

L'ILLYRIE MÉRIDIONALE ET L'ÉPIRE DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ

V



**Actes du V^e colloque international de Grenoble
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réunis par Jean-Luc Lamboley et Maria Paola Castiglioni**

Volume II

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PEOPLES ON THE NORTHERN FRINGES OF THE GREEK WORLD: ILLYRIA AS SEEN BY STRABO

Strabo and the seventh book of his «Geography»

Strabo (who was born after 63 BC and died after 23 AD) came from Amaseia¹ (Amasya in Turkey), a city in the Hellenized kingdom of Pontus (from Nero onwards the province of Pontus-Bithynia), and spent much time in Rome where he studied. He is the author of the *Geography* in 17 books, the most important source for ancient cultural geography in the Augustan age². He was also the author of a lost history (*Historical Notes*), which continued Polybius' *History*. Since Strabo's *Geography* was intended to be complementary to his *History*, it has no such coherency as could be expected from an independent work, and this may explain several omissions. Strabo used many sources, among others notably the work of the stoic philosopher and historian Posidonius (ca. 135–ca. 51 BC), and obviously shared his interest in geography; Strabo, too, was a Stoic and regarded himself a philosopher. The reliability of his data depended mainly on his sources; however, he was not a compiler but created his *Geography* according to his own concept. Coming from a Hellenized country, he was unintentionally educated into believing in the superiority of the Hellenic culture, which, however, did not prevent him from questioning some aspects of it. On the other hand, he also valued positively the advantages offered by the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean world and of many regions beyond it, and regarded the Roman Empire ultimately as a civilizing

power. Inevitably, his work was a product of the age in which he was living, that is, the Augustan period (even if he revised some parts of his *Geography* in the first years of Tiberius' reign), which, after half a century of civil wars, finally brought peace and prosperity³.

Strabo described both Hellenized and Romanized countries, as well as those that remained outside the so-called civilized world. His concept of what was «barbarian» as in general typical of a Graeco-Roman of his time⁴. However, as could be seen in several of his descriptions, he also had his own ideas about this, since by collecting the evidence about the peoples and tribes outside the Roman Empire, he distinguished among them according to the different environments in which they were living, and the different degrees of their «acculturation». And since members of his mother's as well as his father's upper class families had held high positions in the time of Mithridates Euergetes, Laodice, and Mithridates Eupator (from 120 to 63 BC)⁵, his assessment of these problems was broad and well-informed. Greek personal names in his family (such as Dorylaeus, Laetanus, Stratarchas, Theophilus) on the one hand, and non-Greek names on the other (Moaphernes and Tibius), indicate a mixture of Greek and Oriental elements among his ancestors and relatives, thus his own experience could serve him to observe and analyse the spread of civilization with all its positive and nega-

¹ Strabo XII 3. 39 C 561.

² J. ENGELS, *Augusteische Oikumenengeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia* (Geographica Historica 12), Stuttgart 1999; *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia*, eds. D. DUECK, H. LINDSAY, S. POTHECARY, Cambridge 2005.

³ ENGELS, *Oikumenengeographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 337 ff.; p. 378.

⁴ See, for various aspects of Greek identity and barbarity, *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. T. HARRISON, Edinburgh 2002.

⁵ Strabo X 4. 10 C 477-478; 11. 2. 18 C 499; 12. 3. 33 C 557; cf. E. HONIGMANN, s.v. *Strabon von Amaseia*, in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), c. 77-79; ENGELS, *Oikumene-geographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 17 ff.

tive aspects. His views were influenced most of all by Hellenic, but partly also by Roman cultures⁶.

Strabo's seventh book is mainly devoted to the Balkans, notably to Illyricum as it was created after the Augustan conquest, to Thrace, Epirus, Macedonia, and Greece, as well as to the immediate neighbouring areas. He defined this vast part of the world in the following way: «*The remaining regions [after Iberia, the Celtic and Italian peoples] are those extending towards the east and across the Rhene as far as the Tanais and the mouth of Lake Maeotis, as well as all those between the Adriatic and the regions on the left coast of the Pontic Sea that are cut off from the first mentioned by the Ister, extending towards the south as far as Greece and the Propontis. Almost the whole area thus defined is actually divided into two parts by this river, which is the largest among the rivers in Europe, flowing first towards the south and then turning straight from the west towards the east and the Pontus. It has its sources at the western end of Germany, and also near the head of the Adriatic, as it is distant from it about one thousand stadia. The river's course ends in the Pontus not very far from the outlets of the Tyras and the Borysthenes, turning a little towards the north*»⁷. These regions are very well represented on the map, designed by Yolande Marion (fig. 1)⁸.

Strabo first described the Alps and the Alpine districts, the Germans and the Hercynian Forest, then the regions of the Boii, the arrival of the Cimbri, who were driven away by them towards the Scordisci and Taurisci, and the upheaval caused by the Cimbri, when they set off to the Helvetii.

After having mentioned the little known regions beyond the river Albis (Elbe), he explained the problem of the Mysi (referred to by Homer) and Moesi, and dedicated some space to the Getae and Scythians. He also made mention of the Triballi and the Adriatic Celts who sent an embassy to Alexander the Great. Speaking of the Getae and the Dacians, Strabo described the rise and fall of Burebistas⁹. Much of chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to the Pontic regions and to Tauric Chersonesus, as well as other regions controlled by the Bosporan kingdom¹⁰.

Strabo began chapter 5 by stating that the remainder of Europe consisted of the regions that are between the Ister and the encircling sea, beginning at the head of the Adriatic. The whole chapter is actually devoted to Illyria; first he described the Dacians, the Pannonians, and the Taurisci, then the Iapodes, Liburnia, the Delmatae, and the Dalmatian coast, further Dardania and southern Illyria, and he finished the chapter with a short description of the Autariatae, the Scordisci and the neighbouring peoples¹¹. In the short 6th chapter, Strabo described the western coast of the Euxine, while in the beginning of chapter 7 he once again delimited the Balkan regions and peoples geographically, saying that he must still describe the southern parts of the mountainous regions, as well as the territories below them, «*to which belong both Greece and the adjacent barbarian regions as far as the mountains*»¹². In what remains of the seventh book, Strabo described the regions along the Egnatian Road and the Illyrian peoples bordering on Epirus.

⁶ See E. ALMAGOR, Who is a barbarian? The barbarians in the ethnological and cultural taxonomies of Strabo, in *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia*, eds. D. DUECK, H. LINDSAY, S. POTHECARY, Cambridge 2005, p. 42 ff.

⁷ Strabo VII 1. 1 C 289.

⁸ Y. MARION, Strabon et l'Illyrie. Essai de cartographie, in *Les routes de l'Adriatique antique. Géographie et économie / Putovi antičkog Jadrana. Geografija i gospodarstvo* (Ausonius Éditions, Mémoires 17), Bordeaux, Zadar 2006, p. 32 fig. 3.

