

Erechia in Epirus and the Foundation of Nikopolis

Models of Civilization in Strabo

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One possible starting point for the history of the Romanization of Northwestern Greece might be the victory of the Romans at Pydna followed by their cruel destruction of the cities of Epirus and the enslavement of what must have been the greater part of the inhabitants. This event has made a lasting impact on the way in which ancient authors relate the history of Roman Epirus, for a picture of ruined cities and landscapes emptied of their inhabitants and their former sources of wealth seems to overshadow the later history of Epirus. This picture has in fact hindered us from learning in more detail the history of Epirus from ancient authors. Epirus was left in its emptiness and needed no further interest from authors or readers. The plunderings of Sulla and more generally the fact that many of the decisive battles in the Roman civil wars were fought in Greece have only contributed to this picture.

One result of this meagre information for the history of Northwestern Greece in the last two centuries before our era is the still ongoing discussion of the question of truth in Strabo, when he speaks about the area's desolation and emptiness, *eremia*, seemingly down to Augustan times.

Some scholars have taken the text of Strabo at face value, but now the archaeological evidence seems to contradict this claim. The value of his remarks on the desolate landscape of Acharnania and Aetolia has recently been put in doubt by, for example, the German scholars from the Stratike survey.¹ Funke² connects Strabo's sombre picture with the author's more general idea of early Roman Greece as a Greece in decline. The studies of Susan

Alcock as well suggest that Strabo's remarks on a decadent Greece must be taken with a pinch of salt.³

"The general concurrence of the sources in their negative presentation of Roman Greece does not necessarily prove its truth, but rather the degree to which a rhetoric was shared: depopulation and decline had become natural ingredients for representations of a defeated Greece".

Alcock seems close to reducing Strabo's representation of Roman Greece to rhetoric and topicality. At the same time she advises us to assess the strengths and the limitations of the literary texts and it is that I intend to do in the reading of Strabo, which I will present in this paper, focusing on the vocabulary and the concepts used by Strabo to describe the development of Epirus in the Hellenistic and early Roman period. A prerequisite for this must be a general evaluation of the vocabulary he uses to define a geographical area politically and economically. What are his framework and his models? What are the images he wishes to create in his reader's mind and how do they reflect reality?

Erechia, desolation is not the only concept used by Strabo in his description of Epirus. He also uses barbarism. In a recent article⁴ Hatzopoulos first discusses the fact that the Epirotic tribes are called *barbaroi* by Strabo and other ancient authors, and then enumerates all the evidence for the Greekness of the Epirotes. They were Greek-speaking tribes, they traced their origin back to the Achaian heroes, shared their religion with other Greeks and had full access to the Panhellenic festivals, where only Greeks could take part.

What has not been discussed by Hatzopoulos in his article is why Strabo named the tribes of Epirus barbarians. The question is, does Strabo even dispute that the Epirotes were Greeks? It seems evident to me that Strabo when naming these tribes barbarians does not refer to their language⁵ or even to their Greekness and we have to look for other connotations of the word barbarian in the language of Strabo. Here, I will connect Strabo's concept of barbarism with his use of the concept of desolation, *eremia*.

It is important to keep in mind how Strabo places Epirus in his geographical map. It is found in Book 7, where Strabo treats Central Europe and the Balkans including Macedonia and Epirus. Then, in Book 8 he begins his description of the different areas of Greece. He quotes Ephorus when stating, that when you proceed from Illyria going south along the coast, Acharnania constitutes the beginning of Greece proper⁶. But Strabo does not make Acharnania a starting point for his description of Greece.

He envisages Greece as a continuous range of peninsulas and arranges his description according to this vision and he starts with the southernmost part the Peloponnesos, which he pronounces "the acropolis of Greece as a whole"⁷ – the smallest, but most renowned part (8. 2 ff.). It is treated in Book 8. Athens and Attica follow in Book 9. The last part of Book 9 and all of Book 10 contain descriptions of the rest of mainland Greece and the islands. Acharnania is found in Book 10. Strabo thus turns the expected geographical model upside down and creates a hierarchical system governed more by his historical and literary interests than by any geographical logic⁸.

Strabo and Epirus

In Strabo's geographical system we should thus not expect Epirus to be placed on any significant level.

