

THE ILLYRIAN ATINTANI, THE EPIROTIC ATINTANES AND THE ROMAN PROTECTORATE

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The distinction which is drawn in this article between Appian's Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανούς (*Illyr.* 7) and Strabo's Ἡπειρώται δ' εἰσι ... Ἀτιντᾶνες (326) is of both regional and general importance.

If the Atintani were an Illyrian tribe, they lived north of the Via Egnatia; for they were not one of the Illyrian tribes south of that line which were listed by Strabo (326). If the Atintanes were an Epirotic tribe, they lived inland of the Epirote coast which was defined as extending from the Ceraunian Mountains to the mouth of the Ambraciote Gulf by Strabo (324). The two tribes, then, were very far apart. However, if the two tribes were one and the same, as many scholars have supposed, and if the Illyrian label and the habitat in Epirus are applied to the single (fused) tribe, then one at least of the Epirote tribes was Illyrian. This second alternative appeals particularly strongly to writers in Albania, who regard themselves as descendants of the Illyrians and like to argue that the present border of southern Albania, which runs through the centre of ancient Epirus, was in part at least the border of the ancient Illyrians. Thus the regional issue involves the pattern of Illyrian settlement, the extent to which there was an Illyrian element in the Epirotic tribes, and the Albanian claim that their ancestors lived in North Epirus.

The issue is of general importance when we consider the extent and the purpose of the protectorate which the Romans established on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea in 229 B.C. and retained until the defeat of Gentius and Perseus in 168 B.C. If the Atintani were an Illyrian tribe to the north of the Via Egnatia, they were the most northerly tribe within the original protectorate; and the Greeks and Illyrians of Apolloniatis marked its southern limit. On the other hand, if the Atintani-Atintanes as a single tribe lived within Epirus, they were the most southerly tribe within the protectorate; and it was the Parthini who marked its northern limit. The first alternative makes the protectorate adjacent to the border of the Macedonian kingdom and bars the route of communication between Macedonia and northern Illyris. The second alternative provides a considerable gap between the frontier of the protectorate and that of the Macedonian kingdom, and it does not interfere with communication between Macedonia and northern Illyris; but it deprives the Epirote League of one of its member-states and constitutes an act of aggression against that League. This raises the question whether one of Rome's intentions was to block collusion between Macedonia and the Illyrians or to leave such collusion open and concentrate on penetrating Epirus and Greece thereafter.

The temptation to regard 'Atintani' and 'Atintanes' as variant spellings of one name is considerable. But it becomes less so if we recall that there were Illyrian Amantini in Pannonia and Greek Amantes in North Epirus, Illyrian Autariatae in Illyria and Greek Autariatae in Epirus, Illyrian Dassaretii on the Dalmatian coast and Dassaretae between Macedonia and Epirus, and Illyrian Perrhaebi in Illyris and Greek Perrhaebi in northern Thessaly. Let us therefore resist this temptation and turn to the detailed evidence of the ancient authors. In Section I the evidence is given for the Illyrian Atintani, and in Section II attempts to equate these Atintani with the Epirotic Atintanes are discussed. Section III provides the evidence for the Epirotic Atintanes. With all the evidence before us it is possible to move on to some comments, general in Section IV and particular in Section V. We conclude in Section VI with a discussion of the Roman protectorate.¹

¹ I am most grateful to the Albanian scholars who welcomed me so warmly at Tirana in 1972 and to Professor F. Papazoglou of the University of Belgrade for their great kindness in sending me copies of *Iliria* and offprints of their works; and in general to many Greek and Albanian friends who enabled me in 1930-9 to gain a detailed knowledge of the areas with which

this article is concerned. The exceptions are Çermenike and much of Dassaretis. I cite the translations or résumés of Albanian articles in French. The following abbreviations are used:

Anamali = Skënder Anamali, 'Amantie', *Iliria* 2 (1972), 67-165.

I. THE ILLYRIAN ATINTANI (see Fig. 1)

(a) The earliest evidence is provided by silver coins with the superscription TYNTENON (genitive plural). This superscription, like others in the so-called 'Thraco-Macedonian' group of coinages, was in the Ionic dialect. The coins with this superscription, being very heavy and issued as a form of silver bullion, were thought by H. Gaebler to be spurious, but have been found subsequently in hoards and are therefore genuine. The superscription was unexplained, until I equated 'Tyntenoi', as the Ionic form of an Illyrian name, with 'Atintanoi' in the West-Greek (or Doric) dialect.² The coinage was very closely linked with that of Ichnae, then a Paeonian port at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, and it was issued mainly in the period c. 540–510 B.C.³ The mines which supplied the silver were probably those associated later with the name Damastium, of which one has been identified on the east side of Lake Lychnitis (Ochrid) and others were probably to the north of the Lake.⁴ The political power of the period is represented by the royal cemeteries which have been excavated at Trebenishte and Radolishte, both to the north of the Lake, in the very fertile area known as Lychnis;⁵ these graves were remarkable for an abundance of silver among the offerings. It is thus most probable that Lychnis was a part of the territory 'Atintanis', occupied by the 'Tyntenoi', i.e. Atintanoi.

(b) In 314 B.C. Cassander, advancing from Apollonia 'into Illyris', defeated Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, but here called 'king of the Illyrians' (Diod. 19. 67. 6–7).⁶ The source of Diodorus was probably Hieronymus, a contemporary and reliable historian. Next Cassander captured Epidamnus (Dyrrachium) by the following trick (Polyaen. 4. 11. 4). 'When Cassander was returning from Illyris and was one day's march from Epidamnus, he hid his army, and sending (a force of) cavalry and infantry he set alight villages situated high up towards the border between Illyris and Atintanis, which were visible to the people of Epidamnus.' When the people came out of Epidamnus, supposing Cassander to have departed, he and his hidden army emerged and captured the place. The source of Polyaeus for his four stratagems of Cassander was also probably Hieronymus.

Budina=D. Budina, 'Antigonée', *Iliria* 2 (1972), 269–378.

Cabanus=P. Cabanes, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272–167)* (1976).

Ceka=N. Ceka, 'Le koinon de Bylliones', *Iliria* 1984. 2, 79–89.

Dautaj=B. Dautaj, 'La cité illyrienne de Dimale', *Iliria* 2 (1972), 149–65.

Hammond 1966, 1=N. G. L. Hammond, 'The kingdoms in Illyria circa 400–167 B.C.', *BSA* 61 (1966), 239–53.

Hammond 1966, 2=id., 'The opening campaigns and the battle of Aoi Stena in the Second Macedonian War', *JRS* 56 (1966), 39–54.

Hammond 1967=id., *Epirus* (1967).

Hammond 1968=id., 'Illyria, Rome and Macedonia in 229–205 B.C.', *JRS* 58 (1968), 1–21.

Hammond 1971=id., 'Antigonea in Epirus', *JRS* 61 (1971), 112–15.

Hammond 1974=id., 'The western part of the Via Egnatia', *JRS* 64 (1974), 185–92.

Hammond 1976=id., *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and adjacent areas* (1976).

Hammond 1980=id., 'The hosts of sacred envoys travelling through Epirus', *Epeirotika Khronika* 22 (1980), 9–20.

Hammond 1981=id. (ed.), *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity* (1981).

Hammond 1983=id., 'The Lettering and Iconography of "Macedonian" coinage', *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, ed. W. Moon (1983).

Hammond, *HM*=id., *A History of Macedonia* 1 (1972); 11 with G.T. Griffith (1979); 111 with F.W. Walbank (1988).

Holleaux=M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* (1921).

Papazoglou 1970=F. Papazoglou, 'Quelques problèmes de l'histoire épirote', *Ziva Antika* 20 (1970), 115–36.

Papazoglou 1986=ead., 'Politarques en Illyrie', *Historia* 35 (1986), 438–48.

Walbank, C=F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1–III (1957–79).

² Hammond, *HM* 11 74 f. and Hammond 1983, 247. The lettering was evidently made by Ionic-speaking Greeks of colonies of Chalcis in Chalcidice. 'Atintanoi' was the Greek form of an Illyrian name in the West-Greek dialect of Epirus or in the Doric dialect of Epidamnus.

³ Ichnae was Paeonian (see Thuc. 2. 99. 4) until it was conquered c. 510 by the Macedonians. M. Price, *Coins of the Macedonians*, 7 is mistaken in calling Ichnae the capital of the Bottiaeans for the pre-510 coins.

⁴ For the mines see Hammond, *HM* 1, 93 f. with n. 4. The workings at 'Starski dol' were reported in *Ziva Antika* 3 (1953), 261, and tin was found at Velmej in the Saletska valley (*Ziva Antika* 12 (1963), 341). See also O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (1935), 239 and his map 6. Silver is not one of the minerals found in North Albania, for which see Hammond 1976, 75.

