

Notes on the Kadmos Legend

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Abstract

There are many foundation legends in Greek mythology like the stories of Danaos and Pelops. However all these legends are quite different from the foundation myth of Kadmos because in these legends the existence of a city is always presupposed; on the other hand, in the Kadmos legend, Kadmos is mentioned to have built a city. This fact seems very important since no other Greek city preserves this kind of foundation myth. This also suggests that Kadmos must have founded Thebes as the name of the city implies. Also Kadmos is consistently mentioned as a Phoenician in ancient literature, and interestingly no Greek tradition says he was Greek. Furthermore, the etymology of Kadmos is considered to be Semitic meaning "easterner". These facts clearly suggest that he was a man from the Near East and the genealogy of Kadmos also indicates his Eastern origin. The close relations are attested in the Aegean region during the Early Bronze Age, which may imply the presence of Near Eastern peoples on the Greek mainland. In the end of EH II, Thebes suddenly became a big town from a small village and this sudden urbanization seems to be attributed to the foundation of Thebes by Kadmos.

Introduction

In Greek mythology, Agenor, the king of Tyre (or Sidon), sent Kadmos together with his brothers Kilix and Phoenix to find his missing daughter Europe with instructions not to return without Europe. With Kadmos' mother Telephassa, he sought Europe as far as Thrace where his mother died, and after a long journey, he arrived at Delphi. When he asked his guidance, the Delphic oracle advised him to build a city where a cow, which he should find, lay down. The cow guided Kadmos to the site of Thebes in Boiotia, and following the oracle of Delphi, he built a city which was called the Kadmeia after him. This is the well-known foundation myth of Thebes, and as Nilsson mentions the Kadmos legend is regarded as "the strict sense of the term"¹⁾. It seems to be very hard to find another true foundation myth such as the Kadmos legend associated with a city in Greece. The myth is quite different from the legends of Danaos, Neleus and Pelops; they started new dynasties in Greece. Though actually they did not build a city, there are also several stories which refer to the fortification of the city. For instance, Amphion and Zethos built the walls of Thebes; Apollo and Poseidon built the walls of Troy by Laomedon, and the Cyclops built the walls of Tiryns for King Proitos. All these legends, however, are different from the myth of Kadmos because in these legends, the city is always supposed to be in existence. Therefore the foundation myth of Kadmos appears to show a very specific character, and this indicates that there might have been some historical nuclei in the Kadmos legend.

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1. Kadmos, Phoenicia, and Crete

The legend of Kadmos was one of the most famous stories in ancient Greece, and Kadmos' Phoenician origin was consistently mentioned in ancient literature. Herodotus mentions that Kadmos came to Greece from Phoenicia (Φοινίκη)²⁾, and he also describes that Kadmos introduced the alphabet (Φοινικῆα or Καδμῆα γράμματα) into Greece (Hdt. 5.59). Euripides also states the Phoenician origin of Kadmos in his plays (Eur. *Phoenissae* 5f. ; 638ff., etc.), and he also describes the Phoenician origin of Kadmos' sister Europe, who was abducted by Zeus and became the mother of Minos. Hellanikos of Lesbos in the fifth century B.C. alludes the Phoenician origin of Kadmos and Europe likewise³⁾. Knowledge of the Phoenician origin of Kadmos (and Europe) was widely known by various authors such as Diodoros of Sicily, Strabo, Pausanias, Apollodoros, Ovid, Tacitus, Plutarch, and so on as well as Herodotos and Euripides. These ancient authors understood that the original home of Kadmos (or Europe) was Tyre or Sidon indicating the coastal region of Phoenicia⁴⁾. Although there is no reference concerning the origin of Kadmos before the fifth century B.C., from the fifth century B.C. onwards many authors thought that Kadmos came to Greece from Phoenicia (Tyre or Sidon). And as R. Edwards states, it is interesting to say that no Greek tradition mentions that Kadmos was Greek⁵⁾. This fact clearly indicates that Kadmos was considered to have been a foreigner and his eastern origin was already acknowledged by ancient authors.

The etymology of Kadmos is not certain, although his eastern origin is almost certain since no Greek tradition says that he was Greek in origin. Therefore, it may be reasonable to regard the name as Semitic formed on the root QDM, Hebrew *qadm-*, *qedem* meaning "east", namely "easterner" as Fontenrose maintains⁶⁾. This Semitic etymology obviously accords with his eastern origin. As for the etymology of Europe, both the Indo-European and Semitic etymologies are considered to be speculative and the etymology of Europe is not known so far ; on the other hand, the etymology of Harmonia, wife of Kadmos and daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, is considered to be derived from Greek ἀρμονία. This seems appropriate because the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia represents that a foreign conqueror married a native woman⁸⁾. The word takes place from Homer onwards and according to Liddell and Scott⁹⁾, the word is defined as the following : a Phoenician, a purple red or crimson because the discovery and earliest use of this color was attributed to the Phoenicians, the palm tree, and the fabulous bird Phoenix. As for the origin of the term Phoenix, though there are various views, it may be possible to say that the word once signified the supplier of red dye associating the Phoenicians who were known with the use and making of purple dye. Actually, the purple dye industry is reported in many places in the Aegean region. For instance, the purple dye industry is observed in Troy IV where layers of crushed murex were discovered ; at Aghios Kosmas in Attica broken murex shells for dye extraction were seen in LH II and LH III levels and also in Crete where the industry was already practiced in Middle Minoan days¹⁰⁾. Therefore, it is highly possible that the Phoenicians learnt the technology of the industry from the Cretans, and once the term

