

L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité –IV

Actes du IV^e colloque international de Grenoble
(10-12 octobre 2002)
réunis par Pierre CABANES et Jean-Luc LAMBOLEY

*Publiés avec le concours du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
du Ministère de la Jeunesse de l'Éducation nationale et de la Recherche
et du Conseil Régional Rhône-Alpes*

DE BOCCARD
11, rue de Médicis – 75006 Paris
2004

MYTHOLOGICAL STORIES CONCERNING ILLYRIA AND ITS NAME

Definitions of Illyria, Illyricum, and the Illyrians are still a puzzle in scholarly literature, despite several books having recently been written about the Illyrians¹, and perhaps partly because of this. Oscar Wilde once wrote: "... where there is no illusion there is no Illyria"². He alluded to the Illyria of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, but in his time the historical Illyria may indeed have had such connotations. Interestingly, it was claimed even a few years ago that "throughout history, little has been known about the land of Illyria," and that "it has remained a closed world to outsiders, dismissed as barbarian in ancient times and remembered in more recent centuries only as an unexplored outpost of the Ottoman or Hapsburg Empires"³. This is only partly true, but as elsewhere, the data at our disposal shall always remain fragmentary. Illyria had a different extent and a different meaning in different periods, from the Illyrian kingdom of the 5th century BC, a mighty opponent of the Macedonians, through the Roman Illyricum, to the Napoleonic 'Illyrian provinces'. The name, containing a broad geographical and symbolic significance, must have carried a political prestige, and indeed a kind of magnetism, for it to denote so many different regions at one time or another, at the expense of other geographical names between Noricum and Pannonia on the one hand, and Epirus and Macedonia on the other.

Appian of Alexandria, a Greek historian of the 2nd century AD, was the only ancient historian to have written a history of Illyria. Although he explicitly stated that many mythological stories

concerning the name of Illyria were still circulating in his time, he chose a genealogical story for his audience, which included most of the peoples who inhabited the Illyricum of the Antonine era. They were all descended from the son of Polyphemus and Galatea, Illyrius. Unfortunately, of all the stories referred to by Appian, only one other concerning the eponymous ancestor of the Illyrians has to my knowledge been preserved to date; this is the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia and their son Illyrius. Before focusing on these two, it may not be superfluous, by way of introduction, briefly to consider some other myths and legends related to the lands of Illyricum, in particular those which have a broader significance, and are not merely of limited local interest. This is intended to draw attention to recent literature, which offers interesting new evidence. It should be noted that all these legends refer to the regions along the Adriatic (in this respect the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia is an exception), which additionally confirms the extreme importance of maritime routes used by travellers, merchants, explorers, and, eventually, colonizers⁴; even northern ports may have been at least to some extent known to the Greeks at a relatively early date, while the interior of Illyria had for a long time remained *terra incognita* (fig. 1).

1. Early contacts are reflected in the legend about the Hyperboreans, a mythical blessed northern race, dwelling beyond the mountains from where the northern wind blew, with whom Apollo had stayed for some time, and where, subsequently, every nineteen years he spent the period from the spring equinox to the rise of the Pleiades. They belong to mythic geography, regardless of any eventual identifications with the Scythians, Celts, or any other northeastern people. The Hyper-

¹ P. CABANES, *Les Illyriens de Bardylis à Genthios (IV^e–II^e siècles avant J.-C.)*, SEDES, Paris 1988 ; J. WILKES, *The Illyrians*, Oxford 1992 ; W. PAJAKOWSKI, *Die Illyrier - Illyrii proprie dicti. Geschichte und Siedlungsgebiete. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion* (ed. L. Mroczewicz), Poznań 2000. – I would very much like to thank Claudia Antonetti for having kindly read my text.

² *Twelfth Night* at Oxford, in *First Collected Edition of the Works of Oscar Wilde, 1908–1922* (ed. R. Ross), Vol. 15, London 1969, p. 46 ("Where there is violence there is no Viola, where there is no illusion there is no Illyria, and where there is no style there is no Shakespeare.").

³ J. WALLACE, A (Hi)Story of Illyria, *Greece & Rome* 45/2, 1998, p. 213.

⁴ V. GAFFNEY, S. ČAČE, J. HAYES, B. KIRIGIN, P. LEACH, N. VUJNOVIĆ, Secret Histories : the Pre-colonial Archaeological Context for Greek Settlement of the Central Adriatic Islands, in *Grčki utjecaj na istočnoj obali Jadrana / Greek Influence Along the East Adriatic Coast* (Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from Sept. 24th to 26th 1998), eds. N. Cambi, S. Čače, B. Kirigin, Split 2002, p. 25–50; P. CABANES, La présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du sud, *ibid.*, p. 51–63.

boreans sent precious gifts by messengers every year to Apollo's sanctuary on Delos, and a major section of their route led through the coastal Illyrian regions. The story is told by Herodotus as he heard it from the Delians (IV, 32)⁵. Sacred straw-wrapped offerings had been brought by the Hyperboreans to Scythia, whence they were received by the neighbouring peoples, who in turn delivered them to their neighbours until the gifts reached the northern Adriatic. From there they travelled southwards, and the first Greeks whom the offerings reached were the inhabitants of Dodona, a famous ancient sacred site in Epirus and the seat of the oracle of Zeus⁶. Possibly the mythological story reflects some phases of the trade in amber, and offerings intended for Apollo (or perhaps Artemis) on Delos may have been made of amber⁷. The Hyperboreans were usually located in the far north or far east by late Hellenistic authors; however, mythological worlds were often confused and they were occasionally related to the north of the *Caput Adriae*, near the sources of the Danube. They were associated with the Hesperides and the great civilizer Heracles, and eventually even with Rome, since Latinus would have been Heracles' son by a Hyperborean girl Palanto who would have given her name to the Palatine hill⁸.

The trade and manufacturing of amber in the Venetic towns of northern Italy and in the northern Adriatic area in general – possibly as early as the

late Bronze Age – is further indicated by the myth of Phaethon, son of Helios, and his mourning sisters, whose tears became beads of amber (Strabo V, 1, 9), as well as by the name Electrides for one of the groups of the northern Adriatic islands⁹, Histrian or Liburnian, either near the mouth of the Eridanus River, or located in the Kvarner gulf (thus e.g. in Pseudo-Scymnus, *Perieg.* 374), allegedly located near Apsyrtides (= Cres and Lošinj). The Electrides belong to mythic geography, as had already been noted by Strabo (*ibid.*) and Pliny (*N. H.* III, 152; XXXVII, 32).