⁹ Most of these problems are discussed in M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla 43), Ljubljana 2005, where the relevant literature is cited.

¹⁰ On this region the latest survey will appear in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *Greek Colonization. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*, Vol. 3, Leiden, Boston, forthcoming.

¹¹ The ethnic identity and geography of these peoples is discussed in ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9).

¹² Strabo VII 7. 1 C 320-321.

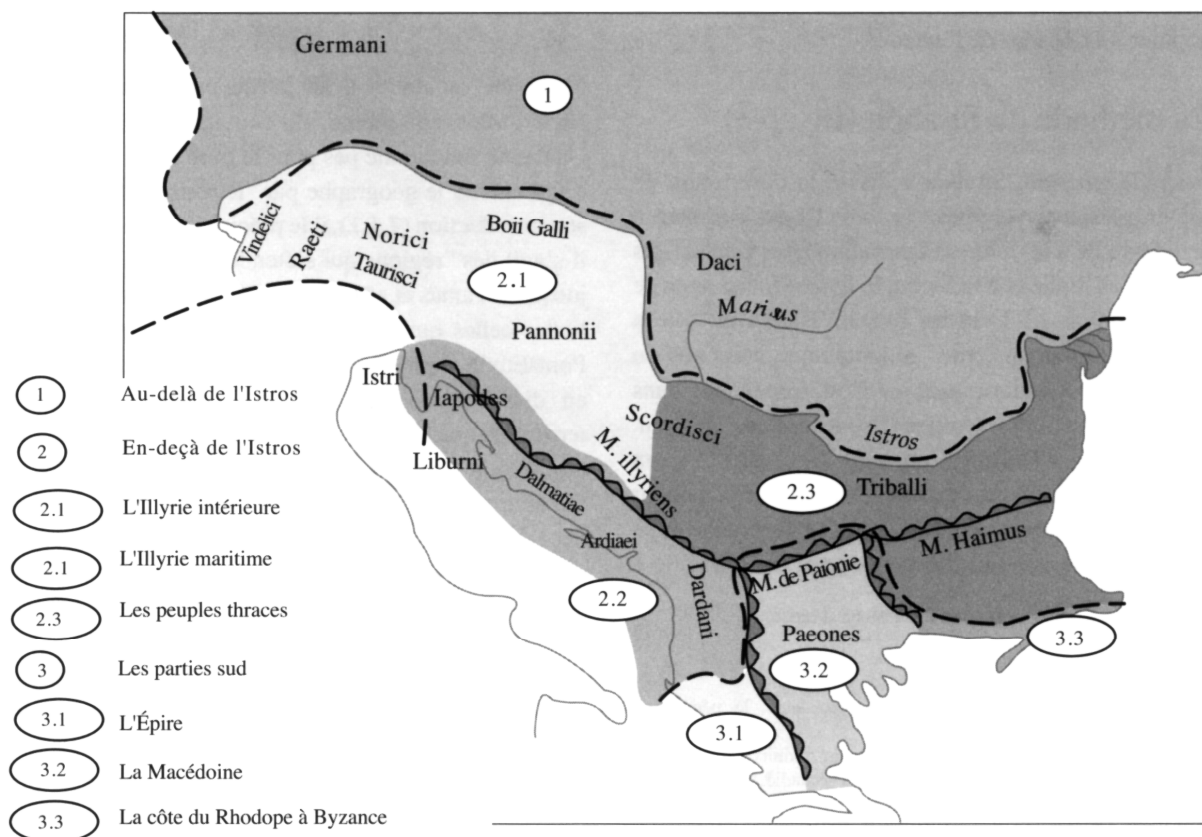


Fig. 1: map showing the regions described in Strabo's seventh book (from MARION, *Strabon*, cit. n. 8, p. 32 fig.3).

Why omissions?

In a recent article, Danijel Dzino defined the place of *Illyricum* in Strabo's seventh book in terms of the latter's division between barbarian and civilized regions, where Illyria would occupy a place in between, which he calls Mediterranean semi-periphery. His analysis – based on the post-modern comprehension that ancient (ethnic) identities had earlier not been adequately evaluated – drew due attention to a better definition of the context within which prehistoric societies were described in classical literature. How were the identities of various peoples constructed and felt, how should narratives of classical writers, who viewed them as «others», be correctly assessed¹³? Greek and Roman historians, as members of Mediterranean and other highly

civilized communities, belonged to privileged elites. «Others» were in this context peoples in less developed provinces and on the fringes of the Roman Empire; the one-sided assessment of them as reflected in the narratives of classical writers eventually often led to the production of «invented histories», such as most histories indeed often are. However, in Dzino's opinion Strabo purposely omitted several important facts from the Illyrian history that could have lessened the achievements of the Augustan conquest of Illyricum, which was a Roman creation. Thus Strabo did not mention the role of Greek colonization in Dalmatia, the Illyrian kingdoms, as well as the communities of Italians and Roman citizens settled in major Dalmatian cities. Rather, he focused on various curiosities

¹³ See, e.g., W. NIPPEL, The Construction of the «Other», in *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. T. HARRISON, Edinburgh 2002, p. 278-310.

and unusual, but not significant, «ethnographic» details¹⁴.

This assessment requires some modifications as predicated by the complex situation, which resulted from the coexistence of various peoples, kingdoms, and communities, Greek colonies of varied date, as well as early settlements of Italian immigrants and Roman citizens. Strabo regarded the Augustan empire and *pax Romana* that the first emperor had so efficiently achieved, as having a strong civilizing impact on the conquered regions. He was no doubt influenced by the ideology of the Augustan age, aiming at integrating the Greek and Roman parts of the empire, but he also very much appreciated the far-reaching Greek colonisation of the Mediterranean. And indeed, he did not fail to observe that the Romans had at first not been much better than the savage peoples on whom they had made war; it was only after they came in contact with more civilized peoples that they acknowledged the power of education and became masters of the world¹⁵.

As is well known, Strabo mainly used Greek sources of the third, second, and early first centuries BC¹⁶. His approach could most of all be defined as Hellenocentric, which is indicated not least by his «obsession» with Homer and his criticism of Greek authors such as Eratosthenes who regarded Homer as a great poet but not a scholar. Homer, due to his fame and the central place he held in primary Greek education, played a major role in Strabo's work. He was deemed an authority on

various fields, not least on geography, and Strabo's belief that his poems contain reliable facts may have been influenced by the views of Stoic philosophers, by the weight of Homeric tradition linked to various places Strabo described, and also by the Trojan origins of Rome¹⁷.