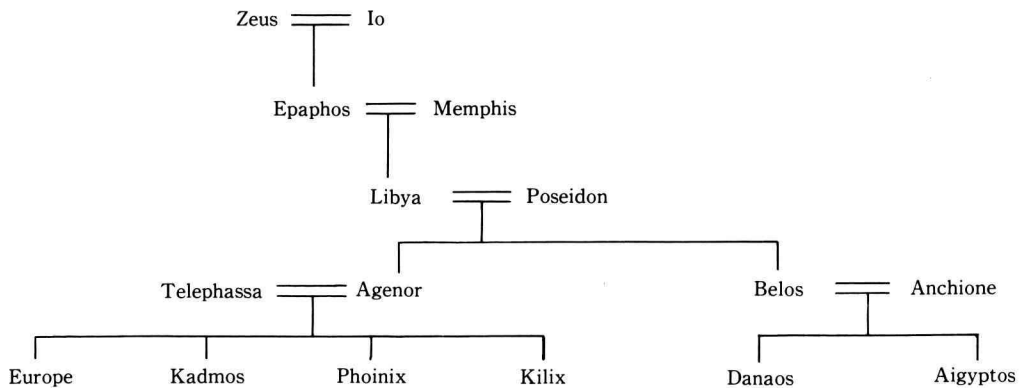


Table 1. Genealogy of Kadmos (according to Apollodoros)

Phoenix might include to signify "Cretan" in its meaning since the Cretans were active in the purple-dye industry as early as the Middle Minoan period and had a reputation for it in antiquity¹¹⁾.

Along with the purple-dye industry, Crete is also related to the legend of Kadmos through Europe. As Greek mythology tells Europe, sister of Kadmos, was abducted by Zeus and in Crete she bore two (or three) sons: Minos, Rhadamanthys (and Sarpedon). This legend indicates that the Minoan dynasty was the Phoenician blood in origin like the dynasty of Kadmos at Thebes. Together with the legendary king Minos, his brother Rhadamanthys is also related to Boiotia where Kadmos and the Theban dynasties are closely associated. According to Apollodoros (Apollod. 2.4.11), Rhadamanthys fled from Crete to Boiotia and lived as a refugee at Okaleai, where he married Alkmene, the mother of Herakles, after the death of Amphitryon. The legend of Danaos tells¹²⁾ that he came from Egypt and settled in the Argolid and he became the king of Argos in place of the reigning king Gelanor. The name Danaos became the eponymous of the Danaoi, a tribal name, and it is considered to be equivalent with later Greeks as mentioned in the Homeric epic. Danaos is reared as a foreign conqueror together with Kadmos from Phoenicia and Pelops from Asia Minor. The genealogy of Danaos (Table 1) is related to Greek soil; namely Danaos is the son of Belos which makes him the nephew of Agenor, the king of Tyre and father of Kadmos. Belos is a great-grand son of Zeus and Io. In Greek mythology, Io, the daughter of Inachos, the river-god and ancestor of the Argive kings, was the priestess of Hera at Argos; Io was loved by Zeus but was transformed into a cow by the jealous Hera. Then Io was driven out of Argos, and after long wanderings, she reached Egypt where she bore a son named Epaphos, the grandfather of Belos (the father of Danaos) and Agenor. As the genealogy shows, Danaos' close association with Egypt (the homeland of Danaos), Greece (Io's connection with Argos, and Danaos eventually succeeded the dynasty in Argos), Phoenicia (Kadmos) and Crete (Europe) is clearly represented. The legend of Danaos signifies the existence of a new dynasty in Greece with Near Eastern affiliations together with the legends of Rhadamanthys, Kadmos and Europe¹³⁾. Similarly, the close association with the Near East and the Greek

mainland is seen in the Linear B tablets. Several Semitic names have been discovered by Ventris and Chadwick, namely, *σήσαμα*, *κίμινον*, *χιτῶν*, *χρυσος*, and *κύπαιος*¹⁴⁾. According to Ventris and Chadwick, the five words mentioned above were absorbed by Greek in the Bronze Age and not to be borrowings from the later Phoenician¹⁵⁾. This fact clearly represents that there were close contacts between the Mycenaean Greeks and Near Eastern peoples, and this also indicates that there must have been Easterners in Greece in the Early Bronze Age since the close relations are attested in the Aegean region during the EH II period¹⁶⁾.

