

JADRANSKI OTOCI U  
PSEUDO SKIMNOVOJ  
PERIEGEZI: DVIJE  
NAPOMENE

THE ADRIATIC ISLANDS  
IN THE PERIEGESIS OF  
PSEUDO-SCYMNUS:  
TWO REMARKS

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ABSTRACT

U ovom prilogu razmatraju se dva pitanja: (1) o redosljednosti otoka srednje Dalmacije u *Periegezi* koji se razlikuje u odnosu na većinu drugih antičkih vrela te (2) o interpretacijama i vrjednovanjima navodno iznimnog smještaja Diomedova otoka u *Periegezi*.

Poredbene analize ukazuju na osobitu povezanost otoka Visa (*Issa*) s Hiličkim poluotokom (*Perieg.* 413), donekle potvrđenu i u Apolonija Rođanina (*Argonaut.* 4, 565): dolazeći sa sjeverozapada, Vis se javlja kao prvi od srednjodalmatinskih otoka. Kako *Periegeza* izrijekom navodi i Timeja (*Perieg.* 412), zacijelo je ovaj autor prvi koji je ne samo Hile i njihov poluotok uveo u geografsku učenost nego je i istaknuo povezanost ovog poluotoka s Visom. Po svemu je to odjek vizualne povezanosti važne za antičke pomorce. Uostalom, analogni poredak, s Visom na

prvom mjestu (sada bez Hiličkog poluotoka), nalazimo i u Strabona (2, 5, 20; 7, 5, 5).

Drugo se tiče Diomedova otoka koji je u *Periegezi* (431 – 433) spomenut u, kako neki smatraju, sasvim neočekivanom kontekstu: spomenut je nakon Lihnidskog (Ohridskog) jezera, pa se pomišlja na to da je riječ o kultu na otočiću u Prespanskom jezeru, dakle daleko od Jadrana. No pomnija analiza opisa "ilirskog" odlomka ukazuje na to da se sve relacijske prostorne oznake u tekstu odnose na Iliridu, odnosno Ilire, pa nema razloga tražiti Diomedov otok izvan Jadrana (Palagruža). No ovdje se ističe da je stvarna "anomalija" *Periegeze* samo geografsko povezivanje Diomedova otoka s ilirskom zemljom, dok svi drugi izvori otok povezuju s najbližim dijelom Italije, Apulijom.

Ključne riječi: Pseudo Skymnova *Periegeza*, grčka plovidba Jadranom, Hilida, Timej, Diomedov otok

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with two issues: (1) sequence of the central Dalmatian islands in the *Periegesis* which is different than in most other ancient sources, and (2) interpretation and evaluation of allegedly exceptional location of the island of Diomedes in the *Periegesis*.

Comparative analyses indicate to special association of the island of Vis (*Issa*) with the Hyllaeian Peninsula (*Perieg.* 413), confirmed to a certain extent by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.* 4.565): Vis appears as the first of the central Dalmatian islands from the north-west. Since the *Periegesis* explicitly mentions Timaeus (*Perieg.* 412), this author was most probably the first not only to mention and introduce the Hylleis and their peninsula to geographic knowledge of the time but also to emphasize connections of this peninsula with Vis which seems to be a reflection of visual connections important for ancient sailors. We can also find analogous sequence with Vis in the first place (but without the Hyllaeian Peninsula) in Strabo (2.5.20; 7.5.5).

The second issue relates to the island of Diomedes in the *Periegesis* (431 – 433) mentioned in quite unexpected context according to certain opinions: it was mentioned after Lake Lychnidos (Ohrid), which was a basis for hypothesis about the cult on the islet in Lake Prespa, far from the Adriatic. However more extensive analysis of the "Illyrian" passage indicates that all relational spatial designations refer to Illyris i.e. Illyrians meaning that there is no reason to look for the island of Diomedes outside the Adriatic (Palagruža). This work focuses on the geographical association of the island of Diomedes with the Illyrian land as the actual "anomaly" of the *Periegesis*, while all other sources associate the island with the nearest part of Italy, Apulia.

Key words: Pseudo Skymnos' *Periegesis*, Greek navigation in the Adriatic, Hyllis, Timaios, Diomedes' Island

## I.

## O NARAVI DJELA

Djelo poznato pod nazivom Pseudo Skimnova *Periegeza* pripada osobitoj vrsti učenih geografskih spisa odmakle helenističke epohe. Didaktičke je naravi, a sastavljeno je u stihovima (jampski trimetar). Nastalo je, kako se danas smatra, oko 120. g. pr. Kr. Autor mu je nepoznat, no smatralo se isprva da bi to mogao biti Skimno Hijanin, pisac koji je živio u ranijem 2. st. pr. Kr. i, kako se iz malobrojnih fragmenata zaključuje, također je sastavio geografsko djelo.<sup>1</sup> Budući da se davno pokazalo da je ova atribucija neutemeljena, autor *Periegeze* označen je kao Pseudo Skimno.<sup>2</sup> *Periegeza* inače pripada skupu manjih geografskih djela koja su bila sačuvana u jedinstvenom kodeksu nastalom krajem antike, odnosno u ranobizantsko doba. Sačuvani dio prijepisa sada je u pariškoj Nacionalnoj knjižnici (*Parisinus suppl. gr. 443*; obilježava se siglom D). *Periegezu* i dio drugih djela ovog rukopisa objavio je 1855. Carl Müller u slavnoj ediciji *Geographi Graeci minores I.*<sup>3</sup>

U novije je vrijeme podrijetlo djela temeljito istražio J. Marcotte, u sklopu novoga francuskog projekta kritičkih izdanja grčkih geografskih djela, edicija koje bi trebale postupno zamijeniti djelom zastarjelo Müllerovo izdanje.<sup>4</sup> Marcotteov je glavni cilj bio preispitati složenu povijest samoga izvornog rukopisa kako bi još jednom provjerio podrijetlo i sudbinu kodeksa i njegov izvorni sadržaj, a samim time pokušao doznati i nešto više o samoj *Periegezi* i, eventualno, njezinu autoru. Zaključna Marcotteova teza mogla bi se sažeti na sljedeće. Čini se da bi autor, koji djelo posvećuje bitinijskom kralju Nikomedu, mogao biti sam Apolodor Atenjanin. Apolodor, rođen oko 180.

## I.

## ON THE NATURE OF THE TEXT

A work known as the *Periegesis* of Pseudo-Scymnus belongs to a special type of scholarly geographic texts of advanced Hellenistic epoch. It is didactic in style, consisting of verses (iambic trimeters). According to current estimates, it was written around 120 BC. The author is unknown, but at first Scymnus of Chios was assumed to have written the text. This writer lived in the early 2nd century BC and he also composed a geographical text as can be concluded from scarce fragments.<sup>1</sup> Since long time ago this attribution has proven to be incorrect, the author of the *Periegesis* was renamed to Pseudo-Scymnus.<sup>2</sup> The *Periegesis* belongs to a group of shorter geographical works preserved in a unique codex created at the end of Antiquity i.e. in the Early Byzantine period. Preserved segment of the transcript is presently kept in the National Library in Paris (*Parisinus suppl. gr. 443*; marked with sigla D). The *Periegesis* and some other works from this manuscript were published in 1855 by Carl Müller in a famous edition *Geographi Graeci minores I.*<sup>3</sup>

Recently the origin of the work has been investigated thoroughly by J. Marcotte within the new French project focused on publishing analytical editions of Greek geographic texts, which should gradually replace Müller's partially outdated edition.<sup>4</sup> Marcotte's main aim was to re-examine a complex history of the original manuscript in order to verify once more the origin and destiny of the codex and its original contents. In that way he also tried to learn more about the *Periegesis* and possibly its author. Final Marcotte's thesis might be summarized as follows: it seems that the author, who dedicated the work to King Nicomedes of Bithynia, might be Apollodorus

1 O Skimnu Hijaninu: F. GISINGER 1927: 661-672. Jedan od malobrojnih fragmenata spominje Hvar kao liburnski otok: fr. 6, v. F. GISINGER 1927: 667-668. Inače mi je nejasno zašto se u domaćoj literaturi javlja tvrdnja prema kojoj je Skimno logograf iz 5. st. pr. Krista.

