

HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART II.

CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

CHAPTER XXV.

ILLYRIANS, MACEDONIANS, PÆONIANS.

NORTHWARD of the tribes called Epirotic lay those more numerous and widely extended tribes who bore the general name of Illyrians, bounded on the west by the Adriatic, on the east by the mountain-range of Skardus, the northern continuation of Pindus, and thus covering what is now called Middle and Upper Albania, together with the more northerly mountains of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. Their limits to the north and north-east cannot be assigned, but the Dardani and Autariatæ must have reached to the north-east of Skardus and even east of the Servian plain of Kossovo; while along the Adriatic coast, Skylax extends the race so far northward as to include Dalmatia, treating the Liburnians and Istrians beyond them as not Illyrian: yet Appian and others consider the Li-

Different tribes of Illyrians.

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burnians and Istrians as Illyrian, and Herodotus even includes under that name the Eneti or Veneti at the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf¹. The Bu-

¹ Herodot. i. 196; Skylax, c. 19–27; Appian, *Illyric.* c. 2, 4, 8.

The geography of the countries occupied in ancient times by the Illyrians, Macedonians, Pæonians, Thracians, &c., and now possessed by a great diversity of races, among whom the Turks and Albanians retain the primitive barbarism without mitigation, is still very imperfectly understood; though the researches of Colonel Leake, of Boué, of Grisebach, and others (especially the valuable travels of the latter), have of late thrown much light upon it. How much our knowledge is extended in this direction, may be seen by comparing the map prefixed to Mannert's *Geographie*, or to O. Müller's *Dissertation on the Macedonians*, with that in Boué's *Travels*; but the extreme deficiency of the maps, even as they now stand, is emphatically noticed by Boué himself (see his *Critique des Cartes de la Turquie* in the fourth volume of his *Voyage*)—by Paul Joseph Schaffarik, the learned historian of the Slavonic race, in the preface attached by him to Dr. Joseph Müller's *Topographical Account of Albania*—and by Grisebach, who in his surveys taken from the summits of the mountains Peristeri and Ljubatrin, found the map differing at every step from the bearings which presented themselves to his eye. It is only since Boué and Grisebach that the idea has been completely dismissed, derived originally from Strabo, of a straight line of mountains (*εὐθεία γραμμὴ*, Strabo, lib. vii. Fragm. 3) running across from the Adriatic to the Euxine, and sending forth other lateral chains in a direction nearly southerly. The mountains of Turkey in Europe, when examined with the stock of geological science which M. Viquesnel (the companion of Boué) and Dr. Grisebach bring to the task, are found to belong to systems very different, and to present evidences of conditions of formation often quite independent of each other.

The thirteenth chapter of Grisebach's *Travels* presents the best account which has yet been given of the chain of Skardus and Pindus: he has been the first to prove clearly, that the Ljubatrin, which immediately overhangs the plain of Kossovo at the southern border of Servia and Bosnia, is the north-eastern extremity of a chain of mountains reaching southward to the frontiers of Ætolia, in a direction not very wide of N-S.—with the single interruption (first brought to view by Colonel Leake) of the Klissoura of Devol—a complete gap, where the river Devol, rising on the eastern side, crosses the chain and joins the Apsus or Beratino on the western—(it is remarkable that both in the map of Boué and in that annexed to Dr. Joseph Müller's *Topographical Description of Albania*, the river Devol is made to join the Genussus or Skoumi, considerably north of the Apsus, though Colonel Leake's map

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lini, according to Skylax, were the northernmost Illyrian tribe: the Amantini, immediately northward of the Epirotic Chaonians, were the southernmost.

gives the correct course). In Grisebach's nomenclature, Skardus is made to reach from the Ljubatrin as its north-eastern extremity, south-westward and southward as far as the Klissoura of Devol: south of that point Pindus commences, in a continuation however of the same axis.