Strabo seems to address a mainly cultured Greek-speaking audience, and there is no reason at all that he would have purposely omitted to mention the Greeks in the Adriatic. The Greeks were omnipresent in the Mediterranean, which is well reflected in Strabo's *Geography*. Yet the Greek colonization of the Adriatic failed to attract much interest even among Greek Hellenistic historians, so Strabo probably could not find much about it in his sources. Thus the lack of more exact information about Illyria could at least partly be explained by the lack of interest in these regions by earlier writers, matched by Strabo's own disinterest.

If he indeed purposely omitted certain historical facts concerning *Illyricum* in order to glorify the achievements of Augustus, why did he not explicitly draw attention to the benefits of the Roman conquest under Augustus? Augustan imperial ideology surely had some impact on his work, since every writer is to some extent inevitably dependent on the current trends and issues of his age. However, it is difficult to judge, in view of Strabo's lost *History*, to what extent it blurred his historical perspective. As is expected for every historian – and Strabo should not be under-estimated in this respect – he should at least partly be able to rise above the contemporary historical situation in an attempt to gain a deeper insight into the forces behind the historical development, and to assess past events in a past context.

As regards omissions in Strabo's *Geography*, they do not allow for any far-reaching speculation, since it is not known

¹⁴ D. DZINO, Welcome to the Mediterranean semi-periphery: The place of Illyricum in book 7 of Strabo, *Živa Antika* 56, 2006, p. 113-128. However, these 'identities' trends should not be exaggerated, as seems to be the case recently.

¹⁵ Strabo IX 2. 2 C 401. He added this note about the Romans after he mentioned Ephorus' evaluation of Boeotia, whose hegemony did not last long because of the lack of intellectual pursuits. Cf. ENGELS, *Oikumenogeographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 142.

¹⁶ R. BALADIE, Strabon, *Géographie*, Tome IV, Livre VII. Texte établi et traduit par R. B. (Collection des Universités de France, Assoc. G. Budé), Paris 1989, p. 13 ff.; ENGELS, *Oikumenogeographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 115 ff.

¹⁷ A. M. BIRASCHI, Strabo and Homer: a chapter in cultural history, in *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia*, eds. D. DUECK, H. LINDSAY, S. POTHECARY, Cambridge 2005, p. 73-85.

if the missing data were included in his *History* or not; it would no doubt be very illuminating to know what kind of data on Illyricum figured in his *Historical Notes*. His *Geography* was a typical example of a cultural geography¹⁸, hence his antiquarian interests which are reflected, among other things, in his frequent discussions of Homer's data, in his polemics with Eratosthenes, and in various ethnographic peculiarities he noted.

Strabo's views about barbarians

In the eyes of a Greek, the antithesis between Greek and barbarian was that of ethnicity, language, and culture: the barbarian was non-Greek¹⁹. To an average Graeco-Roman, «barbarian» meant the opposites of abiding by laws (νόμιμον), leading the civic way of life in towns (πολιτικόν), culture and education (τὸ παιδείας καὶ λόγων οἰκεῖον), as was *expressis verbis* defined by Strabo when he cited Eratosthenes for having disapproved of the division of mankind between the «Greeks and barbarians»²⁰. In the 5th chapter of the second book Strabo praises Europe as a continent which possesses the most spiritual and material goods, its climate being such that it enables people to live almost everywhere, even if some mountainous regions offer only precarious conditions of life. He cited Greece as an example of an inhospitable mountainous country where people, due to their intelligence, could nonetheless lead a happy life. And he cited Rome, which, by having conquered peoples at different levels of civilization, included them all in its empire,

levelling the differences in their social development in the best possible way²¹.

An item of interest for Strabo's views about what is barbarian is his assessment of the Carians, based on the fact that Homer called them *barbarophonoi*²². In their case Strabo introduced the notion of «speakers of Greek with a foreign accent»²³, for which there are no parallels elsewhere. Asia Minor, where he came from, witnessed for centuries the coexistence of Greek poleis with their Hellenic civilization alongside the barbarian Anatolian peoples, leading a traditional life in their settlements in the hinterland of Greek cities, more or less affected by the Greeks. Ephorus, who was himself from Asia Minor, from the Aeolic Cyme, postulated a third category of peoples: a mixed Greek-barbarian, which, strangely, Strabo most vehemently denied²⁴, concluding: «*there is no third kind of «mixed» peoples: either the Greek or the barbarian element predominates*»²⁵.

Much of Strabo's work is indeed structured around the division of countries and peoples into more or less barbarian, and more or less civilized²⁶. Many of his opinions are obvious and commonplace – almost *topoi* – and can be regarded as valid for all ages in situations when members of a «higher» civilization express judgements about so-called uncivilized communities. *Mutatis mutandis*, they are not much different from Christian missionaries' descrip-

²¹ Strabo II 5. 26 C 126-127.

²² *Il.* 2. 867.

²³ Strabo XIV 2. 28 C 661-663.

²⁴ Strabo XIV 5. 23-26 C 678-679; See P. DESIDERI, Eforo e Strabone sui «popoli misti» (Strabo XIV,5.23-26), in M. SORDI (ed.), *Autocoscienza e rappresentazione dei popoli nell'antichità* (CISA 18), Milano 1992, p. 19-31; cf. ENGELS, *Oikumenogeographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 142 f.

²⁵ Strabo XIV 5. 25 C 679. His sharp distinction between «civilization» and «barbarity» was possibly influenced by the grave problems caused by the early Romanization of the recently conquered western provinces, cf. DESIDERI, *op. cit.*, p. 30 f.

²⁶ P. THOLLARD, *Barbarie et civilisation chez Strabon* (Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 77), Besançon, Paris 1987, *passim*, and in particular p. 19 ff.; p. 57.

¹⁸ ENGELS, *Oikumenogeographie* (cit. n. 2), p. 90 ff.

¹⁹ See, e.g., H.-J. GEHRKE, Heroen als Grenzgänger zwischen Griechen und Barbaren, in E. S. GRUEN (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriation in Antiquity* (Oriens et Occidens 8), Stuttgart 2005, p. 50-67.

²⁰ Strabo I 4. 9 C 66-67. See, e.g., R. BROWNING, Greeks and Others: From Antiquity to the Renaissance, in *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. T. HARRISON, Edinburgh 2002, p. 257-277.

tions of African or American indigenous populations.

However, some of Strabo's descriptions are more specific and therefore more interesting. In comparing the German peoples with the Celts, he claimed that they differed only slightly from each other in terms of outer appearance, habits, and way of life in general. The Germans were wilder and taller than the Celts and had hair of a lighter colour. Strabo added that this was probably the reason why the Romans had given them the name Germans, since «*germanu*» means «genuine», and therefore the Germans were actually «genuine Celts». This information was probably taken from Posidonius; it may or may not have been influenced by Caesar²⁷.