⁵ See B. Filow, *Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenishte* (1927) and Hammond, *HM* 11, 91 n. 2 for subsequent reports and in *CAH* IV (1988), 250 f.

⁶ Either because Glaucias included in his realm the 'Illyrii proprie dicti' or because Diodorus (cf. 16. 93. 6) was using a general but anachronistic term; see Hammond 1966, 1, 241 f.

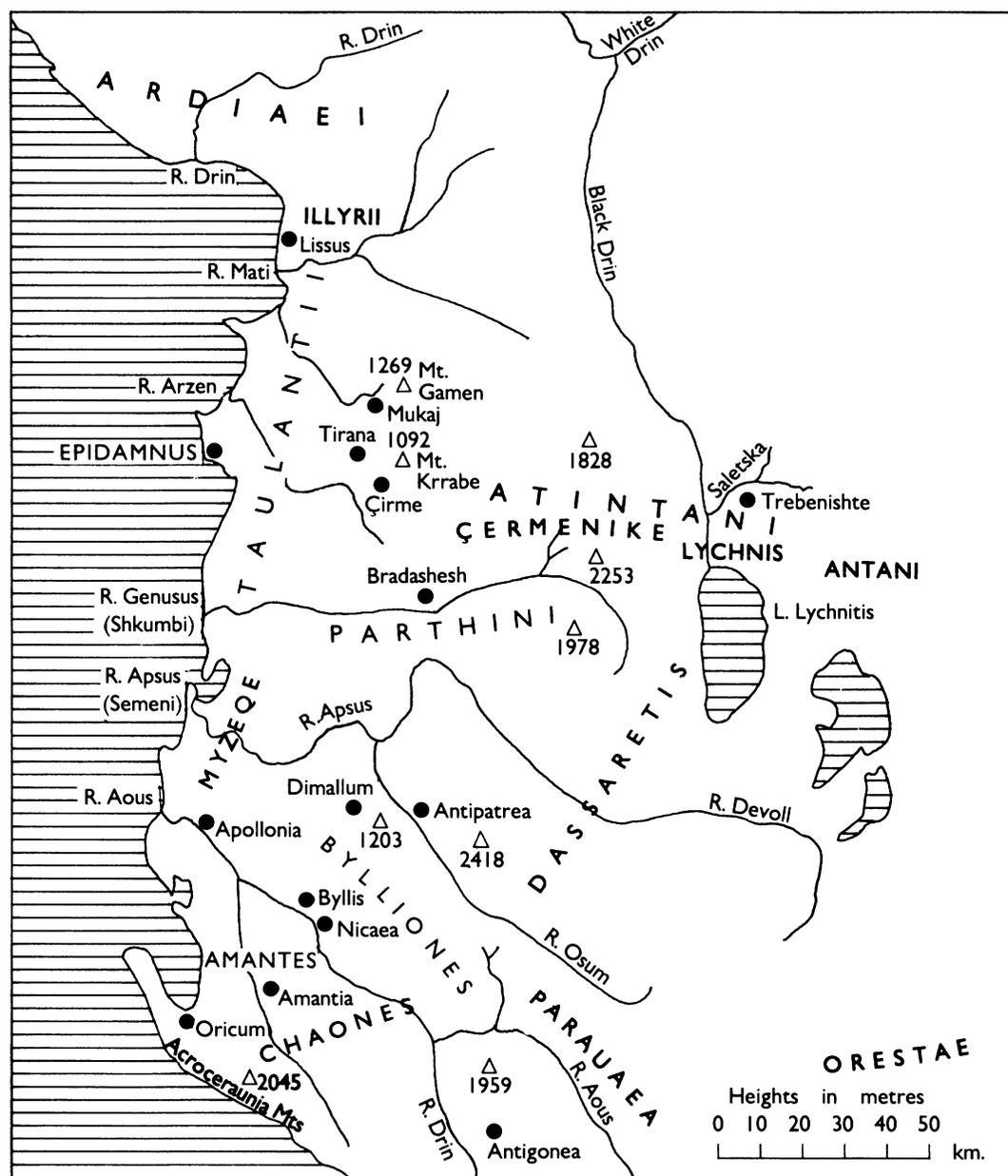


FIG. 1. MAP OF ILLYRIS AND NORTH EPIRUS

If we allow twenty miles from the immediate vicinity of Epidamnus as an average day's march for a Macedonian army,⁷ and if Cassander was creating the impression of 'returning' to Macedonia, he came to the foothills of the mountain range of Krrabe, which runs on the east side of Tirana in a more or less north and south direction. The fires which were visible to the people of Epidamnus were lit at such villages as Shinkoll (693 m) and Çirme (774 m), in the southern part of the range, through which Cassander would have marched on a direct route to Bradashesh in the middle Genusus valley (Shkumbi).⁸ Alternatively—but less likely—the villages might have

⁷ For a day's march see Hammond, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman* (New Jersey, 1980; London, 1981), 58, 66, 119 and 127.

⁸ The best map of Albania is that of E. Nowack, *Geologische Karte von Albanien*, 1:200,000. From Bra-

dashesh Cassander would follow the route of the later Via Egnatia, for which see Hammond 1974, 188 with pl. ix, identifying the site there as 'Ad Quintum', as did N. Ceka later in *Iliria* 6 (1976), 287 ff.

been in the northern part of the range, such as Mukaj on the side of Mt Gamen (1269 m), if Cassander wished the Epidamnians to suppose that he was going via the upper basin of the river Mati to northernmost Macedonia. The phrase ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων is less precise than ἐπί with the dative case, meaning 'at the frontier'; the sense is rather 'in the direction of the frontier'. This has led me to suggest that 'Atintanis' in this passage corresponded probably with the modern region Çermenike.⁹ The term 'Illyris' seems to be used here for the coastal belt, running from the mouth of the Drilo (Drin) to the territory of Apollonia in the south (Diod. 19. 67. 6). Its eastern limit was set at this latitude either by the mountain range of Krrabe or by the western mountains of Çermenike, and at the latitude of Apollonia by the territory called Dassaretis.

(c) The area to the south of Epidamnus and the 'Atintanis' of Polyaeus 4. 11. 4 is dominated by the river Genusus (Shkumbi).¹⁰ In 314 the most powerful tribal group was that of the Taulantii,¹¹ led by their king Glaucias. The centre of this group lay inland of Epidamnus (Thuc. 1. 24. 1 and Ps.-Scylax 26), i.e. in the region of Tirana; and at that time they controlled much of the coastal plain (Myzeqe) south of the Genusus, and they threatened the Greek city-state Apollonia soon after the departure of Cassander (Diod. 19. 70. 7). The occupants of the middle and upper Shkumbi were the Parthini, and to the south and east of them lay the Dassaretae (Pliny, *HN* 3. 23: 'gentes Parthini et a tergo eorum Dassaretae').

(d) In 229 B.C. the Roman army and fleet were proceeding northwards from Apollonia, and the Illyrians who had been besieging Epidamnus took flight. Having accepted Epidamnus into their friendship, 'the Romans were advancing into the interior of Illyris at the same time subduing the Ardiaei' (Polyb. 2. 11. 10: προῆγον εἰς τοὺς εἴσω τόπους τῆς Ἰλλυριδος ἅμα καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἀρδιαίους).¹² It seems that the forces divided, the army going inland towards the east or northeast and the fleet with some support on land going north and reducing the coastal tribes, known collectively as the Ardiaei. The inland force was approached by envoys, and the Romans accepted into friendship 'those from the Parthini ... and equally those who had come from the Atintani'; after this 'they were marching towards Issa', then under siege by the Illyrians. The same events were described by Appian. When the Illyrians abandoned the siege of Epidamnus and were withdrawing, 'some of them—those called Atintanoi—were changing to the side of Rome'. When terms were arranged, 'the subjects of Rome' included 'Epidamnus and of the Illyrians the Atintanoi' (*Illyr.* 7).¹³

(e) In 222 B.C. Demetrius of Pharos persuaded the Atintani to revolt from Rome, and in the ensuing campaign in 219 the Atintani were defeated but spared by Rome despite being 'Illyrian culprits' (App., *Illyr.* 8). In 215 Philip V and Hannibal entered into alliance and aimed to end the Romans' control of 'Corcyra; Apollonia and Epidamnus; Pharos; Dimale and the Parthini; and Atintania' (Polyb. 7. 9. 13). The exact wording of the treaty is illuminating. Dimale (calling itself 'Dimallum')¹⁴ was associated with the Parthini as their neighbour. 'Atintania' was not the same as 'Atintanoi', because some of that tribal group lay further to the east within the Macedonian kingdom. In the abortive negotiations of 209 'Atintania' was to be restored to Rome (Livy 27. 30. 13); and in the settlement of Phoenice in 205 the Parthini were awarded to Rome and 'Atintania' to Macedonia. The importance of Atintania was due to its position: for it faced the aggressive Illyrian tribes to the

⁹ Hammond 1967, 600.

