

## THE MODERN GREEK AND HIS ANCESTRY.

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### I.

IN the history of the Balkan Peninsula during the nineteenth and in the present century, we are always struck anew by the great importance which the question of nationality has for the formation of political frontiers. Urged by the racial consciousness of the nations, diplomacy has not only founded the States of the Balkan Peninsula according to that principle of nationality, but also examines and approves the expansion of these States according to it. And just now the politicians of the Balkans base their titles to the territories won by the present war upon that principle. For the sentence "the Balkans for the Balkan nations" means, that the Balkan territories must be distributed according to what the ethnographical map requires. This, of course, in practice is not so simple; about the ethnographical map of such a territory as, for instance, Macedonia, the Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians do not agree at all, because each of these nations thinks it proved by science that the largest part of the country they struggle for is populated by their own race. And so the Macedonian question, which has occupied Europe for years, and which has now become acute, is a characteristic example of "applied anthropology and ethnography". The last example is the planned foundation of an independent Albanian State: though it may be demanded by Austria and Italy in the first place for political and economic reasons, yet it is to be justified only by the fact that the Albanians with regard to their ethnographical position are a peculiar race, plainly different from Slavs and Greeks, forming together with the Greeks the oldest population of the Peninsula. And as the Servians from their desire of expansion would like to swallow Northern Albania and uproot the

Albanians, the principle "Albania for the Albanians" must be objected to: for what is right for Greeks and Slavs is just for Albanians too.

The examples which I have quoted show how sometimes practical politics and theoretical science go together in order to decide on the "to be or not to be" of whole nations.

Greece, the one amongst the Balkan States that first freed herself from the Turkish Empire, also was obliged, soon after having liberated herself, to struggle to give scientific proof of her nationality. When the Greek people directed the attention of Europe to itself by its heroic fight for liberty, and roused the educated men of Europe into a passion of Philhellenic enthusiasm, it was thought an axiom that the brave men who tried with deadly determination to break the bonds of 400 years' slavery were the successors of those Athenians and Spartans who once had repelled the lust of conquest of Oriental barbarians on the battle-fields of Marathon and Plataeae. And although the Philhellenes quickly became sober in a certain sense, yet it was like a bomb, threatening to blow new-risen Greece into the air, when, in the year 1830, the German scholar Fallmerayer, the distinguished investigator of Medieval Greek history, quietly pronounced the sentence that in the Balkans the Greek race had been long ago annihilated.

"Not even a drop of pure and unmixed blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of Modern Greece. A storm like which but few have attacked the people of Europe has spread over the whole territory between the Ister and the inmost corner of the Peloponnesian Peninsula a new race of inhabitants which is related to the great Slavonic race. And a second revolution, perhaps not less important, the immigration of the Albanians into Greece, has finished the scenes of destruction. There is now in the middle of Continental Greece not one Greek family whose ancestors were not Scyths, Slavs or Arnauts, Almugavarians or Franks or hellenised Asiatics from Phrygia."

With these words Fallmerayer, in his "History of the Peninsula of Morea," announced his theory. The vehement excitement to which the Greeks and the Philhellenes were roused, at first hindered a cool examination of the assertion; the pros and cons were debated with equally imperfect arguments; the very putting of the question "Slavs or Greeks," and the one-sided answering of it *a priori*, did not make a disinterested solution possible.<sup>1</sup> For the Greeks the

answer was from the beginning clearly provoked by the importance of the question : for Fallmerayer himself had given a political point to his theory, and the danger for Greece was that the brilliant essayist should on the basis of his doctrine have emphasised the political solidity of the Turks and their right to authority ;<sup>2</sup> it was still more dangerous for the political existence of Greece that the hypothesis could be used in a panslavistic sense. Even to-day such tendencies are thought dangerous by the Greeks. It is, for instance, not so long ago (in 1900) that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular language, which was favoured by Queen Olga of Greece, a Russian princess, was taken as a symptom of panslavist agitation and therefore combated with passion by the adversaries of the popular language, although there was no relation between the two things.<sup>3</sup>

I cannot believe that panslavist or even personal motives, such as vanity or the desire of attracting people's attention to himself, impelled Fallmerayer to his assertion :<sup>4</sup> for his scientific merits and his name as an author protect him against the reproach of needing such vulgar means in order to make an impression.

Fallmerayer's hypothesis, often discussed and much disputed, has evoked the question about the origins of the Modern Greek. The theory of the Slavonisation of Greece had been also broached some time before by the well-known Slavist Kopitar, but only in a few words and without close investigation.<sup>5</sup> And Kopitar had already pointed to the testimony, which was always quoted anew in this discussion, and is due to a bearer of the Imperial Byzantine Crown. Constantinus Porphyrogenetus (912-959), in one of his numerous works (*De Thematibus*, 2, 53), says about the Peloponnesus : *πάσα χώρα ἐσθλαβώθη καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος*, "the whole country was slavonised and barbarised".

Let us see now what are the historical facts upon which this saying is based.<sup>6</sup>

The Balkan Peninsula has had such a thorough shifting of its ethnographical conditions as few parts of Europe. At the time when German tribes began moving, that is, at the end of the third century after Christ, a gradual immigration of Slavonic tribes into the Balkan Peninsula began ; their invasions became more and more frequent, since the Goths chose Western Europe as the goal of their conquering expeditions and left to the Slavs an open passage into the Balkan

countries. The Slavonic tribe of the Antes swept over the Haemus in 540, and made the first invasion into Hellas in that year. Different Slavonic tribes spread over Moesia, Thrace, Thessaly, and Epirus during the sixth century; the pass of Thermopylae and the Isthmus of Corinth did not stop them; only at the walls of fortified towns such as Constantinople, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Nauplion, and Patras was the rude force of the attacking hordes broken. Therefore it is an exaggeration to say that Avars and Slavs held the Peloponnesus from about the end of the sixth century for over 200 years without interruption, and that "no Greek could put his foot there";<sup>7</sup> for the fortified places always remained in the hands of the Byzantines. In the same way it is a legend exaggerated by Fallmerayer's fancy that Athens was quite depopulated during 400 years from the sixth century to the tenth century.<sup>8</sup>

A real Slavonisation of some Greek territories took place only in the eighth century, and attained its highest point when a horrible plague in 746 depopulated the Greek territories. Then it was that Slavs came from Thessaly to establish themselves as farmers and shepherds on the deserted country-side, perhaps settled there by the Byzantine Government itself, and that the whole of ancient Greece swarmed with Slavs. If the interpretation of a modern Greek historian is right, that the imperial writer understood the word *χώρα* "country" to mean "open country,"<sup>9</sup> the quoted words of the Emperor Constantine are justified.

