

year, and his shadow, remaining in the building, becomes its *Stoicheion*. It is said that the prevailing custom of sacrificing fowls or sheep on commencing any important construction is intended to avert such a calamity from the men engaged in the work, as well as to ensure good luck to it. Great care is, however, taken to avoid touching the blood of the sacrifice, as this would have fatal results. Sir Paul Ricaut, writing in the last century, says that a man wishing to work another ill, will surreptitiously take the measure of his body with a thread or stick, and bribe a mason who is about to begin building a house to bury it in the foundations, in the belief that, as the thread or stick decays, so will the person measured pine away and die.

Numerous stories of foundation-sacrifices are told in Keltic countries. In Adamnan's *Life of Columba* we read (l. ii., c. 12, Reeves' translation, p. 411a): 'Kolumkille said then to his people, "It would be well for us that our roots should pass into the earth here. . . . It is permitted to you that some one of you go under the earth of this island to consecrate it." Odhran arose quickly and thus spake: "If you accept me, I am ready for that." "O Odhran," said Kolumkille, "thou shalt receive the reward of this: no request shall be granted at my tomb, unless it is first asked of thee." Odhran then went to heaven, and Kolumkille founded the church of Hy.' Human skeletons have also been found under the foundations of two Round Towers in Ireland, the only ones that have been examined (*Folklore Journal*, vol. i., p. 23). And I am informed by Mr. Macbain, of Inverness, that there are many traditions still current in the Highlands regarding such sacrifices. One of these relates that when the workmen had assembled to lay the foundations of Tigh-an-Torr,



in Western Ross-shire, they caught the first person who chanced to pass, and buried him under the foundation-stone. The victim on this occasion was a student, who afterwards haunted the place until spoken to. And on laying the foundations of Redcastle, a red-haired girl was buried alive under the stone, whence the name of the edifice (see also Macbain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, pp. 45, 46, etc.; Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, ii., pp. 200, 201; Windisch, *Irish Grammar*, p. 139).

As the subject of foundation-sacrifices generally has been fully dealt with by the late Professor Robertson Smith, as also by Mr. Baring Gould, I will here merely add a paragraph published some six years ago in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which shows that this practice extended as far east as China :

‘The most curious item of news from the East by the present week’s mail comes from Singapore. A widespread belief prevails there among the lower classes of the Chinese population that in the outskirts of the town the heads of unwary travellers are cut off by secret orders from the Government. A sum of £10 is said to be paid for each head, the particular department inculpated being that of Public Works. The heads are believed to be wanted to lay at the foundations of certain new bridges which are being built, so as to ensure a successful termination of the work. Coolies could not be induced to carry fares to the suburbs at night at any price.’ I may add that, as these pages are being passed for press, a similar story is told in a letter to the Editor of *Nature*, April 30, 1896, by Mr. S. E. Peal, ‘Sibsagar, Asam, March 27,’ under the title *Mégalthic Folklore*.

5 (p. 71). A common method of casting lots. The second line appears as :



"Ελα ἄς κόψουμε κλειδιά, ἄς κοψοῦμ' ἀναχτήρια;

and the collector, M. Alektoridis, suggests that ἀναχτήρια = κλείδες (ἀνοιχτήρια?). From the context, however, it is evident that κλειδιά = κλαδιά (in Epeiros, κλαριά, in Thessaly κλαργιά) 'branches'; and that ἀναχτήρια = ἀναπτήρια, 'firewood,' from ἀνάπτω, 'to kindle.'

Compare vol. ii., p. 112. Four women twist thread with their spindles, and the one whose thread breaks first is to be eaten by the others.

6 (p. 75). Compare: 'And the high hills trembled and the woodland, beneath the immortal footsteps of Poseidon' (*Il.*, xiii. 18). In 'The Enchanted Deer' (vol. i., p. 252), Tremantacheilos also 'shakes the earth and kosmos.' Similar expressions connected with Heroes or Magical Beings occur frequently in Greek Folk-poesy.

7 (p. 77). This poem of 'Thanasè Vaghia' is not, of course, strictly speaking, a folk-song. As, however, it is written in the dialect of the Epirote peasant-warriors, from whose lips the Lefkadian poet learnt the legends he has immortalized, I have included here its second section, *Ο Βρυκόλακας*, as it so finely illustrates this popular superstition. Those curious on the subject of Vampirism in the East I would refer to Mrs. Blunt's *People of Turkey* (vol. ii., p. 222, etc.), and to my *Women of Turkey* (vol. i., p. 136, etc.). I would, however, remark that, although, generally speaking, the bare possibility of becoming a Vampire after death fills a Greek with horror, a contrary view is taken in a popular verse which I may thus translate:



‘ O friend, may’st thou live for ever !  
 But if death be thy doom,  
 May’st thou Vampire become,  
 Thou’lt enjoy then this fair world twice over !’

The belief that a dead person delights in the blood of a human victim is frequently met with in classic authors. The phantasm of Achilles is represented by Euripides as appearing in golden armour at his tomb, and as being appeased by the sacrifice of a young virgin, whose blood he drank.

Δέξαι χοάς μοι τάσδε κηλητηρίους,  
 Νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς· ἔλθὲ δ’ ὡς πίης μέλαν  
 Κόρης ἀκραιφνὲς αἷμ’, ὃ σοι δωρούμεθα.

*Hecuba*, 533.

For the historical events connected with ‘Thanasé Vaghia,’ see *An.* No. 62.

8 (p. 82). Read (line 4) for ‘he was wroth,’ ‘was amazed.’ Most of the Powers of Nature have mothers assigned to them by Greek folk-fancy. We find, besides Charon’s Mother, the ‘Mother of the Sun, the ‘Mother of the North Wind,’ the ‘Mother of the Night,’ and the ‘Mother of the Sea.’ In ancient times a son and daughter were assigned to the Sun; and ‘as beautiful as the Sun’s daughter’ is still a common expression. In modern hagiology he is transformed into *Ἅγιος Ἡλίας*—Saint Elias—and under this name still receives homage at the ancient shrines of Apollo.

In Keltic story the Sun is personalised as a powerful enchanter. In this character he defeats the attempt of a traitress who has conspired with the seaborne pirates of the North (the ocean-storms) to rob her Cambrian lord of his domain’ (Sikes, *Northern Goblins*, p. 47).

9 (p. 88). The writer last quoted mentions ‘The hounds of Arawn, a crowned king in the land of



Annwn, the shadow-land of Hades' (*British Goblins*, pp. 234-36). The poet Claudian, as quoted by Mr. Macbain (*Celtic Mythology and Religion*, p. 78), describes 'the westernmost point of the Gallic shore' as the place whence 'are heard the tearful cries of fleeting ghosts; the natives see their pallid forms and ghostly figures moving on to their last abode.' And the traditions of Brittany still bear traces of this belief.

In 'Zahos and Charon' (p. 92) is described one of those voluntary visits to the other world which are also described on p. 106 and in vol. ii., p. 290). The only reference I have met with in Keltic Folklore to such an occurrence is a story from Inverary in Campbell's Gaelic List (*West Highland Tales*, vol. iv., p. 453).

10 (p. 95). This dirge and the following refer rather to the patriarch of a household and his wife than merely to the father or mother of a single family. Ancient patriarchal customs are still retained to a considerable extent by the Greeks as well as other races of Turkey, especially in the remoter districts; and a man of means finds pleasure in gathering under his own roof-tree his descendants down to the third and even fourth generation. Reference is also made to this custom in 'Konstantino and Black Yianni' (p. 241).

11 (p. 96). According to Diodorus Siculus, it was customary among the Druids at the funerals of their dead to throw letters to defunct relatives on the funeral pyre. And written messages are still sometimes surreptitiously placed by Greek peasant women in the hand of a corpse for transmission to the other world.

12 (p. 97). The same idea is expressed in these lines from Scott's Song of *Grigolach*:



'Through the depths of Loch Katrine the steed shall career,  
 O'er the peak of Ben Lomond the galley shall steer,  
 And the rocks of Craig Royston like icicles melt  
 Ere our wrongs be forgot, or our vengeance unfelt.  
 Then *baloo, baloo,*' etc.

Compare also with the next line, 'Verily by this staff  
 that shall no more put forth leaf or twig, seeing it hath  
 for ever left its trunk' (*Il.*, A. 234).

13 (pp. 100, 148, 250). If the dirge of the 'Young  
 Widow' is compared with 'From Bridesmaid to  
 Bride,' and with 'The Discarded Wife,' it will be seen  
 to be connected with the 'False Bride' myth (see  
 Translation No. 44), although a Charonic character is  
 given to it by the closing lines, probably borrowed  
 from some other song—a not infrequent occurrence.  
 The subject of the 'False Bride' has been very  
 suggestively dealt with by Miss G. M. Godden (*Folk-  
 lore*, June, 1893, and September, 1895), and I shall here  
 merely note the various further points of resemblance  
 with the Classic myth of Zevs and Dædala, which may,  
 I think, be found in Greek Folk-poesy. In the opening  
 lines of 'From Bridesmaid to Bride' (p. 148) the  
 couple have been separated for 'two and twenty  
 Sundays'—the precise duration, in fact, of a South  
 European winter, and 'the beloved' reappears 'smelling  
 like a garden,' and carrying roses. In 'The Discarded  
 Wife' this myth appears to have become connected  
 with Digenēs Akritas. The dumbness which is a  
 feature of the 'False Bride' legends, refers, I think,  
 in the last-named ballad, to an old Christian family-  
 custom still observed by the Armenians in the towns  
 and villages of the interior, rather than to the Turkish  
 custom I mentioned to Miss Godden. According to  
 this custom, a bride does not speak in the presence of



her father- and mother-in-law for at least a year after her marriage. (See *Women of Turkey*, i., p. 203.) Hence the first wife reproaches the second for transgressing this custom by speaking on her wedding-day. A precisely similar incident occurs in a folk-tale from Epeiros — 'The Princess who went to the Wars' (Von Hahn, *Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια*, translated by the late Mr. Geldart in *Folklore of Modern Greece*, pp. 70-73). In another Epirote tale, 'The Bay-Berry' (*loc. cit.*, p. 85), there appears a distinct trace of tree-marriage. A tree-maiden is kissed by a prince. On this, the bay-tree refuses to readmit her, and itself consequently dies. The prince leaves the maiden asleep. She disguises herself, and goes in search of him. He is about to marry another, when she throws off her disguise, dons her golden bay-tree raiment, and takes the place of the bride. The story of 'The Roving Prince' (vol. ii., p. 308) probably also refers to the same myth; and among the parallels to be found in Greek Folk-song I may note the following: Fauriel, ii. 376; Tommaseo, 109; Zambelios, 744; Passow, 436 (in which the hero is a Ralli); Legrand, 135, 300; *Νεοελληνικὰ Ἀναλ.*, 24, 90; Bretos, 258; Aravandinos, 215. The epithet of 'Darling' ('Ο Κανακάρης), applied to May (p. 252), occurs also in a song in Passow's *Carmina*, No. 310.

14 (p. 101). *Οἱ τρεῖς στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοῦ*. The term *Stoicheion*, which occurs in the preceding and following songs, is usually applied to the Genii of fountains, rivers, trees, or mountains. Their attitude towards mankind is usually, but not invariably, malevolent. See Mr. Stuart-Glennie's remarks on this subject in *The Survival of Paganism*.

15 (p. 102). The Greek words used to denote the



Sun's setting, βασιλεύω and βασιλευμα, signify also 'to reign' as a king.

16 (p. 103). In the Keltic story, Finn is lured on a similar pretext into a Loch, and only escapes bereft of his youth and strength (compare Miss Brooke's *Reliques*, 'The Chase,' p. 100). In Keltic tales, a Loch invariably takes the place of the Greek Well. But, according to Mr. Sikes, 'the mermaid superstition is seemingly absent in Wales' (*British Goblins*). 'The Witch of the Well' (p. 66) appears to have the same proclivities as the Stoicheion, as she compels the youth to marry her daughter. The Greek *Lamia* or *Nereid*, like the Bulgarian *Samodiva*, is often represented as marrying a human husband (see vol. ii., *An.* No. 25), though in popular estimation they make such poor housewives that the expression 'she sweeps like a Lamia' has become proverbial. 'Mermaid Brides' are a common feature in Western Folklore. In Keltic story, Thomas the Rhymer is said to have been the Son of a Mermaid; and Campbell mentions (*West Highland Tales*, vol. iv., p. 431) an unpublished Gaelic tale of a Mermaid Bride.

17 (p. 106). In a Cretan variant (Jeannarakis, *Ἀσ-ματα Κρήτικα*, 126) the Saint says with his lips, Δὲν εἶδα ἄνω κοράσιο—'I have seen no maiden,' but points at the same time with his finger to her hiding-place. A Kappadocian folk-tale (*Littératures Populaires*, t. xxviii., p. 252, Carnoy and Nikolaïdes) also relates how St. George was bribed to set free a Fox caught in a trap. The connection of this saint with the Egyptian Horus, the Moslem Khidhr, and the Hebrew Elias has been fully worked out, in a most interesting paper, by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Horus et St. Georges*, *Rev.*



*Archéologique*, t. xxxii., pp. 388-97); and further light has been thrown on the subject by the Coptic legends translated by Dr. E. Wallis Budge.

18 (p. 108). St. Nicholas has in the East, as in the West, succeeded Poseidon as God of the Sea. The Cretan boat-song recalls the central stanza of Adam of St. Victor's versified legend of this Saint:

'Blesséd Nicholas, oh, steer us,  
From the straits of death so near us,  
To the haven of the sea!  
To that harbour in the distance,  
Draw us, who dost grant assistance,  
Through the grace of charity!'

(Quoted from Wrangham's translation by Mr. Athelstan Riley in his *Athos*, p. 126, note 1.)

A Greek distich says of St. Nicholas:

'He to our aid comes on the sea,  
And wonders on the land works he.'

These lines might, however, equally well apply to St. George, as Khidhr Elias. And in Moslem legend St. Nicholas is identified with Sari-Saltic, one of the famous Dervish saints from Bokhara, who accompanied the early Sultans of Turkey in their campaigns.

