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# Myth as an Instrument for the Study of Greek and Indigenous Identities I: Greek Myths in the Illyrian Area

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*Le mythe constitue pour l'historien de l'Antiquité un instrument irremplaçable pour l'approche et pour la compréhension de la civilisation grecque: expression fondamentale, avec le rite et les représentations figurées du divin, de la religion hellénique, le mythe en partage la complexité et la présence dans tous les aspects de la vie publique et sociale de l'homme grec.*

*Étudié depuis l'Antiquité, le concept de mythe a été pendant des siècles au centre d'un débat pluridisciplinaire et international enrichi par des contributions hétérogènes et antithétiques qui font aujourd'hui de l'ensemble des récits légendaires hellènes une clé de lecture indispensable pour déchiffrer l'univers grec.*

*L'itinéraire pluriséculaire de la mythologie (dans son sens étymologique de "discours – donc étude – sur les mythes") connut un début proprement scientifique et une lecture libérée des préjugés moralistes à partir de la moitié du XIXe s. Les apports complémentaires, souvent nourris de points de vue divergents et polémiques, des linguistes de l'école de mythologie comparée, des représentants de l'école anthropologique anglaise, des philologues allemands, des symbolistes, des fonctionnalistes et, à une époque plus récente, des structuralistes, ont promu une définition progressive du concept de mythe et une prise de conscience de son importance pour la compréhension non seulement du monde grec, mais, plus généralement, de l'univers mental humain. Les dernières recherches fournissent encore des impulsions profitables et efficaces pour une réflexion plus approfondie sur les aspects et les utilisations multiples du discours mythique.*

*A partir des années soixante-dix du XXe s., grâce aux découvertes archéologiques et à la progression des études anthropologiques, le mythe joue un rôle fondamental dans la compréhension des mécanismes identitaires déclenchés par le phénomène de la colonisation grecque. Les chercheurs ont en effet mis en évidence l'intensité de l'impact social et politique du mythe dans les contextes coloniaux helléniques: le mythe est ici mis au service du renforcement du sentiment d'appartenance commune des colons, de la légitimation de la possession du territoire colonial et de la médiation du contact avec les indigènes, notamment avec les élites. Le processus d'acculturation provoque parfois chez ces dernières une réception des thèmes mythiques d'origine grecque.*

*Dans le cadre de cette approche, l'Illyrie constitue un terrain privilégié d'enquête: en effet cette région, dont la colonisation grecque remonte à la fin du VIIe s. av. J.-C., est évoquée*

*dans les attestations littéraires comme la terre d'élection de nombreux épisodes mythiques d'origine grecque. L'exemple le plus caractéristique est offert à ce propos par le destin illyrien du héros thébain Cadmos.*

J.-P. Vernant affirmed some years ago that “Greek religion ... is a domain where the researcher has to think holistically, embracing religion and politics, anthropology and history, morality and daily life”<sup>1</sup>. This phrase effectively summarizes the complexity of approaching the Hellenic religious world, a vast symbolic construction interwoven in all areas of public and social life, in which the myth constitutes, beside ritual practices and the figurative representation of the divine, the fundamental mode of expression<sup>2</sup>. However, this critical concept, the origin of which has been attributed to the Greeks themselves and which later became one of the preferential themes, if not the principal one, of cultural anthropology, has been the subject of a reflection punctuated by heterogeneous and sometimes antithetical contributions, of a long and tormented intellectual itinerary ending in provisional and hypothetical conclusions, fruits of an international and polyphonic dialogue whose origins go back to ancient times and whose most original developments took place in the age of the Enlightenment.

From the beginning of studies on myths, the role of French scholars has been critical and prolific. However, it must be emphasised that this area is nurtured and continues to be enriched by contributions from enquiries and discussions which have never known the compartmentalization of national frontiers. Our analysis, therefore, will seek to underline the principal stages of the progression of this knowledge by concentrating on French research, but will not fail to register the role that other schools and specialists have played within the framework of mythological studies. In addition, equal emphasis will be given to the fact that this itinerary is of a multidisciplinary nature, where history is only one component of a global enquiry bringing together anthropologists, linguists, philologists and even psychoanalysts. Nevertheless, it is thanks to this multiplicity of outlooks and levels of interpretation that accurate historical knowledge of the Greek past has been able to advance. The Hellenic scholar of today knows that myth was generated by a social environment that influenced this collective framework. He does not hesitate therefore to use this incomparable decoding instrument. In particular, studies conducted on the theme of modes of contact between Greek and non-Greeks, notably in the colonial setting, clearly show how crucial mythical discourse is to understanding this historical reality. One will observe that the tools and procedures already used by historians in the case of southern Italy are also suitable to the Illyrian region, one of the new horizons still partly unexplored by historiographical research of the ancient world.

### BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENCE OF MYTHS<sup>3</sup>

A point of reference for religious and social life in ancient times, paradoxically myth has been submitted, since the times of Xenophanes of Colophon and of Thucydides up to

Plato and Aristotle, to polemic exegesis and a shocked scrutiny which underscored, in particular, its irrational character and its fantastic and erroneous content<sup>4</sup>. Considered for a long time as “fabulous stories of gods, demigods, and heroes of Antiquity”, or “a confusing mixture of fantasy, philosophical ideals and fragments of ancient history” whose “analysis is impossible”<sup>5</sup>, the idea that myth was a mode of thought as well as a narrative tool was only integrated into studies at the beginning of the 18th century.

The early beginnings of a science of myth are strictly linked to the exploration of the New World and the discovery of customs and fables of American peoples: the publication in 1724, of the essay of French and Jesuit traveller J.-F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* [Habits of American Savages Compared to Customs of Antiquity], by establishing a parallel between the beliefs of ancient Greeks and the superstitions of American Indians and by recognising a convergence between the stories of the Hellenes and those of inhabitants of the New World, laid the foundation of an early comparative mythology. In the eyes of the priest, the two peoples had a pre-Christian religious level in common, and shared a condition of religious primitiveness, of which the myth constituted a decadent and crude expression<sup>6</sup>.

Still hindered by an ethical and moralising interpretation, where the myth is nothing but a narration of atrocity, incest, parricide, adultery, murder and acts of cannibalism, there were no new developments in mythological study until the second half of the 19th century, and then further development was due to the progress of linguistics and comparative grammar, which form the base of the reflections of Max Muller, founder of the school of comparative mythology. For this Indianist, the myth is only a pathology of language, a kind of metaphoric perversion in the development of language, the result of a journey in three stages which sees, after the formation of words of the language and the development of grammatical structures, the expression of the mythopoetic phase, where the original sense of words is obliterated, ceases to be clear to the speakers and denotes mythical figures<sup>7</sup>.

At the end of the 19th century, the English anthropological school, founded by E.B. Taylor and A. Lang, opposed Muller’s linguistic model, often too fanciful in its linguistic and etymological reconstructions, objecting to it as being irrational: how could one give an explanation for the savage nature of myths, a feature still quite present within so-called primitive civilizations? Taylor’s response no longer mobilised language, but the human spirit, in which the myth constitutes the early stage of evolution and the primordial state: man “mythologizes” spontaneously in his early days, before attaining the age of reason and philosophy, in ancient Greece as well as among “savage peoples”<sup>8</sup>. A vestige of times past, the myth therefore represents the savage state of thought. This point of view encouraged the revival of comparativism and places this approach within the framework of a real ethnological science: it was in the wake of this study that J.G. Frazer embarked upon the immense task of a parallel interpretation of myths of classical civilizations and primitive peoples which ended in the publication, from 1890, of the twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough*, an enormous synthesis an evolutionist approach<sup>9</sup>.

The reaction to the English thesis, notably to the generalisations provoked by an anthropological confrontation with other cultures judged as excessive, was not long in coming and, at the beginning of the 20th century, the German school of historical philology called for the return of classical mythological studies to the monopoly of philology. The contributions of L. Deubner, M.P. Nilsson and O. Gruppe, through the collection and the classification of classical mythic data, have provided indispensable work tools, even if their purely literary analysis led to an ignorance of the specificity of the myth<sup>10</sup>.

Meanwhile, in Germany, within the sphere of influence of the philosophy of E. Cassirer<sup>11</sup> and those dedicated like him to the “tautegorical” approach to myth (the meaning of the myth is in what it recounts and not in another object) designated by F.W. Schelling<sup>12</sup>, S. Freud likened the myth to other forms of symptomatic expressions of unconscious desires (dreams, *lapsus linguae*, subconscious deliberate mistakes), thereby creating the basis of his vast psychoanalytical construction; C.G. Jung recognized archetypical images organized in the collective unconscious in mythical stories; K. Kerényi considered myth to be “the myth of man”, as a modality of knowledge and creation specific to man. The religious phenomenology of F.W. Otto pursued this reflection on the symbolism of myths finding a force that shapes the culture of man<sup>13</sup>.

The functionalists did not hesitate to oppose the position of the German symbolists: the criticisms of B. Malinowski underlined the absence, in the interpretation of symbolists, of all consideration of the social and institutional role of the myth, which is taken completely out of its context<sup>14</sup>. The studies of this Polish ethnologist placed myths in their social environment: they served to maintain social stability and preserved, by the repetition of its language and symbols, respect for norms and hierarchies. It played a role in studying the function of a social institution or individual behaviour. The same perspective was shared by E. Durkheim, the head of the French School of Sociology: Durkheim’s reflection conceded a primary role to myth (no longer separated from religion) because it is at the origin of fundamental notions of science and major forms of culture (“Toutes sont comme vêtues et enveloppées de quelque figure issue du mythe”<sup>15</sup>).