Evidently, Strabo follows Ephorus in the opinion that Epirus is not really part of Greece. Epirus (and Macedonia) is

treated by Strabo together with the Balkans, before he begins his chapters on Greece (7. 7. 1).

"And even to the present day the Thracians, Illyrians and Epeirotes live on the edges [of Greece] (though this was still more the case formerly than now); indeed most of the country that at the present time is indisputably Greece is held by barbarians – Macedonia and certain parts of Thessaly by the Thracians, and the parts above Acarnania and Aetolia by the Thesproti, the Cassopaei, the Amphiloichi, the Molossi, and the Athamanes – Epirotic tribes."⁹

In book 7 (5. 1) we find the same opinion expressed, when Strabo enumerates the remaining areas of Europe, which he will treat in the following chapters: "In this part we find Greece and the tribes of the Macedonians and of the Epirotes." They are not part of Greece.

Yet, Strabo seems to have revised his view in Book 8 (1. 1), where Macedonia is included as a part of Greece:

"I have now encompassed in my survey all the barbarian tribes in Europe as far as the Tanais and also a small part of Greece, Macedonia. I shall now give an account of the remainder of the geography of Greece. This subject was first treated by Homer..."¹⁰

When we read a little further, we can see, however, that Strabo has not changed his view about Epirus:

"My account ended, on the west and the north, with the tribes of the Epeirotes and of the Illyrians, and, on the east, with those of the Macedonians as far as Byzantium. After the Epeirotes and the Illyrians, then, come the following peoples of the Greeks: the Acarnanians, the Aetolians, and the Ozolian Locrians."¹¹

As I have already stated: Strabo (8. 1. 3), quoting Ephorus, pronounces Acharnania the beginning (*arche*) of western Greece. Acharnania borders on the Epirotic tribes.

In 7. 7. 6 we get the following information: When one sails into to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, the coast on the right is inhabited by Greek Acarnanians, while on the left of the mouth Nikopolis and the Epeirote Cassopaeans are found.

Even in an Augustan context when Nikopolis is mentioned, a marked contrast between Greeks and Epirotes is expressed.

From these quotations of Strabo we can infer two things:

1) If we consider Strabo's geographical distribution of the landscapes of North-western Greece he seems to follow the ancient tradition when he does not make Epirus part of Greece. Its inhabitants are called *barbaroi*. What that designation means is not stated. He seems to use the word barbarian in the old and traditional sense: ethnically non-Greek. But it hardly makes sense. Even when Epirus is mentioned in an era, when Nikopolis constitutes a metropolis with Epirus as well as Acharnania and even part of Aetolia as its Hinterland, Strabo does not seem to modify or change his general opinion of Epirus. But he states that Macedonia now has become part of Greece.

2) The Epirotes are consistently called tribes, *ethne*, and that may infer an connotation of barbarism in the meaning of not-civilized.

The most discussed part of Strabo's description of Epirus is the one, in which he tells about the effects of the sack of Epirus which was ordered by the Roman senate as a reward to the soldiers of Aemilius Paulus for defeating king Perseus of Macedonia in 167 BC:

"Now although in earlier times the tribes in question were small, numerous and obscure, still, because of the density of their population and because they lived each under their own king, it was not at all difficult to determine their boundaries; but now that most of the country has become depopulated and the settlements, particularly the cities, have disappeared from

sight, it would do no good, even if one could determine their boundaries with strict accuracy, to do so, because of their obscurity and their disappearance. This process of disappearing began a long time ago, and has not yet entirely ceased in many regions because the people keep revolting; indeed, the Romans, after being set up as masters by the inhabitants, encamp in their very houses. Be this as it may, Polybius says that Paulus, after his subjection of Perseus and the Macedonians, destroyed seventy cities of the Epeirotes (most of which, he adds, belonged to the Molossi), and reduced to slavery one hundred and fifty thousand people. Nevertheless, I shall attempt, in so far as it is appropriate to my description and as my knowledge reaches, to traverse the several different parts, beginning at the seaboard of the Ionians Gulf – that is, where the voyage out of the Adria ends."¹²

Here we get the information that in an earlier period many, small, and unknown tribes lived in settlement (*katoikia*) among which there were cities (*poleis*). Because of their prospering populations (*euandria*) and the fact that they were ruled by a king, their boundaries were well defined. All in all, a very positive description of a community, which one would not expect to be described as barbarian. But this is the past, Strabo announces, now the area is depopulated (*eremos*), and as the cities have disappeared, there is no need to seek for boundaries. What remains is obscurity. The inhabitants have contributed to the disappearance of their cities by revolting (*apostaseis*). The process began long ago and has not yet stopped and that is why the Roman encamp in their houses, chosen as masters by the inhabitants, themselves.