¹⁰ See Hammond 1974, 185 f. and 1976, 29.

¹¹ It was shown to have been a tribal group by Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F 101: Ἄβριοι ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Ἄδριῳ Ταυλαντίων.

¹² The Greek seems to be a translation of a Latin original, perhaps written by Fabius (see Walbank, *C* 1, 153 and Hammond 1967, 599), in which case εἰς τοὺς εἴσω τόπους translated 'interius'.

¹³ The source of Appian was a Latin writer but

different from that followed by Polybius; see Hammond 1968, 5 n. 16.

¹⁴ Identified by tile-stamps ΔΙΜΑΛΛΙΤΑΝ (genitive plural); see Dautaj, 150 f. and Hammond 1968, 14 f., attributing its foundation to Pyrrhus or to Apollonia, and now supported by evidence of a *prytanis* as at Apollonia (*Illyria* 1984. 2, 85 n. 30). The ethnics were locally 'Dimallitas' and 'Dimallas' (*Bul. Ark.* (Tirana) 1974, 71 f.) and at Oropus 'Dimallites'.

north, and it blocked the direct access of the Macedonian kingdom to the Illyrian tribes.¹⁵ Under the award of 205 the Parthini became the most northerly Illyrian tribe in the Roman protectorate, and the way was open for Philip V to enter the northern part of Illyris and maintain his control of Lissus and its hinterland.

(f) In the Roman settlement of Macedonia in 167 B.C. the fourth autonomous region included Pelagonia and Lynceus, and to the west of them 'Atintania and Strymepalis', these names being restored for the corrupt text 'autincaniaestrymepalis' (Livy 45. 30. 6).¹⁶ Thus a part of what was then called 'Atintania' was in Macedonia. This appears also in Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Atintania', as 'a part of Macedonia'.¹⁷ An inscription of the second century A.D. arranged that the expenses of repairing the roads should be borne two-thirds by wealthy citizens of Heraclea Lynceus and one-third by 'the Antanoi who are in Macedonia', implying that there were also Antanoi outside Macedonia.¹⁸ These Antanoi may have been a constituent tribe of the group known as 'Atintanoi'. If so, 'Atintanis' in its fullest sense extended from west of Çermenike to the catchment area of the Saletka river (see Fig. 1).

II. ATTEMPTS TO IDENTIFY THE ILLYRIAN ATINTANI WITH THE EPIROTIC ATINTANES

The orthodox view, which prevailed for many years, was first expressed in 1921 by M. Holleaux, who merged the two peoples into one and decided on the location of Atintania; a long footnote was all that he devoted to the matter. He did not pay thorough attention to the evidence, and had no topographical experience of the areas involved. His dogmatic statement, 'Atintania, territoire stratégique précieux, où se trouvent les défilés fameux de l'Aoos',¹⁹ was accepted and repeated by P. Lévêque in 1957, locating Atintania in 'la vallée moyenne de l'Aoos et la vallée de son principal tributaire, l'Elaion (aujourd'hui le Drynos)'.²⁰ The same view was taken by F. W. Walbank in his *Philip V of Macedon* in 1940 and in *C 1*, 156 in 1957. My arguments, that they were two separate peoples and that Atintanis included the region Çermenike (north of the Via Egnatia), while Atintania was in Central Epirus, were set out in *JRS* 56 (1966), 53 ff. with fig. 3, *Epirus*, 598 ff. with map 15, and *JRS* 58 (1968), 8 with figs 1 and 2. The arguments were based on a thorough study of the ancient sources and on a unique knowledge of the ground, and one of my arguments, that the Atintania of Holleaux and his followers was actually a part of Chaonia, seemed to be confirmed by the discovery of voting discs with the ethnic of the Chaonian city Antigonea at Yerma, for this city was the centre of the area between Permet on the middle Aous and the lower Drin valley. Thus Chaonia was, as I had argued from the literary evidence, the neighbour of Parauaea, and Atintania had to be sought elsewhere. The discs were published by me in 1971 and by Budina in 1972.

In 1976 in his doctoral thesis P. Cabanes revived the view of Holleaux and Lévêque but of necessity changed the location of his Atintania to the hills on the right bank of the Aous between the confluence of the Aous with the Drin and the plain of Myzeqe—an area attributed usually to the group of tribes called Bylliones. In the manner of Holleaux he referred to passages in Scylax, Aristotle and Lycophron as placing the Atintanes 'dans l'arrière-pays d'Apollonia',²¹ but he refrained from citing the Greek texts. In fact none of the passages is relevant to his supposed Atintania north of the Aous; for Ps.-Scylax 26 placed the Atintanes somewhere south-east of the Amantes, themselves south of the Aous (see below p. 20), Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir.* 833 a 9 is unintelligible without consideration of 842 b 14 of the same work and of Ampelius

¹⁵ See Hammond 1981, map 12 and *HM* III, 409.

¹⁶ See Hammond 1967, 600 and more fully *HM* I, 46; Papazoglou 1970, 'on lit d'ordinaire "Atintania"'; E. Kirsten in A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* II, 1 (1956), 211 proposed 'Antania', which has the defect of being three letters shorter than the corrupt text.

¹⁷ 'Atintas', as progenitor of the Atintani, was made a son of Macedon, most probably during the period of Macedonia's independence.

¹⁸ *BCH* 21 (1897), 161 f. = *Spomenik* 77 (1934), 32; see Hammond, *HM* I, 76 f. with further references. 'Antania Gemindou' appears after Heraclea Lynceus in Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 639/2a, probably as a town-centre of the Antanoi (see Hammond, *HM* I, 86 n. 3).

¹⁹ Holleaux, 109 f. and n. 1 on 110-11.

²⁰ P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (1957), 184 n. 7.

²¹ Cabanes, 78 ff., on which see *JHS* 97 (1977), 208.

(see below p. 21), and Lycophron, *Alex.* 1043–4, mentioned not the Aous but its southern tributary, the Chaonian Polyanthes (the ancient name of the Shushicë), as being near to the land of the Atintanes. The background to Cabanes' theory was provided by the views of some Albanian scholars who postulated an Illyrian Atintania south of Strabo's southernmost Illyrian tribe, the Bylliones. The leading writers have been Hasan Ceka, whose views were finally stated in *Iliria* 1982. 2, 84–8, and his son Neritan Ceka, who published his case in *Iliria* 1984. 2, 79 ff.²² The theory of Cabanes was accepted by J. W. Rich in *PCPS* 210 (1984), 159 n. 15 without any discussion, while my view has been developed in *A History of Macedonia* I (1972), 36 f., II (1979), 93 and III (1988), 354 (Walbank) and 409 (Hammond).

We must now consider the views of the two Cekas. They argue that the Atintani and the Atintanes, wherever mentioned, were one and the same Illyrian tribe; that they were the leading element in an Illyrian federal state which consisted of themselves, the Bylliones and the Amantes; and that this Illyrian state held territories of great extent, covering the bulk of southern Albania and according to Neritan Ceka, reaching even past the modern Greek-Albanian border. One result of this view is that the term 'l'Illyrie du sud' replaces the term Epirus in their writings. Since they also believe that they can date the early stage of eight cities ('les sites protourbains') within the territories of the Amantes and the Bylliones before the foundation of Apollonia, they write of these cities as 'Illyrian cities' and regard them as pioneers in urban development.²³

The keystone in this construction of the Illyrian federal state is an inscription at Dodona which mentions τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βυλλιόνων in the late third century B.C. (dated by S.I. Dakaris to 230–220).²⁴ It was principally from this inscription that the idea was developed of a league extending from the Bylliones to cover other peoples. Thus in 1976 Skënder Anamali saw the Amantes as a 'soustribu' and attributed to the league 'une vaste région' limited by the Adriatic to the west, Apollonia and the Parthini northwards, the Atintanes to the south-east, and the Chaonians to the south.²⁵ In 1982 Hasan Ceka added the Atintanes to the league 'en créant avec eux (les Bylliens) une communauté fédérale', and thereby added 'une territoire beaucoup plus vaste', namely the regions between the Devoll and Aous, among them being Skrapar, Dangëlli and Opar (normally attributed to Dassaretis and even Parauaea in the case of Dangëlli).²⁶ In 1984 Neritan Ceka put all three together ('il faut penser qu'une telle étendue embrassait trois koinons principaux: les Bylliones, les Amantes et les propres Atintanes'), and he gave a new habitat for the Atintanes which included 'la vallée de Drinos' (see Fig. 3).²⁷ They received support from Cabanes, who had previously limited Atintania to a small area between the Bylliones and the Dassaretæ (see his map 4), but was later inclined to enlarge it greatly (cf. *Iliria* 1986. 1, 83), and from Papazoglou 1986, 444, who however excluded the Drin valley and the area east of it as belonging to Chaonia, but gave the federation in the name of Atintania a large territory from Selenicë (south-east of Apollonia) to Kelcyrë (at the eastern end of the Aoi Stena and bordering on Parauaea).