2. Kadmos and the Legends of Thebes

In the Neolithic period, it seems that several settlements scattered around the Aonian plain, though no evidence of a Neolithic presence on the Kadmeia is reported. Habitation appears to have begun in the EH II period on the south side of the Kadmeia, and by the end of EH III, the area was occupied by the settlement of 200 m. by 300 m. which is a fourfold expansion in comparison with the earlier settlement¹⁷⁾. This abrupt development is considered to have occurred in the end of EH II, which is attested by the pottery from site 245 and at sites 208 and 245, artifacts brought from the Cyclades were discovered showing close relations between the Cyclades and Thebes¹⁸⁾. It is reported that there were three good harbors implying the area as an "exchange center" even in the Neolithic period in the Argolid¹⁹⁾, which indicates that there was a fairly economic dependence of the Argolid on the outside of the Aegean region. This also suggests the close contact with the Near East and the Greek mainland.

There must have been a number of legends, which might have been in the form of oral tradition, concerning Thebes, although most of them were lost when the Mycenaean civilization collapsed. The surviving legends of Thebes, however, obviously show several conflicts; one of which is the War of the Seven against Thebes. The memory of this war was recorded in the epic *Thebais* which is now lost, and Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*. Another war told in the legend is the so-called Epigoni, the story of the sons of the Seven who finally conquered Thebes. These two famous wars were believed to have occurred before the Trojan War by ancient authors. There were also several conflicts with Orchomenos involving the Theban Herakles, and the war about Oedipus' sheep (Hesiod, *Erga* 160-163). Furthermore, Pausanias records (Paus. 2.6.1-4) the war between Thebes and Sikyon. As we have seen, the legends of Thebes maintain a number of wars together with many famous heroes like Laios, Oedipus, Eteokles, Polyneikes, and so on. However, the most characteristic and fundamental element of the Theban legends is the foundation of Thebes (i.e. the Kadmeia) by Kadmos. The persistence of the name Kadmos is frequently occurred in the legends of Thebes; first, the city built by Kadmos was called the Kadmeia, the inhabitants of Thebes were called the Kadmeiones and the royal residence of Thebes was successively called the "House of Kadmos". The foundation myth of Kadmos indicates that a foreigner from the Near East