19 (p. 109). Having been unable to get any more satisfactory explanation of this plural, Mr. Stuart-Glennie suggests that it may be a survival of the old conception of the Sun-Gods as reborn every year.

20 (p. 111). This is a very common name for Satan, and occurs as the title of a story. See vol. ii., p. 99, and *An.* No. 21.

21 (pp. 124, 353, 354). The beautiful Despo, who is the subject of these songs, was the daughter of



Liakatá, a wealthy Vlach sheep-farmer of the Aspropotamos. While washing by the riverside, she was seen and carried off by Alí Pashá, the 'Vizier' of Ioannina, to his palace by the lake of that name, where she is said to have died of grief within fifteen days. So great, however, had been the Pashá's love for her that, at her death, he conferred many honours and benefits on her family. One of Despo's four brothers, Kapitan Gregorios, who greatly distinguished himself in connection with the Greek War of Independence, figures in two subsequent songs, and also in Nos. 87 and 89 of Aravandinos' Collection.

22 (p. 133). 'Daughter of the Romeots,' the name by which the Greeks formerly designated themselves. Now, save in the remoter regions of the Ottoman Empire, they prefer to call themselves *Hellenes*.

23 (p. 133). *Περντίο καὶ ἀλὶ μάγκο*. The Greek form of two common expletives. A Jew broker at Salonica, who hawked curios about for sale, made such frequent use of the former oath (*Περντίο* = *Per Dio*) that he finally acquired it as a nickname, and I never heard him alluded to by any other appellation. The derivation of the second expression is unknown to me. Pronounced as *Alímanos*, it occurs in the story of 'The Negro' (vol. ii.), and I found it in general use at Smyrna as an expression of sorrow or dismay.

24 (p. 148). The comparison of handsome men and beautiful women to cypresses is often met with in Turkish as well as in Greek poetry. A Cretan folk-song says :

' That tree do we the cypress call,  
With wood of fragrant smell,  
Which, O my Eyes ! resembles thee  
In height, and build as well.'



Cypresses had anciently also the name of 'Graces.' *Διπλὸν αὐτῶν κυπάρισσι ὄνομα ἔχουσι, χάριτες μὲν διὰ τὴν τέρψιν*—*Geoponica*, xi. 4, quoted by Pashley. And, according to the Classic legend, the virgin daughters of Eteocles, on meeting with an untimely end, were changed into trees which resembled them in beauty.

25 (p. 151). The ceremonies attending a Greek peasant wedding extend over several days, and there are songs for every successive stage of the festivities. (See *The Women of Turkey*, vol. i., pp. 74-89.)

26 (p. 152). This comparison is borrowed from the Oriental poets, who extol Joseph as the supreme type of beauty.

27 (p. 162). This and the four following songs, together with that on p. 191, allude to the customary absences of the men of many mountain villages, who, like the Vlachs mentioned on p. 193, follow the calling of travelling merchants. When a youth quits home for the first time, his relatives and friends accompany him some distance along the road. Before taking her final leave of her son the mother laments his departure in a song, improvised or conventional, to which the youth responds in one bewailing the hard fate that drives him from his home. These traders occasionally extend their wanderings as far north as Holland and Russia, and as far west as Spain, and have no doubt been important agents in the transmission of Eastern Folktales throughout Central and Southern Europe more particularly.

28. (p. 166.) *Νανάρισμα*, from *ναναρίζω*, to lull to sleep, singing *νάι-νάι*. Lullabies are also called *Βαυκαλήματα* and *Μινυρίσματα*.



29 (p. 174). This lullaby recalls Shelley's lines :

' Sleep, sleep ! Our song is laden  
With the soul of slumber !'

*Hellas.*

30 (p. 177). *Λέλεκα, Παπᾶ χατζῆ!* All the words of the first line are Turkish. According to Moslem folk-belief, the Stork goes every autumn on a pilgrimage to the holy Kaaba at Mekka, and hence he is called by the Turks, *Baba Hadjî*—'Father Pilgrim'—a term which their Greek neighbours have borrowed.

31 (p. 181). In a variant from Kappadocia (*Δελτίον*, i., p. 721) occur these lines :

*He.* "I leave thee first with God above, next with the Saints I leave thee."

*She.* "What clothes will God give me to wear? The Saints what will they give me?"

What dresses will my mother give? The others too, my sisters?"

*He.* "Then may the fire my mother burn, the flames all my possessions" [i.e., should they not give her what she needs after his departure].

Parallels to this song may also be found in Passow's *Carmina*, etc., No. 436, and Zambelio's *Ἀσματα*, No. 774.

32 (184). The wife of Andrónikos also charges her son not to dismount until he has been adjured three times (p. 233). I have met with a similar adjuration in Keltic story, but cannot give the reference.

33 (p. 193). Compare the recognition of Odysseus and Penelope.

34 (p. 202). Most of the Greek dancing songs are sung antiphonically by two sets of voices. Sometimes one set begins the song, and the other adds to each line or couplet in turn a kind of parenthesis extending it, or the end of the line is repeated, or altered, by the



chorus. In some of the islands the *syrtò* has a pantomimic character. The leader of the dance accompanies the words of the song with appropriate gestures and facial expression, and the words of the chorus, or antistrophe, are similarly represented by the dancer at the other end of the wavy line.

35 (p. 215). St. Basil, like St. George, is specially connected in popular and religious legend with Cesarea (Kaisariyeh) in Kappadocia. Pilgrimages are made twice a year to the monastery of St. Basil on a mountain in the neighbourhood, on the first Saturday of Holy Week and on the Day of Pentecost; and to the performance of this religious duty the following beliefs are attached. If the pilgrimage is made barefooted, it absolves from any special sin which may be troubling the conscience of a penitent. If it is made seven times on foot during a person's lifetime, it assures the forgiveness of all his sins. And to partake of the Communion at the monastery of St. Basil has infinitely more merit than if it were partaken of in the Church at Cesarea.

36 (p. 217). The Greek *Πήγα*, like the Gaelic *Rig*, is commonly used to designate a King, or Ruler. See also ballad on p. 286 and *An.* No. 52.

37 (p. 218). *Baía*, or *Βάγια*, from the Italian *baglia*, a nurse, here addressed in her capacity of housekeeper, the children having outgrown her services.

38 (p. 220). The Songs in this Section appear to be sufficient to refute the Rev. Mr. Tozer's remark (*Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii., p. 257) that 'of real humour . . . there is hardly any trace in their composition.' This fancied fact Mr. Tozer attributes to, or rather deduces



from, the 'sad and serious condition of a people conscious of living under oppression.'

39 (p. 230). This group of Byzantine ballads has been not inaptly classed as the Andronikos, or Digenēs Akritas, cycle. The heroes who figure in them were formerly believed to be mere fabulous personages belonging to the Classic Period, or Greek Demigods, whose deeds had been altered and disfigured by popular transmission. The discovery, however, at Trebizond of the manuscript of a long epic poem, which has been published with translation by M. Emile Legrand (*Les Exploits de Digènes Akritas*), not only, in this author's opinion, places beyond question the historical existence of the persons mentioned in the ballads, but at the same time gives the key to their relations to each other. The period is the tenth century. Andronikos Doukas, a member of the reigning Byzantine family, was governor of a province in Asia Minor, and the father of five sons (though the ballads give him nine), the eldest of whom was Constantine, and one daughter, the beautiful Areté. Mansour, the Arab Emir of Syria, besieged and took a fortress held by Andronikos, when Areté fell into his hands. The victor conceived an ardent attachment for his fair captive, whom he set free, and, following her to Roumania, abjured his faith, and married her. The son of this couple was Basil, surnamed 'Digenēs' (*Δυγενής*), 'of two races,' from the fact of his parentage, and 'Akritas,' from his occupation as guardian of the eastern frontiers of the Empire. Porphyros, or Porphyrios, who is the hero of ballads from Crete, Kappadocia, and Pontus, precisely similar to those recounting the exploits of Digenēs, is identified with him by



M. Legrand (who also quotes the authority of Michel Psellus), as is also Pantherius, of which name Porphyros is thought to be a corruption.

In these popular ballads Digenēs is exalted to the rank of a Demigod, and the exploits related of him are very similar to those connected with the names of Herakles, Perseus, and Bellerophon. He is often referred to, as in the ballad on p. 248, as the 'Widow's Son'; and in a variant from Trebizond (*Passow*, 486), where he is called the 'Son of a Nun,' it is related of him that 'when one day old he ate an ovenful of bread; when two days old he ate sheep and goats; and when five days old he could boast that he had loved twenty wives, eighteen widows, and a *papadhia*'; and, like Herakles, he strangled a three-headed snake while yet an infant in the cradle. The former exploit recalls the equally precocious doings of the Keltic Shee-an-Gannon, who was born in the morning, named at noon, and went at even to ask the King of Erin's daughter in marriage (*Curtin's Myths and Folklore of Ireland*, p. 114). The 'wrestling run,' which occurs in this and other Greek ballads and tales, is also strikingly similar to Gaelic 'runs' (see, for instance, MacInnes and Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 345 and 486). According to a folk-ballad which is corroborated by the above-mentioned epic, Digenēs died at the age of thirty-three, in the year 979. A Cretan ballad gives the following description of this event:

'The throes of death seize Digenēs, and earth with dread is trembling;  
And heaven, too, is thund'ring loud, and upper kosmos quaking;  
How can the cold grave cover him, how cover such a hero?'

In 'The Enchanted Deer,' however, this champion declares that he has lived three hundred years; and



the details there given as to the cause of his death seem rather to refer to that of the Emperor Basil I., who, a century previously, had died from injuries received during a stag-hunt. What renders this ballad even more interesting, however, is the possible connection between 'The Enchanted Deer' and 'The Sacred Hind of Artemis,' a connection suggested by Professor Ridgeway's discussion before the Cambridge Philological Society of 'The Legend of Herakles and the Hind with the Golden Horns' (*Academy*, November 17, 1894). The three lines of the original in which the Deer is referred to are as follows:

'Επέτυχα κ' ἐβάρεσα τὸ στοιχειωμένο λάφι,  
Ποῦχε σταυρὸ στὰ κέρατα κι' ἀστέρι στὸ κεφάλι,  
Κι' ἀνάμεσα στὰ δίπλατα εἶχε τὴν Παναγία.

*Λάφι* = ἐλάφι, being neuter, may of course mean either 'hind' or 'stag,' though *λαφίνα* = ἐλαφίνα, is used in 'The Sun and the Deer' (p. 52). The translation should accordingly read 'its,' and not 'his,' on p. 253, lines 5 and 6. As the *Panaghia* has usurped the shrines once sacred to Artemis and the other female divinities of Paganism, we may possibly have in this evidently ancient folk-ballad a faint echo of the former worship in these regions of the great Diana of the Ephesians.

All the other characters belonging to this cycle—Konstantine, Tsamathòs, Minas, Nikephoras, Petrotrachilos, etc.—are, like Digenēs, credited by popular fancy with the possession of superhuman strength; and their heroic struggles with Saracens and other enemies while defending the eastern frontiers have been exaggerated by folk-imagination into encounters, not only with Amazons (see Mr. Stuart-Glennie's *Origins*



of *Matriarchy—Women of Turkey*, v. ii.), but with Giants, and other outlandish beings, and embellished with every sort of fantastic detail. One of these champions, Sigropoulos (Σιγρόπουλος = Σγουρόπολος = Συρόπουλος = Στιρόπουλος), figures in several ballads, and notably in Crete. The swallowing of nine youths by a monster, or Stoicheion, and their deliverance by their father, occurs frequently in folk-song (see, for instance, p. 66). And a story told to Mr. Macbain by an old Lewis fisherman, 'who was a complete pagan in all his views,' relates the gobbling-up by a monster of Oscar, son of Ossian, who, however, cut his own way out with his sword.

40 (pp. 236, 238). A similar presage is mentioned by Mr. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, ii., 317) as occurring in the ancient Egyptian story of 'The Two Brothers': 'This is the sign that evil has befallen me—the pot of beer in thine hand shall bubble.'

41 (p. 237). My translation of line 23 is conjectural:

'Ἐποίκε τῇ θάλασσα πουρμᾶ, τὸν οὐρανὸ μαγνάδι.

For I have been unable to assure myself of the true meaning of πουρμᾶ and μαγνάδι.

42 (p. 243). Opinions are divided as to the origin of this very widespread ballad. MM. Sathas and Legrand, for instance, identify the hero and heroine of it with Konstantine, the son of Andrónikos, and his sister Arété, who, as mentioned in *An.* No. 39, was married to a stranger, or foreigner, the Arab Prince Mansour. It would thus be properly placed, as here, in the Byzantine Section of Historical Ballads. M. Psichari, in the paper referred to below, throws doubt on this identification. I venture no opinion, but



append what will be found more valuable by those interested in the subject—a list of parallel ballads and papers in which this point is discussed: Fauriel, ii. 405; Manoussos, ii. 73-76; Tommaseo, iii. 347; Bagnolo, 129; Ioannidos, 283; Jeannaraki, 229; Κρητικὴ Μέλισσα, 20; Iatridos, 87; Lelekos, 203; Pandora, 367; Psichari, *La Ballade de Lenore en Grèce*, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions* (Musée Guimet), t. ix., x., 1884, p. 27; Politis, *Le Frère Mort*, *Δελτίου της 'Ιστ. καὶ 'Εθ. 'Εταιρίας*, October, 1885, and May, 1887; and Wollner, *Der Lenorenst. in der Slavischen Volkspoesie*. *Arch. für Slav. Philo.*, 1882, p. 239, etc. Echoes of this legend are also found in Servian and Bulgarian Folk-songs. (See Dozon, *Chants Pop. Bulgares*, 319.)

43 (p. 246). See No. 39.

44 (p. 250). See No. 13.

45 (p. 252). See No. 39.

46 (p. 255). In Kind's Collection this piece is entitled *'Η Ωραία τοῦ Καστροῦ*. Other versions are, however, known as 'The Beauty's Castle,' and in the text of this ballad the heroine is so designated. The ruins of a mediæval 'Beauty's Castle' are still to be seen in the Vale of Tempe, grandly situated on a precipitous height and built on ancient substructures. The preceding song is the only example I have yet met with of a 'Widow's Castle'; and, as it belongs to Kappadocia, it may possibly relate to a fortress of the Amazons, with one of whom, Maximo, Digenēs Akritas is described as having had an encounter. (See *Les Exploits*, etc.)