It is on these foundations, and with the desire to integrate limits within them, that the research of the anthropologist M. Mauss, the sinologist M. Granet and the Hellenist L. Gernet was added<sup>16</sup>. The latter insisted, in particular, on what related to the Greek domain, on the unity and continuity between mythic symbols, institutional practices and language events. The specificity of the mythic story is read in the light of the institutional and conceptual system of which it constitutes a particular expression. Thought is therefore a “total social fact” which involves economic and political dimensions, as well as ethics and aesthetics at the same time<sup>17</sup>.

After G. Dumézil’s research on the functional tripartition of sovereignty, war and fertility myths, which revealed the deep structural analogies in Indo-European myths<sup>18</sup>, the most sensational advances took place between 1958 and 1964, again in France and more precisely at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, an eminent place of religious

research, thanks to the Americanist C. Levi-Strauss. By looking on the one hand to the studies of Mauss, Gernet and Dumézil, and on the other to his knowledge of a vast number of Amerindian myths of oral tradition, the founder of structuralism defined myth as a story structured in episodes, told on particular occasions, often sacred, and reproduced through different stories without breaking down its general structure. Only the latter counts for analysis, which is done by picking out the constitutive elements of the story, the mythemes, short phrases in themselves devoid of meaning (like phonemes in language) but the combination of which gives narrative sense to the mythic story through the interaction of opposition and homology. Therefore, myth possesses an apparent narrative level, but also a more profound level that mythemes allow them to reach. In order to understand it completely, “Il ne doit jamais être interprété seul, mais dans son rapport avec d’autres mythes qui, pris ensemble, constituent un groupe de transformations” and “par référence à l’ethnographie des sociétés dont ils proviennent”<sup>19</sup>, which amounts to recognizing the importance of the skills of the historian in the case of Greek myths<sup>20</sup>.

Submitted to methods of structural analysis, myth has earned a legitimate place in the domain of History: not only for the fact that it is part of History and that its “formal dynamic reflects by a collection of logical transformations the historical evolution of societies”, but also because it helped to detect in civilisations “the presence of such or such a concrete element” which revealed, for example, the existence, otherwise unsuspected, of contacts and exchanges between several societies<sup>21</sup>.

Inspired by the work of this distinguished predecessor, the research of French Hellenists of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes has adopted and adapted the Levi-Straussian procedures to the Greek domain: J.-P. Vernant, M. Detienne and P. Vidal-Naquet have enriched mythic knowledge and interpretation with essential contributions to several aspects of Greek culture and spirituality. Their work has stimulated an international reflection, the results of which are still relevant today<sup>22</sup>.

Conscious of the fundamental contribution of myth to the knowledge of the Greek man and of his social, political and cultural concerns, Hellenists today dedicate themselves to discerning, behind the richness of mythic discourses, their deeper meaning and their relationship with History.

## MYTH IN THE PERIPHERY: ACCULTURATION, FRONTIERS, ETHNIC IDENTITY

Today, the long exercise of “unravelling” myth makes it an essential tool for studying the multiple facets of the Greek universe. Mythic stories, a mode of expression of the mental organisation of the Greek man, of his reference systems and values, therefore provides an essential contribution to the study of cultural and social processes triggered off by contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks: the relationship between the Other and the complex dynamics aroused in the context of social intercourse with Greeks or their occupation of peripheral territories (*emporía* and colonies) can be better grasped thanks to the acknowledgement of the role played by the myth.

The Greek colonial phenomenon earned a place in ancient studies in the relatively recent past: the development of archaeological sites in southern Italy since the 1960s and the spread of a more general thought pattern – linked to the effects of decolonisation – of re-evaluation and re-valorisation of cultures other than ‘Western’, have produced a new interest in the encounters and interferences between Greek culture and “Barbarian” cultures.

Once again, this process is indebted to the experience of anthropological studies: the reflections developed in studies on American Indians in the late 19th century have led to the introduction into the vocabulary and the field of scientific research of the word and notion of “acculturation”<sup>23</sup>, that is “the collection of phenomena resulting from direct and continued contact between groups of individuals from different cultures with subsequent changes in the cultural types of one group or the other”<sup>24</sup>. Later contributions, especially from the 1930s, have permitted the introduction of new hypotheses, a better definition of working methods and an early classification of the types of itineraries and acculturative agents<sup>25</sup>.

