

“Shrieking like Illyrians”^{*}

Historical geography and the Greek perspective of the Illyrian world in the 5th century BC

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Izvleček

V okviru raziskav problematike grške identitete in stikov Grkov z negrškimi ljudstvi so v članku komentirani najstarejši grški zgodovinski viri, ki osvetljujejo eno od negrških ljudstev (*ethnos*), namreč Ilire. Rimski Ilirik je bil bistveno večji od Ilirije, omejene na majhno območje jugovzhodne jadranske obale, kakršno je poznal Hekataj iz Mileta; Plinij Starejši in Pomponij Mela sta se verjetno dobro zavedala te razlike. Herodot prinaša nekaj zanimivih zgodovinskih podatkov o Ilirih, vendar je za osvetlitev grških predstav o tem ljudstvu zanimivejši Tukidid, ki omenja “strašno kričanje” ilirskih vojakov, ko so napadli spartansko vojsko. Podobno je Aristofan v *Ptičih* primerjal lačne barbarske bogove z “vreščječimi Iliri”. Vendar je to le en vidik grških predstav o Ilirih; iz istih avtorjev namreč tudi izhaja, da v različnih okoliščinah vloga ilirskih ljudstev v politiki grških držav ni bila zanemarljiva.

Ključne besede: Iliri, grška identiteta, Hekataj iz Mileta, grška geografska tradicija, Herodot, Tukidid

Abstract

Modern historiography on the ancient world has focused in the last few decades on the problems of Greek identity and self-awareness, as well as Greek relations to the non-Greek populations. In the light of the reassessment of the most ancient historical sources, this paper investigates the representation of the Illyrian tribes in the Greek literary tradition. Roman *Illyricum* was entirely different from Illyria in Hecataeus of Miletus, when it was confined to a small portion of South-East Adriatic coast; Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela were probably well aware of this difference. Herodotus offers some interesting historical information, but his text is not so illuminating for the Greek perspective as Thucydides. He speaks of the “great cries” of the Illyrian tribes facing the Spartan army, just like Aristophanes in the *Birds* compares the hungry barbarian gods to the “shrieking Illyrians”. However, this is only one side of the Greek perspective; it appears from these same authors that the role played by the Illyrian populations in Greek politics was not to be neglected.

Keywords: Illyrians, Greek identity, Hecataeus of Miletus, Greek geographical tradition, Herodotus, Thucydides

Και τώρα τι θα γένουμε χωρίς βαρβάρους.
Οι άνθρωποι αυτοί ήσαν μια κάποια λύσις.
(*And now, what's going to happen to us without
barbarians?*)

They were, those people, a kind of solution.
C.P. Cavafy, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1904)¹

The 20th century has been a period of great social and political changes all over the globe.

^{*} The quotation comes from Aristophanes, *Av.* 1521, see discussion below. If not differently stated, all Greek and Latin translations are my own.

¹ Cavafy 1992, 19.

Isaiah Berlin, the English philosopher, wrote that rethinking the 20th century brings forth the feeling that it was “the most terrible century in Western history” (in Agosti, Borgese 1992, 42). In such circumstances the debate over ethnicity and national identity has been, and today still remains an important issue. E. Hobsbawm, in a lecture given on 23 November 1991, said that “every separatist movement in Europe that I can think of bases itself on ‘ethnicity’, linguistic or not, that is to say on the assumption that ‘we’ – the Basques, Catalans, Scots, Croats, or Georgians are a different people from the Spaniards, the English, the Serbs or the

Russians, and therefore we should not live in the same state with them” (Hobsbawm 1992, 4).

On the writing of history (*historiographie*), Benedetto Croce wrote that “practical need, which is at the base of any historical judgement, grants to every history the characters of ‘contemporary history’, because, even if the facts that are treated in such a history could appear chronologically remote or distant, it is actually a history always referring to the present needs and situations where such facts spread their vibrations”.² Considering Croce’s words on historiography, as well as Arnaldo Momigliano’s teaching,³ we can easily understand how contemporary history has led many classicists to work on ethnic problems related to the ancient world, both Greek and Roman. Investigations of Greek literature have revealed many facets of such issues.⁴

The first Greek author who wrote specifically on the subject of ethnicity and self-awareness is Herodotus. For him *Greekness*, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, could be defined in terms of common blood, language, religion, and customs (8.144.2).⁵ He not only had to omit political institutions, which differed greatly from one community to another, but also had to place on the same level a variety of issues that can be defined mainly as cultural features (language, religion, and customs).⁶ It is widely accepted

² Croce 1938, 5: “Il bisogno pratico, che è nel fondo di ogni giudizio storico, conferisce a ogni storia il carattere di ‘storia contemporanea’, perché, per remoti e remotissimi che sembrino cronologicamente i fatti che vi entrano, essa è, in realtà, storia sempre riferita al bisogno e alla situazione presente, nella quale quei fatti propagano le loro vibrazioni”.

³ Momigliano, who was influenced by Croce (cf. Gigante 2006), is the best representative of this kind of historiography, see his *Contributi alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, 1955–1992. As his friend and colleague Moses I. Finley wrote: “No contemporary has devoted so much energy, or contributed so much, to the study and understanding of the western historiographical tradition from its beginnings down to our own day”, Finley 1975, 75. Cf. also the interesting discussions in Polverini 2006.

⁴ See esp. Hall 2000; different conclusions, in particular on Greek colonization, in Malkin 2001; cf. Cartledge 1993; for a more sociological approach, see Ruby 2006; an excellent overview in Freitag 2007.

⁵ On this famous and debated passage of Herodotus see recently Zacharia 2008 and Funke 2009.

⁶ The problem of the *blood-relationship* (ᾠμαίμος) in Hdt. 8.144.2 is contested; less than a century later Isocrates, in the *Panegyricus*, considered blood relations as superfluous in the definition of identity and gave priority to the cultural education, especially in his hometown,

that the Greek self-definition in Herodotus is an invention of sorts elaborated in the years after the Persian wars.⁷ The Greek identity, or rather the Greek identities, changed as they matched the diversity of the actual political and historical situations. Borrowing Catherine Morgan’s words (2003), ethnic identity is not a ‘natural’ condition, but rather a self-conscious statement that adopts selected cultural features as critical markers.

The classification of the non-Greeks, i.e. barbarians, was closely linked to the self-definition: social and political identity is *ex definitione* egocentric, “we” as opposed to “others” (see e.g. Nippel 1996). The term *barbaros*, being an onomatopoeic form to denote stuttering (*bar-bar*), originally referred to those who did not speak Greek or spoke Greek badly.⁸ Only in the course of the later opposition to the Persian Empire did it acquire a negative connotation.⁹

In terms of self-definition and identity, the notions of *polis* and *ethnos* play a considerable role; the *polis* is a specific Greek creation, while the term *ethnos* (“tribe”, German “Stamm”) is considered a synonym for primitive tribalism, as opposed to the *polis*.¹⁰ The polarity of these two terms seems to have been already in effect in the Archaic period and persists among the historians of the 5th century BC, Herodotus and Thucydides.¹¹ The *ethnos* is sometimes regarded, particularly in German scholarship, as the precursor of the federal state (in Greek: *koinon*), which evolved in Greece from the 4th century BC onwards.¹² However, we

Athens (4.50). The question of blood relations is better analysed in Roman studies, see Guastella 1985, esp. 84–86 and 113–114; Giardina 1997.

⁷ For this and other examples of Greek self-consciousness, see Asheri 1997, esp. 23–26.

⁸ The word βάρβαρος is not attested in Homer, who speaks only of the Carians as βαρβαρόφωνοι, *Il.* 2.867; on the etymology, see DELG, s.v. βάρβαρος, “Il s’agit d’une formation fondée sur une onomatopée”. See also De Luna 2003, esp. on the Carians in Homer, 37–44.

⁹ In addition to the above mentioned bibliography on ethnicity, see Hall 1989.

¹⁰ The most important ancient source for such statements is of course Aristotle, see esp. *Pol.* 1324b–1326b.

¹¹ See Aeschin. 3.110 for the Amphictyonic oaths of the Archaic period; cf. Giovannini 1971, 14–16 with n. 21, 22 for the ancient sources emphasizing the opposition *polis-ethnos*. For both Herodotus’ and Thucydides’ use of *polis* and *ethnos*, Jones 1996, 319–320.

¹² German scholarship bases such theories on its own national history and contemporary politics of federal states, see Freitag 2007, 383–389 with further bibliography. On the so-called *Bundesstaaten*, see Funke 2007.

should be careful in interpreting the antithesis *polis-ethnos* within the historical development of Greek language and society.¹³

In this paper I shall discuss only some aspects of ethnic identity and relations between Greeks and barbarians, focusing on one specific *ethnos*, the Illyrians, whose role in Greek history has been significant, but at the same time often neglected. Basing my research on the literary, mainly historical, tradition, I will try to offer an account of the knowledge of the ancient Greeks about the world on their northwestern borders during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Beginning with the earliest mention of the Illyrians in Hecataeus, I will discuss the importance of the Ionian geographical knowledge and its influence on later interpretations. Herodotus offers some interesting geographical information, but he focused on the conflict between the Greeks and the Persian Empire, and there is little about the Illyrians in his *Histories*. Finally some important passages in Thucydides will be thoroughly analysed.

My paper is not a *history of pre-Roman Illyria*, but only a historical investigation of those Greek authors who had some interest in the Illyrian tribes and were thus obliged, in one way or another, to mention them. Even if their perspectives were based on certain real information, a modern researcher is faced with major problems in trying to define an Illyrian *ethnos* or Illyrian *ethne*. It is in fact quite certain that a homogeneous and centralized Illyrian *ethnos* did not exist before the 3rd century BC, and an Illyrian state (the *état illyrien* of Fanula Papazoglou) from Bardylis to Genthius must be regarded as a modern construction. Almost fifty years ago Papazoglou (1965) wrote an important contribution to this issue, but her ideas are far from widely accepted.¹⁴

Some preliminary remarks are important: (a) no Illyrian epigraphical text has survived, probably because no such text ever existed; (b) no exhaustive Illyrian “history” has survived, apart from Appian’s *Illyrike* (an appendix to his *Macedonian History*), which mainly deals with the Roman conquest of the province later known as *Illyricum*;¹⁵ (c) many

works of ancient Greek historians are lost: in Luciano Canfora’s words, we are working on “*un intero infranto*”;¹⁶ (d) few Greek authors mentioned Illyrian peoples and/or tribes, and much of their works survives only through indirect tradition, i.e. in fragments.

ROMAN ILLYRICUM AND THE *Illyrii proprie dicti*: THE EVIDENCE OF POMPONIIUS MELA AND PLINY THE ELDER

In order to grasp the Greek perspective of the Illyrians in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, we have to start from the Roman province of Illyricum that provides, even if only incompletely, geographical and chronological limits.

It is not easy to give a foundation date for Roman Illyricum. According to G. Zippel (1877, 189), who misunderstood Appian (*Illyr.* 10.30–11.30), Illyricum was established around the year 118 BC, that is, after the victorious campaign of L. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 119 BC, against the Delmatae and, as Zippel erroneously thought, against the Segestani. Mommsen (in *CIL* 3, 279–280) regarded Sulla as the founder of the province, while other scholars ascribed the foundation of Illyricum to Caesar. However, it is hardly possible that a province in an administrative sense of the word ever existed before Octavian’s campaign in Illyria in 35–33 BC.¹⁷ After the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising (6–9 AD) had been crushed by Tiberius,¹⁸ the whole region from the Adriatic coast to the Sava and the Pannonian plain, which was probably since ca. 33 BC the official *provincia Illyrica*, was divided into *Illyricum superius* (later Dalmatia) and *inferius* (later Pannonia).

This digression on Roman politics is useful to understand the geographical limits of what was

¹³ Fraser 2009, 4–5 whose acute analysis of these issues should be reconsidered with Bourriot 1976.

¹⁴ For a reply to Papazoglou’s thesis, see Hammond 1966; Carlier 1987; Cabanes 1988, 87–90; Šašel Kos 2007.

¹⁵ The mythological introduction of the *Illyriké* contains very interesting but also controversial information on the Greek perspective of the Illyrian world; see a valuable discussion in Šašel Kos 2005, 120–132; on the *Illyriké*, see also Marasco 1993.

¹⁶ Canfora 2000, viii; see also Canfora 1995, 184–199. On fragmentary Greek histories, see Strasburger 1977, esp. 14–15, where the author gives the astonishing ratio of surviving to lost literature, which corresponds to 1:40.

¹⁷ See Freber 1993, 125–132, citing earlier literature; for the most recent contribution to the debate, especially on the importance of Illyricum in Caesar’s plans, see Šašel Kos 2000, 283–286; see also Šašel Kos 2005, 238–245.

¹⁸ The so-called *Bellum Batonianum*, from the name of the leader of the revolt, Bato; on 5–7 November 2009, the conference was held at Zagreb University, titled *Bellum Batonianum MM. Rat protiv Batona: dvije tisuće godina* [The War Against Bato: Two thousand years]; the Acts are forthcoming. See also Sordi 2004.



Fig. 1: Ancient Illyricum and its ethnic composition (Šašel Kos 2005, fig. 25).

Sl. 1: Ljudstva v antičnem Iliriku (Šašel Kos 2005, sl. 25).

known in Roman times as Illyricum: it covered a vast territory from the Adriatic to Pannonia and from Moesia to Noricum and the Roman *Regio X* (*Venetia et Histria*) (Fig. 1). Pliny the Elder (*N. H.* 3.139), who also deals with these issues, writes: *Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur usquem ad flumen Titium. Pars eius fuere Mentores, Himani, Encheleae, Bulini et quos Callimachus [fr. 107 Pfeiffer] Peucetios appellat, nunc totum uno nomine Illyricum vocatur generatim.* “The Liburnian people stretch from Arsia to the river Titius. It once included the Mentores, Himani, Encheleae, Bulini and those known to Callimachus as Peucetii; at present these are all called only with the name of Illyricum”. Thus the entire region, which included many different populations, gained the name of Illyricum: from an ethnic definition, Pliny arrives at a geographical connotation.