2 Skimnovo autorstvo definitivno je odbacio A. Meineke, v. *Scymni Chii periegesis ... 1846*.

3 C. MÜLLER 1855: *Scymni Chii, ut fertur, Periegesis*, 196-237.

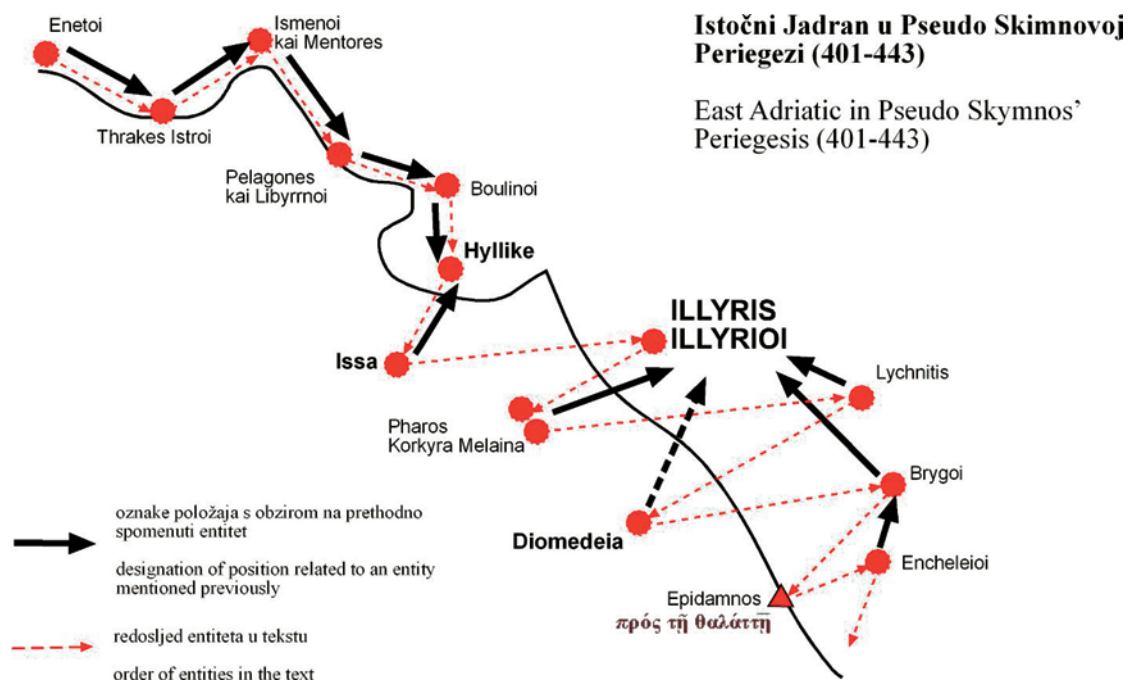
4 D. MARCOTTE 2000. Marcotte inače smatra da ime *Periegesis* (udomaćeno s posebnim obzirom na Müllerov autoritet) ne odgovara posve terminologiji antičke geografske književnosti, dok je u samom djelu upotrijebljen izraz *periodos tês gês*, "obilazak zemlje"; otuda Marcotteov izbor naslova, s francuskim prijevodom kao *Circuit de la Terre*. Ovdje ćemo se služiti tradicionalnim naslovom iz savim praktičnih razloga.

1 On Scymnus of Chios: F. GISINGER 1927: 661-672. One of scarce fragments mentions Hvar as Liburnian island: fr. 6, see F. GISINGER 1927: 667-668. It remains unclear why we can find a statement in domestic scholarly literature that Scymnus was a logographer from the 5th century BC.

2 Scymnus' authorship was definitely rejected by A. Meineke (*Scymni Chii periegesis et Dionysii descriptio Graeciae*, Berlin 1846).

3 C. MÜLLER 1855: *Scymni Chii, ut fertur, Periegesis*, 196-237.

4 D. MARCOTTE 2000. Marcotte believes that the name *Periegesis* (accustomed with particular regard of Müller's authority) does not correspond completely to terminology of ancient geographic literature, while term *periodos tês gês* "circuit of the earth" was used in the text, which is why Marcotte chose the title *Circuit de la Terre* in French. We will use traditional title for quite practical reasons.



KARTA I.

MAP I.

g. pr. Kr., poznat je kao autor niza djela: opsežne *Kronike* u jampskim trimetrima (autor *Periegeze* ističe da odatle preuzima taj metar), dviju knjiga komentara o Katalogu brodova iz *Ilijade*, velikog spisa *O bogovima* te geografskog djela, također u jampskim trimetrima. Ovaj Apolodorov spis, kako sačuvani fragmenti svjedoče, očividno nije isto što i naša *Periegeza*. Marcotte pretpostavlja da je Apolodor u stvari napisao dva geografska djela, oba u stihovima i oba s didaktičkom namjenom, s tim što je djelo poznato pod naslovom (Pseudo Skimnova) *Periegeza*, dijelom sačuvana rukopisnom predajom, načinjena kao “horografija”, opis svijeta na tradicionalni način, s podacima o povijesti i etnografiji pojedinih predjela i naroda. Drugo djelo, koje poznajemo po malo-brojnijim fragmentima, imalo bi značaj geografije u strožem smislu. Ova distinkcija (horografija/geografija) helenistička je tečevina, a potječe od Eratostena, velikog učenjaka iz 3. st. pr. Kr., alexandrijskoga zlatnog razdoblja. Podrazumijevalo se da geografija u užem smislu riječi, ili naprosto geografija, sadrži podatke u kojima se svijet prikazuje na temelju astronomskih i matematičkih elemenata. Apolodor, koji je nedvojbeno pisao slijedeći Eratostena, držeći se čak i Eratostenova redosljeda opisa Sredozemlja (obrnuto od smjera kazaljke na satu, što je suprotno od tradicionalnoga grčkog opisivanja), sastavio je svoj geografski spis u dvije knjige; prva bi odgovarala “teorijskim” izlaganjima prema sadržaju prvih dviju

of Athens. Apollodorus who was born around 180 BC is known as the author of numerous works: extensive *Chronicles* in iambic trimeters (the author of the *Periegesis* emphasizes that he accepted the meter from this source), two books of commentaries on the Catalogue of Ships from the *Iliad*, large essay *On the Gods*, and a geographical text, also in iambic trimeters. This Apollodorus’ text evidently does not correspond to our *Periegesis* as confirmed by preserved fragments. Marcotte assumes that Apollodorus actually wrote two geographical works, both in verse and both with a didactic purpose. The first work, according to Marcotte, (Pseudo-Scymnos’) *Periegesis*, partially preserved in manuscripts, was made as “chorography”, world description in a traditional way, with information on history and ethnography of certain regions and nations. The other work, known from scarce fragments, has more strictly geographical character. This distinction (chorography/geography) is a Hellenistic idea, envisaged by Eratosthenes, great scholar from the 3rd century BC, the golden age of Alexandria. Geography *sensu stricto* or simply geography was meant to contain information in which the world was represented on the basis of astronomical or mathematical elements. Apollodorus who undoubtedly wrote in accordance with Eratosthenes’ principles, accepting even his sequence of descriptions of the Mediterranean (counterclockwise, which is opposed to traditional Greek manner of description) composed his geographical work in two books: the first one corresponding to “theoretic-

Eratostenovih knjiga, dok bi druga Apolodorova knjiga odgovarala trećoj knjizi Eratostenove geografije.<sup>5</sup>

Marcotte dakle pretpostavlja da je Apolodor, pored ove “znanstvene” geografije koju je objavio pod svojim imenom, također napisao i drugo djelo horografskog značaja (to jest našu *Periegezu*), ali, iz nekih razloga, ne pod svojim imenom.<sup>6</sup> Daljnja proučavanja možda će potvrditi ispravnost hipoteze.

Glede datacije djela, Marcotte smatra da svi elementi koji pružaju uporišta za datiranje ukazuju na godine oko 120. – 110. pr. Kr. U dokazivanju je dovoljno uvjerljiv te se mogu definitivno odbaciti ranija mišljenja o postanku djela oko 90. g. pr. Krista.<sup>7</sup>

Marcotteovo izdanje donosi i neke promjene u čitanju od kojih je najznatnija, ukoliko se tiče Jadrana, ona koja se odnosi na poredak stihova 391 – 401: po Marcotteu, stihovi 395 – 401 u Mülleru, posvećeni Eridanu i pričama o jantaru, dolaze prije stihova posvećenih narodima oko gornjeg Jadrana (od Eneta do Mentora, 391 – 394 Müller), pa bi tako tekst dobio suvisliji izgled.<sup>8</sup> Što se pak tiče sadržaja, Marcotte se pretežito ograničio na sažete komentare, dok je glede bibliografije napravio izbor onoga što je korisno odnosno prijeko potrebno.