One main problem with the text is to sort out the indications of time. "Earlier" clearly indicates the period before the Roman interference in Greece. "Now" must indicate Roman times, but it is difficult to decide if it indicates a period before or during the lifetime of the author or both. Which are the revolts mentioned in the text as still going on now? Can

they refer to the Roman civil wars in the first century BC, in which Greece was very often involved and during which Roman soldiers would encamp in the destroyed cities.

Or does “Now” rather designate the period going back to a time before Paulus’ intervention in Epirus, the description of which concludes Strabo’s discussion of the causes for the disappearance of cities? In that case Strabo wishes to tell us that Paulus’ sack of the cities put an end to the revolts and that afterwards the soldiers encamped in the ruined and empty cities. The revolts and Paulus’ destruction of the cities together caused the *eremia* in Epirus. In either case Strabo does not make further comments on this nor does he make himself a judge of the question of right or wrong, as Plutarch does in his biography of Paulus. Here (§29) he says, that the Roman Senate was to blame for the cruel and meaningless decision to sack Epirus, which Paulus had no opportunity to oppose and which he most unwillingly executed.

Strabo thus stresses the fact that in earlier times Epirus was characterized by *euandria* and *poleis*, a statement he repeats a little later in Book 7:

“Now although in those earlier times, as I have said, all Epirus and the Illyrian country were rugged and full of mountains, such as Tomarus and Polyanus and several others, still they were populous; but at the present time desolation prevails in most parts, while the parts that are still inhabited survive only in villages and in ruins. And even the oracle at Dodona, like the rest, is virtually extinct.”¹³

Summarizing here, we can state that Strabo gives us the following image of the development in Epirus:

Despite its rugged and mountainous character Epirus was formerly characterized by prospering cities. Now the cities have disappeared and the people live only in villages (*komedon*), and desolation (*eremia*) prevails.

How does this description fit into Strabo’s more general conception of civilization, as it has been pieced together from his various descriptions of people and places? In recent years especially French, Belgian, and Dutch scholars have made important contributions in this field¹⁴.

When one compares Strabo’s ethnographic descriptions it becomes clear that the concepts of civilization and barbarism are closely connected¹⁵ and that Strabo does not consider them opposites or mutually exclusive. Very seldom a people is considered as just barbarian. It will be defined less barbarian, more barbarian or most barbarian, that is more or less civilized. In principle, the further away from Roman civilization you are the more barbaric you are, but Strabo does not confine himself to a concentric model with Rome as the centre. He operates with many other factors. Barbarians are to be found inside the Roman Empire as well and one’s status as a barbarian can stem from the distance one lives from a given civilized centre. This phenomenon, called *ektopismós*, can also be caused by geographical or climatic conditions or social and political isolation. As to the climatic conditions, Strabo is in agreement with other ancient authors when he states, that the Mediterranean climate offers the best climate for highly developed civilization.

If we look at the geographical factor we find that people who live a nomadic life or a life in the mountains are normally considered barbarian, whereas people who live as farmers in the plains are placed on a much higher level of civilization. But to this can be added another factor: each people’s ability to make the best of the possibilities offered by nature even when provided with less than agreeable conditions.

When describing a landscape Strabo first estimates its physical potential and then the degree of development reached by its inhabitants. A landscape with few possibilities is pronounced rugged (*trachus*) whereas a landscape with optimal qualities is described with expressions like *eudaimo-*

nia, happiness, and *eukarpia*, rich in crops. Good conditions for agricultural basics – grain, wine, and olives, are essential to a life of happiness¹⁶.

The degree of civilization also manifests itself in the ability of a given society to organize itself socially and politically. In his general description of Europe in Book 2 (2. 5. 26) Strabo points to the Greeks as a good example of this principle: though occupying mountains and rocks, they used to live happily because they demonstrated forethought (*pronoia*) in politics, in the arts and in the science of living.

