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

Carl Otfried Müller

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### History and Antiquities of the Doric Race

This two-volume book, originally published in German in 1824, was revised, corrected and enlarged for this 1830 English translation. Carl Otfried Müller (1797–1840) was a pioneering scholar of ancient civilisations and Greek mythology, who taught at Göttingen for twenty years, but died in Greece during an archaeological expedition. This first volume focuses on the history of the Dorians from the earliest times to the end of the Peloponnesian War. Müller proposes Mount Olympus as the original home of the Dorians, and describes their subsequent migrations and their principles of government. The second part of Volume 1 is devoted to the religion and mythology of the Dorians and gives detailed accounts of the temples of Apollo and other temples in Asia Minor. The final two chapters discuss the legends and mythology of Hercules. Volume 2 goes on to discuss political institutions, domestic life, education and the arts.

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# History and Antiquities of the Doric Race

VOLUME 1

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THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DORIC RACE,

BY

C. O. MÜLLER,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

HENRY TUFNELL, ESQ.

AND

GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, ESQ.

STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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VOL. I.

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## THE TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

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THE History, of which an English translation is now offered to the public, forms the second and third volumes of a work by Professor C. O. Müller, entitled, "Histories of Greek Tribes and Cities." The first volume of this series was published separately under the name of "Orchomenos and the Minyæ;" and contains a most learned and valuable examination of the mythology and early history of Orchomenos and other towns of Bœotia, and of the migrations of the Minyæ, together with other questions more or less connected with these subjects. It is, in every respect, a distinct and separate work from the Dorians, comprised in the second and third volumes; nor was it more incumbent on us to publish a translation of that first volume, because it is often referred to in the subsequent volumes, than of the many other admirable works on Grecian history, equally referred to, which are inaccessible to persons not acquainted with the German language.

At a time when a large part of the present translation had been completed, the translators communicated by letter to Professor Müller their intention with regard to his work on the Dorians, and re-

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requested him to read the manuscript of their translation before it was printed, in case they should have any where committed any errors, or failed to catch the import of his words. To this request Mr. Müller, though not personally known by either of the translators, not only acceded, but, with an unexpected, and indeed unhoped-for liberality, expressed his willingness to contribute to our translation all the alterations and additions which his reading had suggested since the appearance of the original work. The manuscript was accordingly transmitted, and carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author. Of the value of these changes it would perhaps be improper that we should speak in the terms which they seem to us to deserve: of their number, however, as this can be brought to a certain test, we will venture to assert, that few books undergo so great changes after their first publication; and that the present work may be in strictness considered, not only a translation, but a new edition of the original. In making these changes, it was also the author's wish to clear up ambiguities or obscurity of meaning, either by a change in the expression, or a fuller developement of the thought: and we cannot help hoping, that even to a person acquainted with German our translation will thus be found in many places more explicit and satisfactory than the original text.

Besides those alterations, which appear for the

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first time in the following translation, the additions and corrections published by the author in his "Introduction to a scientific System of Mythology" have been here incorporated; and a Dissertation on the early history of the Macedonian nation, published separately by the author, some time after the appearance of the Dorians, has been inserted in the Appendix.

Not only has the small map of Macedonia, appended to this Dissertation, been inserted in our translation, in addition to the map of the Peloponnese, which was alone contained in the original work, but also a map of northern Greece, which, together with the explanatory article inserted in the Appendix, is now for the first time given to the public. These three maps together furnish a complete geographical picture of ancient Greece, from the promontory of Tænarum to the north of Macedonia; and we may be allowed to say, that in accuracy and fulness of detail, they rival, if not excel, all other maps of the same regions<sup>a</sup>.

After the printing of the whole work (with the exception of the Appendix) had been completed, the sheets were sent to Mr. Müller, by which means not only the translation of the original, but also of

<sup>a</sup> The map of Northern Greece was not received until that of the Peloponnese had been engraved; and being intended by the author for circulation in Germany, as well as in England the names are given in Latin. This must serve as an apology for this want of uniformity in the two maps.



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the manuscript additions, have received the approbation of the author. Any discrepancies, therefore, which may appear between the translation and the original must be considered as sanctioned by the author. The translators at the same time think it right to state, in case Mr. Müller should be exposed to any misrepresentations in his own country, that in making their translation they did not consider themselves bound to follow the letter of the original, and have sometimes indulged in a free paraphrase: while in some places they suggested more considerable changes, on account of the difference between the opinions on many important subjects which generally prevail in England and Germany.