In defence of Homer's reference to the Scythians, «eaters of cheese made of mare's milk», Strabo discussed their way of life as law-abiding, without mischief, frugal, and independent, adding an interesting observation: «*And in fact our way of life has brought almost the whole world a change to the worse – by getting them to know luxury and pleasures and countless machinations to attain them. Many of such evils made their way to the barbarian peoples, not however, only to other barbarians but also to the Nomads. For when they came to live at the seaside, they became worse by practicing piracy and murdering strangers, and through contacts with many they have taken over their luxury and the spirit of commerce*»²⁸. Strabo came back to this topic at the end of paragraph 8, where he cited Plato and his *Republic* that a well-governed city should be founded far from the sea, which corrupts men²⁹.

²⁷ Strabo VII 1. 2 C 290; cf. also 4. 4. 2 C 196; see D. TIMPE, Germanen, Germania, Germanische Altertumskunde. I. Geschichte (Germanen, historisch), in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* Bd. 11, Berlin, New York 1998, p. 183 f.

²⁸ Strabo VII 3. 7 C 301.

²⁹ According to the philologists CORAIS and GROSKURD (cited by H. R. JONES, *The Geography of Strabo* [The Loeb Classical Library], III, London, Cambridge, Mass. 1924, p. 205 n. 1), the reference to the *Republic* is incorrect, rather Strabo should have

What is considered «barbarian» in Strabo's seventh book?

Among the data in Strabo's chapter 5 of his seventh book (in which Illyricum is described), the paragraphs on the Iapodes and Delmatae stand out as containing more information, and some are even from Strabo's own age. His narrative indicates that in addition to the (pre-)Hellenistic writers, he also used a report about Octavian's Illyrian wars, as well as a source describing the Augustan conquest of Illyricum, since his mention of the fortress of Andetrium alludes to the great Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt (6–9 AD), quelled by Tiberius. The entire chapter has been very instructively commented on by Slobodan Čače³⁰.

Illyricum was on the fringes of the Greek world and thus belonged to the «barbarian» sphere. Barbarian phenomena from chapter 5, listed by Dzino, are mainly based on Thollard's model (fig. 2)³¹. However, the historical reality was and is more subtle and complex than we like to admit, and it can rarely be adequately reduced to simplified sociological models. This model seems not to take sufficiently into account the historical context of Strabo's narrative, from which single elements have been taken. Insufficient distinction is perhaps made between the two sets of opposites: «barbarity and civilization» on the one hand, and «country-side and town» on the other. Rural and urban ways of life within the so-called civilized societies are indeed very different, and in several aspects they come close to the distinction between «barbarity and civilization».

Certain elements singled out as «barbarian» are thus ambiguous, such as, for example, «mountains», «dispersed settlement», and «warfare». Mountains and rough climate, as opposed to coast and plains with

cited Plato's *Laws* (4. 704-705), where the philosopher discussed the proper site for founding a city.

³⁰ S. ČAČE, Dalmatica Straboniana (Strabon, *Geogr.* 7, 5, 5), *Diadora* 16-17, 1994-1995, p. 101-133.

³¹ DZINO, *Mediterranean semi-periphery* (cit. n. 14); THOLLARD, *Barbarie* (cit. n. 26), p. 13.

mild(er) climates are noted by Strabo (and other writers as well) as the domain of the barbarian, but geographical configuration, as is indicated by mountainous Greece, can never be dissociated from the inhabitants; the human factor plays a decisive role, as Strabo himself explicitly observed³².



Fig. 2: elements of «barbarity» and «civilization» in the model proposed by P. THOLLARD (Barbarie, cit. n. 26, p. 13).

Dispersed settlement, too, is typical of rural communities. Waging wars is *par excellence* a barbarian phenomenon; however, it is an ambiguous element that cannot necessarily be associated with barbarity as opposed to civilization, since it is so universal and typical of the so-called civilized societies. It is cruel and constant warfare that Strabo defined as barbarian. Thus the Iapodes are described as particularly warlike people who tattoo themselves³³, and both characteristics fit the image of a barbarian well.

When describing the country of the Delmatae Strabo noted that they had a custom of dividing their land anew among families every eight years. He further mentioned that they did not use coined money, adding that a non-monetary economy was typical of many barbarian peoples³⁴. The

reassignment of the arable land among the Delmataean tribes and families was probably carried out in the religious context of periodical purification and renovation rituals. The statement that they did not use coined money may have been Strabo's own conclusion inferred from Polybius, who mentioned that the Delmatae subdued the neighbouring peoples, some of whom paid them tribute in grain and stock³⁵. Strabo added that this was unusual among the peoples along the eastern Adriatic coast³⁶; implicitly he referred to Illyrian kingdoms such as that of Ballaeus and Genthius (fig. 3)³⁷, and to the Daorsi, the close neighbours of the Delmatae, who minted their own money³⁸. Indeed the Delmatae had been subject to Genthius' father Pleuratus, but gained independence under Genthius, who was not able to subdue them when they invaded his kingdom³⁹.

An intriguing problem is piracy, ascribed by Strabo to the inhabitants of Illyricum, and particularly to the Ardiaei. Piracy may be understood as a typically barbarian characteristic, although the way it was exercised differed greatly in time and space. Piracy could consist of individually pursued maritime brigandage, and in this sense it can be justifiably regarded as a bar-

³⁵ Polyb. 32.9; both statements are commented by ČAČE, *Dalmatica Straboniana* (cit. n. 30), p. 122 ff.; cf. J. J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, p. 185.

³⁶ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315.

³⁷ M. ŠAŠEL KOS, The Illyrian king Ballaeus – some historical aspects, in D. BERRANGER-AUSERVE (ed.), *Épire, Illyrie, Macédoine... Mélanges offerts au Professeur Pierre Cabanes* (Coll. ERGA 10), Clermont-Ferrand 2007, p. 125-138; A. DOMIĆ-KUNIĆ, Gentius – internationale Beziehungen zwischen Illyrien, Rom und Mazedonien am Vorabend und zur Zeit des dritten Mazedonischen und dritten Illyrischen Kriegs (in Croatian with a summary in German), *Opuscula Archaeol.* 17, 1993, p. 205-251.

³⁸ M. KOZLIČIĆ, Surveys of ships on coins of the Daorsi tribe (in Croatian with a summary in English), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Sarajeva*, n. s. 35-36, 1980-1981, p. 163-188; Z. MARIĆ, Die hellenistische Stadt oberhalb Ošanići bei Stolac (Ostherzegowina), *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 76, 1995, p. 31-72, Tab. 1-24.

³⁹ Polyb., XXXII 9. 3-4.

³² Strabo II 5. 26 C 127; see *supra*.

³³ Strabo VII 5. 4 C 314-315; D. DZINO, «The people who are Illyrians and Celts»: Strabo and the identities of the «barbarians» from Illyricum, *Arheološki Vestnik* 59, 2008, p. 371-380.