The fallacy in my opinion lies in the supposition that τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βυλλιόνων means a league of which the Bylliones formed a part. In the north-west area τὸ κοινόν meant 'the community', whether of a single tribe (e.g. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀπεράργων) or of a tribal group (e.g. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν) or of a group of tribal groups (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν); this terminology was common to the whole tribal system of Epirus and of western Macedonia, where the tribes were of the same dialectal group. Thus τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βυλλιόνων meant the community of the Bylliones. It is likely that the Illyrian Bylliones adopted the terminology from the Greeks, for they became very thoroughly Hellenized during the fifty or so years of the rule of the Molossian kings

²² Although I disagree with their views in this instance, I had the pleasure of their friendship in 1972, and I am full of praise for the advances they and other Albanian scholars have made in our knowledge of the ancient sites in Albania.

²³ See, for instance, Ceka, 67 fig. 8 and 80.

²⁴ Published in *PAE* 1965, 59.

²⁵ In *Iliria* 6 (1976), 132 f.

²⁶ In *Iliria* 1982. 2, 85.

²⁷ In *Iliria* 1984. 2, 83 f. and his maps on pp. 62 and 66.

c. 290–240 B.C. The tribal system within Epirus was set out in full by me in 1967 (e.g. pp. 536 ff., 652 ff. and 701–4), and again by P. Cabanes, 356 ff. and again in *Iliria* 1981. 2, 82 ff.; and I gave an account of the system in western Macedonia in *HM* 1, 85 ff., 111 ff. (Orestis) and 119 ff. (Elimeotis).²⁸

When a large group came into being, its members had a double citizenship and two ethnics, in decrees of the Molossian community, for example, the local tribal ethnic being supplied with the officials.²⁹ If there had been a large group of which the common name was 'Atintanes' and of which the Bylliones was a constituent tribe, we should expect to find decrees of the Atintanes and officials with the local 'Byllion' ethnic. In fact no such decree of 'Atintanes' has yet been found. Rather, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βυλλιόνων is a self-standing community, and its citizens have one ethnic, e.g. Βυλλίων ἀπὸ Νικαίας.³⁰

The passages in ancient authors cited by Skënder Anamali and Neritan Ceka to support the structure of their Illyrian state are in fact of no help. Anamali, 126 and Ceka, 80 cite Ps.-Scylax 27, οἱ δὲ Ἀμαντιεῖς εἰσι μέχρι ἐνταῦθα Ἰλλυριοὶ ἀπὸ Βουλινῶν, and in his analysis Ceka takes the Amanties (bracketed by C. Muller, a point which Anamali and Ceka do not mention) to be 'Amantes de la part des Bylliones',³¹ thereby equating Βουλινοὶ with Bylliones and overlooking the back-reference to the Boulinoi near the head of the Adriatic in ch. 22. Ceka cites Pliny, *HN* 3. 23, 'Apollonia ... cuius in finibus celebre Nymphaeum accolunt barbari Amantes et Buliones', as evidence of a political bond between Amantes and Bylliones, whereas the context is one of geographical propinquity. They do not consider the literary evidence, which shows the Amantes and the Bylliones to have been separate peoples, nor even the evidence of their separate coinages.

The fallacy of supposing that the cities of northern Epirus were 'Illyrian cities', made clear in my book *Epirus* in 1967, has been reasserted by F. Papazoglou 1986, 439 as regards Amantia, Byllis, Nicaea and Olympe ('J'ai dit à bon escient "cités grecques", m'opposant ainsi aux savants albanais qui insistent à les appeler des "cités illyriennes"'), and in 1987, 204 f. where she stressed the fact that the Epirotes were Greek-speaking and some southern Illyrian tribes were 'hellenisés'. There is little point in proposing an Illyrian label for cities in which the language, the institutions, the officials, the onomastics, the city-planning and the fortifications were Greek.

III. THE EPIROTIC ATINTANES (see Fig. 2)

(a) The Epirotic Atintanes appear first in Thucydides 2. 80. 6, when Cnemus raised a force in the north-western area in 429 B.C. The Chaones and the Thesproti campaigned together; the Molossi and the Atintanes were under a single command; and the Parauaei had their own king as commander but campaigned together with the Orestae. As the Chaones neighboured the Thesproti and the Parauaei neighboured the Orestae, the odds are high that the Molossi and Atintanes with their shared command were neighbours.³² Since the Molossi neighboured the Thesproti to the west, the Tymphaei and the Parauaei to the east and north-east, it follows that the Atintanes were to the north-west of Molossis. In that direction a limit is formed by Chaonia, which extended from the coast to east of the river Drin and included

²⁸ Examples of a *koinon*, for instance, in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 no. 20 (Aterargi); *SGDI* 1346 (Amyymi); 1334 and 1590 (Molossi); 1370 (Thesproti); *SEG* 24 (1969), 450 and 451 (Epirotes); *Inscr. Magn.* 32, l. 50 (Epirotes). Papazoglou 1970, 126 doubted my belief (1967, 656) in a *koinon* of the Epirotes; but inscriptions have now proved me correct.

²⁹ See inscriptions cited in Hammond 1967, 528 and 564 and Cabanes 555, 568, 576 and 581, for instance.

³⁰ *IG* v, l. 28 recorded the greetings of the 'Bylliones' to the Lacedaemonians; *Arch. Eph.* 1925–6, 26 no. 140 for the 'Byllion from Nicaea', first century B.C. Nicaea (Klos) was placed by Steph. Byz. s.v. 'in Illyris' which, being a Hellenistic form, tends to confirm the statement in Strabo that the Bylliones were Illyrians. Byllis (Gradisht) had its own ethnic, Byllideus, and coined

separately from the Bylliones (see H. Ceka, *Questions de numismatique illyrienne* (1972), 135); it was by contrast a Greek city, being visited by sacred envoys (see Hammond 1980, 13), and may have been founded by Pyrrhus.

³¹ In the order of words ἀπὸ Βουλινῶν goes not with Ἀμαντιεῖς but with μέχρι ἐνταῦθα Ἰλλυριοὶ.

³² This is an embarrassment to Cabanes, who placed the Atintanes on the right bank of the Aous north of the junction with the Drin (his p. 80) and found himself forced to suppose that Molossia gained the whole Drin valley from Chaonia in 429 B.C., 'momentanément' (p. 13). Ceka, 83 n. 20 is confusing (it places the Atintanes west of the Chaones, i.e. in the sea; evidently the translation into French is at fault).

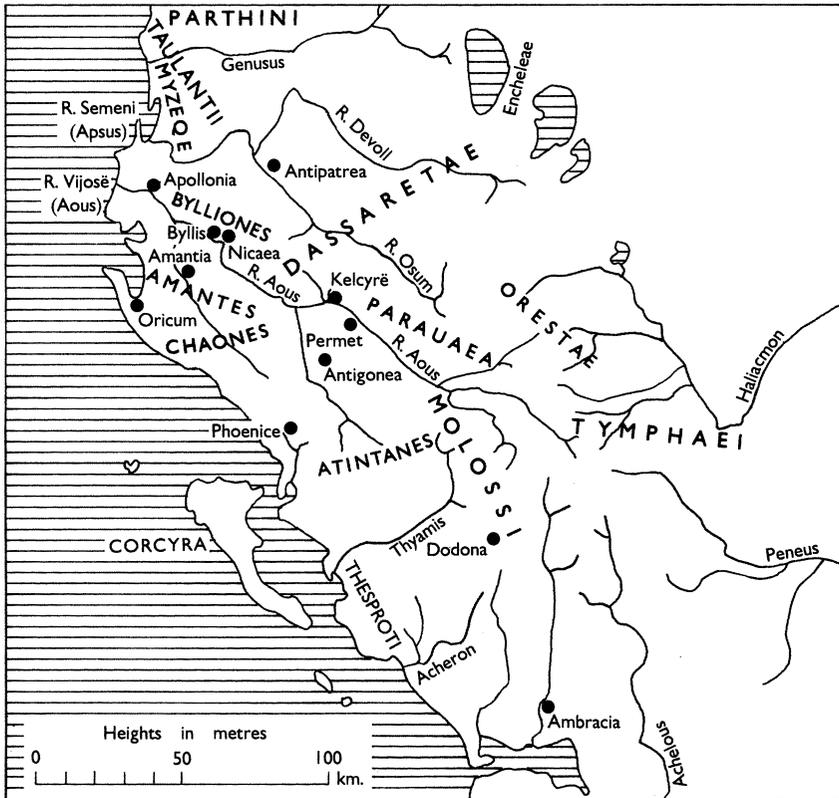


FIG. 2. MAP OF SOUTHERN ILLYRIS AND EPIRUS

Antigonea, identified by its name on voting discs,³³ and thus was a neighbour of Parauaea in that direction. In short, the Atintanes have to be placed in the centre of Epirus, between the headwaters of the Epirotic Drin and the basin of the Thyamis (mod. Kalamas), that is, in the region which is dominated by Mt Murgana.³⁴