The Odyssey, *Argonautica*, *Nostoi*, the Trojan Cycle, the great wanderer Heracles and his many sons provided the Mediterranean world with Greek heroes who were not immortal but were tied to specific places, for which they guaranteed direct protection and offered a solid basis for colonization and cults¹⁰. The later variant of the legend about the return of the Argonauts, which was given literary form by Apollonius of Rhodes, notes that the Argonauts returned from the Black Sea along the Danube and its tributaries to the Adriatic Sea, and thence home. It had earlier been believed that they returned by way of the rivers Phasis or Tanaïs across the Oceanus¹¹. Even the later version clearly betrays a limited geographic knowledge of the upper Adriatic regions, notably Venetic areas, Histria, and northern Liburnia. It was widely believed that the Danube (and its tributaries) connected the Black Sea with the Adriatic, partly no doubt because of the similarity in name between the Histri and the Ister River (another name for the lower course of the Danube). An only vaguely known merchant route had been erroneously interpreted as a (non-existent) continuous course of rivers. Pliny (*N.H.* III, 128) noted the corrected version of the return of the Argonauts: "There is no river which would flow from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea. In my opinion the writers were deceived by the fact that the ship *Argo* descended to the Adriatic on a river not far from Tergeste, although it is no longer known

⁵ J.-S. ROMM, Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans, *TAPA* 119, 1989, p. 97-113. See also T. LAZOVA, *The Hyperboreans. A study in the paleo-Balkan tradition* (Thracia Pontica 7), Sofia 1996.

⁶ C. DE SIMONE, Il santuario di Dodona e la mantica greca più antica: considerazioni linguistico-culturali, in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité*, I (Actes du II^e Colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25 – 27 Oct. 1990), ed. P. Cabanes, Paris 1993, p. 51-54.

⁷ A. MASTROCINQUE, *L'ambra e l'Eridano (Studi sulla letteratura e sul commercio dell'ambra in età preromana)* (Università di Trento, Dipart. di Scienze Filol. e Stor., Pubblicazioni di Storia Antica 3), Este 1991, p. 41-45; J. WILKES, *Illyrians* (cit. in n. 1), p. 102-103; P. CABANES, *L'Illyrie à travers les historiens de l'Antiquité*, in *Points de vue sur les Balkans de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. J.-L. Lamboley, Les cahiers du CRHIPA n° 5, Grenoble 2002, p. 36-37.

⁸ D. BRIQUEL, Il mito degli Iperborei: dal *Caput Adriae* a Roma, in *Concordia e la X Regio. Giornate di studio in onore di Dario Bertolini nel centenario della morte* (Atti del convegno Portogruaro 22–23 ott. 1994), eds. P. Croce Da Villa, A. Mastrocinque, Padova 1995, p. 189-195.

⁹ A. MASTROCINQUE, *Ambra* (cit. in n. 7), p. 11 sq.; for Electrides p. 36-41. In his book, the problems related to trade and manufacturing of amber, as well as the pertinent mythology, are thoroughly analyzed.

¹⁰ I. MALKIN, Heroes and the foundation of Greek Cities, in: *La fundación de la ciudad. Mitos y ritos en el mundo antiguo*, eds. P. Azara, R. Mar, E. Riu, E. Subías, Barcelona 2000, p. 81-88.

¹¹ P. DRÄGER, Vier Versionen des Argonautenmythos, in *Poikila. Hommage à Othon Scholer*, ed. C. Bodelot (Études classiques 8), Luxembourg, 1996, p. 25-45 (*non vidi*).

MYTHOLOGICAL STORIES CONCERNING ILLYRIA AND ITS NAME



Fig. 1 : map of Illyria.

which river. More diligent writers report that it was portaged across the Alps; it arrived there from the Danube, then the Savus and the Nauportus, whose source is located between Emona and the Alps and which for this reason received its name"¹². Medea would have killed her half-brother Absyrtus and dispersed his limbs in the Adriatic near the islands of Cres and Lošinj, which were called Absyrtides to commemorate his death. The Colchians, who were afraid to return, founded,

according to Callimachus, Polae "along the Illyrian sea (river?), near the stone of the fair-haired Harmonia" (Strabo I, 2, 39 ; cf. V, 1, 9 ; Pomp. Mela II, 57; Pliny, *N. H.* III, 129). The Colchians as founders of towns were also related to Olcinium (... *quod antea Colchinium*, present-day Ulcinj in Montenegro) on the southern Adriatic (Illyrian) coast, as well as Oricum (Orik) near the Acroceraunian promontory at the border with Epirus (Pliny, *N. H.* III, 144 and 145)¹³. Their

¹² M. ŠASEL KOS, *Nauportus* : antični literarni in epigrafski viri (Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources), in J. HORVAT, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)* (Dela 1. razr. SAZU 33), Ljubljana 1990, p. 17-33 (p. 143-159); M. ŽMUDZIŃSKI, Konnten die Argonauten vom Schwarzen Meer zur Adria durch die Donau fahren?, *Eos* 86, 1999, p. 19-24.

¹³ R. KATIČIĆ, Podunavlje i Jadran u epu Apolonija Rođanina (Le bassin danubien et l'Adriatique dans l'épopée d'Apollonios de Rhodes), *Godišnjak* 7, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 5, 1970, p. 71-132 (= *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 31-114).

itinerary no doubt documents ancient navigations in the Adriatic and pre-Corinthian colonization¹⁴.

The worship of the Greek hero Diomedes was related to both Adriatic coasts. His double identity (the king of Argos in Theban and Trojan epic poetry, a Thracian king in the stories concerning Heracles), as well as mythic parallels in the reconstructed early Slavic mythological story of Jarylo/ St George, make it probable that Diomedes may have originally been an ancient Indo-European fertility god¹⁵. When he left Argos because of the infidelity of his wife, he was kindly received by Daunus, the king of the Daunii in Apulia, where he founded the town of Argyripa (Argos Hippiion), later Arpi, as well as several other towns (Strabo VI, 3, 9; Virg., *Aen.* XI, 246–247). Eventually he may have been killed by Daunus' hand, or perhaps he died on the islands named after him, his mourning comrades having been turned into birds¹⁶. The Diomedean Islands are mentioned in many classical sources (also by Strabo, II, 5, 20; VI, 3, 9) and have usually been identified with the Tremiti Islands, to the west of the cape of Gargano. However, field survey and trial excavations at Vela Palagruža, as well as detailed analysis of sources make an identification with Vela and Mala Palagruža more plausible, which does not necessarily exclude that at some point all of these islands may have been considered Diomedean¹⁷. There, at Vela Palagruža, the sanctuary of Diomedes was the first stop for navigators who headed north, obligatory both for those who sailed *via* Gargano to Issa and *Promunturium Diomedis* (Rt Ploča = Punta Planka, in the peninsula Hyllica south of Šibenik, where another sanctuary of Diomedes has been discovered)¹⁸, and for those who headed from

Corcyra directly to Spina and Adria¹⁹. The hero was also worshipped in Corcyra, where he killed a dragon and helped the Corcyraeans with his navy in Iapygia when they were at war with the Brundisians²⁰.

