

Maja Miše

Banquet among the stars:
Gnathia and West Slope ware
from the Diomedes sanctuary on
the island of Palagruža

Maja Miše
Research Associate
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Split
Sinjska 2
CROATIA, 21000 Split
mmaja17@yahoo.co.uk

UDC: 726.1:903.26](497.5)(210.7Palagruža)“652”
Original scientific paper
Received: 31 August 2016
Accepted: 16 September 2016

Numerous sherds of fine Greek and Hellenistic ware found at the Diomedes sanctuary on Palagruža - a small island in the middle of the Adriatic - already attracted the attention of scholars in the field of ceramic studies. However, most of the fine ware was published in the field reports as a result of preliminary analysis. The study of the Gnathia and West Slope ware presents the first details analyses of two types of fine ware found on this island sanctuary. Comparative typological and stylistically analyses of Gnathia ware have shown that the most common shapes of vessels were

Gozba među zvijezdama:
keramika tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope* iz Diomedova svetišta na otoku Palagruži

Maja Miše
Znanstvena suradnica
Filozofski fakultet
Sveučilište u Splitu
Sinjska 2
HR, 21000 Split
mmaja17@yahoo.co.uk

UDK: 726.1:903.26](497.5)(210.7Palagruža)“652”
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljeno: 31. 8. 2016.
Prihvaćeno: 16. 9. 2016.

Brojni ulomci fine grčke i helenističke keramike nađeni u Diomedovu svetištu na Palagruži - otočiću usred Jadrana - već su privukli pozornost znanstvenika na području istraživanja keramike. No veći dio fine keramike objavljen je u terenskim izvješćima slijedom preliminarnih analiza. Studija keramike tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope* predstavlja prvu detaljnu analizu ovih dvaju tipova fine keramike nađene u tom otočnom svetištu. Komparativne tipološke i stilske analize keramike tipa *Gnathia* pokazale su da se najveći dio najzastupljenijih tipova posuda odnosi na čaše i

cups and jugs of the late 4th and 3rd c. BC of Apulian provenance, while some sherds can be attributed to Issaeian production. These testify that sailors from both Adriatic coasts visited the sanctuary. The rare sherds of the contemporaneous West Slope ware found on Palagruža could belong to the Attic provenance and one Medusa plate belongs to Cretan production. Most sherds of both types of ware belong to wine drinking sets, attesting that drinking was main activity on the sanctuary during the Hellenistic times.

Keywords: Palagruža, Diomedes sanctuary, Gnathia ware, West Slope, libation, maritime trade routes

vrčeve iz kasnog 4. i 3. st. pr. Kr., poglavito apulskog podrijetla, dok se neki ulomci mogu pripisati isejskoj proizvodnji. To svjedoči o tome da su svetište pohodili pomorci s obje obale Jadrana. Rijetki ulomci onovremene keramike tipa *West Slope* pronađeni na Palagruži mogli bi biti atičkog podrijetla, a jedan tanjur s glavom Meduze pripada kretske produkciji. Većina ulomaka obaju tipova keramike pripada posuđu za konzumaciju vina, što potvrđuje da je pijeње bilo glavna aktivnost u svetištu tijekom helenističkog razdoblja.

Ključne riječi: Palagruža, Diomedovo svetište, keramika tipa Gnathia, keramika tipa West Slope, žrtva ljevanica, pravci pomorske trgovine

For many centuries Greek communities, polises, in Magna Graecia and in mainland Greece attracted many scholars. They were and still are the main focus of many studies. However, for past two-three decades or so, the interest of scholars began to shift towards indigenous communities in the periphery of the Mediterranean world and their relationships with settled Greeks. Dr Branko Kirigin was one of the pioneers in the study of peripheral areas of the Greek world, and one of the most prominent researchers of the Adriatic region. Branko's passionate work on Greeks in Central Dalmatia - Greek polises Issa (Vis island) and Pharos (Hvar island), and their material culture, especially on ceramics - introduced this area of the Adriatic to wider archaeological scientific community. For the past two decades, Branko dedicated his work to the small island in the centre of the Adriatic - Palagruža. The discovery of the Diomedes sanctuary on Palagruža changed the perspective about Adriatic ancient sailing routes, and put this, until then unfairly neglected area of the Mediterranean into the archaeological spotlight.