Strabo also presupposes the polis as the optimal basis for the politically well organized society. The highest degree of civilization is found in the highest degree of urbanization. So a polis-life based on agriculture is first on our list of civilized conditions. Tribes living in villages, although basing their life on agriculture, are to be placed on a much lower level on the scale.

Strabo places any given society on a scale ranging from a high degree of barbarism to a high degree of civilization. But he makes a very important addition: He sees Greek and Roman civilization as a catalyst in the ongoing process away from barbarism. He, however, speaks not only of progress. A society may also be reduced to a lower level of civilization, that is to say to a barbarism of sorts.

Strabo offers several examples of this reverse process. In 5. 4. 11 Strabo tells us the results of Sulla's subjugation of the Samnites: "And truly their cities (*poleis*) have now become mere villages (*komaî*) ...some have utterly vanished... No one of these deserves to be regarded as a city, but I, for my part, am thus going into detail,... because of the glory and power of Italy". In general Strabo does not think villages worthy of any mention, but he makes an exception here.

I would like to give two other examples of this process which, as well, can illuminate the conditions in Epirus as described by Strabo. In 3. 2. 15 he speaks of the Turdetanians in Spain:

"Along with the happy lot (*eudaimonia*) of their country, the qualities of both gentleness and civility have come to the Turdetanians; and to the Celtic peoples, too, on account of their being neighbours to the Turdetanians, as Polybius has said, or else on account of their kinship; but less so the Celtic people, because for the most part they live in mere villages (*komedon*). The Turdetanians, however,...have become Latins and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans. And the present jointly-settled cities (*synoikismenai poleis*), Pax Augusta in the Celtic country, Augusta Emerita in the country of the Turdulians, Caesar-Augusta near Celtiberia, and some other settlements (*katoikiaî*), manifest the aforesaid civil modes of life."

Strabo 3. 3. 5 mentions the tribes in the area of Tagus in Spain:

"...and although the country was blest (*eudaimon*) in fruits, in cattle, and in the abundance of its gold and silver and similar metals, most of the people had ceased to gain their livelihood from the earth, and were spending their time in brigandage and in continuous warfare both with each other and with the neighbours across the Tagus, until they were stopped by the Romans, who humbled them and reduced their cities (*poleis*) to mere villages (*komaî*), though they improved some of their cities by adding colonies thereto (*synoikizontes*). It was the mountaineers who began this lawlessness, as was likely to be the case..."¹⁷

In his book on *Barbarie et civilisation chez Strabon* Thollard¹⁸ has made a list of the concepts used by Strabo to denote barbarism and civilisation.

He lists the geographical conditions for barbarians: mountains, woods, a northern position, isolation. This is the opposite of non-barbarians living near the coast, in the plains, in contact with the Romans.

As to the economic resources the barbarians dwell in poor, rugged, frosty and barren landscapes¹⁹, while civilized regions

are blessed with happiness, excellent soil, and fertility²⁰

The barbarian way of living is characterized by permanent war conditions, brigandage, and negligence²¹, while the opposite is expressed with notions of peace, leisure, and agriculture²².

If we look at the social life of the barbarians we get a picture of unsociable persons, living in lawlessness in scattered villages, with their own dialect or language, living from day to day, without rules and education in contrast to those living in a civilized – that is Romanized way – in well ordered societies; law abiding citizens dwelling in cities.²³

To Thollard's list, one might add well-defined borders as another criterion for the well-ordered society.

If we compare the vocabulary used by Strabo to describe the development in Epirus with the afore mentioned definitions of barbarism/civilization which his text allows us to extract we get the following picture:

Despite its mountainous and rugged character and its tribal system Epirus was once able to produce cities (*poleis*) with a prospering population (*euandria*). A well organized society with well defined boundaries. A clear case of people fighting successfully against the poor conditions given by nature. It is tempting to compare this description with Strabo's general description of Greece quoted above, for the status given would hardly be characterized as barbarian. But the status of Epirus then changed, not following the expected line of progress. This change was caused first by the people revolting and finally by the destruction, which the Roman Senate ordered of most of the cities and the following enslavement of a large part of the population. Revolution, that is unlawful war, which could even be comparable to brigandage²⁴, is one of the signs of barbarism in the Strabonian model. Another indication is the change in settlements from cities to villages with no organization and no fixed boundaries. The country

has been depopulated (the opposite of the former *euandria*) and isolation/desolation prevails. This *ektopismos* is another indication of barbarism. So the reader of Strabo's text can reach only this conclusion:

From a former civilized status Epirus has regressed and now has all the symptoms of a reversed status, that of a barbarian state. And Strabo allows himself to conclude that as long as this country keeps a barbarian and less urbanized status, it is of no interest to his reader. Therefore, it requires no further comments from him²⁵ – at least not until the situation is changed again with the foundation of Nikopolis.