(b) A clue to the position of the Atintanes is provided in Polybius' account of the seizure of Phoenice by Illyrian pirates in 230 B.C. (2. 5). When an Epirote force was encamped outside Phoenice, the Illyrians made a sortie by night from Phoenice and next day defeated the Epirotes. The survivors of the Epirotes fled 'in the direction of the Atintanes' (2. 5. 8). Since the Epirotes knew that a force of 5,000 Illyrians was on the way from the junction of the Aous and the Drin towards Phoenice, they fled not northwards but eastwards towards Mt Murgana and the headwaters of the Drin, where reinforcements might be available.³⁵ This location of Atintania agrees entirely with what we have inferred from Thucydides 2. 80. 6.

IV. GENERAL COMMENTS

In order to make sense of the evidence, we need to appreciate the distinction which Ephorus and Theopompus—upon whom Strabo drew for some of his description³⁶—made between Illyrian tribes, Epirotic tribes and Greek cities. The first two were judged by the Greeks to be 'barbarian'; for the way of life in their tribal states (*ethne*) was equally backward. The fact that the Epirotic tribes were Greek-

³³ Although disputed by N. Ceka, the evidence is decisive; for no one carries voting-discs to a place where they have no relevance. For the site, called Yerma, see Hammond 1967, 209 f., Budina, 276 (discs) and Hammond 1971.

³⁴ See Hammond 1967, 682 f. for this location athwart the main route from Molossis to Chaonia, and 218

for their fortified sites, of which one is near Lia, well known through the book of N. Gage, *Eleni*. It was maintained in Hammond 1980, 12 that 'Artichia', visited by sacred envoys c. 360–355, was in the area of the Atintanes (with map p. 17).

³⁵ See Hammond 1967, 117 f., 682 and fig. 29 c.

³⁶ See Hammond 1967, 468 f.

speaking (as we know from the Molossian inscriptions of the early fourth century) distinguished them from the Illyrian-speaking tribes, but did not make them any the less 'barbarian' in the classical period.³⁷ The general line of division between the Illyrian tribes on the one hand and the Greek cities and the Epirotic tribes on the other hand was drawn on the course of the Via Egnatia (Strabo 323, citing Polybius for the road). North of this line, which began on the coast at Epidamnus, a Greek city, and ran more or less along the course of the Genusus (Shkumbi), all the tribes were Illyrian. To the south of this line lay 'the Epirotic tribes' (Strabo 323). But there was an 'admixture' of Illyrian tribes, which Strabo specified as 'Bylliones, Taulantii, Parthini and Brygi' inland of 'Epidamnus and Apollonia up to the Ceraunian Mountains' (Strabo 326).³⁸ Since the Epirote coast was conceived as running more from east to west than from south to north (324), Strabo's 'inland' area was (for us) north-east in relation to the line of the coast.³⁹

It follows from Strabo's statement that the other tribes south of the line and extending down to the Ambraciote Gulf were Epirotic. Of these the most northerly near the coast were the 'Abantes' or 'Amantes' or 'Amantoi', since all these forms occur, and the farthest inland the Dassaretai, known to Hecataeus as the 'Dexaroi, a tribe of the Chaonians, next to the Encheleae' (*FGH* 1 F 103; and for the Encheleae see Strabo 326).⁴⁰ The distinction between Illyrians and Dassaretii is seen also in Livy 42. 36. 9 (following Polybius), 'ad occupanda Dassaretiorum et Illyriorum castella'.

A distinction which we also have to bear in mind is that of period. Very early Greek traditions recorded the settlements of Greek heroes returning from Troy in the Late Bronze Age, and settling on lands previously occupied by Illyrians: thus 'Amantia, a district of Illyrians (μοῖρα Ἰλλυριῶν), near Oricum and Corcyra, settled from Abantes on their return from Troy' (Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Amantia'; cf. s.v. 'Abantis');⁴¹ 'Byllis, a city on the coast of Illyris, a foundation of the Myrmidons with Neoptolemus', the son of Achilles (Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Byllis'). Foundation-stories of Greek colonies included tales of settlements on lands previously held by Illyrians at Corcyra, Apollonia and Epidamnus. A good example is provided by Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία πόλις Ἰλλυρίας, ἣν ᾤκουσιν Ἰλλυριοί, 'Apollonia, a city of Illyria, which Illyrians used to inhabit'. These traditions and reports are not, however, to be taken out of context and period and then used to support claims that these places were 'Illyrian' in terms of place, language and race in the classical and Hellenistic periods.⁴² If any deduction is to be made from them, it is merely that the founders were Greek-speakers and that their descendants in later times were Greek-speaking in each case.

The statements made by classical authors and by Hellenistic authors about the conditions of their own time and the evidence of inscriptions are in a different category. For instance, when Proxenus, the court historian of Pyrrhus early in the third century B.C., included Tymphaei, Parauaei and Abantes (a variant of Amantes) in his list of 'Epirotai',⁴³ the point is established beyond doubt that they were members of the Greek-speaking organization known as the Epirote Alliance, and as such were themselves Greek-speaking. Contemporary inscriptions of the Hellenistic period confirm that this was so, in particular those from the city Amantia and from a city called Olympe in Amantian territory, which confirm that the Amantes were Greek in language, onomastics and institutions.⁴⁴ The note of Hesychius, Ἄμυντοι, ἔθνος Ἠπειρωτικόν, was derived presumably from a Hellenistic writer who referred to

³⁷ Thucydides, Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus are unanimous in calling the Epirotes 'barbarians'; so too a Greek writer, or the Apolloniatees themselves, called the (to me) Epirotic Amantini and the Illyrian Bylliones 'barbarians' (Pliny, *HN* 3. 23. 145), without implying that both were Illyrian, as Ceka, 80 n. 5 suggests. For the inscriptions, published by D. Evangelides in *Arch. Eph.* 1956, 1 ff. and *Hellenica* 1957, 247 ff., see commentaries by Hammond 1967, 525 ff. and Cabanes, 534 ff.

³⁸ For Brygi see Hammond 1967, 468 and for the modern analogy of the 'admixture' of Greek-speaking and Albanian-speaking peoples *ibid.*, 20 map 2, based on travels in 1930-9.

³⁹ As in Strabo 324 one voyage from 'the Chaones' to the Ambraciote Gulf 'towards the rising sun'.

⁴⁰ Names varied in form because they were reported often orally and then by Greeks speaking in different dialects. For the Dexari see Hammond, *HM* 1, 94 f.

⁴¹ Other references are given by Hammond 1967, 385 n. 1 with Paus. 5. 22. 3 and Ps.-Scymnus 442-3 in the text.

⁴² As is done by Anamali, 68 f.

⁴³ The tradition of the heroes was already recorded in the sixth century at the latest (see Hammond 1967, 383 f.).

⁴⁴ Anamali, 91 ff. (Amantia); *Iliria* 1984. 2, 113 and Papazoglou 1986, 438 f. (Olympe).

his own time. A Delphic list of *theorodokoi* of 220–189 B.C. names a host of the sacred envoys 'in Abantia', no doubt the inland city usually known as Amantia;⁴⁵ and it is certain that the sacred envoys visited only Greek-speaking communities.

The ancient geographers have also to be understood in terms of period. Hecataeus, describing conditions of the late sixth century B.C., mentions 'Oricos' as a harbour and 'Bylliake'—an emendation for Baiake or Balake—as a city of Chaonia, this Bylliake being on the north shore of the Gulf of Oricum (*FGRH* I F 104), so that Chaonia reached almost to Apollonia. Equally, inland a Chaonian tribe, the Dexari, was next to the Encheleae (F 103).⁴⁶ This was within the period of Chaonian ascendancy noted in Strabo 323 *fin.* On the other hand the geographers known as Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus wrote at a time when the group of tribes called 'the Chaones' had lost ground in the northern area.