One of Diomedes' most renowned sanctuaries was at the mouth of the Timavus, where he seems to have been connected to the breeding of Venetic horses²¹, and his sanctuary was situated in close proximity to two important religious sites with sacred groves, shared by tame and wild animals alike, which all behaved tamely. This is mentioned by Strabo (V, 1, 9, naming as his sources Polybius and Posidonius), who added that one was dedicated to the Argive Hera, the other to the Aetolian Artemis, perhaps two local Venetic goddesses, but, significantly, related to the double provenance of Diomedes, Argos through his father Tydeus and Aetolia through his grandfather Oeneus.

One of Diomedes' major roles in the eastern Adriatic was no doubt that of protector, most notably of sailors, traders and merchants; his cult may more or less be linked to that of an old epichoric divinity, or even several of them, one of whom was worshipped as the Venetic Diomedes. The sanctuary at Cape Ploča no doubt held a central place within the broad area of the Dalmatian coast between Šibenik and Split (Salonae), since it is situated at an exposed point and at an approximately equal distance from several bays, which offered safe ports to the navigators along one of the most dangerous sailing routes in the eastern Adriatic, since in that section it is not protected by the vicinity of islands but faces open sea in the direction of Vis (Issa). Moreover, it is subject to very dangerous sudden changes of weather²². On the other, western, side of the Adriatic, a famous sanctuary of Diomedes is

¹⁴ P. CABANES, *Illyrie* (cit. in n. 7), p. 38.

¹⁵ R. KATIČIĆ, Zur mythischen Schicht der Diomedes-Sage, *Wiener Studien* 107/108 (*Sphairos*: H. Schwabl ... gewidmet), 1994–1995, p. 7–14.

¹⁶ R. KATIČIĆ, Diomed na Jadranu (Diomedes an der Adria), *Godišnjak* 27, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 25 (1989), p. 39–78 (= *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 333–386).

¹⁷ B. KIRIGIN, S. ČAČE, Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic, *Hesperia* 9, 1998, p. 63–110; cf. also G. COLONNA, Pelagosa, Diomedes e le rotte dell'Adriatico, *Archeologia classica* 50, 1998, p. 363–378.

¹⁸ B. KIRIGIN, S. ČAČE, *Evidence, I.c.*; S. BILIĆ DUJMUŠIĆ, The Archaeological Excavations on Cape Ploča, in *Grčki utjecaj na istočnoj obali Jadrana / Greek Influence Along the East Adriatic Coast* (Proceedings of the International Conference held in

Split from Sept. 24th to 26th 1998), eds. N. Cambi, S. Čače, B. Kirigin, Split 2002, p. 485–497.

¹⁹ B. KIRIGIN, S. ČAČE, *Evidence, I.c.*

²⁰ R. KATIČIĆ, *Diomed* (cit. in n. 16), p. 72–74 (= *Illyricum Myth.*, p. 380–381).

²¹ Cf. M.-T. GUAITOLI, Il culto "incrociato" di due eroi – Reso e Diomedes –: cavalli, regalità e sacrificio, *Ocnus* 3, 1995, p. 77–86; A. L. PROSDOCIMI, I riti dei Veneti antichi. Appunti sulle fonti, in *Orizzonti del sacro. Culti e santuari antichi in Altino e nel Veneto orientale*. Venezia 1–2 dic. 1999, eds. G. Cresci Marrone, M. Tirelli (Studi e Ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 14), Roma 2001, p. 7–5.

²² S. ČAČE, *Promunturium Diomedis* (Plin. *Nat. hist.* 3, 141), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar* 35 (22), 1997, p. 21–44.

mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax to have been among the Umbri, in the city of Ancona (16). The spread of the cult of Diomedes along the Adriatic may have originated from Corinth (*via* the Aetolians) and may also have been related to the thalassocracy of Rhodes, while its revival in the 4th century BC may have partly been due to the Adriatic policy of Dionysius the Elder²³. In any case Diomedes, as a noble but also savage hero, may have been viewed, in terms of Greek colonisation, as an ideal intermediary between the Greeks and the indigenous population²⁴. He is related to the founding legends of several towns, particularly in Apulia (Daunia), but also to those of the towns on the northwestern Adriatic coast, Atria and Spina, possibly also Ravenna²⁵.

The Trojan Antenor moved to the Adriatic after the fall of Troy and allegedly founded the town of Patavium (Padua) and reigned in Venetia. Only Dictys of Crete (V, 17, mid 1st cent. AD, Latin version by L. Septimius from the 4th cent.) preserved a version according to which Antenor would have founded Corcyra Nigra²⁶. L. Septimius says that after the Greeks had all left with their ships and their booty, Aeneas had Antenor expelled from the kingdom. Antenor was not even allowed to enter Troy, so he sailed off with all his property and eventually reached the Adriatic. He founded Corcyra Melaina, where many of his compatriots who had survived the war joined him, moved by the rumours of his wisdom. According to Apollonius of Rhodes, the eponymous deity of the island would have been a nymph, a daughter of the river god Asopus, Cercyra of the beautiful hair. She had been led away from Phlius by Poseidon,

who loved her (IV, 566–571)²⁷. The story about the daughter of Asopus, Corcyra, referring to the island of Corcyra and not Corcyra Melaina, was an old genealogical story originating from the town of Phlius, as is known from a passage from Pausanias in which he described statues erected by the inhabitants of Phlius in Zeus' sanctuary in Olympia (V, 22, 6). It may have been adapted by Apollonius to suit the Adriatic mythology. There is also nothing surprising that another legend invented Antenor as a founder of Corcyra Melaina, as long as this was in accordance with his voyage along the eastern Adriatic coast and suited those who shaped the policy of local Greek towns in Dalmatia. Virgil says that Antenor, before passing the sources of the Timavus and reaching Patavium, "penetrated Illyrian bays and safely entered the innermost Liburnian kingdoms" (*Aen.* I, 242–249). This may be a reminiscence of the Liburnian thalassocracy, since no other peoples are mentioned in this vast area²⁸.

