

Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria

Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS

Izvleček

Legenda, ki se je od vseh, kar jih poznamo in se vežejo na severozahodni Balkan, najgloblje ukoreninila med tamkajšnjim ljudstvom, je legenda o tebanskem herojskem paru, Kadmu in Harmoniji, ki sta se po različnih nesrečah, ki so doletele njuno potomstvo, na starost umaknila iz beocijskih Teb k Enhelejcem in jim vladala. Avtorica je zbrala vse podatke, ki osvetljujejo ta poslednji del legende; ugotavlja, da si moramo legendo o Kadmu, o Batonu in o Kadmejcih pri Enhelejcih razlagati predvsem kot močne civilizatorične impulze večjih ali manjših skupin ljudi, ki so se iz takšnih ali drugačnih razlogov odselili na sever, kjer so prispevali svoj delež k hitrejši urbanizaciji (ustanovitev Harpije, Lihnida, Buthoc, Rizona, skrivnostni Kilikes!) in hitrejšemu družbenemu razvoju (kadmejska dinastija!) južnodalmatinskega in ob makedonski meji ležečega ozemlja.

I

The legend of Cadmus is not unique in indicating connections between the Greek world and the northwestern Balkans. Such contacts are reflected in the legends about the Hyperboreans, a mythical blessed northern race with whom Apollo had dwelled for a period before his ceremonial arrival in Delphi, and where, subsequently, every nineteen years he spent the period from the spring equinox to the rise of the Pleiades. They sent precious gifts every year by messenger to his sanctuary on Delos, and a major section of their route led through the northwestern Balkans. The later variant of the legend about the return of the Argonauts, which was given literary form by Apollonius Rhodius, notes that the Argonauts returned from the Black Sea along the Danube and its tributaries to the Adriatic Sea, and thence home.¹ The Greek hero Diomedes, who according to legend may have died somewhere in southern Italy or southern Dalmatia, was venerated on both sides of the Adriatic and also at the mouth of the Timavus.² The Trojan Antenor moved to the Adriatic after the fall of Troy and established a kingdom either in Venetia or on Corcyra Nigra.³ A legend has been preserved about the mysterious Ionius of the Illyrian race, the eponym for the Ionian (ie. the Adriatic) Sea, the ruler of Issa,

Abstract

Of all the known legends connected to the northwestern Balkans, the one which was most deeply rooted among the population is the legend of the Theban heroic pair, Cadmus and Harmonia. After various disasters which overtook their children, they migrated in their old age from Boeotian Thebes to the Enchelei and ruled over them. The author collected all the available evidence which throws light upon this last part of the legend. In her opinion the legends of Cadmus, of Bato, and of the Cadmeians among the Enchelei must be primarily explained as the powerful civilizing impulses of greater or lesser groups of people who for various reasons migrated to the north, where they contributed to swifter urbanization (the establishment of Harpya, Lychnidus, Buthoc, Rhizon, and mysterious Cylices) and social development (the Cadmeian dynasty) of the southern Dalmatian region and the lands along the Macedonian border.

or according to another, earlier version, the son of Dyrhachius, who had been slain as a youth by Heracles.⁴ All of these legends, which were preserved by Greek and Latin authors, can be supplemented to a certain extent by epigraphic, numismatic, and other related archaeological data, with the aid of linguistic studies, primarily toponomastics, and can be explained in terms of the earliest trading routes and the ancient migrations of major and minor tribal groups extending into the Bronze Age and even further into the past.

These connections were occasionally very extensive and related very distant lands to each other, in particular Asia Minor and the Balkan and Apennine peninsulas. Herodotus, for example, speaks of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans (I 94), in contrast to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who noted: "Those who affirm that the Etruscan people did not arrive from elsewhere are correct, rather they have been here from the distant past." (I 30, 2).⁵ Homer mentions the Veneti as Paphlagonian allies of the Trojans (*Il.* II 851-855; cf. V 576-579; XIII 643), and several years ago Luigi Polacco published an interesting study in which he cited possible proof for a connection between the Adriatic Veneti and Paphlagonia.⁶ C. Julius Solinus (beginning of the 3rd century A.D., II 51) termed the

Liburni gens Asiatica (*Italicus excursus per Liburnos, quae gens Asiatica est, procedit in Dalmatiae pedem*), and the Bryges, according to Herodotus, migrated to Phrygia, the name being derived from them (VII 73): οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπαῖοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον [ἐς Φρύγας].

The same was the case for the Dardanians, as they were considered a barbarized Trojan population in the classical period (e.g. Solinus, *ibid.*: ... *Dalmatia in limitem Illyricum, in quo sinu Dardani sedes habent, homines ex Troiana prosapia in mores barbaros effertiti*), and were mentioned by Homer as among the Trojan confederates. Sometimes these connections were nearer and hence closer; thus on the Italian side

of the Adriatic, especially in Iapygia and Mesapia, but also perhaps in Apulia, so-called "Illyrian" colonization can be established,⁷ and connections between the Apennine and Balkan peninsulas can be noted also for the post-Neolithic period.⁸ The same is true for the northwestern Balkan region and Greece. Archaeology is essential for discovering these connections, and with time many new discoveries will be made, although much interesting data is already available.

Material and men have always travelled along ancient, beaten tracks, whether maritime or overland. Various distribution maps, published in A.F. Harding, *The Mycenaean and Europe*,⁹ indicate in what distant regions Mycenaean material may be found, from luxurious objects to tools, weapons and objects for every day use. Such finds indicate a relatively high density

Cadmus in Illyria: peoples and places mentioned in the text.



and organization of trade in the period of the expansion of Mycenaean culture at the end of the middle and beginning of the late Bronze Age. This was conditioned by social and economic factors in the regions for which these objects were intended, and which certainly simultaneously made possible the infusion of new concepts and the enrichment of the spiritual culture of the peoples who came into contact with the Mycenaean world. Such connections were undoubtedly in the interest of both sides. The Mycenaean world was an open one. It was perhaps in this period that the myths and legends were primarily created and formed, a small part of which has been preserved to the present in Greek and Latin literature. This was suggested with convincing arguments by M.P. Nilsson¹⁰ even before Linear B had been deciphered, when it became clear that the bearers of Mycenaean culture were Greek. The archaeological material on one hand and the obscurely communicated Greek legends on the other are practically all that can be used if one wishes to attempt the insecure route of reconstructing a [pre]historical period for which there are no written records, and which is more or less wrapped in darkness.

Many problems exist in terms of history, often almost insurmountable. Similar problems were faced by the earliest logographers and historians from Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus onwards, who established that reports about the same events were often drastically different, and that even the lineage of the most eminent Greek heroes had been given variously by different authors. The Greeks believed that the heroic myths represented the early history of their nation, and the miraculous elements in them did not disturb their belief;¹¹ they only wished to refine and rationalize them, and when they desired to justify their political course, they contrived new myths in the historical period.¹² Hecataeus (at the end of the 6th century) in the beginning of his historical work (*FGrHist* 1 F 1a) stated: "I write what I think to be true. It seems to me that the Greeks often relate many ridiculous stories." Such a practical and encyclopedic spirit as Aristotle, who collected and edited a large portion of all available knowledge, did not concern himself with history (the first theoretical discussion of historiography was written by his pupil Theophrastus, the title only being preserved in Diogenes Laertius, V 47). In the 9th chapter of his *Poetics* (IX 3-5 /1451 b) it was compared with poetry in these terms: "...Poetry is something that is closer to philosophy and more significant than history: poetry is more relevant to the general, and history to the particular. I would define "general" as when someone describes how a man with this or that character according to the laws of probability and need took this or that action... "Particular" may be defined as when someone describes what Alcibiades did or experienced". Historical judgements were often highly subjective, beyond any general or predicative laws. Thucydides also states at the beginning of his work that it is not possible to achieve certainty about the past, it is only possible to say that all "signs" point in a certain direction and it is surprising how few of such "signs" are actually concrete

facts. He mentions only two dates for the earliest period: the settlement of Boeotia by the Boeotians 60 years after the Trojan War, and the settlement of the Peloponnese twenty years later.¹³ The fall of Troy was dated by Hellanicus and the Parian Marble to 1209 B.C., and by Eratosthenes to the year 1183 B.C. One continually returns to the realm of myth and legend.

II

Of all the known legends connected to the northwestern Balkans, the one which was most deeply rooted among the population is the legend of the Theban heroic pair, Cadmus and Harmonia. After various disasters which overtook their children, they migrated in their old age from Boeotian Thebes to the Enchelei and ruled over them. The legend is retold below in the form in which it was preserved by an anonymous mythographer in the 3rd book of the so-called *Mythological Library* of Apollodorus 1st century A.D.), to whom adhered the name of the famous grammarian Apollodorus of Athens (from the 2nd century B.C.). The author stated that he used ancient sources, or rather documents which were derived from ancient sources. He mentioned "other writers" and specified Pherecydes of Athens, who wrote about genealogies in the 5th century B.C. Later annotations to Homer's *Iliad* II, 494 (*FGrHist* 4, F 51) correspond almost exactly to his words in III 4,1, and as a source, in addition to Apollodorus himself, the *Boeotica* of Hellanicus from the 5th century B.C. are cited.

III 1, 1 (with some omissions): *Lybia had two sons by Poseidon, Belus and Agenor; Belus ruled the Egyptians, and Agenor went to Phoenicia and married Telephassa, who bore him a daughter Europa and three sons: Cadmus, Phoenix and Cilix. Some say that Europa was Phoenix's daughter. Zeus fell in love with her, changed shape into a tame bull and carried her on his back through the sea to Crete. There she bore him Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys, although Homer says that Sarpedon was the son of Zeus with Bellerophon's daughter Laodamia. When Europa disappeared, her father Agenor sent his sons into the world with instructions not to return until they had found her. Joining them in this search were her mother Telephassa and Thasus, the son of Poseidon, or as is stated by Pherecydes, Cilix. After they had intensively searched for her everywhere and still had not succeeded in finding her, they buried the thought of returning home and settled in various regions: Phoenix in Phoenicia, and Cilix near Phoenicia: he subjugated the whole land near the Pyramus River and named it Cilicia. Cadmus and Telephassa settled in Thrace, and Thasus established the city of Thasus on an island opposite Thrace and lived there.*

III 4, 1: *When Telephassa died, Cadmus buried her. The Thracians had received him with great hospitality, and he afterwards went to Delphi to ask about the fate of Europa. The god answered that he should not concern himself further with Europa, but rather to follow a cow and establish a city in the place where*

the cow collapsed from fatigue. Having received such a prophecy, he travelled throughout Phocis, and chanced on a suitable cow among the herds of Pelagon, which he duly followed. They walked throughout Boeotia and the cow collapsed on the spot of present-day Thebes. He wished to sacrifice the cow to Athena, and hence he sent several of his comrades for water to a spring which happened to belong to Ares. Almost all of them were killed by a dragon which guarded the spring, for which some even claim that Ares was its father. Cadmus killed it in wrath and following Athena's advice sowed its teeth. Armed men grew from the ground, who were called Sparti, the sown. They began to slay each other from accidental quarrels or ignorance. Pherecydes, however, says that as Cadmus watched them grow from the ground he threw stones among them, and they thought that one among them had done it. Five of them survived: Echion, Udaeus, Chthonius, Hyperenor, and Pelorus.

2: Cadmus served Ares for an eternal year; that year was the equivalent of eight of our years. At the end of his service Athena provided a kingdom for him and Zeus gave him as a wife Harmonia, the daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. The wedding at Cadmeia was attended by all the gods and hymns were sung. Cadmus gave Harmonia a robe and a necklace which was the work of Hephaestus; some claim that it had been given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes claims that it had been given to him by Europa who had received it from Zeus. Cadmus had four daughters, Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, and a son, Polydorus. [The tale follows of the unfortunate fates of Cadmus' daughters, and the departure of Cadmus and Harmonia to the Enchelei is subsequently mentioned.]

III 5, 4: Cadmus accompanied by Harmonia left Thebes and went to the Enchelei. They were at war with the Illyrians who had attacked them, but they had been advised by a god that they would defeat the Illyrians if they were led by Cadmus and Harmonia. They trusted in the prophecy and appointed them as leaders against the Illyrians, who were then defeated. Cadmus ruled over Illyria and had a son Illyrius. Afterwards, together with Harmonia, he was turned into a serpent and Zeus conveyed him to the Elysian Fields.

Mythology has been interpreted extremely variously in the past century and this one, interpretations ranging from those who considered it to have great historical significance to those who denied that it had any relation to reality. In the second half of the last century the interpretation of myths on the basis of solar symbolism and other natural features became very influential, which was defended mainly by the so-called comparative school,¹⁴ and which in a modified form is still of interest today.¹⁵ The ramification of Greek mythology and its interweaving with legendary stories and fairy-tale motifs cannot support too simplified an explanation. Frazer, who convincingly showed that all similar traditions could not have a common source,¹⁶ distinguished three main elements in mythological tales: myths, which have their source in the contemplation by primitive man of natural

forces and the universe which surrounded him; fairy tales, which were the result of human imagination; and legends, which were created from unclear memories of real people in the past, and of events which most probably occurred in actual locations.¹⁷ Myths and legends, however, are so closely interrelated that the elements noted above often cannot be precisely distinguished, and thus the value of legends for historical research is lessened.¹⁸ A legend is not history, but total scepticism towards legends as a potential historical source is unfounded. The question arises as to whether such stories would have been created at all did they not contain some historical nucleus, although highly modified and corrupted. The author doubts it. Today, thanks to M.P. Nilsson, the opinion is generally accepted that the Greek legends often contain traces of memory, specifically applying to the Mycenaean period. The Mycenaean and Minoan civilizations came to an end ca. 1100 B.C., followed by the so-called Dark Age, which extended deeply into the 9th century. Merchant and other contacts were significantly weakened in that period, the sphere of the Greeks notably narrowed, and even the Epirus coast represented somewhere at the end of the world for Homeric Greeks (cf. e.g. *Od.* I 259 ff.; II 328). It cannot be excluded that such a state occurred in the post-Mycenaean period, in the darkest period of early Greek history, when Archaic man after the decline of a brilliant culture could no longer correctly interpret much of his past; its memory was continually fading, and thus the tales which have been preserved to the present are corrupted, distorted and have been transformed into legends.

The story of Cadmus and Harmonia was very popular in the classical period. It is mentioned by several Greek and Latin authors and motifs from it also appear in art, particularly in vase painting and on coinage.¹⁹ It has been studied primarily by Ruth B. Edwards, F. Vian, and J.-C. Billigmeier,²⁰ and in ex-Yugoslav historiography only indirectly by R. Katičić in his study of the Enchelei.²¹ It is cited in a condensed form by all mythological compendia, in which extremely varied chronological elements and data from different writers are unfortunately united, the tale thus becoming imprecise. For any who would wish to use the story to illuminate historical events, it is essential to distinguish the early elements and attempt to separate them from later additions. Motifs characteristic of folk tales should also be excluded:²² such as the animal who directs the choice of location for the founding of a settlement, the killing of the dragon, the sowing of warriors. The transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia into serpents is certainly a mythic element; it indicates the immortality of the soul and is also significant in tales of other Greek heroes. The Salaminian hero Cychreus, for example, came to the aid of the Greeks who were battling the Persians at Salamis in the form of a snake (Paus. I 36, 1). The historical nucleus might consist of a Phoenician origin for Cadmus and the retreat of the heroic couple into Illyria. This would belong to the realm of legend; such facts plainly contain neither the universality of folk-

tales nor religious functions, rather they are at least apparently correct historically, and are related to actual locations. Both aspects are of interest.

Myths and legends were transformed by the process of being transmitted orally. Many new elements were added from imagination, whether from mere incomprehension of the original function of individual details or from a tendency to unite the stories of various heroes and to supplement details which would appear to be lacking. A primary role in the reformation of the tales was played by rationalization, in which attempts were made to explain even the unclear elements in a story in a reasonable manner. Further roles were played by local antiquarianism, which tried to relate Cadmus to various local kings, objects and monuments, such as those in Thebes and southern Illyria,²³ as well as religious syncretism, as the cult of a serpent diety was deeply rooted and widely spread in Illyria. Finally, various pseudo-historical interpretations must be considered, which are particularly common among later authors. It is generally the case that the information offered by earlier writers is more dependable, although even their tales contain considerable fiction; but it also cannot be excluded that Pseudo-Apollodorus, Stephanus of Byzantium and other later writers may have preserved individual accurate historical facts.

A review of the sources indicates that a continuous narrative of the myth of Cadmus from an earlier period has not been preserved, and it must thus be concocted from various brief notes of certain episodes in the texts of various authors which they themselves had drawn from lost works, such as those of the logographer Pherecydes and earlier writers. They suggest that the tale was well known to the readers or rather the audience. In any case, it certainly had been familiar to Homer and Hesiod, who mention the story of Europa (*Il.* XIV 321 ff.; Hes., frg. 141 M-W) and speak of Thebes as the land of Cadmus (Hes., *Works and Days*, v. 162) or of the Thebans as Cadmeians (Hom., see indexes to *Il.* and *Od.*; Hes., *Theog.*, 325; *Cat. of Women*, 99). Homer mentions Cadmus' daughter Ino-Leucotheia in the *Odyssey* (V 333-335), and Hesiod notes the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia and lists their children in the *Theogony* (937; 975 ff.).