The *Periplus* or Coastal Guide of Ps.-Scylax describes the coast of our area as it was c. 380–360 B.C. His work is dependable for the coast, since he collected information from seafarers and wrote primarily for seafarers, but his text is often corrupt. Proceeding from north to south, he describes the first Illyrians of the east coast of the Adriatic Sea as Boulini (22, Βουλινῶν ... ἔθνος Ἰλλυρικόν), and thereafter he reports Illyrians as 'living by the coast up to Chaonia'. When he reaches the latter area and mentions the small island Sason and the harbour Oricum, his text runs as follows at ch. 27: οἱ δὲ Ὀρικοί κατοικοῦσι τῆς Ἀμαντίας χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ἀμαντιεῖς εἰσὶ μέχρι ἐνταῦθα Ἰλλυριοὶ ἀπὸ Βουλινῶν. The first sentence finishes the description of the coast up to Chaonia, and the second sentence looks back to the first Illyrian tribe, the Boulini. C. Müller was correct in bracketing Ἀμαντιεῖς as a gloss. The sentence then means 'and they are up to here Illyrians (starting) from the Boulini'.⁴⁷ A shorter guide, the *Periegesis* of Ps.-Scymnus, describing conditions c. 360 B.C., mentions the 'Greek cities' on the coast—Epidamnus, Apollonia and Oricum—and the foundation of Oricum by Euboeans returning from Troy.

Knowledge of the inland areas in these guides was extremely vague. There were no maps, and unsettled conditions made travel hazardous, except for the sacred envoys who were guaranteed safe conduct by the Greek cities which they visited. It is most probable that it was these envoys who supplied the scanty information which figures in the guides.⁴⁸ To Ps.-Scymnus the inland peoples are 'near the oracle of Dodona mixed barbarians' (451) and inland of the Ambracian Gulf 'barbarian neighbours'. Ps.-Scylax mentioned Oricum and Amantia on the coast, and he then gave the only information he offered on the interior of Epirus. The text of ch. 26 is unfortunately corrupt and defective: Ἀπασιν ὄμοροι ἐν μεσογείᾳ Ἀτιντᾶνες ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὀρικίας καὶ Καρίας μέχρι Ἰδωνίας (Ἰδωνίας, Palat.). ἐν τῇ Κάστιδι χώρα εἶναι λέγεται δεδιὸς ὄνομα ... Ἐρυθεία. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Γηρυόνης λέγεται ἦκειν καὶ τοὺς βοῦς βουκολεῖν. κατὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ Κεραῦνια ὄρη ἐν τῇ Ἠπειρῷ. In 1967 I suggested that we should read Ἄμασιν for ἄπασιν,⁴⁹ and translate thus: 'Neighbours in the interior to the Amantes (are) Atintanes inland of Oricia and Caria as far as Idonia. In the Castis there is said to be a district ... by name ... Erytheia. There Geryones is said to have come and herded the cattle. By these are the Ceraunian Mountains in Epirus'. (We may compare a similar vague excursus inland for Thessaly: 'Thessaly extends in the interior inland of Aenianes, Dolopes, Malieis, Achaei and Magnetes as far as Tempe' (ch. 64).) The territory of the Amantes extended up the Shushicë valley (this being inland of Oricia).⁵⁰ 'Caria', otherwise unattested, could be some coastal area south of Oricia.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *BCH* 45 (1921), 1 f. and Hammond 1980, 13.

⁴⁶ The fragments of Hecataeus are discussed in Hammond 1967, 451 f. and 471 f.

⁴⁷ C. Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores* (1855–61) and Hammond 1967, 513 and 516 f. (for the dates of what the geographers described).

⁴⁸ An idea of their travels is conveyed in Hammond 1980 for the periods c. 360–355, c. 330 and c. 220–189 B.C.

⁴⁹ Hammond 1967, 522. Papazoglou 1970, 134 found this emendation 'très convaincante'.

⁵⁰ See Hammond 1967, 679 (cf. 123 and map 2) for the head of the valley. This valley differs widely in character from the Acroceraunian coastal range, which belonged to the Chaones (124 f. and compare A. Quayle, *Eight Hours from London* (1945), whose 'Grama Bay' is 'Grammata', so called from the Greek inscriptions on the rock faces).

⁵¹ A connection with 'Kemara' (now Himarrë) is suggested in Hammond 1980, 14 n. 1, and the ethnic 'Kariopos' implies that the text is sound.

'Idonia' is unknown.⁵² The suggested emendations to Δωδώνης or Δωδωνίας are palaeographically not convincing. 'Castis' is also unknown. All that one can venture from such a corrupt passage is that the Atintanes were somewhere inland, roughly south-east of the Amantes and perhaps between them and Dodona. This would fit the position which I have suggested for Atintania. The passage in Ps.-Scylax may have inspired Lycophron to associate Amantia on the coast with a mountain near the land of the Atintanes: 'Elephenor will sail (from Othonus) to Amantia city; and proceeding to Practis near the land of the Atintanes he reaches by it a steep mountain, enjoying the waters of the Chaonian Polyanthus', being the Shushicë (*Alex.* 1043 f.).⁵³

Some passages in ancient authors reveal a confusion over little-known names such as Amantes, Athamantes and Atintanes, and this has led sometimes to corruption in a-text. For instance, the springs of asphalt and the exhalations of inflammable gas in the territory of Apollonia were described and located by Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir.* 842 b 14, ἐν δ' Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ πλησίον κειμένη τῆς τῶν αθηπλατινῶν (Codex Laurentianus ατλαντικῶν) χώρας, and by Ampelius 8. 1, 'Apollonia etcathamantia mille passus quinque in monte limfae [restored as Nymphaeum] ubi ignis est'. Because there were many cities called Apollonia, it was necessary to define the Apollonia under consideration. Probable restorations are, therefore, τῆς τῶν Ἀμαντίνων χώρας and 'Apolloniae et ad Amantiam mille passus quinque' etc., meaning 'at Apollonia and towards Amantia five miles' (a scribe, having perhaps written *e* and *m* once instead of twice, may have caused the corruption).⁵⁴ These restorations receive some support from Pliny, *HN* 3. 23. 145, 'Apollonia ... cuius in finibus celebre Nymphaeum accolunt barbari Amantes et Buliones'. Another passage, referring to the same springs, in Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir.* 833 a 9, φασὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἀτιντανίαν πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος, shows a confusion between 'Amantia' and 'Atintania', just as the corrupt passage in Ampelius led to a confusion of 'Amantia' and 'Athamania'. There is no merit in adopting περὶ Ἀτιντανίαν as correct, not only because Atintania would be an inferior emendation to import into Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir.* 842 b 11 and Ampelius 8. 1, but also because the area immediately inland of Apollonia and the Gulf of Oricum was described by many authors as 'Amantian' and by none as 'Atintanian'.⁵⁵

A dedicatory inscription of the period c. 475–450 B.C., found at Olympia and cited by Pausanias who added a commentary, recorded the victory of Apollonia over her neighbour, Abantis (Paus. 5. 22. 4, Apolloniates and Abantes being ὄμοροι). Abantis, according to Pausanias, was part of 'the Thesprotian mainland'; he used the same expression at 4. 35. 3 in a geographical and political sense. Apollonia in the inscription was 'on the Ionian Sea'.⁵⁶ North of it Illyris began, as in Diodorus 19. 67. 6, following Hieronymus. The southernmost Illyrian tribal group inland, as we have seen from Strabo, was that known as 'the Bylliones'. Writers in Roman times were less precise; for Domitius Callistratus called Olympe 'a city of Illyria' (Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Olympe'), although it was situated within the territory of Amantia and lay to the south-west of the territory of the Bylliones.

V. SPECIAL POINTS WHICH SEEM TO BE DECISIVE

Let us look now at the detailed evidence which we provided in Sections I and III above. Those who have written about the Atintanes have not commented at all on the coins mentioned in Section I (a) (p. 12) despite my accounts in 1979, 74 ff., 82 and

⁵² An alternative reading in the MSS is Ἡδωνία. This reading is supported by an inscription, not seen by me but reported in Hammond 1967, 737 no. 19 with a probable reading Ἡδ[ω]νεοστῆς. If so, 'Edonia' was the region named now after Margariti, south of the river Thyamis (mod. Kalamas). Comparable ethnics in -ates are Oriatas in Molossis and Geneates in Pelagonia (Hammond, *HM* 1, 91). Papazoglou 1970, 134 n. 46 disapproved of the suggestion, but offered no other explanation of the word.

⁵³ In 1967 I placed Amantia at Klos, but later evidence and second thoughts made me move it to

Ploçë in Hammond 1981, map 12. Its fertile area was up the Shushicë valley; so too Kirsten (n. 16 above), 211, 'das Shushica-Tal das "Siedlungsfeld" der Amanten oder Abanten war'.