Different traditions connected Antenor with different regions and towns. A more coherent one, known already in the 5th century BC and exploited by Sophocles, saw in the north Adriatic (V)Eneti descendents from the (H)Eneti of Paphlagonia (also mentioned by Strabo, XIII, 1, 53)²⁹. Sophocles is known to have written the *Anthenoridae*, of which three short fragments are extant³⁰. Since he used for his tragedies mainly stories from the Homeric poems or such contained in the lost poems of the Epic Cycle, it may be hypothesized that Antenor's legend must have originally been related to the oldest Aegaeon-Anatolian sailings towards the west in the late Mycenaean period.

²³ L. BRACCESI, *Grecità adriatica. Un capitolo della colonizzazione greca in occidente* ("Il mondo antico". Studi di storia e di storiografia 7), Bologna 1979², p. 55–63; Id. (con la collaborazione di B. Rossignoli), *Hellenikòs Kolpos. Supplemento a Grecità adriatica* (Hesperia 13), Roma 2001, p. 39–43 (Corinto e il culto di Diomede).

²⁴ M.-C. D'ERCOLE, La légende de Diomède dans l'Adriatique préromaine, in *Les cultes polythéistes dans l'Adriatique romaine*, eds. C. Delplace, F. Tassaux (Ausonius Publ., Études 4), Bordeaux 2000, p. 11–26.

²⁵ S. MAGGI, Diomede a Ravenna?, *Athenaeum* 87/2, 1999, p. 551–555.

²⁶ G. VANOTTI, Enea a Corcira Melaina, in *Grčki utjecaji na istočnoj obali Jadrana / Greek Influence Along the East Adriatic Coast* (Proceedings of the Intern. Conference held in Split from Sept. 24th to 26th 1998), eds. N. Cambi, S. Čače, B. Kirigin, Split 2002, p. 77–81, erroneously believed that Aeneas was mentioned in the cited passage; her explanation is consequently not plausible.

²⁷ R. KATIČIĆ, Azopova kći Kerkira na Korčuli [The daughter of Asopus, Cercyra, in Korčula], in *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 399–405; see also A. MASTROCINQUE, *Da Cnido a Corcira Melaina. Uno studio sulle fondazioni greche in Adriatico* (Publicazioni del Dipartimento di Storia della Civiltà Europea 4), Trento 1988, 8; 20 (referring to both stories).

²⁸ R. KATIČIĆ, Antenor na Jadranu (Antenor an der Adria), *Godišnjak* 26, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 24, 1988, p. 5–23 (= *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, 305–331).

²⁹ However, Strabo elsewhere supposed that the north-Adriatic Veneti were the Celtic Veneti from the Atlantic coast (IV, 4, 1).

³⁰ M. LEIGH, Sophocles at Patavium (*fr.* 137 Radt), *JHS* 118, 1998, p. 82–100. During Sophocles' lifetime, Attica had interests in northern Adriatic area, which is also confirmed by archaeology, cf. T. CERRATO, Sofocle, Cimone, Antenore e i Veneti, *Athenaeum* 63/1–2, 1985, p. 167–174.

Antenor would have led the Heneti from Troy to Venetia where he founded a kingdom³¹. Strangely, Livy does not mention Antenor as a founder of his native town, although in the very beginning of his *Ab urbe condita* he mentioned the arrival of Antenor in Venetia with the Eneti from Paphlagonia and the Trojans, as well as his victory over the Euganei (I, 1). The legend played an important political role in Venetia, and was exploited as much by the local inhabitants as was the legend about Aeneas and the origins of Rome by the Romans, despite the fact that in the early Hellenistic period, due to anti-Roman hostile propaganda (Seleucid and Mithradatic), both of them were labelled traitors to their home land³². However, during the Augustan age both heroes were viewed very positively, and Antenor's legend even included Aquileia, since the city seems to have been considered a foundation of Antenor, and its inhabitants *Antenoridae*³³.

A legend has been preserved about the mysterious Ionius of the Illyrian race, the eponym for the Ionian (i.e. the Adriatic) Sea. He may have once ruled over Issa; according to Theopompus he would have been a son of Adrias (Strabo VII, 5, 8–9), who had founded Atria, but according to another, earlier, legendary version, he was the son of Dyrrhachus and had been slain as a youth by Heracles. The story is told by Appian (*Bell. civ.* II, 6, 39), who eventually, probably by means of some other source, preserved data from Philo of Biblus, mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Dyrrhachion*)³⁴. When Dyrrhachus, the son of Epidamnus' daughter and of Poseidon, built a

harbour for the town of Epidamnus, founded by his grandfather, he was attacked by his brothers and asked Heracles to help him; in exchange he gave him some land in his new port. During the ensuing battle, his son Ionius was inadvertently killed by Heracles, who raised a mound for him and threw his body into the sea to be henceforward named after him. The two different versions refer to two different political situations: the Issaeon probably reflects the Adriatic policy of Dionysius the Elder³⁵, the Epidamnian the period when Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium) played an uncontested major role in southern Illyria. It is interesting that both versions preserved a fragment of the Adriatic Illyrian mythology; in both Ionius is Illyrian (it seems less likely that he would have been a Liburnian)³⁶, which means that the Greek colonists worshipped an epichoric hero³⁷. Possibly they adopted Ionius as their mythical ancestor³⁸. This is particularly interesting when it is considered that in terms of relations between the Greek colonists and the indigenous Illyrian (= Taulantian) population, the latter were in an inferior position³⁹.

Heracles was connected with other places along the eastern Adriatic coast, thus with an unidentified city on the coast of the Illyrians, "who come after the Liburni", Heraclea with a good harbour. This is reported by Pseudo-Scylax, who further says that "there dwell the Lotus-eaters, the barbarian Hierastamnae, Bulini, and their neighbours Hylli, who tell that Heracles' son Hyllus was living among them; they have their settlements on a peninsula a little smaller than the Peloponnese" (22). Lotus-eaters is a reminiscence of Odyssean geography (IX, 82–104; XXIII, 311). Pseudo-Scymnus, citing Timaeus and Era-tosthenes, more precisely refers to the 15 towns of the Greek Hylli who had been settled there by Hyllus, but who became barbarians under the influence of the customs of their neighbours (404–412). Hyllus would have come to settle on the peninsula "with his Phaeacians" (Apoll. Rhod., IV, 522–551), and it is interesting that a Hyllican bay, named after Hyllus, the son of Melite and Heracles, was also known in Corcyra (mentioned by Apoll. Rhod.,

³¹ R. KATIČIĆ, *Antenor* (cit. in n. 28); L. BRACCESI, *La leggenda di Antenore. Dalla Troade al Veneto*, Venezia, 1997² (1st ed. Padova 1984). See also *Id.*, *La leggenda di Antenore: un mito greco di area veneto-illirica*, in *Il crinale d'Europa. L'area illirico-danubiana nei suoi rapporti con il mondo classico*. Roma 1984, p. 19–24.