In translating a work embracing so many subjects, which have scarcely ever been treated by an English writer, we have had to contend with the difficulties presented by the character of our language less patient of neologisms and foreign terms than the German. As a considerable part of the following pages is dedicated to an examination of the early history and religion, and therefore of the mythology of the Doric race, we have had frequent occasion for a word which should express that subject of which mythology treats. Now, as mythology is a λόγος περὶ μύθων, nothing could be more precise or convenient than the term *mythus*, and its derivative *mythical*, which have been naturalized by the Ger-

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man writers, and which it has been lately attempted to introduce into our language. It is not to be expected that we should enter into a detailed investigation of the different senses in which the words *μῦθος* or *mythus* have been used. It is sufficient to say, that where the tales of mythology have a *historical* meaning, a *mythus* may be defined to be a fictitious or fanciful narrative, having an analogy to some real event or events. Thus, to take an instance from the following work<sup>b</sup>, a certain king, Hellen, was said to have had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus; Xuthus to have had two sons, Ion and Achæus. From these four progenitors the four races of the Hellenes, named Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans were said to have been descended. Now, literally taken, this story is absolutely false. The historical memorials of Greece do not enable us to trace nations up to individuals: and in this instance, not only the fact, that this genealogy is fictitious, but even the time when it was invented, can be shewn. But the facts, to which this fabulous pedigree bears an analogy, are, that these four races belonged to the nation of Hellenes; that though in many things differing, yet on the whole they had a strong national affinity; and stood to one another, as it were, in the relation of brethren. Again, (to take another instance from the same source<sup>c</sup>;) Cyrene, a nymph beloved by

<sup>b</sup> See vol. I. p. 510.<sup>c</sup> Vol. I. p. 293.

Apollo, was reported to have been carried by that god to Africa, in a chariot drawn by swans. This is a metaphorical or fanciful representation of the real fact, that the town of Cyrene was founded on the coast of Africa under the superintendence of the oracle of Apollo. Now although both these *μῦθοι* or *fables* are, if literally interpreted, false; they are not the mere vagaries or unauthorized fictions of a poetical fancy. The imagination of the mythologist was “a chartered libertine;” and his stories were as much invented with a designed application as those of a professed fabulist. This very sense the word *fable* has seemed to us to express with great propriety. As in Greek the word *μῦθος* is applied both to the tales of mythology and of Æsop and his imitators<sup>d</sup>, so in English the word *fable*, which commonly signifies a fictitious story of events contrary to the order of nature, intended by its analogous application to illustrate or enforce some moral lesson, may properly be extended to those fictitious narratives of mythology, which have an analogous allusion or reference to real events. It is true, that as the story, considered by itself, is false, we sometimes use *fable* as synonymous with *falsehood*; and hence the common usage of the word *fabulous*, which we have taken the liberty to employ in the larger sense just described.

Neither have we ventured to imitate the Germans

<sup>d</sup> *Μῦθοι Αἰσώπειοι, &c.*

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in writing Demeter, Zeus, Hermes, &c.; but have followed the English custom (which probably originated from reading Greek books in Latin translations) of using the names of the corresponding deities of the Romans. We are aware of the confusion which this practice occasions in a comparison of the Greek and Roman religions, or in a treatise which embraces both these subjects: in the present work, however, where the Latin may be taken as the exact synonyms of the Greek names, we trust that no obscurity will be caused by this practice, and must leave this very desirable innovation to writers of higher authority than ourselves.

It may likewise, perhaps, be useful to mention that by the phrase *elementary religion*, which frequently occurs in the following translation, is meant a worship of the outward objects of nature, such as the sun, the moon, the earth, the waters, or of those active and productive powers which seem to cause the changes of seasons and the growth of vegetable life.

In speaking of the political institutions of the states of ancient Greece, we are not aware of having used any foreign terms, except *timocracy*, which it is perhaps needless to say was used by the political writers of Greece to signify a government founded on wealth, or in which the qualification for public offices, or a seat in the popular assemblies and courts of justice, was the possession of a certain

amount of property (τίμημα, or *census*). There is, however, a subject connected with the political divisions of the ancient states, on which little or no information is to be found in any English writer; and we have therefore collected from some German books, a knowledge of which is presupposed in the following work, a brief account of the meaning of the terms φυλή, φρατρία, πάτρα, γένος, and οἶκος.