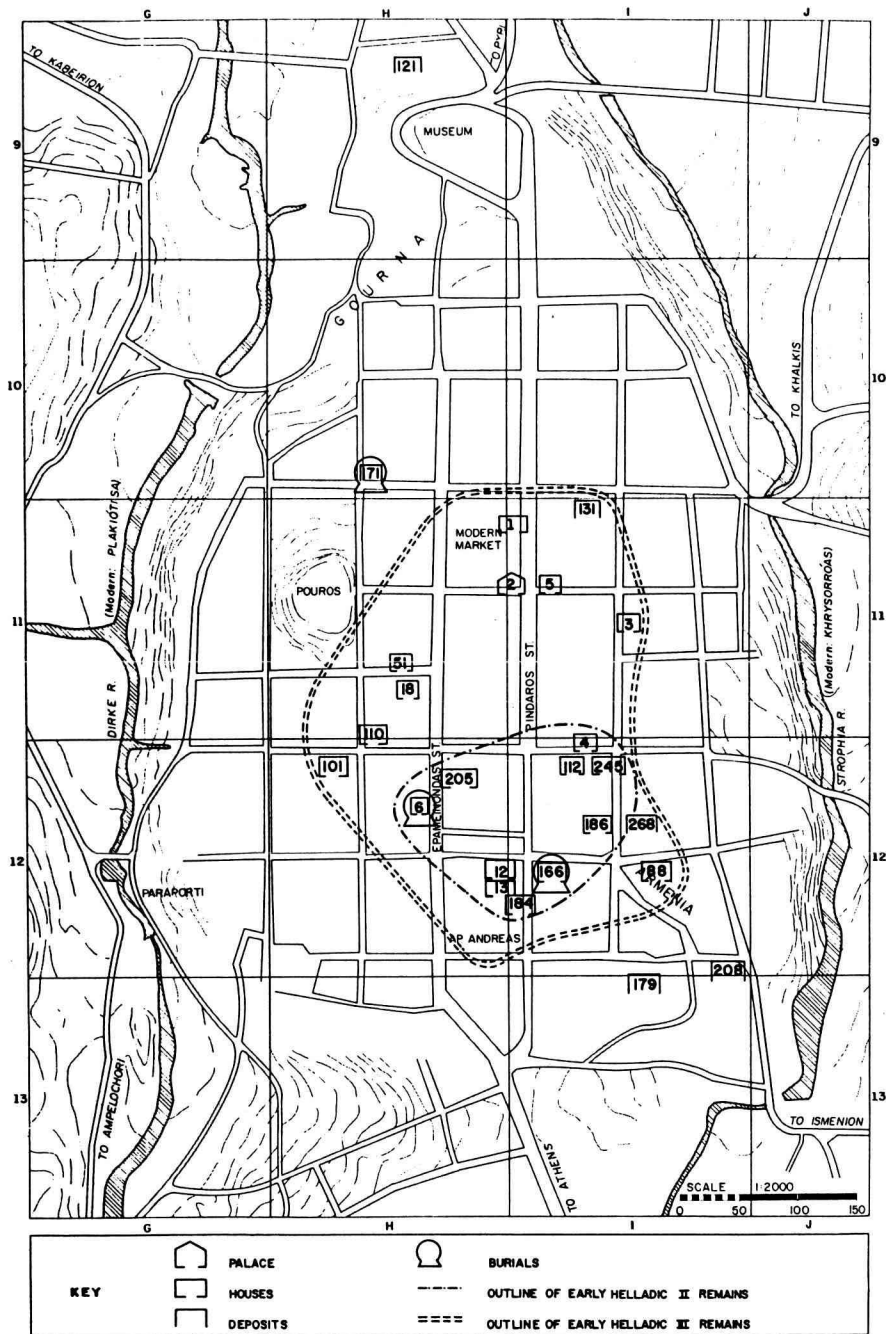


Fig. 1. Thebes in the Early Helladic Period (after Symeonoglou)

came and subjugated the local inhabitants of Thebes. But as the legend clearly implies, Kadmos was not a conqueror like Danaos or Pelops who succeeded the former dynasty. Kadmos was said to have built a city called the Kadmeia ; this suggests that the place where Kadmos came was not a kingdom or a big city but rather a small village or community in Boiotia. Using developed skills from the Near East²⁰⁾, Kadmos must have founded a city there.

In the Late Helladic period there seems much evidence of frequent trade and communication between Thebes and the Near East ; for instance Oriental cylinder seals discovered in the palace at Thebes clearly represent the strong link with the Near East²¹⁾. However, burial practices continued without change and art objects and pottery do not indicate a foreign presence ; furthermore, there is continuity of culture in the Middle Helladic and the Late Helladic periods²²⁾. These facts may suggest that the Kadmos legend was not related to the Mycenaean Age. On the other hand, at the end of EH, a remarkable change happened at Thebes ; namely a small village (i.e. the first settlement on the Kadmeia) suddenly became a large town (Fig. 1)²³⁾. In the Early Bronze Age, there seem to have existed general similarities of culture, for instance, simple village life and peaceful communication, etc²⁴⁾. Archaeological evidence from Thebes indicates that the earliest settlements were a small community of 450 people²⁵⁾. Interestingly, this archaeological evidence is accurately in accord with the description of Pausanias who mentions that before the foundation of Thebes by Kadmos, the inhabitants lived in village communities (Paus. 9.5.2). Definitely he must have known a reliable source of information on the foundation of Thebes.

The Early Helladic III period is quite different from the Early Helladic II period in nature of culture and size of settlement ; for example, the so-called "Minyan pottery" appeared and apsidal houses were built. These facts indicate the arrival of new people, namely the Greek-speaking people²⁶⁾. Certainly the arrival of the Greek-speaking people brought these changes in Greece ; however, in the Early Bronze Age, plenty of evidence of trade and communication is known in the Aegean region, which implies that a number of Eastern people must have come to Greece. Boiotia was undeveloped and underpopulated in the end of EH II ; therefore, it is highly possible that a group of people from the Near East intended to establish their settlement in the fertile land of Boiotia. Especially when disturbances happened, the coming of a small group of refugees or an immigration is attested as seen in Ugarit and other sites of the Levant in the second millennium B.C.²⁷⁾ Consequently, Kadmos must have come to Boiotia from Phoenicia when the area was not well-organized (i.e. only small village communities existed), and Greece was disordered by the movement of the Greek-speaking people from the north.

The presence of the Phoenicians and Karians in the Cyclades during the Early Bronze Age is mentioned by Thucydides (1.8) accusing them as pirates. Moreover, he describes that one of the areas that suffered seriously from their attack is Boiotia. This means that these Easterners frequently appeared on the Greek mainland as marauders. Also during the third millennium B.C., Crete suffered from overpopulation ; as a result, a colony of Cretans was established on Kythera at the end of the Early Minoan period (ca. 2000 B.C.)²⁸⁾. Likewise,