47 (p. 265). The fact of Christians buying and selling slaves seems to assign this ballad to the Byzantine Period, as does also the reference in some versions to



its hero as 'The Widow's Son.' The concluding incident is wanting in many of these parallels, but one I have met with since going to press is still more complete than that above translated. For it mentions that the brother had been, in his boyhood, recruited as a Janissary, and hence it was that brother and sister were strangers to each other (*Ελλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ.*, Constantinople, vol. xxi., p. 362).

48 (p. 267). M. Aravandinos remarks that this ballad is evidently a mediæval legend of an amorous episode between the daughter of some Epirote grandee and a duke or lord of Paramythía, which place was called *Άγιος Δονάτος* at the time of the occupation of Ioannina by the Norman Bohemond, the bastard of the great Robert Guiscard. Variants of 'Helioyenneti and Hantseri' presenting but slight differences are found in many Greek localities. A Cypriote version, published by M. Legrand in his *Chansons Grecques* (pp. 138 and 306), is called 'Hartsianis and Arété,' and this author assigns it to the end of the fifteenth century, and supposes Hartsianis to have been one of the Egyptian allies of King John of Lusignan. In another variant, given by Schmidt, King Konstantine and an Albanian lady take the places of Helioyenneti and Hantseri. Hantseri is also represented in another Epirote ballad (Chasiotes, 142) as laying a bet with King Dioný (*Διονύ*) on his wife's fidelity. This latter name is historical, and Schmidt assigns King Dioný to the Akritas cycle. Other parallels are *Νεοελλ. Άναλ.*, A. 200, B. 35, BΛ. 15 and 79; *Ελλ. Φιλ. Σύλλ.* May 9, 1876.

49 (p. 283). This ballad describes the famous naval battle of Lepanto. The admiral referred to as 'Rhiga' was Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V.,



and one of the most renowned commanders of the age; and the Alí Pashá mentioned was the Turkish Capitan Pasha, Muezzín-Zadí Alí. The incidents of the engagement are correctly as well as graphically described in this Folk-song. The two High Admirals of the conflicting fleets encountered each other with equal gallantry. Their vessels clashed together, and then lay closely locked for upwards of two hours, during which time the 300 Janissaries and 100 arquebusiers of the Turkish frigate and the 400 picked arquebusiers who served on board Don John's ship fought with the most determined bravery. The death of Alí Pashá, who fell, shot dead by a musket-ball, decided the memorable contest. (Compare Creasy, *Hist. of the Ottoman Turks*, pp. 219-21.)

50 (p. 285). It is a common belief in the East, both among Christians and Moslems, that a supernatural light, called in Turkish *nūr*, hovers over the grave of the saintly dead. The canonization of Dervish Sheikhs usually follows the report of such a light having been observed over their resting-places.

51 (p. 290). An act drawn up and written (in Greek) by Thomas Belletti, Prior of St. Nikolas of the Foreigners, at Zante, and which is preserved among the documents of this church, relates this event in the following terms:

' 1712, April 20, the day of holy Easter Sunday, we have interred in this church by order of the most illustrious and excellent prince Peter Bragadino, our governor, the child of Anastasius Zervos, about five years of age, by name John. This child, as we know, and as has been declared by official proclamation, was lost by his parents last Sunday, Palm Sunday, the 13th of the said month of April. And on Holy Saturday in



the evening, he was found at the point of Gabia, thrown into the sea, and bearing all the signs which were borne by our crucified Redeemer, Jesus Christ. In consequence of these events, the said most excellent Governor has commenced an enquiry in order to discover the truth. For, according to common report, this child must have received at the hands of the lawless (*παρانونων*) Jews the painful death of the martyr.'

After these events, the municipality of Zante promulgated a decree that the Jews, who had previously been restricted to no particular quarter, should thenceforward be confined to the Ghetto, which consists of two narrow streets intersecting each other so as to form a cross. The ends of these streets were walled up, gates only being left, over which were placed the arms of St. Mark and the inscription, 'IN CRUCE QUIA CRUCIFIXERUNT.' (Chiotis, *loc. cit.*)

There has existed in Europe and Western Asia, from 425 A.D. downwards, an unbroken chain of similar accusations brought against the Jews. The belief that this alleged sacrificial murder is practised has, in the East, been more especially persistent, and still survives, as I had occasion to observe during a *Judenhetze* at Smyrna some twenty years ago. The *Annals* of Baronius record that 'en 1244 à Londres, un enfant Chrétien pris par les Juifs est livré aux plus cruels tourments en haine du nom de Jésus Christ,' etc. (*Abrégé des Annales Ecclesiastiques de C. B.*, traduit par Chaulmer, 1244, No. 42). The *Annals* for the year 1283, No. 61, record the occurrence in that year of similar incidents at Prague and Mayence.

The story of the murder of Hugh of Lincoln by Jews in 1255 has been made the subject of many ballads, Anglo-Norman and Scottish. Of these a full list is



given by Francesque Michel in his *Huges de Lincoln*. One of the earliest, from a MS. in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, begins thus :

‘ Ore oez un bel chançon  
Des Jues de Nichole qui par tréison  
Firent la cruel occision  
De un enfant que Huchon out non.’

Chaucer also refers to this event in the *Prioress's Tale* :

‘ O Yonge Hew of Lincoln slain also  
With cursed Jews.’

The Trent case, which occurred in 1475, caused an immense commotion in Western Christendom, and the documents of the four different processes instituted against the accused persons are still preserved at the Vatican. Hardly less excitement attended the trial at Damascus in 1840 of various Jews for the murder of the Capucin Medical Missionary, Thomas of Calangiano, a man much beloved and reputed as of most holy life. According to voluminous notes, made at the Vatican and elsewhere, from the records of these trials, by a scholar now residing in this country who has kindly allowed me to peruse his MS., the evidence given disclosed every detail of this supposed sacrificial murder. The object of the crime, it was alleged, was invariably to obtain the blood of an innocent person, which, after being dried and reduced to powder, was retailed for its weight in gold by itinerant merchants, who carried licences from the Rabbis, certifying the genuineness of their commodity. And an infinitesimal quantity of this dried blood was mixed with the dough of the *azymes*, or Passover cakes, by the head of each family, who alone possessed the secret of this practice, and in his turn transmitted it to his successor.

Hatred of the Christians and mockery of their most



sacred beliefs are popularly, and not unnaturally, assigned as the motive for this sacrificial murder. Various circumstances, however, seem to me to point to the conclusion that, if actually practised by the Talmudic Jews, it had quite another origin, and is far older than Christianity. A careful study and comparison of the following passages from the four Evangelists seems, indeed, to suggest that Christ, as a man of austere and blameless life, was Himself sought by the Chief Priests and Elders as a suitable victim for this possibly immemorial sacrificial custom:

‘Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest . . . and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill Him.’—*Matt.* xxv. 3, 4.

‘After two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take Him by craft and put Him to death.’—*Mark* xiv. 8.

‘Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the passover. And the chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill Him, for they feared the people.’—*Luke* xxii. 1, 2.

‘And one of them named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, *Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not* . . . Then from that day forth they took counsel for to put Him to death. Jesus, therefore, walked no more openly among the Jews.’—*John* xi. 49, 50, 53, 54. The commentary (51, 52) of the writer of the Gospel on the High Priest’s words was naturally influenced by his conception of Christ, and the purpose of His death.



The question is more or less fully dealt with in, among others, the following books and papers: *Les Révélations de Néophyte*; *Le Sang Chrétien dans les Rites de la Synagogue*, 1889; Henri Desportes, *Le Mystère du Sang chez les Juifs*; Ed. Drumont, *La France Juive*; J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*; H. Guido, *Le Pretendu Meurtre Rituel de la Paque Juive* (*La Melusine*, vi., p. 8).

52 (p. 296). Called by the Greeks *Νάπλι* (Napoli di Romania). The Alí Bey alluded to was Damád Alí, the Grand Vizier, to whom the 'language of the stars had announced in 1715 that he was to be the Conqueror of the Morea,' then held by the Venetians. The Grand Vizier led an army of 100,000 men, supported by a fleet of 100 sail, against the weak Venetian force in the Morea in the summer of 1715. Corinth fell on June 25, and Nauplia, Modon, and Koron were captured by the triumphant Vizier with almost equal celerity. The operations of the Turkish fleet were not less successful; and by the end of November of that year Venice had lost, not only the whole of the Morea, but all her island possessions in the Archipelago.

53 (p. 303). The Moslems of Crete, being of the same race as the Christians, are reproachfully termed *μπουρμάδες* by their Orthodox brethren. In times of peace, however, there is considerable social intercourse between the Christians and Moslems of the island, and the latter often act as godfathers (*συντέχνιοι*) to the children of their Orthodox neighbours.

54 (p. 306). The Demáki whose memory is kept alive in this song was a wealthy Vlach proprietor and



head-man of the district of Aspropotamos. During the Revolution in the Peloponnesos he took refuge in Metzovo, but being induced by Turkish promises to quit his refuge there, he and his sons were, on July 17, 1770, murdered in their house at Tríkkala. (Sathas, *Τουρκοκρ. Ελλάδα*, p. 497).

55 (p. 307). The family of Boukouvala, of which the hero of this song was a member, possess a genealogy dating back to 1650. During the French occupation of the Ionian Islands, John Boukavalas and his family, then residing at Ithaca, were specially protected by the Governor, General Douzelet.

56 (p. 309, etc.) The Armatoles were originally a Greek militia instituted and sanctioned by the Turks for the purpose of maintaining order and repressing the Klephts. These national guards were all Greeks and commanded by Greek officers, but acknowledged the authority of the Pashás of their respective districts. They numbered among them many Klephts who had made their submission to the Government, and who were thenceforward denominated *Κλέφται Ημεροί*—‘Tame Klephts.’ The Porte had for some years before the Greek Revolution become apprehensive with regard to the numbers and organization of the Armatoles, and violent efforts were made to reduce their strength, which, however, chiefly resulted in driving them into open rebellion, and increasing the power of the *Αργυριοί Κλέφται*, or ‘Wild Klephts.’

57 (p. 309). This Soulieman was the predecessor of the famous Alí, the ‘Lion of Ioánnina’; and his widow built to his memory a sculptured Fountain, and a large Khan, called the Khan of the Kyria, or Lady,



on the other side of Mount Metzikeli from Ioánnina, and on the road across Pindus to Mezzovo—a Khan where Mr. Stuart-Glennie spent a memorably stormy night. Another ballad referring to this remarkable woman will be found on p. 317.

58 (p. 312). This and the four following ballads commemorate the heroic struggle for liberty of the Souliots from 1788 to 1803. Among the many heroines who took part in the defence was Helen Bótsaris, sister of the Souliot leaders, Kitsos and Notas Bótsaris. One of her exploits is thus described in folk-song (Aravandinos, 60):

‘O'er many Frankish lands I've roved, and many Frankish  
islands,  
Seen Romeot and Turkish girls, Frank wives, and Frankish  
maidens,  
But nowhere have I met with one so wise and so heroic  
As is that maid of Soúli who the sister is of Nótas.  
Her pistols and her sword she dons, takes up her long *tophaíki*;  
Away she hastens all alone, to seek her brother Nótas.  
Three Turks there meet her on the road, and fain would seize  
upon her :  
“Thine arms, O woman, throw them down, thy life then thou  
mayst save it.”  
“What sayest thou, thou wretched Turk? what sayest, vile  
Albanian !  
I an unmarried maiden am, I'm Bótsari's Helénë !”  
She from its scabbard draws her sword, and all three Turks then  
slays she.’

I have been unable to ascertain whether Marko Bótsaris, the hero of Missolonghi, the ballad on whose death is given on p. 352, was a member of this Souliot family.

59 (p. 313). This song commemorates the great Souliot victory of July 20, 1792, over the forces of Alí Pashá of Ioánnina, who is said to have killed two horses in flying from the field of battle. A graphic



description of this flight has been given by Valaorites in his poem entitled 'Omér Vrióne' (*Μνημόσυνα Ἀσµατα*).

60 (p. 318). Moukhtar, a son of Alí Pashá, had an intrigue with the beautiful and accomplished young wife of a Greek of Ioánnina. When Moukhtar had been sent to a distant command by his father, she and a number of other ladies, accused of infidelity to their husbands, were drowned in the lake by command of the tyrant, who is said to have made advances to the beautiful Greek, which were repulsed. Her tragic fate caused her sins to be forgotten, and transformed the adulteress into a heroine and martyr. The ring referred to was one that had been given by Alí Pashá to Moukhtar's wife, and subsequently by Moukhtar to Phrosýne. Valaorites has made this story the subject of a fine tragedy, which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica some fifteen years ago.

61 (p. 325). After many victories over the troops of Alí Pashá, Vlachava's band were attacked by ten times their number, and he himself was taken prisoner, diabolically tortured, and put to death. The heroic monk Demetrius, who had been his friend and constant companion, was soon afterwards taken prisoner, and built into a cell with his head only free, in order thus to prolong his agonies. Nothing was ever known of the parentage of this hero of Olympus and Pindus, and hence the splendid myth so ably treated by Valaorites in his poem, from which an extract is appended to complete the popular legend of the death of Evthymios Vlachávas.

62 (p. 328). Though the Sun is, in Greek Folk-poesy,  
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represented as the ideal of manly beauty, it would appear from popular expressions among all the Christian peoples of the East that his glance is considered particularly pernicious to the beauty of maidens, and precautions are taken, especially about the time of the vernal equinox, 'that the sun may not blacken them.' Sometimes a tiny coin is, on the first of March (Old Style) tied round the wrist with parti-coloured silk, apparently with a view to attract the attention of his solar majesty from the wearer, as other charms are used to divert to themselves the effects of the evil eye. Mr. Frazer, in his *Golden Bough*, has dealt fully with this subject as regards other countries.