We shall concentrate on those two aspects of the legend which are important for illuminating the connection between Boeotia and Illyria. The first is Cadmus' origin, and it is interesting that even in the earliest versions and continuing to the very last mention of the subject in classical literature, this was most often noted as Phoenician, from Tyre or Sidon, in close kinship with the Phoenician princess Europa, who was most often cited as Phoenix's daughter (of earlier writers citing his Phoenician origin: Herodotus, II 49; IV 147; V 57 ff.; comp. I 2; II 44; IV 45; and Euripides, *Phoenissae* 5 ff.; 638 ff. and *passim*; *Bacchae* 170-172; 1025; and *Phrixus*, frg. 819 Nauck *TGF*, etc.). On the basis of the versions in Hecataeus, Hellanicus and Pherecydes, R.J. Buck composed three different chronological schemata and established that the role and location of Cadmus was somewhat different in each: according to Hecataeus, Cadmus was a

key individual in early Boeotian history who subjugated the barbarian *Aaones*, *Temnikes*, and *Hyantes* from Attica, established Thebes and walled Cadmeia. According to Hellanicus, Thebes was established by Ogygus and Ectenes, while Cadmus subjugated the indigenous (!) Aaones and Hyantes and founded Cadmeia. According to Pherecydes, Thebes was founded by Amphion and Zethus, destroyed by the Phlegians, and reestablished by Cadmus.²⁴ Buck did not wish to search for a historical nucleus because of conflicting information in these reports, although his negative position was rightfully criticised by S. Symeonoglou.²⁵

The other aspect of interest concerns the circumstances of Cadmus' death. Three different versions had become known by the 5th century, which were unified by Euripides at the end of his *Bacchae* (1330-1339).²⁶ Dionysus appears at the end of the tragedy and announces the future fate of Cadmus and Harmonia: they shall be changed into serpents and be driven in a cart pulled by yoked oxen to a barbarian country where they will become the leaders of the barbarians and attack Greece. They shall destroy many cities and only in Delphi will their success end. They will be saved by Ares who will transport them to the Isles of the Blessed. On the basis of Euripides' text it must be concluded that the writer considered that Cadmus and Harmonia had been transported to the barbarian land in serpent form, although it would be more logical for them to be transformed into serpents subsequently. This might be poetic license or imprecision, and the true order would be the reverse, as is recorded later in Pseudo-Apollodorus. Perhaps it could be interpreted as a desire for further dramatic elements, and consequently the order given should be taken literally as reflecting the more original and primitive mythic conceptions.²⁷ Nonetheless, it does not seem impossible to me to imagine that Archaic man truly believed in the complicated vicissitudes of Cadmus and Harmonia as they were described by Dionysus, and that it is not necessary to assume three different versions of their fate. Euripides is the only author from the 5th century who mentioned the transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia into serpents and their exile in an unspecified foreign land. Pindar from Cynoscephalae near Thebes, who lived one generation before Euripides, mentioned in one of his Olympian odes merely that Cadmus had been transported to the Isles of the Blessed (*Ol.* II 78).

Herodotus (V 61) knew of a report that the Cadmeians had withdrawn from Thebes to the Enchelei, and placed the event in the period of the successful campaign of the Epigoni against Thebes and the rule of Eteocles' son Laodamas, seven generations after Cadmus. The invasion of the Epigoni followed the unsuccessful campaign against the Thebans by the Princes of Argos, the so-called "Seven against Thebes", amongst whom was the exiled son of Oedipus, Polynices.²⁸ The successful Epigoni were the sons and direct heirs of the fallen heroes. The story of the withdrawal of the Cadmeians in the face of the Epigoni to Illyria was also known to Pausanias, although he does not mention the Enchelei, merely Illyrians (IX

5, 13: ... κρατησάντων δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἀργείων Λαοδάμας σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἔπεισθαι Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς Ἴλλυριοὺς.). According to the opinion of R. Katičić his narrative could be dependent on Herodotus.²⁹ and it might well be that he had simply exchanged the Enchelei for the Illyrians. In his period (the 2nd century B.C.), the inhabitants of the southern portion of the northwestern Balkans were known only under the common name Illyrians, and memory of once powerful tribes in the region, such as the Enchelei, had long ago faded. They were for him only one of the Illyrian tribes, termed the Enchelei: they are mentioned somewhat prior to the story of Cadmus emigrating to Illyrian territory and leaving Thebes to be ruled by his son Polydorus (IX 5, 3: Κάδμου δὲ ἐς Ἴλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἴλλυριῶν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους Ἐγγελέας μετοικήσαντος Πολύδωρος ὁ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε.). It is not excluded that Pausanias used some source later than Herodotus, which also mentioned only the Illyrians.

Pausanias mentions another interesting fact related to the withdrawal of the Cadmeians to Illyria under Laodamas; he writes that although the majority left with him, one part of the Cadmeians did not dare to go to the Illyrians (τούτων οὖν μοῖρα τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ἴλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπάνησε, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλην ...) and they rather attacked the Thessalians and occupied the heights of Homole (IX 8, 6-7). Rather than expose themselves to the long and difficult route to Illyria and the Enchelei (here also omitted), they decided to attack the neighbouring people and seize a part of their territory. Considering the mention of the long journey and the results of R. Katičić's study, U.v. Wilamowitz's opinion that these Enchelei would have been the Enchelei living along Lake Copais is totally unacceptable.³⁰ As shall be seen, a branch of the Enchelei also lived along this lake.

An interesting prophecy is mentioned in Herodotus, which might perhaps be related to the legend of Cadmus. In it, the Illyrians and Enchelei would have attacked Greece and failed badly after sacking Delphi (IX 42 ff.); these events, however, in contrast to later writers, were not mentioned by him in connection with Cadmus and Harmonia. Euripides, in another section of the *Bacchae* (1352-1362), spoke of a mixed barbarian army (v. 1356: μιγάδα βάσβαρον στρατόν) which would have been led by Cadmus against the Greeks, thus an army composed of at least two barbarian tribes, which actually corresponds to the prophecy mentioned in Herodotus. Despite the scarce data offered by the literature of the 5th century B.C., the outlines of history have begun to appear: an attack of two barbarian peoples from the north extending all the way to Delphi, and an alliance of several clans, perhaps even the leading ones, of the Theban population with the Enchelei.

With reference to Cadmus and Harmonia among the Enchelei, the narratives of Herodotus, Euripides and Pseudo-Apollodorus have been considered so far. On the basis of the similarity between them (even the same expressions being used in Herodotus and Euripi-

des, such as στρατός, στράτευμα, and διασπάζω), Katičić concluded that their mutual source had been some earlier logographer.³¹ In the annotations to Pindar's 3rd Pythian ode (v. 153 b) it is written that legends about Cadmus had been preserved by poets and mythographers, and perhaps the annotator had the poet Euripides and the mythographer Pseudo-Apollodorus in mind.

As is partially visible even from Pseudo-Apollodorus, later writers had preserved an extended story with many details, supplemented by new motifs.³² The establishment of new settlements was attributed to Cadmus (such as on Rhodes, Thera, Samothrace, and in Thrace, where his presence was connected to the exploitation of mines); further, the establishment of cults and various inventions were also attributed to him, for instance, that in Thrace he had invented mining and the working of gold (Pliny, *N.H.* VII 197; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I 16, 75 /365 P/). We shall concentrate on those items which are connected to his departure from Thebes; this requires starting with the Enchelei and attempting to define them geographically and chronologically.³³

III

The earliest preserved data come from Hecataeus of Miletus (the end of the 6th century B.C.), and were preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium in his toponomastic lexicon *Ethnika* from the 6th century A.D., under the heading *Dexari* (= *FGrHist* 1 F 103): The *Dexari*, a Chaonian people neighbouring upon the Enchelei, as is stated by Hecataeus in his book about Europe, who lived under Mt. Amyrus (Δεξάροι: ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἐγγελέαις προσεχέις. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον ὄρος οἰκοῦν.). The *Dexari* and the Amyrus mountain are mentioned solely in this passage. The Chaones lived along the Illyrian border in the northwestern part of Epirus and along the coast from the Ceraunian Mts. to the central Epirote coast. Mt. Amyrus would probably be the present Mt. Tomor in Albania, and the *Dexari* could perhaps be identified with the *Dassareti*, despite the fact that the latter are always considered to have been an Illyrian and not an Epiran tribe.³⁴ The information offered by Hecataeus precludes any doubt that the Enchelei might have merely been part of a mythic geography. Hecataeus also made an approximate geographical assignment of them as the northern neighbours of the Chaones, thus somewhere in the region north of Epirus extending to Lake Ohrid. Their inhabitation of the Lake Ohrid region is indisputably confirmed by Polybius, who mentions that in 217 B.C., while battling against the Illyrian prince Scerdilaidas, Philip V conquered among other regions the Enchelans along the Lychnidian Lake (V 108, 8: ... τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Λυχνιδίαν λίμνην Ἐγγελάνας...). The form Ἐγγελάνας was created with a suffix, characteristic for western Greeks, who came into direct contact with the Enchelei; thus this is a native form of the name, in contrast to the eastern Ionic form, taken from historic-geographical literature which had traditionally been written under in-

fluence of the Ionic dialect.³⁵ The fact that this is the same tribe is also confirmed by a note from the Hellenistic geographer Mnaseas, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (Ἐγγελάνας, ἔθνος Ἰλλυρίας, οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Ἐγγελάις, ὡς Μνασέας ἐν γ' τῶν περιηγήσεων).

The name Enchelei means the People of the Eel and is taken from the Greek word ἡ ἔγγελλος, eel, etymologically from the same source as the Latin *anguilla* and the ancient slavic word *ožь*, snake, the present southern slav *jegulja* being an ancient borrowing from a Romance dialect. It is interesting that in Polybius the word *Enchelanes* is written with a voiceless aspirate *kh*, while in Mnaseas it was replaced with a voiced *ng*, *Engelanes*, which is characteristic for Macedonian and the languages of the northern Balkans.³⁶ Considering that E. Hamp connected the name of the Enchelei with the Albanian word for eel, *ngjalë*,³⁷ it would be entirely possible that the name for the people had been derived from the Illyrian term for eels, anciently related to Greek and merely adjusted in that language to Greek pronunciation. In the prehistoric and classical periods it was not at all unusual for peoples to have names derived from animals, such that the name of the Delmatae is considered to be related to Albanian *delme*, sheep,³⁸ the name of the Macedonian Lyncestes is perhaps related to the lynx,³⁹ and the southern Dalmatian Helidones is commonly agreed to be the Greek translation of the name Taulantii, thus "the people of the swallows."⁴⁰ Another three names can be added to these which were most probably derived from plant names, such as the Peucetii (Pliny, *N.H.* III, 139) named after the pine, the Grabaei after the hornbeam, and the Dardanians after the pear (in Albanian *dardhë*).⁴¹ The interpretation of such names remains essentially unclear, but it is certain that they indicate a close relation of these peoples to nature. The eel was certainly one of the most popular and well-known river fish even from a very early period; it is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* XXI 203; 353) and described by Aristotle.⁴² Aristotle knew of eel breeders who cultivated them in winter in special cases with a constant flow of fresh water (*Hist. animal.* 8, 2 p. 592 a 2 ff; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* VII p. 298 b). They were easy to catch if lake mud was used to cloud the water, as, given their tiny gills, the eels were forced to swim to the surface (Aristotle, *ibid.* 8, 2 p. 592 a 6; Athenaeus, *ibid.*), and hence a proverb resulted, "eel fishing" which corresponds to our "fishing in troubled waters". From the classical period it is reported that eels were used, if it were desired to make water potable and to destroy leeches in it (*Geoponica* II 5, 15), and it is interesting that this has remained in use even today, such as on the islands of Krk, Cres and Lošinj, where eels are added to cisterns. It is very probable that this also occurs elsewhere. In contemporary folk tradition, the eel is connected with extremely varied superstitions, either as a beneficial or malevolent animal.⁴³

Eels from Lake Copais near Thebes in Boeotia were renowned throughout the entire classical period (Paus. IX 24, 1-2) and a part of the Enchelei also dwelled

along this lake, as has been documented several times for Boeotia. Enchelei along Lake Copais are mentioned by a younger contemporary of Herodotus, Hellanicus of Lesbos (2nd half of the 5th century) in the *History of Boeotia* (*FGrHist* 4 F 50), the information being preserved in annotations to Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, v. 36 (ὄικουν τε τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐγγελεῖς, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικαῖς φησιν.) Diodorus of Sicily writes that after a flood in the period of Deucalion, Cadmus built Cadmeia, which was settled by Sparti, "the sown men", but the Enchelei attacked them and drove them from the city. Cadmus and his allies then fled to the Illyrians, while the twins Amphion and Zethus, who subsequently ruled the region, built Thebes (XIX 53, 3-6: . . . τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὕστερον Ἐγγελεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες ἐξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συνέβη καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμου εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν.). Whether Diodorus used Hieronymus of Cardia or rather some other source instead, it must certainly have been a relatively late source, which no longer distinguished between the earlier northern Enchelei and the later Illyrians, instead referring to all southern Dalmatian people as Illyrian. Joannes Malalas, a Byzantine chronicler from the 6th century A.D. (Dindorf p. 49), even mentions that the region in which the twin brothers founded Thebes had previously been called Enchilia, which Dindorf corrected to Encheleia.⁴⁴

Thus the Copaidan Enchelei, like the Enchelei who had lived north of the Chaones and along Lake Ohrid, which even today is famous for its eels, were connected with Cadmus, and it may be concluded that they are the same people, one part of which had penetrated further south and settled along Lake Copais. Confirmation of similar migrations is offered by archaeological material. Thus it has been shown that surprising parallels exist in the form and technique of pottery decoration, consisting of incisions and notches, noted in the northern half of the Peloponnesus, particularly in Olympia, and in the pottery from sites of the Cetina Culture, which is characteristic for central Dalmatia and extends into the interior of the Balkans, into Bosnia and western Serbia. This pottery is valuable for relative as well as absolute chronology: it indicates that early Helladic III was contemporary to phases 1 and 2 of the Cetina Culture, which can be assigned to Reinecke's A 1 and 2. If an attempt is made to interpret the appearance of this pottery, it unfortunately becomes apparent that the possibilities of interpreting archaeological material are limited. Pottery which appears in two distant groups of finds can be interpreted in three manners: as material which reached a designated area through trade, as the migration of groups or tribes from one area to another, or as the product of a single new population or tribe in two different areas. Pottery from sites of the Cetina Culture is dated by J. Maran to the period ca. 2000 B.C. or even earlier, with a suggestion that a part of the population from the original region of the Cetina Culture had migrated in the same period to the Peloponnesus.⁴⁵ In this context it is interesting that one of the best experts for the Bronze Age and later

topography of Thebes, S. Symeonoglou, dates Cadmus to the Bronze Age.⁴⁶ This hypothesis is based on the fact that in various genealogies, such as in Herodotus (V, 59), Hecataeus, *Hellanicus*,⁴⁷ as well as on the Parian Marble, Cadmus is a very early character who could be considered to be the founder of Thebes. As is shown by the archaeological material, Thebes witnessed a particularly notable advance in its development from a village into an urbanized fortified settlement exactly in the early Bronze Age, at the transition from Early Helladic II to III, and especially in Early Helladic III. Symeonoglou considers that Cadmus may actually have been one of the Phoenicians or Canaanites who probably arrived in Thebes by way of Crete and the Cycladēs, settling it together with Minoan newcomers from Crete and the islands. The presence of individuals from culturally more developed regions would have greatly contributed to the speed of urban development.

This is a subject between legend and history, but it is nonetheless surprising that the objects from a princely grave of the late Eneolithic or early Bronze Age in the tumulus Mala Gruda near Tivat (thus in the region of the later documented Enchelei and in the immediate vicinity of "Cadmeian" Buthoe), consisting of a golden dagger, golden pendants for a diadem, and an axe of electrum alloy, have solid parallels in Asia Minor and Syria, at Byblus.⁴⁸

It appears from other sources which have not yet been discussed, that the northern Enchelei were a very powerful nation settled in a wide area which extended to southern Dalmatia.⁴⁹ Pseudo-Scylax (2nd half of the 4th century B.C.) located them in the Bay of Kotor as far as Rhizon, noting that they were one of the Illyrian peoples (*Peripl.* 25: Ἐγγελεῖς, Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνος εἶσιν οἱ Ἐγγελεῖς, ἐχόμενοι τοῦ Ῥιζοῦντος.). R. Katičić, on the basis of selected sources from Greek and Latin literature, has shown that the earliest sources distinguish the Enchelei from the Illyrians, and it is not excluded that substantial proof exists for such a distinction.⁵⁰ They began to be included among Illyrian tribes only when the name Illyrian had become extended, applied at first merely to the neighbouring groups and subsequently to all peoples and tribes existing between Epirus, Macedonia and the Julian Alps. The Enchelei had been an earlier population in the above region which in the 6th century, if not earlier, had been organized into a kingdom (this attempted reconstruction of the period is on the basis of Strabo's sources). The ruling dynasty cited its origin from the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia, as is explicitly noted by Strabo (VII 7, 8 c. 326). The kingdom was probably weakened in wars with the Illyrians and other neighbours, and came under the dominion of the Illyrian state at the latest in the 5th century. The noted passage from Strabo is unfortunately totally corrupted in the manuscript, hence their geographical designation is not entirely certain;⁵¹ in the same fragment he speaks of Epidamnus and Apollonia, of the coast to the Ceraunian Mts., of the Bylliones, the Taulantii, the Parthini, and the Brygi, of silver mines in Damastium and of the Sesarethii

(certainly not another name for the Enchelei), and of the Lyncestae, of Deuriopus and of Pelagonia, which indicates that he had placed them similarly as had Hecataeus, above Epirus extending to Lake Ohrid in the interior. They were mentioned in the *Periegesis* of Pseudo-Scymnus (2nd half of the 2nd century B.C.) as a people dwelling above the Brygi who were once ruled by Cadmus (437-438: Ὑπὲρ δὲ Βρύγους Ἐγγελεῖται λεγόμενοι οἰκοῦσιν, ὧν ἐπῆροξε καὶ Κάδμος ποτέ.). Thus the information in both Strabo and Pseudo-Scymnus (the latter noted Timaeus and Eratosthenes among his sources) corresponds to the placement of the Enchelei as given by Hecataeus.