³⁴ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315.

barian characteristic. However, it could also be organized at the state level, presupposing state policy, far reaching strategic plans, agreements with other peoples, as well as well-organized logistics, as was the case in the kingdoms of various Illyrian dynasts (**fig. 4**)⁴⁰. Modern scholarship tends to minimize the impact of «Illyrian» (under Agron Ardiaean) piracy in the Adriatic, rather emphasizing the sudden rise of Agron's kingdom and the increasing political influence it exercised in the central and southern Adriatic, which led to the conflict with the Romans. However, it cannot be denied that the rise of the kingdom was in part undoubtedly based on piracy, which played an important economic role not only in Agron's kingdom but also under Demetrius of Pharos, Scerdilaidas, and Genthius, since it is mentioned in all classical sources describing the Illyrian Wars. These wars should be understood both in terms of Roman imperialist policy⁴¹, and as a direct reaction to the piracy and the then current political situation⁴²; any other explanation seems to be one-sided⁴³.

The Dardani are described by Strabo as utterly barbarian, being settled inland and

dwelling in the holes they had dug out under heaps of dung⁴⁴, obviously earthen ca-



Fig. 3: bronze coins of Genthius, the last Illyrian king (from *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, ed. A. EGGBRECHT, Mainz 1988, p. 271 n° 137 a,b).

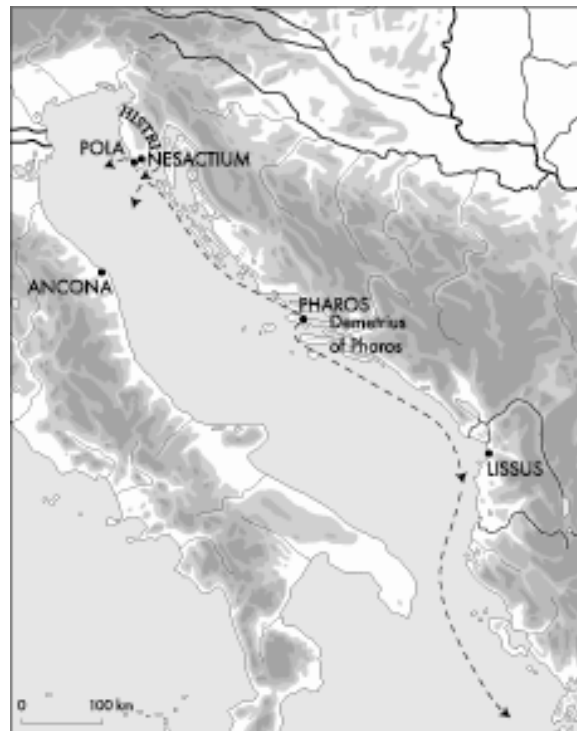


Fig. 4: the piratical activities of Demetrius of Pharos extended from Histria to the Cyclades (Computer graphics M. Belak).

bins of some kind. Even at first glance it is clear that there must be something wrong with Strabo's statement since it cannot

⁴⁰ M. ŠAŠEL KOS, From Agron to Genthius: Large Scale Piracy in the Adriatic, in *I Greci in Adriatico*, I, eds. L. BRACCESI, M. LUNI (Hesperia 15), Roma 2002, p. 137-155.

⁴¹ There can hardly be any doubt about Roman «imperialism», see F. CASSOLA, La politica romana nell'alto Adriatico, in *Aquileia e l'alto Adriatico* (Antichità Altoadriatiche 2), Udine 1972, p. 52 ; G. BANDELLI, Roma e l'Adriatico fra III e II secolo a.C., in *Strutture portuali e rotte marittime nell'Adriatico di età romana*, ed. C. ZACCARIA (Antichità Altoadriatiche 46; Coll. Éc. fr. Rome 280), Trieste, Roma 2001, p. 23 ff.; C. B. CHAMPION, A. M. ECKSTEIN, Introduction: The Study of Roman Imperialism, in *Roman Imperialism. Readings and Sources*, ed. C. B. CHAMPION, Malden, Oxford, Carlton 2004, p. 1-10, with a discussion of the problem and earlier citations.

⁴² P. DE SOUZA, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge 1999, p. 76-80; 92, has recently assessed the problems of piracy and the greater reliability of Appian.

⁴³ ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9), p. 252 ff.

⁴⁴ Strabo VII 5. 7 C 316. See, for the best survey of the Dardani, F. PAPAZOGLU, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times. Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians*, Amsterdam 1978, p. 131-269 ; short comments in S. RADT, *Strabons Geographika* (ed. by S. Radt). Bd. 6: Buch V-VIII: Kommentar, Göttingen 2007, p. 298 f.

apply to the Dardani in general. Clearly, the data had been distorted and misunderstood either by himself or by the source he used. It no doubt referred to some settlements in a rural environment⁴⁵, perhaps of shepherds, whose habitations and way of life should not be regarded as typical of the whole of Dardania.

Strabo mentioned in the same breath another characteristic of the Dardani, their devotion to music. It may seem somewhat difficult to reconcile it – as it did to Strabo – with their «utter barbarity»; however, music can be performed in different ways and in different contexts, thus Strabo's statement is actually ambiguous. Strabo regarded music as a part of education, a means of approaching the gods, and closely connected with poetry and religion, side by side with philosophy⁴⁶. The Dardani bordered on the Thracians, and it is most interesting that according to Strabo, the origins of the music should be sought in Thrace and Asia, since the most ancient musicians were Thracians: Orpheus, Musaeus and Thamyras⁴⁷. On the other hand, playing music could also be reconciled with the concept of «barbarity», if the Dardani performed loud cult festivities in honour of their divinities; they may have worshipped a god not unlike Dionysus. In such case, music could be viewed as an element of their «barbarian» rites⁴⁸. Rites in honour of Magna Mater were also regarded as barbarian on account of loud music that accompanied them⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), p. 481.

⁴⁶ Strabo X 3. 9-10 C 467-468. On Strabo's attitude to music see G. AUJAC, *Strabon et la musique*, in G. MADDOLI (ed.), *Strabone – Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera* II, Perugia, 1986, p. 9-25.

⁴⁷ Strabo X 3. 17 C 471; cf. AUJAC, *Strabon* (cit. n. 46), p. 15 f.

⁴⁸ On the interest for music of the Dardani: PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), p. 515 ; 519 ; AUJAC, *Strabon* (cit. n. 46), p. 12 ff.

⁴⁹ L. E. ROLLER, *In Search of God the Mother. The cult of Anatolian Cybele*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1999, p. 19; 110, 149 ff., and *passim*. Performing music cannot *eo ipso* be regarded a sign of civilization, as is indicated, e.g., by gipsy music or African music related to magic rites.