This anthropological approach, elaborated particularly in the framework of a study of modern and contemporary colonial contexts, has therefore been applied to the Greco-Roman world. The now outdated label used in the beginning of “Hellenisation” and “Romanisation” was followed by the definition, more “politically correct” and more satisfying from an epistemological point of view, of “modes of contact and transformation processes”<sup>26</sup>. This new formula was also the title of a meeting held in Cortona in 1981, a key colloquium in the debate on the problems of cultural exchange in ancient societies<sup>27</sup>. This important scientific step has in reality been the outcome of a fruitful dialogue between Italian and French researchers that started as early as the 1960s, and of which the founding moments have been, in 1961, the first Congress on Studies of Greater Greece at Taranto, *Greci e Italici in Magna Graecia* and, in 1963, the 8th International Congress on Classical Archaeology, *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*<sup>28</sup>. Again in 1971, ten years after the first meeting, the annual rendezvous in Taranto highlighted the problem of non-Hellenic inhabitants in Magna Graecia (*Le genti non greche in Magna Graecia*) as a key issue.

In 1967, the Centre Jean Bérard, a research team associated with the CNRS, was created in Naples, becoming a joint emanation from the CNRS and the French School of Rome (Ecole française de Rome) from 1999: a research platform for French and Italian researchers working on southern Italy and Sicily. By means of archaeological excavations organised in Southern Italy and its numerous publications, the Centre Jean Bérard has considerably enriched the knowledge of the colonial realities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, by allowing a better comprehension of the social, economic and religious phenomena linked to the Greek colonial presence<sup>29</sup>.

In 1997, the researchers who met at Taranto became interested in the frontier territories in the western Greek world, in the context of new research originating from concepts of *Frontier History* and *Ethnicity*, two notions coined by Anglo-American historiography

that met with great success among Hellenists from the 1990s onwards and which today constitute the pivot of the historiographical debate in favour or against a Helleno-centric vision of ancient history<sup>30</sup>.

The frontier, both geographical and cultural, is the place of difference, and therefore the space, both physical and psychological, where the question of identity manifests itself most violently with two corollary consequences: a more acute sense of belonging to one's own community and its values, and a clearer perception of the Other and of his Otherness<sup>31</sup>.

Highlighted by G. Pugliese Carratelli, the frontier is also a meeting point. It is not an impassable boundary but a permeable field of reciprocal ethnic interrelations and transmissions. Thus, sometimes Greek myths originally "projected" on non-Hellenic environments used a conceptual and expressive code shared by the indigenous peoples themselves (or by a group, often the elite, of the native community) which could therefore be used to assert their own identity and values. In this case, the myth was often perceived as a vector of prestige and therefore as an essential power factor: its social and political impact was such that it contributed to the "heroisation" of indigenous aristocracies. In these instances, one can witness the phenomenon of mythic reception.

For a definition of identities and, more generally, for the illustration of the themes of acculturation, myth has been taken into consideration in southern Italy and Sicily more than in any other region affected by Greek colonisation. This is partly by virtue of a "high degree of acculturation in the indigenous societies, likely to participate in an identical common imagination (with the Greek) and perhaps also by reason of "a Mycenaean tradition taking root in the societies of the Dark Ages"<sup>32</sup>. Here, we are indebted to the exemplary exploitation of an archaeological and, in particular, iconographical document capable of offsetting the lack of more explicit evidence. We refer to the contributions gathered after the international colloquium in Rome on *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique*. In particular, the communication of F.-H. Massa-Pairault with his remarkable interpretation of the Etruscan recovery of the Athenian myth of Erichthonius, the mythical founder of the autochthonous Athenian identity, a legendary story that metamorphoses into the foundation myth of the *nomen etruscum* identity in the middle of the 4th century B.C.<sup>33</sup>. This is an exemplary case of reception of a Greek myth.

Finally, each study of a myth requires a thorough awareness of the historical context in which the myth in question was produced: I. Malkin defined this "mythic-historical" approach and emphasized that, rather than considering the myth as bearers of a "core of truth" relative to the past that they narrated, it is necessary to see them "as an integral part of the history of the period in which it was told"<sup>34</sup>. This interpretation allows for a better understanding of the links that united the Greeks to colonised territories and the responses that they gave to the confrontation with the Other. After having travelled the mythic path which accompanied colonial foundation, the Israeli researcher applied his methodology, in particular, to the myths about Ulysses' return in order to better define

the period of Greek proto-colonisation<sup>35</sup>. The originality of his approach, nurtured by a multi-disciplinary effort, has opened new influential and stimulating paths of exploration for specialists.

## GREEK MYTHS IN ILLYRIA: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF ILLYRIAN STUDIES

Today, taking advantage of solid theoretical and methodological bases, research is more and more oriented towards investigating other territories also involved in the encounter with the Hellenic world, thanks to discoveries by archaeologists attracted to new research terrains. Among these, there is the Illyrian region, namely the eastern Adriatic coast and its surroundings: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia and Albania (Fig. 1).