When discussing the relations between the Greeks and their northern neighbours, the question immediately arises as to the actual developmental stage of these peoples. Were they *horridae gentes* (as expressed by Tacitus, *Ann.* I 17, 9, referring to the Celtic-Pannonian tribes of the Augustan period along the north-eastern border of Italy) as might be concluded from the notes in Herodotus and Euripides, which threatened Greek settlements and pillaged the country as far as Delphi, similar to the fearful Celtic hordes several centuries later? Data about the culture, manner of life, economic conditions and political development of these peoples are too scarce, although certain aspects of Illyrian life were illuminated by the papers at the symposium *Duhovna kultura Ilira*,⁵² mainly their burial rituals,⁵³ apparel,⁵⁴ artistic achievements,⁵⁵ and the cult of heroified ancestors,⁵⁶ all of which would indicate social stratification. Much can be deciphered from the numerous Illyrian survivals in the period of the Roman Empire, from local elements in artistic expression,⁵⁷ to numerous epigraphically documented autochthonic cults.⁵⁸ In addition to chronological parameters, it is primarily necessary to establish geographical distinction among the individual so-called Illyrian regions. The southern Illyrian and northwestern coastal regions were considerably more advanced because of influence from the south⁵⁹ than the central Illyrian continental territories which resisted Hellenization.⁶⁰

Pseudo-Scymnus, who mentions the earliest peoples known by name in the coastal region of subsequent Illyricum, the Liburni, Bulini, Brygi, Enchelei and others, refers to them in this manner: "Some are ruled by kings, some are subject to monarchic authority, others have their own laws; it is said that they are very religious, just and hospitable, that they admire organized social relations, and endeavour to live a cultural existence" (420-425: καὶ τινα μὲν αὐτῶν βασιλικαῖς ἐξουσίαις ὑπῆρχο'εῖναι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ μοναρχίας, ἃ δ'αὐτονομείσθαι. θεοσεβεῖς δ'αὐτοὺς ἄγαν καὶ σφόδρα δικαίους φασὶ καὶ φιλοξένους, κοινωνικὴν διάθεσιν ἠγαπηκότας εἶναι, βίον ζηλοῦν τε κοσμιώτατον.). He thus differentiated between dynastic kingdoms (βασιλικαὶ ἐξουσίαι) which were hereditary, e.g. the type of kingdom mentioned by Strabo in reference to the southern Illyrian region, including the Enchelei and the Paeones, which was obviously the most advanced stage of development. Next come peoples who were ruled by a chieftain (μοναρχία),

chosen by the population as their supreme leader in peace and war, and whose power was, as opposed to βασιλείς, not hereditary. It is difficult to say who these "monarchs" were; perhaps they were the founders of new dynasties. The third category mentioned in the *Periegesis* of Pseudo-Scymnus were those peoples who had their own laws (αὐτονομεῖσθαι) and perhaps lived in communities governed by tribal law in which the concept of individual rule had not yet been fully developed (?), or perhaps in cities with independent legislation (Liburni?).⁶¹ Considering the characteristics of these peoples as noted by Pseudo-Scymnus (religious, lawful, hospitable), it could be concluded that they were open and susceptible to contacts from the south and elsewhere, and that they were favourably disposed towards foreign influences.

The more developed of these peoples, particularly those who lived in the border region where three countries met, southern Illyria, Epirus and Macedonia, had royal dynasties. Strabo mentions (VII 7, 8 c. 326) that in former times several of these tribes had kings (ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν καταδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα) and cited as examples the Enchelei, who were ruled by the successors of Cadmus and Harmonia, the Lyncestes, who were ruled by the successors of Arrabaeus from the clan of the Corinthian Bacchiadae, and the Molossians, who were ruled by the successors of Achilles' grandson Pyrrhus. Other nations had native royal dynasties. He also wrote that Epirus and Illyria in former periods had been fairly densely settled (πρότερον μὲν οὖν καὶ πόλεις ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις ... τότε μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, καίπερ οὔσα τραχεῖα καὶ ὀρῶν πλήρης ... ὁμῶς εὐάνδρῳι ἢ τε Ἡπειρος πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς, VII 7, 9 c. 327), that there were many nations although minor and insignificant, but over each there ruled a king (VII 7, 3 c. 322). The ancient times that Strabo mentions (πρότερον μὲν) most probably refer to the period written about by Hecataeus, who was his main source, and it may be concluded that at least in the 6th century B.C., it had been entirely accepted as fact that the Encheleian royal house had taken Cadmus and Harmonia as their ancestors, and that the legend about Cadmus and Harmonia among the Enchelei had already at that time been deeply rooted.

IV

Interesting information about Cadmus in the Adriatic is preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium. Under the heading Bouthoe, which he copied from the work of Philon of Byblus (2nd cent. A.D., *About Cities and Their Famous Citizens*), we read that Bouthoe (present-day Budva) is a city in Illyria whose name was derived from Cadmus' oxen team (βούς = ox), with which he quickly (θοῶς) arrived in Illyria. Stephanus of Byzantium additionally noted the etymology which he found in other writers: that Cadmus named the city after the Egyptian city Buto. He added that the city of Rhizon is in the same bay, as well as a river of the same name (the interior section of the Bay of Kotor

which was usually referred to as a river in the classical period): Βουθόη, πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος, ὡς Φίλων, διὰ τὸ Κάδμου ἐπὶ ζεύγους βοῶν ὀχοῦμενον ταχέως ἀνύσαι τὴν ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ Κάδμου ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Βουτοῦς ὀνομάσαι αὐτὴν, καὶ παραφθαρῆσαν καλεῖσθαι Βουθόην. ἔχει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μυθοῦ Ῥίζονα πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν ὁμώνυμον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βουθοῶος. In the 9th century lexicon *Etymologicum magnum* (s.v., also see the *Etymologicum genuinum*) another two different etymologies for the name Budva are preserved: other than the one about the oxen team which was noted by Stephanus of Byzantium, it is also noted that the name had been derived from the word for oregano (origanum), βούτος; or that the city had been named after the fact that Cadmus had aided the Illyrians and settled among them (βοηθός - helper). The etymologies are not interesting from the linguistic standpoint, but rather from the historical one: the source used by Philon of Byblus similarly no longer distinguished between the Enchelei and the Illyrians, while, by contrast, the source used by Herodotus and Pseudo-Apollodorus stated that Cadmus came to the aid of the Enchelei who had been attacked by the Illyrians. Preserved in this original report are the outlines of the actual historical circumstances of the settlement of the Illyrians, who did not move into a vacuum, rather they wished to supplant the earlier settled inhabitants in the southern Dalmatian regions and their hinterland. The ethnic identity of these inhabitants can only be guessed. They were certainly pre-Illyrian,⁶² perhaps proto-Indo-European or already Indo-European, most probably strongly mixed with autochthonic populations.⁶³ and the Illyrians who attacked them can probably be considered to be the eponymous tribe (whose remainder was known to Pomponius Mela and Pliny under the name *Illyrii proprie dicti*) of the later alliance among mutually related tribes which were united into an Illyrian state in the 5th century B.C. or even earlier.⁶⁴

According to one report, Cadmus founded another city among the Enchelei, namely Lychnidus, by the lake of the same name, present-day Ohrid. This information comes from an epigram of Christodorus in the collection *Anthologia Palatina* (VII 697). The epigram, which was dedicated to Joannes of Epidamnus, the praefect of Illyria under Anastasius I (491-518), was written ca. 500 A.D., while the collection in which it was preserved is from the 10th century. It is stated in the epigram among other things that Joannes' ancestors came from Lychnidus, which had been founded by the Phoenician Cadmus (Εἶχε δ' ἀπ' εὐσεβέων προγόνων ἐρικυδέα πάτρην Λυχνιδὸν ἦν Φοῖνιξ Κάδμος ἔδευε πόλιν). Although the note is very late, and certain modern writers deny its validity,⁶⁵ there is no doubt that in terms of the foundation of Lychnidus it recorded an ancient tradition. Christodorus as an educated poet had studied and respected ancient tales and the history of various regions of the Graeco-Roman world. Additionally, the information fits well into the history of the Enchelei, which can be reconstructed on the basis of data in Hecataeus, Pseudo-Scylax, and

mainly Polybius, who specifically located them along Lake Ohrid. The tradition of Cadmus is indivisibly connected with the Enchelei. Christodorus' note thus incontestably confirms the information from Polybius, and simultaneously indicates that the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia was still extant in the 6th century A.D.

There is also a note in the grammar of Herodianus (2nd century A.D.) that the eponymous founder of Rhizon had been the son of Cadmus (... 'Ρίζων ὁ Κάδμου υἱὸς καὶ πόλις Ἰλλυρίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὀμόνυμος...).⁶⁶ It is not at all surprising that Rhizon (present-day Risan) would have been connected with Cadmus; the town had a significant strategic position,⁶⁷ and was subsequently one of the main strongholds of the Illyrian kingdom in the period of the Agron dynasty. Teuta, for instance, sought refuge there after defeat, as it was said that the fortress was impossible to conquer. It was undoubtedly at least partially settled long before; it is mentioned as an Encheleian city by Pseudo-Scylax (24-25), thus it is not strange that it would be included in the sphere of Greek-Encheleian legends or that it would establish for itself a glorious origin.

It is evident from a study of the sources that the circumstances of the creation of the legend must have been very unclear in the 6th century B.C., not to mention to the later inhabitants of Illyria, and hence the legend became the object of various speculations by local antiquarians, who for their regions everywhere wished to recognize the traces and signs of the presence of both heroes. Stephanus of Byzantium preserved a piece of information in his description of Dyrrhachium (*s.v.*), that Eratosthenes (3rd century B.C.) mentioned the graves of Cadmus and Harmonia in his *Geographia*. They were exhibited along the Drilon (Drim) and Aous (Vijosë or Vojuša) Rivers. The rivers are very distant from one another and neither is particularly near Dyrrhachium. The Drilon runs somewhat to the north of it, and the Aous is considerably to the south, although this does not necessarily mean that the geographical notions of the Hellenistic writers were unclear,⁶⁸ rather that both rivers were related by the graves of Cadmus and Harmonia, which were obviously pointed out in several spots. From the same period, i.e. the 3rd century B.C., there are data from the Hellenistic historian Philarchus, preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipn.* XI 6 p. 462 b; Jacoby, *FGrHist* 81 F 39), about some famous place in Illyria, called Cylices; a monument to Cadmus and Harmonia was located near it (πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς τόπος διαβοητός ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Κύλικες, παρ' ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας μνημεῖον, ὡς ἴστορεῖ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν.). The town of Cylices, although it is said to have been famous, is unknown to us. It has a Greek name which means "cups" or "vessels", perhaps referring to a significant configuration of the land, or perhaps to the shape of vessels used to transport water. It is also possible that the similarity with the Greek word is merely coincidental and that the name was in some manner related to the

name of the Liburnian tribe of the *Kaulikoi*, or *Culici* (Pliny, *N.H.* III 130).⁶⁹ R. Katičić connected it to information in Eratosthenes,⁷⁰ in which case the settlement should be sought somewhere between the Drilon and Aous Rivers, although both sources could be entirely independent of each other. It is very probable that Cylices is the same locality mentioned by Procopius under the name *Κύλικαί* (*De aedif.* IV 4, ed. J. Haury, add. et corr. G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1964, p. 117). He lists it together with other small fortified towns in New Epirus near Scodra,⁷¹ thus in the former Encheleian coastal region. Pliny (*N.H.* III 144) mentions numerous Greek towns in southern Dalmatia which by his period had completely sunk into oblivion (*multorum Graeciae oppidorum deficiens memoria, nec non et civitatum validarum*), and Cylices could be one of such towns, insignificant under the Principate, but reconstructed again in the Late Roman period - if Procopius is actually referring to the same town -, probably because of a favourable strategic position. The monument of Cadmus and Harmonia mentioned by Philarchus was most probably their tombstone.

The Drilon is also mentioned in reference to Cadmus and Harmonia by Nicander (2nd century B.C.). In his instructive poem about the bites of snakes and other poisonous animals and the antidotes of them, *Theriaca*, in verses 607-609 he lists iris from the banks of the Drilon and Naron (Neretva), the dwelling place of Sidonian Cadmus and Harmonia; in the form of two terrible snakes they slither there through the grass. Nicander mentioned their dwelling; in the original text the expression foundation is used, *θεμελίον*, which A.S.F. Gow and R. Katičić translated as dwelling.⁷² In this context the word would have perhaps the meaning of a temple, and Nicander connected it to the rivers Drilon and Naron, thus locating Cadmus and Harmonia considerably further north than Eratosthenes, up to the very border between Illyria and Liburnia.⁷³ A temple of Cadmus and Harmonia is also mentioned in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax, in the section consisting of notes which were added subsequently to the brief and concrete original text, in which merely coastal settlements, rivers, and distances measured in navigation days were listed.⁷⁴ It is written there that the distance from the Naron River to the Arion River is a one day sail, and a further half-day sail is necessary from the Arion to the monuments of Cadmus and Harmonia, the temple being yet further from the Arion River (24: Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νάρωνος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρίωνα ποταμὸν ἡμέρας ἐστὶ πλοῦς, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος ποταμοῦ πλοῦς ἡμέρας ἡμισυ, καὶ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἱερὸν ἄποθεν τοῦ Ἀρίωνος ποταμοῦ [*cod. Vatic.*]). Thus the monuments of Cadmus and Harmonia, which would denote their grave or represent their figures transformed into serpents, are mentioned in the *Periplus*. It is mentioned by Nonnus (5th century A.D.) in an epic poem about Dionysus (XLIV 115-118) that they were turned to stone in snake form. This would have occurred at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea which "nourishes" serpents (παρ' Ἰλλυριοῖο δρακοντοβότου στόμα πόντου), thus somewhere in the southern

Adriatic. Dionysius Periegetes (see below) also refers to two cliffs sacred to Cadmus and Harmonia. References to a temple indicate a cult of this heroic pair in southern Illyria. The name of the River Arion as it appears in Pseudo-Scylax, represents a difficulty, as it is otherwise unknown, but despite various different attempts,⁷⁵ M. Suić's explanation remains most likely, namely that this name was incorrectly written in the course of copying owing to a superficial reading of the name of the river ΔΡΙΑΩΝ, which in manuscripts was written in capital letters. The Drilon is also mentioned in relation to Cadmus and Harmonia by Eratosthenes and Nicander.

Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century A.D.) mentions in his poem *Οἰκουμένης περιήγησις* (387-397, ed. C. Müller, *GGM* 2, p. 127), in addition to the grave of Cadmus and Harmonia (τύμβος) where they were transformed into serpents after arriving from Thebes, two cliffs which were adjacent and crashed together whenever the inhabitants were threatened by some calamity. The grave and the rocks were, according to him, located somewhere "near that bay" (κεῖνον δ' ἄν περὶ κόλπον), which extends to the Ceraunian Mountains. According to R. Katičić this would most probably be in the section of the coast which Dionysius called the Illyrian mainland, extending from the land of the Bulini to the Ceraunian Cape (Kepi Gjuhëzës).⁷⁶ This geographical location is the most imprecise of all of the above, as it includes approximately the entire Illyrian coast from the Neretva to the Vojuša. Similar information was also offered by Avienus (537-550) and Priscianus (381-395), whose narrative was based on Dionysius. Eustathius, a Thessalonican metropolitan and Byzantine scholar of the 12th century, in his commentary to Dionysius Periegetes incorrectly placed the grave of Cadmus and Harmonia in the vicinity of the Ceraunian Mts.; such a mistake would be easy to make in an inattentive reading of the text. Dionysius' verses are interpreted by him allegorically, in terms of a mediaeval explanation of classical literature: the transformation into serpents was the punishment for the killing of Ares' dragon, hence it should be interpreted as a transformation of their character and nature into snake-like tortuousness and barbarity.

Tradition about the grave of Cadmus and Harmonia was also preserved in Hellenistic poetry. Apollonius of Rhodes in the epic *Argonautica* (IV 516-518) states that their grave is located along a black and deep Illyrian river in the land of the Enchelei (ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοῦ μελαμβασθέος ποταμοῦ τύμβος ἴν' Ἀρμονίης Κάδμοιό τε . . . ἀνδράσιν Ἐγγελέεσιν . . .). The mention of the Enchelei indicates that the information came from earlier sources, or from texts which preserved early data. Callimachus similarly mentions the monuments of light-haired Harmonia, "the snake", near the Illyrian river (in Strabo I 2, 39 c. 46; cf. V 1, 9 c. 216). In an identical context the same river is mentioned by Lycophron, although under the name Dizerus (βαθῆϊ Διζήρου πόρῳ, *Alexandra* 1026), but there is no mention of Cadmus and Harmonia. In R. Katičić's opinion Timaeus was the mutual source for all three poets.⁷⁷ He suggests that the river was the

Barbanna (today the Bojana), a tributary of the Drilon, whereas F. Vian supposes that the "black and deep" Illyrian river referred to was the Bay of Rhizon.⁷⁸

The popularity of the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria was also manifested in other ways, in particular in the sphere of artistic creation, and it seems that there is also material evidence for this. Several years ago two bronze tablets from the Hellenistic period were found in Albania and Crna Gora/Montenegro on which scenes with almost identical depictions were sculpted: both represent soldiers in battle with Illyrian helmets and Macedonian type shields, on horseback and on foot, respectively, with a large erect serpent in the corner, who is aiding "its" soldiers in battle against barbarian enemies. The one was found at Selcë e Poshtme near Podgradec, on the Albanian side of Lake Ohrid,⁷⁹ and the other comes from a cemetery near Gostilj in Crna Gora, not far from Lake Skadar.⁸⁰ As far as is known to me, an interpretation of both tablets was last attempted by A. Stipčević and G. Kossack.⁸¹ In the image of the serpent Stipčević saw the heroification of ancestors. Various aspects of the cult of heroic ancestors among the Illyrians, to whom such a cult was undoubtedly known, are discussed in the article, and as an argument that prominent deceased ancestors would be represented in the form of snakes, he cited the above mentioned two tablets. Although they were created under strong Greek influence, which is apparent in the artistic form, in his opinion the symbolic content of both images is entirely Illyrian. D. Rendić-Miočević hypothesized that these tablets (more of them have been found, but the motifs on the others are somewhat different) were produced in workshops outside Illyrian territory for the Illyrian market.⁸²

As has already been suggested by N. Ceka these serpents should perhaps be connected to the legend of Cadmus.⁸³ Although it may be assumed that in addition to the legend of Cadmus other Greek legends, unknown to us, referred to Illyria, it is perhaps less likely to suppose that in others, too, a serpent would have been a protagonist. It thus seems to me plausible to see a representation of Cadmus in the snakes which are shown on both tablets behind soldiers, as, transformed into a serpent, he successfully aided the Enchelei in their fight against the Illyrians, or as he led in serpent form a "mixed" barbarian army against Greek cities. Such a scene would well correspond to the description of Cadmus' transformation into a serpent even prior to his departure from Thebes, and his further fate in Euripides' *Bacchae*, which was mentioned at the beginning of the article. The tragedies of Euripides were extremely popular in the classical period and they were also performed outside Greece proper, at the Macedonian court (Euripides lived from 408 until his death in 406 at the court of King Archelaus in Pella), and if not elsewhere in the Balkans, at least in the Greek colonies of southern Dalmatia. Despite the connotations implicitly contained in these verses - Euripides was highly insular-Greek oriented and wished to discredit the foreign

origin of the Theban dynasty - which were almost entirely blurred in the period of Hellenism, it may be supposed that his verses acquired a greater audience in the land where Cadmus and Harmonia found, so to speak, another home, than elsewhere, and that artists were pleased to depict them. It is interesting that both tablets were found exactly in the region of the former Encheleian kingdom, which would further confirm my explanation. The grave from Gostilj is dated to the period of the Illyrian Wars, and Đ. Basler suggested that the scene on the tablet might show the battles of the Illyrian Labeatae with the Macedonians.⁸⁴ The enemy, shown as foot-soldiers, carry Macedonian shields. The figure of a serpent could then be interpreted as the image of the immortal mythical king Cadmus, who in difficult moments watches over the descendants of his people. But as most of the weapons depicted on the tablets are not contemporary, and the whole representation betrays mythical scenery it seems better to exclude an explanation in terms of contemporary events.