63 (p. 332). During the minority of Alí Pashá of Ioánnina, he, together with his mother, Khamko, and his sister, Shainítza, fell into the hands of the Moslems of Gardiki and Tchórmovo, the hereditary enemies of his family, whom Khamko had for some time previously been harassing by open hostility and secret intrigue. After having been subjected to every indignity and outrage at the hands of their captors, the Aghadéna and her children were ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant. Herself dying before she could accomplish the vengeance which was thenceforward her sole object, she bequeathed to her son and daughter the obligation of immolating to her *manes* the inhabitants of those towns, and over her dead body Alí and his sister swore to fulfil her wishes. Gardiki was some years later, after a gallant defence, taken by one of Alí's lieutenants, 'Yousouf the Arab,' and on hearing of its fall Shainítza wrote to her brother, urging him to have no mercy on its inhabitants. 'As for me,' she added in conclusion, 'it is only on cushions stuffed



with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainítza will henceforward repose.' The chief men of the conquered town, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Alí at the Khan of Valiéré, were there ruthlessly butchered by the Christian troops under Thanásé Vághia (see *Trans.*, p. 77). Shainítza caused Gardiki to be razed to the ground, and after cutting off the hair of the women with every insult that she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, threatening anyone with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. A tablet in the wall of the Khan still records the number of the slain and the date of their slaughter.

64 (p. 334). Katsantonis was one of the most formidable Christian opponents of Alí Pashá. 'Plusieurs de mes amis,' says M. Blancard, 'se rapellent encore de l'avoir vue [in Lefkadia, where he frequently took refuge] assis sur le gazon, ayant à côté de lui le géant Lépéniotis, et entouré de ses compagnons qui ressembloit à des loups et à des tigres. Ses armes étaient du plus grand luxe; sa fustanelle était devenue noire par un long usage; l'or et l'argent brillaient sur toutes les parties de son costume. Il était de taille moyenne; son œil était plein de feu; il avait des moustaches noires, longues et épaisses, les sourcils bien tracés, et une voix douce et harmonieuse' (*Aristote Valaoritis*, p. 60). When weakened by an attack of small-pox and attended only by his devoted brother Ghiorghi, Katsantoni was betrayed by a monk, who alone knew of the secret cave in which they had taken refuge, and was surprised by a band of sixty Albanians, led by 'Yous-



souf the Arab.' Taking his sick brother on his shoulders, Ghiorghi rushed from the cave, killing and wounding without mercy the first Albanians who met him. He made for the mountains, still carrying his precious burden; and now advancing and now retreating, killed several more of his enemies, until, worn out and wounded, he and his brother were made prisoners. The Klephtic Chief Tsóngka is the hero also of a ballad translated on p. 351.

65 (pp. 338 and 340). The biographies of these two great patriots have lately been published in this country. (See Mrs. Edmonds' *Rhigas Pherraios*, and *Kolokotronis, Klepht and Warrior*.)

66 (p. 339). The Klephts of the Revolution entertained for their arms a passionate affection, looked upon them as animated beings, and swore by them. Weapons which had belonged to the more famous among these warriors enjoyed a renown almost equal to that of their owners, and Klephtic legends describe the desperate deeds done to obtain, or recover possession of a celebrated gun or sword. M. Blancard says in the notes to his translations of Valaorites' Poems (p. 26): 'Les Klephtes avaient pour leurs armes une passion si grande, qu'ils les baptisaient comme leurs propres enfants; ils leur cherchaient et leur appliquaient les noms les plus bizarres. J'ai en ma possession un yatagan surnommé *Vrycolaque* [the Vampire]; j'ai vu un sabre appelé *Mavroúkho*. Le célèbre Christo Millionis [see above, p. 288] avait donné son nom à son redoutable fusil, et on nommait *millionia* les fusils qui avaient la même forme et la même valeur que le sien. Tout le monde connaît l'arme de Palaiopoulos sous Ali-Pashá, qui ne manquait jamais le but et avait un



éclat de tonnerre.' The following touching lines from the Lament for Dímos Kalpouzos also illustrate this sentiment :

' They in his heart the poniard plunged, Dimáki mine !  
With my name on it graven—O Hero mine !  
For dear this poniard was to him—O Dímo mine !  
As I was dear to Dímos—O Hero mine !  
" Leloútha " they the poniard called—O Dímo mine !  
As me they called Leloútha, Dimáki mine !'

Valaorites also describes in his poem, ' Dimos and his Gun,' how the dying Klepht gave into the hands of the youngest member of the band his favourite weapon, bidding him mount to the summit of a rock and there fire off the gun three times, shouting at each discharge, ' *Old Dímos is dead ! Old Dímos has left us !*' At the third shot the gun burst, leapt from his hands, and disappeared in the abyss below. Mr. Stuart-Glennie tells me of a Gaelic song which he has often heard in the Braemar Highlands, in which the author of it—a poacher by Lowland, but not by old Highland Law—addresses his gun as his mistress in such terms as these :

' I would not give the kisses of thy lips  
For all the yellow treasures of the Low-country.'

Compare also Mr. Baverstock's paper on *Sword and Saga*, Viking Society, February 15, 1895; *Academy*, March 2, 1895; and Régamey's *Le Japon Pratique*, p. 99.

67 (p. 343). Instances of this sympathetic connection between persons and plants or trees occur frequently in Greek, as also in Keltic Folk-poesy. In an Epirote tale, 'The Twins,' the flourishing or fading of two cypress-trees is connected with the fortunes of twin brothers at a distance.

68 (p. 345). Several instances are on record of



women having adopted the hard and perilous life of Klephts. Besides Haïdée, evidently a regularly enrolled Armatole, we have in later years Spanò Vanghélli, mentioned on p. 379, who attained to the rank of *Kapitan*. A photograph of this heroine, which was given to Mr. Stuart-Glennie, when exploring the Olympos region, represents her as a rather short and stoutly built woman, plain of feature, and of swarthy complexion, dressed in the usual outlaw's costume of dirty white fustanella and skirt, braided vest and jacket, and wearing, suspended round her neck by a silver chain, the insignia of chieftainship—a large silver disk, with the St. George and Dragon pictured on it. Bulgarian Folk-songs also bear testimony to the attraction which this free, wild life has had for women of that nationality. (See Dozon, *Chansons Bulgares*, No. 18.)

69 (p. 368). The names and description of the Klephts in this ballad give a very good idea of the composition of a brigand band—Greeks, and Albanians of the Tosk and Liap tribes. The Tafli Boúzi mentioned figures also in an Albanian ballad connected with an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835.

70 (p. 376). The village of Kalabaka, situated at the foot of the precipices on the pinnacles of which the Metéora Monasteries are built, was the scene of the besung victory and ignored rout of the Greek Invasion of 1854. The 'headless bodies' referred to in the ballad were those of the Arab mercenaries, over whom the Greeks had gained the victory in the Upper Glen of the Peneiós. But this was swiftly followed by their defeat at Kalabaka, where the forces of Abdi Pasha and Fuad Effendi formed a junction, as did of old in the same spot the forces of Cæsar and Domitius.



71 (p. 381). Several women took part in this engagement at Polyána, between the Turks and the Greek Insurgents—among them two belonging to this village, Kallína Touphaikdjí and Vasilikí Apostolou.

72 (p. 386). Themistokles Dhoumouzos belonged to one of the best families of Rapsan on Mount Olympos, and was one of the most intrepid leaders of the unsuccessful rising of 1878. After the failure of the Insurrection he retired to Athens, but in a few months' time returned to his beloved Olympos, where he again gathered around him a band of followers for the purpose of defending the Christian villagers from the oppression of the Turks. In a couple of years' time, finding himself left with but a single follower, he went to Rapsan to recruit his band, and was there poisoned by a fellow-townsmen.







## EXCURSUS.

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*'Je suis convaincu qu'il y a en elle [la langue populaire], non seulement la matière des plus curieuses études philologiques, mais qu'elle est le lien secret qui montre la légitimité de nos origines et qui manifeste hautement que la domination étrangère n'a jamais réussi à détruire l'unité de notre race.'*—VALAORITIS.

*'Une littérature ne mérite ce nom qu'en tant qu'elle est nationale, et le développement d'une littérature nationale est attaché au culte de la langue même de la nation. Un pays n'existe réellement que quand il parle sa langue, et qu'il ose l'écrire.'*—JEAN PSICHARI.

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## GREEK FOLK-SPEECH.

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## GREEK FOLK-SPEECH.

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READERS of the foregoing expressions of Greek Folk-conceptions of life can hardly, I think, but have been struck with their Classical rather than Modern, their Pagan rather than Christian character. But it will be evident, on reflection, that modes of Thought, if they are determined by, also determine the forms of Language. And if the similarities of Modern to Classical Greek sentiment have, in the perusal of the foregoing pages, been recognised, some question can hardly but have arisen as to the relations of Modern to Classical Greek speech. Now, we shall find that later Greek speech is as close to earlier, as we have found, in the Folk-songs, that later is to earlier Greek sentiment. And, as the best theory of a Language is its history, I propose, in this *Excursus*, to indicate the cause of this relatively close relation of Modern to Classical Greek, in tracing, though necessarily here in a very summary manner, the outlines of the greater Stages of the Development of Greek, and pointing out the contrast presented by the conditions of Greek, to those of Latin, linguistic Development. I shall then briefly illustrate the Linguistic Charac-



teristics of the Originals of these Translations. And I shall finally venture on some remarks on the burning question of Modern Literary Greek and its Future Development in relation to the Folk-speech—a Greek Philological Question which will be found to have very practical bearings on certain keenly discussed British Educational Questions.

## SECTION I.

### THE PAST DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK.

§ I. Greek stands alone among languages in possessing, as a living speech, an unbroken series of literary texts extending over three thousand years, and hence extending, not only throughout the whole of that New Age which, as I have elsewhere shown, was initiated by the great Moral Revolution of the Fifth-Sixth Century B.C., but for centuries on its other side into the later of the truly Ancient Ages. That there should be definitely distinguishable Ages and Periods in the History of Civilization may reasonably be presumed, not only from its now discovered commencement at a certain approximately dateable epoch, and its having been, throughout its course, essentially a series of Racial and Class Conflicts; but from the mere physical fact that human lives are of a certain average length; and hence, that the succession of a greater number of generations brings with it, in a progressive society, greater changes than the succession of a lesser number. Approximately only can the Epochs as yet be fixed of the establishment of the Achaian and Semitic Civilizations, and hence, of the beginnings and durations of the earlier Ages; but we may,



with more definiteness, date the establishment of predominant Aryan Civilizations from the Sixth Century B.C.; and reckoning from that great Epoch, I think, as has been seen in the *Introduction*, that clearly distinguishable Half-millennial Periods may be affirmed in the New Age then initiated. Of course, however, such Periods must be conceived as, like the Seasons of Nature, presenting, in their synchronisms, the play of a Life, rather than the clockwork of a Machine; and they can be verified only by finding that a great variety of historical developments do actually, in their characteristic beginnings and endings, fit into such an Historical Framework. Do the greater Stages of the Development of Greek correspond with those Half-millennial Periods? I think it will be found that they do thus correspond; and further, that the chief external cause of the difference between the results hitherto of the respective histories of Greek and Latin has been the difference in the two cases of the conditions of the interaction of Folk- and Culture-classes.

§ 2. The First, or Classical Half-millennium—from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Christian Era—is, in the development of Greek, marked by such events as these (1) the editing (or re-editing) of Homer, and thus, here as elsewhere, the editing of National Sacred Books; (2) the gradual suppression of a variety of Dialects, not Æolic, Doric, and Ionic only, as a result of the unification enforced, first by the Persian Wars, and then, by that political, and especially intellectual supremacy of Athens which, though itself of but brief duration, resulted in giving to the Attic Dialect a permanent supremacy as the Classical Language; (3) the extension of Greek throughout Asia from Samarkand to Antioch and Alexandria, as the direct



consequence of the Greek Domination founded by Alexander, and maintained in the Kingdoms of his successors; (4) the germs, in the Greek of Polybios (124 B.C.), of the *Κοινή*, or 'Ελληνική, the new development of the Language which was more definitely to mark the next Half-millennial Period; and (5) finally, the attempts of one set of Alexandrian writers to recall the poetical, and of another to recall the grammatical forms of a stage of literary and linguistic development that was already passing away. The Second, or Greco-Roman Half-millennium—that which was initiated by the rise of Christianity, a new development of the General Moral Revolution of the Sixth Century B.C.—was, in the history of the development of Greek, distinguished (1) by the great literary monuments of Hellenistic Greek, the Christian Scriptures, with the Apocryphal Gospels, etc., and the works of the Greek Fathers; (2) not only by military, administrative, and juridical, but, after Constantine,<sup>a</sup> by religious, pressure also in favour of Latin, the Language of the Roman Conquerors; and (3) by such a result of the conflict of Greek with Latin for these five hundred years that, at the end of this Period, Latin is found not only to have failed to substitute itself for Greek, as elsewhere in the *orbis Romanus*—in Africa,<sup>b</sup> Spain, and Gaul—but failed to do more than enrich Greek with some new

<sup>a</sup> The earlier Christian Bishops of Rome spoke Greek. 'Bien qu'il (le Christianisme) eût son siège dans la capitale de l'empire il restait profondément hellénique, isolé qu'il était par les persecutions des empereurs. Avec Constantin et l'édit de Milan (313), la situation se retourne: le culte persécuté se change en religion officielle; l'église de Rome devient romaine, sa langue reconnue est désormais la langue latine.'—LAFOSCADE, *Influence du Latin sur le Grec (Philologie Neo-Grecque)*, p. 127.

<sup>b</sup> 'L'Égypte fait seule exception: la langue grecque, introduit par les Ptolémées, reste, sous la domination romaine, la langue officielle, au moins avant le iv<sup>e</sup> siècle.'—LAFOSCADE, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



words,<sup>a</sup> while leaving its Grammar untouched.<sup>b</sup> As a result of this, from the very beginning of the Third Half-millennium of the Aryan Age—the Second of the Christian Era (500-1000) the Barbarian Period of the West, the Byzantine, of the East—the *Institutes* of Justinian had to be translated out of the language of the conquerors into that of the conquered; and this Period was, above all, distinguished by the gradually complete imposition of the language of the conquered Greeks on the whole of what, at the same time, gradually became the distinctively Byzantine, rather than Roman, administration, from the *Βασιλεύς*, the Cæsar, the *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* downwards<sup>c</sup>—a result of the conflict between the Greek and Latin languages which could not but immensely strengthen all tendencies to the conservation of the former. The Fourth Half-millennium—that brilliant Period from the

<sup>a</sup> For instance, such military terms as Δούξ, Κάστρον, Κόμησ, Κομπάνια (=φρατρία), Μανδάτα, etc., and such administrative terms as Στράτα, Ρούγα, Σπίτι, Πόρτα, Φαμίλια, etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 142). As to juridical terms, see TRIANTAPHYLLIDES, *Lexique des Mots Latins dans Theophile et les Nouvelles de Justinien* (*Philologie Neo-Grecque*).