Eremia, isolation or desolation, is part of the definition of the non-urbanized, barbarian landscape with its inhabitants living in villages and is not, as far as I can see, an indication of the totally devastated landscape. As stated by Luigi Gallo, Strabo's use of the concept of *eremia* seems closely connected with the existence of cities; the fewer cities the more *eremia*; the more cities the more *euandria*. Strabo seems not to take the size of the cities into consideration²⁶. I wish to point out, that Nicopolis is an exception. This single city is considered reason enough for the *euandria* in this area.

In this connection I wish to mention Strabo's own definition of the term *ekleipsis*, "being extinct", which is found in his description of the tribes Talaes and Aethices, who lived in the Pindus mountains.

"The term *ekleipsis* is to be taken in one of two meanings; either the people vanished and their country has become utterly deserted, or else merely their ethnic name no longer exists and their political organisation no longer remains what it was. When, therefore, any present political organisation that survives from an earlier time is utterly insignificant, I hold that it is not worth mentioning, either itself or the new name it has taken; but when it affords a fair pretext for being mentioned, I must needs give an account for the change.²⁷

I feel convinced that *eremia* in relation to Epirus and to the future hinterland of Nikopolis is to be understood as *ekleipsis* in the second sense mentioned by Strabo: the political organisation no longer remains on its former level. The designation *eremia* is part of the vocabulary used by Strabo to describe a less urbanized country characterized by villages and isolated from larger urbanized centres.

At the same time he signals that this country is ready for a new step along the line of progress towards a higher degree of civilization, caused by the foundation of a new city by Caesar Augustus.

A similar model of development is mentioned by Strabo in connection with Spain as mentioned above, where new jointly-settled cities (*synoikismenai poleis*), and other settlements (*katoikiai*), were established as examples of the new civil mode. A jointly-settled city with surrounding, subordinate settlements is exactly the model that Strabo (7. 7. 6) tells us was used in the case of Nikopolis:

“In later times, however, the Macedonians and the Romans, by their continuous wars, so completely reduced both this [Ambracia] and the other Epeirote cities because of their disobedience that finally Augustus seeing that the cities had utterly failed, settled what inhabitants were left, in one city together – the city on this gulf which was named by him Nicopolis, and he so named it after the victory he won in the naval battle before the mouth of the gulf over Antony and Cleopatra the queen of the Egyptians, who was also present at the fight. Nicopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable territory and the adornments taken from the spoils of the battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct – one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other part being on the hill that is sacred to Apollo and lies above the grove. These games – the Actia, sacred to Actian Apollo – have been designated as Olympian, and

they are superintended by the Lacedaemonians. The other settlements are dependencies of Nikopolis. In earlier times also the Actian Games were wont to be celebrated in honour of the god by the inhabitants of the surrounding country – games in which the prize was a wreath – but at the present time they have been set in greater honour by Caesar.”

A new polis has been founded and it is blessed with *euandria*. It is surrounded by dependent settlements, *peripoloi katoikiai*.²⁸ Strabo used exactly the same vocabulary to describe the former higher status of urbanization in an Epirus ruled by kings, before the Greeks and the Macedonians, to quote Strabo (6, 4, 2), “revolted and led the Romans to conquer them”. Caesar Augustus seeing that the cities had failed (*ekleimmenas*) restored the landscape of Epirus to its former glory by creating a new and more developed example of urbanization, that is to say Nikopolis surrounded by subordinate settlements. Hereby he showed a foresight which is the prerequisite for the creation of a new city, – the same foresight (*pronoia*) that, according to Strabo (2. 5. 26), quoted above, was once shown by the Greeks. It is now part of the political ingeniousness of the Romans²⁹.