Strabo, in the already noted fragment where he writes that the Enchelei were ruled by the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia (VII 7, 8 c. 326), notes that in his period sites were indicated in this land which were connected to the legends referring to them (καὶ τὰ μυθεύμενα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ δείκνυται). These were the sites which are discussed above: places along the rivers Naron, Drilon and Aous, next to which their graves were exhibited, and the famous city of Cylices, where their grave was also said to be located; their temple by the river Arion (probably Drilon) was known, as well as the Illyrian river (probably the *Barbanna*) where their grave might also be located, and also the spot where Harmonia gave birth to Illyrius. Stones and cliffs dedicated to Cadmus and Harmonia were pointed out, as well as cities which were said to have been founded by Cadmus and his descendants, and of which presently only Buthoe, Lychnidus, and Rhizon are known to us.

V

Yet another legend exists which was most closely connected to Illyria as well as to Cadmus and Harmonia: a legend about their daughter Agave, which is preserved in Pseudo-Hyginus. Agave was the mother of the unfortunate Pentheus whom she tore into pieces in Dionysian frenzy. The god Dionysus revenged himself on the family of Cadmus in this manner, as Pentheus had opposed the introduction of the Dionysian mysteries into Thebes. After her horrible crime, Agave took refuge in Illyria, where she was received by King Lycotheres, who married her (*Hygini fabulae*, ed. H.I. Rose, Leyden 1967³, no. 184; *Stob. Anth.* IV 25.9). Thus Agave also sought refuge in Illyria. The Illyrian king Lycotheres is mentioned only by Pseudo-Hyginus: the name is Greek and means one who has the courage of a wolf. If it is considered that the name is a Greek translation, it would fit well into Illyrian onomastics among names whose root contains the

word wolf; such as Volsimus, the name of the king of the Paeligni who were *ex Illyrico orti*, which would be in Latin Lucullus, a young wolf. Similarly, the Paeonian dynastic name Lykkeios should be included in this same group of names. The name would also correspond to compound names of the type of Veskleves, which R. Katičić defined as names whose meanings indicate an oral epic tradition among the Illyrians.⁸⁵ Later, as is noted in Pseudo-Hyginus in two other chapters (240, 254), Agave killed Lycotheres in order to hand the kingdom over to her father. Although the source is late and unreliable and the story has distinct mythic elements, it is nonetheless interesting that it contains nothing which would contradict information derived from other sources: Cadmus settled among the Enchelei and aided them in war against their enemies the Illyrians, and Agave killed, or ordered killed, an enemy king. This story could theoretically be interpreted, *mutatis mutandis*, as an echo of distant dynastic intrigues which were a constant feature of the later history of these lands.

The connections between the Greeks from Boeotia or Argos and the Enchelei, other than the story of Cadmus and the legend of the flight of the Theban Cadmeians before the Epigoni to the Enchelei, are also shown by the story of Amphiareus' war charioteer Bato, who according to Polybius, after the disappearance of Amphiareus emigrated to Harpya, a city in Illyria among the Enchelei. The information was preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v. Harpya*; it was interpreted in detail by R. Katičić.⁸⁶ Amphiareus was one of the Seven, who unsuccessfully attacked Thebes with Polynices and Adrastus. He disappeared underground during the battle and he was henceforth honoured as a prophet. The Encheleian city of Harpya is known only from this citation. Toponyms of similar form are known from Apulia (*Arpi*), Latium (*Arpinum*) and Elis (*Harpina*, Paus. VI 21.8).⁸⁷ Bato, one of the most significant Illyrian names in the period of the Roman Empire, was originally, as is shown by Katičić,⁸⁸ probably a *nomen sacrum*; Pausanias mentions that he had a temple in Argos (II 23, 2), and it is very probable that he was also honoured as a hero in Harpya. The name is unusually distributed, concentrated in Illyria, Thebes (or rather Argos), and Troas, everywhere connected to legends and religion which indicates ancient cult and religious relations, which in Katičić's opinion extended far beyond linguistic and ethnic boundaries.

The fourth source, which in addition to Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus, and Lychophron, also refers to the Illyrian river when speaking of Cadmus and Harmonia, is the commentary to the *Aeneid* of Virgil, *Scholia Vaticana* (to verse I 243; II p. 311 Lion) where it is written: *Cadmus, Agenoris filius, relictis Thebis, comite Harmonia coniuge fortunae iniurias sustinens fines Macodoniae supergressus parvulum filium, qui iuxta Illyricum fluvium ab Harmonia editus fuerat, dereliquit. Hunc serpens spiris suis innexuit et, donec ad adultos veniret annos, amplexu corporis fovit imbutique viribus, quibus omnem illam regionem sibi subdidit. Hinc ex vocabulo suo Illyrium denominavit.* "When

Cadmus the son of Agenor accompanied by his wife Harmonia left Thebes, and bearing his unjust fate passed through the territory of Macedonia, he left a young son born to him by Harmonia by the Illyrian River. A serpent twined around this son and, until he had grown, nursed him in the embrace of its body and filled him with the power to subdue this entire country. It named him Illyrius after itself.“ Thus Cadmus' son Illyrius again appears, who was mentioned, as was seen above, by Pseudo-Apollodorus, and was also known to Byzantine writers, such as Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v. Illyria*) and Eustathius, who in the cited commentary to Dionysius also wrote: “*It is said that the Illyrians received their name from Illyrius, the son of Cadmus and Harmonia.*“

The motif of a snake is thus introduced, obviously of a serpent diety, which is entirely independent of the serpents into which Cadmus and Harmonia were transformed. Classical as well as modern etymology attempted to derive the name “Illyrii” from the word for serpent; two words were preserved in Hesychius, ἰλλίς and ἰλλός, meaning “twisted” and “crooked”, which might possibly be related to symbols for serpents.⁸⁹ Although these were derivations from Greek, probably only a local etymology which interpreted an Illyrian word on its own linguistic basis, it cannot be excluded that the Illyrian term for snake may have been similar to the Greek version. The Illyrian name was derived by K. Oštir from the pre-Indo-European *ilur-*, snake, and he compared it to the Hittite mythic snake *iluyankas*,⁹⁰ which is generally considered to be from an autochthonic proto-Hattic source,⁹¹ thus the connection is not particularly convincing. It is not excluded that the serpent could have been a totemic animal of the Illyrian people,⁹² although such explanations require extreme caution.

In any case it holds true that the cult of serpents among the southern Illyrians played a dominant role, similar to the importance of the symbols of the sun cult in the northern Balkans.⁹³ Serpent symbols appeared as ornamentation as early as the Stone Age, along with statuettes of snakes and serpent goddesses, and it is apparent that the snake, wherever it appeared, influenced the conceptions of primitive man who, as is indicated by finds, saw in it on the one hand the protector of domestic hearths, and on the other a chthonic diety conferring fertility.⁹⁴ The snake was also an important symbol in the Mediterranean world in later periods, such as among the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans,⁹⁵ and to the present it has played a significant role in the religion, mythology or oral tradition of all peoples who dwell in lands where snakes exist. A. Stipčević, in a series of articles and his synthetic survey *Kulni simboli kod Ilira*,⁹⁶ has discussed serpent symbolism among the southern Illyrians, which was present, so to speak, in all aspects of the everyday life of the inhabitants: in the ornamentation of jewellery,⁹⁷ on the coins of the Graeco-Illyrian and Illyrian cities,⁹⁸ on the graves,⁹⁹ and in the dwellings. As is shown by the coinage of the Labeatae, snakes were represented on the prows of their ships.¹⁰⁰ It is further interesting that the names Draco and

Dracontilla appear several times on inscriptions from Dalmatia.¹⁰¹ There is also a miniature bronze figurine in the Ohrid museum, 7.2 cm in height, from the site of Trebeniško Kale, thus found in the region where the Enchelei are attested, published by P. Lisičar as a special type of Laocoön with breasts,¹⁰² which F. Vian would like to interpret as Illyrius being nursed by the snake,¹⁰³ and which could perhaps be most simply interpreted as a serpent goddess or one of her priestesses. The statuette shows a naked female figure with breasts and long hair, around which a snake is twined.

The serpent cult must have been extremely deeply rooted, as is indicated by survivals of this cult which have been preserved to the recent past, or even to the present day. Thus in Cavtat, ancient Epidaurum, a cavern was shown at the end of the past century where the snake killed in A.D. 365 by St. Hilarion had lived, as was written by St. Jerome in his biography of the saint (*Sancti Hieronymi Vita S. Hilarionis eremitaie c. 39*). At Sutomor, on the former Enchelean coast, it is a sin to kill a “blavor” (snake-lizard), which are considered to be household protectors residing beneath thresholds. The word *blavor*, related to Albanian *bullar*, snake-lizard, blind-worm, and Romanian *balaur*, dragon, is a pre-Slavic Balkanism, which also shows the continuity of the serpent cult.¹⁰⁴

VI

It would be ideal if Cadmus could be at least approximately placed chronologically. This should seemingly not be difficult, as Cadmus is a genealogically defined individual, although lineages reported from the classical period differ considerably. According to Pherecydes and other authors of the 5th century, Cadmus was a contemporary of Danaus, who according to the genealogy of the Argive royal house lived nine generations before the Trojan War (in the classical period one generation was usually calculated as 45 years, while currently three generations to a century is valid).¹⁰⁵ The Theban genealogy, preserved in Herodotus and Sophocles, indicates that Cadmus lived six generations prior to the Trojan War; if calculations are made on the basis of the Cretan genealogy (according to Homer), Europa, Cadmus' niece or sister, lived only three generations before the Trojan War.¹⁰⁶ This means that even the traditional lists of lineage have discrepancies of six whole generations, thus ca. 200 years; these result in large differences in the chronology, which varies between 1455 and 1285 B.C.¹⁰⁷ These differences, however, as was noted by C. Brillante,¹⁰⁸ are to a certain degree only apparent and secondary, as it is clear that of the above the greatest weight should be given to the native Theban genealogy. The various dates nonetheless warn that it is *a priori* mistaken to attempt to define Cadmus within a narrow chronological framework or to connect him with specific archaeological finds or even with an archaeological horizon. It is possible merely to establish that according to reports from antiquity Cadmus

probably lived in the Mycenaean period. The majority of stories attribute a Phoenician origin to him, although several connected him with Egypt, primarily with the Egyptian Thebes (among others Diodorus Siculus, Conon, Eusebius, Nonnus, and later scholiasts),¹⁰⁹ only in Photius and Suda is he exceptionally noted as the son of the legendary Theban king Ogyges.¹¹⁰ The expression Phoenician in antiquity incontestably denoted a foreigner from Phoenicia; however the interpretation of Cadmus' origin has become disputed in modern literature. The scepticism arises from a suspicion that in the classical period the word Phoenix had probably very early on been incorrectly understood, and had been interpreted in reference to the contemporary usage, while the word might originally have had a different meaning. This question is of key importance for the interpretation of the legend.

Ruth B. Edwards, who was the last to confront these complicated problems, considered once again the various hypotheses as to what the term Phoenician might mean in relation to Cadmus. Concepts as to what Cadmus actually represented in Greek history are widely varying. G. de Sanctis attempted to push the legend back into the mythic sphere and interpreted Cadmus as a sun god. He would thus have been worshipped on the Theban acropolis, named Cadmeia after him; he killed the dragon of Ares (the deity of the underground, the embodiment of evil, who originally may have been the god Ares himself) who lived in a cave at the foot of the acropolis. His escort were "red" demons (the Greek word φοῖνιξ meaning among other things red).¹¹¹ This explanation, which otherwise originated in the last century,¹¹² can also be found in M. Guarducci.¹¹³ In contrast, J. Zafiropolo interpreted the legend of Cadmus almost literally and hypothesized that the Greek heroes were people who had actually existed; on this basis the events are reconstructed by him more or less as they are reported in classical sources and Cadmus is represented as "a great politician and above all a first-class organizer, who comprehensively understood the problems of his time."¹¹⁴

There exists between both interpretations, even if only certain specific hypotheses are considered,¹¹⁵ an entire series of thus or otherwise modified explanations. Although it seems that even the most important question has remained unanswered to date, whether the material derived from legends can be used at least within defined boundaries to reconstruct Mycenaean history (or that of earlier or later periods), or must the supposed historical nucleus of a legend be discarded totally,¹¹⁶ the problem is nonetheless presented more correctly - such is the predominant opinion¹¹⁷ - if it is asked to what extent and in what form do the legends contain remembrances of the "heroic", ie. Mycenaean, period or even earlier periods. The interpretation of legends is intrinsically no more subjective than the interpretation of archaeological material. The concept was very widely spread in the archaeological and historical literature to the end of the last century that the achievements of the Bronze Age should be attributed to strong contacts with eastern cultures.¹¹⁸

Soon afterwards it was an accepted fact that these influences had come from Crete,¹¹⁹ and recently the autochthonic and independent culture of the continental Greek region has been greatly emphasized.¹²⁰ Various explanations of the archaeological material have also strongly influenced the interpretation of legends. Two fundamentally contrasting theories have dominated the historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries: the essence of the first is that Cadmus as a Phoenician belongs to the sphere of later tradition which originated on the basis of incomprehension, learned speculation, or even invention. Phoenician would simply be a synonym for foreigner, as for the Greeks of the 9th and 8th centuries foreigners were mostly Phoenicians.¹²¹ The second theory would suggest some actual historical basis for his Phoenician origin. If only certain supporters of the first theory are listed, some names cannot be ignored, such as E. Bethe, who claimed that Cadmus, Europa and Phoenix were Boeotian heroes.¹²² Similar opinions were also argued by O. Crusius, the author of a lexical contribution about Cadmus for W.H. Roscher,¹²³ as well as by the authors of standard Greek histories, such as E. Mayer,¹²⁴ and K.J. Beloch.¹²⁵ The theory became particularly convincing after A.D. Keramopoulos' excavations at Thebes, which showed that the city developed in a manner similar to other Mycenaean cities, with no Phoenician material being found whatsoever.¹²⁶ A.W. Gomme attempted to prove that Cadmus' Phoenician origin was the result of the learned speculation of logographers from Asia Minor,¹²⁷ and a similar claim was made by K. Latte, the author of the article on Cadmus for Pauly-Wissowa,¹²⁸ who located the beginnings of the legend in Miletus, and among others he based his conclusions on the works of U.v. Wilamowitz and P. Friedländer. Among the latest to have studied the Cadmus legend in detail and to have denied historical basis for his Phoenician origin is F. Vian, who declared it "le mirage phenicien",¹²⁹ in a clear reminiscence of the famous 1893 study by S. Reinach, "Le mirage oriental".¹³⁰

Among the supporters of the second theory, who attempt to find arguments to confirm the historical nucleus of Cadmus' foreign origin, it is necessary to mention especially those who on the basis of the word φοῖνιξ, "red", thus designating the original inhabitants of the Aegean region who had darker skin, claim that the legend of Cadmus contains memory of a Minoan settlement in Thebes. These are among others H.R. Hall,¹³¹ Sir John Myres (one of the co-authors of the *CAH*)¹³² and A.R. Burn.¹³³ Some defined him yet more broadly as the personification of Cretan-Egyptian-Asian elements, such as R. Weill.¹³⁴ The hypothesis suggested by G. Bonfante is particularly interesting for us, namely that Phoenicia originally meant Illyria, and hence Cadmus would be an Illyrian hero and the legend would represent the memory of some early migration of Illyrians into Boeotia, where their presence would also be indicated by a series of "Illyrian" toponyms.¹³⁵ This theory was demonstrated with the aid of linguistic studies, which prior to and after the second world war was one of the foundations for

pan-Illyrianism.¹³⁶ Unfortunately his arguments are based on incorrect linguistic explanations and derivations, and the most unconvincing part of the thesis is that not a single source mentions that Cadmus came from Illyria. A similar opinion was offered by M.B. Sakellariou, who attempted to explain the legend of Cadmus as reflecting the migration of the Pelasgian tribes from Illyria to Thebes, although the weak point of such an argument is that nearly nothing is known of the Pelasgians.¹³⁷ Authoritative opinions, such as that of V. Bérard,¹³⁸ have appeared from the early years of the last century to the present which consider the legend to contain traces of Phoenician influence on Greece, as well as general influence from the east. F.H. Stubbings likewise connected late Helladic civilization to the arrival of new leaders from the east, an arrival which would, for instance, be reflected in the legends of Cadmus and Danaus.¹³⁹ Some, such as L.B. Holland,¹⁴⁰ would see in Cadmus the personification of Greek-speaking invaders from Phoenicia and Egypt, who would have settled in these lands in enclaves ca. 1900 B.C.

