

is wondering what is the future for the people of this region. Certainly he says it must be more than just choosing between two alternatives, Communism and western-type democracy. The question is, the author writes, quoting John C. Campbell, what modifications of the one or the other, or what third alternative, would fit Balkan conditions and would be politically feasible. May I remind however how difficult it is for small and rather weak countries, like the three Balkan countries (may be with the exception of Yugoslavia) to choose their own way, even under present conditions.

Judging the book as a whole one could consider it as a readable, well-written and well-balanced book, which can give the reader a good picture of the conditions prevailing in the three Balkan countries.

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Sotirios I. Dakaris, *Οἱ Γενεαλογικοὶ Μῦθοι τῶν Μολοσσῶν*, [The Genealogical Myths of the Molossians]. Publication of the Archaeological Society of Athens, No. 53. Athens 1964. Pp. 169 with Preface (pp. a-b) + 1 map and 6 pictures in 5 plates.

This important study of Dr. S. Dakaris, Ephor of Antiquities of Epirus, is his doctoral dissertation, which was accepted by the Philosophical Faculty of the National Capodistrian University of Athens.

The book is divided into six chapters: A, the Archaeology of Epirus (pp. 1-13); B, the Genealogical Myths of the Molossians (pp. 14-49); C, Two Historical Kings of the Molossians (pp. 50-67); D, Euripides and Epirus (pp. 68-101); E, the Expansion of the Tradition in and outside Epirus (pp. 162-163); and F, Characterization and the Greek Nature of the Myths (pp. 164-169).

In Chapter A, Dakaris summarizes the finds and the results of the archaeological research in Epirus. He mentions the recent Palaeolithic discoveries near Pantanassa and Aghios Georgios in the district of Preveza (to which may be added more numerous finds made in 1964); and follows, as far as the find-material permits, the continuity of life in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. During the latter, the inhabitants of Epirus "most probably" were not Greeks, but pre-hellenic peoples from southwestern Asia Minor. Place-names have been attributed to these people; among which are the Epirotic place-names Θύαμος, Θύαμις, Κρᾶθις, Κελυδνός, Πίνδος, Ἀμυρον, Ὠρωπός, Κίχυρος etc.,

as well as ethnic names, which include the tribal name of the Molossians (p. 4, n.1).¹ To the pre-hellenic peoples is also attributed the first cult at Dodona of the Great Goddess, with her sacred symbols the dove, the bull, the double-axe and the wild boar. The Greeks made their appearance in Epirus about 2,000 B.C., under the name Thesprotians.

At the time of the greatest Mycenaean colonization (about 1300-1200 B.C.), Ephyra was founded at the junction of the rivers Kokkytos and Acheron, as was Toryne or Torone, probably near Parga to judge from the tholos tomb at Kiperi. Of the same period are the tombs near Kalbaki, the swords possibly from Perama, and bronze weapons from Dodona. Stirrup-jars and stemmed kylixes from Kastritsa represent survivals into classical times.

The change came about 1200 B.C., at the end of the Late Hellenic IIIB period. At this time, "the great invasion from the North" took place, bringing the Molossians to Epirus (p. 8). The Molossians settled mainly in the Ioannina basin, making Passaron their capital town. There they found, according to Dakaris, the already existing late Mycenaean cult of Areios Zeus. As evidence brought in support of the invasion Dakaris cites vases found near Kastritsa and Koutselio, which are similar to those found near Boubousti in Upper Macedonia. Around the "Molossian" Ioannina basin, the other Epirotic tribes took form in the period down to the 5th Century, B.C. Isolation and locally-made vases characterize Epirus at this time. By the period 720-650 B.C. however, settlers from Elis were founding colonies along the Epirotic coasts: Buchetium, Batiae and Elatria, near the Ambraciote Gulf; and Pandosia, near Lake Acherusia. A century later, the Corinthian colonies were founded. This explains the rich bronze finds from Dodona, the Corinthian vases, and, of greater interest in the present context, the Peloponnesian elements in the genealogical myths of the Molossians.