"Even now"—says a Byzantine author of the tenth century<sup>10</sup> who made a meagre epitome of old Strabo—"even now the Skytho-Slavs inhabit almost the whole of Epirus and Hellas (i.e. Middle Greece), the Peloponnesus and Macedonia"—a sentence which allows us some latitude of interpretation, because the saying is restricted by the little word "almost," where a certain ignorance and inexactitude is concealed. That the Slavonic settlements of Greece Proper have had a different character from those of Croatia, Bulgaria, and Servia, is proved by the fact that in the territory of ancient Greece Slavonic States were not founded, as in Bulgaria and Servia, and that politics and culture remained Greek throughout in the numerous cities.

Finally when more and more Slavs followed and became an ever greater danger for the parts which had remained Greek and for the Byzantine Empire itself, the Empress Irene, a born Athenian, widow

of Leo IV., who, as her son's guardian, reigned from 780, sent her favourite chieftain, Staurakios, in 783, against the Slavonic inhabitants of Thessaly, Middle Greece, and the Peloponnesus. The year 783 marks an epoch in the history of the Slavonic settlements of Greece. Byzantium was trying to master the intruders. Immediately the Slavs were driven to a new rebellion, to an attack against the city of Patras. The patron saint of the town, Saint Andreas himself, saved Patras in 805 or 807, so pious tradition tells us, and preserved the Peloponnesus from thorough Slavonisation. During the ninth century the Slavs of the Peloponnesus were entirely overthrown, with the exception of the Ezerites and Milingi, who still for a long time maintained themselves in the mountains of Laconia.

With the defeat of the Slavs, the Greek elements of Hellas were strengthened again and began to absorb the Slavonic intruders. It is well known that Byzantium gave Christianity and culture to the Slavonic world: here, in the heart of Greece, Christianisation was the means which Greeks used for absorbing the foreign elements. The Hellenisation of the Slavonic Peloponnesus as a whole must have been quickly executed; if in the thirteenth century, or even still later, some remains of Slavonic-speaking inhabitants are still mentioned by Byzantine authors,<sup>11</sup> we must not draw conclusions from the statement for the whole ethnographical configuration of the Peloponnesus; thus, for instance, the fact that some Slavs live nowadays in the purely German province of Brandenburg or that the Welsh live in Wales does not allow us to conclude that Prussia is now a Slavonic country or England a Celtic one.

## II.

I have tried to describe shortly the historical facts on the basis of which Fallmerayer founded his hypothesis. Do these facts justify the German historian? At first they might seem to do so. But we have been already obliged to emphasise the fact that the Greek element always was preserved in the cities, and we had especially to cite the Peloponnesus as the place of Slavonic settlements, whereas the other countries which were Greek in antiquity were little or not at all touched by the Slavonic inundation.

In order to gain clear evidence about the ethnographical composi-

tion of the Modern Greek race, we ought before all to know the local expansion and the number of the Slavs who settled on Greek territory. But just there the proofs and documents fail, which we might expect from historical inquiry: we are not able to make an ethnographical map of the Slavonic epoch of Greece on the basis of historical or better documentary tradition, that is, we cannot precisely say in what proportion each district was inhabited by the Slavs: for the occasional historical proofs which we quoted above, or a notice in the journey of Bishop Willibald von Eichstätt (eighth century) saying that the town Monembasia (called Malvasia by the Venetians) is situated "in Sclavinia terra," i.e. in Slavonic country,<sup>12</sup> such testimonies are too general and too inexact sufficiently to inform us about the matter we want to know. Direct proofs of Slavonic inhabitants, especially archaeological discoveries and inscriptions, are missing; a single inscription, called Slavonic and found near Eleusis, is of doubtful value.<sup>13</sup> So we must seek for other means of help. A starting-point is the present grouping of the Balkan peoples. Greeks, i.e. Greek-speaking people, live to-day in the kingdom of Greece (with the exception of the districts inhabited by Albanians—see below), namely, in the provinces of Hellas and Thessaly; Greeks inhabit exclusively the Ionian Islands and all islands of the Ægean together with Crete; they form the main population of Epirus and the coast of Macedonia and Thrace, where at some points they extend far into the inner parts, for instance as far as Serres in Macedonia and Adrianople and Philippopolis; in the same manner, on the eastern border of the Ægean, i.e. the western coast of Asia Minor, and on the southern coast of the Black Sea to the frontier of Armenia, there are a number of Greek towns and villages: the line of the coast from about Sinope to Trebizond may directly be called a continuous dominion of the Greek language. Here and in single communities in the middle of Asia Minor (near the Taurus Mountains)<sup>14</sup> as well as on the southern border of Asia Minor the Greek language and Greek nationality have preserved and developed in quite an original manner. And finally the Isle of Cyprus is almost entirely Greek, probably more so than in the bloom of antiquity. The coast from Constantinople to Varna until a few years ago was also chiefly populated by Greeks (now they have greatly diminished here), and the towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea have important Greek colonies.<sup>15</sup> Although to-day the

race has no longer the imposing extension which it had during the hey-day of Attic sea-power or even in the time of Hellenistic kingdoms—Greek culture stretched then from the Columns of Hercules, i.e. from the Atlantic Sea, as far as the country of the Colchians near the Caucasus, from Marseille to Mesopotamia and for a time to India,—although the Greek race of to-day is less extended, yet it reigns in the pure Greek countries of the Ancient World, i.e. round the Ægean Sea : there are no Slavs in these countries ; there, where the latter prevail, i.e. in Bulgaria, in the *Hinterland* of Thrace and Macedonia, the Slavs have not supplanted the Greeks, but Hellenised or Latinised Macedonians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Thracians.<sup>16</sup>

In Greece Proper, Slavs have now quite disappeared, as I said before. About their former geographical expansion we are informed better than by history by the examination of the geographical names in Greek countries. The value and use of this criterion may be illustrated by the parallel conditions of Western Europe and England. Suppose we knew nothing from history about the ethnographical condition of Germany, France, and England, we might then conclude something about the ancient inhabitants from the geographical names : names such as Moguntiacum-Mainz, Brigantium-Bregenz, Brisiacum-Breisach in Germany, or Lugudunum-Lyon, Augustodunum-Autun in France, Eboracum-York, Campodunum, Noviomagus in England would inform us by their Celtic etymology, that the Celtic race was spread over the south and west of Germany, over France and England ; names of cities such as Augsburg = Augusta Rauracorum, Cöln = Colonia, Coblenz = Confluentes in Germany would attest Roman settlements, even if historical tradition or archæological discoveries did not exist. And between the Elbe and Weichsel River names such as Dresden, Chemnitz, Leipzig, and many others would surely testify by their etymology the former existence of Slavonic inhabitants, even if we did not know how German kings were obliged to win and to Germanise the country in a long series of battles with Slavs.