In reference to the seats of the ancient Illyrians and Macedonians, Grisebach has made another observation of great importance (vol. ii. p. 121). Between the north-eastern extremity, Mount Ljubatrin, and the Klissoura of Devol, there are in the mighty and continuous chain of Skardus (above 7000 feet high) only two passes fit for an army to cross: one near the northern extremity of the chain, over which Grisebach himself crossed, from Kalkandele to Prisdren, a very high *col*, not less than 5000 feet above the level of the sea; the other, considerably to the southward, and lower as well as easier, nearly in the latitude of Lychnidus or Ochrida. It was over this last pass that the Roman Via Egnatia travelled, and that the modern road from Scutari and Durazzo to Bitolia now travels. With the exception of these two partial depressions, the long mountain ridge maintains itself undiminished in height, admitting indeed paths by which a small company either of travellers, or of Albanian robbers from the Dibren, may cross (there is a path of this kind which connects Struga with Ueskioub, mentioned by Dr. Joseph Müller, p. 70, and some others by Boué, vol. iv. p. 546), but nowhere admitting the passage of an army.

To attack the Macedonians, therefore, an Illyrian army would have to go through one or other of these passes, or else to go round the north-eastern pass of Katschanik, beyond the extremity of Ljubatrin. And we shall find that, in point of fact, the military operations recorded between the two nations carry us usually in one or other of these directions. The military proceedings of Brasidas (Thucyd. iv. 124)—of Philip the son of Amyntas king of Macedon (Diodor. xvi. 8)—of Alexander the Great in the first year of his reign (Arrian, i. 5), all bring us to the pass near Lychnidus (compare Livy, xxxii. 9; Plutarch, Flaminin. c. 4); while the Illyrian Dardani and Autariatæ border upon Pæonia, to the north of Pelagonia, and threaten Macedonia from the north-east of the mountain-chain of Skardus. The Autariatæ are not far removed from the Pæonian Agrianes, who dwell near the sources of the Strymon, and both Autariatæ and Dardani threatened the return march of Alexander from the Danube into Macedonia, after his successful campaign against the Getæ, low down in the course of that great river (Arrian, i. 5). Without being able to determine the precise line of Alexander's march on this occasion, we may see that these two

Among the southern Illyrian tribes are to be numbered the Taulantii—originally the possessors, afterwards the immediate neighbours, of the territory on which Epidamnus was founded. The ancient geographer Hekataëus¹ (about 500 B.C.) is sufficiently well acquainted with them to specify their town Sesarêthus: he also named the Chelidonii as their northern, the Encheleis as their southern, neighbours; and the Abri also as a tribe nearly adjoining. We hear of the Illyrian Parthini, nearly in the same regions—of the Dassaretii², near Lake Lychnidus—of the Penestæ, with a fortified town Uscana, north of the Dassaretii—of the Ardiæans, the Autariatæ, and the Dardanians, throughout Upper Albania eastward as far as Upper Mœsia, including the range of Skardus itself; so that there were some Illyrian tribes conterminous on the east, with Macedonians, and on the south with Macedonians as well as with Pæonians. Strabo even extends some of the Il-

Illyrian tribes must have come down to attack him from Upper Mœsia, and on the eastern side of the Axios. This, and the fact that the Dardani were the immediate neighbours of the Pæonians, shows us that their seats could not have been far removed from Upper Mœsia (Livy, xlv. 29): the fauces Pelagoniæ (Livy, xxxi. 34) are the pass by which they entered Macedonia from the north. Ptolemy even places the Dardani at Skopiæ (Ueskioub) (iii. 9); his information about these countries seems better than that of Strabo.

¹ Hekataei Fragm. ed. Klausen, Fr. 66-70; Thucyd. i. 26.

Skylax places the Encheleis north of Epidamnus and of the Taulantii. It may be remarked that Hekataëus seems to have communicated much information respecting the Adriatic: he noticed the city of Adria at the extremity of the Gulf, and the fertility and abundance of the territory around it (Fr. 58: compare Skymnus Chius, 384).