³² R. SCUDERI, *Il tradimento di Antenore. Evoluzione di un mito attraverso la propaganda politica*, in *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico* (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica 4), Milano 1976, p. 28–49.

³³ L. MORETTI, *Epigraphica* 19–20 (19. Gli Antenoridi, Apollo e Aquileia), *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 108/4, 1980, p. 442–447 (= *Id.*, *Tra epigrafia e storia. Scritti scelti e annotati*, Roma 1990, p. 365–370); L. BRACCESI, *Antenore* (cit. in n. 31), 119–121. See also L. BOFFO, *Epigrafia e "cultura" greca in Aquileia romana*, in ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ, *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, ed. G. Paci, Roma 2000, p. 118–120.

³⁴ R. KATIČIĆ, *Ionios der Illyrier*, *Godišnjak* 9, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 7, 1972, p. 198–201 (= *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 161–181).

³⁵ R. KATIČIĆ, *Ionios*, *l.c.*

³⁶ M. NIKOLANCI, *O Liburnu Joniju* (About the Liburnian Ionios), *Vjesnik za arh. i hist. dalmatinsku* 82, 1989, p. 13–34.

³⁷ R. KATIČIĆ, *Ionios* (cit. in n. 34).

³⁸ MASTROCINQUE, *Da Cnido* (cit. in n. 27), p. 35 sq.

³⁹ P. CABANES, *Présence grecque* (cit. in n. 4), p. 60.

1124–1125 and Thucyd., III, 72, 2 ; 81, 2)⁴⁰, indicating contacts between Corcyra and the Hylli. Pliny, who no longer mentions the Hylli, knew of the peninsula Hyllis (III, 141: *promunturium Diomedis vel, ut alii, paeninsula Hyllis*), present-day Ploča Cape (Rt Ploča)⁴¹. The legend of Hyllus may conceal memories of an early Greek (Corcyraean) attempt at colonization in the territory of some friendly barbarian people, Hylli (by origin Phaeacians, i.e. Corcyraeans!); Hyllus was allegedly killed by the Mentores (Apoll. Rhod., IV, 550–551), possibly one of the Liburnian tribes, who, as an important political factor in the central and particularly in the northern Adriatic, may have been opposed to Greek colonization⁴².

2. The legend of Cadmus and Harmonia, which connected the Greek world to the (pre?)Illyrian regions along the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast, as well as the regions near Macedonia, was most probably one of the most popular legends referring to Illyricum, since it is so often mentioned in classical sources⁴³. By having been assigned Greek mythical ancestors, foreign peoples, who came into contact with the Greek world, were thus received within the all-embracing world of the Greek gods and heroes.

After various disasters suffered by their children, Cadmus and Harmonia migrated from Boeotian Thebes to the Enchelei and ruled over them. The anonymous mythographer, the author of the so-called *Mythological Library* of Apollodorus (1st century AD), told the legend at length, claiming to have used ancient sources, or rather documents which were derived from ancient sources. He mentioned "other writers" and specifically referred to Pherecydes of Athens (5th century BC), who wrote about genealogies. In the annotations to Homer's *Iliad* II, 494 (*FGrHist* 4, F

51), which closely correspond in diction to Pseudo-Apollodorus, the *Boeotica* of Hellanicus from the 5th century BC is cited as a source. The crucial passage concerning Illyrius is short: "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" (III, 39, 2). A son of Cadmus, Illyrius, who had given name to Illyria is also mentioned in Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Illyria*).

Cadmus was a well known hero in Greek literature, known to Homer, Hesiod and Pindar⁴⁴, as well as to "other poets and mythographers" (the annotations to Pindar's 3rd Pythian ode, v. 153 b). He was an interesting figure, often also mentioned in later sources. In various genealogies, such as in Herodotus (V, 59), Hecataeus, Hellanicus, as well as on the Parian Marble, Cadmus is a very early character who was considered to be the founder of Thebes. The establishment of new settlements was attributed to him, such as on Rhodes, Thera, Samothrace, and in Thrace; further, the establishment of cults and various inventions were also ascribed to him, thus for example the invention of mining and the working of gold in Thrace (e.g. Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 197).

Connections with the Enchelei are also attested for a later period, thus Herodotus mentioned the withdrawal of the Cadmeians from Thebes to the Enchelei seven generations after Cadmus, in the period of the successful campaign of the Epigoni against Thebes and the rule of Eteocles' son Laodamas (V, 61). A similar story is told by Pausanias, who may have been dependent on Herodotus, the only difference being that he does not mention the Enchelei, but instead refers to the Illyrians (IX, 5, 13). In his period (2nd century AD), the inhabitants of most of Illyricum were generally known under the common name Illyrians, and memory of once powerful tribes in the region, such as the Enchelei, had already faded. However, they

⁴⁰ C. ANTONETTI, Corcira e l'area ionica in epoca arcaica: l'autorappresentazione in chiave mitologica, in A. BARZANO, C. BEARZOT et al. (eds.), *Identità e valori. Fattori di aggregazione e fattori di crisi nell'esperienza politica antica*, Bergamo, 16-18 dicembre 1998 (Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica. Monografie 21), vol. III, Roma 2001, p. 13.

⁴¹ R. KATIČIĆ, Heraklov sin Hilo na Jadranu [Hyllus, the son of Heracles, in the Adriatic], in *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 387-398.

⁴² S. ČAČE, *Promunturium* (cit. in n. 22), p. 38-39.

⁴³ The legend has been thoroughly analyzed by M. ŠASEL KOS, Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria (Kadmos in Harmonija v Iliriji), *Arheološki vestnik* 44, 1993, p. 113-136.

⁴⁴ A. VIDEAU, L'écriture de la généalogie cadmée aux livres II, III et IV des Métamorphoses d'Ovide, in *Généalogies mythiques. Actes du VIII^e Coll. du Centre de Recherches Mythologiques de l'Université de Paris-X*, eds. D. Auger, S. Saïd, Paris 1998, p. 263-280.

retained their identity even after the arrival of the Illyrians. They were more Hellenized and, as is indicated by the archae-ological remains, they were under strong Macedonian influence⁴⁵. Pseudo-Scylax located them in the Bay of Kotor as far as Rhizon, noting that they were one of the Illyrian peoples (*Peripl.* 25); their territories may have extended as far inland as Lake Ohrid. According to Strabo, they had been organized as a kingdom at least as late as the 6th century, if not earlier, and their ruling dynasty cited its origin from the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia (VII, 7, 8). 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 emergence of the Dassaretæ may have been due to their undermined political power.