In the same manner the existence of Slavonic settlers is evidenced by geographical names in Greece : Tyrnavos (compare Trnava in Bulgaria), Ostrovo, Smokovo in Thessaly, Arachova, near Delphi, and in different parts of the Peloponnesus, Zagora, the name of the ancient Helicon, the seat of the Muses, Mount Chelmos in the north-west,

Verzova in the south-east of Arcadia, Gortsa in Laconia, Tserova and Selitsa in the territory of the Taygetus Mountains, the Kamenitsa River in Elis, Vostitsa in Achaia—these names which I take at random and which I could multiply to any extent, are of Slavonic origin and prove that in all the quoted districts Slavs were once settled. Examining these names more exactly, we observe that in some parts of the Peloponnesus they are more frequent, whereas Attica is almost entirely without Slavonic traces, and just there the conservation of names of the ancient communities or *demoi* strikes us: I quote the names of Kephisia, Mendeli (= Pentele), Marathonas, Ampelokipi, which is ancient Alopeke transformed by popular etymology. How in the course of time an old name can be entirely transformed, and how in spite of it a trace of the original denomination can be left, may be illustrated by the name of Mount Hymettus. After it had been preserved during the barbarian invasions of the middle age till the epoch of the Frankish conquerors, the mountain received from the Italians (Venetians) the name of Monte Matto, the foreigners adapting the word Hymettos to their own language, the word *matto* meaning “mad”. The Italian denomination became more and more familiar to the Greeks, and forgetting the old name they translated again the name Monte Matto in their language as Trelovuno, i.e. “a mad mount”; this popular name only now is vanishing under the ancient name Hymettos (pronounced Imitós) which is due to the influence of the school.

A critical inquiry into the whole material of geographical names—a work useful and important to the historian as well as to the ethnographer and to the linguist—is still to be made;<sup>17</sup> the statements of Fallmerayer and of his followers, as well as of his opponents, are quite void of a strictly scientific method, and contain many strange ideas. For instance, the opinion must be definitely abandoned to-day, that the modern name Morea for the Peloponnesus is of Slavonic origin; the word is of pure Greek origin meaning “country of mulberries”.<sup>18</sup> Many strange names were thought to be Slavonic, whereas they are in reality Albanian. Only when we once have the results of such an inquiry arranged in an ethnographical map, shall we be able to get perfect information about the ethnography of the Greek territories. Then we shall see in which districts Slavs have never lived, and where Greeks preserved themselves unmixed. That the cities always



remained Greek we have seen above ; with this conclusion agrees the fact that ancient names like Corinth, Nauplia, Patras, Lebadea, Thebes, Athens, Phersala (in Thessaly), and so on have resisted the storms of centuries. However, not only in the towns but also in the open country Greeks have preserved themselves : Argolis, for instance, is proved to have been free from Slavs by the great scarcity of Slavonic names ; the district Kynuria (on the east side of the Parnon Mountains) has remained quite Greek in the centre, as the existence of the curious tribe of the Tsakonians shows : whose language is a descendant of the ancient Laconian dialect. Furthermore an exhaustive inquiry made by myself into the geographical names in this district has confirmed the fact that Slavonic traces are missing entirely or almost entirely in Kynuria and in the southern neighbourhood of it as far as Malvasia (Monembasia).<sup>19</sup> For the same reason the inhabitants of the Taenaron Peninsula, about south of the line Tsimova-Gythion, the brave Maniates, men full of love of liberty, may pride themselves on a pure Greek ancestry.<sup>20</sup> Exact inquiry, therefore, does not confirm the assertion that in the Peloponnesus only one Greek geographical name is to be found against ten Slavonic ones. Thus even the condition of the Peloponnesus, which is used in the first place as a test for the Slavonisation of ancient Greek territory, does not allow us to say that the Greek inhabitants have been quite eradicated there,<sup>21</sup> still less may be said about the other parts of Greece : large districts, the abode of Hellenism since the oldest times, have always preserved their Greek population. The Islands of the Ægean, the Greek countries of Asia Minor and the Island of Cyprus were never influenced by the waves of the Slavonic flood.<sup>22</sup>

### III.

A rapid survey of Greek ethnography shows that Fallmerayer's thesis from which we started proved a great failure : the premisses—i.e. extirpation of the Greek race and entire Slavonisation of the country—are false ; therefore it is wrong to conclude that no drop of ancient Greek blood flows in the veins of the modern Greek. On the other hand, no one can deny that in part of the Greek territories, especially in the Peloponnesus and generally in continental Greece, a physical mixture of Greek and Slavonic blood took place.<sup>23</sup> If a

serious historian of merit like the Greek Konstantinos Sathas tries to dispute the fact of Slavonic immigration, and to erase it from medieval Greek history, it is nothing but a caprice or a sophism. For Sathas says that the immigrants, who were called Slavs by the Byzantines, were not Slavs but Albanians, part of a race closely related to the Greeks. Nobody has been convinced by the Greek scholar, and the fact of Slavonic geographical names cannot be explained and removed by such a theory.<sup>24</sup> But even if the theory of Sathas were correct, it would be irrelevant to the question of nationality, whether the Greeks have mixed with Slavs or with another race ; for the opinion of many Greeks is wrong, that the Albanians are more closely related to the Greeks than to the Slavs : the Albanians, whose territory reaches from about the north of Epirus to the frontiers of Montenegro and Servia, are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and as is proved by modern inquiry, they are kindred to Greeks not more than, for instance, Italians and Slavs.<sup>25</sup>

But it is true that the Albanians also belong to the elements which took part in the physical transformation of the Greek race. Christian Albanians during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries immigrated into Greece as farmers and shepherds, and settled in Boeotia and Attica, in Euboea, and in the Peloponnesus (especially in the eastern districts and in Arcadia). The German geographer, Alfred Philippson, who has given statistics of the Albanians<sup>26</sup> in the kingdom of Greece, estimates their number in the Peloponnesus at the time of their greatest extension (fifteenth century) as 200,000, about the half of the whole population at that time : to-day their number in the Peloponnesus is only 90,000 against the whole population of 730,000. Compact masses of Albanians still live to-day in Argolis and in some other provinces of the Peloponnesus. Moreover, the villages of Attica, the Isle of Salamis and parts of Boeotia, Aegina, and Andros are inhabited by Albanians. But because these Albanians from the beginning did not stand in hostile opposition to the Greeks, their Hellenisation began quickly and without difficulty : having no definite national feelings, and being connected with their countrymen by the same religion, they are now either totally Hellenised or have at least adopted Greek customs and Greek feeling : they were among the most prominent champions of the Greek war of liberty. Even those who have not yet given up their language

make use of it only in the family, but speak Greek in public life. As I observed myself with a young educated man of a Boeotian village, it would be very difficult for them to use the Albanian language for the purposes of politics and higher culture. This "diglossy" or bilingual condition prepares the way for complete Hellenisation, which is but a question of time.