U ovom prilogu bavim se dvama pitanjima. Prvo je u vezi sa slijedom opisa otoka srednje Dalmacije, koji zaslužuje više pozornosti s obzirom na (pomorsku) geografiju i s obzirom na druga antička vrela. Drugo se tiče Diomedova otoka koji je u *Periegezi* spomenut u, kako se nekima čini, sasvim neočekivanom kontekstu.<sup>9</sup>

## 2.

### HILIČKI POLUOTOK I ISA

2.1. Uvodno bih napomenuo da Pseudo Skimno dijelom slijedi stariju grčku zemljopisnu predaju prema kojoj južni i dio srednjeg Jadrana pripadaju Jonskom moru odnosno zaljevu (ili “kanalu, prolazu” – *póros*).<sup>10</sup> Tako u njega tek nakon Mesapijaca i Ombrika dolazi Jadransko more.

5 D. MARCOTTE 2000, pos. 35-46.

6 D. MARCOTTE 2000.

7 D. MARCOTTE 2000, datacija.

8 D. MARCOTTE 2000.

9 O istočnom Jadranu u Pseudo Skimnovoj *Periegezi* pregledno M. KOZLIČIĆ 1990: 144-166, s korisnim napomenama o navigacijskim aspektima.

cal” presentations in accordance with the first two Eratosthenes’ books while the second book of Apollodorus would correspond to the third book of Eratosthenes’ geography.<sup>5</sup>

Marcotte assumes that Apollodorus, in addition to this “scientific” geography, which was published under his name, also wrote another work, chorographic in character (i.e. our *Periegesis*), but for some reason, not under his name.<sup>6</sup> Further research might confirm the validity of this hypothesis.

Regarding the dating, Marcotte believes that all elements important for dating indicate to the period around 120–110 BC. His argumentation is convincing enough, and earlier opinions about the origin of the work around 90 BC can definitely be abandoned.<sup>7</sup>

Marcotte’s edition features some changes in reading. The most important alteration, if relating to the Adriatic, is the one referring to the sequence of verses 391–401: according to Marcotte, verses 395–401 in Müller, dealing with Eridanos and stories about amber, come before the verses about the nations around the Upper Adriatic (from Enetoi to Mentores, 391–394, Müller), providing the text with a more orderly appearance.<sup>8</sup> As for the contents, Marcotte was focused on brief commentaries while regarding the bibliography he made a selection of what was useful or necessary.

In this article I deal with two issues. The first one is related to the sequence of descriptions of the islands of central Dalmatia, which merits more attention considering both the (maritime) geography and other ancient sources. The other issue deals with the island of Diomedes, which is, according to certain opinions, mentioned in the *Periegesis* in a quite an unexpected context.<sup>9</sup>

## 2.

### HYLLAEAN PENINSULA AND ISSA

2.1. As an introduction I would like to mention that Pseudo-Scymnus partially repeats an earlier Greek geographical tradition which positions southern and some of central Adriatic in the Ionic Sea i.e. bay (or “channel, strait” – *póros*).<sup>10</sup> In his account thus the Adriatic Sea comes after the Messapians and Umbrians.

5 D. MARCOTTE 2000, esp. 35-46.

6 D. MARCOTTE 2000.

7 D. MARCOTTE 2000, dating.

8 D. MARCOTTE 2000.

9 About the eastern Adriatic in Pseudo-Scymnus’ *Periegesis* concisely M. KOZLIČIĆ 1990: 144-166, with useful remarks on navigation aspects.

Pseudo Skimno napominje da je o Jadranu pisao Teopomp (369 – 370) i njegovih se vijesti očividno drži u čitavom početnom dijelu opisa Jadrana. Prema Teopompu donosi i prve podatke o jadranskim otocima: tamo su otoci nalik Kiklaskim i dijele se na Apsirtide i Elektride te na Liburnide (372 – 374). Nešto dalje, govoreći o Histrima, spominje dva otoka koji daju izvrstan kositar (D. MARCOTTE 2000: 399-400, C. MÜLLER 1855: 392-393). U nastavku su spomeni Ismena i Mentora “iznad” Histra, pa Pelagonaca (inače na Jadranu nepoznatih) i Liburna te njima susjednih Bulina (401 – 404). Prema onomu što *Periegeza* ovdje sadrži, reklo bi se da se opis temelji na starijoj grčkoj geografskoj tradiciji, počevši s Hekatejem; Teopomp koji djeluje u drugoj polovici 4. st. pr. Kr., kako se čini, i sam slijedi ove predaje.

Pseudo Skimno međutim, u najmanju ruku počevši s Hiličkim poluotokom i Hilima, poseže za nešto mlađim vrelima. Slijedi naime prikaz Hiličkog poluotoka: velik poput Peloponeza, na njem je 15 gradova, nastavaju ga Hili, podrijetlom Heleni koje je utemeljio Hilo, i koji su se s vremenom pobarbarili (405 – 411); sve to pak kažu Timej i Eratosten (412: ὡς φασὶ Τίμαιος τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης). Pa iako se radi o autorima koji su djelovali u 3. st. pr. Kr., jezgra njihova kazivanja zacijelo potječe iz starijeg doba.<sup>11</sup> Moguće je da ju valja povezati s odnosima koje je Korkira održavala i sa srednjodalmatinskim područjem u svom najsretnijem razdoblju (između ranog 6. i prvih dviju trećina 5. st. pr. Kr.).<sup>12</sup> Pri tomu se ipak čini da su upravo Timej i Eratosten zaslužni za to da je hilejska predaja (skupa s Hiličkim poluotokom) prihvaćena u helenističkoj učenosti.<sup>13</sup>

U ovoj prigodi međutim ukazujem na osobito geografsko određenje otoka Visa, odnosno njegovo povezivanje s Hiličkim poluotokom uz uočljivo odvajanje od drugih spomenutih srednjodalmatinskih otoka, Hvara i Korčule.

Radi lakšeg praćenja izlaganja donosimo sažet pregled ističući elemente kojima se izriču geografski odnosi:

Pseudo-Scymnus mentions that Theopompus wrote about the Adriatic (369–370) and he evidently used his information in the entire initial part of the description of the Adriatic. He also presents the first information about the Adriatic islands in accordance with Theopompus: the islands are similar to the Cyclades, and they comprise of Apsyrtides, Electrides and Libyrnides (372 – 374). Further on, discussing the Histrians, he mentions two islands which give excellent tin (D. MARCOTTE 2000: 399-400, C. MÜLLER 1855: 392-393). In the continuation he mentions Ismenoi and Mentores “above” the Histrians, then the Pelagonians (otherwise unknown in the Adriatic) and Liburnians, and neighbouring Boulinoi (401 – 404). Judging from the contents of this part of the *Periegesis*, it seems that the description was based on an earlier Greek geographic tradition, starting from Hecataeus; Theopompus himself, who was active in the second half of the 4th century, seems to follow these traditions.

However, Pseudo-Scymnus consults somewhat younger sources, at least starting with the Hyllaeian Peninsula and the Hylleis. Namely, a description of the Hyllaeian Peninsula is as follows: as large as Peloponnese, it has 15 cities, inhabited by the Hylleis, Hellen by origin, founded by Hyllos, they were gradually barbarized (405 – 411); all this is also found in both Timaeus and Eratosthenes (412: ὡς φασὶ Τίμαιος τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης). Although these authors lived and worked in the 3rd century BC, the core of their stories must have been older.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that it should be associated with the relations Corcyra had with central Dalmatian region in its most prosperous period (from the early 6th century to the first two thirds of the 5th century BC).<sup>12</sup> In that regard it seems that Timaeus and Eratosthenes are meritorious for introducing the Hyllaeian story (together with the Hyllaeian Peninsula) into the Hellenistic scholarly tradition.<sup>13</sup>

On this occasion I would like to point out a special geographic identification of the island of Vis i.e. its association with the Hyllaeian Peninsula and its evident detachment from other already mentioned central Dalmatian islands, Hvar and Korčula.

For a better comprehension of the following paragraphs, a brief overview with the emphasis on elements related to geographical relations is now presented:

10 *Perieg.* 361-362: Μετὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς Ἴόνιος πόρος κεῖται.

11 V. dalje u vezi s Hilima (odjeljak 2.2.)

12 S. ČAČE 2002.

13 Iscrpno o Hilima i njihovu poluotoku R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 387-398; usp. također 101-105 (s obzirom na odgovarajuće mjesto Apolonijeva epa *Argonautika*).

10 *Perieg.* 361-362: Μετὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθὺς Ἴόνιος πόρος κεῖται.

11 More on the Hylleis see in the Ch. 2.2.

12 S. ČAČE, 2002.

13 Extensively on the Hylleis and their peninsula R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 387-398; cf. also 101-105 (considering the corresponding place in the Apollonius' epic *Argonautica*).