² Livy, xliii. 9-18. Mannert (Geograph. der Griech. und Römer, part vii. ch. 9. p. 386 *seq.*) collects the points and shows how little can be ascertained respecting the localities of these Illyrian tribes.

lyrian tribes much farther northward, nearly to the Julian Alps¹.

With the exception of some portions of what is now called Middle Albania, the territory of these tribes consisted principally of mountain pastures with a certain proportion of fertile valley, but rarely expanding into a plain. The Autariatæ had the reputation of being unwarlike, but the Illyrians generally were poor, rapacious, fierce, and formidable in battle; they shared with the remote Thracian tribes the custom of tattowing² their bodies and of offering human sacrifices: moreover, they were always ready to sell their military service for hire, like the modern Albanian Schkipetars, in whom probably their blood yet flows, though with considerable admixture from subsequent immigrations. Of the Illyrian kingdom on the Adriatic coast, with Skodra (Scutari) for its capital city, which became formidable by its reckless piracies in the third century B.C., we hear nothing in the flourishing period of Grecian history: the description of Skylax notices in his day, all along the northern Adriatic, a considerable and standing traffic between

¹ Strabo, iv. p. 206.

² Strabo, vii. p. 315; Arrian, i. 5, 4-11. So impracticable is the territory, and so narrow the means of the inhabitants, in the region called Upper Albania, that most of its resident tribes even now are considered as free, and pay no tribute to the Turkish government: the Pachas cannot extort it without greater expense and difficulty than the sum gained would repay. The same was the case in Epirus or Lower Albania, previous to the time of Ali Pacha: in Middle Albania, the country does not present the like difficulties, and no such exemptions are allowed (Boué, Voyage en Turquie, vol. iii. p. 192). These free Albanian tribes are in the same condition with regard to the Sultan as the Mysians and Pisidians in Asia Minor with regard to the king of Persia in ancient times (Xenophon, Anab. iii. 2, 23).

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the coast and the interior, carried on by Liburnians, Istrians, and the small Grecian insular settlements of Pharos and Issa ; but he does not name Skodra, and probably this strong post (together with the Greek town Lissus, founded by Dionysius of Syracuse) was occupied after his time by conquerors from the interior¹, the predecessors of Agrôn and Gentius, just as the coast-land of the Thermaic Gulf was conquered by inland Macedonians.

Conflicts
and contrast
of
Illyrians
with
Greeks.

Once during the Peloponnesian war, a detachment of hired Illyrians, marching into Macedonia Lynkêstis (seemingly over the pass of Skardus a little east of Lychnidus or Ochrida), tried the valour of the Spartan Brasidas ; and on that occasion (as in the expedition above alluded to of the Epirots against Akarnania) we shall notice the marked superiority of the Grecian character, even in the case of an armament chiefly composed of helots newly enfranchised, over both Macedonians and Illyrians—we shall see the contrast between brave men acting in concert and obedience to a common authority, and an assailing host of warriors, not less brave individually, but in which every man is his own master², and fights as he pleases. The rapid and impetuous rush of the Illyrians, if the first shock failed of its effect, was succeeded by an equally rapid retreat or flight. We hear nothing afterwards respecting these barbarians un-

¹ Diodor. xv. 13 ; Polyb. ii. 4.

² See the description in Thucydidês (iv. 124–128) ; especially the exhortation which he puts into the mouth of Brasidas—*αὐτοκράτωρ μάχη*, contrasted with the orderly array of Greeks.

“Illyriorum velocitas ad excursionses et impetus subitos.”

(Livy, xxxi. 35.)

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til the time of Philip of Macedon, whose vigour and military energy first repressed their incursions, and afterwards partially conquered them. It seems to have been about this period (400–350 B.C.) that the great movement of the Gauls from west to east took place, which brought the Gallic Skordiski and other tribes into the regions between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, and which probably dislodged some of the northern Illyrians so as to drive them upon new enterprises and fresh abodes.

