

Collection *ERGA*
Recherches sur l'Antiquité
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*Mélanges offerts
au Professeur Pierre Cabanes*

Textes réunis par Danièle BERRANGER-AUSERVE

Centre de Recherches sur les Civilisations Antiques (CRCA)



Illustration de couverture : Apollonia, porte du Téménos d'Apollon
(cliché : Pierre CABANES)

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© Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal
Clermont-Ferrand (France), 2007

ISBN 978-2-84516-351-5
ISSN 1621-2835

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Avant-propos

La plus grande partie de la carrière de Pierre Cabanes s'est déroulée au Département d'Histoire de l'UFR Lettres de Clermont II, Université Blaise-Pascal, UFR dont il a été le Doyen de 1974 à 1977 et Université dont il a été le Président de 1977 à 1982. Il a en outre dirigé le CRCA (Centre de Recherches sur les Civilisations Antiques de Clermont II) jusqu'à son départ pour Paris X. L'hommage que constitue ce volume lui était donc dû à plus d'un titre.

Depuis l'époque où il a été nommé Assistant en Histoire Ancienne à l'Université de Nantes jusqu'à aujourd'hui encore, l'Épire et l'Illyrie antiques ont constitué l'objet principal de la recherche de Pierre Cabanes. Il rappelle volontiers lui-même comment alors qu'il avait commencé à travailler sur l'Épire et qu'il suivait les cours de Louis Robert au Collège de France, le grand épigraphiste lui avait conseillé d'étendre ses investigations à l'Illyrie. C'est donc cette vaste région du monde grec ancien qui va être durant toute sa vie scientifique le domaine de prédilection de Pierre Cabanes. Vaste domaine ! Car, en dehors des deux semaines que Louis Robert avait passées en Albanie en 1967, le champ d'exploration de l'Antiquité dans cette zone géographique demeurait à peu près vierge.

Pierre Cabanes commence à se rendre en Albanie dès 1971. C'était alors une entreprise hardie, digne d'un véritable pionnier – et de fait, il l'était presque. Mais son sens des relations internationales devait servir le jeune universitaire qui a su patiemment nouer des liens solides avec ce pays pourtant réputé difficile. Les très nombreuses personnalités étrangères qui ont été reçues chez lui et ont bénéficié de l'hospitalité souriante que son épouse et lui savent offrir ont eu souvent l'occasion d'apprécier leur maison toujours ouverte avec chaleur et spontanéité. En témoignent, dans cet ouvrage, les contributions des chercheurs grecs, albanais, croates... qui ont voulu lui manifester leur reconnaissance et leur amitié. Car Pierre

Cabanes a fait vraiment lever toute une génération de chercheurs dans ces régions, en conseillant des orientations de leurs travaux qu'il a souvent personnellement suivis. En France également, nombre de ses étudiants se sont tournés vers l'étude de l'Épire et de l'Illyrie. Plusieurs ont eu à cœur d'apporter leur contribution à ce recueil de *Mélanges*.

Tout cela devait conduire Pierre Cabanes à diriger pour le CNRS, de 1989 à 1993, l'URA 1390, *Recherches sur l'Antiquité en Grèce du Nord-Ouest et en Illyrie*, puis de 1993 à 1997 le GDR 1052, *Balkans : Antiquité, Moyen Âge*. La très importante bibliographie qu'on trouvera en tête de ce volume atteste l'inlassable activité d'un homme pourvu d'une énergie peu commune et d'une puissance de travail étonnante, alliées à une grande exigence de précision et de rigueur, qu'avant d'inculquer aux autres il s'applique d'abord à lui-même.

Pierre Cabanes sait – et on constate avec regret que cela est devenu rare – qu'on ne peut pas sérieusement faire de l'Histoire Ancienne sans la connaissance des Langues Anciennes. C'est, bien entendu, une condition essentielle pour être épigraphiste, mais il a compris que cela l'est aussi pour aller au cœur des sources littéraires, et que jamais on ne doit se satisfaire d'une traduction, aussi bonne soit-elle, pour établir solidement une hypothèse historique. Tout chercheur exigeant appréciera hautement cette démarche, la seule qui puisse être vraiment qualifiée de scientifique.

Sa riche bibliographie, consacrée surtout à l'Histoire et à l'Épigraphie grecques, fait preuve aussi de l'intérêt porté par le professeur à l'enseignement et à la connaissance générale de l'Antiquité, que le public non averti imagine souvent comme une science figée et morte. C'est encore un des mérites de Pierre Cabanes que d'avoir su être à la fois un chercheur et un enseignant, et cela, quoiqu'on en dise, n'est pas si fréquent.