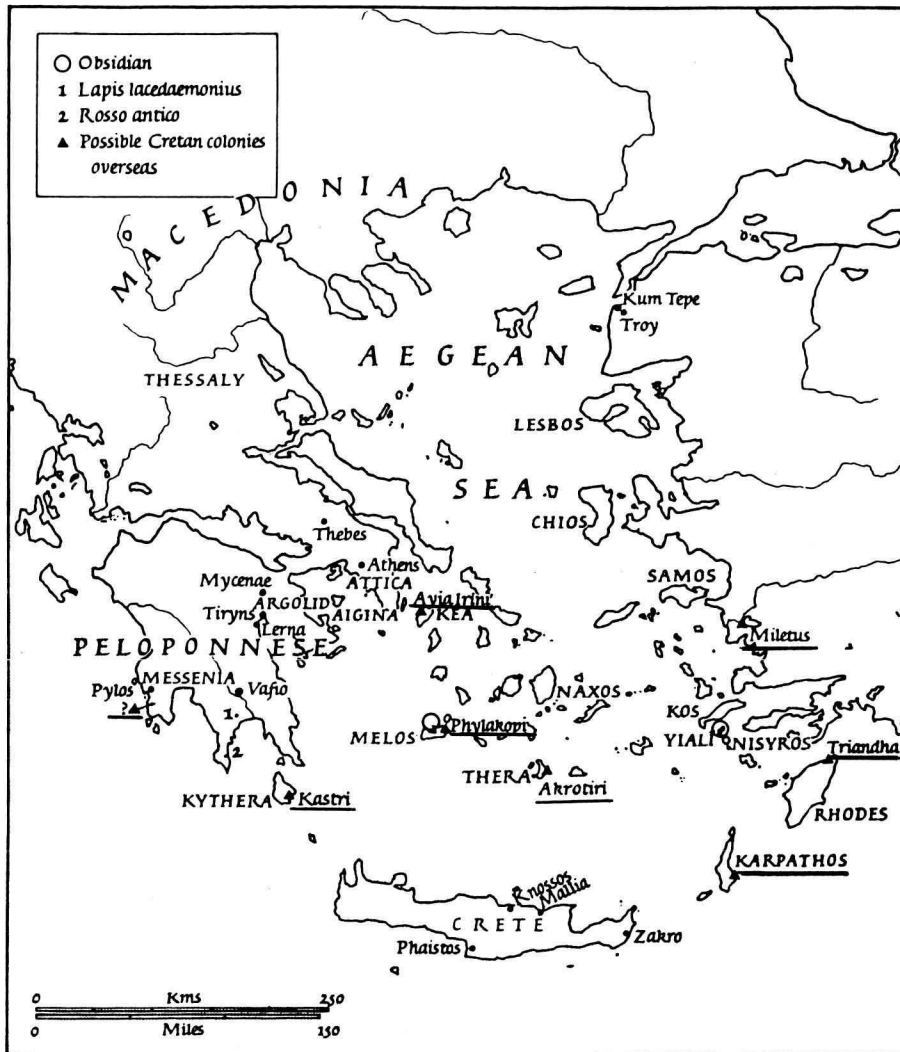
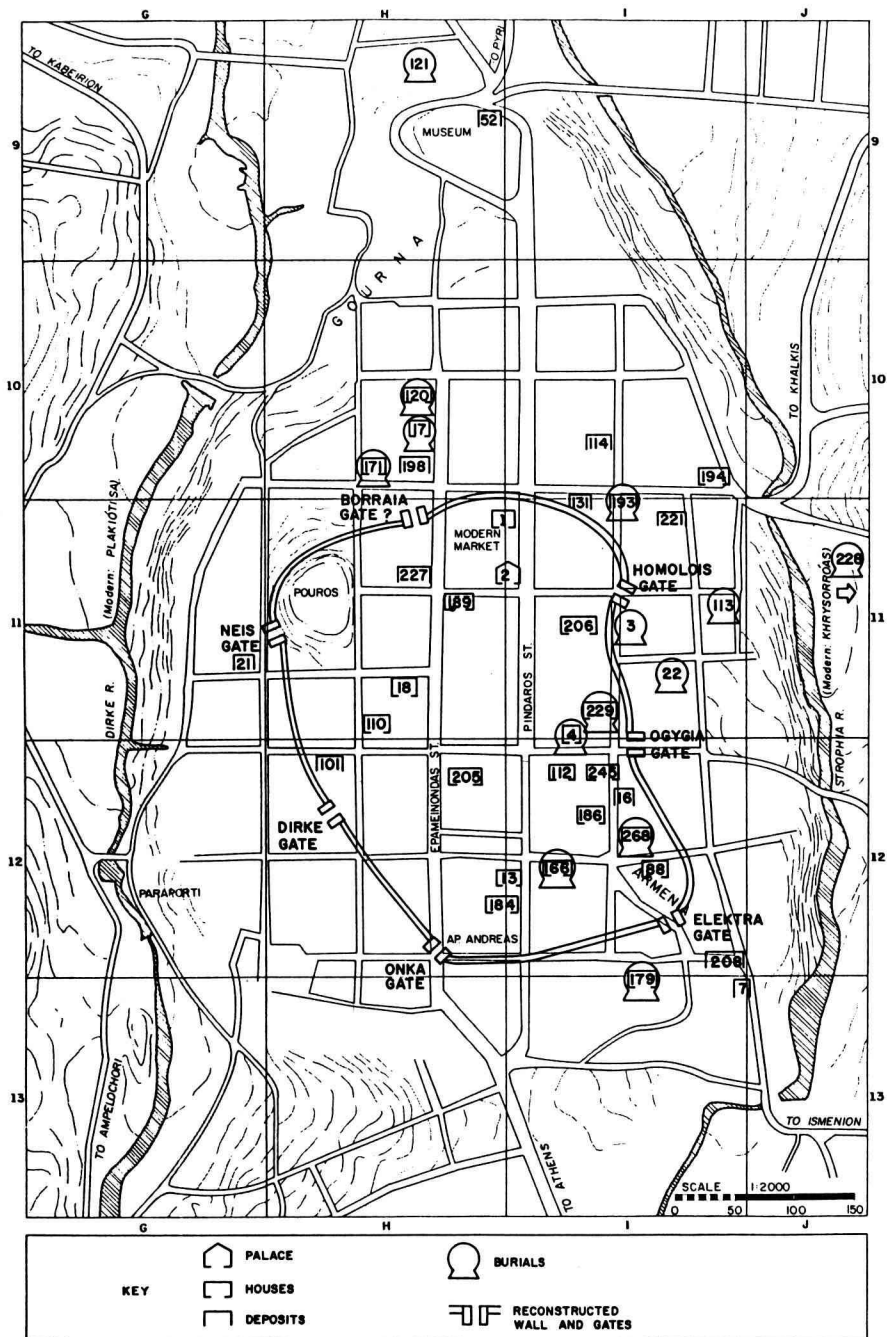