- (1) O Hilima i poluotoku, 405 – 411.
- (2) O svemu tome kazuju Timej i Eratosten, 412.
- (3) Odmah potom (413 – 414) o Visu:  
 Νῆσος κατ'αὐτοὺς δ' ἔστιν Ἴσση λεγομένη,  
 Συρακοσίων ἔχουσα τὴν ἀποικίαν.  
 “Kod ovih (sc. Hila) je otok zvan Isa, koji ima naseobinu Sirakužana.”
- (4) O Iliridi i Ilirima, 415 – 425, počinjući s:  
 Ἡ δ' Ἰλλυρίς μετὰ ταῦτα παρατείνουσα γῆ  
 “Ilirska se pak zemlja proteže nakon toga (sc. Hila i Visa) ...”
- (5) S ilirskom zemljom ili točnije s Ilirima jasno su povezani Hvar i Korčula (426 – 428):  
 Φάρος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν κειμένη  
 νῆσος Παρίων κτίσις ἔστιν ἢ τε λεγομένη  
 Μέλαινα Κόρκυρ', ἣν Κνίδιοι κατόικισαν  
 “Nedaleko od ovih (sc. Ilira) leži Far, otok koji je naseobina Parana te zvana Crna Korkira koju su naselili Knidžani.”

Dvije stvari zavrjeđuju pozornost. S jedne strane veoma je važno što je *Periegeza*, osim donekle spornih mjesta u Diodora (15, 13, 4 i 14, 2), jedino antičko vrelo koje izrijeком spominje da su Isu osnovali Sirakužani. Uzevši u obzir činjenicu da je Timej povjesničar zapadnih Grka i sam rodом sa Sicilije, čini se vjerojatnim da taj podatak u *Periegezi* potječe od njega.<sup>14</sup> Naslućuje se dakle Timejeva dobra obaviještenost o Visu i tamošnjem grčkom polisu, pa je dopušteno smjelije suditi i o drugom aspektu koji nas ovdje posebno zanima: kako se vidi iz prethodnog pregleda odgovarajućeg odjeljka *Periegeze*, Vis je geografski povezan s **Hilima**, dok se druga dva otoka arhipelaga javljaju tek kasnije, u sklopu sadržajno nove cjeline, izričito povezani s **Ilirima**. Ta nova, “ilirska” cjelina naznačena je i izričajem “poslije toga” (μετὰ ταῦτα). Po svoj prilici taj prijelaz nije odjek Timejeva izlaganja, već rezultat postupka autora *Periegeze* koji je procijenio da će mu za sljedeću veliku cjelinu, Iliridu, bolje poslužiti neki drugi izvor (možda Efor).<sup>15</sup>

- (1) On the Hylleis and the peninsula, 405 – 411.
- (2) As Timaeus and Eratosthenes say, 412.
- (3) Immediately afterwards (413 – 414) on Issa:  
 Νῆσος κατ'αὐτοὺς δ' ἔστιν Ἴσση λεγομένη,  
 Συρακοσίων ἔχουσα τὴν ἀποικίαν.  
 “Near them (sc. Hylleis) is an island called Issa, with a settlement of the Syracusans.”
- (4) About Illyria and the Illyrians, 415 – 425, starting with:  
 Ἡ δ' Ἰλλυρίς μετὰ ταῦτα παρατείνουσα γῆ  
 “The land of Illyris spreading beyond it (sc. the Hylleis and Vis) ...”
- (5) Hvar and Korčula are clearly associated with the Illyrian land or more precisely with the Illyrians (426 – 428):  
 Φάρος δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν κειμένη  
 νῆσος Παρίων κτίσις ἔστιν ἢ τε λεγομένη  
 Μέλαινα Κόρκυρ', ἣν Κνίδιοι κατόικισαν  
 “Pharos lies not far from them (sc. Illyrians), an island which is the settlement of the Parians, and the so-called Black Korkyra, which was settled by the Knidians.”

Two issues merit attention. On one hand it is important that the *Periegesis* is the only text from antiquity, apart for somewhat dubious segments in Diodorus (15, 13, 4 and 14, 2), which explicitly states that Issa was founded by the Syracusans. Since Timaeus was the historian of western Greeks and of Sicilian origin, it seems highly likely that this information in the *Periegesis* can be associated with him.<sup>14</sup> We can assume that Timaeus was well informed about Vis and Greek polis on this island so we can consider more freely another aspect which is of particular interest in this instance: as evident from the previous overview of the corresponding segment of the *Periegesis*, Vis had been associated with the Hylleis in geographical terms, while two other islands of the archipelago appeared later on, within the new unit and contents, and explicitly associated with the *Illyrians*. This new, “Illyrian” unit was designated with an expression “after that” (μετὰ ταῦτα). In all likelihood this transition was not reflection of Timaeus’ text, but a result of the procedure of the *Periegesis*’ author who estimated that some other source (perhaps Ephorus) would be more useful for the following large unit dealing with Illyria.<sup>15</sup>

14 Jacoby je sve stihove 405 – 414, dakle i vijest o Isi, uključio u Timejev F 77. Novije studije posvećene Timeju: L. PEARSON 1987 i R. VATTUONE 1991.

15 F. GISINGER 1927: 683, citira starija mišljenja.

14 Jacoby included all verses 405 – 414, thus the information on Issa as well, in Timaeus’ F 77. Recent studies dealing with Timaeus: L. PEARSON 1987 and R. VATTUONE 1991.

15 F. GISINGER 1927: 683, cites earlier opinions.

2.2. Navedeno mjesto u *Periegezi* ipak ne donosi najstarije svjedočanstvo povezivanja Hiličkog poluotoka s Isom. Više od stoljeća stariji spjev *Argonautika* Apolonija Rođanina sadrži slične podatke. Prikazavši kako su Argonauti našli privremeno zaklonište kod Hila, Apolonije je prilično opširno prepričao predaju o podrijetlu i sudbini Hila te ponešto o njihovu poluotoku (4, 522 – 551). Argonauti potom nastavljaju svoju plovidbu:

- 562 ἀλλ' ἔθεον γαίης Ὑλληίδος ἐξανιόντες  
τηλόθι, τὰς δ' ἀπέλειπον ὅσαι Κόλχοισι πάροιθεν  
ἐξείης πλήθοντο Λιβυρνίδες εἰν ἅλι νῆσοι,  
565 Ἴσσα τε Δυσκέλαδός τε καὶ ἱμερτὴ Πιτύεια·  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τῆσι παραὶ Κέρκυραν ἴκοντο,  
ἔνθα Ποσειδάων Ἀσωπίδα νάσσατο κούρην,  
ἠύκομον Κέρκυραν, ἐκάς Φλειουντίδος αἴης,  
ἀρπάζας ὑπ' ἔρωτι· μελαινομένην δὲ μιν ἄνδρες  
570 ναυτίλοι ἐκ πόντοιο κελαινῆ πάντοθεν ὕλη  
δερκόμενοι, Κέρκυραν ἐπικλείουσι Μέλαιναν·  
τῆ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Μελίτην ...

“A oni su žurno plovili udaljujući se od Hilejske zemlje i ostavljali su iza sebe u moru Liburnske otoke koji su prije bili puni Kolšana svi po redu: Isa, Diskelad i dražesna Pitieja; a zatim su iza njih stigli do kraja Kerkire gdje je Posejdon nastanio djevojku, kćer Asopovu Kerkiru, lijepe kose, daleko od Flijuntske zemlje, pošto ju je bio oteo zbog ljubavne želje; a ljudi mornari je iz mora gledaju kako se crni sa svih strana od tamne šume i zovu je Crna Kerkira. A iza nje su prolazili kraj Melite...”<sup>16</sup>

Jasna slika rasporeda otoka donekle je zamagljena spomenom Diskelada i Piteje, dvaju otoka koje nije moguće sigurnije identificirati; samo se pretpostavlja da bi se moglo raditi o Braču i Hvaru.<sup>17</sup> U svakom slučaju, među otocima nakon Hilejske zemlje na prvom mjestu je Vis. Vodeći računa o naravi teksta, uvijek se može dvojiti oko toga je li Apolonije doista dosljedno poštovao raspored koji je našao u svojem vrelu. No, u najmanju ruku jednaku težinu ima pretpostavka prema kojoj bi raspored otoka u vrelu bio sačuvan. Ovomu ponešto težine dodaje i povezanost Hilejske zemlje i Visa.

16 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 101-102.

17 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 101-102, 109, 190-191.