These were the boundaries of Roman *Illyricum*, but what do the Latin sources tell us about the Illyrians *before* the Roman conquest? We rely again on the authority of Pliny. In a famous passage on the territory between Epidaurum and Lissos on the Adriatic coast (*N. H.* 3.144), the Latin ency-

clopaedist records: *...praeterea multorum Graeciae oppidorum deficiens memoria nec non et civitatum validarum: eo namque tractu fuere Labeatae, Senedi, Rudini, Sasaei, Grabaei; proprieque dicti Illyri et Taulanti et Pyraei retinent nomen*¹⁹ (“... and also the memory of many a town founded by the Greeks is fading away as well as that of a lot of powerful cities: in this region were situated the Labeatae, Senedi, Rudini, Sasaei, Grabaei, while the Illyrians properly called so, the Taulantii and the Pyraei, retain their names”). Pliny is referring to the regions situated to the north of Epirus, in present-day Albania and Montenegro.

¹⁹ The manuscript tradition of Pliny’s *Naturalis historia* is extremely complicated, especially when we take into consideration the first books where a great number of geographic names are mentioned, as reported in Mayhoff’s edition: “iniqua est negotii critici condicio, ut saepe dubitationi locus relinquuntur, maximeque in his libris primis, qui plus sex milibus nominum geographicorum largissimam errandi et depravandi materiam praebuerunt” (*praef.* v). For the Latin text I used Mayhoff 1906, but see also the most recent work on Pliny’s third book, Zehnacker 1998.

The reference to the much discussed *proprie dicti Illyrii* finds a parallel in the *Chorographia* of Pomponius Mela, written between 43–44 AD. Mela (2.55–56) writes that *hoc mare* [the Adriatic], *magno recessu litorum acceptum et vaste quidem in latitudinem patens, qua penetrat tamen vastius, Illyricis usque Tergestum, cetera Gallicis Itali<ci>sque gentibus cingitur. Partheni et Dassaretae prima eius tenent, sequentia Taulantii, Encheleae* [corr. Olivarius : encele V], *Phaeaces. Dein sunt quos proprie Illyrios vocant, tum Piraei et Liburni et Histria*.²⁰ (“This sea [the Adriatic], situated in a large recess of the coast and widely open in its width, in the place where it penetrates for an extensive stretch, is surrounded until Tergeste by Illyrians and on the remaining sides by Italians and Gauls. Partheni and Dasareti hold its first part, then follow Taulantii, Enchelei, and Phaeaces; thereafter come the properly named Illyrians, the Piraei, Liburni and Histria”).

Both Pliny and Mela preserve a significant tradition about the Illyrians: in their opinion there was an original tribe called *Illyrii* that occupied just a small portion of the southern Adriatic coast. This could perhaps reveal that the term *Illyrii* originally referred only to a small *ethnos* in the area between Epidaurum and Lissus.²¹ There are varied modern opinions on this matter. According to the already quoted Papazoglou (1965), the Illyrians *proprie dicti* would be an obscure reminiscence of the once powerful Illyrian kingdom, while Mate Suić (1976) believed that the name could refer to the time of Agron and Teuta, whose territory was subdued by the Romans in 228 BC and became a Roman protectorate.²² Our sources on the *Illyrii proprie dicti* are too scanty to be conclusive, but perhaps something could be understood from the analysis of Pliny’s and Mela’s sources and from the geographic tradition that these two authors collected.

The study of the sources of Pliny and Mela has always been problematic. The reasons are obvious. Pomponius Mela is the first Latin author dealing with geography whose text has been preserved,

whereas Pliny used Mela’s text along with many others. Parroni, following Detlefsen, suggested the use of many sources, including Greek ones, transmitted through Latin mediation.²³ To sum many hypotheses up, it may be claimed that Mela had read various authors, from M. Terentius Varro to Cornelius Nepos and perhaps Agrippa’s lost *Chorographia*. It has further been suggested that these authors depended on Greek sources: Apollodorus of Athens, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Posidonius of Apamea, and the anonymous *Periplus Hannonis* for the coast of Africa. Mela thus indirectly preserved the Greek geographic tradition.²⁴ Similar sources have been proposed for book III of Pliny’s *Naturalis historia*, except that he also used Mela’s own work and Augustus’ *Commentarii*, describing his Illyrian War.²⁵ A long tradition of descriptive geography merges in these two Latin works and it is difficult to understand where Mela and Pliny found the reference to the *Illyrii proprie dicti*. In the following pages, along with the analysis of the oldest Greek testimonies regarding the Illyrians, I will also try to answer this last question.

HECATAEUS OF MILETUS AND THE IONIAN TRADITION

For a better understanding of the Greek perspective of the Illyrian world, it is necessary to start from the beginning of the ancient geographical tradition, which is represented by Hecataeus of Miletus, the author of *Γενεαλογίαι* (*Genealogies*) and of *Περίοδος Γῆς* or *Περιήγησις* (*Description of the Earth*).

Hecataeus is the first to mention the Illyrians, a barbarian tribe which appears several times in his *Periegesis*. He has been regarded as the founder of Greek historiography, notably by Felix Jacoby,²⁶

²⁰ For the Latin text see Parroni 1984, 143; cf. also the *Belles Lettres* edition, Silberman 1988. The last word of the passage, *Histria*, could perhaps be corrected with *Histri*, as proposed by Ranstrand in his edition of Mela (1971), *ad loc.*; cf. also the perplexities in Šašel Kos 2005, 231; however Parroni 1983, *ad loc.* gives some good arguments to maintain the *lectio* of the *Vat. lat.* 4929.

²¹ Cf. Marion 1998, 132.

²² See also Šašel Kos 2005, 231–233; cf. Katičić 1964 and 1966.

²³ Parroni 1984, 44: “Ma è certo più verosimile che non si debba pensare ad un’unica fonte, bensì a più fonti, anche greche, sia pure giunte a Mela (e Plinio) attraverso la mediazione di quelle latine, come ha mostrato il Detlefsen”; cf. Detlefsen 1877.

²⁴ See Parroni 1984, 43–44; Silberman 1988, xxx–xxxii.

²⁵ Cf. Zehnacker 1998, 11–13 and Arnaud 2007–2008, 80–81.

²⁶ See Jacoby 1909, 83: “Die griechische Historiographie (...) beginnt mit Hekataios und seinen beiden Werken, den *Γενεαλογίαι* und der *Περίοδος Γῆς*, deren Entstehung aus und im Gegensatz zum Epos ein unbestrittenes und unbestreitbares Faktum ist”. Thus already Creuzer 1806.



Fig. 2: Illyria according to Hammond (1966, fig. 1).

Sl. 2: Ilirija po Hammondu (1966, sl. 1).

but this opinion has recently been challenged.²⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as well as other ancient writers, regarded Hecataeus only as one of the many historians that preceded Thucydides.²⁸ Even if it is possible that Herodotus and Thucydides obfuscated the part that Hecataeus played in the

origins of historiography, why should we disregard the opinion of the ancients on this matter?²⁹

What seems to be important is the number of Hecataeus' fragments: thirty-five belong to the *Genealogies*, while over three hundred belong to the *Periegesis*. This probably means that Hecataeus' work on mythological matters, even if explained

²⁷ Nicolai 1997 and 2007; these matters were already discussed in Pearson 1939, esp. 96–98.

²⁸ Dion. Hal. *De Thuc.* 5, p. 330.7–18 U(sener)–R(ademacher) (= *FGrHist* 1 T 17a). Jacoby tended to look with suspicion on the ancient treatment of these matters, notably the above mentioned passage of Dionysius.

²⁹ Cf. Porciani 2001 who, after an acute analysis, gives little credit to Dionysius: "Tutte le ragioni che abbiamo fin qui esposto tolgono all'informazione antica, ci sembra, il peso dell'assoluta autorità." 63; Porciani's concerns with Dionysius, although important, are not relevant to my study.

in a rational way,³⁰ was perhaps overshadowed by later logographers and historians like Hecataeus of Lesbos and Herodotus.³¹ The most important and lasting work in the Greek literary and geographical tradition was his *Periegesis*, a fact that is corroborated by Strabo and Agathemerus.³² Both Strabo and Agathemerus show how strong the link was between Hecataeus and Ionian science, which provided the impetus for a scientific approach to geography. It is undeniable that Herodotus took a great deal of information for his *Histories* from Hecataeus and similar works on geography. The importance of the *Periegesis* for both literary history and the history of geography is thus evident, and it is not surprising to find so many quotations from it in later works. The role of Hecataeus, and in general the Ionian geographical and scientific tradition, was important both in the fields of historiography and geography. These two fields of knowledge overlapped each other in Hecataeus, thus producing an ambiguity in later writers between historiographical and geographical concepts. Such a tendency can be noticed in the above mentioned text of Pliny (*N. H.* 3.139), or even Mela (2.56, for the term *Histria*),³³ and more examples will be cited in the subsequent pages.

Another important preliminary remark in terms of understanding the ancient Greek (and Roman) writing on geography concerns the representation of geographical space. The ancients had a different perception of space, which was more *hodological*, strictly linked to the territory and the routes one had to cover. Our concept of a cartographic space is only a later development, mainly derived from the Italian Renaissance. Pietro Janni raised objections to any modern reconstruction of ancient maps because there is no concrete evidence for them in the sources, and the only authentic copy of an ancient map that has been preserved, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, seems more likely to be a route map than an example of ancient cartography.³⁴

³⁰ See Momigliano 1931 and De Sanctis 1933.

³¹ Pearson 1939, 96.

³² Strabo 1.1.1 C 1–2 and 1.1.11 C 7; Agathem. 1.1. Agathemerus is the author of *Geographic Guide* (*Geographiae informatio*), see Diller 1975.

³³ Cf. above n. 20.

³⁴ Janni 1984; on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* see Prontera 2003 and Talbert 2010. A recent contribution to ancient cartography is the so-called *P. Artemid.*, but the interpretation of the papyrus and its authenticity are still matters of a heated debate, especially between the *editores principes* and L. Canfora. I shall only refer to the reproduction of the

Texts of authors, preserved *only* through indirect tradition, are difficult to assess. In the case of Hecataeus, the majority of the fragments are transmitted in the geographical lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD),³⁵ of which we possess only a later abridgment (*epitome*).³⁶ The epitome quickly gained a greater reputation than the original work, but a manuscript from the 11th century preserves some non-epitomized portions of the text.³⁷ This manuscript, along with some passages of the *Excerpta Constantiniana* (10th century)³⁸ and the commentaries of Eustathius of Thessalonica (12th century),³⁹ makes it clear that a great deal of information, mainly dealing with legends and myths, has been lost, while linguistic formulae and quotations of ethnic names have been extensively preserved in the epitome (cf. Fraser 2009, 321).

David Whitehead (1994) systematically studied Stephanus' reliability as a compiler by comparing the

maps in Gallazzi, Kramer, Settis 2008 and to Talbert 2009, who believes it to be an ancient map and not a 19th century forgery (as Canfora asserts), but thinks that this papyrus offers very little information on ancient cartography.

³⁵ Meineke 1849 is the classical edition of Stephanus' text. In the last few years M. Billerbeck and her team in Freiburg have been working on a new edition; so far only two volumes appeared (Billerbeck 2006 and 2011). I shall cite Stephanus from the Meineke's edition (page and line) and refer to Billerbeck's by using Greek letters, number and name of the new editor.

³⁶ The epitome was made by a certain Hermolaos, γραμματικὸς in the Court Schools of Constantinople, known only to Suid. ε 3048 Adler: Ἑρμόλαος γραμματικὸς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· γράψας τὴν ἐπιτομὴν τῶν ἐθνικῶν Στεφάνου γραμματικοῦ, προσφωνηθεῖσαν Ἰουστινιανῶ (“*Hermolaos, scholar of Constantinople: wrote the epitome of the Ethnica of the scholar Stephanus, dedicated to Justinian*”). Diller 1938 suggested that Hermolaos might have been a younger colleague of Stephanus; see, however, Honigmann 1929, who regarded the epitome as the work of several epitomators during a long period of time.

³⁷ It is the codex *Parisinus Coislinianus* 228, S in Billerbeck's edition, including the end of the letter Δ and the beginning of E (folia 166–122); the letter E is only reported as an index of the entries.

³⁸ In particular in *De administrando imperio* and *De thematibus*, see Billerbeck 2006, 6–7 with the reference to Stephanus' entries.

³⁹ Eustathius used, if not the original text, at least a better edition of the abridgment, see Billerbeck 2006, 34–35, and the *Praefatio* to van der Valk's edition of Eustathius (1971, § 83–84). Differently Fraser 2009, 314, who, however, relied on the outdated study by Knauss 1910 and did not seem to take into consideration van der Valk's opinions. On Eustathius, in addition to van der Valk's *Praefatio*, see Wilson 1996, 196–204.

extant historical works such as those of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon with the quotations in the *Ethnica*. He concluded that Stephanus is by and large a reliable source; however, Hecataeus can only be judged indirectly. This preliminary analysis of the work of Hecataeus is essential for a better understanding of the fragments involved. Let us now turn to the Illyrians *proprie dicti*.

As was already pointed out, Hecataeus is the earliest author to have mentioned the Illyrians. It must be emphasized that neither the Homeric poems, nor Hesiod's extant and fragmentary works mention this ancient people.

The fragments that refer explicitly to the Illyrians are quite scarce: *FGrHist* 1 F 86 (= 97), 98, 100, 119, 172. Of these, all come from Stephanus except one (F 119), which is transmitted by Strabo (7.7.1 C 321): "Now Hecataeus of Miletus says, regarding the Peloponnesus, that before the Greeks this region was inhabited by barbarians" and he continues: "actually one could say that in ancient times the whole of Greece (ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλάς) was a settlement of barbarian peoples, if one takes for true the ancient tradition". Then, after discussing various mythological figures like Pelops and Cadmos, Strabo concludes that "even to the present day the Thracians, Illyrians and Epirotes live on the side of the Greeks (οἱ δὲ Θράκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Ἡπειρώται καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐν πλευραῖς εἰσιν), although this was more the case in the past than it is today; and indeed most of the territory that is now incontestably Greece is held by the barbarians: Macedonia and certain parts of Thessaly by the Thracians; the upper part of Acarnania and Aetolia by Thesprotians, Cassopaei, Amphiloichi, Molossi, Athamantes, all Epirotic tribes".