#### IV.

Thus Slavs and Albanians are the two elements which were added to the ancient Greek blood: but large districts such as the Greek Islands and Asia Minor have remained free alike from the one and the other. All the other foreigners, who in course of time settled on Greek soil, were in such a minority that they are only of a very small importance for the question of nationality: I name, for instance, Romans and Goths before the Slavonic invasion, the so-called Franks (especially Italians) since the crusade of 1204,<sup>27</sup> the Gipsies, Jews, and Turks. Undoubtedly there was no thorough and lasting mixture with these peoples, partly because some of them had no numerical importance, and partly because others such as the Turks were always sharply separated from the Greeks by political and religious contrasts.

From the historical and ethnographical conditions of Modern Greece it results therefore that her inhabitants certainly do not form a pure race of ancient Greek origin, homogeneous from an anthropological point of view; on the other hand, they are neither a new race nor a new nationality on ancient ground; on the contrary, the native element has absorbed the foreign intruders, has stamped them with its own seal. That is to-day the general opinion of all scholars of repute, although the followers of Fallmerayer have not yet died out.<sup>28</sup> Now the question for us is to fix the national character of this anthropological crossing in order that we may know the exact relation between ancient and modern Greeks. Therefore we must examine the question whether and in what degree the foreign elements have influenced the natives with regard to their physical and psychological qualities.

The science of anthropology must first be consulted as to whether it can give us facts which will bring the question to an issue. It is true that anthropological statistics, especially craniometry, no longer

enjoy to-day the high esteem which the results of that science formerly enjoyed with regard to historical and ethnographical problems : anthropologists, resting on their statistical tables, have often disregarded the theories and the conclusions of historians. However, we may not neglect anthropology, if we can compare measurements of ancient and modern times, and if the question has reference to race mixture testified by historical tradition.

As for the ancient Greeks, it is the usual but not undisputed opinion (which is based on the measuring of skulls and of ancient statues), that on an average they were mesocephalic with the index 77, near the mark of the dolichocephalic form. In the modern Greeks this index has changed a little, to 80, the beginning of the brachycephalic measurement.<sup>29</sup> From a group of ancient Greek skulls examined by Professor Virchow,<sup>30</sup> the following proportion is calculated for the numbers of dolichocephalic, mesocephalic and brachycephalic individuals :—

dolichocephalic	meso-	brachy-
28%	52%	20%

As to the Greeks of to-day I found the following proportion, calculated from 112 skulls<sup>31</sup> :—

15%	31%	54 %
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and I myself calculated from another group of 76 skulls<sup>32</sup> :—

17%	33%	50%
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On the other hand, the southern Slavs are clearly broad-skulled : their index varies from 81·6 for the Servians to 85·1 for the Croatians, and 87 for Herzegovina,<sup>33</sup> and on an average there are found (according to Ranke)—

dolichoceph.	meso-	brachy-
3%	25%	72%

Now what are the conclusions from these tables ? That the Greeks have become Slavs, that “no drop of Greek blood” is in the Modern Greek, is certainly not proved by the quoted numbers : a mixture only may be inferred from the change of the cranio-metrical numbers. An exact examination, however, does not oblige us to draw even this conclusion as a necessary one, and French and German anthropologists

directly oppose the conclusion.<sup>34</sup> For brachycephalism is not found chiefly in districts once inhabited by Slavs, but in districts free of Slavs, as for instance on the Ionian Islands and in a quite particular degree with the Greeks of Kerasus (on the northern shore of Asia Minor),<sup>35</sup> whereas on the contrary dolichocephalism has been clearly established in Thessaly, where great numbers of Slavs must once have lived. Of an especial interest are the anthropometrical facts which an English scholar recently gave about the population of Crete, an island in which Slavonic immigration is out of the question.<sup>36</sup> He has measured ancient skulls from Minoan, i.e. prehistoric tombs, also a great number (c. 2300) of modern skulls. The index of the Minoan skulls is 76, the proportion between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic individuals being 5 : 1, the index of modern skulls is 79, the respective proportion being 5 : 4. But there are characteristic local differences : in the mountains dolichocephalism is more frequent than in the plains—with the exception of the mountain district of the Sphakiotes (south of Canea) : this curious tribe has the index 80·4, and the broad-skulled ones are more numerous than the long-skulled ones (3 : 2). As we have evidence that these Sphakiotes are a real survival of the ancient Greek population,<sup>37</sup> it is without doubt that brachycephalism has no relation to later (medieval) immigrants. And as for the Greek continent, it is more probable that mixture with broad-skulled Albanians<sup>38</sup> has produced the increasing brachycephalism among Greeks ; at least a Greek anthropologist<sup>39</sup> has observed a more frequent brachycephalism in the Albanian districts of the Kingdom. The numbers I related above can therefore not be valued for Slavonic mixture, if we consider, moreover, that brachycephalism may have its first origin in prehistoric or at least in pre-Slavic times.<sup>40</sup>

Thus Fallmerayer's followers gain little help from anthropology. It seems almost as though the Slavs had not left any physical traces : a natural selection has perhaps taken place in such a manner, that in mixing, only those individuals were strong enough to preserve themselves in whom the native Greek element was predominant.<sup>41</sup> If a traveller believes himself to have found Slavonic features in Thessaly,<sup>42</sup> this single observation may be an auto-suggestion ; much more striking are certainly the tall and fair-coloured Albanian figures or the individuals with clearly Semitic features, whom I observed not infrequently. What we are accustomed to style the ancient Greek type

has been noticed by travellers in different regions, especially on the islands, and in Asia Minor.

There is perhaps just one anthropological fact to be quoted directly against the hypothesis of Slavonisation, but I shall not insist upon it : whereas the fertility of the Slavs, i.e. the great number of births, is notorious, Greece has in the whole of Europe one of the smallest birth-rates. Other characteristics, like a rigid conservatism in religion or the ability to learn foreign languages (of which the latter was pointed out by Fallmerayer), are too little peculiar to Greeks and Slavs to be considered as premisses for inferring mixture of blood and race.<sup>43</sup>

But even if a large mixture of blood should prove to be a fact from anthropological inquiries, it would be of no avail for the question of nationality in a higher sense. For as, for instance, the belonging to the English or German people does not depend on the evidence of a long skull, and as the Englishman, in spite of his Celtic blood, or the German of Prussia, in spite of his Slavonic blood, will not allow his English or German nationality to be questioned, so must the nationality of the modern Greek be considered from the same point of view : not physical characteristics, but the totality of language, manner of thinking, ideas and customs, in short, the sum of spiritual qualities form primarily the conception of nationality. And with regard to these things we find in Greece nothing of Slavonic traces, or only such a small remainder that they can only be detected by a very minute examination. First it deserves notice that there is in Greece no evidence of great Slavonic families forming the base of a modern Greek nobility,<sup>44</sup> whereas numerous noble families, for instance on the Ionian Islands, have their ancestry in the Venetian nobility.