If the difficult political situations that these countries have gone through have prevented sufficient in-depth research in the past and if, even today, it is still complicated to have direct access to materials brought to light in excavations (that began, in some cases, in the first half of the 20th century), the enormous archaeological capital of the region can interest historians once again. In fact, activity has resumed in the last few years now as researchers from nations concerned with the excavations participate in archaeological missions. For example, in Albania, France has archaeologists working at Apollonia and at Byllis, Italy at Phoinike and the United Kingdom at Butrint. These missions aim to complete topographical and archaeological knowledge of the Albanian sites and permit the conservation and improvement of a heritage of rare value. The examination of the evidence uncovered will permit new chapters to be added to the history of colonisation and contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks, even though it will be necessary to wait several years before the results are compiled into an entirely satisfying syntheses.

Outside, and before, research on the terrain, the interest in Illyria is part of the larger framework of growing attention to the Adriatic space. After the pioneering studies of R. L. Beaumont on the Adriatic and, a little later, the contributions of D. Rendić-Miočević, it was necessary to wait until the 1970s to see a realization of the impact exerted by the Adriatic *koinè*<sup>36</sup> and the Adriatic “traffic” on the development of ancient civilisations<sup>37</sup>. The book *Grecità adriatica* by L. Braccesi, published in 1971, followed by the 1973 congress *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'Antichità*, has opened a new and fruitful debate over this space<sup>38</sup>. If Braccesi's attention is concentrated on the eastern part of the Adriatic, and particularly on the Syracusan colonial presence in the Adriatic, P. Cabanes' studies, originally oriented to the region of Epirus, now focuses on the southern Illyrian region.

These two researchers, operating with two, sometimes far distant, approaches and questionings, have been able, through their dynamism and enthusiasm, to promote scientific initiatives that continue to enrich the knowledge of the Adriatic space and its history with new contributions: the Italian scholar through the periodic publication of *Hesperia* and his French colleague with the organisation and publication of international colloquia on southern Illyria and Epirus in Antiquity<sup>39</sup>.



Fig. 1  
The Illyrian tribes.

In their research, the two teams have included the problem of colonial and indigenous identities and have tackled it, in part, through the interpretation of myths<sup>40</sup>, which happen to find a particularly fertile terrain in ancient Illyria and Epirus. Literary sources in the Greek and Latin languages record the presence of numerous characters and episodes belonging to the Hellenic tradition, where there is a pervasive presence of heroes from *nostoi*, the return voyages from the Trojan War: Diomedes, Helenus and Andromache, Aeneas, Antenor and above all Elephenor. The link with Troy is developed to such a point it would seem that a real Trojan tradition existed.

The Dorian hero par excellence, Heracles, also had close relations with this region. The Argonauts hugged the eastern shores of the Adriatic on their way to Corinth after capturing the Golden Fleece.

The Theban hero, Cadmus, emigrated there with his spouse Harmonia as serpents, and reigned over the local tribe of Enchelians: this legend is without doubt the most entrenched in the Illyrian territory and seems to have been, more than others, taken up by the indigenous royalty. Indeed, numerous literary sources locate the legend of Cadmus-serpent on the Oriental Adriatic slopes between the rivers Neretva and Drin and around Lake Ohrid at the frontiers between Albania and Macedonia. There, according to Strabo's account (VII, 7-8), the sovereigns of one indigenous tribe, the Enchelians, claimed to be descendants of the Theban couple (Fig. 2).

The appropriation of the Cadmean myth, suggested by this literary passage, would be later confirmed by two pieces of iconographic: two belt clasps of Illyrian manufacture. One was found at Selca e Poshtme (Albania) and the other at Gostilj (Montenegro), both date back to the Hellenistic age and representing a quasi-identical battle scene which can, without doubt, be linked with the Illyrian episode of the myth of Cadmus (Fig. 3).

Therefore, it would appear to be an example of myth absorption, obviously favoured by the existence of a strong cultural substratum in Illyria, probably going back to the prehistoric age, in which the sacred nature of the serpent was well established.