2.2. However, mentioned place in the *Periegesis* does not represent the oldest testimony of the association of the Hyllaeian Peninsula with Issa. The epic *Argonautica* by Apollonius Rhodius contains similar information, though it was written over a century earlier. After describing how the Argonauts found refuge in the Hyllaeian land, Apollonius told a story about the origin and destiny of the Hylleis rather extensively (4, 522-551). Then the Argonauts continued their journey:

- 562 ἀλλ' ἔθεον γαίης Ὑλληίδος ἐξανιόντες  
τηλόθι, τὰς δ' ἀπέλειπον ὅσαι Κόλχοισι πάροιθεν  
ἐξείης πλήθοντο Λιβυρνίδες εἰν ἅλι νῆσοι,  
565 Ἴσσα τε Δυσκέλαδός τε καὶ ἱμερτὴ Πιτύεια·  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τῆσι παραὶ Κέρκυραν ἴκοντο,  
ἔνθα Ποσειδάων Ἀσωπίδα νάσσατο κούρην,  
ἠύκομον Κέρκυραν, ἐκάς Φλειουντίδος αἴης,  
ἀρπάζας ὑπ' ἔρωτι· μελαινομένην δὲ μιν ἄνδρες  
570 ναυτίλοι ἐκ πόντοιο κελαινῆ πάντοθεν ὕλη  
δερκόμενοι, Κέρκυραν ἐπικλείουσι Μέλαιναν·  
τῆ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Μελίτην ...

“But far onward they sped starting from the Hyllaeian land, and they left behind all the islands that were beforetime thronged by the Colchians - the Liburnian isles, isle after isle, Issa, Dysceladus, and lovely Pityeia. Next after them they came to Corcyra, where Poseidon settled the daughter of Asopus, fair-haired Corcyra, far from the land of Phlius, whence he had carried her off through love; and sailors beholding it from the sea, all black with its sombre woods, call it Corcyra the Black. And next they passed Melite...”<sup>16</sup>

Clear image of the island distribution is somewhat dimmed by the introduction of Dysceladus and Pityeia, two islands which are difficult to define with certainty; it is assumed that they may be Brač and Hvar.<sup>17</sup> Anyhow, Vis takes the first place among the islands after the Hyllaeian land. Having in mind the character of the text we can doubt whether Apollonius respected the sequence from his source. Still, the possibility that the distribution of the islands from the source was preserved is equally feasible, which is further supported by the association of the Hyllaeian land and Vis.

16 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 101-102. (Translator's note: English translation has been quoted from: *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica*, English translation by Robert Cooper Seaton (1853-1915), from the Loeb Edition of 1912).

17 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 101-102, 109, 190-191.

Valja spomenuti da na ovom mjestu uočavamo tragove dviju različitih predaja. Na jednoj strani je pisanje Teopompa koji Liburnima pripisuje većinu istočnojadranskih otoka, dakle i srednjodalmatinskih. No, iz ostataka Teopompova djela ne može se ništa zaključiti ni o tome je li Teopomp spominjao Hile i njihov poluotok, ni o njegovu rasporedu pojedinih istočnojadranskih otoka. S druge strane, ne znamo kako je Timej prikazao otočje jer osim navedenog spomena Visa, drugih podataka nema.

Koliko nam je poznato, predaju o “korkirskom” Hilu, Hilima i njihovu poluotoku prvi iznosi Timej. No, predaja ima veću starinu, kako je naglasio Katičić:<sup>18</sup> pjesnik Panijasis već je u ranijem 5. st. pr. Kr. znao za predaju o dva Heraklova sina imenovana po maloazijskoj rijeci Hilu,<sup>19</sup> dok je Tukidid na dva mjesta (3, 72 i 81) spomenuo Hilajsku luku na Korkiri, očevidno nazvanu po lokalnom Hilu. Taj mit o sherijskom (korkirskom) Hilu mora da je nastao u ranom razdoblju korkirskog polisa. Predaja o jadranskim Hilima mogla bi biti nešto mlađa i mogla bi se povezati s procvatom Korkire, odnosno u razdoblju od njezina osamostaljivanja od Korinta u ranom 6. stoljeću pa do kriza koje počinju u posljednjoj trećini 5. stoljeća pr. Krista. Panijasis i Tukidid u 5. st. pr. Kr. svjedoče o starini mita o korkirskom Heraklovu Hilu, a time čine i uvjerljivim i tvrdnju da je mit o jadranskim Hilima nastao u razdoblju korkirskih plovidbi duboko uz istočnu stranu Jadrana.

\* \* \*

Inače, valja još navesti da u prikazivanju srednjodalmatinskog otočja – polazeći od sjevera – još neki antički izvori na prvo mjesto stavljaju Vis.

Najprije Strabon u 2. knjizi nakon Apsirtida, Kuriktike i Liburnida navodi Isu, Tragurij pa Crnu Korkiru i Far (2, 5, 20: Λιβυρνίδες, ἔτι δ' Ἴσσα καὶ Τραγοῦριον καὶ ἡ Μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καὶ Φάρος). Potom pak u 7. knjizi, spomenuvši Liburnide, nastavlja da slijede drugi otoci od kojih su najpoznatiji Isa, Tragurij i Far (7, 5, 5: αἱ Λιβυρνίδες ... εἶτ' ἄλλαι νῆσοι, γνωριμώταται δ' Ἴσσα, Τραγοῦριον, Ἰσσεῶν κτίσμα, Φάρος ἢ πρότερον Πάρος, Παρίων κτίσμα ...).

I u Ptolemeja je Vis postavljen prije ostalih otoka srednje Dalmacije (2, 16, 9), što bi moglo biti odjek navedene grčke geografske predaje.

We need to mention that here we can notice traces of two different traditions. On the one hand is the account of Theopompus who ascribes most of the eastern Adriatic islands to the Liburnians, including the central Adriatic ones. However, from the rest of Theopompus' text we do not know if he mentioned the Hylleis and their peninsula, nor the distribution of certain eastern Adriatic islands. On the other hand we do not know how Timaeus represented the islands as there are no other information except for the mention of Vis.

To the best of our knowledge, story about “Corcyraean” Hyllos, Hylleis and their peninsula was first presented by Timaeus. But this tradition is older still, as emphasized by R. Katičić:<sup>18</sup> poet Panyassis in the early 5th century BC knew the story of two sons of Heracles named after river Hyllus in Asia Minor,<sup>19</sup> while Thucydides mentioned in two instances the Hillaean port on Corcyra, evidently named after local Hyllos (3, 72 and 81). This myth about Scherian (Corcyraean) Hyllos must have been created in the early period of the Corcyraean polis. Story about the Adriatic Hylleis might be somewhat younger and it might be associated with flourishing of Corcyra, i.e. the period since it achieved independence from Corinth in the early 6th century up to the crises starting in the last third of the 5th century BC. Panyassis and Thucydides in the 5th century BC testify how ancient was the myth about the Corcyraean Heracles' Hyllos, supporting the thesis that the myth about the Adriatic Hylleis was created during the Corcyraean voyages deep along the eastern Adriatic coast.

\* \* \*

It is worth mentioning that some other ancient sources in their descriptions of the central Adriatic islands place Vis to be the first starting from the north.

First Strabo in his second book, after Apsyrtes, Cyrictica and Libyrnides mentions Issa, Tragurion, then Black Corcyra and Pharos (2, 5, 20: Λιβυρνίδες, ἔτι δ' Ἴσσα καὶ Τραγοῦριον καὶ ἡ Μέλαινα Κόρκυρα καὶ Φάρος). Then in the seventh book, after mentioning Libyrnides, he continues that there are other islands, most famous being Issa, Tragurion and Pharos (7, 5, 5: αἱ Λιβυρνίδες ... εἶτ' ἄλλαι νῆσοι, γνωριμώταται δ' Ἴσσα, Τραγοῦριον, Ἰσσεῶν κτίσμα, Φάρος ἢ πρότερον Πάρος, Παρίων κτίσμα ...).

Ptolemy also places Vis before other islands in central Dalmatia (2, 16, 9), which may also represent a reflection of the mentioned Greek geographic tradition.

18 Iscrpno u R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 395-396, 397-398.

19 Sholijast uz *Argonaut.* 4, 1149.

18 Extensively in R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 395-396, 397-398.

19 Scholias on *Argonaut.* 4, 1149.



Iz navoda u ostalim relevantnim vrelima ili se ne da ništa određeno zaključiti (Mela 2, 114; usp. do neke mjere i otočki niz u Ravenjanina 407-408) ili se Vis javlja u sklopu srednjodalmatinskog skupa (Plinije 3, 152; Peutingerova karta; Itin. Ant. 519, 3-4 - 520, 1-2).

2.3. Pri kraju priloga osvrnuo bih se na tri aspekta problematike: o značaju Hiličkog poluotoka, zatim o nekoliko opaski o navigaciji te o toponomastičkim pojavama.