Strabo's statements are indicative of his geographic and ethnic notions of what was Greece. His view does not differ from earlier Greek authors who, while depicting the barbarians, actually described their own archaic and remote history (cf. Prontera 1991). It will suffice to recall Herodotus' passages on the Pelasgians as the earliest inhabitants of Greece (1.57–58) or Thucydides' interpretation of ancient customs through the features of the present-day barbarians (1.6.5–6). We have already mentioned the self-awareness of the Greeks vis-à-vis the non-Greek populations. And indeed, the tradition regarding the Dorians invaders, i.e. the Peloponnesians, as opposed to the autochthonous Athenians was debated already in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, and Hecataeus regarded the pre-Dorian tribes of the

Peloponnesians as barbarians. Strabo's perspective is already "Romanized" and even though he probably consulted many a work of lost historians and geographers, he cannot be of use for the present study.⁴⁰ However, it is clear that in his view the Illyrians were semi-peripheral tribes of the Greek world, just like the Epeirotes and Thracians.

Turning now to the other fragments, I shall begin with Hecataeus' reference to Iapygia: "Two cities; one in Italy and the other in Illyria, as (writes) Hecataeus. The ethnic name is Iapyx, Iapygios and Iapygia".⁴¹

This passage has caused many problems to modern commentators. Hecataeus, or better Stephanus, here refers to the Italian coast and then gives a hint about another Iapygia in Illyria. The first problem is represented by the term *polis*, which could be an interpolation by Stephanus. In any case, it is difficult to regard these Iapygian *poleis* as similar to the Greek *poleis* of the 5th century BC.⁴² It would be more reasonable to think of a small settlement. There is another *polis* of Iapygia in Hecataeus' fragments, Chandane, otherwise unknown (F 88), and we also find the Eleutioi, an *ethnos* of the Iapygians (F 87).⁴³ We see here that *polis* and *ethnos* are ambiguous definitions already in Hecataeus.

We know of *Iapygia* as the name of a region corresponding to the peninsula south of the isthmus between Tarentum and Brundisium, which corresponds to the modern Salento in southern Italy,⁴⁴ but there is no evidence for a *polis* named *Iapygia*. It is thus difficult to accept uncritically Hecataeus' statement δύο πόλεις, "two cities"; probably we must reckon with Stephanus' direct intervention in the text, which distorted Hecataeus' diction.

⁴⁰ On Strabo and Illyricum, see Šašel Kos 2005, 240 who stressed that the definition of the region in Strabo, especially in book II, was "very superficially defined" and "intended as a broad geographical orientation"; see also Dzino 2006.

⁴¹ *FGrHist* 1 F 86 *apud* St. Byz. ι 13 Billerbeck: Ἰαπυγία· δύο πόλεις, μία ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι (*FGrHist* 1 F 97), ὡς Ἐκαταῖος, τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἰαπυξ καὶ Ἰαπυγίος καὶ Ἰαπυγία.

⁴² The bibliography on the origins and development of the Greek *polis* is too extensive to be reproduced here; I shall refer only to the most recent approaches: Murray 2000; Giangulio 2001; Hansen, Nielsen 2004, esp. 12–22.

⁴³ *FGrHist* 1 F 88 *apud* St. Byz. 686.5: Χανδάνη, πόλις Ἰαπυγίας. *FGrHist* 1 F 87 *apud* St. Byz. ε 52 Billerbeck: Ἐλεῦτιοι, ἔθνος τῆς Ἰαπυγίας.

⁴⁴ Hdt. 3.138; 4.99; Antiochus, *FGrHist* 555 F 12; Ps.-Scyl. 14, p. 22–23 Müller; Strab. 6.3.1 C 277; cf. Nenci 1990, with further bibliography, and Lombardo 1998.

The “Illyrian” Iapygia mentioned in Hecataeus’ fragments (F 86, 97) would suggest that he referred to the Iapodes (or Iapudes) settled from the 9th/8th century BC onwards in present-day Croatia (notably Lika) and western Bosnia.⁴⁵ One could even associate the two *ethne*, Iapygian and Iapodian, as belonging to a same “Urstamm”, thus connecting both sides of the Adriatic Sea. According to Irad Malkin, the Strait of Otranto connected, rather than separated, the Greeks and non-Greeks.⁴⁶ The idea that the Adriatic coasts did not communicate was a later concept developed in the early Byzantine world and subsequently enhanced during the domain of the Ottoman Empire. However, several difficulties arise, such as the fact that the Iapodes were a tribe settled in the hinterland, not directly on the coast, or the great distance between the Straits of Otranto and the Iapodian regions in the north.⁴⁷ Moreover, no other passage of Hecataeus places Iapygia on the eastern Adriatic coast, and it is thus difficult to see any direct reference to the Iapodes in F 86 (and F 97).⁴⁸

Coming back to Iapygia in Hecataeus, Lionel Pearson ascribed its mention to Stephanus,⁴⁹ although it is probable that already Hecataeus had an erroneous perception of the Adriatic and its length. His inaccurate information was taken for granted in the later tradition. This same tradition survived partly in the *Ethnica* of Stephanus. Regrettably, other relevant passages were omitted from the epitome.

Other fragments in Stephanus are even less clear and offer few elements for inquiry. However, the

⁴⁵ For their boundaries, see Drechsler-Bižić 1987; Balen-Letunić 2004. The ethnicity of the Iapodes has been contested at least since the age of Strabo’s source, see 4.6.10 C 207; 7.5.2 C 313–314; cf. Dion. Hal. *apud* St. Byz. 12 Billerbeck: Ἰάποδες, ἔθνος Κελτικὸν πρὸς τῇ Ἰλλυρίᾳ, Διονύσιος ἑκκαίδεκάτῳ. “*Iapodes, a Celtic people near Illyria, as writes Dionysius in his sixteenth book*”. On Strabo’s statements see Dzino 2008; on the Iapodes generally, Olujić 2007.

⁴⁶ Malkin 1998, 81–84.

⁴⁷ See Drechsler-Bižić 1987, Balen-Letunić 2004, and Olujić 2007.

⁴⁸ In the manuscript tradition of some later authors Iapygia and Iapodia appear side by side, such as Verg. *Georg.* 3.475, where already the grammarian Servius drew attention to this inconsistency (Serv. *Comm. in Verg. Georg.* 3.475, III.1 p. 313 Thilo; see Geymonat’s edition of Vergil, *ad loc.*), and Strabo 2.4.3 C 105; see Radt’s edition (2002, 256) and his *Kommentar* (2006, 253–254).

⁴⁹ Pearson 1939, 40.

comparison with other *lemmata* in the *Ethnica* could cast some light on the historical value of our source.

The Chelidonians, mentioned in Hecataeus’ *Periegesis* of Europe, are regarded as an Illyrian *ethnos* situated north of the Sesarethians.⁵⁰ Of these Sesarethians, Hecataeus seems to have known a *polis*, Sesarethos, in the territory of the Taulantii.⁵¹ The Taulantii are mentioned in Stephanus as an Illyrian people, but the *Ethnica* does not preserve any reference to Hecataeus’ *Periegesis*.⁵² The Abroi may have been a Taulantian *ethnos* settled in the Adriatic; they are called neighbours of the Chelidonians.⁵³

These are Hecataeus’ fragments, which seem to belong to a context of description of the Illyrian peoples. With the exception of the Taulantii, all the names of the other Illyrian tribes mentioned above are preserved only in Hecataeus. The Taulantii, on the other hand, are very well known to the Greeks from Thucydides to Procopius of Caesarea; this is probably the reason for the lack of a quotation from Hecataeus in Stephanus: his authority had been superseded. The ancient sources generally locate them near Epidamnus and Apollonia in Epirus (Thuc. 1.24.1; Ps.-Scyl. 26, p. 32–33 Müller; Strabo 7.7.8 C 326; etc.).⁵⁴ A further note on the ethnic name Chelidonians should be added. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P. Oxy. 2389) bears a commentary on the *Parthenion* by the lyric poet Alcman.⁵⁵ In spite of the poorly preserved state of the papyrus,

⁵⁰ *FGrHist* 1 F 100 *apud* St. Byz. 690.11–12: Χελιδόνιοι, ἔθνος Ἰλλυρικόν. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. “Σεσαρηθίων πρὸς βορρῶ οἰκέουσι Χελιδόνιοι”.

⁵¹ *FGrHist* 1 F 99 *apud* St. Byz. 562.1–2: Σεσάρηθος, πόλις Ταυλαντίων, ὡς φησὶν Ἐκαταῖος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνικόν Σεσαρηθίος.

⁵² St. Byz. 607.14–17: Ταυλάντιοι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. Εὐφορίων δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ν’ Ταυλαντίνους αὐτοῦς φησι. παρὰ τούτοις ἐκ μέλιτος οἶνον γίνεσθαι φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν θαυμασίῳς, “*The Taulantii (are) an Illyrian ethnos; Euphorion, among his 50 books, calls them Taulantini; Aristotle in his Mirabilia says that among these tribes wine is made out of honey*”. For Euphorion, see fr. 85, 1 Powell (*apud* St. Byz. δ 143 Billerbeck) while for Ps.-Aristoteles, see *Mir.* 832a.

⁵³ *FGrHist* 1 F 101 *apud* St. Byz. α 14 Billerbeck: Ἄβροι, ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ Ταυλαντίων [Jacoby : codd. ταυλαντίνων], προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος. “*Abroi, a population close to the Taulantii on the Adriatic, next to the Chelidonians, as (says) Hecataeus*”.

⁵⁴ For a complete list of ancient authors mentioning the Taulantii and for their geographical placement, see the still valuable Fluss 1932.

⁵⁵ *Editio princeps* by E. Lobel in Lobel, Roberts, Turner, Barns 1957, 46, fr. 35. See also Barrett 1961, for the rearrangements of the fragment in question, see 687–688.

some fragments lead us to consider a geographical context in northwestern Greece because it mentions the Aetolians, Molossi of Epirus, Chaonians, and Thesprotians. Claude Calame in his edition of Alcman (1983), has proposed to integrate col. II, 6 (11) with χ[ελι]δών, thus interpreting it as an ornithological metaphor common in lyric poetry and especially in Alcman: the swallow, in Greek χελιδών, was a synonym for sweetness and charm in Homer, Anacreon, and Simonides, but gained a negative connotation in later authors, such as Aeschylus and Aristophanes, who compared it with the meaningless speech of the barbarians.⁵⁶ It is thus interesting to link this papyrus to Hecataeus' fragment (F 100) and to the negative perception of the Illyrians as barbarian tribes.⁵⁷

It is difficult and probably superfluous to try to give the fragmentary historiographical data from Hecataeus a *real* geographical frame, but we can clearly see the interest of this author for the Adriatic regions. Furthermore, it is important to stress that if later authors, such as Thucydides and Strabo, regarded these tribes unanimously as Illyrians, Hecataeus seems to distinguish between separate *ethne*.⁵⁸

There are more *lemmata* in Stephanus quoting Hecataeus' authority, such as Oidantion, a *polis* of the Illyrians, mentioned in the thirty-eighth book of the *Philippica* of Theopompus, for which Hecataeus gives the ethnic name, *Oidantes*.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Calame 1983, 70–71, fr. 24; for the interpretation, see 392.

⁵⁷ According to Antonetti 1995, the commentary preserved in P. Oxy. 2389 contains much information from Theopompus of Chios, a historian of the 4th century BC with wide ethnographical interests: it is clear from the remaining fragments that Theopompus dealt with the Illyrians in his *Philippica* (see Flower 1994, 119–121). Data on peripheral areas of the Greek world in the papyrus could thus belong to a 4th century framework.

⁵⁸ Cf. *FGrHist* 1 F 99–101, *Kommentar*, 339.

⁵⁹ *FGrHist* 1 F 98 *apud* St. Byz. 485.1–2: Οιδάντιον, πόλις Ἰλλυριῶν. Θεόπομπος (*FGrHist* 115 F 182) Φιλίππικῶν τριακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Οἰδαντες, ὡς φησὶν Ἐκαταῖος. In Herodian's *Catholike prosodia*, a work belonging to the age of Marcus Aurelius, one can read: Οἶδας οἱ κατοικοῦντες Οἰδάντιον πόλιν Ἰλλυριῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἐκαταῖος, Lentz 1867, 54. However, this is not another fragment of Hecataeus because the *Catholike prosodia* as we read it in Lentz 1867 is a patchwork by its editor; the first part of the quotation comes from a fragment of Choeroboscus, which Lentz found in Gaisford's edition of the *Canones* of Theodosius (1842), page 34, while the second is the verbatim quotation of St. Byz. 485.1–2. On Lentz's method and on the misuse of his edition, see Dyck 1993.

On the one hand, it has been demonstrated by Jacoby that Theopompus mentioned this *polis* in the description of Philip's war against the Illyrian Pleuria/Pleuratos;⁶⁰ on the other, we can only suggest that Hecataeus, when mentioning the ethnic name, meant an Illyrian tribe.

Finally, Hecataeus refers to a *polis* Orgame on the river Istros (the ancient name of the Danube), to which Stephanus remarked that a similar *polis*, called Orgomenae, was situated in Illyria.⁶¹ Possibly he preserved Hecataeus' comment; however, nothing is known of this *polis*.

Despite the fact that so little has been preserved of Hecataeus' knowledge of the Illyrians, his fragments indicate that there was some interest in the Adriatic and Illyrian regions, and that the Ionians had a wide geographical competence even if it often did not correspond exactly to actual geographical data. However, if the Illyrian tribes mentioned in Hecataeus are placed in a geographical context, their territory seems to have been restricted to the hinterland of Apollonia and Epidamnus and, in the north, up to Lake Shkoder or even further north (fig. 3). We have previously discussed the passages by Pliny (3.144) and Mela (2.55–56) on the *Illyrii proprie dicti*.⁶² In these authors, the Taulantii and the Illyrians are two distinct *ethne*, while Hecataeus' fragments had already been contaminated, and it is no longer clear what should actually be ascribed to Stephanus' geographical and cultural overlapping: the fact that the *lemma* on the Taulantii (St. Byz. 607.14–17) lacks the name of Hecataeus could be due to Stephanus' use of later sources. However, it may be suggested, with great caution, that what Pliny and Pomponius Mela knew of the *Illyrii proprie dicti* could be indirectly derived from Hecataeus' *Periegesis*, known to some of their Latin sources.⁶³ In fact the area where the Latin authors situate those primigenial Illyrians is very similar to the place where Hecataeus locates them. Only

⁶⁰ *FGrHist* 115 F 182, *Kommentar*, 381–383. For Philip's campaign against the Illyrians see Diod. 16.69.7; Trog. *prol.* 8; Just. 8.6.3 and in particular Didym. *in* Demosth. 12.64–13.2 Harding. For the discussion of this last source, see, in addition to Jacoby's *Commentary*, the last edition of Didymus' text in the Berlin papyrus (*P. Berol.* 9780): Harding 2006, esp. 239.