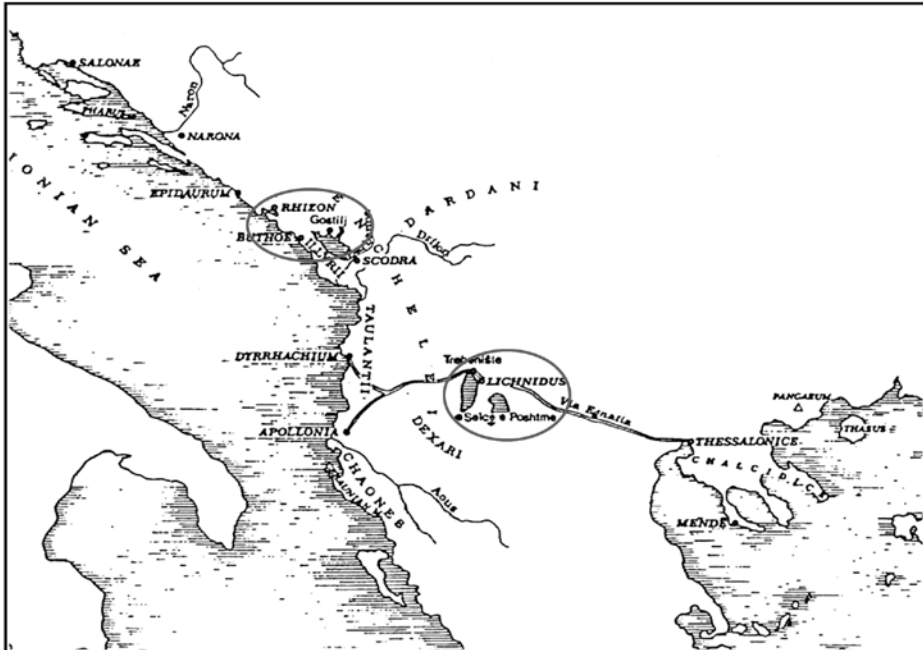


Fig. 2  
Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria: peoples and places mentioned in the texts.

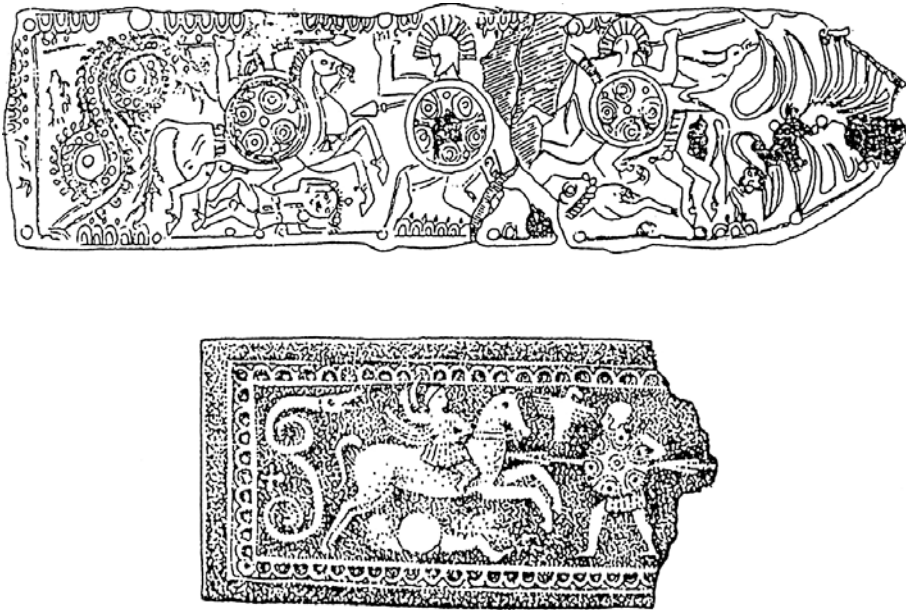


Fig. 3  
Selca's and Gostjli's belt buckles.

It must be admitted that these legends, unquestionably the result of Greek contacts with the Illyrian world, have been frequently modified, embellished and transformed according to circumstances. Certain mythic data does not fall far short of real propaganda, as is the case with the legend of *Illyrios*, related by Appian (*Illyriké*, II, 3-4), or the story about the origin of the name *Ionios kolpos*, the Adriatic Sea, also recorded by Appian (*Bellum Civile*, II, 39). This aspect of traditional narrative sometimes makes it difficult to establish the original version of the myth and to distinguish later additions, especially if one considers the chronological span of literary traces.

Probably because Illyrian research is so recent, these myths have been the subject of only a few articles, the most convincing of which remain M. Šašel Kos's contributions, but these have never been read thoroughly or with a view to synthesizing their entire significance<sup>41</sup>.

Only the detailed study of the historical context, along with a careful textual exegesis and the support of the available archaeological material, will permit the correct interpretation of these mythical stories and make them a precious tool for the definition of the acculturative alchemies that arose from the contact between Greeks and Illyrians. Therefore, the research is still far from its conclusion, but the necessary tools have been prepared.

The centuries-long research on the myth, after rendering the modes of expression intelligible, continues today, and will continue in future to provide historians with new