Chapter B is divided into six parts:

1) The ancient tradition of the genealogical myths of the Molossians on the basis of the "Nostoi" of Ἀγίας. According to this tradition, Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, settled in Epirus with the Trojan Andromache, by whom he had a son, Pielos, (the earliest tradition), or Molossos (a version of the 5th Century B.C.) or three sons, *viz.* Molossos, Pielos and Pergamos (a 4th century tradition recorded by Pausanias),

1. But cf. M. Sakellariou, *La Migration*, etc., p. 264, n. 5.

or four children *viz.* Pyrrhos, Molossos, Aiakides, and Troas (4th Century).

2) The history of the myth up to and including the 5th Century, B.C. According to C. Bottin, the myth owes its existence to the Epirotic origin of the Thessalians. J. Perret on the other hand, argues that the myth took form during quarrels between the Thessalians and the Molossians, which concerned disputed territories and especially Elimeia—the original home-land of the Molossians in Macedonia. As opposed to both these interpretations, Dakaris supposes a Thes-salian origin of the myth.

3) The genealogical myth during the 4th and 3rd Centuries, B.C. In this period, the myth is enriched primarily by the addition of the fifth version, according to which Neoptolemos had children both by Andromache and by Lanassa, a descendant of Herakles; the children by Lanassa were eight in number. Dakaris, following Nilson, attributes this version into the early 3rd Century B.C., when the Great Pyrrhus married Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse.

4) The historical genealogy of the Molossians. In the royal family-tree, from approximately 400 B.C., names taken "from the Greek and Trojan Cycle" (Helenos, Andromache, Pyrrhus, Aiakides, etc.) are found while, in earlier times, there were only local Epirotic names like Tharypas, Arybbas, etc. Among commoners, after 400 B.C., one also finds names like Hector,² Polyxene, Achilles, etc.

5) Trojan place-names (in Epirus). Under this heading, Dakaris deals especially with the place-names such as Bouthroton, which, we are told, was founded by Aeneas; and the Epirotic Troy or Ilion, which had an acropolis called Pergamon, gates named Skaiai, and a river nearby with the name Simoeis or Xanthos.

6) Finally, the origin of the myth is examined, and Dakaris' conclusion stated: the genealogical tradition concerning Neoptolemos, unknown to the poet of the Iliad, "was formed after the period of the Northern Invasion and at the time of the Nostoi." (p. 48).

In the third chapter, the contributions of two historical kings of Epirus are examined: Tharypas (423/2 - 390/385 B.C.), who, as we know, was educated in Athens and is compared by Dakaris to his contemporary, Archelaos, king of Macedonia;³ and Alketas, his son (385

2. Concerning the name "Εκτωρ, which to my knowledge occurs only in Macedonia and Epirus, cf. Ph. Petsas, 'Ὡναί ἐκ τῆς Ἡμαθίας, in *Archaeol. Ephem.* 1961, p. 5ff.

3. Cf. mainly, D. Kanatsoulis, 'Ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ αἱ μεταρρυθμίσεις τοῦ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Cf. Ph. Petsas, in *Balkan Studies*, I, 1960, p. 114.

-370 B.C.). Both prepared the way for the Athenian dramatist, Euripides.

The fourth chapter is divided into two parts: 1) the performance in Molossia of Euripides' *Andromache*, which is dated to 323/22 B.C., and 2) the influence of the tragic poet in Epirus. To Euripides is attributed the use of the names Φθία, Νηρηίς, Τρωάς, Ὀλυμπιάς, Καδμεία, Αἰακίδης, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἡϊονεύς καὶ Νῆσος, by the royal family, the acceptance of even 'hostile' names like Menelaos (p. 99) among the commoners, and the introduction of place-names into Epirus such as Ilion, Pergamon, etc. In conclusion, the statement is made that Euripides' *Andromache* became "the genealogical bible of the Molossians, and their national reading-book." (p. 101).