⁶¹ *FGrHist* 1 F 172 *apud* St. Byz. 494.16–17: Ὀργάμη, πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. εἰσὶ καὶ Ὀργομεναί, πόλις Ἰλλυρίας.

⁶² See above.

⁶³ On Pliny's and Mela's sources, see above.

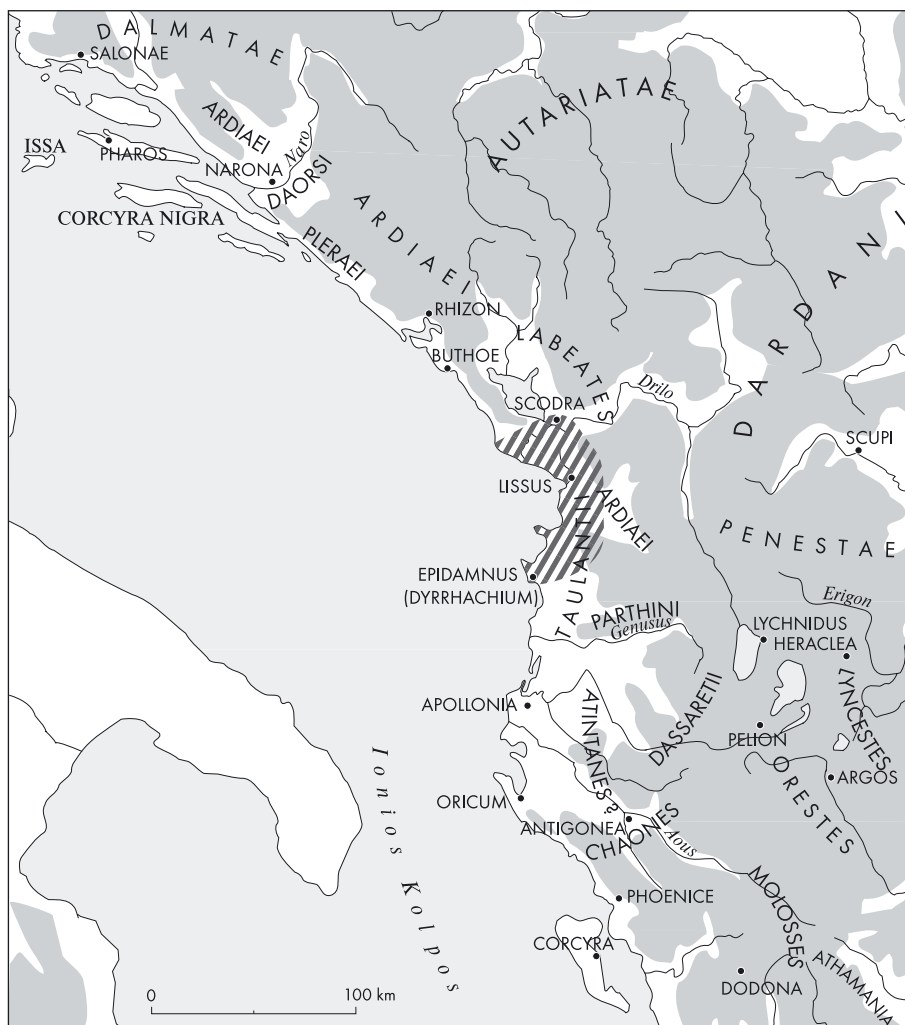


Fig. 3: *Illyri proprie dicti* (Šašel Kos 2005, fig. 51).
 Sl. 3: *Illyri proprie dicti* (Šašel Kos 2005, sl. 51).

with the Roman intervention in the eastern Adriatic, and especially after Octavian’s Illyrian War of 35–33 BC, the name of a small tribe or group of tribes would eventually define a region which, as N. Vulić (1914) wrote, “erstreckte sich ungefähr vom Adriatischen Meere bis zum Morawafusse (...) und von Epirus bis zur mittleren Donau.”⁶⁴

What we certainly do miss in Stephanus’ epitome is any ethnographical hint about the Illyrians. What remains of Hecataeus’ *Periegesis* offers only some scanty geographical information. If in Stephanus the word *ethnos* bears almost invariably a tribal connotation, for the λογγράφοι and λογοποιοί of the Archaic and Early Classical periods what was important was the location of the tribes, not

the tribes themselves (Fraser 2009, 5). Therefore we should turn to the writings of later historians, starting with Herodotus, in order to have a better view of the Greek geographical notions and their perspective.

HERODOTUS’ GEO-ETHNOGRAPHICAL INTERESTS

The historian regarded by Cicero as the “father of history” (*De leg.* 1.5) mentions the Illyrians in heterogeneous contexts. Herodotus’ interests in ethnography and in the customs of non-Greek communities are a familiar fact to anyone who has read even only portions of his text. It has been proved that Herodotus knew of both the *Periegesis*

⁶⁴ See Šašel Kos 1998, in which she presents the historical and archaeological problems with more caution.

and *Genealogies* of Hecataeus.⁶⁵ Behind Herodotus, born in Halicarnassus on the southeastern coast of Asia Minor, there was a tradition of Ionian knowledge, which he inherited and assimilated in his own work.

The first mention of certain Illyrians occurs at the end of book I (1.196.1). There Herodotus, explaining the Babylonian custom of the annual sale of young girls ready to get married (αἱ παρθένοι), remarks that the same custom exists among the Illyrian Eneti (τῶ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοῦς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι). Apart from this, the only other mention of the Eneti in Herodotus occurs in the fifth book. This time the context is completely different (5.9): an *excursus* about the northern regions (πρὸς βορέω) to the river Istros and further, a region described as desolate and boundless. Herodotus refers to the Sigynni, a tribe that lived beyond the Istros (μόνους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους, τοῖσι οὐνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας). After a brief ethnographical description, the author records (5.9.2): κατήκειν δὲ τούτων (*scil.* τῶν Σιγύννων) τοὺς οὐρούς ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. “*I know that the boundaries of the Sigynni are near the Eneti that live on the Adriatic*”.

First, to analyze the name *Eneti*. This tribe appears for the first time in the *Iliad* as a population from Paphlagonia, a region of Asia Minor (Hom. *Il.* 2.851–2): Παφλαγόνων δ’ ἡγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ / ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὄθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀροτερῶν, “*The Paphlagonians were led by the strong-hearted Pylaimenes from the land of the Eneti, the place where the wild mules come from*.”

At the beginning of v. 852, we know that Zenodotus, the Homeric exegete, corrected the text in ἐξ Ἐνετῆς because he probably regarded it not as an ethnonym, but as a name of a city, Ἐνέτη, which he identifies with Amysos, on the east of the river Halys;⁶⁶ the information could have come from Hecataeus.⁶⁷ Strabo (12.3.8 C 543–544) explains the

reason for the absence of the Eneti in Asia Minor in his days: led by Antenor, they had emigrated, moving westwards to Thrace, and eventually settling in the interior section of the Adriatic sea (ἰδρυθῆναι κατὰ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ Ἀδρίου). A similar tale is narrated in Vergil’s *Aeneid* (1.242–246) and reported by Livy (1.1–3) who says that Antenor and his people after the fall of Troy *venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinus*, “*came to the most interior part of the Adriatic gulf*”. Here Strabo, Vergil and Livy are talking about the same region, Venetia, part of the Augustan 10th Italian region, later called *Venetia et Histria*.

The most recent commentaries on Herodotus tend to equate the two passages that mention the Eneti (1.196 and 5.9), regarding them as a reference to the Veneti in northern Italy.⁶⁸ But such an approach does not take into account that Herodotus gives two very different definitions of the Eneti. The solution lies in the terminology used to denote the Adriatic Sea. In the 6th and 5th century BC the term Ἰόνιος κόλπος seems to refer to the entire Adriatic, while Ἀδρία, deriving its name from the *polis* of Adria founded in the 6th century BC (see Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 90), denotes only the northern part of this sea: such seems to be the opinion of Hecataeus⁶⁹ and Herodotus.⁷⁰

altered the Homeric text and wrote an adjective in place of the ethnic name.

⁶⁸ See Asheri, Antelami 1988, 380; there is an English translation of this commentary revised by the authors: Asheri, Lloyd, Corcella 2007, 210. For the fifth book, see Nenci 1994, 165. See also How, Wells 1912, 4, where the authors regard the mention of the “*Eneti on the Adriatic*” as different from Homer’s Paphlagonian Eneti and at the same time maintain that Herodotus believed them to be Illyrians.

⁶⁹ Clearly we cannot judge Hecataeus’ data objectively, for, as has been repeatedly stated, we possess almost only the *Ethnica* for his text; nevertheless, see for the Ἀδρία as the innermost part of the Adriatic s.vv. Λιβυρνοί (415.7–8) and Ἀδρία (α 65 Billerbeck), but cf. Ἄβροι (α 14 Billerbeck), while for the Ἰόνιος κόλπος as the whole Adriatic as well as only the southern part of it, s.vv. Ἰστροί (340.22), Καυλικοί (369.12–13), Ὀρικός (709.16).

⁷⁰ Herodotus calls Ἰόνιος κόλπος the sea around Epidamnus and Apollonia (6.127.2) and refers to the Ἰόνιος πόντος as the whole Adriatic (7.20.2); Ἀδρίας, ionic form of Ἀδρία, seems always to refer to the far northern part of this sea (1.163.1: οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῆσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, “*These Phocaeans, first among the Greeks, made long sea-journeys: it is their achievement to have explored the Adria, the Tyrsenia, the Iberia and Tartessos*”;

⁶⁵ See the monumental article of Jacoby 1913, esp. § 29, 419–467; most recently, Nicolai 2007. The fragments of Hecataeus in Herodotus are *FGrHist* 1 F 36b, 127, 300, 302b, 324b.

⁶⁶ Mainly Strabo’s data, see 12.3.8 C 543 and 25 C 553, cf. 5.1.4 C 212; in the codex *Marc. gr.* Z.454 (= 822), the famous *Venetus A* of the *Iliad*, a marginal note to 2.852 gives ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει “ἐξ Ἐνετῆς”, see Schol. *ad Hom. Il.* 2.852a Erbse; cf. St. Byz. ε 80 Billerbeck; Eustath. *ad Hom. Il.* 2.852, I p. 567.25–28 van der Valk.

⁶⁷ See *FGrHist* 1 F 199 *apud* Strabo 12.3.25 C 553. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2.357–359 (with the Schol. ed. Wendel), who

Only from the 4th century onwards, in conjunction with the rising prosperity of Adria, Ἰόνιος κόλπος denotes the Gulf of Otranto while Ἀδριας refers to the whole Adriatic Sea.⁷¹

After these considerations, we understand that Herodotus, when speaking of the Ἐνετοὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ, is referring to a population in the upper part of the Adriatic, just like Strabo (κατὰ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ Ἀδρίου) and Livy (*in intimum maris Hadriatici sinus*) when talking of the migrations of the Eneti. Thus, when Herodotus speaks of the Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοί, he wants to distinguish them from the other Eneti who live in the far north. This is the opinion expressed by Hans Krahe in a short paper (1939), where he also adduces a passage in Appian (*Mith.* 55 [§224]) that mentions the Eneti, together with the Dardani and Sinti, as a population residing in the region around Macedonia (Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντούς, περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθνη).

Apart from Herodotus and Appian, two historians with ethnographic interests, there is also Eustathius of Thessalonica who, in his commentary on the *Iliad*, informs us that the *Ethnica* of Stephanus spoke of some Eneti among the Triballi, a people settled north of the Illyrians.⁷² The extant text of the *Ethnica* does not preserve this information, but we have already seen that Eustathius consulted, if not the original, a much better version of Stephanus' work. So we know that both Herodotus and Appian mentioned the Eneti, as did also a source of Stephanus of Byzantium, which we know from Eustathius.

From these observations we can conclude that Herodotus knew of a group of Illyrians called the Eneti – also known to Appian – whose boundaries could be identified in the southeast with Macedonia and in the west with the Gulf of Otranto and the Adriatic Sea (cf. Prosdocimi 1965–1966, 567–568). It is not clear where exactly Herodotus places these Illyrians, or whether he identified all the tribes on the eastern Adriatic coast as Illyrians.

4.33.1 talking of the Hyperboreans: ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, “*When they have passed Scythia, each population received them from its neighbours until they came to the Adriatic, the western limit of their journey*”).

⁷¹ See Alessandri 1997, 135–138; Vattuone 2000; Antonetti 2005; cf. also Braccisi 1979, 65.

⁷² Eustath. *ad Hom. Il.* 2.852, I p. 567.15–16 van der Valk: ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀναγραφέα τῶν Ἐθνικῶν καὶ ἔθνος παρὰ Τριβαλλοῖς Ἐνετοί. For the Triballi, see below n. 76.

We only know that he regarded the customs of the Illyrians called Eneti to be in some way similar to those of the Babylonians.

If these passages give only a partial geographical definition, a reference to the tributaries of the Istros can offer a better evaluation (4.47–50). In the long list of these rivers, which make the Istros the largest of all the rivers known to Herodotus (Ἰστρος μὲν ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν), there is also a reference to the Illyrians: “*from the territory of the Illyrians the river Angros runs to the wind of Borea [i.e. the north] and flows into the Triballian plain and the river Brongos; the Brongos eventually flows into the Istros*”.⁷³

The location of the rivers and the plain mentioned in the text can help us to understand the location of the Illyrians. The geographical position of the Angros river and of the Triballi has been a matter of debate over the past few decades. The Balkan tribes in pre-Roman times were studied by Fanoula Papazoglou (for the results of her investigation, see *fig. 4*). In her opinion the Triballi lived on the west bank of the Istros, and the Angros River can be identified with the modern western Morava River which flows into the Great Morava at Varvarin (Serbia). The Great Morava would correspond to Herodotus' Brongos.⁷⁴ Theodossiev, who based his thesis almost entirely on archaeological evidence, believed that the Angros should correspond to the present-day southern Morava, and the Triballian tribes should be located further to the south.⁷⁵ The Triballi are mentioned in many subsequent sources, particularly for their wars against Philip II and Alexander.⁷⁶

In order to grasp the reliability of Herodotus' information, one should inquire which were his sources; these can be grouped into two categories: (a) passages where no direct source is mentioned, but where the identity of the source can be inferred, and (b) passages introduced and concluded by a common formula (like “*it is said*” λέγεται, or “*they*

⁷³ Hdt. 4.49.2: Ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον Ἄγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὃ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον.