The discovery of approximately one hundred cylindrical seals of agate and lapis lazuli was made during the 1963 season at the site of Cadmeia in Thebes in a context dated by Late Helladic III B pottery.¹⁴¹ A large portion of them were from the east, and it is possible to classify the majority precisely. Edith Porada published several brief preliminary reports on these seals in which they were classified in a rough manner,¹⁴² and a further study about these finds has recently been published.¹⁴³ Several are pre-Babylonian and Babylonian (ca. 2500-1600 B.C.), some are Mitannian from the 15th and 14th centuries, one is Hittite from the 14th century, some are undefined Aegean, and one is Mycenaean. The Cypriote (1450-1250) and Kassite groups of seals particularly stand out, a large number of which have cuneiform inscriptions (middle of the 14th to the last third of the 13th centuries); according to the thesis of Porada these would probably have arrived in Thebes as the gift of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207) after his victory over the Kassite rulers. The treasure would have been in the possession of the Theban prince only a short period until the destruction of the second palace, which on the basis of the pottery finds has been dated to ca. 1220.¹⁴⁴

If prior to this it had been almost impossible to prove a connection between the Phoenicians and the Thebans on the basis of archaeological material, this sensational find has definitively shown that direct contacts actually existed between Thebes and the east. In the light of this new find the fact is yet more significant that Thebes, along with the Thessalian small town of Alus (founded by Athamas on the spot where wolves had yielded their prey to him, as a prophecy had commanded the establishment of a town in the place where he would be the guest of wild animals), was the only city of continental Greece which had its own true foundation myth. N.G.L. Hammond claimed that the seal collection was apparently the royal heritage of Cadmus, probably lost in

the battles with the Epigoni,¹⁴⁵ while G.E. Mylonas interpreted it as the result of trading connections and the interest of one of the Theban rulers in archaeology.¹⁴⁶ The opinion of F. Schachermayer that the inhabitants of the palace might have discovered the seals in ancient graves is also of interest. According to his supposition, they would have recognized their eastern origin and on the basis of these finds and the writing on them, the legend of the Phoenician origin of Cadmus, the bearer of literacy, would have been originated.¹⁴⁷ Much has still remained unexplained in terms of these seals, but despite the fact that they do not indicate direct connections with the Canaanite state, many have been prepared to recognize that the Cadmus legend in fact may reflect the existence of a Phoenician or Canaanite settlement in Thebes.¹⁴⁸ J.N. Coldstream demonstrated in an interesting article that as early as the 9th century B.C. Phoenician trade throughout the Aegean Sea had been strongly developed, not only on Crete and the other islands, but even, for instance, in Athens and in Euboea. In addition to this he cites material evidence for the considerable presence of Phoenician craftsmen in the settlements of the noted region.¹⁴⁹ Thus it begins to seem more probable that such contacts had sporadically existed even in the Mycenaean period. Thebes at first glance seems an unsuitable location for a Phoenician colony, although Boeotia, which was once called *Cadmeis* (Thucyd. I 12, 3; cf. Stephanus Byz. s.v. Boeotia) has an exceptional geographical position (similarly described by Strabo, IX 2, and Pausanias, IX),¹⁵⁰ as it is the only Greek state which dominates three seas. This fact is emphasized by Stephanus of Byzantium in the first sentence of his short description of the land; through the Corinthian and Euboean bays it is virtually connected to the Aegean and Ionian Seas. Regardless to what extent Phoenician contacts with Thebes in the Mycenaean period are allowed, it is interesting that in the Early Hellenistic period it was the trading centre for the Carthaginians,¹⁵¹ and under the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the 12th century it was one of the most powerful industrial-craft centres in Greece, where, according to Benjamin of Tudela, there supposedly lived 2000 Jews considered to be the best producers of silk.¹⁵² R.B. Edwards is inclined to the "Phoenician" explanation of the legend, although she also permits other possibilities, particularly Minoan,¹⁵³ and emphasizes that the nature of legends is such that no archaeological material can ever definitively prove them.

The above survey, intentionally brief and only summary, could not be avoided so as to provide the reader with the necessary insight into the complicated problems, and further that it might become clear how impossible it is to find a final answer to the question of the historical significance of myths. Linguistics are even less reliable. The etymology of Cadmus' name remains unexplained: on one hand attempts are made to derive it from the Semitic root *qdm*, which among other things means the east and the morning star, hence a man from the east (from as early as the 17th century onwards!)¹⁵⁴ and on the other it has been

connected to the Greek verb *κέραισμαι*, to excell, to be equipped (thus also Frisk), as well as to a gloss in Hesychius, which on Crete would have had the meaning of spear, helmet and shield, thus warrior equipment. According to A. Schachter, the Theban acropolis would have been named (τὸ) *κάδμος*, similarly as the acropolis in Argos was called *Aspis*, in Orchomenus *Akontion*, and Cadmus would have received his name from the name of acropolis.¹⁵⁵ Several individuals called Cadmus are known, among others the earliest Greek historian, the author of a prose work about the origin of Miletus and Ionia (Strab. I 2, 6 c. 18; Pliny, *N.H.* V 112; VII 205; Suda s.v. Kadmos Pandionos), and Cadmeia, an Epirote princess from the Hellenistic period (Plut. *Pyrrhus* V 5). Toponyms related to the name of Cadmus, or to the names of individuals from his legend, can be found distributed from Epirus to Asia Minor; for instance the toponym Cadmus in Caria; the former name for Priene was Cadme; in Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Kammania) a note is preserved about a river with the name Cadmus in northern Greece in Thesprotian Cammania; Strabo notes a mountain and a river with this name in Laodicea (XII 8, 16 c. 578); and Ptolemy mentions the Cadmus Mts. in Asia Minor in Caria at the border between Lydia and Phrygia (V 2, 13). A town with the name *Phoenice* was known in Epirus, and one of the Cycladian islands, Ios, was called Phoenice, too (Steph. Byz. s.v.), as well as all of Caria (Athen. *Deipn.* IV 174 f.). Such toponyms could be merely coincidental, but they could also indicate later waves of colonization; in any case they do not contribute towards determining the origin of the legend.

The toponyms north of Boeotia perhaps exhibit memories of prehistoric routes of the "Cadmeian" period (ie. the Bronze Age), which connected Greece to Illyria, as well as memories of the contacts which Thebes maintained with those regions to the north; according to Parthenius (*Erotika pathemata* XXXII 4) Epirus itself would have been named after the granddaughter of Cadmus, Epeiro, who followed Cadmus and Harmonia on the route north and died in Epirus. This route was also travelled in the opposite direction, as is proven by archaeological material, for instance Cetina Culture pottery in the Peloponnese at the very beginning of the Bronze Age, or votive objects from the Iron Age Glasinac Culture found in Greek temples.¹⁵⁶ The connective link between Boeotia and Illyria (compare the toponyms: the Boeon Mts. and the city Boeae) were certainly the Enchelei, who are noted as inhabiting the region alongside Lake Copais as well as southern Dalmatia and the vicinity of Lake Ohrid. It is exactly in these regions that eels were particularly renowned: in Lake Copais, at the mouths of the Drim and Bojana Rivers, in Lake Ohrid; it was the Drilon River (the Drim), which connected the Adriatic with the Ohridian Enchelei.

VII

Any discussion of prehistoric routes in these regions cannot ignore those which connected the Aegean and

the Chalcidice through Trebenište and Lake Ohrid with the southern Adriatic. The famous Roman military road, the *via Egnatia*, built as early as the Republican period, was constructed on this same route, directly connecting Apollonia and Dyrrhachium with Thessalonica. This ancient route which led through the mountainous interior of the Balkans, used as early as the Bronze Age if not earlier, and which even in periods of crisis was never abandoned, was very appropriately called "the Cadmeian road" by P. Lisičar.¹⁵⁷ He saw the relation of the legend of Cadmus to Illyria reflected in it, and his idea was accepted and supplemented by F. Vian.¹⁵⁸ Traces of Cadmus can actually be found on this route: Strabo (XIV 5, 28 c. 680: ὁ δὲ Κάδμος (πλοῦτος) ἐκ τῶν περὶ Θράκη (μετάλλων) καὶ τὸ Παγγαῖον ὄρος) and Pliny (*N.H.* VII 197: *auri metalla et flaturam Cadmus Phoenix ad Pangaeum montem*; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I 16, 75: Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Φοῖνιξ λιθοτομίαν ἐξεῦρεν καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ἐπενήσεν ὄρος) report that in Pangaeus he discovered gold mines and invented mining. Pangaeus (Bunar dag) is a mountain in Paeonia near the sea, east of the river Strimon (Struma). In Thebes Cadmus was considered the inventor of the metalworking trade and the craft of the production of bronze objects (Hyg. *Fab.* 274); his name was also connected in Thebes with the exploitation of quarries (Pliny, *N.H.* VII 195). The search for gold would have led explorers from Minoan Crete, and probably from elsewhere, to Thasus and the Thracian hinterland.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to distinguish elements for dating the commencement of the utilization of mines which were in use throughout all of prehistory and the classical period; fragments of evidence offered by classical literature must be collected, as well as research into the later exploitation of mines, aided by topography and the history of settlement. An interesting sentence is preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Illyria), which in terms of its content probably comes from an earlier source: "*Illyria is a country near Pangaeus, named after Illyrius, the son of Cadmus*" (Ἰλλυρία, χώρα πλησίον τοῦ Παγγαίου, ἀπὸ Ἰλλυρίου τοῦ Κάδμου παιδός). This apparently refers to the nucleus of the Illyrian state which developed adjacent to the northern Macedonian border and was originally, as was shown by Fanoula Papazoglou¹⁶⁰ in her study of the development of the Illyrian state, an entirely continental country; only later, in a period of expansion in the 5th century, when it began to grow by conquering the land of its neighbours, was the coastal region annexed. The land is in fact not near Pangaeus, but the distance between the two is, on the other hand, too minimal for the existence of some other Illyria to be considered (Pliny, V 131, for instance, mentions some *Illyris* for *Idyris* ?/ in Lycia). By association, as R. Katičić has already noted,¹⁶¹ one automatically thinks of the mysterious Damastium silver mines, whose position still has not been located with entire certainty, although it is indisputable that they were located in Illyria.¹⁶² They are mentioned only by Strabo in the already cited text where the

Enchelei are discussed (VII 7, 8), and by the Vatican Palimpsest,¹⁶³ where it is stated that in the period of the Peloponnesian Wars “*refugees (from Egina) with inhabitants from Mende (a city in Chalcidice) settled in Damastium in Illyria near the silver mines, which were mentioned in the description of the Illyrian state*” (οἱ δὲ φυγάδες μετὰ Μενδαίων Δαμάστιον ὄκησαν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος περὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν ἐν Ἰλλυρικοῖς.)

The information is interesting as it indicates that subsequently, too, Greeks settled the same formerly Encheleian region which, according to legend, had centuries previously been settled by Cadmus, Bato and the Cadmeians. Damastium also had its own mint (there were two more in the vicinity, Pelagia and Sarnoati), which produced coins, consisting of tetradrachmae, drachmae and tetraboli, throughout the 4th century and in the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. They were minted under the influence of the Paeonian mints and Chalcidic Olynthus, and perhaps even Athens.¹⁶⁴ The finds of Damastium coinage lie in the same radius as finds of coinage of the Paeonian rulers, and they are also found in Bulgaria and Romania, and in the west near Skadar, Risan and also Sinj. The distribution of these coins, for which J.M.F. May claims that they arrived as raw material in Chalcidice where they were restruck, indicates the relatively great economic power of the above mines. On the basis of the investigations of earlier researchers and his own topographic research, P. Lisičar was convinced that these mines should be sought north and northeast of Ohrid, in the vicinity of Debar or elsewhere along the Ohrid-Resan road, thus near the sites of Raleica and Starski Dol.¹⁶⁵ His arguments seem convincing despite a recent attempt to locate them northwest of Paeonia.¹⁶⁶

If the information analyzed in this study is combined, it is apparent that various threads lead us to Lake Ohrid and the ancient trade route which connected the Aegean and the Adriatic Seas, which Lisičar very suitably termed the “Cadmeian” road. The Enchelei were mentioned in terms of this area (specifically by Polybius, and indirectly by Hecataeus, Strabo, and Pseudo-Skymnus); Cadmus was said to have founded Lychnidus in their territory. Strabo speaks of the Enchelei and the Damastium mines in the same sentence; the latter, in reference to the most recent attempts at location, must actually be sought in the immediate vicinity of Lake Ohrid. It can thus be concluded that they were once included in the Encheleian kingdom; this might additionally be supported by the fact that Cadmus was legendarily linked to the exploitation of mines of precious metal and mining in general. It may be concluded with great probability that the Enchelei were in fact the people of the Trebenište or Ohrid Culture.¹⁶⁷ The rich graves from the 6th century with golden masks, found near Trebenište would thus belong to the Encheleian rulers, the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia. They consciously followed Greek examples as is indicated by the objects from their graves, in addition to the fact that they were proud of their lineage and emphasized their

Cadmeian origin; this was particularly important in terms of contacts with their Macedonian neighbours and the Greeks. The recent discovery of masks at Sindos which were, like the majority of metal objects from Trebenište, produced in Chalcidic workshops, confirms the frequent use of the noted routes connecting Chalcidice with the Ohrid region and further leading towards the Adriatic.¹⁶⁸ The wealth of the Encheleian rulers must have been based on the natural resources of their land, and it may be concluded that the silver mines had been exploited by them at a very early date. It is known that the mines were under the control of the Illyrian state at least from the 5th century onwards.¹⁶⁹ This state had evidently inherited the economic and political power of the Encheleian kingdom, and as it expanded towards the sea, it did not merely begin to reign over the Adriatic Enchelei but also conquered the Taulantian kingdom. It is thus hardly surprising that Damastium coins would be discovered near Scodra and in Rhizon, important strongholds of the Illyrian rulers, who had transferred the centre of their state to the coastal regions in the 4th century.

The origin of the Encheleian kingdom perhaps extends into the Bronze Age. Recent archaeological research has shown that Phoenician or Canaanite influences in the Mediterranean Bronze Age were not as insignificant as had generally been considered after the extensive excavations on Crete and in Mycenae and other Helladic period settlements.¹⁷⁰ Any doubt that contacts with the Near East had existed is excluded by the already mentioned princely grave from the Mala Gruda tumulus near Tivat in the immediate vicinity of later “Cadmeian” Buthoe, from the very beginning of the Bronze Age or rather the end of the Eneolithic (2000-1900 B.C.). It is not entirely excluded that the first to search for and “discover” the Damastium silver mines, and perhaps even exploit them, were Phoenicians. Silver was a rare commodity in the eastern Mediterranean and J.N. Coldstream supposed that silver from the mines of Laurium in Attica had been offered in exchange for luxurious imported Phoenician products.¹⁷¹ Herodotus reports that the research for silver took the Phoenicians to the very north of the Mediterranean, to the island of Thasus with its silver mines (VI 47).¹⁷² Thasus is located in the immediate vicinity of Chalcidice and the previously discussed route which leads from the Thermaic Gulf to Lake Ohrid and further to the Adriatic Sea, thus it may well be assumed that Phoenician craftsmen and merchants should have sporadically reached the Damastium region using this route. This could represent one of the components which influenced the indisputably deep rooting of the legend of Phoenician Cadmus among the Enchelei.

Recently Maja Parović-Pešikan published an article in which the expansion of Aegean and Greek culture in the central Balkans was discussed.¹⁷³ Influences from the south, from Crete and from Greece proper were mainly considered, which already from the early Bronze Age represented a powerful developmental element in the northwestern Balkan region, and these

influences were related to the legend of Cadmus. Parović traced these influences to the Hellenistic period and distinguished various phases: through early individual finds which are foreign to the indigenous material, through yet more massive importation of foreign objects with their accompanying local imitations, to a complete acceptance of foreign forms. If the Bronze Age alone is considered, the important role played by Near Eastern influences which reached this region more or less indirectly through Greece, must certainly be acknowledged. Such a Greek mediation would also be indicated by the legend according to which the Phoenician Cadmus arrived among the Enchelei from Thebes. These contacts and influences must be considered on various levels, and it is totally impossible to reconstruct them on the basis of legend. The preserved fragments of information allow conjectures to be made concerning a migration of tribes from the northwestern Balkans to the south at the end of the Eneolithic and beginning of the Bronze Age, whether partially as a result of transhumance or because of an invasion of new peoples. Strabo, who enumerates some barbarian tribes settled in Boeotia (VII 7, 1 c. 321), adds that in former periods almost all of Greece had been inhabited by barbarians. On the other hand, plundering hordes invaded Greece on several occasions in order to seize the riches of Greek cities and Greek temples which were the product of a more advanced social and economic stage. Movement in the opposite direction may similarly be traced, consisting of small groups which for various reasons withdrew to the north.

Axes of the so-called Albanian-Dalmatian or Skadar type, which are typologically related to axes from the Near East, were connected to the legend of Cadmus among the Enchelei by R. Vulpe before the war,¹⁷⁴ although his thesis was rejected in the same journal by R. Dussaud.¹⁷⁵ The origin and development of these axes, as well as their dating, is insufficiently researched to be able to connect them with anything in particular, and such a relation would also be negated by their distribution patterns in Romania and Bulgaria. These axes which probably had a monetary function cannot be related to the legend of Cadmus, yet they

The following abbreviations are cited:

EDWARDS, *Kadmos*: Ruth B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician. A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age* (Amsterdam 1979). See also the review of C. Brillante, *Cadmo fenicio e la Grecia micenea, Quad. Urb. Cult. Class.* N.S. 17/2, 1984, 167-174, where on p. 167, n. 2 additional literature is cited.

¹ R. Katičić, *Le bassin danubien et l'Adriatique dans l'époque d'Apollonios de Rhodes* (in Croat., with summary). *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 7. 1970, 71-132.

² For Diomedes see: Pseudo-Skimnos, 431-433; cf. also: Dominique Briquel, "Spina condita a Diomede", *Osservazioni sullo sviluppo della leggenda dell'eroe nell'Alto Adriatico, Par. Pass.* 235, 1987, 241-261; R. Katičić, *Diomedes an der Adria* (in Croat., with summary), *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 27, 1989, 39-78.

³ R. Katičić, *Antenor an der Adria* (in Croat., with summary), *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 26, 1988, 5-23; L. Braccisi, *Grecità*

might be regarded as material remains of the activities of Bronze Age Oriental merchants who maintained contacts between the east and the Balkan regions.¹⁷⁶ Such contacts, however, might have been one of the components of an actual background which could have given rise to the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria. A Phoenician interpretation of the legend was rejected by R.L. Beaumont¹⁷⁷ among others, but nonetheless G. Zippel might be correct in considering the monuments of Cadmus and Harmonia which had been exhibited to the end of antiquity in southern Illyria to represent some material trace of Phoenician culture,¹⁷⁸ or, perhaps better, of memory thereof. Although the Phoenician origin of Cadmus might be seen to have a certain factual basis in terms of the discovery of the eastern seals, it cannot be defined. Contacts with the region of the Near East certainly existed, and these influences, which clearly spread through the medium of individuals, or rather groups of individuals, should probably be considered mainly as contacts which contributed to the speedier development of indigenous cultures. Thus the legends of Cadmus, of Bato, and of the Cadmeians among the Enchelei must be primarily explained as the powerful civilizing impulses of greater or lesser groups of people who for various reasons migrated to the north, where they contributed to swifter urbanization (the establishment of Harpya, Lychnidus, Buthoc, Rhizon, and mysterious Cylices) and speedier social development (the Cadmeian dynasty) of the southern Dalmatian region and the lands along the Macedonian border.

Acknowledgements

Shorter parts of this paper were presented as lectures in 1989/90 in Ljubljana and at the Universities of Graz and Heidelberg. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. S. Gabrovce (Ljubljana), I. Weiler and Dr. K. Tausend (Graz), as well as Prof. Dr. G. Alföldy, F. Gschnitzer, and P. Petersmann (Heidelberg), and Dr. B. Govedarica (Sarajevo) for having kindly discussed several topics with me. I am much indebted to Prof. Dr. Biba Teržan (Berlin) for having read the text, and to Mrs. Barbara Smith-Demo (Zagreb) for having translated it into English. The responsibility for the views expressed here is of course solely my own.