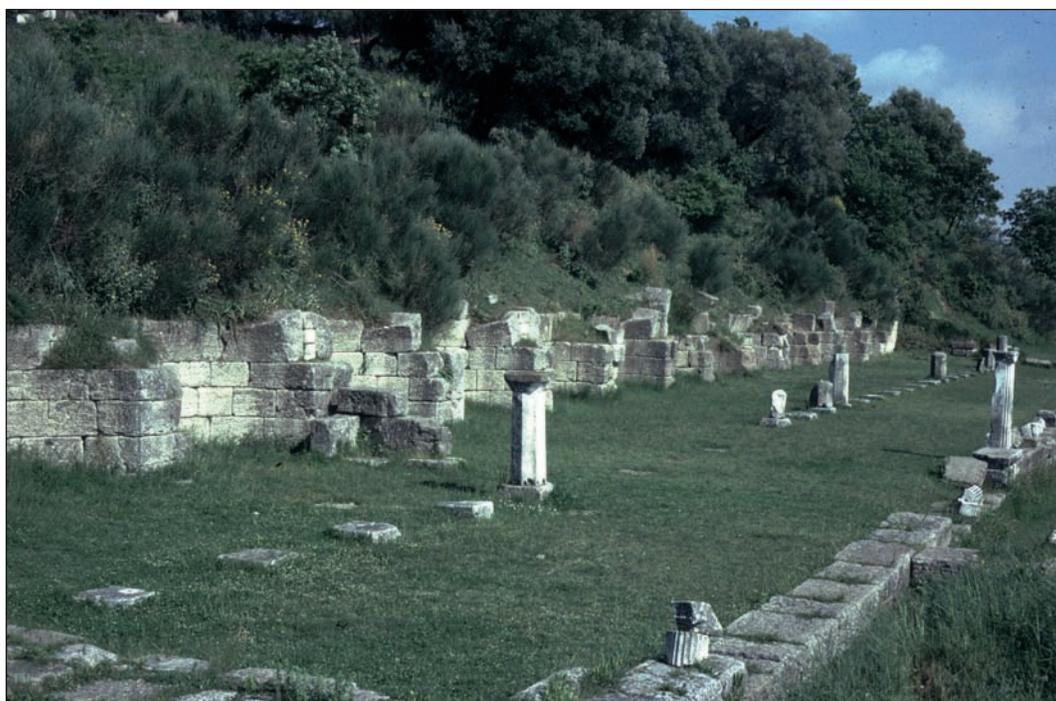
Les relations scientifiques et amicales que Pierre Cabanes a établies aussi avec d'autres spécialistes historiens, de l'École française d'Athènes ou d'ailleurs, et parfois tout à fait hors du domaine de ses recherches, se trouvent également représentées dans ce volume, auquel beaucoup de ses collègues ou anciens disciples ont voulu apporter leur contribution. Bien d'autres encore avaient manifesté le désir de participer à ce recueil de *Mélanges*, et seules les contraintes de temps imposées par les exigences de la publication les en ont empêchés.

À titre plus personnel, je voudrais ajouter que la chance m'a été donnée de connaître également l'homme de cœur, droit et généreux, à l'écoute attentive, bienveillante et amicale. Qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma gratitude.

Danièle BERRANGER-AUSERVE

I

L'ILLYRIE



Illyrie – Appolonia, portique aux 17 niches (cliché : Pierre CABANES)

Marjeta ŠAŠEL KOS

The Illyrian king Ballaeus – some historical aspects

The disputed chronology of Ballaeus and prevailing opinions concerning his reign

Ballaeus was a king attested on coins found on both coasts of the Adriatic; he minted his coins in more or less the same area where the Ardiaean dynasty of Agron had ruled in the second half of the third century BC (**fig. 1**). Hence, had he been documented in Polybius or Livy, he would have no doubt been called an « Illyrian » king. He is currently interpreted as an Illyrian ruler documented solely on the coins. According to the opinion of majority of modern scholars¹, he inherited the kingdom of Genthius and ruled in the years 167-135 BC. It has been tentatively remarked by Pierre Cabanes that Ballaeus might have been related to the Roman campaign against the Delmatae in 156 BC², and even recently he has been referred to as an obscure mid-second-century Illyrian warlord who must have had some sort of conflict with Pharos³, or an Illyrian dynast after 168 BC⁴. Such assumptions seemed to some scholars to find confirmation in Livy's narrative of the events concerning the Third Illyrian War. Livy mentioned that after his defeat Genthius sent two envoys from among the prominent tribal leaders (*principes gentis*) to negotiate with the Roman commander L. Anicius (44.31.9).

1. See, for a summary of the main problems, Peter Kos, *Leksikon antične numizmatike*, Ljubljana, 1997, p. 44-45. My sincere thanks are due to Maja Bonačić Mandinić for helpful observations.

2. Pierre Cabanes, *Les Illyriens de Bardylis à Genthios (IV^e-II^e siècles av. J.-C.)* (Regards sur l'histoire), Paris, 1988, p. 325; if his remark refers to a hypothetical Delmataean ruler, this hypothesis is not possible because at that time the Delmatae were a continental people, attempting to conquer some of the coastal regions, and moreover, they did not use money (Strabo, 7.5.5 C 315; Polyb., 32.9).

3. A.M. Eckstein, « Pharos and the Question of Roman Treaties of Alliance in the Greek East in the Third Century B.C.E. », *Class. Philology*, 94, 1999, p. 416.

4. Maja Bonačić Mandinić, *Greek Coins displayed in the Archaeological Museum Split*, Split, 2004, p. 106-111.



Fig. 1. Map of the southeastern Adriatic (computer graphics: Mateja BELAK)

Their names were Teuticus and Bellus, and Hasan Ceka hypothesized that the name of the latter, Bellus, might have been an incorrect transcription for Ballaeus⁵. Although from the linguistic point of view this identification is very problematic, the argument would not carry much weight even if the envoy were called Bal-

5. Hasan Ceka, *Questions de numismatique illyrienne*, Tirana, 1972, p. 162-165; his proposal was accepted e.g. by Ivan Marović, Novac ilirskog dinasta Baleja (ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΣ) u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (The coinage of Ballaios (ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΣ) in the Archaeological Museum in Split), *Vjesnik za arh. i hist. Dalmat.* 81, 1988, 85 ff.

laeus. Why should this name necessarily be regarded as unique or rare, when so many others are not? Plator, Pleuratus, Pinnes, Teuta, and/or their derivatives, as well as numerous other names are attested several times in the onomastics of the regions called « Illyrian », consequently the similarity of the names Bellus and Ballaeus should be rejected as an argument in favour of Ballaeus having been the successor of Genthius. The Romans annihilated the Illyrian kingdom and founded three administrative regions in which there was no place for a king. Why would they create a new Illyrian king out of an envoy, after they had just abolished the kingdom? They only tolerated kings of the friendly allied kingdoms who did not involve themselves in a war with the Roman state.

According to a proposal made by Giovanni Gorini in early eighties, based on the unpublished notes of John M. F. May⁶, Ballaeus would have reigned in the years 195-175 BC⁷. Ballaeus minted coins in his own name. It is supposed that his coins with the long legend (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ) were minted in Rhizon (the Roman Risinium, present-day Risan), while the coins with the short legend (ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ) and the head of the king Ballaeus which is of a different type, would have been minted at Pharos; these are older (**fig. 2**). The hypothesis of two mints of Ballaeus' coins is confirmed by the distribution of Ballaeus' coins and their stylistic analysis, as well as by the recent excavations in the territory of Risan. According to an alternative hypothesis, coins with both legends would have been minted at Pharos⁸.