⁷⁴ See Papazoglou 1978, 9–86 and 218; cf. Šašel Kos 2005, 154–157. On the Triballi and their location in Greek and Latin sources, see also Gerov 1981.

⁷⁵ Theodossiev 2000, 73–77.

⁷⁶ For the collection of the ancient sources on the Triballi, see Papazoglou 1978.

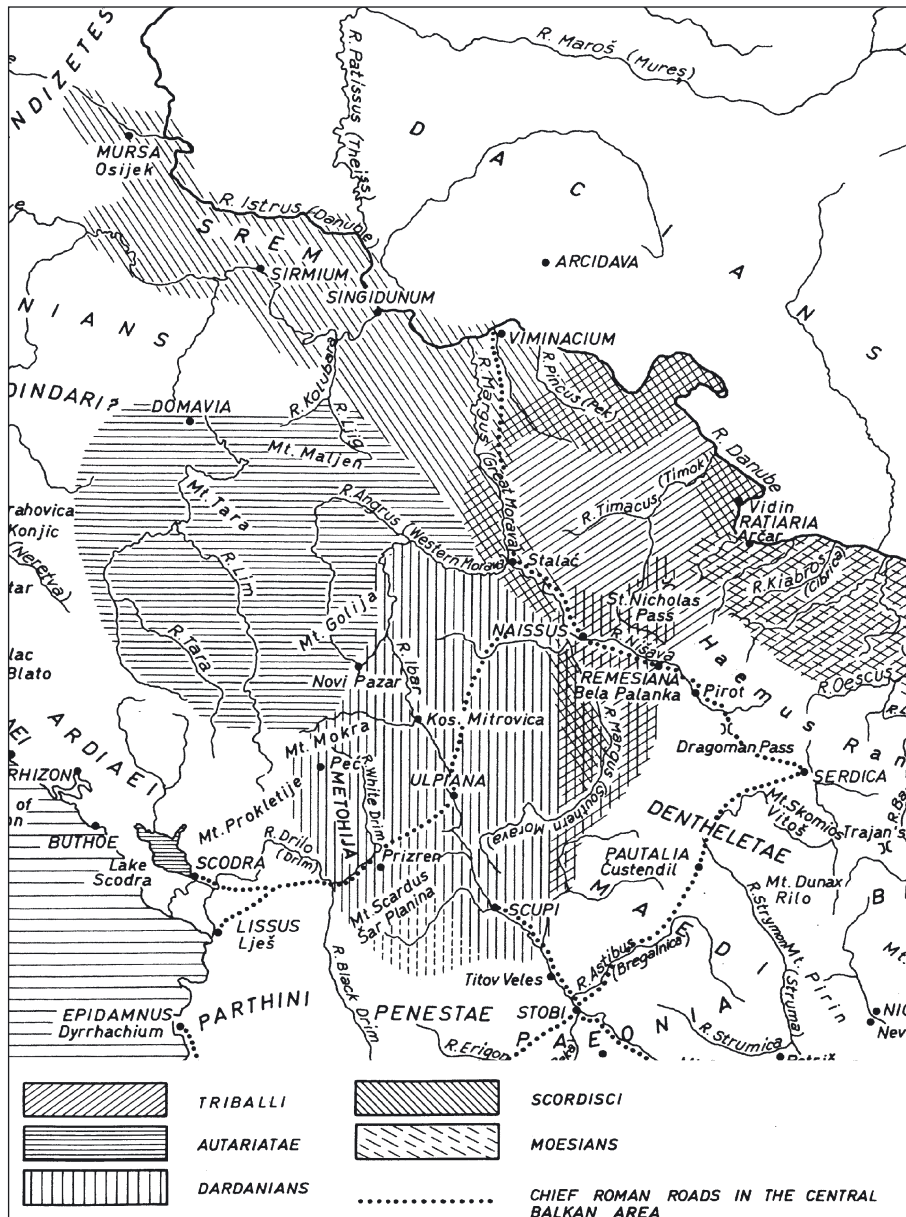


Fig. 4: Ancient hydrography and the Triballi (Papazoglou 1978, insert).
 Sl. 4: Ozemlje Tribalov in reke, ki pritekajo iz Ilirika (Papazoglou 1978, pril.).

say” λέγουσι) suggesting a direct dependence.⁷⁷ The German *Quellenforschung* on Herodotus produced the best results with Jacoby’s *Quellenanalyse des Werkes* (§ 29), which is a masterly investigation of the sources of the *Histories* book by book.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, such an approach is no longer practised

in contemporary scholarship and we should speak of “intertextuality” rather than *Quellenforschung* (cf. Hornblower 2002). Furthermore there is a complex geographical system in Herodotus that does not always correspond to the actual facts, but has an intrinsic “reality” in Herodotus’ own world: indeed, we should regard each author as “his own best interpreter”.⁷⁹ Herodotus’ knowledge of the

⁷⁷ See Hornblower 2002. The number of studies on Herodotus are, as one might expect, ever growing; a vast bibliography can be found in Bakker, de Jong, van Wees 2002.

⁷⁸ See Jacoby 1913; the author states that the description of the river system at 4.46–58 is not conceivable without the employment of a map (“Ohne Benutzung einer Karte

nicht denkbar ist der Abschnitt über die Natur des Landes”), 432, but see above the considerations of Janni 1984.

⁷⁹ This maxim was generally thought to come directly from the Alexandrian grammarian Aristarchus in this form:

tributaries of the Istros seems to be quite specific, but cannot guarantee an accurate geographical description. This leads to the conclusion that we are probably asking too much from Herodotus. What we do infer from this historian is that the Illyrians were situated south of the Triballian territory. Trying to go further in our inquiries would only lead us far from the evidence and onto the slippery ground of speculation.

Herodotus in the eighth book again talks about the Illyrians, this time in relation to the Macedonian royal family. Referring to Alexander’s ancestors, the historian says that “*the seventh progenitor of this Alexander is Perdiccas, who is the founder of the Macedonian royal house in the following way: three brothers, Gauanes, Aeropos and Perdiccas, descendants of Temenos, fled from Argos to the Illyrians, and then from the Illyrians went to upper Macedonia and to the city of Lebaea*”.⁸⁰ The narration goes on with the deeds of the three brothers for the king of Lebaea, the doubling of the bread, the solar symbology, Mida’s gardens, and other fantastic elements. This *tale of the origins*, “*favola delle origini*”, as D. Asheri has called it,⁸¹ has a clear political aim: Herodotus, who probably got his information in Macedonia,⁸² refers to the Argeads as a dynasty of Greek origins, thus presenting Alexander as a true Greek descendant of Temenos, a Heraclid. These were matters of great importance to the Macedonian kings in the age of the Persian wars and later in the 5th century, since claiming a Greek forefather meant also that they could legitimately rule over Greek cities, as

did Philip II and his son Alexander.⁸³ Another tradition, which can be ascribed to the 4th century, reports a very similar tale again concerning the Peloponnese and the Heraclids, and implying the Greekness of the Argead monarchy; only the name of the mythological ancestor is different, Caranos.⁸⁴ However, of all the ancient sources, only Herodotus mentions the Illyrians having been implicated in the foundation myth of the Macedonian monarchy. In the 4th century, when the clashes between Macedonians and Illyrians were much stronger and the need for a complete integration in the Greek world was essential,⁸⁵ the presence of a non-Greek tribe in the foundation mythology could have been regarded as embarrassing.

The Illyrians appear finally in another passage of the historian from Halicarnassus. Mardonius, before the battle of Plataea (9.42), asked all the Persian and Greek commanders of his army, whether anyone knew of some prediction about the fate of the Persians in Greece. Since nobody answered, Mardonius himself reported that if the Persians were to plunder Delphi, they would be annihilated by angry gods. “*I know*”, says Herodotus, “*that this oracular response, which Mardonius thought to be meant for the Persians, had been given to the Illyrians and the Encheleian army, not the Persians*”.⁸⁶ Writing many years after the end of the war, Herodotus knew perfectly well, as all the Greeks did, how the battle of Plataea had ended. He also knew that the Persians had not plundered the Delphic sanctuary.⁸⁷ Therefore when he re-

⁸⁰ Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφενίζειν; however Rudolf Pfeiffer demonstrated that it probably originated from the writings of Porphyry and not Aristarchus, even if the latter would have surely shared this opinion, see Pfeiffer 1968, 225–227.

⁸¹ Hdt. 8.137.1: τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρὸς τοιαῦτα· ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν.

⁸² See his revised commentary in Asheri, Vannicelli, Corcella, Fraschetti 2003, 345.

⁸³ It is clear from the text itself that Herodotus had, at least indirectly, a Macedonian source, for at 8.138.3 he remarks “*as they say among the Macedonians*” (ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων); cf. also 7.73.3 “*as the Macedonians say*” (ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι); whether he went actually there or not is a secondary question: see the late testimony Suid. ε 739 Adler, s.v. Ἑλλάνικος (= *FGrHist* 4 T 1), where it is stated that Herodotus and Hellanicus went to the court of King Amyntas of Macedonia in the age of Euripides and Sophocles.

⁸³ On the political value of the Heraclids, see the excellent commentary of Huttner 1997, particularly for Philip and Alexander, 65–123.

⁸⁴ The first to report this tale was Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 393), who was directly involved in the politics of 4th century Macedonia; see also the historian Marsyas, *FGrHist* 135–136 F 14; Iust. 7.1.7 (deriving probably from Theopompus); Plut. *Alex.* 2.1; Suid. κ 356 Adler. On Caranos see Momigliano 1931, who proposes to read in the name Κάρανος, or better Κόρανος in Macedonian dialect, not the name of a sovereign, but the transformation into a proper name of a royal title; see for this opinion and for further bibliography Mari 2002, 159–163.

⁸⁵ For the sources and a historical analysis, see Landucci Gattinoni 2004, 23–52.

⁸⁶ Hdt. 9.43.1: Τοῦτον δ’ ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἐγγελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας.

⁸⁷ He knew, however, of a story implying an unsuccessful attempt to plunder the sanctuary in 480 BC (Hdt. 8.35–39): this was probably an official (and fictitious) version that Herodotus heard in Delphi.

ported Mardonius' words, he had to intervene in the dispute and tell his audience the correct interpretation of the oracle: it was intended for the Illyrians and the Enchelei.

The Herodotean revision of the facts has its roots in the Delphic sanctuary itself. Before and during the Persian wars, the Delphic oracle maintained an ambiguous attitude towards the Persian Empire, an attitude which could be considered *philobarbaros* by some Greeks. Mardonius' interpretation might have circulated among the Greek elite and it was therefore necessary to reassess the credibility of the sanctuary by giving the "amended" version of the oracle.

A significant marker of the importance of the Illyrians and the Enchelei is their presence in the oracular context at Delphi. The Persians, Illyrians and Enchelei were always named with the same word by the Greeks: βάρβαροι. We have already met the Enchelei in the description of the Illyrian coast in both Pliny and Mela, and they are mentioned in other sources, always as Illyrians.⁸⁸ Hecataeus, however, seems to have had a different opinion: he reports that the Dexari, a Chaonian *ethnos*, who were settled near Mount Amyros (modern Tomor, in Albania), lived in the vicinity of the Enchelei.⁸⁹ Herodotus also seems to be talking about two different peoples. The text says ἐς Ἴλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἐγγελέων στρατόν.⁹⁰ The enclitic particle τε with the conjunction καὶ has been translated by Macan as *that is to say*, meaning that "Enchelei" was a specification of the more generic Illyrians.⁹¹ But checking in Powell's *Lexicon to Herodotus* we can easily see that the τε καὶ always has connective value and should mean *both... and*.⁹² Thus Herodotus, when talking of the Enchelei, did *not* have in mind an Illyrian population, but an *ethnos* on the same level as the Illyrians. This is also suggested by another passage in the *Histories* where, after the famous mention of the Cadmeian letters (γράμματα) at

5.58, Herodotus speaks of a certain Laodamas, a son of Eteocles, who held power in Thebes, and remarks that during his reign "*the Cadmeians where expelled by the Argives and moved towards the Enchelei*".⁹³ There is no reference to any Illyrian affiliation.

In conclusion, Herodotus, and probably Hecataeus before him, knew of the Enchelei as a people from the north, but did not regard them as Illyrians. It is not an easy task to elucidate the historical veracity of the Cadmeian legend, but at least it may be inferred that Herodotus knew a version of this myth and that he speaks on the one hand of the Illyrians, and on the other of the Enchelei.

There is lastly a fragment of Sophocles' *Triptolemus*, staged in 468 BC, which mentions some Ἴλλυρις γονή, "*of Illyrian birth*".⁹⁴ The context of the fragment is probably the moment when the goddess Demeter sends forth Triptolemus on a magic chariot drawn by dragons with the task of spreading the plough and the art of agriculture among all the people on the Earth.⁹⁵ Even if the tragedy is no longer extant, we can assume that this is the earliest mention of the Illyrians in a poetical context; what it shows us about the Greek perspective relating to this tribe is only meagre evidence. Whether there was any link between the staging of the *Triptolemus* and the mention of the Illyrians in the *Histories*, is a question that will remain unanswered.

On the basis of the Herodotean text, we can only speak of the Ἴλλυριοί as an *ethnos*, not as a region. Herodotus never mentions an Ἴλλυρία (or Ἴλλυρις) as we have seen in Hecataeus (although Stephanus' intervention in the text should be borne in mind). It is difficult to identify a precise ethnical and/or geographical categorization: all we know about the Illyrians in Herodotus is that they were barbarians inhabiting a region on the northern, or better northwestern edge of Greece.

⁸⁸ See e.g. Ps.-Scyl. 26, p. 32–33 Müller; Ps.-Scymn. 436; Strab. 7.7.8 C 326.

⁸⁹ *FGrHist* 1 F 103 *apud* St. Byz. δ 52 Billerbeck: Δέξαροι, ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἐγγελέαις προσεχεῖς, Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη, ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον ὄρος οἰκοῦν.

⁹⁰ Only H. B. Rosén prints in his edition the τῶν, article of Ἐγγελέων, following some inferior manuscript of the *stirps romana*; all the other editors omit the article.

⁹¹ Macan 1908, 685; the translation given in his text is: "*with reference to Illyrians, that is to say, the Enchelean host*".

