To begin then by laying down a boundary line, which may be afterwards modified for the sake of greater accuracy, we shall suppose this to be the

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

2

INTRODUCTION.

mountain ridge, which stretches from mount Olympus to the west as far as the Acroceraunian mountains (comprehending the Cambunian ridge and mount Lacmon), and in the middle comes in contact with the Pindus chain, which stretches in a direction from north to south. The western part of this chain separates the furthest Grecian tribes from the great Illyrian nation, which extended back as far as the Celts in the south of Germany. Every clue respecting the connexion, peculiarities, and original language of this people must be interesting, and the dialects of the Albanians, especially of those who inhabit the mountains where the original customs and language have been preserved in greater purity, will afford materials for inquiry^a. Until then we come to a more minute consideration, it will be sufficient to state that they formed the northern boundary of the Grecian nation, from which they were distinguished both by their language and customs.

3. In the fashion of wearing the mantle and dressing the hair^b, and also in their dialect, the MACEDONIANS bore a great resemblance to the Illyrians, whence it is evident that the Macedonians belonged to the Illyrian nation^c. Notwithstanding which, there can be no doubt that the Greeks were aboriginal^d inhabitants of this dis-

^a See particularly Pouqueville's List of Albanian Words. Compare Thunmann's *Geschichte der Europäischen Völker*, p. 250.

^b Strabo VII. p. 327 A.

^c Illyrian words in use among the Macedonians: *σανάδα* (*Sileni*) in Macedonian, *δέυ-ίδα* in Illyrian; *δράμης*, *bread*,

in Macedonian, *δράμικες* among the Athamanes. *Orchomenos*, p. 254. Compare Hesychius in *βάραπα*. See the copious collection in Sturz *de Dialecto Macedonica*.

^d As this expression is often used in the following pages, I take this opportunity of stating, that by *an aboriginal peo-*

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

SECT. 3. ON THE NORTH OF GREECE. 3

trict. The plains of Emathia, the most beautiful district of the country, were occupied by the Pelasgi^e, who, according to Herodotus, also possessed Creston above Chalcidice, to which place they had come from Thessaliotis^f. Hence the Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words. And that these had not been introduced by the royal family (which was Hellenic by descent or adoption of manners) is evident from the fact, that many signs of the most simple ideas (which no language ever borrows from another) were the same in both, as well as from the circumstance that these words do not appear in their Greek form, but have been modified according to a native dialect^g. In the Macedonian dialect there occur grammatical forms which are commonly called Æolic^h, together with many Arcadianⁱ and Thessalian^k words: and what perhaps is still more decisive, several words, which, though not to be found in the Greek, have been preserved in the Latin language^l. There does not appear to be any peculiar connexion with the Doric dialect: hence we do not give much

ple, I mean one which, as far as our knowledge extends, first dwelt in a country, *before* which we know of no other inhabitants of that country.

^e Justin. VII. 1. Compare Æsch. Suppl. 261.

^f Herod. I. 57. See *Orcho-menos*, p. 444.

^g Compare, for example, *δαίνειν* to kill, *θάνατος* death, with *θάνειν*, *θάνατος*; *έέλδω* (*έέλδωρ* in Homer) with *έθελω*; *άδραία* for *αιθρία*, in which *θ* loses its aspiration as *φ* does in *κεβαλή* (so in German *haubet* for *haupt*), *άβροῦτις* for *όφρὺς* (*brow*), *Βίλιππος*, *Βερενίκη*, *βαλακρός*, &c.

the aspirate is also frequently lost; *ένδομενία* or *ένδυμενία*, *furniture* (in Polybius), with a change of *υ* and *ο*.

^h E. g. the nominatives *ἱπποτα*, &c., which are also called Æolico-Bœotic, Doric, and Thessalian. Sturz *ut sup.* p. 28.

ⁱ E. g. *ζέρεθρα* for *βάραθρα*.

^k E. g. *ταγών άγά*, *the leading of the Tagus*, as in Thessaly; *μαρρία*, *dainties*, a Thessalian, Macedonian, and also Spartan word.

^l E. g. *Βίρροξ*, *hirsutus*, *hirtus*; *γάρκαν* (*twig*), *virgam*; *ἱλεξ*, *ilex*. The want of aspirates also forms a point of comparison.