KATIČIĆ, *Die Encheleer*: R. Katičić, *Die Encheleer* (in Croat., with German summary), *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 15, 1977, 5-82.

adriatica: un capitolo della colonizzazione in Occidente (Bologna 1979²); Id., *La legenda di Antenore* (Padova 1984).

⁴ R. Katičić, *Ionios der Illyrier*, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 11, 1973, 185-201.

⁵ J. Hcurgon, *La vie quotidienne chez les Etrusques* (1961) 9 ff.

⁶ L. Polacco, "Aponus" in Paflagonia, *Quaderni ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità classiche* 14, 1985, 15-30.

⁷ See, for example, M. Doria, *Riflessioni sulle concordanze toponimiche preromane tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico*, *Abruzzo* 18, 1979, 11-39; Š. Batović, *Lc relazioni culturali tra*

le sponde Adriatiche nell'età del ferro, in: *Jadranska obala u protohistoriji, kulturni i etnički problemi, Simpozij Dubrovnik 1972* (Zagreb 1976) 11-93; R. Katičić, *Illyro-Apeninica*, *ib.*, 177-183; E. Lepore, *Problemi storici dell'area adriatica nell'età della colonizzazione greca*, in: *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'antichità*, Lecce - Matera, 21-27 ottobre 1973 (Taranto 1983) 127-145. For Apulia see A. Benac, *Les Illyriens en Apulie*, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 26, 1988, 43-67.

⁸ See, for example, A. Benac, *Quelques remarques sur les concordances italo-balkaniques à l'époque post-néolithique*, in: *Studi di Paleologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi* (Roma 1985) 523-529.

⁹ A.F. Harding, *The Mycenaean and Europe* (London 1984) *passim*. See also J.-C. Poursat, *L'Épire et le monde mycénien*, in: *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité*, Actes du coll. intern. de Clermont-Ferrand, 1984 (Clermont-Ferrand 1987) 31-33. For trade connections in the archaic period see F. D'Andria, *Problèmes du commerce archaïque entre la mer Ionienne et l'Adriatique*, *ib.*, 35-38.

¹⁰ M.P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Cambridge 1932; 1972²; 2nd edition with a new introduction and bibliography by Emily Vermeule, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1983); as regards Cadmus, his Phoenician origin was in his opinion merely a synonym for a foreign provenance of the hero, see pp. 126-127. See also M. Budimir, *Vorgriechischer Ursprung der homerischen Haupthelden*, *Revue intern. des études balk.* 2, 1936, 195-215.

¹¹ See, for example, S. Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* I (Bari 1966) 93, and *passim*.

¹² M.P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund 1951) 14-15.

¹³ Cf. M.I. Finley, *Myth, Memory, and History*, *History and Theory* 4, 1965, 289 ff.

¹⁴ See Edwards, *Kadmos*, 9 ff.; cf. an important work on the folk beliefs of the Serbs and Croats, N. Nodilo, *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* (Split 1981): reprint of his articles published during the years 1885-1890.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. P.B.S. Andrews, *The myth of Europa and Minos, Greece and Rome* 16, 1969, 60-6, in the sphere of Greek mythology; for Slavic mythology see a very interesting article by R. Katičić, *Hoditi - roditi*, *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 33, 1987, 23-43.

¹⁶ J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 12 vols. (London 1907-1915); Id. (ed.), *Apollodorus, The Library*, Loeb ed. 1 (London 1921) pp. xxviii-xxix.

¹⁷ Id., *Apollodorus, The Library* (Loeb ed.), in the introduction; see also L.R. Farnell, *The Valuc and the Methods of Mythologic Study*, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1919-1920, 37-51.

¹⁸ F. Hampl, "Mythos" - "Sage" - "Märchen", in: *Geschichte als kritische Wissenschaft II: Althistorische Kontroversen zu Mythos und Geschichte*, ed. I. Weiler (Darmstadt 1975) 1-50. See also W. Kullmann, "Oral tradition / oral history" and die frühgriechische Epik, in: *Colloquium Rauricum*, Bd. I: *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*, ed. J. von Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau (Stuttgart, Teubner 1988) 184-196.

¹⁹ References from Greek and Latin literature collected by O. Crusius in W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 2,1 (Leipzig 1890-94) 824-893, *passim*; for the art historical aspect cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (Marburg/Lahn 1973³) 479 f. Emily Vermeule, *Kadmos and the Dragon*, in: *Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*, ed. D.G. Mitten et al. (Mainz 1971) 177-188.

²⁰ Four monographs have been devoted to the myth of Cadmos recently: F. Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes. Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris 1963); Edwards, *Kadmos*; J.-C. Billigmeier, *Kadmos and the Possibility of a Semitic Presence in Helladic Greece*, (University of California, Santa Barbara, Ph.D. 1976; Xerox Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106) who argues in favour of a traditional Phoenician (Canaanite) origin for Cadmos and places him in the Helladic period. He also collected all the ancient *testimonia* about Cadmos. Lastly, Maria Rocchi, *Kadmos e Harmonia, un matrimonio problematico*, *Storia delle religioni* 6, (Roma

1989), who deals with the myth from a purely philological and literary point of view.

²¹ Cited in the abbreviations.

²² Cf. Edwards, *Kadmos*, 42 ff., and S. Thompson, *A Motif-index of Folk-literature*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen 1955-1958) s.v.

²³ Edwards, *Kadmos*, 35 ff.

²⁴ R.J. Buck, *The historical traditions of early Boiotia*, in: *Teiresias Suppl.* 2, 1979, 21-24; cf. also Id., *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton 1979) 45 ff.

²⁵ S. Symeonoglou, *The Date of the Arrival of Kadmos*, in: *Proceedings of the Third Intern. Conference on Boiotian Antiquities*, ed. J.M. Fossey, H. Giroux (Amsterdam 1985) 187-188; Id., in a review of Buck's *A History of Boeotia*, in: *Boeotia antiqua I, Papers on Recent Work in Boiotian Archaeology and History*, ed. J.M. Fossey (Amsterdam 1989) 179-183.

²⁶ See Edwards, *Kadmos*, 22.

²⁷ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 25.

²⁸ M.P. Nilsson, *Der mykenische Ursprung der griechischen Mythologie*, in: *Festschrift f. J. Wackernagel* (1923) 137-142 = *Op. sel.* 1, 391-398; F.H. Stubbings, *The Expansion of the Mycenaean Civilization*, *CAH*, 3rd ed., vol. 2.2 (1975) 167 ff., and others, see it representing an actual attack of the Argive princes against Thebes.

²⁹ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 31.

³⁰ U.v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 37.

³¹ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 26.

³² Edwards, *Kadmos*, 23 ff.

³³ The Enchelei were studied exhaustively by R. Katičić in a work, cited in the abbreviations.

³⁴ N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1 (Oxford 1972) 94, favours the identification of mount Amyros with the modern Tomor, and the Dexari with the Dassareti; according to G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig 1877) 13, there are not enough elements to permit the identification of both tribes; Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 8, does not *a priori* exclude it.

³⁵ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 54.

³⁶ R. Katičić, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans* 1 (The Hague-Paris 1976) 111-112.

³⁷ *Gjurm. alb.* 2, 1969, 63-64.

³⁸ H. Krahe, *Die Sprache der Illyrier*, *Erster Teil: Die Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1955) 113; A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* 2 (Wien 1958) 107-108.

³⁹ R. Katičić, *Lynkos und die Lynkestes*, *Beitr. Namenforsch.* 13, 1962, 126-143 is inclined to think that there is no connection.

⁴⁰ Mayer (n. 38) vol. 1, 331; Krahe (n. 38) 113; Mayer 2, 112; swallow is *tallandushe* in Albanian.

⁴¹ Krahe, 112; Mayer 2, 91; Krahe, *ib.*; Mayer 2, 51; Krahe, 113; Mayer 2, 33; see also R. Katičić, *Die Sprache der Illyrier* (in Croat. with summary), in: *Duhovna kultura Ilira (Culture spirituelle des Illyriens)*, Pos. izd. ANUBiH 67 (Sarajevo 1984) 260.

⁴² See *RE* 1.1 (1893) 1-4, s.v. *Aal*.

⁴³ Cf. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 1 (Berlin and Leipzig 1927) s.v. *Aal*.

⁴⁴ Similarly also Joannes from Antioch (Frg.8, *FHG* 4, p. 545); cf. Apollodor. (3.5 ff.) for a different version; see the details in Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 16.

⁴⁵ J. Maran, *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen dem nord-westlichen Balkan und Südgriechenland am Übergang vom späten Aeneolithikum zur frühen Bronzezeit* (Reinecke A 1), *Arch. Korbl.* 17, 1987, 77-85; see especially B. Govedarica, *Rano bronzano doba na području istočnog Jadrana*, *Djela ANUBiH* 67 (Sarajevo 1989) 218 ff.

⁴⁶ S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton 1985) 68 ff.; Id., *The Date of the Arrival of Kadmos* (n. 25) 187-188.

⁴⁷ Buck, *A History of Boeotia* (n. 24) 51.

⁴⁸ Maja Parović-Pešikan, V. Truhović, *Fouilles des tumulus de l'Age du Bronze Ancien dans la plaine de Tivat* (in Serb., with summary), *Starinar* 22, 1971 (1974) 129-141; S. Dimitrijević, in: *Praist. jug. zem.* 3, *Eneolitsko doba* (Sarajevo 1979) 322 ff., Tab. 42; Govedarica (n. 45) 178 ff. As one of the best parallels for the dagger he mentions (p. 185) a dagger

of almost identical shape, found in Byblos.

⁴⁹ N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 468, n. 2; in his opinion this is either a late construction or the Enchelei mentioned here belong to some other tribe of the same name. It seems, however, more logical to explain the name as belonging to just one tribe which had been more powerful in the past and had settled a formerly larger territory. Thus also Zippel (n. 34) 15-20. Knowledge of them as former inhabitants of Dalmatia survived mostly in a literary tradition.

⁵⁰ *Die Encheleer*: the author discusses all the preserved literary sources; p. 80. An attempt was made by Biba Teržan, *Die Tracht als kennzeichnendes Element der ältereisenzeitlichen Gesellschaftsgruppen zwischen Drim und Devoll*, in: *Duhovna kultura Ilira* (n. 41) 197-214, to link different fashions in apparel (elucidated on the basis of grave inventories) with varied ethnic allegiances, useful in our case perhaps to distinguish between the *Illyrii proprie dicti* and the Enchelei.

⁵¹ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 46 ff. was the last to consider the various emendations to the text.

⁵² *Duhovna kultura* (n. 41). The articles are written in south Slavic languages, each with a short summary in a foreign language.

⁵³ A. Benac, *Le culte des morts dans la région illyrienne à l'époque préhistorique*, *ib.*, 133-152; M. Garašanin, *Rites funéraires illyriens à l'époque romaine*, *ib.*, 153-164.

⁵⁴ Teržan, *ib.* (n. 50).

⁵⁵ S. Gabrovec, *Die Kunst der Illyrier im vorgeschichtlichen Zeitraum*, *ib.*, 41-63.

⁵⁶ A. Stipčević, *Le culte du défunt héroïsé dans la religion illyrienne*, *ib.*, 215-221.

⁵⁷ D. Rendić-Miočević, *L'art des Illyriens à l'époque antique*, *ib.*, 65-80; A. Rendić-Miočević, *La région des Ridites dans la plastique culturelle illyrienne (avec un regard particulier sur les monuments non publiés)*, *ib.*, 119-132.

⁵⁸ J. Medini, *Latra - dea Neditarum*, *ib.*, 223-243.

⁵⁹ F. Papazoglou, *L'organisation politique des Illyriens à l'époque de leur indépendance*, in: *Simpozijum o Ilirima u antičko doba (Symposium sur les Illyriens à l'époque antique)* Pos. izd. ANUBiH 5 (Sarajevo 1967) 22-31 (French transl. of her article in Serb., pp. 11-22).

⁶⁰ E.g. F. Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times* (Amsterdam 1978) *passim*.

⁶¹ S. Čače, *Il contributo allo studio dell'ordinamento politico dei popoli a nord-ovest dell'Ilirico* (in Croat., with summary), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 18, 1978-79, 43 ff., where he studies the social relations within the Histrian, Iapodian, and Dalmatian communities.

⁶² F. Papazoglou, *Sur quelques noms 'thraces' en Illyrie*, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 12, 1974, 59-73, maintains that the earlier tribes in the Balkans, known under their individual names, are pre-Illyrian but not pre-Indoeuropean, such as the Dardanians and the rest of the tribes in southern Macedonia, Paeonia, Pelagonia and Migdonia, which were neither Illyrian, Macedonian nor Thracian.

⁶³ R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks. Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East* (Princeton 1988). Cf. also G. Racht, *L'arrivée des Indo-Européens en Grèce et en Asie antérieure*, *Arh. Mold.* 11, 1987, 51-63; *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*, ed. T.L. Markey, J.A.C. Greppin (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1990).

⁶⁴ F. Papazoglou, *Les origines et la destinée de l'Etat illyrien: Illyrii proprie dicti*, *Historia* 14, 1965, 143-179. Cf. for a different opinion P. Carlier, *Rois illyriens et "roi des Illyriens"*, in: *L'Illyrie méridionale* (n. 9) 39-46.

⁶⁵ See Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 56-57, who considers the note to be genuine. In opposition see particularly M.G. Dimitzas, *Ἀρχαία γεωγραφία τῆς Μακεδονίας II* (Athens 1874) 610-615.

⁶⁶ *Herodiani Technici Reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, vol. I (Lipsiae, Teubner 1867) p. 27, 13-17; his note was obviously copied by the Byzantine writers, cf. vol. II fasc. posterior (1870) p. 731, 6-8: Choeroboscus, 76,19, and Theognostus, *Kanones*, p. 33,11 (ed. J.A. Cramer, Oxonii 1835); cf. Roscher (O. Crusius, see n. 19) s.v. Kadmos, p. 852.

⁶⁷ See D. and M. Garašanin, in: *Istorija Crne Gore 1* (Titograd 1967) 118 ff.

⁶⁸ Thus Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 41.

⁶⁹ Cf. A. Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* 1 (Wien 1957) 136.

⁷⁰ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 41.

⁷¹ *De aedif.* IV 4 (ed. J. Haury, add. et corr. G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1964, p. 117): Ἀνενεώθη δὲ (ἐν Ἡπείρῳ <νέα>): among others: Κιλικαί.

⁷² Nicander, *The Poems and Poetical Fragments*, ed. with a translation and notes by A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield (Cambridge 1953) *ad loc.*; Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 42.

⁷³ In the scholia to Nicander it is mentioned that the river Naron divided the Illyrians from the Liburni, see *Scholia in Nicandri Theriaka cum glossis* ed. Annunziata Crugnola, *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 34 (Milano-Varese 1971) 228.

⁷⁴ M. Suić, *Istočna jadranska obala u Pseudo Skilakovu Periplu*, *Rad JAZU* 306, 1955, 174.

⁷⁵ J. Lučić, *Pseudo-Skilakov Arion i Rijeka dubrovačka, Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* 6-7, 1959, 117-120.

⁷⁶ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 62-63.

⁷⁷ *ib.*, 37.

⁷⁸ R. Katičić, *Illyricus fluvius*, in: *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua, Miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata* (Zagreb 1970) 385-392; E.P. Hamp, *Dizéros and Drinus*, *Živa ant.* 32, 1982, 104; Vian (n. 20) p. 126 and n. 7.

⁷⁹ *Shqipëria arheologjike* (Tirana 1971) pict. 47; N. Ceka, *Qyteti Ilir pranë Selcës së poshtme* (Tirana 1985) Tab. 69 and 70.

⁸⁰ Đ. Basler, *Nekropola na Vclim Ledinama u Gostilju (Donja Zeta)*, *Glas. Zem. muz.* n.s. 24, 1969, 9 and 43, Tab. 25, 126/3. Measures of the tablet are 11.9 × 6.2 cm.

⁸¹ Cit. in n. 56, in: *Duhovna kultura Ilira* (n. 41) 215-221; cf. also Id., *Kulni simboli kod Ilira*, Pos. izd. ANUBiH 54 (Sarajevo 1981) 50. G. Kossack, *Prolegomena zur Bilderzählung bei den Illyrern*, in: *Zbornik radova posvećenih akademiku Alojzu Bencu*, Pos. izd. ANUBiH 95 (Sarajevo 1991) 151 ff.

⁸² They are also mentioned by D. Rendić-Miočević, *L'art des Illyriens à l'époque antique*, *Duhovna kultura Ilira* (n. 41) 76.

⁸³ Ceka (n. 79) and in: *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren* (Mainz 1988) 372-373, No. 284. As he kindly told me in Heidelberg (in February 1990), this identification had been already proposed by a colleague from Bulgaria (*non vidi*). Basler (n. 80) p. 9, actually suggested a legend similar to that of Cadmus. Kossack (n. 81), too, considered it only as one of the possibilities. In his article he does not refer to the results of D. Rendić-Miočević (n. 82).

⁸⁴ Basler (n. 72) 10. In his opinion (p. 9) a scene from a myth similar to that of Cadmus is represented on the tablet.

⁸⁵ Katičić (n. 41) 253-264.

⁸⁶ R. Katičić, *Drei altbalkanische nomina sacra*, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 9, 1972, 105-128.

⁸⁷ Cf. A. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* (Göttingen 1909) 32.

⁸⁸ See n. 86.

⁸⁹ See Mayer (n. 38) 54.

⁹⁰ *Illyro-thrakisches*, *Arhiv za arbanasku starinu, jezik i etnologiju* 1, 1923, 109; Id., *Beiträge zur alarodischen Sprachwissenschaft* 1 (Wien-Leipzig 1921) 67; cf. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Bern-München 1959) 299-300, who tries to explain the name *Illyrii* as having been formed from the root *eis-*, with the meaning rapidly changing.

⁹¹ Cf. J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, *Trends in Linguistics, Documentation* 1 (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam 1984) 358-359.

⁹² See for ex. the articles of Stipčević, most recently: *Zmija kao čuvarica groba*, *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje* 49, 1983, 629; Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 42, n. 62.

⁹³ Summarized in Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 42, n. 62, where several bibliographical items are listed. The serpent cult has been studied extensively by Stipčević in several articles, see notes 96-99.