⁹² Powell 1938, 176–178; see also Denniston 1966, 511–513.

⁹³ Hdt. 5.61.1: Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστάται Καδμῆιοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγγελέας. On the migration of Cadmus and the Cadmeians from Greece to the northern regions of the Balkans, see Katičić 1977 and Šašel Kos 1993.

⁹⁴ *TrGF* 4 F 601 Radt *apud* Hsch. ι 580 Latte; cf. *TrGF* 4 F 600 Radt.

⁹⁵ The story is told by Apollod. 1.5.2 (32); another reference to the magic chariot is also in *TrGF* 4 596 Radt.

THE “SHRIEKING” ILLYRIANS: BETWEEN REALITY AND REPRESENTATION

In all eight books of Thucydides’ *Peloponnesian War* there are only two passages bearing an explicit reference to the Illyrians, and both are also implicitly important for our study.

The first refers to the beginning of the war and to its causes: the affair of Corcyra.⁹⁶

Thucydides starts his narration with the geographical description of Epidamnus: “*It is a city on the left entering the Ionian gulf; neighbours of this city are the barbarians Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe*” (1.24.1: Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος).⁹⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 4.27, p. 18–19 U–R) regarded the style of this passage as direct (ὀρθός) and suited for forensic oratory (ἐναγώνιος); the first of these two features could be found in a work of geographical description,⁹⁸ while the forensic trait is a product of Athenian oratory.

Thucydides could have actually sailed to Epidamnus, but he could have also found the geographical information in a *periplus*. However, he continues with some hints about the foundation of the city (1.24.2), an account that is functional in terms of the description of the causes of the stasis and the subsequent war. The author thus remarks that Epidamnus was founded by Corcyra, but, as was customary in ancient times, the metropolis of Corcyra, Corinth, participated in the foundation and the *oikistes*, the founder himself, was a Corinthian of the Heraclid *genos*, Phalios.⁹⁹ We cannot be sure that Thucydides acquired this information from a *periplus*, but we are aware of the importance of these facts for the development of the subsequent actions.

⁹⁶ An overview on the relations between Corinth and Corcyra in Salmon 1984, 270–280.

⁹⁷ The terms ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον emphasize the *hodological* aspect of ancient geographical perception, see above.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ps.-Scyl. 26, p. 32–33 Müller: Ταυλάντιων δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ, καὶ ποταμὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν παραρρεῖ κτλ. (“*the Taulantii are an Illyrian ethnos, where Epidamnus is situated; a river flows near the city etc.*”). The source of Thucydides could have even been Hecataeus, as Hammond 1967, 449 suggested. For the “Homeric” opening see Hornblower 1987, 116.

⁹⁹ On the foundation of Epidamnus and the importance of the *oikistes* from Corinth, see Malkin 1987, 132–133, and 204 ff., for the founders in the Greek colonization. On the *stasis* at Corcyra, see also Intrieri 2002.

In fact, the instability of the political situation in Epidamnus in recent times was a significant issue: “*After the internal struggles which lasted, as they say, for many years, a war against the neighbouring barbarians was disastrous for them and the city was deprived of most of its power*” (1.24.4: στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν). The influence of the Illyrians in the politics of Epidamnus must have been a very important factor. When the *demos* of the city expelled the aristocratic faction (called οἱ δυνατοί in Thucydides), the exiles joined the barbarians and started ravaging the coast and their own city as well. Diodorus Siculus (12.30.2–3), who probably used Thucydides’ text and other later accounts, also states that the exiles (οἱ φυγάδες) joined the Illyrians and sailed against Epidamnus; he is even more explicit in the description of the attacks and asserts that, “*the barbarians, attacking with great strength (πολλῆ δυνάμει), were holding the territory and besieging the city, etc.*” (Diod. 12.30.3). From these accounts, we understand that the Illyrians attacked Epidamnus with a great military force. Besides, if the exiled Epidamnians went immediately to the Illyrians and fought together with them against the *demos*, it probably means that the relationships between some Epidamnians and the Illyrians must have been good even before the events of 435 BC. Maybe some kind of *philia* connected the pre-eminent families of the non-Greek populations with the Epidamnians (cf. Bakhuizen 1986 and Intrieri 2002, 44). It is important to remark that there is no mention of a payment, of a *misthos*, in the relations between Greeks and Illyrians, and thus we cannot talk of Illyrian mercenaries – this is only a later phenomenon. Noteworthy, finally, is the good relationship between the barbarian inhabitants of the inner regions to the north of the Corinthian Gulf and the Corinthians themselves, mentioned again by Thucydides in the description of the battle of Sybota.¹⁰⁰

Going back to Thucydides’ account of the Corcyra affair, we know that after the attacks of the exiled and the barbarians, the Epidamnians who were still in the city, sent for help to Corcyra, but the Corcyreans denied any kind of assistance (1.24.6–7).¹⁰¹ The

¹⁰⁰ Thuc. 1.47.3: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἡπειρώται αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Diod. 12.30.3–4.

next obvious choice for the Epidamnians was to seek help from Corinth, their metropolis. After questioning the oracle of Delphi about the right course of action, the Epidamnians delivered the city to the Corinthians, stating that their founder was from Corinth – the aforementioned Phalios. The Corinthians agreed to help them because on the one hand the colony (ἀποικία) of Epidamnus belonged to them as much as to the Corcyreans, and on the other hand, Corcyra was becoming too powerful and neglected its mother-city (1.25.1–4).

In the meantime, “*The Corcyreans attacked Epidamnus with forty ships, together with the exiles, whom they intended to restore, and taking with them the Illyrians*” (1.26.4: ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς κατὰζοντες, καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς προσλαβόντες). This was a declaration of war against Corinth, which immediately set out, together with many allies.¹⁰² The battle resulted in a great victory for the Corcyreans and during the whole of the next year Corinth gathered new forces to regain control of the sea.¹⁰³ The Corcyreans decided to ask the Athenians for help and this, in the Thucydidean analysis, was one of the causes of the Peloponnesian War: when the Athenians joined the Corcyrean fleet, this was an implicit declaration of war against Corinth and the Peloponnesians.

It is clear from Thucydides, as well as from Diodorus’ account, that the Illyrians played a considerable part in the events related to Corcyra and Epidamnus.¹⁰⁴ They participated in the naval conflict against Corinth, where the latter lost fifteen ships. We see therefore that the *barbarians* were not just some tribes in the mountains far away from Greek civilization: they had strong ties with the Greek cities and participated actively in their politics. Thucydides does not explain in detail the Illyrian role in the affairs of Corcyra probably because his readers were supposed to be familiar with the interrelations between the Epidamnians and Illyrians.

The other passage in which Thucydides mentions the Illyrians is related to the northern campaign of Brasidas, king of Sparta.

In the year 423 BC, after the treaty between Athens and Sparta, Brasidas started a campaign, together with Perdiccas II, king of Macedonia, against Arrhabaeus, king of the Lynkestai.¹⁰⁵ These were a population situated north of Macedonia, and were later to become a district of the kingdom of Philip II.¹⁰⁶

In these circumstances, the Illyrians appear at the beginning as allies of Perdiccas (Thuc. 1.124.4): “...they stopped for two or three days waiting for the Illyrians, who had been hired by Perdiccas and were shortly expected to come” (...δύο μὲν ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέσχον, τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς μένοντες, οἱ ἔτυχον τῷ Περδίκκᾳ μισθοῦ μέλλοντες ἤξειν). But in a short time Perdiccas and Brasidas found out that the Illyrians, betraying Perdiccas, had fled to Arrhabaeus.¹⁰⁷ The Macedonians decided then to leave the camp during the night because they feared the Illyrians, “*being a war-like people*” (ὄντων ἀνθρώπων μαχίμων), and left Brasidas and the Peloponnesians alone. In this difficult situation, Brasidas gave a speech in order to exhort his troops against the threat of the Illyrians and Lynkestai (Thuc. 4.126.1–6).¹⁰⁸

The problem of the speeches in Thucydides is a topic of great debate and involves modern attitudes towards ancient historiography. The most important passage is the so-called *Methodenkapitel* at 1.22.1–3, where Thucydides speaks of the λόγοι (the direct speeches), which he reported “*as it seems to me that each would have appropriately spoken*” (ὡς δ’ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων

¹⁰⁵ See Thuc. 4.83; 4.124–128. For Arrhabaeus, see also Arist. *Pol.* 1311b and especially Strabo 7.7.8 C 326; this king seems to have stipulated an alliance with Perdiccas and Athens; the dating of the treaty is uncertain, see *IG* 1³ 1.89.

¹⁰⁶ See Diod. 16.1–4, where there is no actual mention of the Lynkestai, but we can suppose that the terms καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησιόχωρα ἔθνη include them as well (Diod. 16.1.5); we later find the Lynkestai in Alexander’s army, see Diod. 16.57.

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. 4.125.1: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διαφορομένων αὐτῶν ἠγγέλθη ὅτι οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ’ Ἀραβαίου προδόντες Περδίκκαν γεγένηται.

¹⁰⁸ The speech begins with the vocative ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, even if it cannot be referring to the Peloponnesians alone, because Brasidas’ army was mostly composed of Chalcidians, roughly 1800 soldiers out of 3000. Gomme 1956, 614 suggested that “it may be simply conventional simplification” to use only the term *Peloponnesian* for the whole army, but I’m more persuaded by Hornblower 1996, 397, who emphasizes the rhetorical purpose of Brasidas in treating the whole army as a cohesive unit against the enemy.

¹⁰² For the list of allies and the number of ships in the Corinthian army, see Thuc. 1.27.2.

¹⁰³ See Thuc 1.29–31; cf. Diod. 12.31–32.

¹⁰⁴ It is useful to mention the indifference of the most prominent modern commentators, A. W. Gomme and S. Hornblower, to the importance of the Illyrian element in the Corcyra episode.

τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν) and “keeping as close as possible to the general meaning of what was actually said” (ἐχομένω ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων). In this passage Thucydides seems to contradict himself,¹⁰⁹ but if we look carefully we might understand that he kept as close as possible to the general meaning (ξύμπασα γνώμη) and has necessarily elaborated the speeches in his own style, appropriately to the situation where the speeches were uttered.¹¹⁰

Going back to Brasidas' speech, there are two contradictory opinions on the matter. M. H. Hansen (1993) thinks the speech was made up by the historian, while W. K. Pritchett opts for its authenticity.¹¹¹ I agree with Pritchett's opinion in the light of the above mentioned interpretation of 1.22.1–3, but I should like to add another fact that might hopefully persuade the sceptical readers, those who believe that Thucydides and other ancient historians invented their speeches.

Brasidas' campaign in Amphipolis and the subsequent involvement against the Lynkestai can be placed in the years 424/3 BC. In those years Thucydides himself was *strategos* in Amphipolis and when the city defected in November 424 (Thuc. 4.106.3–4), he was tried in Athens, probably in 423 BC, but remained in charge until June of that year, as June was the month when the election of the *stratego*i for the following year was held.¹¹² That means that Thucydides was well acquainted with the situation in Thrace and Macedonia in 424/23 BC and that he might well have heard a

¹⁰⁹ So much so that Hornblower 1987, 45, considered that “the speeches offer further evidence that two hearts beat in Thucydides' breast”.

¹¹⁰ The bibliography on this passage is, as one would expect, immense; I follow mainly Porciani 1999, who gives an excellent philological and historiographical interpretation of the passage; see also Hornblower 1991, 59–62; Sacks 1986, 392–393; contributions of T. Rood and J. V. Morrison in Rengakos, Tsakmakis 2006 with previous bibliography; see lastly Scardino 2006, 403–410.

¹¹¹ Pritchett 1994, § 2; his statements are accepted by Hornblower 1996, 396.

¹¹² Thucydides does not speak of his twenty-years exile, where one would expect it, i.e. in connection with the affair at Amphipolis in book IV, but only in the so-called “second introduction” at 5.26.5: “I was brought to exile for twenty years after my command in connection with Amphipolis” (καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἔμμαντοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν); cf. also Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 46 and a reference, if not to Thucydides himself, to “those who betrayed the Thracian front”, in Ar. *Vesp.* 288–89. On these matters and the problems of the “second introduction”, see Canfora 2006, 13.

precise account of Brasidas' battle against both the Lynkestai and Illyrians from a well informed source, perhaps even an eye-witness. Hence the speech delivered by Brasidas is “as close as possible to the general meaning of what was actually said”.

The speech itself (4.126) gives us a good insight into the Spartan (or better Thucydides') perception of the Illyrians. Heartening his troops before the battle, Brasidas says that “Now as for these Illyrians, for those who have had no experience of them, the menace of their attack has terror; for their number is indeed dreadful to behold and the loudness of their battle-cry is intolerable (βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι), and the idle brandishing of their arms has a threatening effect” (transl. C. F. Smith in the Loeb edition).¹¹³ Nevertheless these barbarians are not actually so terrifying when it comes to head-on collision: “They have no regular formation, and hence feel no shame in abandoning a position under pressure”.¹¹⁴ Brasidas wants to demonstrate the superiority of the military organization of the Peloponnesians and Greeks in general. And actually when it comes to the fighting, the multitude of barbarians could not get the better of the solid formation of the Greek army (Thuc. 4.127.1–128.3). Here again the loud cries of the Illyrians are pointed out: “The barbarians charged forward with great cries (πολλῆ βοῆ) in a disordered mass”.¹¹⁵ With the term “barbarians” Thucydides means certainly both the Lynkestai and the Illyrians, even if he later talks of the fleeing Lynkestai as of Macedonians (4.127.2: ... τοὺς φεύγοντας τῶν Μακεδόνων).

A similar image of the Illyrians as a mass of loud-crying barbarians can be found in one of Aristophanes' plays, *The Birds*. Produced at the City Dionysia in 414 BC, this play is the most visually spectacular of Aristophanes' productions.¹¹⁶ It is built around two main themes: the rebellion by men against the gods and the rebellion by animals against men. As in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, at the end of the play one may have the impression that the birds have only changed masters. In this fantastic comedy there is a passage involving the

¹¹³ Thuc. 4.126.5: οὗτοι δὲ τὴν μέλλησιν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀπείροις φοβερὰν· καὶ γὰρ πλήθει ὄψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι, ἢ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεις τῶν ὄπλων ἔχει τινὰ δῆλωσιν ἀπειλῆς.