In the fifth chapter, the expansion of the Molossian traditions in and outside Epirus is examined.

1) At Dodona, which became a Molossian possession before the decree of Neoptolemus, son of Alketas, i. e. before 370 B. C. An inscription dedicated by a certain Agathon from Zakynthos about 300 B.C., tells us that the life-time of the legendary priestess and prophetess of Dodonean Zeus, Kassandra, was used as the starting point for dating (p. 108 and Pl. 4).

2) Along the Ionian coasts (Bouthroton, Ambracia, Actium, Leucas, Zakynthos, Arcadia and Cythera). According to J. Perret (*Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*), these coasts were linked with the Trojan myths by Varro. Dakaris believes that this link was the result of Pyrrhus' "religious policy," and his mythological preparation for the expedition against Rome. "In this way Pyrrhus made Rome cognisant of the political value of genealogical myths and became the fore-runner of a similar policy which was used by Rome against the East, immediately after Pyrrhus, and before the middle of the 3rd Century B.C." (p. 132, with reference to Alföldi).

3) In Thessaly. Thessaly is the original source of the myth, according to Dakaris, so that it is difficult to state whether what we know about the Ainianes (or their hero Aeneas, or a certain *proxenos* named Polyxenos, etc.) is originally Thessalian, or due to later Epirotic influences. Dakaris, in any event, emphasizes Pyrrhus' aim in reminding the Thessalians of their 'traditional' relations with the Epirots, by the dedication of the Galatian shields to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena in Thessaly, and by the well-known epigram accompanying the dedication.

4) At Delphi. The tomb and the cult of Neoptolemos, is dated by Dakaris to the beginning of the 3rd Century B.C. (p. 141ff.), and is attributed by him to the "religious policy" of Pyrrhus.

5) In Lakonia. The myth concerning the foundation of the sanctuary of Achilles, etc., by an Epirot named Prax, Dakaris believes, may also be attributed to Pyrrhus' "religious policy," despite arguments to the contrary advanced by Kiechle and others. Dakaris also does not exclude an Epirotic origin for the ceremonies at the Cenotaph of Achilles in Elis.

6) At Pergamon in Mysia, and at Pergamon in Kestrine. The former is first mentioned about the end of the 5th Century, B.C. (p. 151, n. 5); the latter was founded during the first half of the 4th Century, B.C. According to Dakaris, they were linked together by the genealogical myth of the Molossians before Alexander the Great, at the time of the Molossian conquest of Kestrine and the foundation of the Kestrinian Pergamon. Dakaris is also concerned with the mythical prophetess Phaennis, the traditions of Roman origin dealing with the marriage of Helenos and Kestria, who was the daughter of Campos, king of Chaones. From Campos comes the name of the country Cammania (Campania) in Roman times, when Acherusia was also renamed Lacus Avernus, hellenized Aornos.

7) As a natural sequel, Dakaris considers the Trojan traditions of Rome. Without attempting the "difficult" problem of their source, Dakaris rejects Hellanicus' information that the myths are of Molossian origin (p. 163).

Following the author's arguments up to this point, one has the perhaps justifiable feeling that something is lacking, namely, the origin and connecting links in the evolution of the myth. Unavoidably, one must ask at this juncture: How the Molossian-Neoptolemos-Troy, etc. connection came into being, and why?