Strabo added that in the region of one of the Dardanian peoples, named the Galabrii⁵⁰, an old city was located⁵¹; this is an indisputable sign of higher social development and acculturation, and it can be inferred from other classical sources concerning the Dardani that their society was at an advanced stage of development⁵². Fanula Papazoglu tentatively suggested that the mentioned city should be sought at Kale in Skopje. Discordant statements like these can be explained by the existence of different ethnic groups in Dardania, all of them known under the name of the Dardani; the Galabrii and Thunatae, for example, are mentioned by Strabo, while others remain unknown. The Thunatae, who bordered on the east with the Thracian Maedi, may have been a Thracian people⁵³, or perhaps strongly influenced by the neighbouring Thracians. The study of Dardanian names has shown that some of them are local, perhaps reflecting the original inhabitants, while some are Illyrian and some Thracian⁵⁴.

Several tribes were united under a central political authority. Each of them regarded their own identity as different from the others, and again, their identities were comprehended in a different way, and were probably misunderstood, by an external observer, for whom all of them were known primarily as the Dardani.

Perhaps the element most discordant with Strabo's statement is the existence of the Dardanian kingdom. At the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War against Philip in 200 BC, for example, three pro-Roman kings and/or dynasts are mentioned in the

⁵⁰ PAPAZOGLU connects them to the Italian Calabri, p. 133-134; 262, which seems questionable.

⁵¹ Strabo's sentence reads: «One of the Dardanian peoples are also the Galabrii (in whose territory is an old city **), as well as the Thunati, who border with the Thracian Maedi in the east.» The name of the city remains unknown due to the corrupt text in manuscripts.

⁵² See footnote 44.

⁵³ Suggested by PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), 209; 262, on account of their name; however, on p. 133 she compared their name to the Daunii.

⁵⁴ PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), p. 219-262 ; 445.

neighbourhood of the Macedonian kingdom. These were the Illyrian dynast Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaedas, his relative Amyndros, the king of the Athamanes, as well as the Dardanian dynast Bato. All three of them came to offer support to the consul P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus⁵⁵. Livy added that Bato's father Longarus had waged war some years earlier with Philip's father Demetrius. The Dardani were among the oldest Balkan peoples, and their society was very complex⁵⁶.

Strabo further noted as a general characteristic of the entire interior area a scarcity of wine and the cold climate, which are always linked by classical writers to the countries outside the Mediterranean area, and, consequently, to barbarians⁵⁷. Often the cultivation of olives is also mentioned along with wine growing⁵⁸. At the end of chapter 5 – as a kind of conclusion – Strabo mentioned the Bessi, one of the Thracian peoples, whom he described as pursuing brigandage, adding that they were regarded as «brigands even by the brigands»⁵⁹.

The Greeks in the Adriatic – data in Strabo's seventh book.

Strabo is certainly not a guide to the Greek settlements in the Adriatic (fig. 5). However, he does not neglect to mention them, as he omitted, for example, the Illyrian kingdoms, since the only unambiguous allusion to their existence is his mention of Demetrius of Pharos⁶⁰. The Dalmatian

coast was Hellenized quite early at least as far to the north as Liburnia⁶¹. Dionysius of Syracuse founded Lissus north of Epidamnus at the very end of the fifth century BC, and somewhat later supported the Parians in founding a colony on the island of Pharos⁶². The Cnidians at some time colonized the island of Black Corcyra (Corcyra Melaena or Nigra), possibly building a settlement at the site of the modern town of Korčula⁶³. Issa on the island of the same name (present-day Vis) was perhaps founded by Dionysius the Elder, although the Greek colonization of the island may have been earlier, perhaps even by a hundred years⁶⁴. Greek civilization spread from Issa to other regions in the Adriatic; colonies were established by the Issaeans at Lumbarda on Corcyra Nigra and also on the mainland at Epetium and Tragurium⁶⁵. A small settlement perhaps developed even at the site of Salona, although Salon is known as a port of the Delmatae in Strabo⁶⁶.

⁶¹ See, for a sketch of the Greek colonization in the Adriatic, P. CABANES, Greek colonization in the Adriatic, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *Greek Colonization. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*, Vol. 2, Leiden, Boston 2008, p. 155-185.

⁶² Diod. XV 13. 4-5 ; S. ČAČE, Notes on the Greek Colonization in the Adriatic in the 4th Cent. B.C. (in Croat. with a summary), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar* 33 (20), 1993-1994, p. 33-54.

⁶³ M. ZANINOVIĆ, The Ancient Greeks on the eastern (Croatian) Adriatic Coast (in Croat. with a summary), *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 14, 2004, p. 18 ; see, for some earlier hypotheses, R. L. BEAUMONT, Greek Influence in the Adriatic Sea before the Fourth Century B.C., *JHS* 51, 1936, p. 174 f.

⁶⁴ B. KIRIGIN, *Issa – grčki grad na Jadranu [Issa – A Greek City in the Adriatic]* (Mala knjižnica Matice hrvatske IV, 21), Zagreb 1996, p. 37 ff.; M. SANADER, Issa before Dionysius I of Syracuse? (in Croat. with a summary in English), in *Grčki utjecaj na istočnoj obali Jadrana / Greek Influence Along the East Adriatic Coast* (Proceedings of the Intern. Conference held in Split from Sept. 24th to 26th 1998), eds. N. CAMBI, S. ČAČE, B. KIRIGIN, Split 2002, p. 311-318.

⁶⁵ See also G. NOVAK, La colonizzazione greca sulla costa orientale del mare Adriatico (in Croat. with a summary in Italian), *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 68, 1966 (1973), p. 119-126, where his earlier works are cited.

⁶⁶ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315.

⁵⁵ Livy XXXI 28. 1-2; cf. on the consul: T. R. S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Vols. I-II, New York 1951, p. 323; on Bato, see PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), p. 156 ff.

⁵⁶ PAPAZOGLU, *Tribes* (cit. n. 44), p. 131 ff.; 481 ff.

⁵⁷ Strabo VII 5. 10 C 317. Cassius Dio, for example, uses similar words when describing the Pannonians, 49. 36. 1 ff. In his case this was a mixture of 'topos' and his own experience, since he governed Upper Pannonia, see M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *A Historical Outline of the Region between Aquileia, the Adriatic, and Sirmium in Cassius Dio and Herodian*, Ljubljana 1986, p. 34 ; p. 130 ff.

⁵⁸ Thus in a cited passage of Dio.

⁵⁹ Strabo VII 5. 12 C 318.

⁶⁰ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315.