tools to understand the Ancients. The objective will be to shed light on a crucial dimension within studies that are supposed to be humanistic: forms of thought, mentalities, awareness of the self and perception of the Other by the Antique Man, considered as an individual and as a member of a community, his inner history and his social and cultural environment, of which he is both an actor and a creator.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Interview with the "Nouvel Observateur" (May 5 1980), words recorded by J.-P. Enthoven and J. Julliard.
- <sup>2</sup> See J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et religion en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1990, pp. 34-35
- <sup>3</sup> This entire section benefits from the contribution of several readings and therefore constitutes a synthetic review of more detailed reconstitutions than one can obtain in: J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et religion en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1974; Id., *Enciclopedia del Novecento*, vol. IV, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1979, in the article "Mito", pp. 350-367; M. Detienne, *L'invention de la mythologie*, Paris 1981; Id., *Les Grecs et nous, Une anthropologie comparée de la Grèce ancienne*, Paris 2005; C. Calame, *Mythe et histoire dans L'Antiquité grecque, La création symbolique d'une colonie*, Lausanne 1996.
- <sup>4</sup> For a more complete overview of the perception of Greek myths by the ancients, see P. Veyne, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leur mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante*, Paris 1983. See also: C. Ginzburg, *Mito*, in *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte e società*, I: *I Greci e noi*, Turin 1996, pp. 197-237.
- <sup>5</sup> Quotation from the article "Mythologie" of the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts et des métiers*, X, Neuchâtel 1765, pp. 924-926.
- <sup>6</sup> J.-F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps*, 4 vols., Paris 1724. Lafitau's point of view is shared in part by another Frenchman, B. Le Bouyer de Fontenelle, author of the treatise *De l'origine des fables*, published in Paris en 1724; for him, fables and myths are only irrational and inventions. Contrary to the Jesuit, he considered them not as a deteriorated form of a religious spirit, but as embryonic manifestations of a phenomenon that would transform itself into a religion.
- <sup>7</sup> M. Müller, *The science of language*, London 1861-1863 and Id., *Lectures on the science of language. Second series*, London 1863.
- <sup>8</sup> E.B. Taylor, *Primitive culture. Researches into the development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, London 1903<sup>4</sup>; A. Lang, *La mythologie*, Paris 1886; Id., *Modern Mythology*, London 1897; Id., *The making of religion*, London 1909<sup>3</sup>.
- <sup>9</sup> J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, 12 vols., London 1890-1915.
- <sup>10</sup> M.P. Nilsson, *Greek popular religion*, New York 1940; Id., *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, vol. I, Munich 1967<sup>3</sup>, vol. II, 1961<sup>2</sup>; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906; Id., *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit*, in *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Roscher), suppl., Leipzig 1921.
- <sup>11</sup> E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, 3 vols., Berlin 1923-1929.
- <sup>12</sup> F.W. Schelling, *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie*, 2 vols., Stuttgart-Augsburg 1856-1857.
- <sup>13</sup> S. Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, Leipzig-Vienna 1913; C.G. Jung, *Zur Psychologie westlicher und östlicher Religion*, Zurich 1963; C.G. Jung - K. Kerényi, *Einführung in das Wesen der Mythologie*, Amsterdam-Leipzig 1941; K. Kerényi, *Die Mythologie der Griechen*, 2 vols., Munich 1951; W.F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands. Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes*, Frankfurt/Main 1947.
- <sup>14</sup> B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, New York-London 1922; Id., *Myth in primitive psychology*, London 1926.
- <sup>15</sup> "Everything is clothed in and enveloped by some figure originating from myth".