## V.

The most important and the most peculiar mark of a people is their language, which is used for ethnographical grouping also by those ethnologists who dispute the value of this criterion with a smile of superiority. Thus the language of the modern Greek is a very valuable testimony for his ancestry : Modern Greek is certainly not Ancient Greek (which nobody could reasonably expect), but it is in spite of many differences a legitimate child, a natural development of Ancient Greek.<sup>45</sup> All attempts to detect in the Modern Greek grammar, in

phonology and accident or in syntax foreign influences, Slavonic or Albanian or others, have failed and must fail, because what has been thought to be foreign and modern had already begun to develop a long time before the invasion of Slavs and Albanians, partly even before the Roman epoch. Modern Greek existed already in germ at the end of antiquity, for Hellenistic Greek, being the medium between Attic and Modern Greek, already shows the essential characteristics of grammar, which constitute the differences between the classic and modern language. For instance, Modern Greek pronunciation, the so-called Itacism, had almost developed in the epoch of the Roman Emperors. And not only the common vernacular language of to-day, but also the modern dialects (with the exception of Tsaconian) are daughters of Hellenistic Greek. Besides it may be observed, that the literary language used at the present in Greece is no natural result of linguistic development, but an artificial product of scholastic tradition, and as a matter of course, this literary language with its intentional archaisms has nothing to do with our ethnographical inquiry, since only the natural development of language bears on this question.

Language, however, does not only consist of sounds and grammatical forms and uses, but also of words. But to know the true character of a language the dictionary is of a smaller importance, and the loan and foreign words which are imported into a language do not influence the ethnographical character of a people, any more than does the importation of coffee, tea, and tobacco. Thus English has remained a Germanic language, although it teems with French loan-words ; none of the European civilised languages was or is able to keep free from the influence of foreign languages. Therefore it is not strange that foreign words in great number have come into Hellenistic, Medieval, and Modern Greek. First it was Rome that imported many words, especially those of public life and trade, into the Hellenistic and early Byzantine language : then the Frankish conquerors, and above all the seafaring Venetians followed with numerous naval and commercial terms ; and finally the Turks have enlarged the Greek vocabulary in many departments of everyday life down to the bill of fare and the words of abuse. What now about the Slavic words ? When brought into relation with the facts as stated they are so very trifling, that nobody would infer from their

existence the idea that Slavs and Greeks closely touched one another. An excellent authority on the Balkan languages, the late Professor Gustav Meyer of Gratz, has collected the Slavic words of Modern Greek from all sources that he could find,<sup>46</sup> yet his collection does not number more than 273 entries, and among this number the districts near the Slavonic frontiers, viz. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, where the neighbourhood of the Slavs even to-day gives occasion to contact between the two nations, furnish the most Slavic words, whereas those of common or nearly common use are at best no more than seventy, a number which is very small in comparison with the great number of Romance and Turkish elements. And if we consider that a great many of the Slavic words have found their way into Greek indirectly, namely, through the Turkish language, there is no foundation at all for the fantastic opinion of a "mixed Greco-Slavonic" dialect, which exists only in the imagination of some incompetent people. The number of Slavonic loan-words formerly was hardly much greater : the Chronicle of Morea, a text of the fourteenth century, which relates the history of the Frankish conquest in quite a vulgar speech, contains a great many French and Italian terms, but almost no Slavonic word, although in the epoch of the work unhellenised Slavs still existed in the mountains of the Peloponnesus.<sup>47</sup> Slavs as well as Albanians, the influence of whom is similar to that of the Slavs,<sup>48</sup> have always received from Greeks more than they gave to them ; those peoples, therefore, who had the closest physical contact with the Greeks, had no influence on Greek nationality and culture : this is a good example for the rule that uncivilised tribes cannot retain their national peculiarity, much less impose it on a higher civilisation.

The preservation of Greek nationality is conspicuous not only in the language, but in all that is comprised in the term folklore, in the thought, superstitions, and customs of the Greek people : the national character of the ancient Greeks has not been lost even under the levelling influence of Christianity, but has developed and survives in modern Greek nationality, sometimes under the cover of ecclesiastical forms.<sup>49</sup>

The ancient Greek gods are indeed forgotten by the people, but ancient ideas of Zeus and other gods are still found in popular ideas about God and the Saints. Zeus nods and Olympus trembles, says



Homer—God shakes his hair and the earth trembles, so think to-day the inhabitants of Zakynthos, who are often frightened by horrible earthquakes. The Saints personate the ancient gods : Saint Nikolaos is the protector of navigation, he saves from the dangers of storms—who does not recall old Poseidon ? Saint George represents the ancient god of war, the veneration of the Panagia, or the Blessed Virgin Mary, reminds us of the virginal Pallas Athene. About Saint Dionysios there is a charming legend which clearly belongs to the legends of Dionysos, the old god of wine : the very name of the saint is almost identical with the name of the ancient god. The tale is so characteristic and amusing that I relate it as a whole.<sup>60</sup>

“ When Saint Dionysios was still young, he once made a journey through Greece, in order to go to Naxia (the isle of Naxos), but the way being very long, he got tired and sat down on a stone to rest. While he was sitting and looking down in front of himself, he saw at his feet a little plant sprouting from the earth, which seemed to him so beautiful that he resolved at once to take it with him and to plant it. He took the plant out of the ground and carried it away ; but as the sun was very hot just then, he feared that it might dry up before his arrival in Naxia. Then he found the small bone of a bird and put the small plant into it and went on. In his holy hand, however, the plant grew so quickly that it peeped forth from both sides of the bone. Then he again feared that it would dry up, and thought of a remedy. Then he found the bone of a lion which was thicker than the bird’s bone, and he put the bird’s bone together with the plant into the bone of the lion. But the plant quickly grew even out of the lion’s bone. Then he found the bone of a donkey which was still thicker, and he put the plant together with the bird’s and lion’s bones into the donkey’s bone, and so he came to Naxia. When he was planting the plant, he saw that the roots had thickly wound round the bones of the bird, the lion, and the donkey ; as he could not take it out without injuring the roots, he planted it in the ground as it was, and the plant quickly grew up and produced, to his delight, the finest grapes, from which he made the first wine, and gave it to men to drink. But what a wonder did he see now ! When men drank of it they sang in the beginning as little merry birds ; drinking more of it they became strong as lions, and drinking still more they became like donkeys.”