<sup>b</sup> 'L'influence du latin sur le grec est demeurée purement lexicologique. La phonétique et la morphologie ne sont jamais entamées; la syntaxe l'est parfois, mais d'une façon passagère et superficielle.'—*Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>c</sup> After Justinian the 'Roman' Emperors ceased to speak Latin either in private or public.—BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii., p. 174. And if Latin was still kept up, it was in such merely ceremonial ways as only testify more clearly to the complete victory of Greek. For the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in preserving for us several Latin formulas and prayers, found it necessary not only to translate them, but write them in Greek. Thus, when the Emperor sat down to table, five choristers chanted: Κονσέρβετ Δέουσ ἡμπέριουμ βέστρουμ! When he drank: Βήβητε Δόμνην ἡμπεράτορεσ, ἦν μούλτοσ ἄννοσ; Δέουσ δμνήποτενσ πρέστεθ! And when the Emperor laid his napkin on the table (τὸ μανδήλιον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆσ τραπέζησ), and they all rose, the choristers chanted: Βόνω Δόμνω σέμπερ!—LAFOSCADE, *op. cit.*, p. 136. Similarly, the Byzantine 'God save the King!' 'Tu vincas!' is written τὸυ βίγκασ!—BURY, as above cited.

n.B.



Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century (1000-1500) distinguished by the attempted Frank Empire, or, at least, domination, of the East as well as of the West—is memorable in the history of Greek Speech, as a period of such definite further approach of the *Koinḗ*, or Hellenic, to the Neo-Hellenic, or Modern Greek of the next Period that, if the previous Period is linguistically distinguished as Byzantine, this must be distinguished as Romaic; for the two main results of study of the Greek authors of this Period are these: (1) Their language differs from one century to the next, and also presents a continuous development; and (2) before them, or before the tenth century at earliest, the language never appears as it is found in their works.<sup>a</sup> Finally, the Fifth Half-millennium of the New, or Aryan Age, reckoned from the Sixth Century B.C.—the distinctively Modern Period initiated by the Sixteenth Century—has been marked by such a still further advance in the development of the old *Koinḗ*<sup>b</sup> that, from the Sixteenth Century,<sup>c</sup> must be more especially dated Neo-Hellenic, or Modern Greek,

<sup>a</sup> See PSICHARI, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grec*, and *Philologie néo-grecque*, *Preface*, p. xvi., where he refers to the similar views of A. THUMB and P. HESSELING.

<sup>b</sup> It is this that Modern Greek is now found to present; and not, therefore, according to former theories, the persistence, either of any one ancient dialect, as the Æolo-Doric, or of any mixture of ancient dialects. 'Nous pouvons affirmer qu'il n'y a pas de traces d'anciens dialectes en néo-grec.'—PERNOT, *Sur les subsistances dialectales en néo-grec*. *Philologie néo-grecque*, pp. 45-82.

<sup>c</sup> 'Même au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous voyons chez les auteurs des formes anciennes au milieu des formes modernes, qui ont, il est vrai, la majorité. . . . Les textes médiévaux établissent d'une façon irréfutable tout au moins ceci, c'est à savoir que le grec moderne n'est pas formé avant le xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle. De quelque côté que l'on envisage la question, on n'expliquera jamais sans cela comment il se fait que l'*Erotokritos* et l'*Erophile*, premiers textes en langue vraiment moderne, surtout le dernier, n'apparaissent qu'entre le xvi<sup>e</sup> et xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles.'—PSICHARI, *Philologie Neo-grecque*, *Preface*, pp. xvii. and xxiv.



while the whole Period, and particularly its later centuries, has been distinguished by efforts at a reconstitution of the Language, and the formation of a truly National Literature, as I shall have more fully to indicate in a subsequent Section.

§ 3a. What has been the result of these two thousand years of the development of Greek in Stages corresponding so remarkably with the Half-millennial Periods of General European History, and which are distinguishable respectively as (1) Attic, or Classical; (2) Hellenistic; (3) Byzantine; (4) Romaic; and (5) Neo-Hellenic, or Modern?<sup>a</sup> The development has been so slow, and the changes have been, relatively to the millenniums occupied, so slight, that Greek is still grammatically nearer to its origin than any other literary language—so near indeed, that, to use the comparison of the late Professor Blackie, there is less difference between the Classical Greek of two thousand

<sup>a</sup> I would, in verification of this generalization, refer to the notes supporting the statements in the foregoing paragraph. I regret, therefore, that I must differ from Dr. JANNARIS as to the Periods he distinguishes in the Introduction to his *Modern Greek Dictionary*, pp. viii. to xii. His 'Neo-Hellenic Era' reaches 'from 600 A.D. to the present time,' in direct opposition to the facts referred to in the foregoing note in support of my dating it only from the sixteenth century. As to the three previous Periods which Dr. JANNARIS distinguishes, I shall here only remark that they are not only altogether incommensurate, both as to lapse of time and extent of change, with this vast Period of 1,300 years, but that the Christian Era, which made of the *Κοινή*, or popular Greek, the literary language of a New Religion, does not mark with him any definite new stage of linguistic development. As to my use of the term 'Romaic,' to distinguish more particularly the Fourth Half-millennial Period of the Development of Greek, *Ῥωμαϊκά* originally meant simply the language *spoken* at the new Rome, which was, even at Court, after the sixth century, Greek—a 'vast gulf, however, separating spoken from written Greek.'—BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii., p. 174. And till quite recently 'Romaic' has been, and is even still, used to designate what Greeks prefer to call 'Neo-Hellenic.'



years ago and the modern spoken language, than there is between the English of Chaucer half a millennium ago and the English of the present day; or, to use the more significant comparison of M. Psichari, Greek has even now developed changes no greater than those which Latin had already developed in the *Chanson de Roland* nearly a thousand years ago.<sup>a</sup> Surely this is a most remarkable fact, and one that presents a problem of a most interesting character. The general causes of linguistic permanence and of linguistic change have, indeed, been more or less adequately stated by various scholars.<sup>b</sup> We seem, however, to be thus hardly justified in here evading the task of a more special consideration, if not explanation, of the singular contrast presented by the development of Greek as a single Language, and of Latin as a variety of Languages.

§ 3*b*. Note, then, the following facts in the history of Greece and Rome in the above distinguished Half-millennial Periods since, in the midst of the great Asian-European Revolution of the Sixth Century B.C., they stood side by side in similar economic conditions, resulting in similar political changes.<sup>c</sup> In the Classical Half-millennium, the Greeks achieved a great Literature not only earlier than the Romans, but of a character incomparably more original, powerful, and enduring in its effects than was even the Augustan Literature at the end of this Period. In the next, or Hellenistic Period, the first Half-millennium of the Christian Era, another

<sup>a</sup> PSICHARI, *Philologie neo-grecque*, *Preface*, ii., 'Pour retrouver dans nos études l'équivalent de ce que peut être, comme document linguistique, pour les romanistes l'Histoire des Francs de Gregoire de Tours il faut que nous remontions jusqu'à Polybe.'—*Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> See, for instance, SAYCE, *Comparative Philology*, and *Science of Language*, v. i., chap. 3, The Three Causes of Change in Language (Imitation, Emphasis, and Laziness).

<sup>c</sup> The change from Monarchies to Republics.



immensely powerful Culture-influence was added to that which already, in Attic Greek, tended to the repression of Folk-variations—the Greek of the Apostolic Writings, addressed to Churches both in Asia and in Europe, and the Greek of the Fathers who succeeded the Apostles, and wrote their voluminous Treatises, and conducted their disputatious Councils in the Apostolic tongue—and we must further here recall, as tending powerfully in the same direction, the conflict, by which, as already noted, this Period was marked, between the two great Culture-languages of the West, and such a victory of Greek over Latin, after a struggle of five hundred years, as could not but greatly strengthen the self-conservative tendencies of the former. Again, in the Third Half-millennium—the Byzantine Period, from 500 to 1,000 A.C.—Folk-variations in speaking Greek were repressed by yet another powerful Culture-influence—that, not only of Literary Classes, both Secular and Ecclesiastical; but of a Greek Empire of the East which had succeeded the Roman Empire of both West and East; the influence of an Imperial Administration, no longer even attempting to impose Latin, and of Cæsars who, though they called themselves ‘Roman’ Emperors, spoke Greek, not Latin, and looked on themselves less as Romans who were heirs of Greek Provinces than as Greeks who were heirs of the Roman Empire.<sup>a</sup> As the Western Empire had already, in the Second Half-millennium (1 to 500

<sup>a</sup> So true was this that Charlemagne was regarded as a rebel; and the Emperor Nicephoros Phocas was indignant at being addressed by the Pope as ‘Emperor of the Greeks;’ though this was done without any intention of offence, and only—as was quite true—‘quia linguam, mores, vestesque mutastis.’—LIUDPRAND, *Leg.*, 51, p. 538, quoted by LAFOSCADE, *op. cit.*, p. 137.



of the Christian Era), been, the Eastern Empire was, in the Fourth Half-millennium (1000 to 1500), overrun by horde after horde of barbarians. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Bulgarian Kingdoms were established in the Western Provinces, and Thessaly lost even its name in that of Great Wallachia (*Μεγάλη Βλαχία*); in the thirteenth century, Constantinople itself was taken by the Latin Crusaders and the Venetians (1204); in the fourteenth century, the Frank Domination of both East and West was further completed by the partitionment of almost the whole of the Greek Empire into Latin Kingdoms, Principalities, and Duchies; and it had besides to withstand, as it best could, the simultaneous invasions of the Slavs on the one hand, and of the Ottomans on the other; and, finally, in the closing fifteenth century, Constantinople was again captured (1453), and not, as previously when captured by the Franks, to be held for but fifty, but for five hundred years. Yet, though the result of the barbaric invasions and Fall of the Western Empire in the Second Half-millennium had been the development of Latin, in the subsequent Period, into forms so diverse that each Province had soon what was practically a new Language; the barbaric invasions and Fall of the Eastern Empire in this Fourth Half-millennium issued in no such diversities, but only in a development of Greek carrying somewhat further, and particularly in the subsequent Fifth Period, from the Sixteenth Century onwards, those changes by which it had already been marked, at the beginning, in the Eleventh Century, of the stormful Fourth Period. How shall we explain these great and diverse variations of Latin, and these slight and sequent variations of Greek, after, in each



case, subjection, not to invasions only, but to immigrations, and hence changes of blood ?<sup>a</sup>

§ 3c. Towards an explanation of this extraordinary contrast of Linguistic Development, we may note, first, that the antecedents of variation were, in both cases, similar. A κοινή διάλεκτος was, in each case, the basis of the later changes; and this was, in the one case, preceded by the Empire of Alexander, in the other, by that of Cæsar. And, in each case, these later changes became manifest only after the less or more complete fall of the Empire. The later changes towards the Neo-Latin languages first showed themselves in the sixth century, immediately after the fall of the Roman Empire; and they became definite, and definitive, only in the eleventh century. And the later changes towards the Neo-Hellenic language first showed themselves, as we have seen, in the eleventh century, when the Byzantine Empire of the preceding Half-millennium had, if not fallen, entered on a period in which it was almost as little of an extended and independent Greek Empire as was the Roman, after the victories of the Herulian, Odoacer (476), and the Ostrogoth, Theodoric (493); and these changes became definite and definitive only in the sixteenth century, after the final

<sup>a</sup> FALLMERAYER (*Entstehung d. heutigen Griechen*, 1835, and *Gesch. d. Halbinsel Morea*, 1832-36) maintained that not a drop of genuine and unmixed Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of Modern Greece. But see now HERTZBERG, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, 1876-79; RAMBAUD, *L'Empire Grec au Xme. siècle*, 1870; and BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, v. ii., pp. 133-44. Dr. PHILIPPSON'S conclusion (*Zur Ethnographie des Peloponnes* in PETERMANN'S *Mittheilungen*, Feb., 1890), is, that Greeks in blood form but one element in a vast Hellenised conglomerate of which about 90,000 of the Albanian element still retain their native language, while the Slavs have become completely Hellenised, as also all the descendants of Romans, Goths, Vandals, French, Italians, Spaniards, Jews, Arabs, and Turks who have at various epochs settled in the country.



conquest by the Ottomans (1453). So far, then, instead of contrast, we find striking similarity between the histories of Greek and Latin. Contrast, however, there is — not, indeed, either in the fact of change, or in the character of the antecedents of change, but in the degree of change. The question, therefore, is reduced simply to this: Can conditions be stated at all adequate to such a limitation of linguistic changes as we find in the development of Greek as compared with that of Latin? In reply we note that Culture-classes, Literary and Administrative, not only speaking Greek, but writing Greek, of which the standards were still found in the Classical Period,<sup>a</sup> continued, owing to the political conditions above-indicated, to exert a powerful conservative influence for a thousand years longer than the Culture-classes who spoke and wrote Latin. Our general Conflict Theory seems thus further illustrated. In the conflict between Culture- and Folk-classes which determined the development both of Greek and Latin, the Greek, exerted a more powerful and more enduring conservative influence than did the Roman, Culture-classes: and hence it is that Neo-Hellenic is so much nearer its sources than Neo-Latin in any of its half-dozen forms.