We shall begin by setting down a translation of a passage of Dicæarchus, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>e</sup>, which is the chief authority on this difficult subject.

<sup>e</sup> Steph. Byz. in πάτρα. Πάτρα ἐν τῶν τριῶν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι κοινωνίας εἰδῶν, ὡς Δικαίάρχος, ἃ δὲ καλοῦμεν πάτραν, φρατρίαν, φυλήν. ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μὲν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν μετάβασιν ἐλθόντων ἢ κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστῳ πρότερον οὖσα συγγένεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τε καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Διακίδας ἢ Πελοπίδας εἴποι τις ἄν.

Φατρίαν δὲ συνέβη λέγεσθαι καὶ φρατρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τινες εἰς ἑτέραν πάτραν ἐδίδουσιν τὰς θυγατέρας ἑαυτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν πατριωτικῶν ἱερῶν εἶχε κοινωνίαν ἢ δοθείσα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὴν συντελεῖ πάτραν. ὥστε πρότερον πάθῃ τῆς συνόδου γιγνομένης ἀδελφαῖς σὺν ἀδελφῷ, ἑτέρα τις ἱερῶν ἐτέθη κοινωνικὴ σύνοδος, ἣν δὲ φρατρίαν ὠνόμαζον· καὶ πάλιν ὥστε πάτρα μὲν ὅνπερ εἵπομεν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τρόπον ἐγένετο μάλιστα τῆς γονέων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ τέκνων σὺν γονεῦσι, φρατρία δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Φυλὴ δὲ καὶ φυλεῖται πρότερον ὠνομάσθησαν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ καλούμενα ἔθνη συνόδου γενομένης· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν συνελθόντων φύλον ἐλέγετο εἶναι.

In the above passage the necessary emendations of Buttmann have been received, viz. φατρίαν δὲ συνέβη for πατρίαν δὲ συνέβη, ἑτέραν πάτραν for ἑτέραν φράτραν, φρατρίαν ὠνόμαζον for πατρίαν ὠνόμαζον, τῆς γονέων for τοῖς γονέων, and τέκνων for τέκνα. In the last clause Wachsmuth suggests πρῶτον for πρότερον. The word it-

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“ *Patra* was the name of the second stage of relationship among different persons, the first having merely been the affinity between man and wife. Its title was derived from the most ancient and powerful of the race, as, for instance, the *Æacidæ* or *Pelopidæ*.

“ The names *Phatria* and *Phratría* arose as follows. When a man married his daughter to the member of a different *Patra*, the bride no longer continued to share in the sacred rites of the *Patra* to which she by birth belonged, but was reckoned in the *Patra* of her husband. So that a meeting of brothers and sisters in different *Patras* having first arisen from natural affection, another society was formed, with a community of sacred rites, called *Phratría*. Thus a *Patra* arose chiefly from the affinity of parents and children, and children and parents, and a *Phratría* from that of brothers and sisters.

“ The terms *φυλὴ* and *φυλέται* first arose from the association of mankind into states and nations, each of the combining parts being called a *φῦλον*.”

The above very curious passage of Dicaearchus, self is perhaps not required. And afterwards we ought probably to read *ὠνομάσθησαν τῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις*, &c. as the same writer appears to suggest.

See Buttmann, *Berlin Transactions* 1818—19, on *φρατρία*, reprinted in *Mythologus*, vol. II. p. 304—334; Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. part I. p. 312; Boeckh and Dissen on Pindar, as quoted below, vol. II. p. 83. note “; Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. I. p. 266 sqq. ed. 2. Engl. transl.