Fig. 2. Possible Cretan Colonies in the Aegean (after S. Hood, 1971)

other islands such as Thera, Meros, Kea and Rhodes are referred to as Cretan colonies in Greek legends, and it is also suggested that there might have been Cretan colonies on the Greek mainland (Fig. 2)²⁹. Therefore, it might be possible that the Phoenicians led by Kadmos together with the Karians and the Cretans invaded into Greece, and settled in the site of the Kadmeia subjugating the local population. The close association with Crete and Thebes is also seen in the Early Bronze Age concerning the cults of Dionysos and Demeter. The Mother Goddess Demeter is related to Crete by Hesiodos and the Homeric Hymn, and the cult of Theban Dionysos bears close resemblance to that of the Cretan Dionysos. The bull is the symbol of both cults and each cult was conducted by orgiastic cults stimulated by

wild music; in addition, omophagia is considered to be characteristic of both cults³⁰⁾. According to Greek mythology, when Dionysos married Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, the marriage was taken place on Naxos in the Cyclades. This legend also suggests the close relation with Dionysos and Crete. Both Dionysos and Demeter preserved agricultural character, and the Thebans were proud of their first cultivation of the grapevine (i.e. the symbol of Dionysos) and the pomegranate (i.e. the symbol of Demeter)³¹⁾. Archaeological evidence implies that these plants were brought into Greece in the third millennium B.C. from the Near East, and this fact may be related to the Kadmos legend since Kadmos was said to have brought advanced agricultural skills into Thebes with him³²⁾. Also, the possible date of the foundation of Thebes (i.e. the end of EH II) accords with the arrival of the grapevine and the pomegranate in Greece.

According to ancient literature, Kadmos is always regarded as early; Herodotus (5.59) mentions that Kadmos is the earliest figure in the Theban genealogy. In the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11. 235ff.), Odysseus talks with fifteen women; at first he talks with his mother, and the next is Tyro, the wife of Kretheus, the grandmother of Achilleus and the mother of Pelias and Neleus, and five women following Tyro are Theban: Antiope, the mother of Amphion and Zethos, Alkmene, the mother of Herakles, Megara who is the wife of Herakles, Epikaste, the mother and wife of Oidipous, and Chloris who is a daughter of Amphion and the wife of Neleus (i.e. the mother of Nestor). The names of these women in the *Odyssey* are considered to be arranged in chronological order³³⁾, and together with Tyro, who is related to Thebes through Neleus, all these Theban women are closely associated with the earlier legendary heroes of Greek mythology. Also in the *Iliad* (14. 313-328), six women are spoken by Zeus recalling his early affairs, and three of them are related to the early legend of Thebes; they are Europe the mother of Minos and a sister of Kadmos, Semele a daughter of Kadmos and the mother of Dionysos, and Alkmene the mother of Herakles. Moreover, other three women Ixion's wife, the mother of Peirithous, and Danae the mother of Perseus are all considered to be the earliest figures in Greek myth. Europe, Semele, and Alkmene are described after the three women mentioned above, which indicates that here again Homer might have arranged the list in chronological order. This implies that in the Homeric epic the Theban legends were already regarded as the earliest, and the oldest memory of Thebes must have been reflected in this story. Furthermore, Boiotia is described in the first place in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 494ff.) and Book 13 (*Il.* 685ff.) representing the brilliant heroic past of Thebes in the Mycenaean Age since Thebes was destroyed before the Trojan War. Also as seen in the Homeric epic, Greek poetry preserved actual events and material objects of hundred years before in the form of heroic poetry, and certain features of the language of the Greek epic seem to go back to an earlier stage of Greek than the language of the Linear B tablets³⁴⁾. This fact suggests that the early legend of Thebes was obviously maintained by an oral tradition, and epic poetry may have been flourished at Thebes in the second millennium B.C.³⁵⁾ It is also suggested that a place of mythical importance accurately accords with its important Mycenaean site, and legends attached by earlier heroes are also considered to be old³⁶⁾. Therefore, it is highly plausible that the legends and the pedigree of Thebes may



have referred to historical figures and events which had been maintained from the Early Helladic period.