⁵⁴ This interpretation supports the identification of the chief spring at St Nicolas church, some five miles from Apollonia city.

⁵⁵ For instance, Callimachus, καὶ Ἀμαντίνην ὤρισαν Ὀρικίην, cited in Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Abantis' *fin*.

⁵⁶ Apollonia was sometimes described as ἡ Ἠπειρωτίς, i.e. in Epirus (Strabo 764), but not as in Illyris; it was intermediate between the two.

85, and 1983, 247 ff.; nor were these coins noted by M. Price in his *Coins of Macedonia* (1974). Because there are no deposits of silver ore in South Albania, Greek Epirus and south-west Macedonia, these 'Tynteni' have to be located far from any location yet proposed for the Epirotic Atintanes.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the location of the Illyrian Atintani fits admirably.

The stratagem of Cassander in I (b) succeeded because the Epidamnians thought he had left Illyris on his way back (ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπανιῶν) i.e. to Macedonia, and because he was near enough—within a day's march—to catch the workers in the fields of Epidamnus before they could be alerted. However, N. Ceka, 83 n. 19 made Cassander turn about and go back whence he had come, cross the Genusus and stop near the mouth of the Apsus—a day's march of thirty-five miles—and set fire to villages on the hills 'where Atintania began'—some fifty miles from Epidamnus.⁵⁸ The distances and the terrain, which was mainly flat and treeless, are in my opinion such that the stratagem could not have been either conceivable or successful. The alternative, that the Atintani were north of the Parthini, is not considered by him or by those of similar views.

In I (c) the names of the tribes adjacent to the coastal plain, the Myzeqe, were given. The plain itself was in dispute between Epidamnus, the Taulantii and Apollonia.⁵⁹ It was of vital importance to other tribes such as the Parthini and the Dassaretae, since the transhumance of sheep was very widely practised in antiquity, as in Albania until the reforms of Enver Hodja. The plain was flooded in late autumn and in spring to early summer, when travellers had to use the higher ground on the inland side of the plain.⁶⁰ Hence the importance of Dimallum, which the Romans included later in their protectorate. The mountain range of Shpiragrit (high point 1203 m) separates the plain from the hinterland, which belonged to the Dassaretae, of whose cities Antipatrea (Berat) was the strongest (see Fig. 1). The hills on the south side of the plain were held in part by the Apolloniates and mainly by the Bylliones, whose southern limit was firmly fixed by the Aous, fordable only with difficulty at midsummer.⁶¹ The eastern limit of the territory of the Bylliones marched with that of the Dassaretae; for it seems from *FGrH* I (Hecataeus) F 103 that the Dassaretae were continuous with the Chaones.

In I (d) the Romans were campaigning northwards from Apollonia, and of the Illyrians who abandoned the siege of Epidamnus and fled from there the Atintani changed sides and joined the Romans (App., *Illyr.* 7). These Atintani are clearly the Illyrian Atintani of the time of Cassander. From then on they were regarded by Rome as one of her Illyrian subjects. Rome at this time was fighting the Illyrians and especially the Ardiaei, not any Epirotic tribes.

In I (e) the Atintani who were won over by Demetrius of Pharos were again Illyrians (App., *Illyr.* 8, as one of 'the Illyrian culprits'). The central importance of Atintania in the hostilities and in the negotiations between Rome and Macedonia is understandable, if it is the Illyrian area which I have proposed, but not understandable, if Atintania was far to the south in Epirus and remote from Macedonia.

In I (f) the Atintania included in the fourth division of Macedonia has to be the area I have proposed; for it is not conceivable that a part of Epirus was given to Macedonia—especially when Orestis (Livy 33. 34. 6) and (probably in 167 B.C.) Dassaretis were declared 'free' (Pliny, *HN* 4. 3 and 4. 35).

In III (a) the identification of Antigonea by the bronze voting-discs inscribed ANTIGONEΩN with the large site at Yerma confirmed what I had previously inferred from the literary evidence, that Chaonia included the middle and lower valley of the

⁵⁷ The minerals in the Mati basin and farther north do not include silver; see map 16 in Hammond 1976.

⁵⁸ Likewise Cabanes, 80, having the villages fired apparently at night and presumably expecting the cavalry and infantry to make the fifty miles next day to catch the Epidamnians in the fields. Even in the last war German troops avoided night operations in occupied Greece; they burned hundreds of villages in Macedonia, all by day.

⁵⁹ For instance, Ptol. 3. 12. 2 placed Apollonia and Epidamnus within the sphere of the Taulantii.

⁶⁰ I had this experience travelling in the 1930s and saw in 1972 pictures of the great floods of the pre-Hodja days.

⁶¹ See Hammond 1967, 224, 'forded the river at the second attempt with much difficulty' at Kutë upriver from Klos.

Drin and extended past the Aoi Stena to Kelcyre and to the watershed with the Aous above Kelcyre. For Antigonea was 'a city of Chaonia' according to Steph. Byz. s.v. and Ptol. 3. 14. Its position, some six kilometres east of the Drin, was chosen because the Chaones controlled the country between the Drin and the middle Aous (by Permet), east of which was Parauaea, a canton of Epirus. Thus the Epirotic Atintanes have to be south of the line of Chaonia-Parauaea, if they are to be neighbours of the Molossians and indeed to be in Epirus at all as a considerable tribal group.

In III (b) it seemed to me commonsense to suppose that the defeated Epirotes fled not to meet the Illyrian reinforcements, which were known to be *en route* from the junction of the Aous and the Drin to Illyrian-held Phoenice (Polyb. 2. 5. 6). Yet P. Cabanes and N. Ceka took the opposite view, because they wanted Atintania to be situated at or north of that junction. They did not comment on my plan of the engagement outside Phoenice, which, if it is correct, would have made it impossible for those in flight to make a break northwards.⁶²

In short, if we attend to all the evidence and do not select just the pieces which may fit a theory, the conclusion is certain: there were two tribal peoples (*ethne*), one in central Albania and one in central Epirus, which had virtually the same name but differing in dialectal endings. Once this has been made clear, the supposition that there was only one large Atintanian state and that it is to be located as an Illyrian state in northern Epirus is shown to be invalid.⁶³

VI. THE ROMAN PROTECTORATE OF 228–168 B.C. (see Fig. 3)

The Roman intervention in 229 B.C. was prompted initially by Ardiaean piracy, and the settlement of 228 B.C. was intended to prevent a recurrence of piracy in waters of particular interest to Rome, namely those of the Lower Adriatic between the heel of Italy and the Central Albanian coast. It is significant that she did not attack the heartland of the Ardiaean monarchy in the Bay of Rhizon (Kotor), and that she was content to give control of Issa, an important naval base, to Demetrius of Pharos, whom she set up as a client king. The harbours of the Central Albanian coast were Lissus, Epidamnus, Apollonia and Oricum.⁶⁴ Lissus was defined as the limit beyond which the Ardiaeans were not to sail with more than two warships (Polyb. 2. 11. 3); and it was left in Ardiaean hands (whether of the Ardiaean king or of Demetrius of Pharos is uncertain). Epidamnus and Apollonia, the best ports for a crossing to the heel of Italy, were included in the protectorate, if we may call the area subjected to Rome by this euphemistic name. Oricum was left outside the protectorate.⁶⁵ But to the south Rome controlled Corcyra as a naval base, comparable to Issa in the north.

In this, the maritime part of her settlement, Rome took control of the bases which could best be used for any operations against herself. In 238–227 she was engaged in acquiring Sardinia and Corsica in the west, and in 229–228 and again in 219 she pursued the same policy in the east. The value of that control in the Lower Adriatic became manifest during the Second Punic War. But the protectorate could be used also for offensive measures, because Epidamnus and Apollonia, being so close to Italy, afforded a launching platform for consular armies, as in 229 and in 219, and because Corcyra was a convenient base for naval operations in Greek waters. But Epidamnus and Apollonia would remain faithful to Rome only if their territories inland were protected by suitable allies.

⁶² Cabanes, 80 has a simple method: his map 5, purporting to show the Epirote camp, leaves the route between the Illyrian fleet and the Illyrians in Phoenice open, and he does not mention my plan (Hammond 1967, 117 ff. and fig. 29 c, based on autopsy). Why did he send the defeated Epirotes northwards? His answer is simple: 'leur retraite étant coupée vers le Sud', which is inconsistent even with his own map 5.

⁶³ Papazoglou 1970, 133 found it unacceptable that Polybius should mention the Atintanian name at 2. 5. 8 (the flight after defeat at Phoenice), and at 2. 11. 11 (the Roman march north in 229 B.C.), and yet fail to warn his readers that it was being used of different peoples.