As the ancient Greeks believed springs, rivers and lakes, woods and trees, mountains and ravines to be filled with Nereids, Nymphs, and Dryads, so according to the belief of the present day wild nature is populated by a swarm of Nereids, this old name being used for all sorts of Elves. In the Tales of Nereids many old traits live on ; there is in them "so much undoubted antiquity, that if literary tradition did not happen to exist, yet we could still recover a nearly true picture of the ancient belief of the Nymphs".<sup>51</sup> So, for instance, the very old myth of Peleus and the Nereid Thetis is preserved in modern fairy tales. The ancient Dryads are continued by the modern Drymjes, goddesses of the forest.<sup>52</sup> Witches such as Lamias and Striglas and other demons terrify the superstitious people to-day as in antiquity. Charon, the old ferry-man in the underworld, to-day Charos or Charontas, is the god of death in modern belief ; he conducts the souls in a dreary procession to his realm. As in antiquity, a copper coin is put into the mouth of a dead person as fee for the ferry into the other world. The ancient Moirai or Fates (to-day Mires) still do their duty : they design the fate of the new-born child, spin and cut the thread of life. The bride is conducted into her new home, the dead are buried with ceremonies which the Greeks used already two thousand years ago. A sick person seeks recovery by lying down to sleep in the church of a Saint, like those patients who once made a pilgrimage to the temple of Asklepios in Epidaurus. And it is remarkable that even a modern folk-song has an old ancestry : the song of the swallow which brings spring is still sung in modern Greece slightly altered.<sup>53</sup> This fact is the more curious as we have but few popular songs from antiquity.

My remarks may suffice to show how false it would be to speak of the extinction of the ancient race, as we see everywhere that ancient Greece still lives on in modern Greece. On the other hand, Slavonic traces are hardly to be detected in the sphere of folklore ; they are unimportant and rare at all events. Only a few points, such as the gloomy belief in Vampyres, seem to be influenced by Slavic ideas and features ; at least the widespread but not general name of this ghost, Vrikolakas, *vel sim.*, is Slavonic (compare Servian *vukodlak*, "Vampyre"). We are, however, not entitled to say that this belief is wholly taken from Slavs, for similar traits are not at all wanting in antiquity, as the German philologist, Bernhard

Schmidt, has emphasised in his brilliant work about modern Greek folklore.

Certainly, where the same popular ideas and similar conditions are found among different peoples, it is sometimes difficult to know where they are original, and to which people they are peculiar: we feel this difficulty in a high degree if we examine the origin of the features common to Greeks and Albanians. Here we must be guided by the general idea that the Albanians, as we said before, have at any rate received more than they have given.

And last, not least, what does the moral character of the modern Greek prove for their ancestry? I do not much value this criterion for our question. But surely the character of the modern Greek people has no resemblance, for instance, to that of the Russian people. The Russians are pessimists and brooders without activity. On the contrary, the mobile and active spirit of the modern Greeks reminds us of that famous characterisation of the Athenians which Thucydides (I, 70) puts in the mouth of a Corinthian: "The Athenians are fond of innovations, and quick in resolve and execution, bold above their strength, braving dangers even against their better knowledge, and in misfortune always full of hope. . . . If they fail in a trial, they put their hope in something else. . . . Therefore, if anybody were to say that they are by nature such as to have no rest, nor to let others rest, he would be saying the truth." In other things, too, the modern Greek has some features of the ancient Athenian, as the gift of speech, also unfavourable features, such as the tendency to superficial thinking and boasting, a quarrelsome temper in political matters, cunning in trade and commerce.<sup>54</sup>

## VI.

As modern inquiry shows, the entire and complete ethnographical transformation which Greece is said by Fallmerayer to have undergone is out of the question. The Greeks have mixed with foreign elements like all nations which have a history, but they possessed and possess such a wonderful intensive and extensive elasticity, that in spite of the most contrary fate they were able to absorb foreign culture and foreign races without having their nationality or national characteristics extinguished: <sup>55</sup> rather, the fading race of antiquity gathered fresh

vitality for itself by the mixture and was rejuvenated.<sup>56</sup> The Greeks of to-day are descendants of the ancient Hellenes, not in the sense that every modern Greek could trace his origin back to an ancient Athenian or Spartan, and so on ; but they are descendants in this sense, that in the modern people ancient blood flows largely and in some districts almost purely, and they are so still more in the higher sense that the modern race shows a natural development of ancient Greek national character—of course developed and transformed by the influence of all factors upon which depends the transformation of “unmixed” nations—if indeed there are unmixed nations with historical life.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to identify and to confuse Ancient and Modern Greek language, or ancient and modern nationality, as zealous exaggerating amateurs like to do : Christianity and the centralisation of the Greeks by the Roman Empire have above all transformed the ancient into the modern people, and that in quite another degree than Slavs, Albanians, and other Barbarians could do. This influence is illustrated by the very name *Romjós* (i.e. *Ρωμαίος*), which the Byzantine and modern Greeks gave to themselves : the official title of the Byzantine State as a “Roman or Romaic Empire” has furnished the popular name *Romjós* for the nation and its people, whereas the ancient name *Hellenes* in popular mind denotes the legendary heathen ancestors, the race of Giants.<sup>57</sup> Of course the Greeks of to-day are more closely related to the Byzantines than these latter to the ancient Greeks. I might cite numerous examples, but I will content myself with a characteristic one given by the late Professor Krumbacher : the popular proverbs of the Byzantines are closely related to Modern Greek and Oriental proverbs, but have very little relation to the proverbs handed down from antiquity.<sup>58</sup> The philologists of Byzantium indeed revelled in ancient records, as they saw the sources of education in the spiritual treasures of antiquity ; but the mind of the people, from which the popular proverb has its origin, went its own way. Popular historical memory, too, does not reach beyond the radiant epoch of the Byzantine Empire : Saint Konstantinos, the first Christian Emperor, is the earliest hero of Modern Greek tradition. With the Byzantine Empire is connected the “great idea” of the modern Greeks, the idea of resurrection of a great empire with the capital on the

Bosporus. This idea, which is nourished now more than before by the successful issue of the late war, is not only a dream of ambitious politicians, but is rooted in popular tradition.

Thus our theme has finally led us to politics, to the Eastern Question. The problem of the origin of the modern Greeks is connected with this question ; it has a political as well as a scientific importance, as I pointed out in the beginning of my lecture. Historical and ethnographical considerations recommend such a solution of the political problem that the race which in antiquity and in the middle ages ruled the Ægean Sea, the existence and the vitality of which I hope to have proved, should again be put in its historical position.

At the present day, where military and political successes have raised the credit of the Greek nation, it is easier to pronounce such an opinion than it was some years ago,<sup>50</sup> when the financial and political condition of modern Greece made malevolent men speak of the "so-called Greeks," who are but a "bastard nation," "a mosaic work of Vlachs, Arnauts, and Slavs". But let me avoid speaking of political problems, although I know that Philhellenism has not died out in the English nation. Scientific truth is above all national and political discussion. Yet the truth we have gained about the historical and ethnographical position of the modern Greek, gives us reason to hope that the talented nation that has been so often punished by fate, and sometimes through its own fault, will now have a brighter future.

#### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> However it may be observed, that a criticism of Schönwälder in the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftl. Kritik," I (Berlin, 1840), 31-47, is worth saving from oblivion, and to be read still to-day : the author rejects *sine ira et studio* Fallmerayer's theory.