After the dynasty of Kadmos, the Theban Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos are considered to have dominated the Kadmeia, and Zethos renamed the city as Thebes after his wife Thebe. Amphion and Zethos were known by the construction of the fortification walls of Thebes which may be called the second foundation myth of Thebes. The foundation of walls appears to have been conducted in the Middle Helladic period since Thebes had expanded to 80,000 square meters with a population of 2,400 in this period (Fig. 3)³⁷⁾. The famous seven-gated Thebes which was frequently mentioned in ancient references must have referred to this Middle Helladic fortifications because a large city like Thebes must have been encircled by fortification walls. And in the Mycenaean Age, it is suggested that Thebes had four gates³⁸⁾ since the existence of seven gates seems to have been vulnerable in the warring period. This Middle Helladic construction, which is considered to have been 1,100 m. long to encircle the city, might be reflected in Greek myth; Pausanias tells (Paus. 9.17.7) that Amphion's half of the walls was raised by his lyre. As Amphion and Zethos are considered to have belonged to the Middle Helladic period, the date of the Theban fortification walls is in accordance with the legend of Thebes described by Pausanias and the Middle Helladic fortification walls are considered to have existed until the fourteenth century, B.C. According to ancient references except the Borraia gate, all the gate names of the Middle Helladic Thebes are related to legendary Theban women. Onka and Electra are associated with Kadmos; according to Pausanias (9.12.2), Kadmos dedicated a sanctuary to Athena Onka celebrating the foundation of Thebes, and Electra is said to be as the mother of Harmonia who is Kadmos' wife. The other four names are considered to be closely related to Amphion and Zethos; Dirke was the aunt of Antiope the mother of the Theban Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos, and Neis, Homolois, and Ogygia are referred to as their daughters³⁹⁾. All these names are closely associated with the earlier figures of the Theban legend. Moreover, Amphion's wife Niobe, a daughter of Tantalos who was the king of Phrygia, is closely related with the earlier legendary figures in Greek mythology. Pelops the founder of the Pelopidai is a brother of Niobe and the father of Atreus. This genealogy indicates that Niobe is regarded to be very old, and Amphion's early date is also implied in this pedigree. This fact also indicates that the fortification walls (i.e. the second foundation myth) remembered in Greek myth as the seven-gated Thebes must have been built by Amphion and Zethos during the Middle Helladic period.

Conclusion

As we have seen there are many foundation stories in Greek myth. For instance Danaos came from Egypt and settled in the Argolid and finally he became the king of Argos succeeding the reigning king Gelanor; similarly the Theban Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos are referred to have built the fortification walls of Thebes. However, all these legends are quite different from the foundation myth of Kadmos since the legends of Danaos and the

Theban Dioskuroi Amphion and Zethos did not found a city in the strict sense of the term. In these stories, the existence of a well-developed city (or kingdom) is presupposed. On the other hand, the Kadmos legend clearly tells that Kadmos founded a city which was called the Kadmeia after the founder. No other Greek city maintains this kind of foundation myth; consequently, the Kadmos legend must be regarded as specific. And this fact may indicate that the story reflected historical events and figures. Similarly as seen in ancient literature, the figures appeared in the legends of Thebes are considered to have one of the earliest and longest genealogies like the legends of Athens, Orchomenos, and Argos⁴⁰). Therefore, these Theban figures like Semele, Antiope, Alkmene, Epikaste, and Chloris seem to have belonged to the earliest period in Theban myth. The origin of Kadmos appears to be an "easterner" since the legends consistently maintain his Eastern origin and the etymology of Kadmos is regarded as Semitic meaning "easterner". Therefore, it is reasonable to regard him as a man from the Near East. And as the strong relation with Thebes and the Aegean region indicates, Kadmos appears to have come to Greece with Aegean peoples. Kadmos settled in Boiotia subjugating the local inhabitants, and with advanced skills from the East he must have founded a great city where only small communities existed as mentioned by Pausanias. The sudden development of the site in the end of EH II obviously represents the foundation of Thebes since no serious break is seen in the Middle Helladic and the Late Helladic periods. And this splendid deed of Kadmos must have been remembered and told by the inhabitants of Thebes from generation to generation to commemorate the glorious founder Kadmos.