Fig. 2. Bronze coins of Ballaeus (left: with the long legend; right: with the short legend, from: M. Bonačić MANDINIĆ, *Greek Coins displayed in the Archaeological Museum Split*, Split, 2004, nos. 204 and 206)

6. See Paolò Visonà, « Doprinosi J. M. F. Maya istraživanju grčko-ilirskog kovanja novca » (J. M. F. May's Contributions to the Study of Greek-Illyrian Coinage), in: Julijan Dobrinić (ed.), *Zbornik radova 2. međunarod. numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj / Proceedings of the 2nd Intern. Numismatic Congress in Croatia*, Opatija, Zagreb, 2000, p. 57-63.

7. Giovanni Gorini, « Re Ballaios: una proposta cronologica », in: *Il crinale d'Europa. L'area illirico-danubiana nei suoi rapporti con il mondo classico*, Roma, 1984, p. 43-49; cf. also *Id.*, « Comunità greche di Dalmazia. Le emissioni monetali », *Hesperia*, 17, 2003, p. 50-53.

8. Ivan Marović, *Vjesnik za arh. i hist. Dalmat. op. cit.*; on the relationship of Ballaeus and Pharos in terms of numismatics, see Duje Rendić-Miočević, « Ballaios et Pharos. Contribution à la typologie et à l'iconographie des monnaies gréco-illyriennes », *Archaologia Iugoslavica*, 5, 1964, p. 83-92, Pl. I-II.

In some cases it is possible to observe that Ballaeus' coins were overstruck on the older Pharos specimens (and *vice versa*). The distribution of his coins indicates that they were concentrated in the central Dalmatian area, while a large number of different dies that could have been identified to date indicates a long minting of his coins. Numismatic evidence shows that Ballaeus reigned for quite a lengthy time; his coins are also frequently found in Italy, which confirms the trade contacts between both Adriatic coasts. On the obverse of the coins a bust of the king facing left or right is depicted, while on the reverse Artemis (advancing or standing) is represented, with or without a torch (and sometimes carrying one or two spears)⁹, surrounded by either the long or the short legend. Most of the coins are bronze, some, and always those with the long legend, are silver; their weight (*ca.* 3.5 g) corresponds to the Roman *victoriatii*. It is significant that Ballaeus also had silver coins minted, which indicates his wealth and power, since elsewhere in Hellenistic Dalmatia silver coinage is very rarely documented from the Greek/Illyrian mints. The weight of the bronze coins of Ballaeus is between 1.0 and 4.5 g, while most of the documented specimens weigh between 2.0 and 2.5 g¹⁰. The relatively great impact of the coinage of Ballaeus is also indicated by a large number of imitations of his coins¹¹.

Archaeological and numismatic data

Gorini (following May) had already drawn attention to the impossibility of dating the coins of the king Ballaeus to after the fall of the kingdom of Genthius. Duje Rendić-Miočević attempted to refute their arguments, but his are based on the erroneous hypothesis, current at the time, that the Illyrian kingdom had been one and the same since the reign of Agron's father Pleuratus (and even earlier)¹², i.e. that all Illyrian kings belonged to one dynasty¹³. Hence, many of his arguments are based in this sense and his conclusions cannot be regarded as valid¹⁴.

9. Arthur J. Evans, « On Some Recent Discoveries of Illyrian Coins », *Num. Chronicle*, 20, 1880, p. 296-298.

10. See, for this short summation of evidence, Peter Kos, *Leksikon antične numizmatike, op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

11. Giovanni Gorini, « Re Ballaios:... », art. cit.

12. Argued by Fanula Papazoglou, « Les origines et la destinée de l'État illyrien: *Illyrii proprie dicti* », *Historia*, 14, 1965, p. 143-179.

13. Pierre Carlier, « Rois illyriens et "roi des Illyriens" », in: Pierre Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité. Actes du coll. intern. de Clermont-Ferrand (22-25 oct. 1984)*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1987, p. 39-46; Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla, 43), Ljubljana, 2005, p. 279 ff. More on this *infra*.

14. Duje Rendić-Miočević, « Uz jedan prijedlog za novu kronologiju Balejevih emisija (Some remarks on a proposal for a new chronology of Ballaios' emissions) », *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 28/39, 1985, p. 3-11. Saša Paškvan's arguments, too, are based on the erroneous hypothesis (see *infra*) of the existence of merely one Illyrian dynasty: « Prijedlog za novu kronologiju kovanja Ballaiosevih emisija hvarskog (PHAROS) i risanskog (RHIZON) tipa (Suggestion for a new Chronology of the Coinage of Ballaios Issues of Hvar [Pharos] and Risan [Rhizon] Types) », in: Julijan Dobrinić (ed.), *Zbornik radova 1.*

Ballaeus' coins were in circulation in the regions along both Adriatic coasts: along the eastern Adriatic, they have been found in a broad area extending from Phoenice (Finik) in Epirus to Scodra and Pharos, and along the western Adriatic from Leuca and Locri to Aquileia, indicating trade activity of this dynast that was no longer controlled by Issa¹⁵. As expected, the coins of Ballaeus were also found in the broad area of Naronia, the most important Greek/Illyrian emporium which maintained – along the river Naro (Neretva) – commercial and other contacts with the interior regions of Illyricum¹⁶. The first to divide the coins of Ballaeus into two groups was Arthur J. Evans, who distinguished the Rhizon group and the Pharos group, and dated both in the period between 167 and 135 BC¹⁷. Josip Brunšmid was the next to discuss the coins of Ballaeus; he agreed with Evans on the late chronology of the coins, postulating that Ballaeus had possessed a part of the island of Pharos with a mint, and doubting the thesis that Rhizon, then in Roman possession, could have been a royal residence and a mint¹⁸. Ivan Marović, who maintained that both types had been struck on Pharos, proposed a different division of Ballaeus' coins than that of Evans. He distinguished two groups of each of the two types – with and without the regal titlature – a group with the head of Ballaeus to the right and a group with the head to the left, giving precedence to the obverse rather than the reverse¹⁹. However, later excavations at Risan uncovered new coins of Ballaeus, which confirmed the hypothesis of a mint having been located there²⁰.