Augustus saw that the cities had failed (*poleis ekleimmenas*). I have already referred to Strabo’s use of the concept of *ekleipsis* and I shall repeat my interpretation of *ekleipsis* in this context as indicating a change from a higher to a lower level of civilization. Strabo does not want us to think that Augustus found a deserted and empty landscape with few inhabitants, but rather a landscape characterized by small scattered villages indicating a decayed, more simple, and, according to Strabo’s model, barbarian level of urbanization.

I am well aware that Strabo’s choice of material for his Geography is often dictated by a literary tradition going back to Homer, and that he did not always feel it necessary to describe the physical and social reality of a given geographical

locality,³⁰ – but I will not go so far as Susan Alcock does, when she says that our written sources especially Strabo are governed by rhetoric and topicality more than reality. Strabo has inherited the concept of barbarism in Epirus from authors such as Ephorus and Thucydides, but he has endeavored to fit the history of Epirus into his model of civilization and has incorporated his notion of barbarism as part

of it. But if one focus only on this concept and that of *eremia*, as well, out of their Strabonian context, the message of the text appears distorted and will not show us the reality which Strabo wished us to see. In my reading of Strabo this reality seems to be even more in accordance with the results of the archaeological investigations in the area.

Notes

NOTE 1

Lang 1994, Strauch 1996, 59 and 179, and Funke 1991, see note 2.

NOTE 2

Funke 1991, 184. Strabo writes for the educated reader. His use of commentaries to Homer, especially Apollodorus' Commentary to the Catalogue of Ships, shows his preference for Homer. Homer is a main source, but Strabo supplies with information from other authors, preferring historical informations to geographical ones. Cf. Baladié 1978, 7-14.

NOTE 3

Alcock 1993, 30.

NOTE 4

Hatzopoulos 1997, 140-145.

NOTE 5

Cf. Hammond in Sakellariou 1997, 60.

NOTE 6

Strabo 8. 1. 3.

NOTE 7

The translations of Strabo are by H. L. Jones (Loeb ed.). Strabo 8. 1. 3: "the acropolis of Greece as a whole; for apart from the splendour and power of the tribes that have lived in it, the very topography of Greece, diversified as it is by gulfs, many capes, and, what are the most significant, large peninsulas that follow one another in succession, suggests such hegemony for it".

In Strabo's hegemonic description the Peloponnesus is the first peninsula. A second peninsula embraces the first and extends from Pegae to Nisaia. The third includes the second and the first, extending from the Crisaean Gulf to Thermopylae. A larger fourth peninsula is created by drawing a line from the Ambracian Gulf to the Malia Gulf and Thermopylae, and this can be extended to an even larger peninsula starting again from the Ambracian Gulf, but reaching as far as the Thermaean Gulf and Thessalonike. It is unclear if he follows

Ephoros here, as maintained by Laserre in *Strabon*, Tome VII (Livre X), Paris 1971, 5.

NOTE 8

Cf. R. Baladié, *Strabon, Géographie*, Tome V (Livre VIII), Paris 1978, 3-4.

NOTE 9

Strabo 7. 7. 1. Cf. Baladié i *Strabon* Tome IV (Livre VII) Paris 1989, 133 note 9: Il se déduit de ce passage que, pour Strabon, la Macédoine, la Thessalie, l'Acarnanie et l'Étolie font partie de la Grèce. Ce ne fut pas toujours le cas pour la Macédoine; cf. livre VIII de la présente édition p. 50 n. 2. D'autre part, pour lui, les tribus épirotes (Thesprotes, Cassopaiens, Amphilochiens, Molosses, Athamanes) ne sont pas des Grecs.

NOTE 10

Cf. Baladié, in *Strabo*, Tome V (Livre VIII), Paris 1978, 215.

NOTE 11

Strabo 8. 1. 1. For the concept of barbarism in connection with Aetolia see Antonetti 1990, 134-143.

NOTE 12

Strabo 7. 7. 3.

NOTE 13

Strabo 7. 7. 9: τότε μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἶπον, καίπερ οὕσα τραχεῖα καὶ ὄρων πλήρης, Τομάρου καὶ Πολυάνου καὶ ἄλλων πλείονων, ὅμως εὐάνδρει ἢ τε Ἥπειρος πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς; νῦν δὲ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐρημία κατέχει, τὰ δ' οἰκούμενα κωμηδὸν καὶ ἐν ἐρειπίοις λείπεται. ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ πῶς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καθάπερ τᾶλλα. For the theme "past glory – present obscurity, see Alcock 1993, 26 ff. with reference to Gallo 1980.