⁹⁴ M. Gimbutas, *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (London 1982²) 93 ff.

⁹⁵ See for ex. E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen*

Kunst und Religion (Giessen 1913).

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 81) 47-59.

⁹⁷ A. Stipčević, *The Illyrians. History and Culture* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1977) 185 ff.

⁹⁸ Il significato simbolico del serpente nelle monete illirico-greche, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 13, 1976, 245-251.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 625-631.

¹⁰⁰ B. Jubani, Monnaies illyriennes à l'ethnikon de AABIA-TAN découvertes à Kukës, *St. Alb.* 9, 1972, 69-75.

¹⁰¹ G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg 1969) s.v.

¹⁰² *Živa ant.* 3, 1953, 255 fig. 2.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.* (n. 20) 125, n. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 43-44, with bibliographical references. The inhabitants of Konavle near Cavtat still point out where Cadmus and Harmonia are buried at their village, see J. Lučić, *Konavoski zbornik* 1, 1982, 14. This article was kindly brought to my attention by Mrs. Dubravka Balen Letunić.

¹⁰⁵ Edwards, *Kadmos*, 165.

¹⁰⁶ Various genealogies are reproduced by Edwards, *Kadmos*, 166, Tab. 7.

¹⁰⁷ See also G.P. Edwards and R.B. Edwards, Eratosthenes and the date of Cadmus, *Class. Review* 24, 1974, 181-182 (the year 1313 is often wrongly ascribed to Eratosthenes: it is based on Eratosthenes' date for the fall of Troy in 1183 and listed by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 1, 1834, 139).

¹⁰⁸ C. Brillante (cit. in the abbreviations) 167-174.

¹⁰⁹ Edwards, *Kadmos*, 47-49.

¹¹⁰ *Ead.*, 49.

¹¹¹ G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci dalle origini alla fine del secolo V*, vol. 1 (Firenze 1939; 1954²) 74.

¹¹² K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I, 2 (Strassburg 1913²) 70 ff., who was opposed to any historical explanation of the legend of Cadmus as deriving from possible Phoenician settlement, or even influences, in the Aegean. See also Id., Die Phoeniker am aegaeischen Meer, *Rheinisches Museum NF* 49, 1894, 111-132. For a rejection of Phoenix as a red God of the sun see M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica. An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden 1965) 140 ff.

¹¹³ *Epigrafiya greca* 1 (Roma 1967) 44 f.

¹¹⁴ *Histoire de la Grèce à l'âge de bronze* (Paris 1964) 96 (*Cadmos nous est universellement présenté comme un homme remarquable et son histoire, nous allons le voir, ne dément certes pas ce jugement: ce fut un grand politique et surtout un organisateur de tout premier ordre qui comprit parfaitement le problème de son époque...*).

¹¹⁵ It is hardly possible to cite all the references to Cadmus in modern research literature as the list would be far too long. The reader should consider the monograph by R. Edwards as a starting point and further consult *APh* for the subsequent years.

¹¹⁶ M.P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Cambridge 1932), tried to show that historical memory is reflected in the legends. See also F.H. Stubbings in his contributions on the Mycenaean civilization for *CAH* (3rd ed., vol. 2, chapters 14, 22a, 27). On the other hand, several scholars still regard these questions with extreme scepticism, cf. C.G. Starr, *The Origins of Greek Civilization, 1100-650 B.C.* (London 1962) 46 ff., 67 ff., 109 ff., and 156-159, who does not, however, discard the general value of Greek tradition. This is an endless discussion; as Starr pointed out (p. 157): *Whatever any expert says today about epic or myth has been said before, and has been scornfully rejected by scholars who think otherwise.* In his opinion the evidence of the Iliad best applies to the early 8th century. For the sceptical point of view cf. also M.I. Finley (n. 13) 281-302, especially p. 288.

¹¹⁷ For the arguments see Edwards, *Kadmos*, 187 ff.; cf. also Katičić, *Die Encheleer*.

¹¹⁸ W. Helbig, *Sur la question mycénienne*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 35,2 (Paris 1896); cf. also Zippel (n. 34).

¹¹⁹ The Cretan hypothesis is discussed by Edwards, *Kadmos*, ch. 5, 87 ff. (especially the opinions of Evans, Hall, Burn, Myres, and Coldstream).

¹²⁰ For Boeotia see for ex. R. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*

(1979); J. Bintliff, in a lecture at the University of Ljubljana in April 1989.

¹²¹ For a lucid discussion on various issues see Edwards, *Kadmos*, 45 ff.

¹²² E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder. Untersuchungen über die Epen des thebanisch-argivischen Sagenkreises* (Leipzig 1891); for Cadmus see especially 153 ff. He maintains that the legend was artificially transferred to Illyria, particularly through colonization, which is most probably true. But once transferred, it took root there and developed in its own way, to the extent that Cadmus and Harmonia actually had their sanctuary in Illyria.

¹²³ Roscher 2 (1890-94), especially pp. 880-6.

¹²⁴ *Geschichte des Alterthums* 2, 1 (Stuttgart, Berlin 1928²) 254-258, especially 254-255, n. 3.

¹²⁵ *Griechische Geschichte* (n. 112).

¹²⁶ A.D. Keramopoullos, Thebaika, *Arh. Delt.* 3, 1917, 1-503.

¹²⁷ The legend of Cadmus and the logographi, *Jour. Hell. St.* 33, 1913, 53-72 and 223-45.

¹²⁸ *RE* 10,2 (1919) 1460 ff.

¹²⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 20) 52 ff.

¹³⁰ *L'Anthropologie* 4, 1893, 539-78; 699-732.

¹³¹ E.g. *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (London 1928) 269 f.

¹³² Vol. 3 (1925) 634.

¹³³ *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks, B.C. 1400 - 900* (London 1930) especially 77; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1st ed. 1969, s.v. *Phoenicians*.

¹³⁴ R. Weill, Phéniciens, Egéens et Hellènes dans la Méditerranée primitive, *Syria* 2, 1921, 120-44.

¹³⁵ Cf. N. Jokl, s.v. *Illyrier*, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 6 (Berlin 1926) 37¹, and H. Krahe, Die Illyrier in ihren sprachlichen Beziehungen zu Italikern und Griechen. 2. Die Illyrier in der Balkanhalbinsel, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3, 1937, 284-299.

¹³⁶ G. Bonfante, The Name of the Phoenicians, *Class. Phil.* 36, 1941, 1-20; see also W. Borgeaud, *Les Illyriens* (Paris 1943).

¹³⁷ M.B. Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie*, *Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes* (1958) 369-375; 424.

¹³⁸ V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (Paris 1927) especially vol. 2, p. 359 ff.

¹³⁹ See his contributions for *CAH* (3rd ed., Vol. I/1, 1970, ch. 6, especially p. 244 f.; Vol. II/1, 1973, ch. 14; vol. II/2, 1975, ch. 22a); cf. also Id., *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant* (Cambridge 1951). Billigmeier (n. 20), *passim* and recapitulation on 379 ff.

¹⁴⁰ L.B. Holland, The Danaoi, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.* 39, 1928, 59-92.

¹⁴¹ N. Platon, E. Stassinopoulou-Touloupa, Oriental Seals from the Palace of Cadmus: Unique Discoveries in Boeotian Thebes, *Illustrated London News*, 28.Nov. 1964, 859-61; *Arh. Delt.* 19 B, 1964, 195.

¹⁴² Edith Porada, Cylinder seals from Thebes; a preliminary report, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 69, 1965, 173; *Ead.*, *Arh. Delt.* 20 B, 1965, 232; *Ead.*, Further notes on the cylinders from Thebes, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 70, 1966, 194; see also G. Daux, J. Nougayrol, *Bull. corr. hell.* 88, 1964, 775-779, and A. Falkenstein, *Kadmos* 3, 1964, 108-109.

¹⁴³ Edith Porada, The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28, 1981-82, 1-70; H.G. Güterbock, The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25, *ib.*, 71-72, and J.A. Brinkman, The Western Asiatic Seals Found at Thebes in Greece: A Preliminary Edition of the Inscriptions, *ib.*, 73-77, and 77-78 by E. Porada.

¹⁴⁴ Porada, *ib.*, 68-70.

¹⁴⁵ *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Oxford 1967²) 653 f.

¹⁴⁶ G.E. Mylonas, *Mycenaean and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton 1966) 217 f.

¹⁴⁷ F. Schachermeyer, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung im Lichte neuer Forschungen*, *Sitzber. Phil.-hist. Kl. Österr. Akad. Wiss.* 404 (Wien 1983) 230-231.

¹⁴⁸ Thus for ex. J. Fontenrose, *Class. Phil.* 61, 1966, 189 (in a book review of Vian's *Les origines: So the Kadmos legend appears to reflect a Phoenician (Canaanite) settlement at Thebes after all, just as the Greeks themselves always said.*),

and B. Hemmerdinger, *Rev. ét. gr.* 79. 1966, 698 (*Kadmos devient donc un personnage historique!*). See Billigmeier (n. 20), and also G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Cadmo: prima e dopo*, *Par. Pass.* 31, 1976, 5-16.

¹⁴⁹ J.N. Coldstream, *Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean*, in: *Phönizier im Westen* (Die Beiträge des Intern. Symposiums über "Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum" in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979), *Madr. Beitr.* 8, 1982, 261-275, Tab. 25-27.

¹⁵⁰ See the discussion on the strategic, and for trade contacts convenient, position of Thebes and of Boeotia in general in Edwards, *Kadmos*, 131 ff., where various opinions are considered.

¹⁵¹ See *IG VII (Inscr. Megaridis et Boeotiae)*, 2407 from Thebes, cf. G. and C. Charles-Picard, *La vie quotidienne à Carthage au temps d'Hannibal, III^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1958) 181.

¹⁵² N.J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 B.C. - A.D. 1330* (Cambridge 1973) 252, cf. also 214; 296-297.

¹⁵³ R.B. Edwards, *Some traditional links between Crete and Boiotia, Teiresias 2*, 1972, 2-5.

¹⁵⁴ For the citations see Edwards, *Kadmos*, 58 n. 60 and 142 ff., where she discusses the conclusions of M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (n. 112). For the Phoenicians see the exhibition catalogue *The Phoenicians* (Milano 1988) with a bibliographical survey, 575-580.

¹⁵⁵ A. Schachter, *Kadmos and the Implications of the Tradition for Boiotian History*, in: *La Béotie antique* (Lyon-Saint-Etienne 16-20 mai 1983). Colloques intern. CNRS (Paris 1985) 151-152.

¹⁵⁶ K. Kilian, *Bosnisch-herzegowinische Bronzen der Eisenzeit II aus Griechenland*, *God. Cen. balk. isp.* 13, 1976, 163-171, Tab. 1-5. J. Bouzek, *Der Vardar- und Morava-Bereich in seinem Verhältnis zu Griechenland zwischen 1200 und 900 v.u.Z.*, in: *Griechenland, die Aegäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages"*, Symposium Zwettl 1980 (ed. S. Deger-Jalkotzy), Sitzber. Phil.-hist. Kl., Österr. Akad. Wiss. 418 (Wien 1983) 271-283.

¹⁵⁷ P. Lisičar, *De Cadmi fabula* (in Croat. with summary), *Živa ant.* 3, 1953, 245-261.

¹⁵⁸ Vian (n. 20) 124-133, especially 128 ff.

¹⁵⁹ C.H.V. Sutherland, *Gold, Macht, Schönheit und Magie* (Wien, München 1970; transl. from English, London 1959, with suppl.) 64.

¹⁶⁰ Papazoglou, in her article on the Illyrian state (n. 64).

¹⁶¹ *Die Encheleer*, 64.

¹⁶² Z. Mirdita, *Intorno al problema dell'ubicazione e della identificazione di alcuni agglomerati dardani nel tempo preromano*, in: *Utvrdena ilirska naselja*, Pos. izd. ANUBiH 24 (Sarajevo 1975) 214-215, places the mines in Dardania but his attempt is unconvincing, see also n. 166.

¹⁶³ W. Aly (F. Sbordone), *De Strabonis codice rescripto (cuius reliquiae in codicibus Vaticanis Vat.Gr. 2306 et 2061 A servatae sunt)*, *Studi e Testi* 188 (1956) 16.

¹⁶⁴ J.M.F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion and the Lesser Coinages of the Illyro-Paeonian Region* (Oxford 1939) is the last monograph on this mint. Coins were minted under the influence of Olynthus and Athens; the Athenian influence is briefly discussed by F. Papazoglou, *Politička organizacija Ilira u vrijeme njihove samostalnosti* (n. 59) 17; she postulated it on the basis of the names of the magistrates mentioned on the coins.

¹⁶⁵ Lisičar (n. 157) 153.

¹⁶⁶ Eleonora Petrova, *Paeonia and Damastion*, in: *Živa ant. Pos. izd.* 9 (1991) 188-193. Her arguments, however, such as they are presented in this article, are insufficient, although her basic idea is interesting. See also V. Sokolovska, *La tribu peonienne d'Agriens et leurs rapports avec Damastion* (in *Mac. with summary*), *Mac. acta arch.* 11, 1987-1989, 9-34.

¹⁶⁷ Thus also N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 439 and Katičić, *Die Encheleer*, 79.

¹⁶⁸ The excavations conducted by A. Despoini, mentioned by H.W. Catling in: *Archaeological Reports for 1981-82*, *Archaeology in Greece*, 1981-82, 35-36, fig. 71, 72 (mask). Also see *Sindos*, katalogos tes ektheskos (Athens 1985).

¹⁶⁹ Papazoglou (n. 164) 17; Ead. (n. 60) 466 ff.

¹⁷⁰ Edwards, *Kadmos, passim*, with bibliographical references; see also above, *passim*.

¹⁷¹ Coldstream (n. 149) 265.

¹⁷² A.J. Graham, *The Foundation of Thasos*, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 73, 1978, 88 ff.

¹⁷³ Maja Parović-Pešikan, *Des aspects nouveaux de l'expansion de la culture grecque dans les régions centrales des Balkans* (in Serb. with summary), *Starinar* 36, 1985, 19-49.

¹⁷⁴ R. Vulpe, *Les hâches de bronze de type albanio-dalmate et le règne de Cadmos chez les Enchéléens*, *Istros* 1, 1934, 44-59.

¹⁷⁵ *Sur la diffusion des hâches en bronze à douille de type asiatique*, *ib.*, 179-186. Cf. also D. Garašanin, *O problematici sekira jadranskog tipa iz Sinaja na Kosmetu*, *Arh. vest.* 6, 1955, 227-232, and *Istorija Crne Gore*, 68 ff.

¹⁷⁶ See also R. Vulpe, *Récapitulation sur les hâches de bronze illyro-adriatiques* (in Alb. and French), *Buletin i Universitetit shtetëror të Tiranës* (ser. shkencat shoq.) 14/2, 1960, 165-187. See the most recent contribution by P. Mijović, *War Axes and Tool Axes of Late Bronze Age from Montenegro and Albania* (in Serb. with summary), *Zbor. rad. Muz. rud. met. Bor* 3-4, 1984-86, 61-111. This article was kindly brought to my attention by my colleague D. Božić.

¹⁷⁷ R.L. Beaumont, *Greek Influence in the Adriatic Sea before the Fourth Century B.C.*, *Jour. Hell. St.* 56, 1936, 163 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Zippel (n. 34) 18 f. Already rejected by A.J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875* (London 1877²) 391-393.

See additionally: Ora Negbi, *Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal*, *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 96, 1992, 599-615.

Kadmos in Harmonija v Iliriji

Povzetek

Legenda o Kadmu ni edina, ki izpričuje vezi med grškim svetom in severozahodnim Balkanom. Ti stiki se zrcalijo v legendi o Hiperborejcih, o grškem junaku Diomedu, o trojanskem Antenorju in v legendi o skrivnostnem Joniju ilirskega rodu, oponimu Jonskega oz. Jadranskega morja.¹⁻⁴ Vse te legende, ki so nam jih ohranili grški in latinski pisci in s katerimi lahko do določene meje dopolnjujemo epigrafske, numizmatične in druge arheološke podatke, ob pomoči jezikoslovja, predvsem toponomastike, pa pričajo o prastarih trgovskih poteh in davnih preseljevanjih večjih in manjših plemenskih skupin, ki segajo v bronasto dobo in še dlje nazaj. Blago in ljudje so od nekdanj potovali po starih, uhojenih poteh, morskih in kopenskih. Različne karte razprostranjenosti, objavljene pri Hardingu, *The Mycenaean and Europe*,⁹ kažejo,

v kako oddaljenih krajih najdemo mikensko blago; nedvomno so te vezi ustrezale interesom obeh strani. Prav to je bilo tudi obdobje, v katerem so predvsem nastajali in se oblikovali miti in legende, katerih delček sta nam grška in latinska literatura ohranili do zdaj.⁹⁻¹⁰

Mitologijo so v preteklih stoletjih in v našem interpretirali zelo različno, pri čemer razlage variirajo od takih, ki ji pripisujejo velik zgodovinski pomen, do takih, ki ji odrekajo vsako zvezo s stvarnostjo.¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Frazer je opredelil tri glavne sestavine v mitoloških zgodbah: mit, ki ima izvor v razmišljanju primitivnega človeka o naravnih pojavih in vesoljstvu, ki ga je obdajalo; pravljico, ki je plod ljudske domišljije, in legendo, ki je nastala iz nejasnih spominov na resnične ljudi v preteklosti, na domnevne dogodke v resničnih krajih.¹⁶⁻¹⁷ Vendar so

miti in legende med seboj tako tesno prepleteni, da omenjenih treh sestavin čisto ne moremo natančno ločevati, zato je tudi vrednost legende za proučevanje zgodovine toliko manjša.¹⁸ Legenda ni zgodovina, vendar popolna skepsa do legende kot potencialnega zgodovinskega vira ni utemeljena. Postavlja se vprašanje, ali bi takšne pripovedi sploh nastajale, če ne bi vsebovale nikakršnega zgodovinskega jedra, pa najsi bo to še tako spremenjeno in popačeno. Mislim, da ne bi.