<sup>2</sup> Fallmerayer, "Gesammelte Werke" (Leipzig, 1861), II, 14.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Thumb, "Die jüngsten Unruhen in Athen und die neugriechische Bibelübersetzung," in "Grenzboten," 1902 (II), 137-144.

<sup>4</sup> Compare R. von Höfler, "Erinnerungen an Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer," in "Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen," XXVI (1888), 395 ff.

<sup>5</sup> "Wiener Jahrbücher," XVII (1822), 95 f.

<sup>6</sup> I follow Gregorovius in his "Geschichte der Stadt Athen im

Mittelalter". In our own time some details only of the Slavonic immigration into the Balkan Peninsula have been treated. So Jireček, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," XLVIII, 21 ff., gives an excellent and solid description of the Slavonic immigration into the north-west of the Balkans; Gelzer, "Abhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.," XVIII (1899), Nr. 5, 42 ff. gives, besides general remarks, some new material. A good orientation in quite a modern manner is found in Bury, "History of the Later Roman Empire," I (1889), 114 ff., 455 ff., and in Philippson, "Petermann's Mitteilungen," 1890, 1 ff. A. Cervesato, "Le colonie slave della Grecia," in "Pensiero Italiano" (Milano), 1896, Nr. 67-68, is not accessible to me.

<sup>7</sup> Gregorovius, I, 85.

<sup>8</sup> Gregorovius, I, 86.

<sup>9</sup> Gregorovius, I, 112.

<sup>10</sup> Gregorovius, I, 114.

<sup>11</sup> Namely, the Ezerites and Milingi, see Gregorovius, I, 117.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Gelzer in "Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie," XXXV (1892), 430 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Gregorovius, I, 122.

<sup>14</sup> About the Greeks of Cappadocia compare the exact statements of Dawkins in "The Journal of Hellenic Studies," XXX (1910), 109 ff., 267 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Isolated Greek remains still exist in Southern Italy (near Reggio and Otranto), in Corsica (in the little town Cargese north of Ajaccio), on the Sea of Azov.

<sup>16</sup> About the geographical extension of the Modern Greeks compare A. Oppel in "Globus," LXXI (1897), 249 ff., and Philippson, "Griechenland und seine Stellung im Orient". The present grouping of races in the Balkans is recently described and illustrated with an excellent ethnographical map by J. Cvijić, "Die ethnographische Abgrenzung der Völker auf der Balkanhalbinsel," in "Petermanns Mitteilungen" (1913), 113 ff., 185 ff., 244 ff. (includes also a bibliography).

<sup>17</sup> For some districts there are now monographs from a modern historical and etymological view, compare A. Thumb, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen," "Indogerm. Forschungen," IV (1894), 195 ff., Σπ. Δάμπος, "Ἡ ὀνοματολογία τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἡ ἐποίκησις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν," "Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ," I (1896), 186-192, Σ. Μενάρδος, "Τοπωνομικὸν τῆς Κύπρου," "Ἀθηνᾶ," XVIII (1906), 315 ff. As I see from "Διογραφία," I, 422, a committee has been established by the Greek Minister of Education for studying the geographical names of Greece.

<sup>18</sup> See "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," II, 283 ff.

<sup>19</sup> See note 17.

<sup>20</sup> I collected the geographical names of the Maina in 1894, and give above the general result of my inquiry which is based upon the following statistical table:—

Districts.	Total Number of Geographical Names.	Undoubtedly of Slavonic Origin.
Cythion-Kotrona	564	24 = 4.2 %
Lagia	504	4 = 0.8 %
Messa	501	18 = 3.6 %
South of Vitylo	275	9 = 3.2 %
Vitylo-Tsimova	319	24 = 7.5 %
Leftro-Platsa	472	78 = 16.5 %
Kardamula-Kampos	425	57 = 13.4 %

<sup>21</sup> That *no* district of the Peloponnesus was entirely free from Slavs, as Philippson says, seems to me an exaggeration.

<sup>22</sup> These conclusions are not altered by the fact, that at various times Slavs have made piratical raids on the islands. The article of Šišmanov, "Slavonic Settlements on Crete and other Islands" (Bulgarian), in "Blgarski pregled," 1897, Nr. 3, which is not accessible to me, needs a critical examination, as Krumbacher says, "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," VI, 637: the Slavonic influence cannot be at all important. Also Slavonic traces in Asia Minor (see B. A. Pančenko, "Izvēstije Russago archeol. Instituta," VIII, 15 ff.) are unimportant for our question.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Gelzer, l.c. 52: "Die Hellenenausrottung und die Slavisierung waren weder so gründlich und vollständig, wie Fallmerayer, noch so sporadisch und unbedeutend, wie Hopff annahm".

<sup>24</sup> What I said about Sathas concerns still more the strange theory of another Greek, who asserts without any proof, that the Slavs have not been Hellenised, but went back again to the Donau!

<sup>25</sup> In passing it may be noted, that Gobineau, "Deux études sur la Grèce moderne" (Paris, 1905), 265 f. had a similar idea about the Albanians and their mixture with the Greeks.

<sup>26</sup> See "Petermann's Mitteil.," 1890, 33 ff., "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," XXV (1890), 402 f. For the whole kingdom Philippson estimates the number of the Albanians at 22,400 = 11.3 %. In the middle of the 19th century the number of Albanians in Greece was estimated at 172,000 = c. 14 %, see "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1857, 490. Albanian colonies formerly existed also in Ios, Kythnos, Samos, Psara, Kasos, settled by the Turkish Government during the 16th century; they were unimportant and have been absorbed long ago. See Hasluck in the "Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," XV (1908), 223 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Another foreign element, small in number, the Vlachs, are also being entirely Hellenised; although speaking a Romance language closely related to Roumanian, their national feeling is quite Greek, and the Roumanian propaganda has failed, as all who know confirm—the Roumanians excepted.

<sup>28</sup> To these belongs for instance Buschan, "Die Balkanvölker in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Stuttgart, 1910. The pamphlet is written superficially and without sufficient knowledge of the subject.

<sup>29</sup> M. Hoernes, "Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen," I, 351,

gives 81 as index of the modern Greeks. Because we have but few measurements (not general statistics), it is difficult to state the real average. For all anthropological researches, the book of C. Stéphanos, "La Grèce au point de vue naturel, ethnologique, anthropologique, etc.," Paris, 1884 (Extrait du "Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales"), is still to-day an indispensable source. For some new details compare the authors quoted in the following notes.

<sup>30</sup> "Alt- und neugriechische Schädel," "Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.," 1893, 677 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See J. Ranke, "Der Mensch," II, 204.

<sup>32</sup> "Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας," I, 366 ff.

<sup>33</sup> The last number is found in Hoernes, "Naturgeschichte, etc.," I, 350.