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who was a pupil of Aristotle, must be considered in reference to the political theory of that philosopher. The most simple element of civil society is, according to Aristotle, a family: the next a village, which is a collection or assemblage of families: the last a state, which is a collection or union of villages. Aristotle, therefore, considers mankind as brought together by the communion of *place*. Dicaearchus, however, supposes the principle of union to have been, not communion of residence, but relationship. In shewing this, he supposes society to be resolved into its most simple element, a married pair. This is the first stage; and he then proceeds to form a nation, as it were, *synthetically*; that is, he adds the parts together, to make up the whole. The second degree is a *family*, properly so called; that is, a number of persons deriving their descent from the same stock. This was sometimes called *πάτρα*, as being a collection of persons springing from the same father, or *πατήρ*. This person (whether real or supposed) gave his name to all his descendants, such as the Æacidæ from Æacus, the Heraclidæ from Hercules, &c. which corresponds to our *surname*. In the origin of society, a family would consist only of parents and children living under the same roof. This is the point at which Dicaearchus must take it<sup>f</sup>; for his

<sup>f</sup> Compare Cicero de Offic. I. 17. *Prima societas in ipso conjugio est: proxima in liberis: deinde una domus, communia omnia*

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third stage is a *collection of families*, which arose, he says, from the regret which the sisters, when married, felt for the loss of their brothers' company; as the wife belonged to the Patra, or family, of her husband<sup>g</sup>. Hence certain meetings were held, at which all the Patræ connected by marriage took part in the same rites and sacrifices, and thus formed a certain political division, called a *Phratría*, from φρατήρ, the same as *frater*; because the connexion originated, not, like a Patra, from *paternal*, but from *fraternal* affection. This great religious festival was by the Ionians and Athenians celebrated under the name of Ἀπατούρια, "the union of "the πάτορες, or members of the πάτροι<sup>h</sup>." An union of these larger bodies, or Phratrias, made a φυλή, or

.... *Sequuntur fratrum conjunctiones, sobrinorumque: qui cum una domo jam capi non possint, in alias domos, tanquam in colonias, exeunt* (thus making several οἶκοι, but only one γένος). *Sequuntur connubia et affinitates* (φρατρία) .... *Sanguinis autem conjunctio benevolentia devincit homines et caritate. Magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta majorum, iisdem uti sacris, sepulcra habere communia.*

<sup>g</sup> " *Apud Sophoclem in Tereo fragm. VII. mulier queritur,*

ὅταν δ' ἐς ἡβην ἐξικώμεθ' εὐφρονες,  
ὠθύμεθ' ἔξω, καὶ διεμπολώμεθα  
θεῶν πατρώων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο.

*filia enim enubunt e sacris familiaribus et gentiliis,*

τὸ δ' ἄρσεν ἔστηκ' ἐν δόμοις αἰὲ γένος  
θεῶν πατρώων καὶ τάφων τιμάορον.

*Eurip. Dan. fragm. VII. Hoc in commune valet, exceptis epidicis; nam sacra heredem sequuntur.*" Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, vol. II. p. 1206.

<sup>h</sup> Below, p. 95. note <sup>f</sup>.



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tribe (*tribus*), which tribes were again combined into a state.

The above passage sufficiently explains the terms *φρατρία* (and its synonym the Spartan *ὠβὰ*) and *φυλῆ*, with which the Latin *tribus* corresponds; and accordingly the word *tribe* has often been used in this restricted sense in the present translation. It should, however, be remarked, that in the above passage, where a *φρατρία* is considered as made up of families, and a tribe of Phratrias, the tribe is supposed to be formed by descent, and to have no reference to place. A tribe, in this sense, is a certain division of the inhabitants of a country according to their birth. But when, as in Attica after the change of Cleisthenes, a state is considered as made up of *φυλαὶ* and *δῆμοι*, of *tribes* and *boroughs* (as we have always rendered *δῆμος*), a tribe is a certain territorial division, a portion of the surface of the country, which is further subdivided into smaller areas, called *δῆμοι*, each containing a town, which, as being the most important part of this district, is itself commonly called *δῆμος*. Hence we have rendered it by the word *borough*, as signifying a country town of some consideration. The word *family* would exactly represent the *πάτρα* of Dicæarchus, if that were its common use; but unhappily such is not the fact. *Πάτρα*, together with *γένος*, and its Latin synonym *gens*, is used to denote, not only those who were really, but those who *supposed* themselves descend-