What has Strabo to say on this matter? After mentioning the Liburnian islands, he writes: «Next come other islands – among the most well-known are Issa, Tragurium (founded by Issa) and Pharos (which was first called Paros, a foundation of the Parians and home of Demetrius of Pharos), as well as the littoral of the Delmatae with their harbour of Salon»⁶⁷. Salonae had developed out of a small, possibly Greek, settlement in the formerly «barbarian» milieu into a flourishing *conventus* of Italians and Roman citizens already in the first half of the first century BC. It is not clear how much coast belonged to the Delmatae (who, after their expansion towards the coast, first inhabited only the hinterland of Salonae), nor where exactly to look for their Salon. They were settled between the Tit(i)us (= Krka) and Nestos/Hippius (= Cetina) Rivers on the Glamočko, Livanjsko, Duvanjsko, and Imotsko plains⁶⁸. Polybius writes of several attacks of the Delmatae against the Issaeian settlements of Tragurium and Epetium⁶⁹, which makes it almost certain that they conquered part of the coastal area as early as the first half of the second century BC, most probably the area around Salonae, descending across the pass of Klis into the Manian Bay. There they probably subdued indigenous inhabitants; Bulini, Nestaei, Hilei, and Tariatotae are mentioned in the broad region of Salonae⁷⁰.

The town became a colony under Caesar, and eventually the capital of Dalmatia and a great cosmopolitan city, which overshadowed Naronae, the formerly most important Greek emporium in mainland Dalmatia and also the seat of Italian and Roman traders. Naronae found no place in the seventh book of Strabo's *Geography*; however, he twice mentioned the Naro River, first at the end of the cited paragraph, where

he repeats the information about the foundation of Pharos: «Next comes the Naro River and the peoples who are settled in the regions along the river: the Daorizi (= Daorsi), Ardiaei, and Pleraei. Not far from the latter the island of Black Corcyra, as well as the town (founded by the Cnidians), while not far from the Ardiaei Pharos is situated (which was earlier called Paros and was founded by the Parians)»⁷¹. The reference to the river is found for the second time in the passage, in which Strabo cited Theopompus for the improbable opinion that the Pontic and Adriatic seas were connected by a subterranean channel. The evidence for this would have been pottery found in the Naro, which originated both from Chios and Thasos.

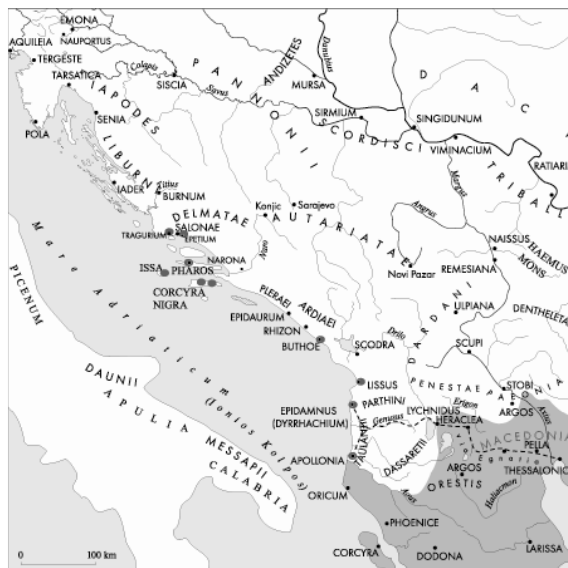


Fig. 5: the Greeks in the eastern Adriatic.

In paragraph 8, Strabo mentioned the southernmost Greek Adriatic cities with a more or less strong native element: «After the Gulf of Rhizon comes the city of Lissus and Acrolissus, as well as Epidamnus (a colony founded by the inhabitants of Corcyra), which is at present called Dyrrhachium, after the peninsula on which it is built. Next come the Apsus River and the

⁶⁷ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315.

⁶⁸ See M. ZANINOVIĆ, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Šibenik 2007.

⁶⁹ Polyb. XXXII 9.

⁷⁰ S. ČAČE, The name *Dalmatia* in the second and first centuries B.C. (in Croatian with a summary in English), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar* 40 (27), 2001 (2003), p. 30 ff.

⁷¹ Strabo VII 5. 5 C 315. See F. PAPAZOGLU, Sur le territoire des Ardiéens (in Serbian with a summary in French), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta Beograd* 7/1, 1963, p. 71-86; ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9), p. 314-321.

*Aous, at which Apollonia is situated, a city with an excellent legislation; it was founded by the inhabitants of Corinth and Corcyra. It is ten stadia distant from the river and sixty from the sea*⁷². The last reference to the Greeks in the Adriatic is again a quotation from Theopompus. According to him the name of the Ionian Sea derived from the name of a man from Issa who would have once ruled over these regions⁷³, while the Adriatic would have received its name from a river of the same name⁷⁴. Theopompus' version is also noted in the *scholia* to Lycophron's *Alexandra* (ad 631), where it is written: «... *Lycophron named the Ionian Sea after Io, while Theopompus and many others gave it the name after Ionius, Illyrian by origin, who reigned in those regions. He was the son of Adrias, who founded a city on the coast of this sea. Others say that this city was founded by Dionysius I, the tyrant of Sicily.*» If Strabo correctly quoted Theopompus – that is, that the Adriatic received its name from the river – it must be concluded that it was the «many others» who claimed that Ionius was the son of Adrias. However, it is also possible that Theopompus narrated both, or various, versions of the story, not merely the one preserved by Strabo⁷⁵.

Greek cities must have been more numerous than is usually supposed, both on the islands⁷⁶, and on the mainland. This is

suggested most of all by Pliny the Elder, who claimed, when referring to the eastern Adriatic coast, that by his time «*the memory of many Greek cities had faded*»⁷⁷. However, Greek colonization on some larger scale in the Adriatic is not attested in any classical sources. The Greek legacy is no better documented by archaeological remains, although the impact of Greek civilization (early urbanization, crafts, art, coinage, script) in the eastern Adriatic regions should not be underestimated⁷⁸. Yet large coastal areas and almost the whole of the hinterland was barbarian, and while the Liburni seem to have been susceptible to the material goods of the Greek civilization, the Delmatae pursued an increasingly aggressive policy, both against the Greeks and, after the third Illyrian War, against the Romans.

Strabo probably never travelled in Illyricum, at least he never mentioned that he himself had seen any of the places that he described. It is therefore not surprising that his geographical knowledge of the Balkans is in several instances not exact, since it depended entirely on his sources. In what may seem unusual but was actually a common practice, he mainly used old sources and very rarely mentioned contemporary events. He cited Theopompus for several data concerning Illyria, thus first of all for the length of the eastern Adriatic coast, criticising his numbers. According to Theopompus, the voyage along the entire eastern coast beginning at its extreme upper end lasted six days by ship, while on foot the length of Illyria would amount to thirty days. In Strabo's opinion, however, this

⁷² Strabo VII 5. 8 C 316. See on Lissus: F. PRENDI, K. ZHEKU, La ville illyrienne de Lissus, son origine et son système de fortifications, *Iliria* 2, 1972, p. 239-268; on Epidamnus: P. CABANES, F. DRINI, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion (Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia 1)*, in *Études épigraphiques 2: Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I* (ed. P. CABANES), Athènes 1995; on Apollonia: *Apollonia d'Illyrie 1: Atlas archéologique et historique*, textes réunis par V. DIMO, P. LENHARDT, F. QUANTIN (Coll. ÉFR 391), Rome 2007.