B 2

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

4

INTRODUCTION.

credit to the otherwise unsupported assertion of Herodotus, of an original identity of the Dorian and Macedonian (Macedonian) nations. In other authors Macednus is called the son of Lycaon, from whom the Arcadians were descended ^m, or Macedon is the brother of Magnes, or a son of Æolus, according to Hesiod and Hellanicus ⁿ, which are merely various attempts to form a genealogical connexion between this semi-barbarian race, and the rest of the Greek nation.

4. The THESSALIANS as well as the Macedonians were, as it appears, an Illyrian race, who subdued a native Greek population; but in this case the body of the interlopers was smaller, while the numbers and civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants were considerable. Hence the Thessalians resembled the Greeks more than any of the northern races with which they were connected: hence their language in particular was almost purely Grecian, and indeed bore perhaps a greater affinity to the language of the ancient epic poets than any other dialect ^o. But the chief peculiarities of this nation with which we are acquainted were not of a Grecian character. Of this their national dress ^p, which consisted in part of the flat and broad-brimmed hat (*καυσία*) and the mantle (which last was common to both nations, but was

^m Apollodorus III. 8. 1.

ⁿ Ap. Constant. Porph. de Themat. II. 2. p. 1453. Sturz Hellan. Fragm. p. 79. The passage of Hesiod is probably from the *Ἡοΐαι*, and there is no reason for supposing it spurious. The second verse should be read, *ὡς δὲ δὴ Μάγνητα Μάκεδόν θ' ἵππιόχαρμην.*

^o I allude here particularly

to the ending of the genitive case of the second declension in *οιο*, which the grammarians quote as Thessalian. [A statement which is questioned by Knight, Proleg. Homer. §. 101.]

^p See Appendix I. §. 28. The ancient Macedonian coins represent precisely the same dress as the Thessalian.

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

SECT. 4. ON THE NORTH OF GREECE. 5

unknown to the Greeks of Homer's time, and indeed long afterwards^q, until adopted as the costume of the equestrian order at Athens), is a sufficient example. The Thessalians moreover were beyond a doubt the first to introduce into Greece the use of cavalry. More important distinctions however than that first alleged are perhaps to be found in their impetuous and passionate character, and the low and degraded state of their mental faculties. The taste for the arts shewn by the rich family of the Scopadæ proves no more that such was the disposition of the whole people, than the existence of the same qualities in Archelaus argues their prevalence in Macedonia. This is sufficient to distinguish them from the race of the Greeks, so highly endowed by nature. We are therefore induced to conjecture that this nation, which a short time before the expedition of the Heraclidæ, migrated from Thesprotia, and indeed from the territory of Ephyra (Cichyrus) into the plain of the Peneus, had originally come from Illyria. On the other hand indeed, many points of similarity in the customs of the Thessalians and Dorians might be brought forward. Thus for example, the love for the male sex (that usage peculiar to the Dorians) was also common among the Illyrians, and the objects of affection were, as at Sparta, called *ἀἵται*^r; the women also, as amongst the Dorians, were addressed by the title of ladies (*δέσποινας*), a title uncommon in Greece, and expressive of the estimation in which they were held^s. A great freedom in

^q Compare *Θεσσαλικά πτερά* in several grammarians, with *Didymus* in *Ammonius* in *χλαμύς*. More will be found on this subject in book IV. c. 2. §. 4.

^r Compare *Theocritus* XII. 14. with *Alcman* quoted in the *Scholia*, and b. IV. c. 4. §. 6.

^s *Hesychius* in *δεσποίνας*. See book IV. c. 4. §. 4.

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

6

INTRODUCTION.

the manners of the female sex was nevertheless customary among the Illyrians, who in this respect bore a nearer resemblance to the northern nations †. Upon the whole, however, these migrations from the north had the effect of disseminating among the Greeks manners and institutions which were entirely unknown to their ancestors, as represented by Homer.

5. We will now proceed to inquire what was the extent of territory gained by the Illyrians in the west of Greece. Great part of Epirus had in early times been inhabited by Pelasgi †, to which race the inhabitants of Dodona are likewise affirmed by the best authorities to have belonged, as well as the whole nation of Thesprotians ‡; also the Chaonians at the foot of the Acroceraunian mountains §, and the Chones, Cœnetri, and Peucetii on the opposite coast of Italy, are said to have been of this race ¶. The ancient buildings, institutions, and religious worship of the Epirotes, are also manifestly of Pelasgic origin. We suppose always that the Pelasgi were Greeks, and spoke the Grecian language, an opinion however in support of which we will on this occasion only adduce a few arguments. It must then be borne in mind, that all the races whose migrations took place at a late period, such as the Achæans, Ionians, Dorians, were not (the last in

† According to Ælian. V. H. III. 15. the women of Illyria were present at banquets and wine-parties; Herod. V. 18. says the contrary of the Macedonians. On the subject of these two sections generally, see Appendix I.