- <sup>16</sup> M. Mauss, *Ceuvres. Vol. II, Représentations collectives et diversité des civilisations*, Paris 1969; M. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 2 vols., Paris 1926; Id., *La pensée chinoise*, Paris 1934; Id., *La religions des Chinois*, Paris 1951; L. Gernet, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris 1917; Id., *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968.
- <sup>17</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 131.
- <sup>18</sup> G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, vol. I, *L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, Paris 1968 et vol. II, *Types épiques indo-européens: un héros, un sorcier, un roi*, Paris 1971.
- <sup>19</sup> "It should never be interpreted alone, but in relation to other myths which, taken together, constitute a group of transformations" and "by reference to the ethnography of the societies from which they came". C. Lévi-Strauss, *Religions comparées des peuples sans écriture*, in *Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1961, p. 5.
- <sup>20</sup> C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale*, Paris 1958; Id., *La geste d'Asdiwal*, in *Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1958; Id., *Mythologiques*, vol. I, *Le cru et le cuit*, Paris 1964; vol. II, *Du miel au cendres*, Paris 1966; vol. III, *L'origine des manières de table*, Paris 1968; vol IV, *L'homme nu*, Paris 1971.
- <sup>21</sup> See F. Keck, *Claude Lévi-Strauss, une introduction*, Paris 2005.
- <sup>22</sup> As a comprehensive list would be too long, this list is limited to the major titles: J.-P. Vernant, *Les origines de la pensée grecque*, Paris 1962; Id., *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs, Etudes de psychologie historique*, Paris 1965; *La mort dans les yeux. Figures de l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1985; Id., *L'individu, la mort, l'amour. Soi-même et l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1989; J.-P. Vernant - P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1972; J.-P. Vernant - M. Detienne, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La métis des Grecs*, Paris 1974; M. Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis. La mythologie des aromates en Grèce*, Paris 1972; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir, Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*, Paris 1981.
- <sup>23</sup> The first person to use the word "acculturation" was the American ethnologist Powell. (J.W. Powell, *Introduction to the study of Indian languages*, Washington 1880, p. 46).
- <sup>24</sup> R. Redfield - R. Linton - M. Herskowitz, *Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation*, "American Anthropologist", 38, 1936, pp. 149-152.
- <sup>25</sup> See R. Bastide, "Acculturation", *Encyclopedia Universalis*, Paris 1968, vol. 1, pp. 102-107; Id., *Le prochain et le lointain*, Paris 2001; N. Wachtel, *L'acculturation*, in P. Nora (ed.), *Faire de l'Histoire. Nouveaux problèmes*, Paris 1974, t.1, pp. 124-146.
- <sup>26</sup> Useful, for a reading of methodological problems, an article by C. Gallini, *Che cosa intendere per ellenizzazione. Problemi di metodo*, in "Dialoghi di archeologia", 1973, 7, pp. 175-191, where the phenomenon of Hellenisation of the Roman world is interpreted in light of Marxist dynamic structure-superstructure.
- <sup>27</sup> *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes, Actes du colloque de Cortona (24-30 mai 1981)*, Rome 1983.
- <sup>28</sup> One can also cite, but in a philological rather than a historical context, the encounter eloquently entitled *Grec et Barbares*, Interview with the Hardt foundation in 1961.
- <sup>29</sup> As an example, we will cite: A. Mele, *Il commercio greco arcaico. Prexis ed emporie*, Naples 1979; *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident. 1.*, Naples 1980 and *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident. 2.*, Naples 1984; *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, 1975 and *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Naples 1982; B. D'Agostino - M. Bats (ed.), *Euboica. L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente, Actes du Colloque International (Naples 1996)*, Naples 1998, (co-edited with l'Istituto Universitario Orientale).
- <sup>30</sup> *Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente, Atti del trentasettesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 3-6 ottobre 1997*, Taranto 1999.
- <sup>31</sup> See W. Nippel, *La costruzione dell' "altro"*, in W. Nippel, *I Greci. Storia, Cultura, Arte, Società*, I: *Noi e i Greci*, Torino 1996, pp. 165-183; F. Hartog, *Mémoire d'Ulysse. Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1996; G. Vanotti - C. Perassi (eds.), *In limine. Recherche su marginalità e periferia nel mondo antico*, Milan 2004.

- <sup>32</sup> P. Lévêque, *L'Italie des mythes*, in *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique, fonction et image, Actes du Colloque international, Rome, 14-16 novembre 1996*, Rome 1999, p. 637.
- <sup>33</sup> F.-H. Massa-Pairault, *Mythe et identité politique, l'Etrurie du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'époque hellénistique*, in *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique, fonction et image, Actes du colloque international, Rome, 14-16 novembre 1996*, Rome 1999, pp. 521-554.
- <sup>34</sup> I. Malkin, *La Méditerranée spartiate, Mythe et territoire*, Paris 1999, p. 23.
- <sup>35</sup> I. Malkin, *Religion and colonisation in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987; *The Return of Odysseus. Colonisation and ethnicity*, Berkeley 1998.
- <sup>36</sup> Common space.
- <sup>37</sup> R.L. Beaumont, *Greek influence in Adriatic Sea before the fourth century B.C.*, "JHS", 61, 1936, pp. 159-204; D. Rendić-Miočević, *I Greci in Adriatico*, "Studi romagnoli," 12, 1962, pp. 39-56.
- <sup>38</sup> See in particular: M. Pallottino, *Considerazioni sul problema della funzione storica dell'Adriatico nell'Antichità*, in *L'Adriatico tra Mediterraneo e penisola balcanica nell'Antichità (Lecce-Matera, 21-27 ottobre 1973)*, Taranto 1983, pp. 11-21; 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, pp. 127-145.
- <sup>39</sup> The collection *Hespéria, Studi sulla Grecità d'Occidente* was published from 1990. Today, there are twenty monographs in the collection, which however are not all dedicated to Adriatic problems. The international colloquia on meridional Illyria and Epirus take place every six years. The first and the second took place in Clermont-Ferrand in 1984 and 1990, the third in Chantilly in 1996. The most recent one, the fourth, was held in Grenoble in 2002 and was organised and edited by P. Cabanes and J.-L. Lamboley.
- <sup>40</sup> See, as an example, P. Cabanes, *La présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du Sud*, in *Greek influence along the East Adriatic Coast, Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from September 24th to 26th 1998*, Split 2002, pp. 51-62; L. Braccesi, *Diomedes cum Gallis*, "Hesperia", 2, 1991, pp. 90-102.
- <sup>41</sup> M. Šašel Kos, *Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria*, "Arheološki vestnik", 44, 1993, pp. 113-136; Id., *Mythological stories concerning Illyria and its name*, in P. Cabanes - J.-L. Lamboley (eds.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité - IV, Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> colloque internationale de Grenoble (10-12 octobre 2002)*, Paris 2004, pp. 493-504.

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