What is now called Middle Albania, the Illyrian territory immediately north of Epirus, is much superior to the latter in productiveness¹: though mountainous, it possesses more both of low hill and valley, and ampler as well as more fertile cultivable spaces. Epidamnus and Apollonia formed the seaports of this territory, and the commerce with the southern Illyrians, less barbarous than the northern, was one of the sources² of their great prosperity during the first century of their existence—a prosperity interrupted in the case of the Epidamnians by internal dissensions, which impaired their ascendancy over their Illyrian neighbours, and ultimately placed them at variance with their mother-city Korkyra. The commerce between these Greek seaports and the interior tribes, when once the former became strong enough to render violent attack from the latter hopeless, was reciprocally beneficial to both of them: Grecian oil and wine were introduced among these barbarians, whose chiefs at the same time learnt to appreciate the

Epidamnus and Apollonia in relation to the Illyrians.

¹ See Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, vol. i. ch. 23 and 24; Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa*, vol. ii. p. 138–139; Boué, *La Turquie en Europe*, *Géographie Générale*, vol. i. p. 60–65.

² Skymnus Chius, v. 418–425.

woven fabrics¹, the polished and carved metallic work, the tempered weapons, and the pottery, which issued from Grecian artisans. Moreover, the importation sometimes of salt-fish, and always that of salt itself, was of the greatest importance to these inland residents, especially for such localities as possessed lakes abounding in fish, like that of Lychnidus: we hear of wars between the Autariatæ and the Ardiaei, respecting salt-springs near their boundaries, and also of other tribes whom the privation of salt reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Romans². On the other hand, these tribes possessed two articles of exchange so precious in

¹ Thucydidês mentions the *ύφαντὰ καὶ λεῖα, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή*, which the Greek settlements on the Thracian coast sent up to king Seuthês (ii. 98): similar to the *ύφασμαθ' ἱερὰ*, and to the *χεριαρᾶν τεκτόνων δαίδαλα*, offered as presents to the Delphian god (Eurip. Ion. 1141; Pindar, Pyth. v. 46).

² Strabo, vii. p. 317; Appian, Illyric. 17; Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. c. 138. For the extreme importance of the trade in salt, as a bond of connection, see the regulations of the Romans when they divided Macedonia into four provinces, with the distinct view of cutting off all connection between one and the other: all *commercium* and *connubium* were forbidden between them: the fourth region, whose capital was Pelagonia (and which included all the primitive or Upper Macedonia, east of the range of Pindus and Skardus), was altogether inland, and it was expressly forbidden to draw its salt from the third region, or the country between the Axios and the Peneius; while on the other hand the Illyrian Dardani (situated northward of Upper Macedonia) received express permission to draw *their* salt from this third or maritime region of Macedonia: the salt was to be conveyed from the Thermaic Gulf along the road of the Axios to Stobi in Pæonia, and was there to be sold at a fixed price.

The inner or fourth region of Macedonia, which included the modern Bitoglia and Lake Castoria, could easily obtain its salt from the Adriatic, by the communication afterwards so well known as the Roman Egnatian way; but the communication of the Dardani with the Adriatic led through a country of the greatest possible difficulty, and it was probably a great convenience to them to receive their supply from the Gulf of Therma by the road along the Vardar (Axios) (Liv. xlv. 29). Compare the route of Grisebach from Salonichi to Scutari, in his *Reise durch Rumelien*, vol. ii.

the eyes of the Greeks, that Polybius reckons them as absolutely indispensable¹—cattle and slaves; which latter were doubtless procured from Illyria, often in exchange for salt, as they were from Thrace and from the Euxine, and from Aquileia in the Adriatic, through the internal wars of one tribe with another. Silver-mines were worked at Damastium in Illyria. Wax and honey were probably also articles of export, and it is a proof that the natural products of Illyria were carefully sought out, when we find a species of iris peculiar to the