Cadmus allegedly also founded some cities in Illyria, thus Buthua, Greek Bouthoe would have been his foundation (Steph. Byz., s.v., who copied the data from the 2nd century AD work of Philon of Byblus, *About Cities and Their Famous Citizens*). Phoenician Cadmus would have also been the founder of the city of Lychnidus among the Enchelei, by the lake of the same name, present-day Ohrid. This is mentioned in an epigram of Christodorus, written ca. 500 AD and preserved in *Anthologia Palatina* (VII, 697), dedicated to the prefect of Illyria under Anastasius I (491–518), Joannes of Epidamnus, whose ancestors came from Lychnidus. There is also a note in the grammar of Herodianus (2nd century AD) that the eponymous founder of Rhizon (present-day Risan) had been the son of Cadmus⁴⁶. The town of such a significant strategic position must have been an ancient settlement; it was subsequently one of the main strongholds of the Illyrian kingdom in the period of the Agron dynasty and no doubt also earlier. Teuta sought refuge there after she had been defeated by the Romans, because it was believed that the fortress was unconquerable. As has been mentioned above, it is noted as an Encheleian city by Pseudo-Scylax (24–25), thus it is not at all surprising to find it included in the Greek-Encheleian legends.

⁴⁵ N. PROEVA, Enchéleens – Dassarètes – Illyriens. Sources littéraires, épigraphiques et archéologiques, in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité*, I (Actes du II^e Colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25–27 Oct. 1990), ed. P. Cabanes, Paris 1993, p. 195–198.

⁴⁶ *Herodiani Technici Reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, vol. I, Lipsiae (Teubner) 1867, p. 27, 13–17; cf. ROSCHER, s.v. Kadmos, p. 852.

In the course of time the legend, which remained equally popular, was adapted to different situations and variously transformed, and was often mentioned by antiquarians, logographers, and geographers. Signs of the presence of both heroes were noted in various regions. According to Eratosthenes (3rd century BC ; data preserved in Steph. Byz., s.v. *Dyrrhachium*), the graves of Cadmus and Harmonia were exhibited along the Drilon (Drim) and Aous (Vijosë or Vojuša) Rivers, which offers evidence for the existence of several sacred places where they were worshipped. In the same period, i.e. 3rd century BC, a Hellenistic historian Philarchus (preserved in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XI 6 p. 462 b; Jacoby, *FGrHist* 81 F 39) mentioned a famous place in Illyria, called Cylices, near which a monument of Cadmus and Harmonia was located⁴⁷. Most interestingly, a sanctuary of Cadmus and Harmonia is mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax, not, however, in the brief original text, in which merely coastal settlements, rivers, and distances measured in navigation days were listed, but in the section consisting of notes, which seem to have been added subsequently⁴⁸. It is written there that the distance from the Naron River to the Arion (i.e. Drilon) 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). Reference to a sanctuary indicates an important cult of the heroic royal couple in southern Illyria.

A tradition about the grave of Cadmus and Harmonia was also preserved in Hellenistic poetry, thus Apollonius of Rhodes located their grave along a black and deep Illyrian river in the land of the Enchelei (*Argonautica*, IV, 516–518). The reference to the Enchelei indicates that the information was derived from earlier sources, or from texts which preserved early data. In a similar manner, the monuments of fair-haired Harmonia, turned into a serpent near the Illyrian river, are also mentioned by Callimachus (preserved in Strabo I, 2, 39; cf. V, 1, 9). The river is referred to in an identical context by Lycophron as Dizerus (*Alexandra* 1026), although Cadmus and Harmonia are not mentioned. The river may be identified either as a tributary of the Drilon, the Barbanna (the present-day Bojana), or as the Bay of

⁴⁷ M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Famous Kylikes in Illyris*, *Historia* 42/2, 1993, p. 247–251.

⁴⁸ M. SUIĆ, Istočna jadranska obala u Pseudo Skilakovu Periplu [The Eastern Adriatic Coast in the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Scylax], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 306, 1955, p. 174.

Rhizon⁴⁹. Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century AD) also refers, in addition to the grave of Cadmus and Harmonia, to two cliffs sacred to them (387–397, ed. C. Müller, *GGM* 2, p. 127), which crashed together whenever the inhabitants were threatened by some calamity. The grave and the rocks were, according to him, located somewhere “near that bay”, which extends to the Ceraunian Mountains. The transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia into snake-like stones somewhere at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea which ‘nourishes’ serpents is further mentioned by Nonnus (5th century AD) in his epic poem about Dionysius (XLIV, 115–118). Testimonies of these late authors indicate that the worship of Cadmus and Harmonia was deeply rooted and may have survived well into the late Roman period.

On the other hand, however, the commentary to Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Scholia Vaticana* (to verse I, 243 ; II p. 311 Lion), associated the Illyrian River with the son of Cadmus and Harmonia, Illyrius, introducing a serpent (diety), which is entirely independent of the serpents into which Cadmus and Harmonia were transformed: “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 borne 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.” Cadmus' son Illyrius appears here in an entirely different context from that transmitted by Pseudo-Apollodorus in his story. Classical as well as modern etymologies attempted to derive the name ‘Illyrii’ from the word for serpent, but such attempts must be viewed with extreme caution⁵⁰ ; however, ancient etymologies of the name ‘Illyrii’ no doubt reflect the importance of the serpent cult in southern Illyria⁵¹.

The connections between the Greeks from Boeotia or Argos and the Enchelei are further

indicated by the story of Amphiareus' war charioteer Bato, told by Polybius and preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Harpya*). Amphiareus was one of the Seven, who unsuccessfully attacked Thebes with Polynices and Adrastus; in the course of the battle he disappeared underground and was henceforth honoured as a prophet. Bato then settled in Illyria, in the Encheleian city of Harpya, which is not mentioned elsewhere, although similar toponyms are known from Apulia (*Arpi*), Latium (*Arpinum*) and Elis (*Harpina*, Paus. VI, 21, 8). The well known Illyrian name Bato may have originally been a name of a divinity; Pausanias mentions that he had a temple in Argos (II, 23, 2), and no doubt he was also honoured as a hero in Harpya⁵². The name may indicate ancient cults and religious practices that in the opinion of R. Katičić extended beyond linguistic and ethnic boundaries.