It is the purpose of the last chapter to give the answer: the Greek character of the Molossian myths. But contrary to Dakaris' exhaustive analysis of the course of the myths given in the previous chapters, this last chapter is rather meagre. At most, it is only a summary of what comes before. Concerning the origin of the myth, all that is said is: "the cult in Epirus of the Thessalian hero Achilles during the last Mycenaean period formed the basis of the genealogical myth" (p. 167). How the Thessalian hero (and Troy), and the Molossians, the

name of whom is pre-hellenic (p. 4, n.)⁴ and who are "Macedonians by origin" (p. 55, cf., p. 8, 43 and elsewhere), came to be connected in the myth is not defined clearly, even as a problem. More generally, an investigation is made into the myths in Epirus up to Chaonia, in Thessaly down to Phthia, along the Ionian coast to Cythera, in the Peloponnese as far as Lakonia, in Delphi, in Mysia, in Rome. The only area which is not investigated is the home-land of the Molossians and neighboring Macedonia.⁵ Macedonia comes into the discussion only with the Petralona Neanderthal skull, the Palaeolithic hand-axe from Palaiokastrom, and the Bronze Age Boubousti (all too early to be relevant), and Olympias (too late, unless considered in retrospect). What is said (p. 42 ff.) on the origin of the myth is not exhaustive.⁶

Nevertheless, there is a positive contribution in this last chapter. This is Dakaris' stress on the Greek nature of the myth and his arguments against Nilsson's aphorisms, which are now very much out of date.⁷ To establish this point once and for all, however, this chapter should be more substantial both in information and argument. More particularly, it should refer to neighboring Macedonia, and to the Macedonians, who after all, were of the same blood. For example, the use of the adjective "Ἀπειος for Zeus at Passaron, provides a good opportunity to do this. We are told that Zeus worshipped as Ἀπειος at the main Molossian sanctuary at Passaron (p. 6, 9, 38 ff., and p. 39, n. 3, p. 54, n. 4, 144 and elsewhere). "Ἀπειὼ Διὶ θύσαντες" is written in Plutarch.⁸ But from Passaron (the present Gardiki) comes the inscribed relief which I collected from Hoinas' house in Ioannina and took to the museum (Dakaris' fig. 5). This inscription can be read, as I first read it 20 years ago (and Dakaris accepts this reading): Ἀρὰ τῷ Δί, οὗ βέλος δίπταται. Equally possible, however, is the reading: Ἀράτω Δί, οὗ βέλος δίπταται, because the narrowness of the space availa-

4. Cf., note 1, above.

5. Macedonia is omitted even in the parenthetical catalogue on p. 166.

6. Paeonia might also have been included: cf., for example, Grace H. Macurdy, *Troy and Paeonia*, New York, 1925 and in *Classical Quarterly*, 23, 1929; and Aubrey Diller, *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*, 1937. Cf. Ph. Petsas, Ὠνάι etc. p.l. ff., passim.

7. Dakaris often contradicts Nilsson, e.g., p. 23, 28 f., 34 f., 119 with n. 3, although he accepts the basis of Nilsson's theory concerning the political significance of the myths (p. 158, cf., p. 164 and elsewhere).

8. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 5. Cf., reservations of A. Laumonier, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, Paris, 1958, p. 713 (cf., p. 187).

ble may have necessitated the first word being divided into two parts. From an epigraphical point of view, either reading with or without the article, is possible. There are other examples of both usages.⁹

With the first reading, we would have, as rightly pointed out by Dakaris, only a hint of the name Ἄρειος and Ὀρχίος Zeus.

The second reading, which is not without support, leads us in a more interesting direction. Hercules was called Ἄρωτος by the Macedonians according to Hesychius' manuscripts, but the adjective in critical texts is corrected to Ἀρητος. Ἀρητος is an impossible Macedonian form, as has already been observed by several scholars,¹⁰ whereas Ἄρωτος is generally accepted at least as the original form.¹¹ The hypothesis that the Macedonians called Hercules Ἄρωτος, and the Epirotes Zeus by the same adjective, raises no difficulties.¹² To cite only one comparable case: Θαῦλλος was called Ares in Macedonia, Zeus in Thessaly.¹³ The form Ἄρωτος, as opposed to Ἀρητος and Ἄρωτος for the adjective of a god, is supported by the names of historical persons which have this form. Ἀράτος, the son of Asclepios and Aristodama, is one notable example.¹⁴ Other instances of the same form are compound names like Πολυάρατος, Τιμάρατος, Δημάρατος, Κλεάρατος,¹⁵ and the adjective Σουινάρατος, for Poseidon.¹⁶