§ 4. But superficially only is the problem thus solved. The question as to the cause of the contrasted developments of Greek and Latin forms but one of a large class of similar problems of contrasted Linguistic Development which must be, at least, indicated, in order to any due understanding of this special Greek and Latin problem. The Atlantisians, or American Aborigines, though relatively very few in number, speak, throughout certain large districts, but one language;

<sup>a</sup> BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, v. ii., p. 170.



while, in certain smaller districts, they speak many languages,<sup>a</sup> between which apparently no relations whatever can be traced indicative of derivation from even a few common sources; and the Atlantisian Languages, even at the lowest calculation, are so numerous as unrelated 'Stock-languages' that it is impossible reasonably to attribute their variety to an equal variety of unrelated 'Stock-races.' Yet, in contrast to this extraordinary diversity of development, we find that, from the Ganges to the British Isles, across the whole Western Continent of America to the Pacific, the languages spoken are still, after at least two thousand years of such extension (if the Western Continent is excluded), so closely related that there can be no question as to their derivation from a common source, or Mother-tongue. These Aryan Languages, however, though thus closely related, are mutually unintelligible. A still greater contrast, therefore, to the diversity of the development of Atlantisian Speech is to be found in that of the Turkic, or Turanian Races, who, having developed linguistic Varieties rather than Species, Dialects rather than Languages, are said to be still mutually intelligible from the shores of the Ægean to those of the Arctic Ocean. What are the causes of contrasts of linguistic development so prodigious as those presented by the Stock-languages of the Atlantisians; the manifestly derivative, though mutually unintelligible, Languages of the Indo-Europeans; and the vastly extended, yet mutually intelligible Dialects of the Turanians? Again, in contrast to

<sup>a</sup> Algonquin and Athapascan, for instance, extend over large inland areas in the north, while some thirty different languages are found in the strip of coast between British Columbia and Lower California—a very significant fact, as I think, for the theory of Asian and Atlantisian relations.



the divergent development of the Aboriginal American, or Atlantisian, Languages, and to the advanced development of most of the Indo-European Languages, consider the stationariness of Semitic Arabic, or—what here more nearly concerns us—of Aryan Lettic, or Lithuanian. ‘The Bedouins of Central Arabia still speak a language which is not only as pure and unaltered as that of the Koran, but even in some respects more archaic than the Assyrian of Nineveh<sup>a</sup> 3,000 years ago. And Lithuanian, though unaided by a Literature till the beginning of last century, is still, in its fewer phonetic changes and fewer grammatical losses, nearer the primitive type of Aryan speech than any other existing Aryan language. What are the causes of such enduringly triumphant resistance, millennium after millennium, to all those causes of linguistic change which philologists set forth as continually in action, or tending to come into action?’

§ 5. We cannot, as in the case of the special problem we have just been dealing with, reply by pointing to the conditions of the interaction of Culture- and Folk-classes. For in these last cited cases of relative or absolute stationariness, there have been no such definitely differentiated and powerful Culture-classes fostering great national Literatures, and regulating widely-extending Administrations, as have, in the case of the Greeks, kept the language comparatively close to its origins, notwithstanding the millenniums of its history, and the great area over which it has been spoken. To what cause, then, can results even more extraordinary than those which have distinguished the history of Greek be attributed? Certainly, if the retardative action of Culture-classes on the variation of Languages

<sup>a</sup> SAYCE, *Source of Language*, vol. ii., p. 172.



is a *vera causa*, it will be possible either to derive it from, or correlate it with, whatever other causes there may be of retardative action. May there not, then, be required a more general conception of the Ultimate Factors of Evolution; and hence, a conception of the causes of retardation of Linguistic Development sufficiently general to be applicable, not to Greek only, but also to all these other cases? May not these Ultimate Factors be defined as (1) self-conservative and self-differentiative Energies; and (2) selectively favouring or disfavouring Conditions? And hence, may not the general causes of Linguistic Development be found in the interaction of such special forms of these Ultimate Factors as (1) physiological and psychological Idiosyncrasies; and (2) geographical and social Environments? But, if so, the Conflict of Races will be found to be but a special form of a more general Conflict of physiological and psychological Idiosyncrasies, acting on, and reacted on by geographical and social Environments. And thus more generally conceived, our Theory of the Conflict of Races may, with the development of Folkpsychology (*Völkerpsychologie*), be better prepared for a solution of the problem of the origin, not merely of new Languages, but of the original or Stock-languages themselves.

## SECTION II.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK DIALECTS.

§ 1. The outlines just given of the Past Development of Greek in the great Half-millennial Periods of the Aryan Age, would be found, if filled in, to date the origins and to trace the history of the various changes, lexical and grammatical, which distinguish Modern from



Classical Greek. They need, however, be here only summarily indicated in their chief features, and not exhaustively. Modern differs from Classical Greek in the loss (1) of Tenses by the Verb—the auxiliaries *θά* (= *θέλω νά*) and *ἔχω* being used to replace the future and perfect, and the subjunctive mood preceded by *νὰ* (*ίνα*) to replace the infinitive<sup>a</sup>—and the loss (2) of Cases by the Noun—the dative being replaced generally by the accusative, though sometimes also by the genitive.<sup>b</sup> Nor only thus, as to Grammar, but as to Words, Modern differs from Classical Greek in these various ways: (1) in the use of *εἶναι* for *he is*, or *they are*, and, with *θὰ*, for *he* or *they will be*<sup>c</sup>; (2) in the use of *δέν* instead of the Byzantine *οὐδέν*, or the Classical *οὐ* for the negative; (3) in the ordinary use of what were formerly only poetical words; (4) in the use of old words with new meanings, as, for instance, of old diminutives without a diminutive sense; (5) in the dropping of final consonants (*ν* and *ρ*) and the curtailment of words; (6) in the lengthening of words, particularly for diminutives; (7) and in the importation of new words from all the languages with which the Greeks as a people have been successively brought into contact—Latin, Slavonian, Italian, Albanian, and Turkish.<sup>d</sup> And it is

<sup>a</sup> See HESSELING, *Essai historique sur l'infinitif Grec* in PSICHARI'S *Philol. neo-grecque*, pp. 1-44.

<sup>b</sup> This would appear to date from the seventh or eighth century of the Christian Era; that is to say, from the earlier centuries of the Byzantine, as distinguished from the later Romaic, Stage of the Language.

<sup>c</sup> 'Nous voyons déjà dans l'*Electre* que *ἔνι* est employé exactement sur le même pied que *ἔνεστι*. . . . Au xii siècle dans le *Spanéas*, c'est décédiment cet *ἔνι* qui l'emporte, et de cet *ἔνι* dérive le moderne *εἶναι*. Le sens s'est légèrement modifié avec le temps . . . *ἔνι*, c'est à dire *ἔνεστι*, est devenu synonyme de *ἔστι*.—PSICHARI, *Philol. neo-grecque*, pp. xii. and 367-374.

<sup>d</sup> 'Agacé d'entendre dire sans cesse qu'il y a en grec beaucoup des mots turcs.' PSICHARI has a section on the *Eléments grecs en Turc Osmanli*, *Philol. neo-grecque*, pp. lxxix-lxxxii.



by the exaggeration of these Grammatical and Lexical differences of the Modern from the Classical Culture-speech; by a simpler Word-order; and by Literal and Verbal changes distinctive of special localities, that the Dialects of Greek Folk-speech may be generally characterized.

§ 2. First, then, as to Grammar, and what goes with it, Word-order. Greek Dialects still possess a past and present tense, and are thus more complete than English Folk-speech, in which the present tense has frequently to do duty also for the past, as in 'I come,' for 'I came.' And as the Culture-speech must now, like English, form its future tense by the aid of an auxiliary, so it is with the Folk-speech, which, however, in Cypriote, uses *ἔννα* for *θὰ* (*θέλω νὰ*). But no more in its Folk- than in its Culture- form, does Greek lend itself to such confusion in the Conditional Past as so often occurs in English Folk-speech, as in, 'If he hadn't *ha'* (*ve*) come' (*ἀν θὲν εἶχε ἔρθῃ*). And though, in Greek Folk-speech, Verbs have only two Tenses, the past and present, Nouns have still four Cases, the nominative, genitive, accusative, and vocative. Hence, such a use of the accusative of the Pronoun for the nominative, as in the North of England, 'Her comes, and her says to me,' or, as in the South, of the nominative for the accusative, 'You look after she,' does not occur in Greek. But though the grammar of the Folk-speech is so similar to that of the Culture-speech, its Word-order is far simpler than that of the Literary Language—as simple, indeed, as that of English. Such a sentence, for instance, as the following, which I take at random from the Preface to the *Συλλογὴ* of Aravandinos, lying before me, would, in its German involutions, be no less impossible in English



Culture-speech than in Greek Folk-speech: 'Ἡ κατ' ἔξοχὴν ὄμως γόνιμος ἐν τῇ δημοτικῇ ποιήσει Ἑλληνικὴ χώρα, κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους τοῦλάχιστον χρόνους, δύναται, φρονούμεν, νὰ θεωρηθῆ ἡ Ἑπειρος.<sup>a</sup> And it is therefore unnecessary to give contrasting extracts from Greek Folk-speech, as the simplicity of its Word-order is exactly reproduced in the following Translations, even to the position of the adjectives, which, as a rule, precede the nouns. The possessive Pronouns, however, are, otherwise than in English, placed after the nouns, as, *e.g.*, τό σπίτι μου, 'my house'; and the accusative and dative of the personal Pronouns are placed before the verb, except when it is in the imperative, as, *e.g.*, τὸν ἔπιασε ἀπ' τὸ χέρι, 'he took him by the hand.'

§ 3. So far as to that exaggeration of the Grammatical Differences between the later and the earlier Culture-speech by which Greek Dialects are distinguished. And I now proceed to illustrate the exaggeration in Greek Folk-speech of the Lexical Differences above summarized between Modern and Classic Greek. It is the great number of Grecized foreign words so freely adopted in the Dialects that constitute one of the main elements of their difficulty. Some of these words, no doubt, look more difficult than they are, as, for instance, among very many more that might be cited, *μαντζαώραις*, *μπεροῦκες*, *σμπίρροι*, *τζανταρμίδες*, *κόμε σιντέβε*, which are only the Italian and French *mezzaoras*, *perruques*, *sbirri*, *gens-d'armes*, and *come si*

<sup>a</sup> Rather questionable, therefore, is the remark of Colonel LEAKE: 'The arrangement in general is not much more complex than that of our own language' (*Researches*, p. 54). For the above sentence may be thus literally translated: 'The *par excellence*, however, fruitful in popular Hellenic poesy, country, in later, at least, times, can, we think, be regarded as the Epeiros.'



*deve.* More really difficult, however, are such lines as the following, from the ballads translated.

‘Σύρτε, μαντάτα, στὴ Φραγκιά, στὴ Βενετιά, χαμπέρια!’  
μαντάτα = Lat. *mandata* = mandates; and χαμπέρια = Tr. *haber* = tidings (p. 278).

‘Μὲ μπέσα καὶ μὲ πλάνημα καὶ με βαρὺ σικλέτι.’  
μπέσα = Alb. *béssa* = truce; σικλέτι = Tr. *siqlet*, oppression (p. 384).

“Υπνε μου κ’ ἐπάρε μου τὸ, κ’ι, αἰτέ τὸ στὴ μπαξέδαις.’  
αἰτέ = Tr. *haydé* = go (used, not in its proper signification, but as an active verb); μπαξέδαις = Tr. *baghtché* = garden (p. 172).

‘Κερδοῦν τὰν τὰ μαῦρα χαρδαλιὰ, καὶ τ’ ἄσπρα τὸ κεφίνι.’  
χαρδαλιὰ = Tr. *hardali* (?) = graves; κεφίνι = Tr. *kefin* = shroud (p. 248).

‘Ἄς σαλτίσω μ’ τὸ μίσθαργο—Ὁ μίσθαργος ἀργὸς ἔνε.’  
σαλτίσω = Tr. *salmak* (?) = send; μίσθαργος = servant (p. 250).

‘Νησσιὰ ἄς κάψ’ τσὴ μάμμα μου, καὶ λάυρα ταγαθά μου.’  
νησσιὰ = πῦρ = fire (*Annotations*, No. 31).

‘Καὶ τὸ σκουρὰ στὸ χέρι του ζωῖμαν ἐσγκυλίσθεν.’  
σκουρὰ = wine; ζωῖμαν = αἷμαν, blood; ἐσγκυλίσθεν = κυλίω = to trouble (p. 238).

Evidently the discovery of words in Greek Dialects, inexplicable, as perhaps one or two of the above, and such others, perhaps, as *πουρμᾶ* and *μαγνάδι* (see pp. 237 and 407) from known languages, would add to the linguistic proof, already considerable,<sup>a</sup> of that theory

<sup>a</sup> A considerable proportion of Greek words, from the names of Greek Deities downwards, are inexplicable from Greek roots.



of the derivation of the Hellenic from a pre-Hellenic Civilization<sup>a</sup> which I have, for the last dozen years, advocated in connection with my general theory of the Conflict of Races. And the pursuit of such researches, by more adequately-equipped scholars than ourselves, may perhaps lead, some day, to a work on *The Languages of Greece before the Greeks*.<sup>b</sup>

4. Hitherto I have dealt with characteristics of Greek Dialects which are but exaggerations either of the Grammatical or of the Lexical differences which distinguish the Modern from the Classic Culture-speech. I have now to illustrate those Literal and Verbal changes—elisions, substitutions, and additions of letters,<sup>c</sup> and fusions and changes of words—which are peculiar to the Folk-speech, and constitute the second main element of its difficulty. Some of these peculiarities have been incidentally illustrated in lines above-cited with other objects. But I must now add the following special illustrations of elisions, etc., from the Originals, translated in vol. i., pp. 97, 250, and in which peculiar forms of Greek and other words occur:

<sup>a</sup> Suggested as my theory was by remarking, when at Larissa in 1880, that this Thessalian Larissa (Larsa in the Folk-songs) was connected by a broad band of Larissas with the Chaldean Larissa (Larsa in the Cuneiform Inscriptions), my effort has been to connect the Pelasgians through the Hittites with the Chaldeans. And as to this, see now DE CARA, *Gli Pelasgi ed gli Hethi* (1894), and the reasons now given by Professor RAMSAY for accepting Professor SAYCE'S theory of a Hittite Empire.—*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895.

<sup>b</sup> Such a title will recall the remarkable work of my late lamented friend, Professor TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*.