‡ Strabo V. p. 221.

¶ See particularly Stephan.

Byzant. in **Εφύρα*.

‡ Alexander Ephesius ap. Stephan. Byz. in *Xaovia*.

§ Niebuhr's Roman History, vol. I. p. 34. Hence many names were the same in both countries; as, *e. g.*, Caulonia, Pandosia (Justin. XII. 2), Acheron, Acherontia, &c.

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

SECT. 5. ON THE NORTH OF GREECE. 7

particular) sufficiently powerful or numerous to effect a complete change in the customs of a barbarous population^a; that many districts, Arcadia and Perhæbia for instance, remained entirely Pelasgic, without being inhabited by any nation not of Grecian origin; that the most ancient names, either of Grecian places or mentioned in their traditions, belonged indeed to a different era of the dialect, but not to another language; that finally, the great similarity between the Latin and Greek can only be explained by supposing the Pelasgic language to have formed the connecting link. Now the nations of Epirus were almost reduced to a complete state of barbarism by the operation of causes, which could only have had their origin in Illyria^b; and in the historic age, the Ambracian bay was the boundary of Greece. In later times more than half of Ætolia ceased to be Grecian, and without doubt adopted the manners and language of the Illyrians^c; from which point the Athamanes, an Epirote and Illyrian nation, pressed into the south of Thessaly^d. Migrations and predatory expeditions, such as the Encheleans had un-

^a Herodotus also says, that the Ionians and Æolians had formerly been Pelasgi, having, as it were, swallowed up that nation; he must however assume that they changed their language (*μετέμαθον τὴν γλῶσσαν*), as the language of the Pelasgi who dwelt near Crestona and Placia (which was probably nothing more than an ancient dialect) appeared to him barbarous. Æschylus (Suppl. 911.) opposes them, as real Greeks; to the *κάρβαροι*, or barbarians.

^b Thus *e. g.* the Chaonians, according to Thucyd. II. 80. The following ancient Greek forms occur in the Epirotan dialect: *γδοῦπος* for *δοῦπος* (Maittaire p. 141.), *γνώσκω*, *nosco*, Orion p. 42. 17. "Ἀσπετος Achilles, Plut. Pyrrh. I. (*α-ἔπομαι*.) The account in Strabo VII. p. 327, of two languages being spoken in some districts, doubtless refers to the coexistence of Grecian and Illyrian dialects.

^c Polyb. XVII. 5. 8.

^d *Orchomenos* p. 253.

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

8

INTRODUCTION.

dertaken in the fabulous times, continued without intermission to repress and keep down the genuine population of Greece.

6. The Illyrians were in these ancient times also bounded on the east by the Phrygians and Thracians, as well as by the Pelasgi. The PHRYGIANS were at this time the immediate neighbours of the Macedonians in Lebæa, by whom they were called Brygians (*Βρύγες, Βρύγοι, Βρίγες*)^c; they dwelt at the foot of the snowy Bermius, where the fabulous rose-gardens of king Midas were situated, while walking in which the wise Silenus was fabled to have been taken prisoner. They also fought from this place (as the Telegonia of Eugammon related^f) with the Thesprotians of Epirus. At no great distance from hence were the Mygdonians, the people nearest related to the Phrygians. According to Xanthus, this nation did not migrate to Asia until after the Trojan war^g. But, in the first place, the Cretan traditions begin with religious ceremonies and fables, which appear from the most ancient testimonies to have been derived from Phrygians of Asia^h; and secondly the Armenians, who were beyond a doubt of a kindred race to the Phrygiansⁱ, were considered as an

^c According to Hesychius, *Βρέκως* (*Βερεκύντριος*) is the same word as *Βρύξ*. *Bruges* was also used by Ennius, and, as it appears, by Marcus Brutus, (Plutarch. *Brut.* 45.)

^f See the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus. *Briges*, or *Phryges*, in the region of Dyrrachium, Apian. *Bell. Civ.* II. 39.

^g Creuzer *Fragment. Histor.* p. 171. Strabo XIV. p. 680.

Compare Conon in Photius I.

^h Concerning this point, see Hoeck's *History of Crete*, vol. I. p. 109 sqq.