We must remember that Polybius did not know the area, had no maps and probably gathered material for events from Greek internees for 230 B.C., and from Roman friends and narratives for 229 B.C., while he himself was interned (see Walbank, C 1, 33 f.) and writing the early books of his history. He may not have realized the difference himself; and if he did, he may not have thought a digression on the subject was desirable.

⁶⁴ For details see Hammond 1968, 2 f.

⁶⁵ E. Badian in *PBSR* 20 (1952), 93 = *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (1964), 24 and Hammond 1967, 601 and 1968, 9.

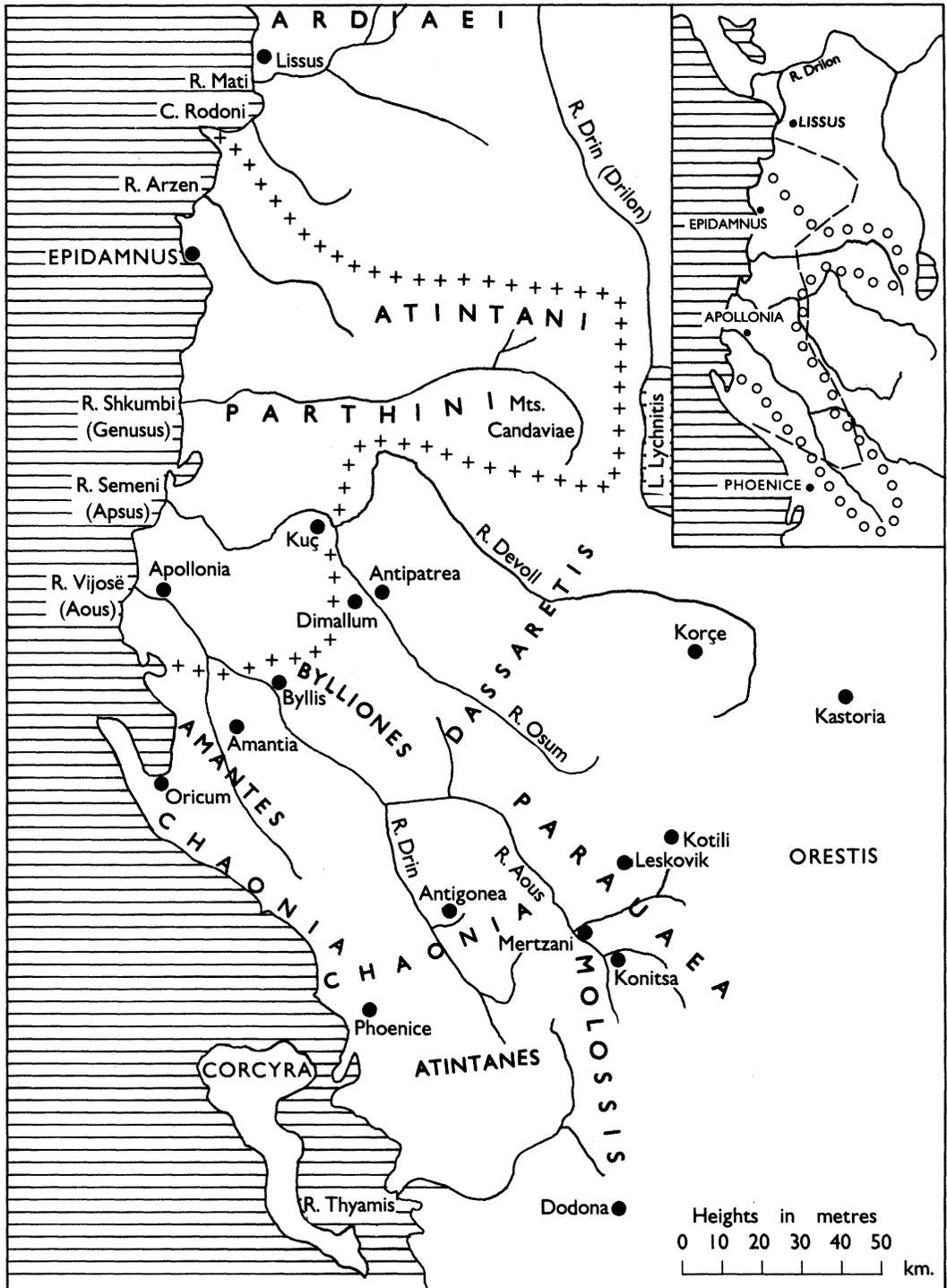


FIG. 3. MAP OF THE ROMAN PROTECTORATE OF 228 B.C.
 INSET --- --- HOLLEAUX, PLACING THE PARTHINI IN HIS NORTHERN BULGE INSTEAD OF IN THE GENUSUS VALLEY
 ○○○○ CEKA, THE SOUTHERN PART STATED, THE NORTHERN PART INFERRED

When the Roman army withdrew in 228 B.C., it left some places in northern Illyris⁶⁶ in the hands of Demetrius of Pharos as a buffer between the protectorate and the Ardiaean monarchy. The territory of Epidamnus probably included the plains between the river Mati and the river Genusus (Shkumbi), the northern part being shared with the Taulantii; and the territory of Apollonia included the rest of the Myzeqe plain between the Genusus and the Aous. In the wet seasons of spring and autumn, when the plains were flooded, communications between the two cities followed the inland side of the plains, crossing the Genusus and the Apsus in the territory of the Parthini and passing close to Dimallum and the Bylliones.⁶⁷ It was therefore important to keep the Parthini and Dimallum within the protectorate; and the lands of the Parthini extended inland to the headwaters of the Genusus in the Candavian Mountains, where they were neighbours of the Dassaretae.

The inclusion of the Atintani was not of immediate concern to Epidamnus and Apollonia. But Rome had her own reasons. In 231 B.C. the Ardiaeans had been in league with Demetrius II of Macedon, and they were on friendly terms when Demetrius died and Rome invaded Illyris in 229. In case the Ardiaeans and the Macedonians should combine and cause trouble, it seemed wise to accept the Atintani into the protectorate, thereby cutting the direct line of communication between the two powers. It had the additional advantage that the Atintani were able to deny the use of the corridor through the lakeland to marauding Illyrians or Dardanians,⁶⁸ who might threaten the rest of the protectorate. The disadvantage of including the Atintani was that it made the protectorate and the Macedonian kingdom immediate neighbours.

As for the south, in 228 B.C. Rome showed no interest in the Bylliones and in Oricum. She had nothing to fear in that direction. For the Molossian monarchy had been overthrown in 234, and the Epirote League greatly weakened by the Illyrian sack of Phoenice in 230. She was wise to keep clear of any commitment in that direction in 228 and in 219. It was only in 199 that she felt it necessary for strategic reasons to cross the Aous and obtain the acquiescence of the Epirote League.

Thus the Roman 'Protectorate' in the east was skilfully planned to serve whichever purpose seemed appropriate to her at any one time. In 228 and 219 Rome was concerned primarily to keep the Lower Adriatic safe from piracy and from enemy intervention, the latter becoming all-important during the Second Punic War, when Hannibal held the heel of Italy. In the wars against Philip V, Antiochus and Perseus she used the protectorate as her base for offensive operations both by sea and by land. And it served as her base again in 168 B.C. for the destruction of the Ardiaean monarchy of Gentius and in 167 for the annihilation of the Molossian state in Epirus.⁶⁹

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⁶⁶ 'Illyris' in Hellenistic times seems to have extended up to the Drilon (Drin) from the Bylliones in the south.

⁶⁷ See Hammond 1968, 1 f. for the coastal plain, and Hammond 1981 map 12, based on 1974, 189 f., for the ancient road system. Map and satellite picture in 1976, 8-9.

⁶⁸ This area is described in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in honor of Charles F. Edson* (1981), 201 ff. and especially 205.

⁶⁹ For these last episodes see now N. G. L. Hammond and F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia* III (1988), 537 f. and 567 f. The Molossians had been in

Central Epirus by Dodona since early times (in epic saga, Hecataeus F 108, Pindar, *Paean* 6, 110 and Aeschylus, PV 829). Similarly the Abantes, i.e. Amantes, were next to Apolloniatis from early times (in epic saga, Paus. 5. 22. 2 and Pliny, *HN* 3. 23. 145), the Taulantii next to Epidamnus (Thuc. 1. 24. 1 and Eratosthenes in Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Dyrrachium'), and Encheleae next to Dassaretae (Hecataeus F 103 with the form 'Dexaroi' and Polyb. 5. 108. 8 with the form 'Enchelanes'), and so on. The pattern of tribal settlement seems to have been fixed from at least the seventh century in Illyris and Epirus.