Kako smo spomenuli, predaja o Hilima i njihov poluotok ulaze u učenu grčku geografiju zahvaljujući Timeju. Premda je zanimanje učenosti svakako potaknulo osnivanje grčkih gradova na srednjodalmatinskim otocima u ranijem 4. st. pr. Kr., čini se vjerojatnim da je predaja starijega datuma i da potječe s Korkire. Arheološka slika u tom pogledu još uvijek nije dovoljno jasna, ali ima znakova da je grčki utjecaj doista dopro do onoga što se nazvalo Hiličkim poluotokom već i prije osnivanja helenističkih naselja (Tragurij, Resnik/Sikuli). U svakom slučaju, doista se čini da je Hilički poluotok krajnja periferija svijeta koji su Grci doživljavali kao svoj. I možda nije slučajno došlo do promjene na početku helenističkog doba, u periodu kada poduzetni Isejci osnivaju uporišta na kopnu i učvršćuju veze sa susjednim domorodačkim zajednicama, kako na otocima tako i na kopnu. U neku ruku je osnivanje svetišta, kulnog mjesta posvećena Diomedu na rtu Ploča moglo označiti intenzivniji odnos s hiličkim prostorom.<sup>20</sup>

Kako mi se pak čini, ono izdvajanje Visa iz srednjodalmatinskog otočja, a napose njegovo povezivanje s Hiličkim poluotokom, doista bi moglo biti odrazom osobita položaja otoka u kontekstu plovidbe ovim dijelom Jadrana. Dosadašnja razmatranja uloge rta Ploča (Diomedov rt), a oslanjajući se na davna Lučićeva izlaganja, dovoljno ukazuju na osobitost morskog prostora koji dijeli srednjodalmatinsko otočje od sjevernijega zadrsko-šibenskog otočja.

Riječ je o akvatoriju koji je otvoren prema pučini. Ovaj akvatorij, računajući od Žirja kao najjužnijeg otoka Šibenskog otočja, do dvaju položaja na jugu, sjeverne obale Visa odnosno rta Pelegrina (krajnji zapadni rt Hvara), mjeri nepu-

Other relevant sources either offer no specific information (Mela 2, 114; cf. to a certain extent insular series in the Ravenna Cosmography, 407-408) or Vis appears within the central Adriatic group (Pliny 3, 152; Peutinger Map; Itin. Ant. 519, 3-4 - 520, 1-2).

2.3. Finally, I would like to discuss three more aspects of the issue: importance of the Hyllaeian Peninsula, few remarks on navigation and toponomastic phenomena.

As was already mentioned, the myth of the Hylleis and their peninsula entered scholarly Greek geography owing to Timaeus. Although scholarly interest was incited by foundation of the Greek cities on the central Dalmatian islands in the early 4th century BC, it seems that the myth was even older and that it originated from Corcyra. Archaeological evidence in that respect is not clear enough, but there are indications that Greek influence actually reached what was called the Hyllaeian Peninsula even before the Hellenistic settlements were founded (Tragurion, Resnik/Siculi). Anyhow, it seems that the Hyllaeian Peninsula was the utter periphery of the world that the Greeks experienced as their own. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that a change happened at the beginning of the Hellenistic period when enterprising Issaeans founded strongholds on the mainland and intensified connections with neighbouring native communities, on the islands as well as on the mainland. In a certain way foundation of a sanctuary, cult place dedicated to Diomedes on Cape Ploča, may have marked more intensive relation with the Hyllaeian area.<sup>20</sup>

However, in my opinion, singling Vis out from the central Dalmatian islands, and particularly its association with the Hyllaeian Peninsula might really be a reflection of the island's special position in the context of maritime routes in this part of the Adriatic. Previous considerations on the role of Cape Ploča (Diomedes' cape), based on the old Lučić's works, indicate that the maritime zone which divides central Dalmatian islands from the more northerly islands of Zadar and Šibenik was quite distinctive.

This maritime zone faces the open sea. It measures approximately 40 nautical miles from Žirje as the southernmost island of the Šibenik archipelago, to two positions in the south, northern coast of the

20 Prvi prikaz nalazišta: ČAČE 1997; cjeloviti prikazi rezultata istraživanja BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2002; BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2004; v. također ČAČE – ŠEŠELJ 2005. Obuhvatna studija nalazišta i kulturno-povijesnog konteksta u neobjavljenoj disertaciji ŠEŠELJ 2010.

20 First description of the site: ČAČE 1997; complete publications of the research results BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2002; BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2004; also ČAČE – ŠEŠELJ 2005. Comprehensive study of the site and cultural-historical context in unpublished dissertation ŠEŠELJ 2010.

nih 40 nautičkih milja. To je razdaljina koju mora prevaliti brod “duge plovidbe” koji plovi prema sjevernijim lukama Jadrana duž istočnojadranske rute. Upola je kraća razdaljina za brodove koji također kreću prema sjevernijim lukama, ali polazeći iz neke luke šireg okruženja Salone (Tragurij, Resnik/Sikuli, Salona, Split, Epetij...) ploveći kroz Šoltanski ili Drvenički kanal. Izašavši dakle na ovo relativno otvoreno more, pomorac se mora držati uočljivih orijentacijskih točaka. Upravo u tom pogledu ključno značenje ima sam Vis, čiji su strmi obrisi izvanredno uočljivi i na velikoj udaljenosti. Na suprotnoj, sjevernoj strani javlja se nekoliko šibenskih otoka s brdima iznad stotinu metara nadmorske visine, ali se najbolje uočava i najkorisniji je obris Žirja jer je to ujedno i posljednji otok Šibenskog arhipelaga računajući od kopna prema pučini. Polazeći od ovih zapažanja, uzevši u obzir i osobite meteorološke uvjete akvatorija na koje je davno upozorio Lučić, čini se da je u *Periegezi*, zacijelo s dobrim razlogom, istaknuta ova navigacijska relacija Visa i Hiličkog poluotoka.<sup>21</sup>

S gornjim bi moglo biti povezano i otočje Keladuse (*Celadussae*) koje spominje Plinije (*Nat. hist.* 3, 152). Nagađa se da bi to bilo ime Kornata, ali prave potpore takvoj procjeni zapravo nema. Značajno je da se radi o nesumnjivo grčkom imenu, što podrazumijeva da je riječ o elementu imenovanja nastalom u pomoračkom krugu, onoj sredini u kojoj je dominirao grčki jezik. Kada se pak promotri Plinijev tekst, čini se ispravnije pretpostaviti da su Keladuse zapravo Šibensko otočje, niz otoka i otočića posloženih u redove dinarskog smjera, od Prvića i Zlarina u prvom redu do kopna pa do Žirja prema pučini. Prema prethodnim zapažanjima, navigacijsko značenje, napose Žirja, nedvojbeno je.<sup>22</sup> No, ovdje je najvažniji Plinijev tekst.

island of Vis and Cape Pelegrin (peripheral western cape of Hvar). This distance had to be crossed by the “long-distance” sailing ship, sailing along the eastern Adriatic route towards the more northerly ports of the Adriatic. The distance for the ships sailing towards the northern ports was cut in half if they started from some port of the wider Salona region (Tragurion, Resnik/Siculi, Salona, Split, Epetion...) and continued sailing through the channels of Šolta or Drvenik. After going to this relatively open sea, a sailor had to rely on noticeable landmarks. Vis was crucial in that regard as its steep outline was easily observable even at great distances. On the opposite, northern side, several islands of the Šibenik archipelago have hills over a hundred meters high, but the contour of Žirje is most distinct and most useful as it is the last island in the Šibenik archipelago and the farthest one from the mainland. Based on these observations, and having in mind particular meteorological conditions of this maritime zone, which were recognized by Lučić a long time ago, it seems that this navigational relation between Vis and the Hyllaeian Peninsula was emphasized in the *Periegesis*, probably with a good reason.<sup>21</sup>

The archipelago of *Celadussae* mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* 3, 152) might be associated with the aforementioned. It is assumed that this might be the name of Kornati, but there are no arguments to support this thesis. It is important that this was undoubtedly Greek name which implies that it was a naming element formed in maritime circles, the community that predominately used the Greek language. If we observe Pliny's text, it seems more reasonable that *Celadussae* were actually the Šibenik archipelago, i. e. a series of islands and islets spreading in Dinaric direction (NW – SE), from Prvić to Zlarin in the first row next to the mainland up to Žirje positioned towards the open sea. On the basis of previous considerations navigational importance of this area, and of Žirje in particular, is beyond doubt.<sup>22</sup> Regarding this issue it is the Pliny's text that is the most relevant:

21 LUČIĆ 1986: 198-203; usp. KOZLIČIĆ 1990: 158-162.

22 Ovdje upućujem na nešto opširnija razlaganja u prilogu “Šibensko otočje u antičkim vrelima”, u: *Toponimija Šibenskog otočja*, Biblioteka Onomastica Adriatica, knj. 7, Centar za jadranska onomastička istraživanja, Sveučilište u Zadru (u tisku).