The founder of Taras (Taranto), Φάλανθος, is the son of a Spartan by the name of Ἄρατος; this name is considered by Studniczka as "eine

9. For dedication formulae, cf., for instance, W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, *passim*.

10. Cf., the most interesting and exhaustive study of J. Kallérís, *Les Anciens Macédoniens*, vol. I (Athens 1954) p. 111 ff. where the relevant bibliography is given; and vol II, in print, p. 540, n. 4 and elsewhere.

11. However, note first name, patronymic, and "national" name of Ἄρειος Ἡρακλᾶ Μακεδών, in M. Launey, *Recherches* etc., II, 1950, p. 1173.

12. Cf., Διὸς Ἀρέου, from the Palestinian Pella, *Studi Calderini-Paribeni*, p. 359 f. On the other hand, at Lindos "μετὰ καταρῶν," "ἐπαρώμενοι" or "μετὰ ἀρᾶς θύουσιν" to Hercules' Βουθόλας, and this reminds us of the ceremony at Passaron, D. Morelli, I Culti in Rodi, *Studi Classici e Orientali*, VIII, 1959, p. 54 f. and 148 f. Βουζύγαι ἀρατὶ etc., Otto Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, II, Berlin, 1935, p. 48 Cf., the inscription from Cyrene published in *Annuario*, 39-40, 1961-62, p. 304, No. 156.

13. Cf., Kallérís, *op. cit.*, p. 182 ff.

14. A.B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. II, 2, p. 1082.

15. Cf., Λυκάρητος, from Samos. Cf. Bechtel, *Die Hist. Personennamen*, p. 290.

16. *Athenische Mit.*, 66, 1941, p. 87 with reference to *Archaeol. Ephem.* 1900, p. 137.

örtliche Abwandlung oder vielleicht nur Benennung des Poseidon."¹⁷ Also worth remembering, in this context is Ζεύς Ἀμφιάραος.¹⁸

We must also mention the inscription from Edessa in which Struck believes that we can recognize the adjective Ἀρητος in line 4 of the inscription, and the name Hercules in line 11.¹⁹ Unfortunately, both readings are uncertain.

The Macedonian name Ἀράντισιν for Ἐρινύσι may be relevant to the argument.²⁰

In any event, there are many indications which bring together Ἀρειος (= Ἀρατος?), Zeus of Passaron, and Ἀρωτος = Ἀρητος = Ἀρατος Hercules of the Macedonians. It is difficult to date the first usage and therefore the priority of either the Epirotic or Macedonian names, especially as we must always consider the possible introduction of Epirotic elements into Macedonia after Olympias. The inscribed relief already mentioned is difficult to date accurately. I believe a 5th Century date must be excluded.²¹ Dakaris' dating in the 4th Century is at present not supported. I am inclined to consider even later date, but this is not the place for a full discussion of this marble, which is interesting in many ways.²²

17. Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 184 ff. See also, P. Poralla, *Prosopographie* etc., p. 123, v. Φάλαρος.

18. A.B. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, 2, p. 1070 ff. On Amphiaraios, cp. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 1921, pp. 58-62; and H. Krahe, in the *Festschrift Fr. Zucker*, p. 235, where the relevant bibliography is given; cf., also, the dictionary of A. Carnoy, v. *Amphiaraios*.

19. A.S. Struck, *Inschriften aus Macedonien*, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 311, No. 18. In 1955, I rediscovered this inscription in a cobbled pavement and took it to the Bishop's Palace in Edessa (*BCH*, *Chronique*, 1955, p. 316).