¹ About the cattle in Illyria, Aristotle, *De Mirab. Ausc.* c. 128. There is a remarkable passage in Polybius, wherein he treats the importation of slaves as a matter of necessity to Greece (iv. 37). The purchasing of the Thracian slaves in exchange for salt is noticed by Menander—*Θράξ ἐγγυῆς εἶ, πρὸς ἄλλας ἡγορασμένοις*: see Proverb. Zenob. ii. 12, and Diogenian, i. 100.

The same trade was carried on in antiquity with the nations on and near Caucasus, from the seaport of Dioskurias at the eastern extremity of the Euxine (Strabo, xi. p. 506): so little have those tribes changed, that the Circassians now carry on much the same trade. Dr. Clarke's statement carries us back to the ancient world:—"The Circassians frequently sell their children to strangers, particularly to the Persians and Turks, and their princes supply the Turkish seraglios with the most beautiful of the prisoners of both sexes whom they take in war. In their commerce with the Tchernomorski Cossacks (north of the river Kuban), the Circassians bring considerable quantities of wood, and the delicious honey of the mountains, sewed up in goats' hides, with the hair on the outside. These articles they exchange for salt, a commodity found in the neighbouring lakes, of a very excellent quality. Salt is more precious, than any other kind of wealth to the Circassians, and it constitutes the most acceptable present which can be offered to them. They weave mats of very great beauty, which find a ready market both in Turkey and Russia. They are also ingenious in the art of working silver and other metals, and in the fabrication of guns, pistols and sabres. Some, which they offered us for sale, we suspected had been procured in Turkey in exchange for slaves. Their bows and arrows are made with inimitable skill, and the arrows being tipped with iron, and otherwise exquisitely wrought, are considered by the Cossacks and Russians as inflicting incurable wounds." (Clarke's Travels, vol. i. ch. xvi. p. 378.)

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country collected and sent to Corinth, where its root was employed to give the special flavour to a celebrated kind of aromatic unguent¹.

Nor was the intercourse between the Hellenic ports and the Illyrians inland exclusively commercial. Grecian exiles also found their way into Illyria, and Grecian myths became localised there, as may be seen by the tale of Kadmus and Harmonia, from whom the chiefs of the Illyrian Encheleis professed to trace their descent².

Early
Mace-
donians.

The Macedonians of the fourth century B.C. acquired, from the ability and enterprise of two successive kings, a great perfection in Greek military organization without any of the loftier Hellenic qualities: their career in Greece is purely destructive, extinguishing the free movement of the separate cities, and disarming the citizen-soldier to make room for the foreign mercenary whose sword was unhallowed by any feelings of patriotism—yet totally incompetent to substitute any good system of central or pacific administration. But the Macedonians of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. are an aggregate only of rude inland tribes, subdivided into distinct petty principalities, and separated from the Greeks by a wider ethnical difference even than

¹ Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 5, 2; ix. 7, 4; Pliny, *H. N.* xiii. 2; xxi. 19; Strabo, vii. p. 326. Coins of Epidamnus and Apollonia are found not only in Macedonia, but in Thrace and in Italy: the trade of these two cities probably extended across from sea to sea, even before the construction of the Egnatian way; and the Inscription 2056 in the Corpus of Boëckh proclaims the gratitude of Odëssus (Varna) in the Euxine Sea towards a citizen of Epidamnus (Barth, *Corinthiorum Mercatur.* Hist. p. 49; Aristot. *Mirab. Auscult.* c. 104).

² Herodot. v. 61; viii. 137; Strabo, vii. p. 326. Skylax places the *λίθοι* of Kadmus and Harmonia among the Illyrian Manii, north of the Encheleis (Diodor. xix. 53; Pausan. ix. 5, 3).