21 LUČIĆ 1986: 198-203; cf. KOZLIČIĆ 1990: 158-162.

22 I refer to somewhat more comprehensive considerations in the work “Šibensko otočje u antičkim vrelima” (“Šibenik islands in ancient sources”), in *Toponimija Šibenskog otočja (Toponymy of the Šibenik archipelago)* Biblioteka Onomastica Adriatica, vol. 7, Centar za jadranska onomastička istraživanja, Sveučilište u Zadru (forthcoming).

*Contra Iader est Lissa et quae appellatae, contra Liburnos Crateae aliquot nec pauciores Liburnicae, Celadussae, contra Tragurium Bova et capris laudata Brattia, Issa civium Romanorum et cum oppido Pharia ...*<sup>23</sup>

“Spram Jadera je Lisa i one koje su spomenute, spram Liburna Krateje i ne manje brojne Liburnike, Keladuse, spram Tragurija Bova i po kozama hvaljena Bratija, Isa rimskih građana i Farija s gradom ...”

Ne ulazeći u probleme restitucije ovog stavka koji je u rukopisima znatno iskvaren,<sup>24</sup> ostajemo kod proste konstatacije: nakon što su navedeni otoci pred sjevernom Dalmacijom, zaključno s Liburnskim otočjem (*Liburnicae*), spomenute su Keladuse, a nakon njih Čiovo uz Trogir (*contra Tragurium Bova*), Brač (*Brattia*), Vis (*Issa*) i Hvar (*Pharia*). Drugim riječima, držeći se geografskog kriterija, Keladuse bi trebale biti ono otočje koje se nalazi između srednjodalmatinskog otočja s jedne i Zadarskog otočja s druge.

Kako smo spomenuli, grčko imenovanje upozorava na navigacijsku relevantnost otočja, isto ono na što nas upućuje i sprega Hilički poluotok – Vis u *Periegezi*.

### 3.

#### DIOMEDOV OTOK

3.1. Kako smo već naveli, nakon spomena Ise u *Periegezi* slijedi duži odlomak posvećen Ilirima, njihovoj zemlji i običajima, kao i otocima i ponekim susjednim etnijama (stihovi 415 – 433). U sklopu te cjeline nalazi se i spomen Diomedova otoka koji bi se, prema nekim mišljenjima, mogao nalaziti ne na Jadranu već u unutrašnjosti, u pograničnom pojasu između Ilirije i Makedonije. Pregledavši tekst, razmotrit ćemo argumente na kojima se temelji ovaj začudni smještaj Diomedova otoka.

Spomenutu cjelinu tvori nekoliko tematski jasno označenih užih “jedinica”.

(A) O Ilirima i njihovim običajima i ustroju (415 – 425). Uznoseći vrline ilirskih običaja i načina života, ovaj stavak gotovo je jedinstven u antičkoj književnosti koja nerijetko za Ilire nije nalazila lijepih riječi.

23 Prema izdanju ZEHACKER 1998.

24 V. u ZEHACKER 1998: 115.

*Contra Iader est Lissa et quae appellatae, contra Liburnos Crateae aliquot nec pauciores Liburnicae, Celadussae, contra Tragurium Bova et capris laudata Brattia, Issa civium Romanorum et cum oppido Pharia ...*<sup>23</sup>

“Opposite to Iader are Lissa and the islands already mentioned; opposite the Liburnians are the Crateae, and an equal number called the Liburnicae and Celadussae; opposite Tragurium Bavo and Brattia, the latter celebrated for its goats, Issa *civium Romanorum* and Pharia, on which there is a town ...”

The problems regarding the restitution of this fragment of text which is quite garbled in manuscripts<sup>24</sup> are not going to be discussed here but merely recognised: after the islands in front of northern Dalmatia were listed, including the Liburnicae (Liburnian islands), Celadussae were mentioned, and then Čiovo alongside Trogir (*contra Tragurium Bova*), Brač (*Brattia*), Vis (*Issa*), and Hvar (*Pharia*). In other words, and in accordance with geographical criterion, Celadussae should be the islands between the central Dalmatian islands and the archipelago of Zadar.

As already mentioned, Greek naming indicates to navigational importance of the islands, as well as the connection Hyllaeian Peninsula – Vis in the *Periegesis*.

### 3.

#### THE ISLAND OF DIOMEDES

3.1. As already stated, in the *Periegesis*, after Issa is mentioned, there is a long passage dealing with the Illyrians, their land and customs, islands and some neighbouring ethnic groups (verses 415 – 433). Within this unit the island of Diomedes is mentioned, which, according to certain opinions, may be located not on the Adriatic coast but in the hinterland, in the border zone between Illyria and Macedonia. After an overview of the text, we will consider the arguments on which this surprising location of the island of Diomedes is based.

This unit consists of several smaller, thematically clearly designated “units”.

(A) On the Illyrians, their customs and structure (415 – 425). Glorifying virtues of the Illyrian customs and way of life, this part is almost unique in ancient literature which rarely describes the Illyrians in a positive way.

23 After the edition ZEHACKER 1998.

24 See in ZEHACKER 1998: 115.

(B) Slijedi prikaz dvaju otoka na kojima se nalaze grčke naseobine: parska na Faru, knidska na Crnoj Korkiri (426 – 428). Smještaj ovih otoka određen je izrazom “nedaleko od ovih” (τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν), dakle Ilira.

(C) Poslije toga spominje se veliko jezero, Lihnidsko (Ohridsko, 429 – 430). Položaj jezera određen je izrazom “kod njih” (παρ αὐτοῖς), dakle i opet Ilira.

(D) U stihovima 431 – 433 govori se o Diomedovu otoku:

Προσεχῆς δὲ νῆσός ἐστιν, οὗ φασὶν τινες  
ἐλθόντα Διομήδην ὑπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον:  
ὅθεν ἐστὶ Διομήδεια ταῦτη τοῦνομα.

“U blizini je otok kamo kažu da je došao Diomed i tamo ostavio život; odatle mu je ime Diomedov otok.”<sup>25</sup>

(E) Spomenom Diomedova otoka, kako se čini, zaključena je “iliriska” cjelina: u nastavku se spominju Brigi (434) – kako će se dalje vidjeti, dobro je pogledati i odgovarajući stih:

Ἐπὲρ δὲ τούτους εἰσὶ Βρυῖοι βάρβαροι.  
“Poviše ovih su barbari Brigi.”

I ovdje je smještaj određen s obzirom na Ilire: “poviše ovih (sc. Ilira)” (Ἐπὲρ δὲ τούτους).

Potom u nastavku obale prema jugu slijede Epidamno i drugo, uz napomene o odgovarajućem zaleđu.

3.2. Vratimo se Diomedovu otoku. Ovakav smještaj unutar teksta naveo je dio znanstvenika da pretpostave kako u *Periegezi* Diomedov otok zapravo također pripada tom istom predjelu u zaleđu, negdje nedaleko Ohridskog jezera. Hammond je pretpostavio da je riječ o otočiću na Prespanskom jezeru, u blizini Ohrida i, barem okvirno, u oblasti gdje se inače traže Brigi.<sup>26</sup> U svom komentaru Marcotte pak napominje da stihovi 429 – 434 govore o unutrašnjosti naspram obalnih oblasti te da bi stoga možda valjalo prihvatiti Hammondovu sugestiju.<sup>27</sup>

U prikazu sadašnjeg stanja istraživanja Diomedova kulta na Jadranu Maria Paola Castiglioni kaže da Pseudo Skimno jedini smješta Diomedov otok “u posve različit geografski kontekst, na jezero Lihnid (današnje Ohridsko jezero ...”, precizirajući da se radi o Malom Prespanskom jezeru

(B) Then there is a description of two islands with Greek settlements: Parian on Pharos and Knidian on Black Corcyra (426 – 428). Locations of these islands were defined with an expression “close to these” (τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν), meaning the Illyrians.

(C) After that he mentions a large lake, Lychnidos (Ohrid, 429 – 430). The position of the lake was defined with an expression “beside them” (παρ αὐτοῖς), again the Illyrians.

(D) Verses 431 – 433 speak about the island of Diomedes:

Προσεχῆς δὲ νῆσός ἐστιν, οὗ φασὶν τινες  
ἐλθόντα Διομήδην ὑπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον:  
ὅθεν ἐστὶ Διομήδεια ταῦτη τοῦνομα.

“The next island, some say, is where Diomedes ended his life, whence its name Diomedea.”<sup>25</sup>

(E) Mention of the island of Diomedes represents the end of the “Illyrian” unit: in the continuation the Brygians are mentioned (434) – as we will see further on, it is reasonable to observe the following verse:

Ἐπὲρ δὲ τούτους εἰσὶ Βρυῖοι βάρβαροι.  
“Beyond these are barbarian Brygians.”