NOTE 14

Cf. my bibliography. Among others the studies by van der Vliet 1984 and Thollard 1987 have been most useful to me.

NOTE 15

In the Strabonian vocabulary barbarian means not-civilized Cf. Van der Vliet 1984, 43-44 and Thollard 1987, 31: "En d'outre termes, le mot barbare n'a jamais désigné pour Strabon toute race qui n'était pas grecque mais tout peuple qui n'était pas civilisé.

NOTE 16

Cf. Van der Vliet 1984, 65-58; Thollard 1987, 9.

NOTE 17

Cf. Strabo 4. 1. 11 on the Allobroges:

"Formerly the Allobroges kept up warfare with many myriads of men, whereas now they till the plains and the glens that are in the Alps, and all of them live in villages [κωμηδὸν ζῶσιν], except that the most notable of them, inhabitants of Vienna (formerly a village, but called, nevertheless, the "metropolis" of the tribe), have built it up into a city [...κατεσκευάκασι πόλιν.]

NOTE 18

Thollard 1987, 8.

NOTE 19

ἡ λυπρότης τῆς γῆς, ἡ τραχύτης τῶν τόπων, αἱ πάχναι, ἄκαρπος.

NOTE 20

ἡ εὐδαιμονία τῆς γῆς, ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν τόπων, τὰ ἐμφύτα ἀγαθὰ οἷα κάρποι.

NOTE 21

ὁ συνεχὴς πόλεμος, τὸ πολεμεῖν, ληστεῖν, ἡ ὀλιγωρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

NOTE 22

ἡ εἰρήνη, ἡ σχολή, ἡ γεωργία.

NOTE 23

(unsociable, δυσεπίμικτος, lawless, ἡ ἀνομία, scattered living in villages, ἡ κώμη, κωμηδὸν ζῆν, κατὰ κώμας οἰκεῖν, own language or dialect, ἡ διάλεκτος, living from day to day, πρὸς ἀνάγκην ζῆν, with no rules and morality, μετὰ φαύλου

ἔθους/solidarity, τὸ κοινωνικὸν, το φιλάνθρωπον, law-abiding, ἡ εὐνομία living in a city, ἡ πολιτεία, ἡ πόλις, or a settlement, ἡ κατοικία, in a colony, ἡ ἀποικία, the Roman/Italic way, ὁ τῶν Ρωμαίων τρόπος, ὁ Ἰταλικὸς τύπος, *togatus*, live orderly, πρὸς διαγωγήν ζῆν.)

NOTE 24

For this theme, see Van der Vliet 1984, 66–67.

NOTE 25

Cf. Van der Vliet 1984, 79, who quotes Strabo for stating that the people living around Dodone had been barbarians (7, 7, 10, where Strabo refers to the Iliad 16, 235):

“Ainsi, pour le public civilisé auquel Strabon destine sa Géographie, il n’est ni intéressant ni agreable d’être informé en detail de ce sujet.”

NOTE 26

Gallo 1980, 1241–42.

NOTE 27

Strabo 9. 5. 12: ἐκλειπέναι δέ νῦν ιστοροῦνται. τὴν δ’ ἔκλειψιν διττῶς ἀκουστέον ἢ γὰρ ἀφανισθέντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς χώρας τελέως ἡρμηωμένης ἢ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἔθνικου μηκέτι ὄντος, μηδὲ τοῦ συστήματος διαμένοντος τοιούτου. ἦσαν οὖν ἄσημον τελέως ἢ τὸ λειπόμενον νυνί

σύστημα, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τίθεμεν οὐτ’ αὐτὸ οὔτε τοῦνομα τὸ μεταληφθέν, ὅταν δ’ ἔχη τοῦ μεμνήσθαι δικαίαν πρόφασιν, λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον τὴν μεταβολήν. Cf. Alcock 1993, 147–49.

NOTE 28

Cf. 10. 2. 2: *perioikides poleis*.

NOTE 29

Cf. van der Vliet 1984, 75–77 and Thollard 1987, 40 ff.

NOTE 30

Cf. Funke 1991, 184–185, for Strabo’s use of *eremia* in connection with Acharnania and Aetolia.

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