Gorini, too, supposed, on the basis of a few silver coins found at Rhizon, which bear the long legend with the regal title, that Rhizon had been the capital

međunarod. numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj / Proceedings of the 1st Intern. Numismatic Congress in Croatia, Opatija, Zagreb, 1996, p. 101-105.

15. Paolò Visonà, « Coins of Ballaios found in Italy (Nalazi Balejeva novca u Italiji) », *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 78, 1985, p. 117-122 (his documentation superseded that of Michael Crawford, « Trade and movement of coinage across the Adriatic in the Hellenistic period », in: Robert A.G. Carson, M. Kraay (eds.), *Scripta nummaria Romana. Essays presented to Humphrey Sutherland*, London, 1978, p. 1-11); some literature cited by Giovanni Gorini, « Re Ballaios:... », art. cit., p. 43; cf. also Charikleia Papageorgiadou, « Contribution à l'étude de la circulation des monnaies de l'Illyrie », in: Pierre Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité – II* (Actes du II^e Coll. intern. de Clermont-Ferrand, 25-27 oct. 1990), Paris, 1993, p. 252.

16. Maja Bonačić Mandinić, « Nalazi novca s lokaliteta Sv. Vid u Vidu kod Metkovića » (Coins finds from Sv. Vid at Vid near Metković), *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 87-89, 1994-1996, (1998), p. 177-178, 189; cf. also Dubravka Ujes, « Greek hoards from the Western Balkans », *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 161, 2001, p. 341-347; 341.

17. Arthur J. Evans, « On Some Recent Discoveries of Illyrian Coins », art. cit., p. 269-302, on Ballaeus particularly p. 291 ff.

18. Josip Brunšmid, *Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens* (Abhandlungen d. Arch.-epigr. Seminares d. Univ. Wien 13), Wien, 1898, p. 76-85 (Die Münzen des Königs Ballaios); cf. also Karl Pink, « Lokale Prägungen aus dem Sinus Rhizonicus », in: *Hoffillerov zbornik / Serta Hoffilleriana* (Vjesnik Hrvatskog arh. društva n.s. 18-21), Zagreb, 1940, p. 527-535.

19. Ivan Marović, *Vjesnik za arh. i hist. Dalmat. op. cit.*

20. Dubravka Ujes, Vilma Kovačević, « Novac "kralja" Balajosa sa iskopavanja u Risnu » [1988] (Coins of « King » Ballaios found in Risan [Excavations 1988]), *Numizmatičar*, 15, 1992, p. 9-24, Pl. I-II.

of Ballaeus' kingdom. Artemis on these coins is depicted as advancing to the left, and is similar to the figure of the goddess depicted on Acarnanian coins dated to around 200 BC²¹. Ballaeus may well have begun to mint his coins under the influence of the Acarnanian coinage. Political and economic relations between Illyrian dynasts and various Greek regions, as well as even marriage ties between Illyrian and Greek rulers were hardly exceptional. When, for example, Demetrius of Pharos threatened the Cyclades with his piratical attacks, Scerdilaidas with his forty boats allied himself with the Aetolians and joined them in invading Achaëa at the instigation of the king of Athamania, Amynas, who was related to him by marriage (Polyb., 4.16.6-11).

Gorini recently published a hoard of coins found near Canosa in the region of Bari (now in the Archaeological Museum of Bari), in which there are eleven bronze coins from various Greek and Greek/Illyrian mints of the eastern and western Adriatic. The hoard contains one coin of the Thessalian Confederation, two coins of the Aetolian League, one from Arpi (Apulia), two from Caelia (Apulia), two from Heracleia (Lucania), two coins of Ballaeus of the Rhizon type, as well as one coin from Apulia which cannot be identified with certainty, perhaps from Brundisium. While the coins from Heracleia are the earliest (278-250 BC) and those of Arpi and Caelia are dated to the penultimate decade of the third century BC, those of the Thessalian Confederation and the Aetolian League are later and are dated to the first half of the second century BC. On the basis of these data, Gorini dated the deposition of the hoard, which may have been a votive offering, to ca. 125 BC; the context as a whole would confirm the earlier chronology of the coins of Ballaeus²².

Dubravka Ujes analysed 135 coins of King Ballaeus discovered in the course of the 1988 excavations at Risan²³. The excavations took place at the site called Carine where remains of Hellenistic buildings came to light. There, in addition to the coins of Ballaeus, a great number of other small finds were also discovered, from fibulae to pottery and metal objects, dated to the period from the second half of the fourth to the second centuries BC. Other sites where the coins of Ballaeus were found in an archaeological context are Ošanići near Stolac, the capital of the Daorsi²⁴. Ljubomir, Milovića Gumno, and Kassope in the south. Ujes analysed both the numismatic and archaeological data, observing that the accompanying finds, which testify to the high degree of Hellenization of Rhizon and its contacts

21. Giovanni Gorini, « Re Ballaios:... », art. cit., p. 48.

22. Giovanni Gorini, « Nuova documentazione su Ballaios », in: Pierre Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité III (Actes du III^e colloque intern. de Chantilly, 16-19 octobre 1996)*, Paris, 1999, p. 99-105.