The position is also defined in relation to the Illyrians: “above these (sc. Illyrians)” (Ἐπὲρ δὲ τούτους).

Epidamnos and other settlements follow southwards down the coast, with remarks about corresponding hinterland.

3.2. But let us return to the island of Diomedes. This position in the text led some scholars to assume that the island of Diomedes in the *Periegesis* actually also belonged to this area in the hinterland somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Ohrid. Hammond assumed that it was an islet in Lake Prespa, near Ohrid and at least broadly in the region presumably inhabited by the Brygians.<sup>26</sup> In Marcotte’s commentary we read that verses 429 – 434 describe hinterland as opposed to coastal regions so that Hammond’s suggestion may possibly be accepted.<sup>27</sup>

In the overview of current state of exploration of Diomedes’ cult on the Adriatic, Maria Paola Castiglioni states that only Pseudo-Scymnus positions the island of Diomedes “in a completely different geographic context, on Lake Lychnidus (modern Lake Ohrid ...”, specifying that it was an island in Lake

25 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 371.

26 N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 93, n.3.

27 D. MARCOTTE 2000: 204.

25 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 371.

26 N. G. L. HAMMOND 1967: 93, n.3.

27 D. MARCOTTE 2000: 204.

kod Ohridskog na kojem je otočić s ostatcima iz (grčke) antike, koji su sami po sebi nedovoljni kao potvrda Diomedova kulta na tom mjestu. Zaključuje da “the literary passage in question is too obscure and isolated to be seriously considered”.<sup>28</sup>

No radi li se doista o tome da tekst *Periegeze* nužno upućuje na unutrašnjost kopna i je li doista ovaj navod toliko “taman” i “izoliran” da ga ne bi trebalo “ozbiljno razmotriti”?

Valja istaknuti da je još C. Müller primijetio da se stavljanje Diomedova otoka uz ilirsku obalu, osim u *Periegezi*, nigdje drugdje ne javlja.<sup>29</sup> Ali nije posumnjao u to da je riječ o otoku na Jadranu. Gotovo stoljeće i pol kasnije ni drugi vrsni filolog, Katičić, nije drukčije shvatio navedeni stavak iz *Periegeze*.<sup>30</sup>

U prikazima antičke geografije autori se služe različitim postupcima u nastojanju da izraze prostorne odnose pojedinih pojava. U *Periegezi* se načelno, prateći obalu Sredozemlja, autor drži zadanog redoslijeda. Ipak, došavši do složenijeg sklopa kao u slučaju Ilirije, autor će posegnuti za “radijalnim” rasporedom: sve pojave prostorno su određene s obzirom na Ilire. Kako smo prikazali prethodno (B-E), svaka je pojava definirana odrednicom prostorne relacije: (B) otoci Far i Crna Korkira su “nedaleko od ovih (sc. Ilira)” (τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν); (C) Lihnidsko jezero je “kod njih (sc. Ilira)” (παρ αὐτοῖς); (D) Diomedov otok je “u blizini” (προσεχῆς); (E) Brigi su “poviše ovih (sc. Ilira)” (ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτους).

Prema svemu, najuvjerljivije je tumačenje prema kojem je “blizina” Diomedova otoka određena time što se nalazi “u blizini” Ilira.

3.3. Nama se pak čini da je zanimljivije nešto drugo: činjenica da je *Periegeza* jedini antički izvor koji Diomedov otok povezuje s Ilirima, na što je upozorio već C. Müller. Ovdje je zapravo suviše navoditi sve spomene u antičkoj književnosti u kojima je Diomedov otok (otoci) u pravilu smješten uz Apuliju.<sup>31</sup> Jedinu vezu s Ilirima nalazimo u Antonina Liberala koji govori o napadu Ilira na

Small Prespa near Lake Ohrid, with remains from (Greek) antiquity which are insufficient as confirmation of Diomedes’ cult at this spot. She concludes that “the literary passage in question is too obscure and isolated to be seriously considered”.<sup>28</sup>

But does the *Periegesis* text necessarily indicate to the mainland interior and is this segment really that “obscure” and “isolated” to prevent its “serious consideration”?

It is worth mentioning that C. Müller noticed that the island of Diomedes is positioned off the Illyrian coast only in the *Periegesis* and in no other source.<sup>29</sup> But he never doubted it was an Adriatic island. Almost a century and a half later, other excellent philologist, Katičić, interpreted the mentioned passage from the *Periegesis* in the same way.<sup>30</sup>

In representations of ancient geography the authors use various procedures in an attempt to express spatial relations between individual phenomena. In the *Periegesis* the author principally respects given order following the Mediterranean coast. However when he encounters a more complex unit such as Illyria, the author uses “radial” distribution: all phenomena are defined spatially in relation to the Illyrians. As previously explained (B-E), every phenomenon was defined by a determinant of spatial relation: (B) islands of Pharos and Black Corcyra are “close to these (sc. Illyrians)” (τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν); (C) Lake Lychnidos is “beside them (sc. Illyrians)” (παρ αὐτοῖς); (D) the island of Diomedes is “next” (προσεχῆς); (E) the Brygians are “above these (sc. Illyrians)” (ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτους).

Having all the aforementioned in mind, the most plausible interpretation refers to the notion that “vicinity” of the island of Diomedes is determined by its “vicinity” to the Illyrians.

3.3. Our attention is attracted by another thing: the fact that the *Periegesis* is the only ancient source which associates the island of Diomedes with the Illyrians as emphasized by C. Müller. It is needless to mention all the references in ancient literature in which the island(s) of Diomedes was located next to Apulia.<sup>31</sup> The only connection with the Illyrians

28 M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2008: 18.

29 C. MÜLLER 1855: 214: “Diomedea insula in Illyriae litore nusquam, quantum scio, memoratur”.

30 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 371.

31 Iscrpan pregled vijesti s komentarima donosi R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 333-386; pregled spomena samog otoka u *The Adriatic islands Project*, Vol. 3, 2006, 143-165.

28 M. P. CASTIGLIONI 2008: 18.

29 C. MÜLLER 1855: 214: “Diomedea insula in Illyriae litore nusquam, quantum scio, memoratur”.

30 R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 371.

31 Comprehensive overview of the information, with commentaries is presented by R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 333-386; overview of the mention of the island in *The Adriatic islands Project*, Vol. 3, 2006, 143-165.

Dorane, potomke Diomedove pratnje naseljene na otoku.<sup>32</sup>

Povezivanje Diomedova otoka s Ilirijom nedvojbeno je usamljeno, ali valja imati na umu da je nestala većina antičkih djela, pa i onih s geografskim podacima.

Čitav odlomak koji slijedi nakon prikaza Ilira i njihovih običaja, počevši sa stihom 426 i zaključno sa stihom 434, mogao bi potjecati od Apolodorova Kataloga brodova iz *Ilijade*, štoviše, posredstvom toga teksta autor *Periegeze* možda prenosi Eforove podatke – ako ih nije i sam izravno koristio.<sup>33</sup>

Ne čini nam se umjesnim nastavljati s ovim razmatranjima. Vjerujem da je po sebi dovoljna činjenica da je autor *Periegeze* povezivanje Diomedova otoka s Ilirijom preuzeo iz nekoga starijeg djela. Ako bismo se morali odlučiti za neku pobližu odredbu, radije bismo pomišljali na autora Efora iz sredine 4. stoljeća. Njemu se pripisuje i spominjano pohvalno kazivanje o običajima Ilira koje je također iznimno: zapravo se time potpunije sagledava kontekst, a nije potkrepa hipotetičkoj atribuciji.

can be found in Antoninus Liberalis who mentions the attack of the Illyrians on the Dorians, descendants of the Diomedes' retinue who settled on the island.<sup>32</sup>

The island of Diomedes is certainly rarely associated with Illyria, but we need to have in mind that most ancient works were not preserved, including the ones containing geographical information.

The entire passage which follows after the description of the Illyrians and their customs, starting from verse 426 to verse 434, might originate from Apollodorus' Catalogue of Ships from the Iliad, what is more, it is possible that the author of the *Periegesis* copies Ephorus' information through mediation of this text, if he did not use them directly.<sup>33</sup>

It does not seem appropriate to continue these considerations. I believe it is enough to state that the author of the *Periegesis* accepted the association of the island of Diomedes with Illyria from some older work. If we should try to offer more specific attribution, it would be Ephorus from the mid-4th century. He is ascribed with positive description of the Illyrian customs which is also exceptional: in this way the context is observed more completely, and it is not a confirmation of hypothetical attribution.

32 Antonin Liberal, *Met.* 37; v. R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 357-358.

33 F. GISINGER 1927: 683, citira mjesta prethodnih analiza.

32 Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 37; v. R. KATIČIĆ 1995: 357-358.

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