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ed from the same ancestor. Whether all the members of the *γένη* of Athens and other places, and the *πάτραι* of Corinth, Ægina, and some Ionic islands, were in fact derived from the same stock, it is needless to inquire; it being sufficient to know that they certainly were not descended from the person to whom they referred their origin; this forefather being, in most cases, a hero or a god who never had a real existence. Thus we are not to revive the system of Euhemerus, and suppose that Butes and Æacus were real men, because the Eteobutadæ of Athens and the Æacidæ of Ægina were said to have sprung from them. In this manner the members of the same *γένος* composed many different families, and lived in many houses; and only retained their gentile connexions by sharing the same surname and the same peculiar religious rites. Accordingly the *πάτρα* or *γένος* only differed from the *φρατρία* or *ὠβὰ* in the number of its members, or its comprehensiveness. A single family, as living in one house, the Greeks called *οἶκος*: *γένος* was a collection of families, supposed to have a common descent, and chiefly held together by a participation in the same religious observances. To mark this distinction between *οἶκος* and *γένος*, the translators of Niebuhr's Roman History have employed *family* for the former, and *house* for the latter: a usage which it seems impossible to approve; as *house* appears to imply even more forcibly than *family* the sameness

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of descent and of habitation. We have therefore retained the one word in its common acceptation; and have translated γένος by *clan*, guided by the analogy of the divisions so called in Scotland. In that country the clans were certain divisions of the people, of which all the members bore a common surname, the mark of a supposed common descent. The Campbells, for instance, or the Douglasses, formed a body precisely analogous to the *gens* of the Romans, or the γένος and πάτρα of the Greeks: they might have contained more hearths or families (οἴκοι) than was common in ancient states; although the well-known story of the Fabian clan proves that, when the vassals were included, their numerical force was sometimes very great. “The clans of the “Gael,” says Thierry, in his History of the Norman Conquest of England<sup>i</sup>, “were perpetuated in freedom under the patriarchal chiefs; to whom the “men of the clan, bearing all the same name, were “obedient, like sons to their father. Every tribe “which, not having a patriarch, a representative of “the original father, lived in separate families, was “considered as base: but few incurred this dishonour; for to avoid it, the poets and historians— “great authors of genealogies—always took care to “make each new chief descend from the primitive “one, the common forefather of the whole tribe. “In token of this filiation, which was never to be

<sup>i</sup> Vol. II. p. 273. Engl. transl.

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“ interrupted, the actual chief added to his name a  
 “ patronymic surname, which all his predecessors  
 “ had borne, and which in like manner all his suc-  
 “ cessors were to take.”

With the above explanation, it is hoped that the author's discussion on the political divisions in the Doric states will be intelligible to persons not previously acquainted with the subject. At the same time, in case the reader should meet with any other question of which too great a knowledge is presupposed by the author, we think it proper to state, that it was not our intention to be commentators as well as translators, or to explain and examine while we interpret. To some of the opinions, and particularly to the political doctrines contained in the following work, we regret that we are unable to assent: but we think it needless to enter our protest against any other than the supposition (which has been sometimes incautiously, perhaps unfairly made), that a translator is bound by the doctrines of the writer whom he renders.

But while we guard against this misunderstanding, we cannot forbear from avowing our conviction that there are few books comprehending so large a field of early history, and ascending into the dim regions of fable and mythology, which will be found to contain so few erroneous or dangerous speculations as the following work. The pages of early Grecian history are, in the works generally received in this

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country, occupied with a mass of puerile and incredible fables, purified in part of their more obvious absurdities, and reduced to an apparent chronological order. These narratives have been borrowed from one historian by another, and repeated with as much confidence as the history of the Peloponnesian war, or of the age of Philip and Demosthenes. But where contemporary history is wanting, such a superficial study of the supposed historical accounts is worse than no study at all. It is better to reject all, than to believe all, where the alloy of error is large. In these obscure regions, the historian can only be safe when guided by a careful comparison of all the different legends of the numerous states and cities of Greece, so as to decipher their metaphorical language; by a study of the geography, and nature of the country, the history and remains of art, and of religion, of ancient inscriptions and coins, and of every other means which ingenuity can contrive for restoring from its fragments the ruined fabric of antiquity. That the author has by long, patient, and sober investigation penetrated into the depths of ancient Grecian history; that he has removed much which was false, and substituted what is true; and frequently found the master key to the windings and intricacies of mythology, must be acknowledged even by those who will not assent implicitly to all his conclusions. We can, however, venture to say, that the candour and unwearied diligence of

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the author (to which the translators are indebted for improvements in this edition to an amount of which they are no less sensible than grateful) will lead him not only to hail with pleasure the researches of those who may disagree with him, but even to strengthen their conclusions and extend their inquiries.

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