23. All these coins are published by Dubravka Ujes, Vilma Kovačević, « Novac "kralja"... », art. cit.

24. Published by Zdravko Marić, « Münzen aus dem dritten und zweiten Jahrhundert v. u. Z. von Gradina in Ošanići bei Stolac », *Wiss. Mitt. Bos. Herz.*, 6, 1979, p. 183-204 (Münzen des Königs Ballaios: 185-195).

with the Greek world, would confirm the chronology proposed by Gorini²⁵. She saw the main problem of accepting an earlier chronology of Ballaeus' coins as being where to place the king among the known Illyrian kings. She agreed with the opinion of Pierre Carlier that there would have been several Illyrian dynasts more or less economically independent of each other, each capable of minting their own coins²⁶. Ujes further studied the problem of Ballaeus; she published nine well-preserved specimens of the coins of Ballaeus from the Hermitage at St. Petersburg²⁷, as well as Ballaeus' coins from the National Museum in Belgrade²⁸, distinguishing several sub-groups within the Rhizon and Pharos groups of his coins.

Gorini also published an interesting hoard from Risan, kept in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, containing both types of the coins of Ballaeus, as well as barbarous imitations of his coins and coins of the mint of Rhizon with a wreathed female head on the obverse and Artemis advancing to the right. Three other autonomous issues of this mint are also known (obverses: young male head to the right or left; female head wreathed r.; head of Zeus r.), with the legend ΠΙΣΟΝΙΤΑΝ, written in full or abbreviated²⁹. Rhizon must have been an important emporium at an early date, which is indicated not least by a hoard consisting of ca. 300 silver coins, of which about 200 were tetradrachms of Damastium and other Illyrian-Paenonian mints, while about a hundred were Corinthian staters, originating from Corinth or its colonies and dated to the last decades of the fourth century BC. The hoard was discovered at Carine, in the centre of Rhizon, which was a strategically located and well-protected port (**fig. 3**); the Bay of Rhizon had already been known to Pseudo-Scylax (c. 24–25). Rhizon was situated at the point where an important commercial trade route from the interior met the southern Adriatic maritime route³⁰. Its importance elevated it to the position of one of the very centres of Illyrian kings.

25. Dubravka Ujes, « Nuovi ritrovamenti numismatici di Risan (Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, Jugoslavia) », in: *Actes du x^e Congrès Intern. de Numismatique*, vol. I, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993, p. 139-145.

26. Pierre Carlier, « Rois illyriens et "roi des Illyriens" », art. cit.; Dubravka Ujes, « Nuovi ritrovamenti numismatici di Risan. », p. 144.

27. Dubravka Ujes, « Monete di Ballaios dall'Ermitage di San Pietroburgo », *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, 97, 1996, p. 37-41.

28. Dubravka Ujes, « Novac "kralja" Balajosa i risanske kovnice iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu » (Le monete del "re" Ballaios e della zecca Rizonia al Museo Nazionale di Belgrado), *Numizmatičar*, 16, 1993, p. 5-36, Pl. I-IV.

29. Giovanni Gorini, « The Ballaeus Hoard from Risan in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford », *Schweizer Münzblätter*, 41/162, 1991, p. 25-30.

30. Dubravka Ujes, « Le trésor monétaire de Risan (IGCH 391) — une contribution à l'étude de l'histoire économique de l'Illyrie du sud », in: Pierre Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité III (Actes du III^e colloque intern. de Chantilly, 16-19 octobre 1996)*, Paris 1999, p. 107-114.

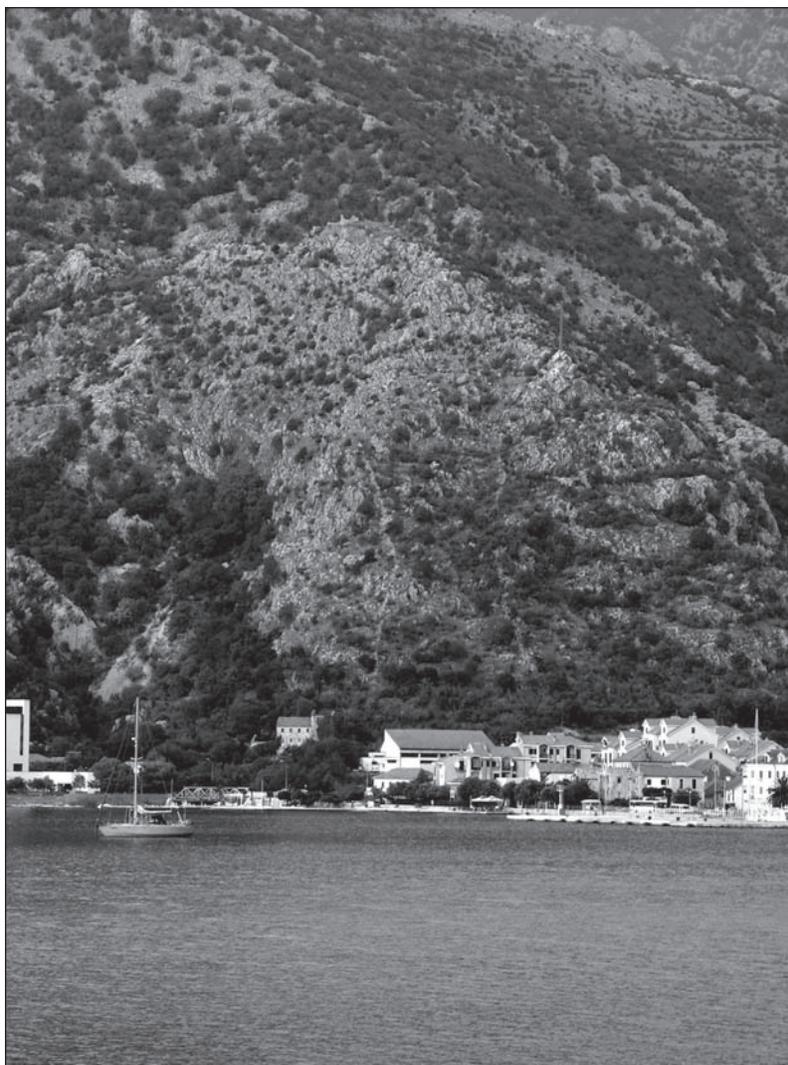


Fig. 3. View of Rhizon: the town and the fortress (photo : Peter Kos)