Another legend which is closely related to Illyria as well as to Cadmus and Harmonia is preserved by Pseudo-Hyginus and deserves brief mention (*Hygini fabulae*, ed. H. I. Rose, Leyden 1967³, no. 184, 240, 254; Stob. *Anth.* IV, 25, 9). Their daughter Agave was the mother of Pentheus, whom she tore to pieces in Dionysian frenzy. This was Dionysius' punishment of the family of Cadmus, because Pentheus had opposed the introduction of the Dionysian mysteries into Thebes. After having committed the horrible crime, Agave took refuge in Illyria, where she married an elsewhere unknown Illyrian king Lycotherses. The Greek name, not unlike the Paeonian dynastic name Lykkeios, means one who has the courage of a wolf and may have been a Greek translation of an Illyrian name. Agave later killed Lycotherses and handed the kingdom over to Cadmus. Although the story is preserved in a late and possibly unreliable source, containing mythic elements, it is most interesting because it reveals, if nothing else, a major role played by the Illyrian kingdom at an early date.

3. Appian's *Illyrica*, which should best be translated as *The History of the Illyrian Wars*, although incoherent and incomplete, is nonetheless, as has been mentioned above, the only extant narrative with such a title from antiquity. Appian composed a *Roman History*, within which he offered short histories of all the main regions and peoples who constituted the Roman Empire. It

⁴⁹ R. KATIČIĆ, *Illyricus fluvius*, in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua*, *Miscellanea Gregorio Novak dicata*, Zagreb 1970, p. 385–392, pleaded for Barbanna; E. P. HAMP, Dizéros and Drinus, *Živa antika* 32, 1982, p. 104 ; for the bay of Rhizon, cf. F. VIAN, *Les origines de Thèbes. Cadmos et les Spartes*, Paris 1963, p. 126 and n. 7.

⁵⁰ M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Cadmus* (cit. in n. 43), p. 124–125.

⁵¹ M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Draco and the Survival of the Serpent Cult in the Central Balkans*, *Tyche* 6, 1991, p. 183–192, particularly p. 183–186.

⁵² R. KATIČIĆ, *Drei altbalkanische nomina sacra*, *Godišnjak* 9, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 7, 1972, p. 105–128.

is not known to what extent his approach to writing history should be considered innovative, but it is true that no other ethnographically divided history has been preserved from antiquity⁵³. By his own admission, Appian could not collect enough data about the history of Illyria to fill up an entire book, so he chose to append it to his *Macedonian History* (V, 145, 601–602). The Illyrian history consists of 30 chapters, the division is modern. It begins with two introductory chapters; in the 1st chapter, a short geographical description of the land and its dimensions are given according to Greek and Roman writers; in the 2nd chapter, the mythological origin of the peoples settled in Illyria is explained. The genealogical story is the following (II, 3–4):

"It is said that the country received its name from Polyphemus' son Illyrius; the Cyclops Polyphemus and Galatea had the sons Celtus, Illyrius and Galas; they left Sicily and ruled over the peoples who were named after them the Celts, the Illyrians, and the Galatians. This mythological story pleases me the most, although many others are also told by many writers. (4) Illyrius had sons Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas, Perrhaebus and daughters Partho, Daortho, Dassaro and others, from whom arose the peoples of the Taulantii, Perrhaebi, Enchelei, Autariatae, Dardanians [and Maedi], Partheni, Dassaretii and Darsi. Autarieus himself had a son Pannonius or Paeon, who in turn had Scordiscus and Triballus, from whom nations also were descended who were named after them. But I shall leave this subject to the antiquarians."

As we have seen, the Greeks tended to include all the peoples with whom they came into more or less closer contact into their rich mythological lore. When they were conquered by Rome, the Romans

in their turn took over Greek mythology to a great extent; more mythical, or merely genealogical, links were created to include various newcomers, regardless of their great ethnic and cultural diversity. Appian's story should be explained in these terms; when establishing new contacts – whether this happened by force or not – the Greeks or Romans did not disdain to make use of their myths in order to promote their political and economic interests. Twelve so-called Illyrian peoples are included in Appian's genealogical tree, but he mentioned that there were others as well, whom he did not name. Why he did not name them is not clear, but probably they had already been omitted in his source. Perhaps he pointed out the absence of some of Illyrius' sons and daughters, because he may have noticed that precisely the two powerful peoples about whom he wrote in the very next chapter, the Liburni and the Ardiaei, had not been included in the list. It is less likely that he himself would have omitted exactly those peoples to whom he referred in the section of his narrative that immediately follows. However, of the two the Liburni could not be considered 'Illyrian' before the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Their origins were quite different⁵⁴. On the other hand, some peoples are listed in his genealogy, which are subsequently not mentioned at all, such as the Dassaretai and the Perrhaebi.

Appian's story may be dismissed as fancy⁵⁵, but it may contain some substance, since there is some kind of a chronological order according to which the 'Illyrian' peoples are listed by Appian. He enumerated them according to the generations; the earliest known peoples in Illyria are listed among those of the first generation. These were southern Illyrian peoples, with whom the Greeks first came in contact, as for example the Enchelei, who, as has been mentioned above, had a powerful kingdom, later subdued by the Illyrians. Even at the time of Dionysius the Elder, who was most interested in the eastern Adriatic coast, i.e. in Illyria, they no longer played any important

⁵³ See on Appian particularly E. GABBA, *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili*, Firenze 1956 ; B. GOLDMANN, *Einheitlichkeit und Eigenständigkeit der Historia Romana des Appian* (Beiträge zur Altertumswiss. 6), Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1988 ; A.-M. GOWING, *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio* (Michigan Monographs in Classical Antiquity), Ann Arbor 1992 ; É. FAMERIE, *Le latin et le grec d'Appien. Contribution à l'étude du lexique d'un historien grec de Rome* (Éc. Pratique d. Hautes Études III, Hautes ét. du monde gréco-romain 24), Genève 1998 ; G. S. BUCHER, *The Origins, Program, and Composition of Appian's Roman History*, TAPA 130, 2000, p. 411–458. On Appian's sources: cf. I. HAHN, *Appian und seine Quellen*, in *Romanitas – Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit* (J. Straub ... gewidmet), ed. G. Wirth, Berlin, New York 1982, p. 251–276.

⁵⁴ S. ČAČE, *Liburnija u razdoblju od 4. do 1. stoljeća prije nove ere* [Liburnia from the 4th to the 1st century BC], Diss. Zadar 1985 (unpublished) ; B. OLUJIĆ, *Ethnie, culture, identité. Problèmes de l'origine des Iapodes et des Liburniens (âge du Bronze, âge du Fer)*, in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* (Actes du III^e colloque international de Chantilly, 16–19 Octobre 1996), ed. P. Cabanes, Paris 1999, p. 57–60.