<sup>c</sup> It may be said that it is not the letters that change, but the sounds. However that may be in the speech of the Folk, the letters have certainly changed in the recording of their speech by most collectors. And in the following illustrations I copy exactly from the originals whether their orthography is judged correct or not.



‘ Δὲν τῶξερ’, ἀδερφοῦλα μου, πῶς τῶχες νὰ πεθάνης.’

(τῶξερ = τὸ ἤξερα; τῶχες = τὸ εἶχες.)

‘ Ἄς ἄγω ἐγὼ κι’ ἀψύδρα ’μαι, κι ἄς μείνω, κί αὔρι ἄς ἔρθω.’

(ἄγω = πάγω; ’μαιε = εἶμαι.)

‘ Σῶμβα ἐζώσκη τσῆ ζωστρῆ καὶ σῶβγα τὸ ’λυσσίδι,’

(Σῶμβα = εἶς τὸ ἔμβα σῶβγα = εἶς τὸ ἔβγα.)

But the most general elisions, not of the Folk-speech only, but of ordinary conversation, are those of the vowels of the personal pronouns, as, for instance, Παναγιὰ μ’ for Παναγία μου. Characteristics of special localities are the following. In the storm-secluded old Pelasgian island of Samothrace there is an elision of the harsh ρ, as στ’αβὰ for στραβὰ; γ is dropped, as in λιερῆ for λυγερῆ, in Nisyros; and β, as in ὀυνὸν for βουνόν, in Megistos. Not only in Thrace and Macedonia, where Greeks are mixed with Bulgarians, but generally, ρ is substituted for λ, as ἀδερφὲ! instead of ἀδελφὲ! and as in the following rough verse from a Cretan love-song:

‘ Το κυπαρίσσι ρέγομεν [= λέγομεν],

Τὸ μυρισμῆνο ξύρο [= ξύλο],

ἀποῦ σου μοίζει, μάθια μου

στὸ μάκρος καὶ στο ψήρο [= ψήλο].’<sup>a</sup>

Other substitutions are such as these: σ for χ, as ἔρσεται for ἔρχεται, in Amorgos; τς for κ, as τσίτρινο for κίτρινο, in Imbros and other Northern Islands; θ for τ, as μάθια for μάτια, in Crete; and τσῆ for τῆς in Asia Minor and the Islands off its coast. One must also note certain additions of letters<sup>b</sup>: as νύπνος

<sup>a</sup> This verse is translated in *Annotation 24*, p. 400.

<sup>b</sup> See note on last page.



for ὕπνος in the Cycládes, of which the island of Ἴος is called Νίος, just as Icaria, on the Asiatic coast, is called Νικαριὰ, while Naxos is called Ἀξια. In the Islands also the first letter of a second word is often added to a preceding word, as, for instance, τὸφ φερῆς for τὸ φέρης, and σάθ θὰ for σάν θα, as σὰθ θὰ τρώγω.<sup>a</sup> Certain characteristic changes of words must also be noted. Thus in Epeiros, we find ἀσκώθεκα for σηκώθεκα (I arose); in Crete, ὀψὲς for ἐχτές (yesterday); in Cyprus, ἀγράχτιν for ἀδράχτιν (spindle), and χέρκα for χήρα (a widow); in Milos, ἀφάλι for ὀμφαλός (navel); and in Cappadocia θωρῶ, and in Pontus θερῶ for θεωρῶ (I see).

5. Much more might be added on the characteristics of the various Dialects of Greek Folk-speech. For my restricted space has obliged me to refrain from any attempt at incorporating the observations of other students, and to confine myself to giving extracts only from notes made in the course of these Translations. But the belief that Sanscrit stands nearest to the Aryan Mother-tongue has been overthrown by the discovery that the European system of vowels is more ancient than that of the language of the Vedas. Greek, therefore, must now take for us the place which has till lately been conceded to Sanscrit. And I would fain hope to have contributed something to widening the circle of those impressed with the great philological, and therefore historical, interest of the Folk-speech we have been discussing, and hence, of the importance both for Philology and for History of what can, however, be achieved only by a company of

<sup>a</sup> These may be pure assimilations, but they are represented by Greek collectors as added letters.



scholars—an *Etymological Lexicon of the Greek Dialects of Europe, the Archipelago, and Asia Minor.*<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For such a Lexicon there already exists an immense amount of scattered materials. First, there are such general Glossaries as those given in the *Τραγούδια τῆς νέας Ελλάδος* of KIND, 1833; the *Popularia Carmina* of PASSOW, 1869; the *Δημοτικὴ Ἀνθολογία* of LELEKOS, 1868; the *Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια* of VON HAHN and PIO, 1879; and in a special number of the *Νεοελληνικὰ Ανάλεκτα*, 1870-71. Secondly, there are such special Glossaries as those appended, for Epeiros, to the *Συλλογὴ δημοδῶν Ἀσμάτων* of ARAVANDINOS, 1880; for Crete, to the *Ἄσματα Κρητικὰ* of JEANNARAKIS, 1876; for Cyprus, to the *Κυπριακὰ* of SAKELLARIOS, 1890; and, for Ainos, Imbros, and Tenedos, to the *Διάλεκτος* of Manasseidos. Thirdly, there are such special works as those of PIO, *Traité sur le Dialecte de Haute-Syra*; PETALAS, *Θηραϊκῆς γλωσσολογικῆς*; P. DE LAGARDE, *Neugriechisches in Klein Asien*; and MOROSINI, *Studj sui Dialetti Græci della terra d' Otranto*, 1870. Fourthly, there are the very numerous special studies by Greeks of various Dialects of their Folk-speech, and collections of peculiar local words and forms to be found in the volumes of the *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* of Constantinople (of which there are some twenty-five quartos at the British Museum); of the *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* of Athens, 1883, etc.; and of the *Πανδώρα Ἐφημερίς τῆς Ἑλλάδος*; and other Greek periodicals. And Fifthly, there are such other works and articles on Greek Folk-speech as those especially of PSICHARI, and those of which the titles are given in the Bibliographies appended to some volumes of the *Δελτίον*. I shall only add that it is now several years since I brought under the notice of the Council of the Hellenic Society, but without result, both the scheme of such a Lexicon of Greek Folk-speech, and a proposed contribution to it, as eminently worthy of the aid of the Society.

### SECTION III.

#### THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK.

§ 1. Having thus indicated the characteristics of Greek Folk-speech as found in the Originals of the foregoing and following Translations, I would venture on some remarks on the burning question as to the direction to be given to the present and future development of Greek as a Literary Language. For certain



Greek Writers have, since the establishment of the Modern (German) Kingdom, made it their aim to reclassicalize that Neo-Hellenic, or Fifth Stage of the Language, naturally developed, as we have seen, from the Stage I have specially distinguished as Romaic, as that was from the Byzantine, and that again from the Hellenistic. They have brought back the dative; nay, even the infinitive in *-ειν*, instead of the now long used *νά* with the conjunctive; and are, in a word, endeavouring to make of Neo-Hellenic a Neo-Attic. They are not, however, unopposed. Greek Writers are on this question divided into two Schools, which, from the names of their leaders, are distinguished respectively as *Psicharisti* and *Kontisti*. The former would make the Modern Literary Language conform to the grammar of the Modern Folk-speech. The latter would, on the contrary, bring the Modern Literary Language into more accordance with both the lexicon and grammar of the Classical Culture-speech.<sup>a</sup> Now, I venture to say that the defencibleness of such an aim as this—I but translate, as has been seen, a Greek authority—cannot but appear in the highest degree questionable to an Evolutionist. Nor is the expression of such an opinion so rash, perhaps, as it may at first appear. It is, indeed, with me derived from an historical, rather than philological, point of view. But in the settlement of such a question, historical ought certainly to have at least as much weight as philological considerations. If also I venture to give expression to an opinion

<sup>a</sup> Compare BIKELAS (*Διάλεξεις και Ανάμνησεις*, 1893, Προλεγ. σ. ιβ'): 'Υπό την σημαίαν τοιούτου ἀρχηγού συσπειρωθέντες οἱ ὑπέρμαχοι τῆς δημώδους ἐπονομάζονται σήμερον Ψυχαρισταί, καθὼς ἀποκαλοῦνται Κοντισταί οἱ ἐξ ἴσου ἐνθερμοὶ ὀπαδοί, τοῦ διαπρεποῦς καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου, οἱ θέλοντες τὴν διόρθωσιν τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς διὰ τοῦ λεξικοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς γραμματικῆς τῆς ἀρχαίας.



derived from my special point of view, it will be found to coincide generally with that of the leader of the first of the two above-named Schools into which Greeks are divided on this question of the modern development of their Language. And hence, after stating the historical grounds of the opinion above expressed, I shall support it with some slight indication, at least, of the philological facts and arguments so strenuously urged by M. Jean Psichari.

§ 2. As to the historical facts referred to. Brief and inadequate as has been my summary of the past development of Greek through the Stages which I have distinguished as (1) Attic, (2) Hellenistic, (3) Byzantine, (4) Romaic, and (5) Neo-Hellenic, and which mark respectively the Half-millennial Periods of the New Age initiated by the Sixth Century B.C., it should, I think, have sufficed to convince the reflective reader that Greek has had a continuous and unbroken life; that its present form in the Folk-speech has its roots in the whole of its past history; and hence, surely, that the further development of this ancient, but still living, language should be continuous with its present development. But if so, the very proposal to take the First of these five Stages of development—the Classical Culture-speech of 2,000 years ago—as a standard for the correction and development of the Literary Language of the Fifth Stage, can hardly but appear as self-condemned. The changes in the grammar, the vocabulary, and the pronunciation of Greek have been neither accidental nor merely perverse, but have been either directly caused by, or in correlation with, the great changes of European Civilization. The analysis and simplification which mark Modern Greek, and especially in the Folk-speech, is not only



in accordance with the similar characteristics of other European languages, and of English, the most advanced of all, but is in correlation with that whole series of movements which are usually termed democratic. Hitherto, as I have endeavoured to show, the Culture-classes have exercised a preponderant influence in the development, or rather in the comparative retardation of the development, of Greek. It is the Folk-element that may be destined now to have the preponderance. For, though the Fall of the Greek Empire had no such results as had the Fall of the Roman Empire—the Romanic Languages — it *had* its linguistic results. Not very remotely, perhaps, they may be compared to the Dialectic Regeneration which followed the Norman Conquest in England, and swept away for ever the inflections and technical terms of the Anglo-Saxon Culture-Speech. Is not the attempt now, after centuries of such Dialectic Regeneration, to bring back Classical Greek, something like what might have been a similar attempt to bring back Classical Anglo-Saxon? All the omens to be drawn from History seem to me to favour that section of the Greek Culture-classes who are opposed to such an attempt. For the scientific student of History finds linguistic, literary, and political movements all in the closest correlation; and finds also such correlations between different States, and particularly those of the European System, that developments in one State can, with due regard to differences of conditions, be more or less surely foretold from the developments already accomplished in other States. And to a student who has noted in the histories of the other European States, and especially in that of Great Britain, where it is most of all evident, the intimate connection of the growth of



aspirations for Political Liberty with growing interest in Social Conditions and Folklore, and of both with changes in the Literary Language,<sup>a</sup> tending, so far at least as language and style are concerned, to the more popular intelligibility of thoughts as profound as those of a Hume or a Huxley—the success of the Greek ‘Kontisti’ is almost as difficult to imagine as would be that of a British literary School who might now—I will not say endeavour to restore Classical Anglo-Saxon—but even endeavour to restore the Latinisms of our much later Prose Classics.

§ 3a. These conclusions from my own general historical point of view I shall now endeavour to support by remarks drawn mainly from the philological works of M. Jean Psichari. First, then, note that confusion of the distinction between *style* and *language* on which he insists as at the root of all discussions with respect to the development of Modern Greek. To use his illustration of this distinction: Racine did certainly not write in the *style* in which the people speak; but no less certainly was it the *language* of the people that he wrote.

‘Oui, je viens dans son temple adorer l’Eternel!’ is hardly in everyday *style*; but each word, even ‘Eternal,’ from the barbarous, not classic, *æternalis*, is in everyday *speech*. On the contrary, if one says in

<sup>a</sup> I have above, in the *General Preface* (pp. xvii and xxii), had occasion to note the chronological relations of the suppression of the Jacobite Rebellions; the new era of Folklore studies initiated by MacPherson; and the new era both of Philosophic Speculation and of Popular Style in the exposition of Philosophic Thought, initiated by Hume. Not, however, till the present century have German philosophers followed the example set by the style of Hume. Compare the styles of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann with that of Hume’s contemporary, Kant.



Greek, ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ἀσθενεῖ ('my daughter is ill'), instead of ἡ κόρη μου εἶναι ἄρρωστη, one speaks *as* the people, so far as concerns the simplicity of the idea expressed, but uses another *language* than that of the people. By no means, however, does M. Psichari's insistence on this distinction between *style* and *language* mean that Modern Literary Greek should confine itself to the popular Vocabulary.

§ 3*b*. What marks Linguistic Science, in its more advanced stage, is recognition of the Grammar, rather than the Vocabulary, of a Language as that by which it is essentially characterized. A Language may even consist entirely of foreign words, without losing its distinctive character; and it is, indeed, sometimes just in foreign words that one may most surely recognise the continued vigour of a grammatical system. Thus, in Greek, otherwise than in French, with its more simplified grammar, a foreign noun cannot be adopted without being robed in Greek cases; and *café*, for instance, is declined ὁ καφέ-ς, plural, οἱ καφέ-δ-ες. Hence, with reference to the adoption either of foreign words, or of words from the Classical Period of Greek, the one restriction he would impose is, that they conform to the modern grammatical system. Thus, if it should be necessary to express such a scientific idea as that, for instance, of Grammatical Inflection, for which no Folk-word is available, *Κλίσις* may, of course, be borrowed from the Classical Culture-speech, but on condition of being used only in the grammatical forms of the Modern Language; hence, not as ἡ κλίσις, τῆς κλίσεως, but as ἡ κλίση, τῆς κλίσης; and this, just as in French one says *désinence*, in accordance with the forms of the living language, and not *desinentia*. As to its Vocabulary, therefore, M. Psichari's contention is



that Literary Greek should borrow as freely as the other European Languages, either from its older forms, or, if necessary, from foreign languages, but only with such submission to the popular morphology and grammar as I have just illustrated; and he especially protests against such a mixture of forms as is now found in Literary Greek and in no other Literary Language. For to write such forms as *εἰς τόν*, by the side of *στόν*, or *πατήρ* by the side of *πατέρας*, is simply to confound two different languages—as Dante would have done had he ever used *both* such forms, as, for instance, *fù* and *fruit*—and such a style is neither truly Classical nor truly Modern.