Pinnes, Scerdilaidas, Pleuratus and Genthius

The question of who could have been the supposed forerunners or contemporaries of Ballaeus should also be examined. Scerdilaidas, who was the grandfather of Genthius, appeared in the orbit of the Illyrian/Ardiaean kingdom of Agron on the eve of the First Illyrian War in 229 BC. He must undoubtedly have had an important position under Agron, since he appears as Teuta's subordinate immediately after Agron's death. Both he and Demetrius of Pharos must have played a significant role within Agron's Illyrian kingdom, which had then been the most powerful in Illyria. This is clear from the fact that the first Roman trans-Adriatic war was directed against Agron and Teuta, and also from the fact that both, Demetrius of Pharos and Scerdilaidas were acting on the orders of Agron and later Teuta. After the deaths of the Illyrian king and queen, more is heard of Demetrius of Pharos and of Scerdilaidas than of Agron's son, the boy Pinnes, although he was the legitimate heir of Agron's kingdom and later the king of Illyria. First Teuta acted as his regent, and after her abdication possibly Demetrius, in particular after his marriage to the mother of Pinnes, Tritaeta. His marriage to Agron's former wife and the mother of Pinnes is mentioned by Cassius Dio (12, fr. 53).

Demetrius instigated well organized pirate raids both in the northern Adriatic, together with the Histri, and in Epirus and Greece, together with Scerdilaidas. These two dynasts may have shared an important position in Illyria, which seems to have been more influential than that of Pinnes. Scerdilaidas may have founded his own kingdom at that time. He is in general erroneously regarded as Agron's brother or his brother-in-law, or as at least one of his closest relatives³¹. Had he been Agron's brother, it would have been most uncommon that he would not have received the regency for Pinnes. It was a traditional custom in the kingdoms of Macedonia and Epirus that the nearest male relative, in most cases an uncle, temporarily reigned in the name of the legitimate heir – usually the eldest son of the deceased king – if he was still a minor³². Strangely, no mention of Pinnes was made at all by Polybius, while both Appian and Cassius Dio correctly referred to him as the legitimate ruler; Appian did not even call Teuta queen, since legally she acted merely as a regent to Pinnes. The absence of Pinnes in Polybius' narrative even made some of the late nineteenth century scholars disbelieve his existence, since at that period little credibility had been given to versions other than that of Polybius³³. Positive evaluations of Appian's and Dio's accounts of the Illyrian Wars began to gain sway more intensively as late as the second half of the twen-

31. Filippo Càssola, « La politica romana nell'alto Adriatico », in: *Aquileia e l'alto Adriatico* (Antichità Altoadriatiche, 2), Udine, 1972, p. 47, 54; Pierre Cabanes, *Les Illyriens de Bardylis à Genthius...*, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

32. See e.g. Nicholas G.L. Hammond, Frank W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia. vol. III: 336-167 B. C.*, Oxford, 1988, 99 ff.; Nicholas G.L. Hammond, *Epirus. The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas*, Oxford, 1967, 588 ff.

33. Cf. T. Lenschau, s.v. Pinnes (1), in: *RE*, 20.2 (1950), 1712.

tieth century³⁴. It is noteworthy that Agron's dynasty, including Pinnes, did not mint coins; the reasons for this phenomenon may not be easy to explain³⁵; minting coins certainly represents a remarkable achievement, due to the influence of other Hellenistic kings³⁶.

As is clear from all extant sources, Polybius (3.16; 18-19), Appian (*Illyr.* 8), and Dio (12, fr. 53; Zon., 8.20.10-13), the Second Illyrian War was mainly directed against Demetrius, his allies and his strongholds (notably Dimale and Pharos), but not against the Illyrian kingdom. And indeed, at the end of chapter 8, Appian referred to the Illyrians and Pinnes, saying that the Romans « *spared the Illyrians, as Pinnes had again intervened for them* ». As is clear from the scarce data concerning Pinnes, he was dependent on the Romans and cooperated with them, hence they must have concluded a treaty of *amicitia* with him, probably after the First Illyrian War. Appian referred to him as a « friend » of the Romans, and since he claimed that Pinnes repeatedly asked the Roman state to support his kingdom, this would imply that the Illyrian king was its ally (7.21)³⁷. It is not known when Pinnes died, but in 217 BC he is mentioned for the last time by Livy, and this may well be an indication of his imminent death³⁸. Livy, when describing the events of this year, made mention of Roman embassies to various peoples and kings, among others also to Philip V of Macedonia and to the Illyrian king Pinnes. From the former, the Romans demanded the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos, who was one of the most influential advisers of the Macedonian king, while Pinnes was asked to pay arrears of tribute or to give hostages if he were unable to pay (22.33.3; 5). Tribute and hostages undoubtedly indicate his dependence on the Roman state. It should be added that the centre of his kingdom was most probably situated in Rhizon, because this strategically well placed harbour town with a stronghold above it is known to have been the residence of Teuta, or at least one of the centres of her kingdom. As is reported by Polybius, after the end of the First Illyrian War she took refuge with some of her followers in Rhizon (2. 11.16-17).

In the meanwhile Scerdilaidas, too, died; he was the grandfather of Genthius and he may have been a distant (non-blood) relative of Agron, but certainly he

34. Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, *op. cit.*, 249 ff. Sporadic earlier positive opinions, such as that of Josef Dobiáš, *Studie k Appianově knize illyrské (Études sur le livre illyrien d'Appien)*, Prague 1930, never had much influence on contemporaries and later generations of scholars, while Maurice Holleaux, « The Romans in Illyria », in: S.A. Cook, F. Adcock, M.P. Charlesworth (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VII, *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome*, Cambridge, 1928 (repr. with corr. 1954), p. 822-857, was very influential.

35. Cf. Peter R. Franke, « Einige Probleme und Aufgaben der Münzkunde Illyriens », *Studia Albanica*, 9/2, 1972, p. 228.

36. Nenad Cambi, « La civiltà dei Greci nell'Adriatico orientale », *Hesperia*, 17, 2003, p. 39-40.

37. M.R. Cimma, *Reges socii et amici populi Romani* (Università di Roma. Pubbl. dell'Ist. di diritto romano e dei diritti dell'Oriente mediter. 50), Milano; 1976, p. 52-55, on Pinnes particularly p. 55.