¹¹⁴ Thuc. 4.126.5: οὕτε γὰρ τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυρθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν βιαζόμενοι.

¹¹⁵ Thuc. 4.127.1: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες πολλῆ βοῆ καὶ θορόβῳ προσέκειντο (...).

¹¹⁶ See Dunbar 1995, 7–14.

Illyrians. Prometheus (*Av.* 1515–24), speaking to the main character Peisetairos, notes that men no longer sacrifice to the gods and no smoke rises from the sacrificial altars; he also complains that “*The barbarian gods are hungry and they’re shrieking like Illyrians and threaten to come down to war against Zeus*” (1520–22: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι θεοὶ / πεινῶντες ὥσπερ Ἴλλυριοὶ κεκριγότες / ἐπιστρατεύσειν φάσ’ ἄνωθεν τῷ Διί). Line 1521 could produce some difficulties in interpretation and translation because πεινῶντες could be referred to the barbarian gods as well as to the Illyrians, and this is also true for the second verb of the sentence, κεκριγότες.¹¹⁷ However, the Thucydidean passages quoted above (4.126.5 and 127.1) about the great cries of the Illyrians before the battle, resemble very much the Athenian (and perhaps Greek) vision of this northern tribe.¹¹⁸ We should thus regard the lines in Aristophanes’ *The Birds* as the Athenian perspective of the Illyrians at the end of the 5th century BC: a tribe of “*shrieking barbarians*”.

Going back again to Thucydides, Brasidas’ speech contains an insight into the Illyrian (as well as Lynkestian) political organization and some material for the discussion of the Greeks’ self-awareness. The Spartan king, when addressing his troops, says at one point (4.126.2): ἀγαθοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ὑμῖν προσήκει τὰ πολέμια οὐ διὰ ξυμμάχων παρουσίαν ἐκάστοτε, ἀλλὰ δι’ οἰκειᾶν ἀρετῆν, “*Your quality in battle should have nothing to do with the presence or absence of allies – it is a matter of your own native courage*” (transl. M. Hammond). Then the speech continues with καὶ μηδὲν πλήθος πεφοβῆσθαι ἐτέρων, οἳ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἦκετε, ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλεόνων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσους, οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν.

Brasidas encourages his soldiers by saying that their strength does not rest on the presence of allies, but lies in their own excellence (ἀρετῆ) at

war. Some textual difficulties arise in the second part of the quoted speech. It has been interpreted as Brasidas’ praise of a few brave Peloponnesian oligarchs who reign (δυναστεία) by force over a majority. Consequently some editors, in the passage ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσιν, have proposed to change the negative οὐ with the article οἱ, hence interpreting as “*where the many rule the few*”,¹¹⁹ while others regarded οὐ as superfluous or inserted δέ before the negative particle.¹²⁰ However, A. W. Gomme has demonstrated that all these suggestions are wrong because of a misunderstanding of Thucydides’ text.¹²¹ His view, later accepted by all editors,¹²² is based on the assumption that Brasidas is talking not about the Spartans, but about the barbarians, i.e. Illyrians and Lynkestians, and about their political and social organization. “*(...) And do not be afraid of the great number of enemies, for they, unlike you, come from governments (πολιτεία) where the few rule over many, and not the many over few, and these few having acquired power (δυναστεία)¹²³ by no other means than by superiority in fighting*”. This is quite a difficult passage, but it is worth a longer discussion for its importance. We understand thus that the Spartans, the most “conservative” of all the Greeks communities, regarded themselves as “free men, neither a ruling clique nor tyrants nor the subject of such, but of νόμοι agreed to by all”.¹²⁴ Brasidas himself, in another Thucydidean passage, says of the Peloponnesian soil, “*always free through its courage*” (5.9.1: ... αἰεὶ διὰ τὸ εὐψυχον ἐλευθέρως). The organization of the Illyrian tribes, on the other hand, is based on different principles: a small elite whose power rests on military predominance (cf. Carlier 1987).

This is eventually the Greek perception of the Illyrians in the last quarter of the 5th century BC:

¹¹⁹ This is the suggestion of Henri Estienne, the famous French philologist of the 16th century, see Stephanus 1564.

¹²⁰ For the first opinion, see Hude’s *edition maior* (1913), while the second was a clever suggestion of van Herwerden (1877–82).

¹²¹ See Gomme 1951, 135–136; the article was used in Gomme’s commentary on Thucydides, Gomme 1956, 614–615.

¹²² Notably by H. S. Jones, J. E. Powell, J. de Romilly and G. B. Alberti, as well as by today’s most expert Thucydidean scholar, S. Hornblower (1996, 398–399).

¹²³ The term *dynasteia* has a negative connotation in Thucydides: it is used in reference to barbarian customs, like Brasidas’ speech, or neither democratic nor oligarchic constitutions, see 3.62.3; 4.78.3; 6.38.3.

¹²⁴ Thus Gomme 1956, 136.

¹¹⁷ The alternative translations of the line, as proposed by Sommerstein 1987, are (a) “*are as hungry as shrieking Illyrians*”, (b) “*are shrieking like hungry Illyrians*” or (c) “*are as hungry as Illyrians, and shrieking*”, though his own translation is almost the same as the one I have given above: “*and the barbarian gods are so hungry, they’re shrieking like Illyrians and threatening to march from up-country against Zeus*” (175 and 297). For the verb κεκριγότες, see Dunbar 1995, 701 and Schol. *ad Ar. Av.* 1521c–d Holwerda, where it is stated that this verb reproduces the obscurity (ἀσάφεια) of the language of the barbarians.

¹¹⁸ As pointed out already by Sommerstein 1987, 297 and Dunbar 1995, 700–701.

fearful barbarian tribes whose type of government differs enormously from the Greek *polis*-model. Nevertheless, they are neighbours of the Epidamnians and cooperate with them and with the Corcyreans. We may conclude that on the one hand we have the Greek interpretation, the interpretation of members of the ruling class such as Thucydides, while on the other we find military cooperation and alliance between Greeks and Illyrians, reflected in the facts reported by the historian.

EPILOGUE

Concluding this paper, it might be useful to retrace the stages of the inquiry. We have seen that what remains of Hecataeus' work gives us only partial historical and ethnographical knowledge, but at the same time we can catch a glimpse of the Ionian geographical science of the 6th and 5th centuries BC through his fragments. Acquaintance with the Adriatic regions and northwestern Greece is neither complete nor precise, but it nonetheless shows an interest in the peripheral regions of the Greek world. Also of great importance is the lasting role of the *Periegesis* in the geographical tradition of both the Greek and Roman worlds. On the one hand we find Stephanus of Byzantium in the 6th century AD still quoting widely from Hecataeus, and on the other we have postulated an important, however indirect, tradition of the *Periegesis* in the Latin texts of Pliny the Elder, one of the “teachers of ancient knowledge” in Edward Gibbon's opinion, and Pomponius Mela. A mention of the *Illyrii proprie dicti* in both Pliny (*N. H.* 3.144) and Mela (2.55–56), two almost contemporary authors, signifies that this information belongs to the same ancient tradition that we have in Hecataeus' fragments.

The contribution of Herodotus appears to be more interesting, as he knew of some Illyrian Eneti, a population that should be distinguished from the Eneti/Veneti of northern Italy in the light of other ancient and Byzantine *testimonia* like those of Appian and Eustathius of Thessalonica. Furthermore, we can assume that the Illyrians, according to Herodotus, were settled somewhere between the Adriatic and the Triballian region; he also speaks of the role played by the Illyrians in the foundation myth of the Argead monarchy in Macedonia (8.137.1), a tradition that seems to disappear in the late 5th century BC. This was most probably due to the Macedonian struggles against

the Illyrians and later to the hegemonic ambitions of Philip II over the Greek *poleis* and his political propaganda. Another passage in Herodotus links the Illyrians with the Enchelei in the context of the Delphic oracle. This demonstrates once again the importance of the Illyrians in 6th–5th century Greek politics. Herodotus gives us some geographical and historical hints, but his *Histories* are not of much importance for the study of the Greek ideas about the Illyrians, apart from the fact that they were regarded as barbarian tribes whose customs could be related to some populations of the East.

The last author examined in the context of this study is also the most remarkable. The part that the Illyrians played in the Corcyra affair of 435 BC is surely not to be neglected, while on the other hand some other Illyrians are mentioned, together with the Lynkestai, in the northern campaign of the Spartan King Brasidas. The Thucydidean passage and especially Brasidas' speech at 4.126, well expresses the Greek self-representation as opposed to the barbarians: we get the image of dreadful tribes whose battle shouting and threatening charge are frightful sights. This perception is well represented in Aristophanes' *The Birds*, staged in 414 BC, where the expression ὡσπερ Ἰλλυριοὶ κεκριγότες (“shrieking like Illyrians”) perfectly resembles the Thucydidean account.

We shall not cross the boundaries of the Peloponnesian War, for this was an important historical turning point, giving rise to many different problems. In the 4th century the history of the Illyrian peoples is at first closely connected with Macedonia, until its final conquest by Alexander,¹²⁵ while later on we find the Illyrians most of all on the Adriatic coast. This is a prelude to the so-called *Illyricum regnum* of Agron and Teuta and to the following submission to the Roman rule. From the end of the 5th century BC until the Roman conquest – which was actually an impetus for the subsequent conquest of Greece – the significance of the Illyrian peoples in Macedonian and Greek contexts is surely not to be neglected.

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¹²⁵ See Landucci Gattinoni 2004.

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CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1853–.

DELG = P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, voll. I–II, Paris 1983–1984².

FGrHist = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923–1930, Leiden 1940–1958.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–.

RE = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894–1980.

TrGF = *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. B. Snell, S. Radt, R. Kannicht, voll. I–IV, Göttingen 1986–2004.

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“Vreščijo kot Iliri”

Zgodovinska geografija in grške predstave o ilirskem svetu v 5. stoletju pr. Kr.

Povzetek

Sodobno zgodovinopisje, ki se ukvarja z antiko, se je v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih osredotočilo tako na problematiko grške identitete in samozavedanja kot tudi na stike Grkov z negrškimi ljudstvi. Opredelitev barbarskih ljudstev, torej ljudstev, ki niso grška, je tesno povezana z definicijo

Grkov samih. Prispevek v okviru ponovnega ovrednotenja najstarejše grške literarne tradicije obravnava tiste grške pisce, ki so pokazali (bolj ali manj obrobno) zanimanje za ilirska ljudstva in podatke o njih vključili v svoja dela; to so predvsem Hekataj iz Mileta, Herodot in Tukidid.

Za boljše razumevanje grškega pogleda na Ilire pa je potrebno začeti pri rimski provinci Ilirik, ki se je v svojem velikem obsegu izoblikovala v avgustejskem času; ta nam torej nudi tako geografske kot časovne meje. Ustanovitev rimske province Ilirika v administrativnem pomenu besede se vse bolj argumentirano postavlja v čas po Oktavijanovi ilirski vojni (35–33 pr. Kr.), Ilirik pa je bil nedvomno razdeljen na dve provinci po velikem panonsko-dalmatinskem upor (Bellum Batonianum v letih 6–9 po Kr.), na Gornji Ilirik (*Illyricum superius*), ki je ustrezal Dalmaciji, in Spodnji Ilirik (*inferius*), ki je ustrezal Panoniji.

V času svojega največjega obsega je ime Ilirik označevalo ozemlje od Jadranskega morja do Panonije in od Mezije do Norika in desete italske regije, ki se je pozneje imenovala Venetija in Histrija (*Venetia et Histria*). Starejši Plinij (*Naturalis hist.* 3, 139) podaja geografsko razmejitev Ilirika, ki je poučna: "Ljudstvo Liburnov se razteza od reke Arsije do reke Titija. Nekoč so k njim spadali Mentori, Himani, Enhelejci, Bulini in tisti, ki jih Kalimah pozna kot Pevcetije; zdaj pa se ves ta prostor imenuje z enim imenom Ilirik (*nunc totum uno nomine Illyricum vocatur generatim*)". Rimski enciklopedist je prostor najprej opredelil z ljudstvi, torej etnično, našteva Mentore, Himane in druge, nato pa je prešel na geografsko opredelitev: omenja namreč Ilirik, ne pa Ilirov.

Rimski provinci je razmeroma lahko postaviti meje, pač pa je težko iz vrednotiti podatke, ki so nam jih ohranili latinski viri o Ilirih pred rimsko zasedbo. Tako Plinij (*Naturalis hist.* 3, 144) kot Pomponij Mela (2, 55–56) omenjata "prvobitne Ilire" (*proprie dicti Illyrii*), ki so bili naseljeni nekje severno od Epira, v današnji Albaniji in Črni gori. Oba avtorja sta nam ohranila zelo pomembno izročilo o Ilirih; po njunem mnenju je obstajalo neko prvotno ljudstvo, ki se je imenovalo Iliri in je bilo naseljeno na majhnem območju jugovzhodne jadranske obale, v nasprotju z zelo velikim teritorijem, ki ga je obsegala poznejša provinca Ilirik. Glede na takšno definicijo ljudstva ("Iliri v prvotnem pomenu besede", *proprie dicti Illyrii*) so nekateri menili, da je obstajalo manjše ilirsko ljudstvo (*ethnos*) na območju med Epidavrom in Lisosom, ki je pridobilo na politični moči in v tem prostoru prevladalo ter ustanovilo ilirsko kraljestvo (Papazoglou 1965; *contra* Hammond 1966; prim. Carlier 1987; Cabanes 1988; Šašel Kos 2007). Drugi so bili mnenja, da sta imela Plinij in Mela v mislih le kraljestvo Agrona in Tevte v poznem 3. stoletju pr. Kr. (Katičić 1964; id. 1966; Suić 1976). Ne bi imelo smisla dodajati nove hipoteze, pač pa je

zanimivo podrobneje pogledati geografsko tradicijo, ki je bila podlaga Plinijevi in Melini navedbi: to so avtorji kot Apolodor iz Aten, Eratosten iz Kirene in Pozejdonij iz Apameje. Latinska znanstvena literatura je bila nedvomno na precej nižji ravni kot grška tradicija, je pa vendarle ohranila nekaj njenih pomembnih značilnosti.