⁷³ *FgrHist* 115 F 128 (from *Scholia* to Apol. Rhod. 4. 308; Pind. P 3. 120 c; Lycophr. 631); 129 (from Strabo).

⁷⁴ Strabo VII 5. 9 C 317.

⁷⁵ See for an exhaustive commentary ŠAŠEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9), p. 544 ff.

⁷⁶ V. GAFFNEY, S. ČAČE, J. HAYES, B. KIRIGIN, P. LEACH, N. VUJNOVIĆ, *Secret Histories: the Pre-*

colonial Archaeological Context for Greek Settlement of the Central Adriatic Islands, in *Greek Influence* (cit. n. 64), p. 25-50.

⁷⁷ Plinius *H.N.* III 144; cf. D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, Ancient Greeks on the Eastern Adriatic and Some Questions Concerning Settling of the Coast Line of Manios Bay (in Croatian with a summary in English), *Adrias* 2, Split 1988, 5-19; ZANINOVIĆ, *Ancient Greeks* (cit. n. 63), p. 1-57.

⁷⁸ N. CAMBI, La civiltà dei Greci nell'Adriatico orientale, *Hesperia* 17, 2003, p. 11-40; cf. also G. GORINI, Comunità greche di Dalmazia. Le emissioni monetali, *Hesperia* 17, 2003, p. 41-54; *I Greci* (cit. n. 40); *Greek Influence* (cit. n. 64).

distance was exaggerated⁷⁹. In this particular case Theopompus was right and Strabo wrong⁸⁰, but Strabo justifiably criticized him on account of his other data concerning Illyria, such as, for example, for his erroneous belief that the Adriatic and Pontic seas would have been connected by an underground channel (cited *supra*).

Strabo also disagreed with three other Theopompus' claims, notably that from a certain mountain it was possible to see the two mentioned seas, that one of the Liburnian islands measured 500 stades, and that the Ister flowed with one branch into the Adriatic. Strabo added that similar erroneous statements could also be found in Eratosthenes; Polybius would call them «popular beliefs»⁸¹. The Macedonian king Philip V once climbed to the top of Mount Haemus, from which he expected to see the Black Sea, the Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps. This is noted by Livy, but was no doubt taken from Polybius⁸². Quite obviously, this was a «popular belief». Polybius, too, may have been influenced by Theopompus, since Strabo quoted at the beginning of chapter 5 Polybius' opinion on the same Mount Haemon, offering a view of both seas⁸³.

It can be concluded that remarkably little was known of the regions along the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland, despite the fact that they were so near the Greek world. Strabo also regarded the Epirotes as barbarians, noting at the beginning of chapter 7 that the Thracians, Illyrians, and Epirotes were settled along the borders of Greece to his own day⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ Strabo VII 5. 9 C 317.

⁸⁰ See, on the dimensions of Illyria, ŠASEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9), p. 97 ff.

⁸¹ Polyb. XXXIV 12. 2 (from Strabo 7. 5. 9 C 317).

⁸² Livy, XL 21.2; ŠASEL KOS, *Appian* (cit. n. 9), p. 533.

⁸³ Polyb. XXIV 4 (from Strabo 7. 5. 1 C 313).

⁸⁴ Strabo VII C 321; Epirote ethnicity was a contested subject in antiquity (as it is also in the modern age), and was constructed (and considered) differently in different periods and political situations, see F. PAPAZOGLU, Les noms d'«Épire» et d'«Illyrie» au cours des deux derniers siècles de la république (in Serbian with a summary in French),

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Godišnjak 13, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja 11, 1976, p. 197-11; P. CABANES, La montagne, lieu de vie et de rencontre, en Épire et en Illyrie méridionale dans l'antiquité, in *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* 5, 1993: «Gebirgsland als Lebensraum» (Geographica Historica 8), Amsterdam 1996, p. 275-87; I. MALKIN, Greek Ambiguities: «Ancient Hellas» and «Barbarian Epirus», in I. MALKIN (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Cambridge, Mass., London 2001, p. 187-212.

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Ce colloque est le cinquième organisé depuis le premier en 1984 à Clermont-Ferrand à l'initiative de Pierre Cabanes, le dernier ayant eu lieu à Grenoble en octobre 2002. Tous les six ans il permet de réunir l'ensemble de la communauté scientifique travaillant sur ces régions Balkaniques, depuis la Roumanie à l'est et la Croatie à l'ouest jusqu'à la péninsule grecque au sud, avec des pays de vieille tradition comme la Grèce, et des pays plus récents comme la République de Macédoine ou le Kosovo. Le but de ce colloque est double comme l'indique le programme. Il s'agit d'abord de faire connaître et de partager les découvertes récentes dans le domaine de l'archéologie, de l'épigraphie et de la numismatique, depuis la préhistoire jusqu'à la Basse Antiquité. En effet, depuis l'ouverture de chantiers internationaux en Albanie et tout récemment au Kosovo, compte tenu également du développement considérable des recherches en Grèce du nord-ouest, grâce à la méthode des surveys en particulier, le rythme des découvertes dans ces régions s'accroît de façon importante. Il est donc essentiel que celles-ci soient confrontées et discutées le plus rapidement possible.



pour constituer de véritables connaissances, dans une perspective à la fois de pluralité historique, d'approche comparatiste, et d'interdisciplinarité. Le deuxième objectif est de proposer des mises au point historiques dans un domaine précis qui change tous les six ans ; cette année le thème retenu par le comité scientifique, est celui des échanges, aussi bien économiques que culturels. Ce choix dépend d'une part des thèmes de recherche développés par le groupe «Balkans» au sein de l'équipe d'accueil du CRHIPA qui reçoit ces travaux, avec l'appui du GDR Européen Balkans du CNRS, mais aussi de l'orientation actuelle des recherches menées par les différents partenaires appartenant à une douzaine de pays. La confrontation entre l'expérience accumulée par les anciens et le renouvellement des problématiques proposées par les jeunes chercheurs, et tout particulièrement les doctorants, s'est avérée, depuis les derniers colloques, le gage d'une recherche dynamique et fructueuse.

Plaque de Magdalenska gora
Naturhistorische Museum de Vienne.
Cliché de N. Proeva.

Photo de couverture :
Vue aérienne du site d'Ulpiana.
Cliché KFOR

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