38. See most recently Peter S. Derow, s.v. Scerdilaidas, in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford-New York; 1996, p. 1363; cf. K. Fiehn, s.v. Skerdilaidas, in: *RE Suppl.* 5, 1931, p. 978-979, and T. Lenschau, s.v. Pinnes (1), *op. cit.*

was not a close relative. His foreign policy was on the whole different from that of Demetrius; after his fall, he led a more or less friendly policy towards the Roman state. In 216 BC, Scerdilaedas informed the Romans of the danger threatening from Philip V³⁹; Philip's policy no doubt interfered with his plans to consolidate his reign in Illyria. His kingdom was inherited by his son Pleuratus, who continued his father's pro-Roman policy even more decidedly, so much so that his loyalty to the Roman state was well-known, even to other dynasts. By 189 BC, he was regarded as one of the most ideal client kings of the Romans (Polyb., 21.11.7-8). In this year the king of Pergamum and a long-standing ally of the Romans, Eumenes, complained in the Senate that Pleuratus had not deserved so much increase of his power in Illyria. According to Polybius, Eumenes insisted that Pleuratus actually did not do anything for the Romans, his only merit lay in the fact that he did not cause them any damage (21.21.3-4). After the defeat of Philip V in 196 BC, when Flaminius made some territorial changes, the Romans gave to Pleuratus Lychnidus and Parthus (part of the territory of the Parthini), cities in Illyria which had been subdued by Philip (Polyb., 18.47.12; 21.11.7; cf. Livy, 33.34.10-11), while earlier he had perhaps also received some regions formerly controlled by the Ardiaei and annexed by Philip, although this is not certain (cf. Livy, 27.30.13). Some of Pleuratus' authority, or indeed most of it, was based on a relatively strong fleet of *lembi*, with which he carried out piratical attacks and devastated the Aetolian coasts in 189 BC, no doubt with the knowledge of the Romans or even on their behalf (Livy, 38.7.2).

Pleuratus' kingdom was called Illyrian by Livy, which is an indication that at the time this was the most important kingdom in Illyria. When a powerful local dynast succeeded in gaining enough wealth, power, and prestige, he became labeled in the sources as the Illyrian king, as if he were the only ruler in Illyria⁴⁰, similar to the status of the Macedonian king. No doubt he held the greatest authority and was outstanding among other dynasts in Illyria, as well as being the most important opponent or ally of the Romans. The fact that Pleuratus bore the same name as Agron's father made most scholars believe that he directly continued Agron's line. However, Pleuratus and Plator are well documented Illyrian names, also typical of the Illyrian nobility, thus the name cannot be regarded as a proof of his kinship with Agron. On the contrary, there are two explicit indications that speak in favour of two distinct reigning dynasties. Appian wrote in the beginning of his ninth chapter that the son and successor of Pleuratus, Genthius, who was « *the king of certain other Illyrians* » – other with regard to Agron – concluded an alliance with Perseus for payment. He attacked the Illyrians under Roman control and put the Roman ambassadors who had come to him in chains, accusing them of coming not as emissaries but as spies (9.25). Confirmation can be found for these

39. Filippo Canali de Rossi, *Le ambascerie dal mondo greco a Roma in età repubblicana* (Studi pubbl. dall'Ist. it. per la storia ant., 63), Roma, 1997, p. 423-424, no. 469.

40. In this sense the reconstruction of the Illyrian state as one strong kingdom, as postulated by Fanula Papazoglou, « Les origines et la destinée de l'État illyrien : ... », art. cit., is too idealistic.

« certain other Illyrians » in a statement by Livy that Genthius reigned among the Labeates (43.19.3: ...*in Labeates, ubi Gentius regnabat*)⁴¹. Genthius was the last Illyrian king, and his defeat occurred soon after the fall of Perseus, in 168 BC. He was defeated in the Third Illyrian War, which ended in twenty or thirty days⁴². He minted bronze coins in the mints of Lissus and Scodra: the coins are distinguished by different legends, as those from the former mint bear the short legend ΒΑΣΙ ΓΕΝ, while the legend on the coins from Scodra is long: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ. A portrait of a young man is depicted on the obverse, perhaps of a god, or perhaps of the king himself⁴³, and a ship is represented on the reverse. Possession of a fleet of the famous swift Illyrian *lembi* was an important component of an Illyrian king's authority.

The role of Ballaeus

Where should we place the king Ballaeus, known solely from the coins he minted? The extent of the kingdom of Agron and Teuta is not known exactly, but they must have controlled most of Illyria, since both Demetrius of Pharos and Scerdilaedas (who was probably by origin from the regions of the Labeates), were subordinate to them. Pharos must have been most important for Agron, both economically and strategically; the island has a most convenient position, it is situated close to Issa, and is open both towards Dalmatia and Italy. Moreover, the town of Pharos, which was – like Issa – an important centre of Hellenization, had an excellent harbour in a well-protected bay. It was no doubt because of its great importance that Agron placed it under the supervision of Demetrius, who must have acted as his governor. As has been mentioned, it is known from the events related to the First Illyrian War that one of the royal residencies of the Illyrian kingdom under Agron and Teuta was Rhizon. They possessed Pharos and were systematically attacking other important Greek *poleis* along the Illyrian coast: Issa, Corcyra, and Epidamnus. There is no specific mention of Lissus, Apollonia, and Corcyra Nigra; they were no doubt all threatened by the Illyrians, and some of them may have already been conquered by them earlier.

41. Marjeta Šašel Kos, « From Agron to Genthius: Large Scale Piracy in the Adriatic », in: Lorenzo Braccesi, Mario Luni (eds.), *I Greci in Adriatico, 1 (Hesperia, 15)*, Roma, 2002, p. 146. See also Dankward Vollmer, *Symploke. Das Übergreifen der römischen Expansion auf den griechischen Osten* (Hermes Einzelschriften, 54), Stuttgart, 1990, p. 45-47.