<sup>34</sup> Compare "Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie," VII, 658 ff., Diefenbach, "Völkerkunde Osteuropas," I, 142 ff.; otherwise Zaborowski in "La grande Encyclopédie," XIX (1893), 282 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See Néophytos in "L'Anthropologie," II (1891), 25 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. H. Hawes, "Cretan Anthropology," "Am. Journ. of Archæol.," XV (1911), 65-67, and "Some Dorian Descendants," "Ann. Brit. School of Athens," XVI (1909-1910), 258-280. Some other Minoan skulls have been measured by W. B. Dawkins, "Skulls from Cave Burials at Zarko (Crete)," "The Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," VII (1900-1901), 105 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Compare also Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," in note 36.

<sup>38</sup> The index of Albanians near Skutari is 89 according to Hoernes, l.c. I, 350. Other numbers (between 84 and 90) are communicated by Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 266, 276. The Roumanians, too, are brachycephalic according to the tables of Pittard, "Ethnologie de la Péninsule des Balkans," "Le Globe," LXIII (1904), p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> See C. Stéphanos, l.c. 432 ff.

<sup>40</sup> My remarks show how superficial is the assertion of Buschan (see note 28), that Greek brachycephalism comes from Slav descent.

<sup>41</sup> Compare the opinions of the Danish scholar Vodskov, summarised by Franke in "Indog. Forsch." (Anzeiger), III (1893), 111 ff.

<sup>42</sup> See Barth in "Berliner Zeitschrift f. allgemeine Erdkunde," XVI (1864), 194 f.

<sup>43</sup> Above I have not spoken about the colour of the hair, because we have no means of obtaining a percentual comparison of ancient and modern times. According to Hoernes, l.c. I, 354, in Greece there are 96 % of a dark complexion. This number needs criticism as much as the statement of a French author (Castonnet des Fosses, "La Crète et l'Hellénisme," Paris, 1897, 58), that most inhabitants of Crete are of a fair complexion. C. Stéphanos, l.c. 458, gives a more accurate table, and remarks that fair colour is found in some villages of Laconia (near the Eurotas) and of the mountains of Mantinea and on Mount Dirphys (Euboea). I myself



have made some observations during my travels through Maina and Sphakia. In these districts of the Taygetus and of Crete fair colour is more frequent than I observed elsewhere. The following table is compiled by counting pupils of elementary schools, namely, 206 boys + 3 girls of the schools of Vitylo, Platsa, Kampos (Maina) and 79 boys + 14 girls of the schools of Sphakia town and Anopolis (Sphakia):—

	Dark.	Brown.	Fair.
Maina	42·1 %	40·2 %	17·7 %
Sphakia	32·3 %	55·9 %	11·8 %

My numbers for the Sphakiotes differ throughout from those of Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 269.

In Maina fairness can be explained by mixture with Albanians (see A. Thumb, "Die Maniaten," in "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 124). But in the district of the Sphakiotes fair complexion must be of ancient Greek or even prehistoric origin: perhaps the Sphakiotes are anthropologically a survival of the Dorians who came to Crete about 1000 B.C. At any rate fair complexion cannot serve to support Fallmerayer's theory.

<sup>44</sup> Gregorovius, I, 150.

<sup>45</sup> A short orientation is found in my essay "Die neugriechische Sprache," Freiburg, 1892.

<sup>46</sup> "Neugriechische Studien," II ("Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.," CXXX, 1894). Of course the list of G. Meyer could be supplemented in some points.

<sup>47</sup> Gregorovius, I, 153 f.

<sup>48</sup> See G. Meyer "Neugriech. Studien," II (1895).

<sup>49</sup> About the relation between the ancient and modern folklore compare besides the well-known book of Bernhard Schmidt ("Das Volksleben der Neugriechen"), the more recent works of N. Γ. Πολίτης, "Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, Παραδόσεις," 2 vols., Athens, 1904; Lawson, "Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion," Cambridge, 1910; Mary Hamilton, "Greek Saints and their Festivals," London, 1910 (with the criticisms of Delehaye in "Analecta Bollandiana," XXIX, 460 ff.; and Gruppe in "Berliner philol. Wochenschrift," 1911, 683 ff.); Hesseling, "Oud- en Nieuwgrieks Volksgeloof," in the "Gids," 1906, Nr. 7, and B. Schmidt, "Neugriechische Volkskunde," in "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XXVII (1911), 643 ff. (the two last essays are occasioned by the quoted work of Politis). Hesseling as well as B. Schmidt emphasises the survival of Antiquity; the latter, explaining the principles of research, combats K. Dieterich ("Aus neugriech. Sagen," in "Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde," 1905, 380 ff., and "Neugriech. Sagenklänge vom alten Griechenland," "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XVII, 80 ff.), who denies that modern Greek tradition may reach beyond the Hellenistic times. Modern Greek folklore is now excellently summarised in the periodical edited by Politis, "Λαογραφία. Δελτίον τῆς ἐλληνικῆς λαογραφικῆς ἐταιρείας"

(since 1909, 4 vols.). The book of R. Rodd, "The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece," London, 1892, is not accessible to me.

<sup>50</sup> See Hahn, "Griech. und albanes. Märchen" (Leipzig, 1864), II, 76, Πολίτης "Παραδόσεις," Nr. 175, Hamilton, l.c. 15 ff.

<sup>51</sup> B. Schmidt, "Neue Jahrbücher," l.c. 651.

<sup>52</sup> See B. Schmidt, l.c. 654 ff., Lawson, 151 ff., Hamilton, l.c. 187 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Compare most recently Hamilton, l.c. 155 f.

<sup>54</sup> In my lecture I dealt only with the Greeks as an ethnographical unit, although I indicated sometimes local differences. There is in the first place a remarkable (anthropological and linguistic) difference between the Greeks of Asia Minor and those of the other countries; it comes from antiquity (as for instance Gobineau, l.c., 268, has already emphasised). Especially the dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia are developed in quite an original manner, and their moral character, too, is different from that of the European and Insular Greeks. Moreover, some Greek tribes have a peculiar character, as the Agraphiotes of Mount Pindos, who are but little known, the Tsaconians in ancient Kynuria, with their strange Dorian dialect, the Maniates in the Taygetus Peninsula, whom I studied in a journey in 1894 (see "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 110 ff.), and the Sphakiotes in the "White Mountains," south of Canea; after having made a journey there in 1912, I shall treat of this interesting tribe in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1914.

<sup>55</sup> It deserves notice, that an excellent Servian scholar, J. Cvijić (l.c. 246, see note 16), has recently acknowledged this absorbing force of Hellenism.

<sup>56</sup> See also Gobineau, l.c., and Gelzer, l.c.

<sup>57</sup> About the name *Ρωμαῖος*, *Romjós*, compare for instance Krumbacher, "Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache" (München, 1903), 191 ff.

<sup>58</sup> See Krumbacher, "Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter" (München, 1893), Introduction.

<sup>59</sup> See my papers "Die heutigen Griechen," in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1897, 226 and "Pro Graecia," *ib.*, 1913, 473 ff.