Notes

- 1) M.P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: Univ. of California Press, 1972), p. 122. Nilsson also mentions that Alos in Thessaly has a foundation myth. See Nilsson, *Ibid.* p. 123, n. 45.
- 2) Herodotus, II49, IV147, V57ff, etc.
- 3) Ruth B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1979), p. 45.
- 4) *Ibid.*, p. 46. Edwards also mentions (*Ibid.* p. 47) that the distinction between Sidonian and Tyrian "seems to be used loosely as synonymous with Phoenician."
- 5) *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 6) J. Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: Univ. of California Press, 1970), p. 307, n. 60. Edwards mentions (*Ibid.*, p. 79, n. 72) "Phonetically there are no difficulties, and the proposed meaning 'Easterner' is appropriate for both the proper name Kadmos and the ethnic Kadmeioi."
- 7) Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 156, n. 169.
- 8) Stubbings mentions (F.H. Stubbings, "The Rise of Mycenaean Civilization." in *CAH* Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 646-647) that the semi-divine pedigrees like Perseus and Neleus may indicate the arrival of strangers, and as conquerors they took wives among the indigenous population.
- 9) Liddell and Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975 impression), p. 868.
- 10) Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 97. See also R.F. Willets, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1977), p. 40; F. Schachermeyr, *Die Minoische Kultur*

- des alten Kreta 2. Aufl.* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln and Mainz : W. Kohlhammer, 1979), p. 225, p. 228 ; J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (London : Methuen, 1970), p. 281.
- 11) Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 98. Nilsson (*Ibid.*, p. 126, n. 50) asserts that the Phoenicians signified "the Red Men."
 - 12) Apollodoros, 2.1.4 ; 3.1.1.
 - 13) Stubbings mentions (*Ibid.*, pp. 636-637) that "Danaos is an invented person and regards him as a symbol rather than a historical personage", but he also states that the legends of Danaos and Kadmos "must equally involve the memory of a historical reality." (*Ibid.*, pp. 637-638). Also Edwards says that "the Greek legendary traditions might reflect historical events." (Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 12, n. 16).
 - 14) Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 135-136.
 - 15) *Ibid.*, p. 136.
 - 16) Vermeule (*Greece in the Bronze Age*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972, p.239) suggests that the presence of Semitic words and names may indicate "the presence of Easterners in central Greece." See also Vermeule (*Ibid.*) pp. 64-65 ; C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilisation* (London : Methuen, 1972), pp. 444-455.
 - 17) S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), p. 14, p. 15, p. 18.
 - 18) *Ibid.*, p. 19, p. 294, p. 303.
 - 19) Martha H. Wiencke, "Change in Early Helladic II," *AJA*, 93 (1989), p. 501.
 - 20) Symeonoglou, *Ibid.*, p. 72.
 - 21) Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 131, p. 134 ; E. Porada, "Cylinder Seals from Thebes ; A Preliminary Report," *AJA*, 69 (1965), p. 173 ; Vermeule, *Ibid.*, p. 239.
 - 22) Symeonoglou, *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69 ; R.J. Howell, "The Origins of the Middle Helladic culture," in *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*, ed. Crossland and Birchall (London : Duckworth, 1973), p. 73.
 - 23) Symeonoglou, *Ibid.*, p. 16, Fig. 2.1 ; p. 18 ; p. 204, Fig. 6.1 ; p. 205, Table 6.1.
 - 24) J.L. Caskey, "Greece, Crete, and the Aegean Islands in the Early Bronze Age," in *CAH* Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 772.
 - 25) Symeonoglou, p. 63, Table 2.6.
 - 26) Howell, *Ibid.*, p. 73, p. 78, p. 94 ; Wiencke, *Ibid.*, p. 509, n. 90 ; Caskey, "Did the Early Bronze Age End?" in *The End of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*, ed. G. Cadogan (Leiden : E.J.Brill, 1986), p. 22, p. 25. Mellaart mentions that Troy IV culture with its gray Minyan pottery in the Troad was related with the movement which brought Middle Helladic culture into Greece with the Greek language. See Mellaart, "Anatolia c. 2300-1750B.C." in *CAH*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 700. See also Crossland *CAH*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 845, p. 846, p. 850 ; Caskey *CAH*, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 806.
 - 27) Edwards, *Ibid.*, p. 136.
 - 28) Symeonoglou, p. 71 ; See also Edwards, p. 101.
 - 29) S. Hood, *The Minoans* (London : Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 52 ; p. 53, Fig. 27. Though not in the Early Minoan period, Hood suggests the possibility of Cretan colonies in Messenia at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. See S. Hood, *The Home of the Heroes* (New York : McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 76. Edwards (*Ibid.*, p. 101 ; p. 102, n. 100 ; p. 112) alludes the possibility of a Minoan settlement at Thebes. Astour also implies a West Semitic settlement in Boiotia. See M. Astour, "Greek Names in the Semitic World and Semitic Names in the Greek World," *JNES*, 23 (1963), p. 200.

- 30) Symeonoglou, Ibid., p. 72 ; W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Boston : Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 154-156.
- 31) Symeonoglou, Ibid., p. 73.
- 32) Ibid.
- 33) Ibid., p. 75.
- 34) M.L. West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS*, 108 (1988), p. 156.
- 35) Ibid., p. 151.
- 36) M.P. Nilsson, Ibid., p. 28.
- 37) Symeonoglou, Ibid., p. 37, Fig. 2.7 ; p. 80 ; p. 63, Table 2.6 ; p. 69, Fig. 2.14.
- 38) Ibid., p. 23 ; p. 26 ; p. 30, Fig. 2.5 ; p. 34 ; p. 205.
- 39) Ibid., p. 36.
- 40) N.G.L. Hammond, *A. History of Greece*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), p. 60.

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