20. A.B. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 1101 and ff.; and more recently, Kalléris, *op. cit.* I, p. 101.

21. Max Treu gives this date to the inscription (*Glotta*, 37, 1958, p. 269, n. 3), with no supporting source material. Treu also discovered the relationship between the inscription and the verse of Euripides (cf., Dakaris *Οἱ Γενεαλογικοὶ Μῦθοι τῶν Μολοσσῶν* p. 169). A similar date is suggested by P. Franke, *Die Antiken Münzen*, p. 68, n. 5; for a further bibliography, cf. E. Leppore, *Ricerche sull' antico Epiro*, p. 65, n. 105. The only information, however, given on authority, until Dakaris dissertation, was a short report published in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 66, (1946), p. 112. A photograph has been published without permission by Ivar Lessner, *Civilisations Mystérieuses*, 1963, fig. 54. (I have not seen the original German edition, published in 1961); Lessner, again with no evidence, dates as follows: "Le relief date probablement du IV^e au II^e siècle av. J.C.", which is a good compromise.

22. Selected bibliography: Baeye, *De Macedonum Sacris* pp. 185 and 190. D. Weinrich, *Θεοὶ Ἐπὶ ἄλλοις Ath. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1912, pp. 1-68. Naumann, *Gr. Weihin-*

An extension of these investigations into Macedonia would also have reminded us the later appearance of the Molossian myth in the important epigram of the Aeacid Alcimachos.²³

Finally we must emphasize the importance and usefulness of Dr. Dakaris' study. On a minor level the lack of indices may be strongly felt, and there are some small inaccuracies: "Ἀργος Ὀρεστικὸν is not necessarily Armenochori (p. 30); Dakaris' statement, that O. Lévêque rejects the authorship of Leonides of Taras for the epigram of the dedication to the sanctuary of Itonian Athena, is not accurate.²⁴ Lévêque doubts only the authorship of the epigram of the similar dedication at Dodona.²⁵ These points, however, are only of minor importance and do not detract from the value of this work. More studies of a similar standard and nature are needed to throw additional light on the obscure past of the most important area of northwestern Greece.

Greek Archaeological Service

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Christos und das verschenkte Brot. Neugriechische Volkslegenden und Legendenmärchen. Ins Deutsche übertragen, zu einem Teil gesammelt und herausgegeben von Marianne Klaar, Kassel (Erich Röth—Verlag, "Das Gesicht der Völker") 1963, 240 S.

Marianne Klaar, durch langjährige wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit und persönliches Schicksal aufs Innigste mit dem heutigen Griechenland verbunden, zeigt mit dieser Auswahl griechischer Legenden auch dem nicht Sprachkundigen eine Seite dieses Landes, die neben dem Altertum, Byzanz und der Modernen nur zu leicht übersehen wird: das fast geschichtslose Bild des griechischen Dorfes, wo Griechisches mit Nichtgriechischem, Christliches mit Vorchristlichem zu einer Einheit verschmelzen, die es verdient, auch in weiteren Kreisen bekannt zu werden. Diesen Kreisen aber, hauptsächlich wohl Volkskundler, die kein Neugriechisch lesen können, und sonstigen Interessierten, legt M.K.

schriften, 1933. Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 1921, p. 104. K. A. Rhomaïos in 'Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 6, 1920-21 (1923) p. 65 f. H. Schaefer, Das Problem der griech. Nationalität, in *Relazioni del X Cong. Intern. di Scienze Storiche*, II, p. 232. Hermann Ammann, Zum griech. Verbaladjectiv auf -τός, in *Μνήμης Χάρις*, *Gedenkschrift P. Kretschmer*, I, 1956, p. 15.

23. D.M. Robinson, *Macedonica* I, The Epigram of the Aeacid Alcimachos in "Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου" p. 149 f. and pl. 13.

24. P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, p. 566.

25. P. Lévêque, *op. cit.*, p. 568, n. 1.