Legenda, ki se je od vseh, kar jih poznamo in se vežejo na severozahodni Balkan, najgloblje ukoreninila med tamkajšnjim ljudstvom, je legenda o tebanskem herojskem paru, Kadmu in Harmoniji, ki sta se po različnih nesrečah, ki so doletele njuno potomstvo, na starost umaknila iz bojijskih Teb k Enhelejcem in jim vladala. Zgodba je bila v antiki zelo priljubljena; omenja jo vrsta antičnih piscev, motivi iz nje pa se pojavljajo tudi v umetnosti.¹⁹⁻²¹ Zgodovinsko jedro bi utegnili vsebovati Kadmovi feničanski izvor in umik herojske dvojice v Ilirijo. To bi sodilo v sfero legende; ti podatki namreč nimajo niti univerzalnosti pripovedke niti religiozne vloge, ampak so vsaj navidezno zgodovinsko resnični in vezani na konkretne kraje. V dolgem procesu prehajanja iz roda v rod so se miti in legende spreminjali. Marsikakšno novo prvino so prenašalci dodali iz čiste domišljije ali iz težnje po racionaliziranju zgodbe, pa tudi lokalno starinoslovje in verski sinkretizem (kult kačjega boštva v Iliriji) sta igrala določeno vlogo,²³ vendar še daleč ni izključeno, da tudi pri Psevdo-Apolodoru, Štefanu Bizantinskem in drugih poznejših piscih niso ohranjeni posamezni resnični zgodovinski podatki. Pregled virov namreč pokaže, da iz zgodnjega obdobja kontinuirana pripoved Kadmovega mita ni ohranjena in jo moramo šele sestaviti iz različnih krajših omemb določenih epizod pri različnih avtorjih.

Na koncu Evripidovih Bakh (1330-1339) Dioniz napove bodočo usodo Kadma in Harmonije: sprmenjena bosta v kači, pčljala se bosta na vozu, v katerega bodo vpreženi voli, v barbarsko deželo, kjer bosta postala voditelja barbarov in napadla Grčijo. Uničila bosta mnogo mest in šele v Delfih bo konec njihov uspehov. Rešil ju bo Ares, ki ju bo prenesel na Otoke blaženih.²⁶⁻²⁷ Herodot (5, 61) ve za izročilo, da so se Kadmeji umaknili iz Teb k Enhelejcem in postavila dogodek v čas uspešnega pohoda Epigonov proti Tebam sedem generacij po Kadmu. Izročilo o umiku Kadmejev pred Epigoni v Ilirijo je poznal tudi Pavzanija (9,5,13), le da ne omenja Enhelejcev, temveč zgolj Ilire.²⁹ V njegovem času, torej v 2. stoletju po Kr., so bili prebivalci južnega predela severozahodnega Balkana znani le pod skupnim imenom Iliri in spomin na nekoč močna ljudstva na tem ozemlju, kakršni so bili Enhelejci, je že davno obledel. Zanj so bili le še eno od ilirskih plemen, tako imenovani Enhelejci: omenja jih namreč nekaj prej, preden govori o odselitvi Kadma k Ilirum (9,5,3).

Pri Herodotu je omenjena zanimiva prerokba, ki bi jo morda smeli povezati z legendo o Kadmu. Po njej naj bi Iliri in Enhelejci napadli Grčijo in žalostno propadli po izropu Delfov (9,42 ss.), vendar teh dogodkov v nasprotju s poznejšimi pisci sam ne povezuje s Kadmom in Harmonijo. Pač pa Evripid na drugem mestu v Bakhah (1352-1362) govori o mešani barbarski vojski, ki jo bo Kadmos vodil nad Grčijo, torej vojsko, v kateri sta bili udeleženi vsaj dve barbarski plemeni, kar se dejansko sklada s prerokbo, omenjeno pri Herodotu. Kljub skupnim podatkom, ki nam jih nudi literatura iz 5. stoletja pr.Kr., se nam že začenjajo prikazovati obrisi zgodovine: napad dveh barbarskih ljudstev s severa na Grčijo vse do Delfov; zveze nekaterih rodov (morda celo vodilnih) tebanskega prebivalstva z Enhelejci. Slednji so s Kadmovo legendo kar najtesneje povezani.

Najstarejši ohranjeni podatek o Enhelejcih izvira od Hekataja iz Mileta (konec 6.stoletja pr.Kr.) in je ohranjen pri Štefanu Bizantinskem v njegovem toponomastičnem leksikonu iz 6.stoletja po Kr. pod geslom Deksari (= 103 *FGrHist*): *Deksari, haonsko ljudstvo, kot pravi Hekataj v knjigi o Evropi, ki prebivajo pod goro Amir*. Hekataj jih približno geografsko opredeli kot severne sosedje Haoncev, torej nekje na območje severno od Epira do Ohridskega jezera. Da so prebivali prav ob Ohridskem jezercu, nesporno potrjuje Polibij, ki omenja, da je Filip V. leta 217 v boju proti ilirskemu knezu Skerdilajdu zavzel med drugimi kraji tudi *Enhelanes* ob Ohridskem jezercu (5,108,8). Ime Enhelejci pomeni Jeguljarji in je izvedeno iz

grške besede *he enchelys*, jegulja, etimološko istega izvora kot latinska *anguilla* in cerkvenoslovanska beseda ožb, kača, naša jegulja pa je stara izposojenka iz romanskega narečja. Glede na to, da Hamp ime Enhelejci povezuje z albanskim izrazom za jeguljo, *ngjalë*,³⁷ bi bilo celo mogoče, da je ime ljudstva izpeljano od ilirskega poimenovanja za jeguljo, praserodnega z grškim in v grščini zgolj prilagojeno grškemu izgovoru. To, da je v prazgodovini in antiki nosilo ljudstvo ime po živali, ni bilo nič izjemnega; ime Delmatov se npr. povezuje z albanskim *delme*, ovca,³⁸ ime makedonskih Linkestov morda z risom,³⁹ južnodalmatinski *Helidones* so, kot vse kaže, grški prevod imena Tavlantijci, torej lastovičarji.⁴⁰ K tem imenom lahko prištejemo še tri, ki so po vsej verjetnosti izvedena iz imen rastlin: *Peuceii* (Plin., *n.h.* 3,139) so se imenovali po smreki, Grabaji (Plin., 3,144) morda po gabru in Dardanci po hruski (v albansčini *dardhë*).⁴¹ Razlaga takšnih imen ostaja prejkot slej negotova, gotovo pa je, da kažejo na tesno povezanost teh ljudstev z naravo.

Iz drugih virov izhaja, da so bili severni Enhelejci (dokumentirani so namreč tudi Enhelejci ob Kopajskem jezeru) zelo močno in na širokem področju naseljeno ljudstvo, ki je prebivalo tudi v južni Dalmaciji.⁴² V zaliv Boka Kotorska jih vse do Rizona umčša Psevdo-Skilak (2. polovica 4. stoletja pr.Kr.), ki piše, da so eno od ilirskih ljudstev (24-25), vendar je Katičić dokazal, da najstarejši viri ločujejo Enhelejce od Ilirov, in ni izključeno, da imamo za takšno razlikovanje tudi materialne dokaz.⁵⁰ Med ilirska plemena se začnejo prištevati šele, ko se ime Iliri razširi in prenese sprva na sosednja, nato pa na vsa med Epirom, Makedonijo in Alpami živeča ljudstva in plemena. Enhelejci so bili na omenjenem ozemlju starejše prebivalstvo, ki je bilo vsaj v 6. stoletju, če ne že prej (obdobje skušamo rekonstruirati na podlagi Strabonovih virov) organizirano v obliki kraljevine; vladajoča dinastija je svoj izvor izvajala od potomcev Kadma in Harmonije, kakor izrecno poroča Strabon (7,7,8 c. 326). Kraljestvo je verjetno v bojih z Iliri in drugimi sosedi oslabilo in najpozneje v 5. stoletju prišlo pod oblast ilirske države.

Zanimivi podatki o Kadmu na Jadranu so ohranjeni pri Štefanu Bizantinskem. Pod geslom *Bouthoe* čitamo, da je Bouthoe (zdaj Budva) mesto v Iliriji, ki ima ime po volovski vpregi, s katero je Kadmos hitro dospel v Ilirijo. Štefan Bizantinski navaja poleg te še etimologijo imena, ki jo je našel pri drugih piscih: Kadmos naj bi mesto poimenoval po egiptovskem mestu Buto. Po izročilu naj bi ustanovil še eno mesto pri Enhelejcih, in sicer Lihnid, današnji Ohrid. Podatek izvira iz Hristodorovega epigrama v zbirki *Anthologia Palatina* (10. stol. 7, 697). Epigram, ki je posvečen Joanesu iz Epidamna, prefektu Ilirije pod vladarjem Anastazijem I. (491-518), je nastal ok. l. 500 po Kr. in v njem med drugim piše, da so bili Joanesovi predniki iz Lihnida, ki ga je ustanovil Feničan Kadmos.⁶⁵ Kaže, da je bila legenda o Kadmu in Harmoniji živa še v 6. stoletju po Kr. Iz Herodijanove slovnice (2. stoletje po Kr.) izvira tudi podatek, da je bil eponimni ustanovitelj mesta Rizona Kadmov sin.⁶⁶ Nič ne preseneča, da so tudi Rizon (danes Risan) povezovali s Kadmom; mesto je imelo pomembno strateško lego⁶⁷ in je bilo pozneje, za Agronove dinastije, eno izmed glavnih oporišč ilirskega kraljestva; vanj se je po porazu zatekla Tevta, ker je veljal za trdnjavo, ki jo je bilo nemogoče osvojiti. Nedvomno je bilo mestec naseljeno že mnogo pred tem; kot enhelejsko mesto ga omenja Psevdo-Skilak (24-25), zato ni čudno, da je bilo vključeno v sfero grško-enhelejskih legend in si je lastilo slavno poreklo.

Iz študija virov je očitno, da so morale biti okoliščine nastanka legende že v 6. stoletju pr.Kr. in pozneje prebivalcem Ilirije še bolj nejasne in legenda je postala predmet raznih spekulacij lokalnega starinoslovja, ki je povsod za svoj kraj želelo prepoznati sledove in znamenja bivanja obeh herojev. Štefan Bizantinski je v opisu Dirahija (s.v.) ohranil podatek, da je Eratosten (helenistični pisec iz 3. stoletja pr.Kr.) v 3. knjigi *Geografije* omenjal grobove Kadma in Harmonije, ki so jih kazali ob rekah Drilonu (Drim) in Aou (Vijosë oz. Vojuša). Iz istega časa, torej iz 3. stoletja pr.Kr., je podatek helenističnega zgodovinarja Filarha, ohranjen pri Atenaju (*Deipnosoph.* 11,6 p.462 b; Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2 A, 81, frg.39), o nekem zelo slavnom, vendar sicer neznanem kraju v Iliriji, ki se imenuje Kilikes; pri njem se nahaja spomenik Kadma in Harmonije. Svetišče Kadma in Harmonije je omenjeno v

Psevdo-Skilakovem *Periplu*,⁷⁴ kjer piše, da se od reke Narona do reke Ariona plove en dan, a od reke Ariona se plove pol dneva in tam so kamni Kadma in Harmonije in svetišče še dlje od reke Arion (24).

Priljubljenost legende o Kadmu in Harmoniji se je v Iliriji gotovo kazala tudi na druge načine, in mislim, da imamo za to tudi materialni dokaz. Že pred leti so našli v Albaniji in v Črni Gori dve bronasti ploščici iz helenističnega obdobja, na katerih sta upodobljeni sceni skoraj identične vsebine: obe prikazujeta boj vojakov z ilirskimi čeladami na glavah in s ščiti makedonskega tipa, na konju in peš, za katerimi se v kotu ploščice dviguje velika kača, ki pomaga "svojim" vojakom v boju proti barbarskim sovražnikom. Prva je bila najdena v kraju Selcë e Poshtme pri Podgradcu blizu Ohridskega jezera na albanski strani,⁷⁹ druga pa izvira iz nekropole pri Gostilju v Črni Gori, blizu Skadarskega jezera,⁸⁰ obe torej z enhelejskega področja. Ni izključeno, da kača predstavlja Kadma.⁸¹⁻⁸³

Vezi mikenskih Grkov iz Beocije oz. Argosa z Enhelejci dokazuje poleg Kadmove zgodbe in legende o pobegu tebanskih Kadmejev pred Epigoni k Enhelejcem še izročilo o Amfiarejevem vozniku bojnega voza Batonu, ki se je po Polibijevih besedah po izginotju Amfiareja odselil v Harpijo, mesto v Iliriji pri Enhelejcih. Podatek je ohranjen pri Štefanu Bizantinskem s. v. *Harpya*; podrobno ga je razložil Katičič.⁸⁶

Po tebanskem rodovniku, ohranjenem pri Herodotu in Sofoklu, je Kadmos živel šest generacij pred Trojansko vojno; če pa računamo po kretski genealogiji (po Homerju), je živela Evropa. Kadmova nečakinja ali sestra, le tri generacije pred Trojansko vojno,¹⁰⁶ kar pomeni, da se že tradicionalni rodovniki razlikujejo za več generacij. Od tod velike razlike pri kronografih, ki variirajo od 1455 do 1285 pr. Kr.¹⁰⁷ Izročilo mu največkrat pripisuje feničanski izvor, kako pa ta izvor interpretirati, ostaja nejasno.¹⁰⁹⁻¹⁴⁰ Leta 1963 so na Kadmeji v Tebah, v kontekstu poznoheladske 3 B keramike, odkrili okoli sto cilindričnih pečatov iz ahata in lapis lazuli,¹⁴¹ od katerih je dobršen del z vzhoda, večino pa je mogoče tudi natančno opredeliti.¹⁴²⁻¹⁴³ Del teh pečatov naj bi prišel v Tebe po hipotezi Porade kot dar asirskega kralja Tukulti-Ninurta I. (1243 - 1207) po zmagi nad kasitskim vladarjem, in naj bi bil v posesti tebanskega kneza le kratak čas do uničenja druge palače, ki ga na podlagi keramičnih najdb postavljajo v čas ok. 1220.¹⁴⁴ Če je bilo pred tem glede na arheološko gradivo skoraj nemogoče dokazovati vezi med Feničani in Tebami, je ta senzacionalna najdba vsekakor nedvoumno pokazala, da so vezi med Tebami in vzhodom dejansko obstajale.

Če želimo osvetliti pojav legende o Kadmu v Iliriji, ne moremo mimo starih poti, ki so vodile čez hribovito notranjost Balkana in so jih uhodili že v bronasti dobi in še prej. Te tudi v kriznih fazah niso bile nikoli opuščene in Lisičar jih je zelo primerno poimenoval "Kadmjska pot".¹⁵⁷ V tej poti vidi povezavo legende o Kadmu z Ilirijo; njegovo idejo je povzel in dopolnil tudi Vian.¹⁵⁸ Ob tej poti dejansko srečamo Kadmove sledove: Strabon (14,5,28 c. 680) in Plinij (*n.h.* 7,57,6

/197/; prim. Klem. Aleks., *Strom.* 1,16,75) poročata, da naj bi v Pangaju odkril zlate rudnike in izumil rudarstvo. Pangaj (Bunar dag) je gora v Peoniji blizu morja, vzhodno od reke Strimona (Strume). Pri Štefanu Bizantinskem (*s.v. Illyria*) je ohranjen zanimiv stavek, ki glede na svojo vsebino po vsej verjetnosti izvira iz starih virov: *Ilirija je dežela blizu Pangaja, po Kadmovem sinu Iliriju*. Očitno gre za jedro ilirske države, ki se je razvijala ob severni makedonski meji in je bila prvotno, kot je v študiji o razvoju ilirske države pokazala Fanula Papazoglu,¹⁶⁰ povsem kontinentalna dežela; šele pozneje, v času ekspanzije v 5. stoletju, ko se je začela razširjati na račun soscdov, je osvojila tudi obmorske kraje. Dežela seveda ni blizu Pangaja, spet pa je razdalja med obema premajhna, da bi mogli misliti na obstoj kakšne druge Ilirije. Po asociaciji – tako že Katičič¹⁶¹ – se takoj vsiljuje misel na skrivnostne damastijske rudnike srebra, ki do zdaj niso bili locirani s stoddostno gotovostjo, so pa nesporno ležali v Iliriji.¹⁶² Omenja jih le Strabon, na že omenjenem mestu, kjer govori tudi o Enhelejcih (7,7,8), in na Vatikanskem palimpsestu,¹⁶³ kjer pravi, da so se v času peloponeške vojne *begunci iz Eginel z Mendajci* /Grki iz halkidijskega mesta Mendel/ naselili v Damastiju v Iliriji pri rudnikih srebra, ki smo jih omenili v opisu ilirske dežele. Podatek je zanimiv, ker med drugim dokazuje, da so se tudi pozneje Grki naseljevali v isto, nekdanje enhelejsko, območje, kot po legendi stoletja pred tem Kadmos, Baton in Kadmeji.

Maja Parović-Pešikan je objavila članek, v katerem obravnava širjenje egejske in grške kulture na osrednji Balkan.¹⁷² V njem poudarja predvsem vplive z juga, s Krete in iz Grčije, ki so bili že od zgodnje bronaste dobe močna razvojna sestavina na severozahodnem Balkanu, in te vplive povezuje z legendo o Kadmu. Če se omejimo na bronasto dobo, moramo vsekakor priznati važno vlogo tudi vplivom z Bližnjega vzhoda, ki so na to ozemlje prihajali bolj ali manj posredno čez Grčijo. Grško posredništvo bi dokazovala tudi legenda, po kateri je Feničan Kadmos prišel k Enhelejcem iz Teb. Te stike in vplive si moramo predstavljati na različnih ravneh in jih na podlagi legende nikakor ni mogoče rekonstruirati. Ohranjeni drobcji dajo slutiti migracije plemen iz severozahodnega Balkana na jug konec eneolitika in v zgodnji bronasti dobi, deloma kot posledice transhumance, deloma zaradi vdorov novih ljudstev, in Strabon, ki našteva nekaj barbarskih plemen, naseljenih v Bojotiji (7, 321), dodaja, da je bila tako rekoč vsa Grčija v starih časih naseljena z barbari. Na drugi strani so plenilne horde ne le enkrat vpadle v Grčijo, da bi se polastile bogastev v razvitejših grških mestecih in v grških svetiščih. Prav tako pa lahko ugotavljamo tudi gibanja v nasprotno smer. Legendo moramo razlagati predvsem kot močne civilizatorične impulze večjih ali manjših skupin ljudi, ki so se iz takšnih ali drugačnih razlogov odselili na sever, kjer so prispevali svoj delež k hitrejši urbanizaciji (ustanovitev Harpije, Lihnida, Buthoe, Rizona, skrivnostni Kiliks!) in hitrejšemu družbenemu razvoju (kadmejska dinastija!) južnodalmatinskega in ob makedonski meji ležečega ozemlja.