Prvi pisec, ki je omenil Ilire, je Hekataj iz Mileta, ki načeloma velja za prvega grškega geografa in zgodovinarja. Njegov *Opis sveta* (*Periegesis*) je žal izgubljen, ohranjenih pa je nekaj dragocenih fragmentov, večina v poznoantičnem geografskem leksikonu o ljudstvih, *Ethnica* Štefana Bizantinca; ta je Hekataja prepisoval poljubno, ne sistematično. Vendar tudi Štefanovo delo ni ohranjeno v celoti, temveč le "epitome", okrajšan izvod njegovega leksikona, v katerem so bili tudi navedki iz Hekataja ponovno okrajšani.

Fragmentov, v katerih so omenjeni Iliri, je le malo: *FGrHist* 1 F 86 (= 97), 98, 100, 119, 172. Vsi izvirajo iz Štefanovega leksikona, razen enega (F 119), ki se je ohranil pri Strabonu (7, 7, 1 C 321). Strabonove trditve so zelo zanimive za presojanje njegovega pojmovanja Grčije in Grkov, hkrati pa iz Hekatajevega navedka pri Strabonu izvemo, da so že v 6. in 5. stoletju pr. Kr. živahno razpravljali o izvoru Grkov in o izročilu, ki se je nanašalo na dorsko invazijo. Kar pa se Ilirov tiče, je razvidno, da jih je Hekataj štel za ljudstvo, ki je živelo na neposredni periferiji grškega sveta, podobno kot Epirci in Tračani.

Zelo zanimiv je fragment št. 86 (*apud* St. Byz. 13, izd. Billerbeck), kjer Hekataj pravi, da je Japigija (*Iapygia*) ime "dveh mest (*polis*), enega v Italiji in drugega v Iliriji." Vemo, da se je pokrajina v današnjem Salentu v južni Italiji v antiki imenovala Japigija, za mesto Japigija pa v drugih virih ni nobenih podatkov. Iz tega fragmenta vidimo, da sta že tedaj utegnili biti izraza *polis* in *ethnos* dvoumni opredelitvi, vendar moramo računati tudi s tem, da se je izvorno Hekatajevo besedilo okvarilo v teku prepisovanja in krajšanja, morda ga je pomanjkljivo prepisal že sam Štefan. Omembo Japigije bi morda lahko pripisali Štefanu, vendar je verjetneje, da je imel Hekataj napačno predstavo o Jadranskem morju.

Preostali fragmenti so še bolj nejasni. Če pa nanje gledamo kot na celoto, lahko sklepamo, da so bili podatki o Helidonijcih, Sesaretih, Tavlantijcih in Abrih postavljeni v kontekst opisa ilirskih ljudstev in njihovih sosedov. S Hekatajevim fragmentom F 100, ki se nanaša na Helidonijce, lahko povežemo zanimiv *papyrus*, ki vsebuje komentar k Alkmanovi pesnitvi *Parthenion* (P. Oxy. 2389 = MP³ 81): Grki

poznega 6. in 5. stoletja pr. Kr. so imeli negativne predstave o ilirskih plemenih. Pomembno je poudariti, da so poznejši avtorji, kot npr. Tukidid in Strabon, vsa ta plemena imeli za Ilire, medtem ko je Hekataj razločeval med posameznimi ilirskim plemeni (*ethne*) in jih poimenoval s pravimi imeni. Čeprav je zelo težko oz. skoraj nemogoče ovrednotiti resničen geografski okvir, se zdi, da so pri Hekataju omenjeni Iliri omejeni na zaledje Apolonije in Epidamna, vse do Skadarskega jezera. Z veliko mero previdnosti bi morda lahko trdili, da podatki o “prvotnih Ilirih” pri Pliniju in Meli posredno izvirajo iz Hekatajevega *Opisa sveta*, iz katerega so črpali latinski viri, ki sta jih avtorja uporabljala. Dejansko se je ime Iliri začelo širiti šele z rimskim osvajanjem vzhodne jadranske obale, ko je sprva majhno ljudstvo oz. skupina plemen dalo ime deželi, ki “se je v grobem raztezala od Jadrana do reke Morave (...) in od Epira do srednje Donave.” (Vulić 1914; prim. Šašel Kos 1998).

Po analizi in komentarju Hekatajevih fragmentov in po obravnavanju vprašanja, v kolikšni meri so latinski geografi prevzemali jonsko geografsko izročilo, prehajamo na Herodotovo *Zgodovino* in njegove geo-etnografske podatke. Ilire omenja v različnih kontekstih, prvič že v prvi knjigi, kjer primerja babilonski običaj, ki se nanaša na prodajo mladih deklet pred poroko, s podobnim običajem pri ilirskih Enetih (1, 196, 1). Tega ljudstva pa se ne sme zamenjati z Eneti (= Veneti) na severnem Jadranu, ki jih Herodot omenja v 5. knjigi (5, 9); ti Eneti so prvič omenjeni v Iliadi kot prebivalci Paflagonije (2, 852), ki so se iz Male Azije preselili v zaledje severnega Jadrana. Herodot jasno loči med ilirskimi Eneti in severnojadranskimi Eneti, kar potrjuje tudi podatek pri Apijanu (*Mith.* 55 [§ 224]) in Evstatiju iz Tesalonike (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2, 852, I p. 567, 15–16 van der Valk). Zbrana evidenca jasno kaže, da je treba ilirske Enete locirati v bližino Makedonije in ne v severno Italijo.

Herodot iz Halikarnasa navaja zanimive podatke o ilirskem prostoru tudi v četrti knjigi (4, 49, 2), kjer pravi, da “... reka Angros teče z območja Ilirov proti severu (v smeri severnega vetra) v Tribalsko ravnico in se izliva v reko Brongos ...”. Tribali so bili ljudstvo, ki je bilo v prazgodovini in antiki naseljeno pretežno v današnji Srbiji; čeprav mej ilirskega ozemlja ni mogoče natančno določiti, pa je iz Herodota razvidno, da so Iliri prebivali južno od Tribalov.

Iliri so omenjeni tudi v mitološki zgodbi, ki govori o nastanku makedonskega kraljestva (8, 137, 1). Vendar ob preverjanju poznejših virov o

istih zgodbah lahko ugotovimo, da so bili Iliri iz njih črtani, verjetno zato, ker bi utegnili vpletenost negrškega ljudstva pri ustanovitvenem mitu škoditi makedonski politiki, ki si je lastila nadoblast nad grškimi mestnimi državicami. Zadnja omemba Ilirov pri Herodotu je povezana s prerokbo, ki jo je izrekel Mardonij pred bitko pri Plataji. Kserksov vojskovodja se je namreč zbal, da bi bili vsi Perzijci pokončani, če bi izropali delfsko preročišče. Vendar pa je Herodot popravil poročilo o Mardonijevi napovedi z besedami: “Vem, da je bil odgovor preročišča (...) dan Ilrom in enhelejski vojski, ne pa Perzijcem.” Komentatorji Herodotove *Zgodovine* so to mesto v besedilu načeloma razlagali tako, da so “Enhelejci” tu le eno od ilirskih ljudstev, če pa Herodotov odlomek beremo natančno in v kontekstu, postane jasno, da Herodot govori o dveh različnih ljudstvih (*ethne*). Ko je Herodot omenjal Enhelejce, ni imel v mislih Ilirov, temveč drugo ljudstvo (prim. tudi 5, 61). V Herodotovi *Zgodovini* Iliri nastopajo le kot ljudstvo, ne kot dežela, vendar iz njegovega besedila ni mogoče povzeti, kako jih je opredelil etnično in geografsko; razvidno je le, da so prebivali v deželah severozahodno od Grčije.

Še preden je Herodot začel javno nastopati in predavati o temah, ki jih je raziskoval v svoji *Zgodovini*, so v Atenah leta 468 pr. Kr. uprizorili Sofoklovo dramo *Triptolemos*, ki je ohranjena le v fragmentih; v njej najdemo najstarejšo omembo Ilirov v poeziji (*TrGF* 4 F 601 *apud* Hsch. t 580 Latte). Vendar je podatek, ki je ohranjen zgolj v Hezihijevem leksikonu, zelo nepoveden, omenja le nekoga “ilirskega rodu”.

Zadnji avtor, ki je obravnavan v članku, je Tukidid. V vseh osmih knjigah njegove *Peloponeške vojne* se le dva odlomka nedvoumno nanašata na Ilire. Prva omemba je povezana z afero Korkire in nastankom vojne med Atenami in Sparto. Po uvodnem delu, v katerem zgodovinar opiše geografsko lego Epidamna, med drugim omeni, da so Tavlantijci ilirsko ljudstvo. Pravi takole: “Ko zaplujemo v Jonski zaliv, se Epidamnos nahaja na desni strani; sosednje prebivalstvo tega mesta so barbari Tavlantijci, eno od ilirskih ljudstev” (1, 24, 1). Takoj je tudi razvidno, da so ti Iliri igrali pomembno vlogo v politiki Epidamna; ko je ljudska stranka (*demos*) iz mesta izgnala aristokratsko stranko, so se izgnanci povezali z barbari in začeli pustošiti obalo in tudi svoje lastno mesto. Da lahko bolje razumemo okoliščine, nam pomaga primerjava z besedilom Diodorja Sicilskega, ki je več stoletij pozneje opisoval iste dogodke: “... barbari, ki so napadali z veliko silo, so si pridobili oblast nad ozemljem in so oblegali mesto (namreč

Epidamnos)" (12, 30, 3). Pomembno je dodati, da se v odnosih med Grki in temi barbari nikjer ne omenja plačilo (*misthos*), zato bi lahko domnevali, da je šlo za obojestransko politično podporo in prijateljstvo (*philia*), ki je povezovalo del prebivalstva Epidamna z Iliri.

Po prvih napadih so Epidamnijci, kot nadaljuje Tukidid, sklenili prositi za pomoč v Korkiri in pozneje tudi v Korintu (1, 24–25). Prebivalci Korkire so se povezali z izgnanci in z Iliri, medtem ko so Korinčani stopili na stran ljudske stranke (*demos*) v Epidamnu. Po prvi bitki, ki je potekala v vodah okoli Epidamna, se je Korkira odločila prositi za pomoč Atene; to je dejansko pomenilo vojno napoved Korintu in njihovim peloponeškim zaveznikom, kar je po Tukididovi razlagi dogodkov predstavljalo enega od vzrokov za peloponeško vojno. Kot lahko povzamemo iz zgodovinarjevega poročila, Iliri niso bili le *barbarsko* ljudstvo, ampak so bili tesno povezani z grškimi mestnimi državicami (*poleis*) in so bili aktivno udeleženi pri njihovem političnem delovanju.

Druga omemba Ilirov je povezana z vojaško odpravo spartanskega kralja Brasida na sever. To se je zgodilo leta 423 pr. Kr., ko je Brasidas skupaj z makedonskim kraljem Perdikom II. (*Perdiccas*) začel vojno proti kralju Linkestov Arabeju (*Arrhabaeus*). Linkesti (*Lynkestai*) so bili ljudstvo, ki je prebivalo severno od Makedonije; njihova dežela je bila pozneje eno od območij v Makedonskem kraljestvu Filipa II. Iliri se najprej pojavijo kot zavezniki Perdike in Spartancev: "... za dva ali tri dni so se ustavili in čakali na Ilire, ki jih je bil najel Perdikas in naj bi vsak čas prispeli" (4, 124, 4). Toda Perdikas in Brasidas sta bila nato obveščena, da so Iliri izdali svoje nedavne zaveznike in zbežali k Arabeju (4, 125, 1). Ker so se z bali tega "bojažljivega ljudstva", so Perdikas in njegovi Makedonci ponoči zapustili vojaški tabor in Brasidovo vojsko. V tej težki situaciji je imel spartanski kralj nagovor svojim četam, da bi jim vlil pogum spričo nevarnosti, ki je pretila s strani Ilirov in Linkestov (4, 126, 1–6). Iz tega govora je dobro razvidno, kakšne predstave so imeli Spartanci (ali bolje, Tukidid) o Ilirih: "Kar pa se zdaj tiče Ilirov – to velja predvsem tistim, ki z njimi še niso imeli izkušenj – grožnja njihovega napada res zbuja grozo; pogled na število njihovih vojakov je dejansko strašen in glasnost njihovih bojnih krikov je neznosna." Po drugi strani pa ti barbari v resnici niso tako strašni, ko pride do neposrednega boja z njimi: "Ne poznajo namreč vojaške formacije in jih zato ni sram, da pod pritiskom sovražnikov zapustijo bojne vrste" (4, 126, 5).

Podobno sliko Ilirov kot množice glasno kričečih barbarov je najti v eni od Aristofanovih komedij, *Ptiči*, ki je bila uprizorjena leta 414 pr. Kr. in v kateri so na nekem mestu omenjeni Iliri. Prometej, ena glavnih oseb, ugotavlja, da ljudje nič več ne žrtvujejo bogovom in da se z oltarjev nič več ne vzdiguje dim. Pritožuje se tudi, da "so *barbarski bogovi lačni in vreščijo kot Iliri ter grozijo, da bodo začeli vojno proti Zevsu*" (Av. 1520–22). Zgoraj navedena odlomka iz Tukidida (4, 126, 5, in 4, 127, 1) sta očitno zelo podobna predstavi o Ilirih kot "kričečih barbarih", ki so jo o njih imeli Atenci in morda Grki širše. Če se vrnemo na Brasidov govor, je iz njega dalje tudi razvidno (4, 126, 2), da so Spartanci, ki so veljali za najbolj "konservativne" od vseh Grkov, sami sebe imeli za svobodne ljudi, ki jim vladajo zgolj zakoni, ki so jih vsi soglasno sprejeli, medtem ko je politični sistem ilirskih plemen označen kot vladavina majhne elite, katere moč temelji na vojaški prevladi.

Takšne so bile torej predstave o Ilirih konec 5. stoletja pr. Kr.: strah zbujajoči barbari, ki jim je vladala maloštevilna vojaška elita, tip vladavine torej, ki se je bistveno razlikoval od grškega modela mestne državnice (*polis*). Na eni strani je opis barbarov takšen, na drugi pa Tukidid omenja tesno sodelovanje in zavezništvo med Grki in Iliri na začetku peloponeške vojne, v tem primeru Tavlantijci, kar med drugim kaže na velike razlike med ljudstvi, ki so jih Grki imenovali Ilire.

Na podlagi zbranega gradiva smemo zaključiti, da so v poznem 5. stoletju pr. Kr. Iliri igrali pomembno vlogo v politiki grških držav, istočasno pa lahko ugotovimo, da je bila v grški literaturi zasidrana tudi negativna predstava o barbarih, ki so jih imenovali Ilire.

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