ⁱ According to the opinion of their colonists, Herod. VII. 73. Eudoxus ap. Steph. in *Ἀρμενία*. Compare Heeren *De Linguarum Asiaticarum in Persarum Imperio Cognatione*, Comment. Gotting. vol. XIII.

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Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

SECT. 6. ON THE NORTH OF GREECE. 9

aboriginal nation in their own territory^k. It will therefore be sufficient to recognise the same race of men in Armenia, Asia Minor, and at the foot of mount Bermius, without supposing that all the Armenians and Phrygians emigrated from the latter settlement on the Macedonian coast. The intermediate space between Illyria and Asia, a district across which numerous nations migrated in ancient times, was peopled irregularly from so many sides, that the national uniformity which seems to have once existed in those parts was speedily deranged. The most important documents respecting the connexion between the Phrygian and other nations are the traces that remain of its dialect. It was well known in Plato's time that many primitive words of the Grecian language were to be recognised with a slight alteration in the Phrygian, such as πῦρ, ὕδωρ, κύων^l; and the great similarity of grammatical structure which the Armenian now displays with the

^k The Armenians frequently occur in the ancient traditional history of the oriental kingdoms; *e. g.* in Diod. II. 1. as conquered by Ninus. They are likewise represented as the original inhabitants in the native legends collected by Moses of Chorene.

^l Plato Cratyl. p. 410 A. It is remarkable that these words are also in the German language. Πῦρ (see Grimm's excellent Grammar, p. 584. 2d ed.) in ancient High German was *vürri*, in Low German *für*. Κύων, *canis*, *hund* (*d* added as in μῆν, μᾶν—Phrygian for *moon*—and *mahnd*, *mond*). ὕδωρ, in

High German *wazar*, in Low German *water*; the digamma is present in the genuine Phrygian form βέδν, which, on account of ancient vicinity, was also a Macedonian and *Orphic* word (see Neanth. Cyzicen. ap. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 673. Jablonsky *de Lingua Phrygia* p. 76.), and is sometimes translated *water*, and sometimes *air*. Lastly, the Phrygian inscription in Walpole's Memoirs, especially the words ΜΙΔΑΙ ΛΑΦΑΓΤΑΕΙ ΦΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ, prove that it had a great resemblance, both in radical forms and inflexion, with the Greek.

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978-1-108-01109-9 - History and Antiquities of the Doric Race, Volume 1

Carl Otfried Muller

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Greek, must be referred to this original connexion^m. The Phrygians in Asia have however been without doubt intermixed with Syrians, who not only established themselves on the right bank of the Halys, but on the left also in Lycaoniaⁿ, and as far as Lycia^o, and accordingly adopted much of the Syrian language and religion^p. Their enthusiastic and frantic ceremonies however had doubtless always formed part of their religion: these they had in common with their immediate neighbours the Thracians: but the ancient Greeks appear to have been almost entirely unacquainted with such rites.

7. The THRACIANS, who settled in Pieria at the foot of mount Olympus, and from thence came down to mount Helicon, as being the originators of the worship of Bacchus and the Muses, and the fathers of Grecian poetry^q, are a nation of the highest importance in the history of civilization. We cannot but suppose that they spoke a dialect very similar to the Greek, since otherwise they could not have had any considerable influence upon the latter people. They were in all probability derived originally

^m Thus the verb *sum* keeps in the Armenian or Haicanian the same fundamental form which it has in all the languages allied to the Greek (*yem, yes, e—sum, es, est*). And it is remarkable, that the three Phrygian Greek words noticed in the text have been likewise preserved in the Haicanian: *πῦρ* is *hur* (as *πατήρ hair, πέντε hink*); *ἄδωρ, tschur* (as *θερμός tscherm*); *κύων* is *shun*. See Klaproth *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 99.

ⁿ See Jablonsky *de Lingua Lycaon*. Opusc. vol. III. p. 119.

^o That is, if the epic poet Chœrilus spoke of Lyctian Solymi in the well-known passage preserved in Josephus cont. Apion. vol. II. p. 454. ed. Haverc. &c. See Næke's Chœrilus, p. 130 sq.

^p E. g. *ἀδάγους*, an androgynous deity (Hesych. in v.), from *Dagon*; the name *Adon* (Athen. XIV. p. 624.); *βαλλήν, king*, (Hesych. in v. Eustath. ad Od. τ'. p. 680. Bas.) from *Baal*, &c. See Blomf. ad Æsch. Pers. 663.

^q See *Orchomenos*, p. 379—390.