42. For his role between Rome and Macedon, see Peter S. Derow, « Rome, the fall of Macedon and the sack of Corinth », in: A. E. Astin et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*², vol. VIII, *Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C.*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 307-316.

43. Hasan Ceka, « Busti i mbretit Gent apo figurë e mitologjisë ilire? » (Le buste du roi Genthius ou bien une figure de mythologie illyrienne?), *Iliria*, 6, 1976, p. 139-147; Dujce Rendić-Miočević, « Novi prilozi pitanju Rhedon-emisija lješke kovnice » (De nouveaux apports concernant les émissions à la légende Rhedon de l'atelier de Lissos), *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 18, 1985, p. 45-56; cf. Peter Kos, *Leksikon antične numizmatike, op. cit.*, p. 74.

As early as Brunšmid, it was recognized that there was no place for an Illyrian king in the third *meris* (to which Rhizon and its territory belonged), created by the Romans in Illyria after the fall of Genthius. Therefore he denied the existence of Ballaeus' mint at Rhizon, which, however, is numismatically well attested. It is no longer seriously disputed that Ballaeus minted coins in his name both at Pharos and at Rhizon, which were centres of the kingdom of Agron and his successors. Thus some time after Pinnes' death, the Illyrian (= Ardiaean) kingdom may have been ruled by Ballaeus. After Demetrius' death, Pharos may have again belonged to the sphere of an Illyrian (=Ardiaean) king, one of the descendants of Pinnes. No descendants or successors of Pinnes are known from historical sources. Ballaeus could in theory have even been the immediate successor of Pinnes, but in any case he was the king of the Ardiaean kingdom. Nothing is heard of Pinnes after 217 BC, although he may well have reigned for several more years. Scerdilaidas must have died some time before 205 BC, since he did not take part at the meeting at Phoenice that year when the Peace of Phoenice was concluded, in which, however, his son and successor Pleuratus participated as the only dynast from Illyria (Livy, 29.12.14). It is impossible to know when exactly Ballaeus began to reign – according to the numismatic evidence some time around the turn of the centuries – but most probably he was a contemporary of either Pleuratus or Genthius or both. Weighty arguments speak against the thesis that he would have reigned after 168 BC and the division of Illyria into three parts, as his reign has been traditionally dated⁴⁴. Indeed, the earlier date proposed by Gorini (May) must be accepted⁴⁵. Also, Ballaeus most probably must have died at least some time before the fall of Genthius, since it is known that Genthius was in possession of Rhizon before his defeat. Livy mentioned that the inhabitants of Rhizon were awarded immunity by the Romans because they had abandoned Genthius while he was still in power (45.26.13).

Why Ballaeus was not mentioned in historical sources can easily be explained by the fact that his political (but not necessarily economical) importance and influence could not match that of Pleuratus and Genthius. Ballaeus can by no means be regarded as a successor of Genthius, who minted his coins at Scodra and Lissus; different centres of power clearly indicate two different kingdoms. In my opinion it would in any case be impossible that Ballaeus would have succeeded Genthius because the fall of the Illyrian kingdom was in many ways an event similar to the fall of the Macedonian kingdom, although on a smaller scale. There was no kingdom in Macedonia after the Third Macedonian War and the capture of Perseus and his court. The country was divided into four parts and much the same thing happened to Illyria, which after the capture of Genthius and his family was divided into three parts, there being no place for a native king to remain as a ruler in the

44. Duje Rendić-Miočević, « Ilirski vladarski novci u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu », *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 6-7, 1972-1973, p. 260-264.

45. Giovanni Gorini, « Nuova documentazione su Ballaios », art. cit.

country. In Livy's brief description of the division of Illyria, the first of the regions cannot be defined exactly because of text corruption⁴⁶, while the extent of the second and third is clear: the second comprised all of the Labeates, and the third three important southern Dalmatian towns with their territories: Acruvium, Rhizon, and Olcinium (Livy, 45.26.15). Rhizon with its territory was included in the third Illyrian *meris* and could no longer have been the seat of an Illyrian king⁴⁷.

46. Several proposals for the first one (« *Unam eam fecit, quae supra <dictam> est* ») are more or less implausible, while Gustav Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 96-97, suggested the emendation *supra Dyrrhachium*.

47. As shown in the article, this has already been observed by several earlier scholars (although not by all), who, however, did not necessarily draw the same conclusions.

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ÉPIRE, ILLYRIE, MACÉDOINE...

Mélanges offerts au Professeur Pierre Cabanes

Pierre Cabanes a consacré l'essentiel de sa recherche à l'Illyrie et à l'Épire antiques. Ses très nombreuses publications sur cette partie peu étudiée du monde méditerranéen en ont fait un spécialiste de renommée internationale, qui a attiré à l'Université de Clermont II beaucoup de savants français et étrangers. Ceux-ci ont voulu témoigner à Pierre Cabanes leur reconnaissance et leur amitié, en lui offrant un élément de leurs propres travaux entrepris avec lui ou à sa suite. Ses anciens étudiants, qui ont suivi ses traces dans ses domaines de recherche, devenus docteurs ès-lettres, ont également voulu marquer, par une contribution à ce volume, la gratitude qu'ils ont envers leur maître. Ses collègues ont souhaité aussi témoigner de leur amitié.

La zone antique étudiée dans les divers articles ici rassemblés recouvre essentiellement les États modernes de Macédoine, Albanie, Grèce (du nord). Pour les recherches sur ces régions dans l'Antiquité Pierre Cabanes aura été un pionnier.

Danièle Berranger-Auserve, helléniste de l'Université de Clermont II, a initié au grec ancien beaucoup d'étudiants de Pierre Cabanes. Elle a consacré l'essentiel de sa recherche à l'île de Paros. Sa thèse de doctorat, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Prosopographie de Paros à l'époque archaïque*, et le second volume consacré à l'île, *Paros II*, ont été publiés par les Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal.