§ 3c. This insistence on the Morphology and Grammar, not of the Classical Culture-speech, but of the Modern Folk-speech, as what should mainly be kept in view in developing the Modern Culture-speech, has, of course, given new ardour to the study, not only of the popular Grammar and Vocabulary, but of the Phonology of local Dialects, and their influence on those common to regions of larger and larger circumference. Such regional Dialects are those of the Folk-verse and Folk-prose, translations of which are here given, in all their various, but corresponding, Classes. This also is a Literature, and now, not—as, till recently, it has been—merely an Oral, but also a Written Literature. The interest now excited in, and study given to, native Folk-literature, will certainly, in Greece as elsewhere, variously influence not only Culture-literature, but the Language in which it is expressed. Whatever, therefore, may be the present success of the ‘Kontisti,’ we may feel assured that this Atticizing School of Athens will pass away, as did the earlier similar



Schools of Constantinople<sup>a</sup> and of Alexandria. More and more generally it will be felt by Greeks that they need a language as modern as their thought: 'Χρειάζεται ἡμῖν γλῶσσα τοσοῦτον νεωτέρα ὅσον καὶ ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν.'<sup>b</sup> And I may add the remark that Greeks have this special advantage in working out a Culture-language at once adequate to the expression of Modern ideas and popularly intelligible—alone of European peoples they possess, in their Folk-speech, the elements, at least, of most of the technical terms of European Science.<sup>c</sup>

§ 4. But this controversy among Greeks as to the direction to be given to the development of their Modern Culture-speech is very far from being a matter which has for us no practical importance. I venture to think that due recognition of this controversy, and of that conception of the development of Greek as a living language which is the scientific basis of the views

<sup>a</sup> Some of the finest pieces of the *Greek Anthology* are by Byzantine scholars.

<sup>b</sup> PSICHARI, 'Ἱστορικά καὶ γλωσσολογικά Ζητήματα, σ. 497.

<sup>c</sup> Thus, for instance, the elements of the terms *Mathematics, Mechanics, Dynamics, Kinetics, Physics, Physiology, Botany, Phytology, Dendrology, Psychology, Zoology, Anthropology, Geology, Seismology, Kosmology*, etc., are all in common use in the Folk-speech. If the elements of certain other scientific terms are, in the Folk-speech, used now with somewhat different meanings—as, for instance, those of *Ornithology, Hippology, Hydrography*, etc.—they would still be readily understood in their scientific sense. For, though *πουλιά* is the Folk-word for *birds* generally, yet *ὀρνίθεια* is *poultry*; though *ἄλογος* is the Folk-word for a *horse*, yet *ἱππάριον* (or *ἀππάριον*) is a *pony*; and though *νερὸ* is the Folk-word for *water* (a Nubian inscription of the sixth century has *νήρον*), yet *ἰδρῶς* is *perspiration*. There are also, no doubt, scientific terms, though they are comparatively few, which would not be thus either directly or indirectly understood, as, for instance, *Ichthyology*. For *ψάρι* has now completely taken the place of *ἰχθῦς* as the Folk-word for *fish*. And, of course, such scientific, but unscholarly, compounds as *Conchology* or *Sociology* would—if Greeks should deign to use them—have to be explained.



maintained by the 'Psicharisti,' will greatly affect our current theories with respect, not only to the pronunciation of Greek, but to the far larger question of the place of Greek in Modern Education, and the method to be pursued in learning Greek. The former question has recently been again raised by a pamphlet entitled *The Restored Pronunciation of Latin and Greek*, issued by Professors Arnold and Conway, 'with the unanimous assent of their colleagues, the classical professors in the Welsh University.' But the stage of Pronunciation that is 'restored'—hypothetically it must be admitted—is but that of a single century, the fifth B.C.; and it is proposed, apparently, that this hypothetical 'restoration' shall be drilled into students of Greek as the one and only right way of pronouncing Greek in all the stages of its development. Naturally this has not passed without objection.<sup>a</sup> Admirable, of course, would be the accomplishment of being able to pronounce Greek as did Æschylos in the fifth century; but hardly less admirable surely the accomplishment

<sup>a</sup> Dr. R. J. LLOYD, of Liverpool, the chief critic hitherto of the 'Restored Pronunciation,' 'enters a *caveat* against the hard and fast adoption of the fifth century, B.C., as the standard period of Greek pronunciation. Why the fifth rather than, *e.g.*, the fourth? We surely need not wish to be more Attic than Demosthenes or Plato. And in any case we cannot create a system which will be equally suitable to all ancient authors of every period and dialect. . . . There is good reason to believe that the fourth and fifth centuries, B.C., formed a period of relatively rapid change in Greek pronunciation.'—*Academy*, January 11, 1896, pp. 39, 40. See also his subsequent letters, February 29 (after a reply by Professors ARNOLD and CONWAY, February 15), March 7, March 21 (after a rejoinder by the Professors, March 14), March 28, and April 4; and the general reply of the Professors, May 2 and 16. Professor JEBB is quoted as holding 'it to be far more important that a student of Greek should be able to comprehend or enjoy the ancient metrical compositions as such than that he should be assisted in acquiring the modern Greek pronunciation.' But as to this, opinions may reasonably differ.



of pronouncing as did Demosthenes in the fourth century; or, indeed, as did St. Paul at Athens; or as, half a millennium later, Procopios at Constantinople; and so on to the present time. Haply the historical study of Greek phonetics may one day make such accomplishments possible. But nothing surely could stand more in the way of such progress than an attempt to standardize for all time a mere moment, 2,000 years ago, of Greek Literature and Greek Pronunciation. Yet, if this is not done, it will be asked, How are English students to be taught to pronounce Classical Greek? Some would boldly reply: As it is now traditionally pronounced by the Greeks themselves.<sup>a</sup> I confess to much sympathy with such a reply;<sup>b</sup> but I will only venture to say that no pronunciation should be taught as other than as, so far as ascertainable, *an* historical pronunciation;<sup>c</sup> and to add that the sooner this lesser question of the Pronunciation of Greek reopens the larger question of the place to be assigned to, and the method of teaching, Greek in

<sup>a</sup> See, for instance, GENNADIUS, *Forum*, October, 1894, and *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1895, and January, 1896.

<sup>b</sup> Thus also Professor SAYCE, and chiefly on the ground which has weighed so much with myself, namely, the time lost, and difficulty put in the way of acquiring Modern Greek by first getting accustomed to a different pronunciation of Classical Greek. There is, however, no such objection in the case of Latin, of which also the Classical pronunciation is more certainly known.—*Science of Language*, vol. ii., p. 342.

<sup>c</sup> 'Essayons donc,' says M. PSICHARI, 'autant que notre science nous le permet, de prononcer le Grec ancien à l'ancienne, et réservons la prononciation moderne au Grec moderne.' He adds: 'Que ce soit un jour par amusement, ou par intuition de génie, ce qu'Erasmus découvrait, c'était un principe. Il avait vu que le Grec ancien ne pouvait pas se prononcer comme le Grec de son temps. Aujourd'hui nous ne sommes plus les disciples directs d'Erasmus; l'étude des langues et la physiologie nous ont amenés à des conclusions bien plus pénétrantes et précises.'—*Pronunciation du Grec*, pp. 22-24.



Modern, and not merely English Education, the better it will be for the practical solution of the minor question. For consideration of this larger question may lead to its being seen that the mental discipline now required, the discipline that makes scientific thought and investigation possible, is to be incomparably more certainly secured by Physical and Biological studies—even if only temporarily pursued for the sake merely of the mental discipline they afford—than by studies of the Classical stage of an assumed ‘dead’ language; that Greek, therefore, and even in a sense Latin, can be, with adequate fruitfulness, studied only as a living Language, and hence, not merely, or even chiefly—save by those with a special vocation thereto—in its Classical, but in its general development; and hence, further, that Greek, like other living European languages, should be taught in its Ancient, after it has been acquired in its Modern, form.<sup>a</sup> For what is that Modern form? It is the common Language of intercourse and commerce throughout the whole Levant; is already the medium of an immense Folk-literature; and will, in its promised new development—as yet chiefly in the poets, Solomos, Vilaras, and Valaoritis—be the medium possibly of a new Culture-literature worthy

<sup>a</sup> A writer in the *Saturday Review*, in an article entitled *Modern Greek as She is Wrote*, February 14, 1891, denounced, with the usual *Saturday* vituperation, those who hold ‘the theory that Ancient Greek should be learned through, and after Modern Greek.’ But his only argument against the theory was a severe criticism of a certain example of that Modern Literary Greek which he characterised as a ‘bastard speech.’ This criticism, however, had the appearance of relevancy as an argument only because there was no hint in the whole article that one party among Greeks themselves have written quite as severely of the contemporary literary dialects, rather than language, as the Reviewer himself, and that there is now a sustained and scientifically based effort to bring Literary Greek into line with what the Reviewer truly refers to as ‘the naturally developed Romaic of the popular ballads.’



to rank with the best of the Modern Literatures of Europe. It is at last recognised as somewhat of an anachronism that a boy should be laboriously trained to write a page or two of Latin so Classical as to be endorsed *sine errore et elegantissime*,<sup>a</sup> while yet unable either similarly to write his own language, or even to ask for what he wants in such Modern Latin as French. And yet Greek is still so taught that the satire of Skelton is still as applicable as it was three hundred years ago :

‘ But our Grekis their Greke so wel haue applied,  
That they cannot say in Greke, riding by the way,  
How hosteler, fetche my horse a bottel of hay.’<sup>b</sup>

§ 5. Unquestionably, however, the way in which this question of the place of Greek in Education is settled will depend very much on the Greeks themselves. But that contrast in the histories of Greek and Latin, which I have above attempted partially at least to explain, is but an illustration of a far more general historical fact which ought surely to inspire the Greeks with a conception of their mission in the future much more fruitful than mere self-congratulation on the part played by predecessors, rather than ancestors, in the past. The current Academic view of History which obtains its theory of ‘Unity’ by making all historical events dependent on, or subsidiary to, the history of Rome, is not only a mere fiction, but unfortunately also a veil which obscures all the facts which might otherwise lead to a truer theory. Immortal as the *Decline and Fall* must be, the history of Europe is not

<sup>a</sup> That was what alone, in my day, was required to secure, and did secure, for many a Parish- and Grammar-School boy, a good University Bursary, or Scholarship, at Aberdeen.

<sup>b</sup> *Speake Parrot.*



truly, as to Gibbon, the history of the Roman Empire. No sooner had a general European Civilization been constituted—a civilization, not merely, as in the Classical Period (500 B.C.—1 A.C.), of two European peninsulas, but, as in the succeeding Imperial Half-millennium (1 A.C.—500 A.C.), a Civilization extending from Britain to the Bosphorus—no sooner had such a general European Civilization been constituted than, under the nominal unity of the 'Roman' Empire, there again arose two distinctly different, but far more widely extended, Civilizations—the Civilizations, not of the Greek and Italian peninsulas only, but of Eastern and Western Europe, the Civilizations of the Greek and the Latin tongue: Civilizations different in every regard, economical and political, moral and religious, philosophical and literary. It is in the interaction of these two clearly differentiated Civilizations, and not in an appellation which, after the Fall of the Western Empire, was, for a thousand years, little more than a mere vain and empty name, that the true unity is to be found of European Civilization. And whether or not the Greeks realize their great political idea of reseating themselves at Constantinople—if indeed this idea is still seriously believed in even by enthusiasts—they may, or at least ought to, be able again to exercise, in South-eastern Europe and the Levant, such a definite and special function in the life, and especially the intellectual life, of the European Commonwealth of the Future, as, for a thousand years, they exercised under their Greek, though nominally 'Roman,' Emperors, from the successor of Justinian to the last Constantine.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The reader may be reminded that the intellectual influence of the Greek Empire on Western Europe was by no means confined to that of its dispersed scholars after the capture of Constantinople



Thus—and for those more especially who, in perusing these Folk-songs, may have been struck with the similarities of Modern and Classical sentiments—I have pointed to the contrasted conditions of the development of Greek and Latin as one element at least of the cause of the greater nearness of Modern to Classical Greek than of the Romanic Languages to Classical Latin; have illustrated the linguistic characteristics of the Originals of these Translations; and have indicated not only the forces tending to a further development of Greek, but the connection of the controversy on this subject with the Dialects of the Folk-poetry here translated, and even with Educational Questions astir among ourselves. Reflecting, however, now on the immense scope of the subjects which I have ventured to treat in Sections of but a few pages each, I feel deeply how inadequate that treatment has been. But a warning of this I meant to convey by the term I have applied to this essay, *Excursus*—though, indeed, it might equally well have been applied to my *Introduction*. As a mere *Excursor*, therefore, my aim has been only to survey the ground; to collect and collate opinions; and to provoke rather than, as yet, enter seriously on discussion. For ‘*Excursores sunt milites infimi ordinis et virtutis, qui huc illuc extra aciem excurrunt, vel prædandi causa, vel speculandi, vel prælii committendi.*’<sup>a</sup>

by the Turks (1453); but is to be found in a similar dispersal after its capture by the Franks (1204); and still more importantly, perhaps, in the Imperial present of those works of Dionysius the Areopagite with the Commentary of St. Maximus the Martyr, which, translated by that greatest thinker of the Keltic Race, John Scot Erigena (850), transmitted to the West that Neo-Platonic tradition and influence which was carried on through the Scholastic Philosophy to the rise of Modern Philosophy with Bacon and Descartes.

<sup>a</sup> CICERO, *Verr.*, 4, c. 8.





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END OF VOLUME I.







2 to 7 28/29:

difference of class almost, in  
being continuous, becomes  
difference of space.