⁵⁵ G. ZIPPEL, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, Leipzig 1877, p. 113 sq. ; J. DOBIÁŠ, *Studie k Appianově knize illyrské* (Études sur le livre illyrien d'Appien), Pragae 1930, p. 13 sq.

political role in these regions at all⁵⁶. Their inclusion in the catalogue may indicate that Appian's data preserved some ancient tradition and were only partly 'invented' recently, and not without some historical memory.

However, some of the peoples came only at a later date to the Balkan peninsula, such as the Scordisci; they are actually listed as belonging to the third generation, Scordiscus being the son of Pannonius or Paeon. The Pannonians had been more or less unknown to the Greeks and do not seem to have come into contact with the Romans before the 2nd century BC; it is interesting that they were referred to as the Paeones by almost all the Greek writers until the late Roman period⁵⁷. The Scordisci, a Celtic people mixed to some extent with the autochthonous population, both 'Illyrian' and Thracian (e.g. Strabo VII, 2, 2 ; 3, 2; 5, 2), present an additional problem in this context: they are 'Illyrian' mainly in as much as they belonged to Illyricum since the early imperial period onwards. The same is true of the Pannonians, who are ethnically different from the Illyrian peoples; Strabo, e.g., does not speak of them as Illyrian (VII, 5, 2-3), and this is also reflected in their onomastic and toponomastic material⁵⁸. Both of them, the Scordisci and Pannonians, had merely a geographical claim to Illyricum. The first generation of this line is, according to Appian's genealogical list, the Autariatae, Pannonius (or Paeon) being the son of Autarieus. They were a powerful union of various peoples and tribes, who inhabited the interior of Illyricum (they were mainly settled in present-day Bosnia), and had always been much less known to the Greeks and Romans than the peoples settled nearer the coast. Indeed, they represented a link between the coastal and northeastern peoples.

Appian chose this particular genealogical story because it corresponded considerably well to his definition of Illyria as presented in his 6th chapter. The peoples inhabiting the province of Moesia,

such as the Dardanians, Moesi and Triballi, belonged to Illyricum but were not 'Illyrian' in the same sense of the word as those peoples and tribes who inhabited the southern and central Dalmatian coast and its interior. In the Hellenistic sources, e.g. during the period of the three Illyrian wars, the Dardanians are always mentioned as different from the Illyrians, having their own kingdom and being often at war with the latter. Appian's list of the peoples in Illyria is not complete, since he intentionally left space for "some others". Thus there is no point in trying to analyse why some peoples were not included in it, as, for example, in addition to the Liburni and Ardiaei, also the Delmatae. In the time of the Illyrian kingdoms and the subsequent three Illyrian wars, the Delmatae indeed were not considered 'Illyrian'.

The origins of this story most probably lead us to Sicily, where the love story between Polyphemus and Galatea may have been an old folk tale. However, its political implications, reflected in its subsequent genealogical development, point to the Syracuse of Dionysius the Elder⁵⁹. One of the first sources for the story of the three sons of Polyphemus and Galatea, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, may have been Philistus, the well known Syracusan historian of both Dionysii and an active politician, who was very much in favour of the Adriatic policy of Syracuse and who had no doubt planned it. In his time Syracuse is known to have founded a colony at Lissus, and a few years later, in 385/4 BC, Dionysius the Elder supported the Parians who established a colony on Pharos, as has been reported by Diodorus (XV, 13, 4). Dionysius no doubt wanted to control both Adriatic coasts as much to the north as possible, along southern Illyria at least from the Drilon (mod. Drin) to the Naron (mod. Neretva) Rivers. Philistus was his main adviser, who carried out most of these actions.

Relatively few peoples of Illyria must presumably have been known to the Syracusan leaders; Dionysius the Elder had contacts with the Epirote peoples and with the neighbouring Illyrians, whom he asked for military aid against the Molossians. These had driven away their king Alcetas, a refugee in Syracuse, whom Dionysius wanted to restore to the throne of Epirus. The Illyrian allies defeated the Molossians and then

⁵⁶ R. KATIČIĆ, Enhelejci (Die Encheleer), *Godišnjak* 15, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 13, 1977, p. 5-82 (= *Illyricum Mythologicum*, Zagreb 1995, p. 211-303); M. ŠASEL KOS, Cadmus (cit. in n. 43).

⁵⁷ H. GRASSL, Pannonii – Pannonioi – Paiones : Zur Frage der Identifikation antiker Völkernamen, in *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum* (Der römische Limes in Österreich 36/2), Wien 1990, p. 539-544.

⁵⁸ R. KATIČIĆ, Zur Frage der keltischen und pannonschen Namengebiete im römischen Dalmatien, *Godišnjak* 3, *Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 1, 1965, p. 53-76.

⁵⁹ M. SORDI, I due Dionigi, i Celti e gli Iliri, in *La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda. Problemi di archaiologia adriatica*, ed. L. Braccesi, S. Graciotti, Firenze 1999, p. 109-116 (= *EAD., Scritti di storia greca*, Milano 2002, p. 577-585).

devastated their territory until the Spartans came to their rescue. These Illyrians must have been one or several of the coastal peoples and tribes. The Liburni were no doubt known to the Syracusans because of their swift ships and piracy. The Autariatae may not have been unheard of on the opposite Adriatic coast, because they were a powerful union of peoples reaching relatively close to the coast. It cannot plausibly be hypothesized when exactly the genealogy, such as is preserved by Appian, was written down, nor whether it had been composed in one piece or whether it was subsequently developed and other peoples were added to it. In any case, it is clear that such as it is it could not have been written in the Syracuse of both Dionysii, because it contains peoples who were then certainly unknown, such as the Scordisci and the Pannonians, or at least they could not be considered 'Illyrian' at such an early date. Mythological and genealogical literature must have been popular, and many such stories concerning more or less known peoples must have been in circulation. Appian himself claimed that several mythological stories existed about the origins of the Illyrians, which is additionally indicated by the fact that Pompeius Trogus (using as his source perhaps Timagenes' history)⁶⁰, devoted a part of his 7th book to the origins of the Illyrians and Paeonians and part of his 32nd book to the origins of the Pannonians (7 : *origines Macedonicae ... Illyriorum et Paeonum origines ...* 32 : *origines Pannoniorum*).

⁶⁰ That Timagenes would have been the sole or even the main source of Pompeius Trogus (thus A. VON GUTSCHMID, Trogus and Timagenes, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 1882, p. 548–555 = *Kleine Schriften* V, Leipzig 1894, p. 218–225) is no longer valid, see G. FORNI, M.-G. ANGELI BERTINELLI, Pompeio Trogo come fonte di storia, in *ANRW* II 30,2 (1982), p. 1298–1362, especially 1312 sq., with all the relevant bibliography.