I was fortunate to work with Dr Branko Kirigin for more than a decade. Branko introduced me to studies of the Greek and Hellenistic ceramics, especially Gnathia ware. I could not think of a better way to thank Branko for all his shared knowledge, support and encouragement in my research than with the paper that connects two of Branko's most influential works in the field of ceramics and Greeks in the Adriatic - Gnathia ware and Palagruža.

The aim of this paper is twofold; to propose the sacrificial ritual on the sanctuary of Diomedes on Palagruža and to assess the role of Palagruža during the Hellenistic period, the period of intensified commercial activities in the Adriatic after the establishment of two Greek settlements - Issa, on the island of Vis and Pharos on the island of Hvar on the Central Dalmatia at the beginning of the 4th c. BC. This high set aim is based on the archaeological evidences and the analysis of the most numerous unearthed artefacts - ceramic vessels. This will include the analysis of the most common fine table ware produced in the Hellenistic period, Gnathia and West Slope ware. Besides comparative typo-stylistically analysis, the methodological approach will include assessment of the archaeological context, the excavated site and comparative statistical analysis.

The site and excavations

The island of Palagruža is situated in the heart of the Adriatic Sea; approximately 40km from both Adriatic coasts. It is only 1390m long, and 60 to 270m wide, with the lighthouse on top of the 87m cliff. It has no harbour or pier nor a good place on the shores

Polisi, grčke zajednice u *Magna Graecia* i kontinentalnoj Grčkoj, već stoljećima privlače brojne znanstvenike. Bili su i još su uvijek u samom žarištu mnogih istraživanja. No u posljednja dva-tri desetljeća, zanimanje znanstvenika počelo se okretati prema domorodačkim zajednicama s ruba sredozemnog svijeta i njihovim odnosima s doseljenim Grcima. Dr. Branko Kirigin jedan je od onih koji su utrljali put proučavanju rubnih područja grčkog svijeta i jedan je od najistaknutijih istraživača jadranskog prostora. Svojim strastvenim bavljenjem Grcima u srednjoj Dalmaciji - poglavito grčkim polisima Isa (otok Vis) i Faros (otok Hvar) i njihovom materijalnom kulturom, napose keramikom - Branko je ovo područje Jadrana predstavio široj arheološko-znanstvenoj zajednici. U minula dva desetljeća Branko se u svom radu posvetio Palagruži, otočiću u središtu Jadrana. Otkriće Diomedova svetišta na Palagruži promijenilo je gledište o antičkim plovidbenim pravcima na Jadranu te je ovo dotad neopravdano zanemareno područje Sredozemlja stavilo u središte arheološke pozornosti.

Sa dr. Brankom Kiriginom imala sam sreću raditi više od jednog desetljeća. Branko me je uveo u proučavanje grčke i helenističke keramike, a osobito keramike tipa *Gnathia*. Za sve znanje koje mi prenio, potporu koju mi je pružio i poticaj što mi ga je dao u mom istraživačkom radu, nisam se mogla domisliti boljem izrazu zahvalnosti nego što je to članak koji povezuje Brankova dva najutjecajnije rada s područja grčke keramike na Jadranu, a to su keramika tipa *Gnathia* i Palagruža.

Cilj ovoga članka je dvojak: iznijeti tezu o žrtvenom obredu u Diomedovu svetištu na Palagruži i odrediti ulogu Palagruže u helenističko doba, tijekom razdoblja pojačane trgovačke aktivnosti na Jadranu slijedom osnivanja dviju grčkih naseobina u srednjoj Dalmaciji početkom 4. st. pr. Kr. - Ise na otoku Visu i Farosa na otoku Hvaru. Ovaj visoko postavljeni cilj temelji se na arheološkim dokazima i analizi najbrojnijih iskopanih artefakata - keramičkih posuda. Tu će se raditi o analizi najzastupljenijega finog stolnog posuda proizvedenog u helenističko doba, a to je keramika tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope*. Uz komparativnu tipološko-stilsku analizu metodološkim pristupom obuhvatit će se određivanje arheološkog konteksta, istraženo nalazište i komparativne statističke analize.

Nalazište i istraživanja

Otok Palagruža smješten je u samome srcu Jadranskoga mora, približno 40 km od obiju jadranskih obala. Dužine je tek 1390 m, a širine od 60 do 270 m, sa svjetionikom na vrhu litice visoke 87 m. Na obalama nema luke ni pristaništa, kao ni prikladnog mjesta za izvlačenje brodova. Otok je izložen jakim vjetrovima i nema izvora pitke vode. Zbog tih ekstremnih uvjeta



Fig. 1. Aerial photo of Salamandrija (photo: M. Miše)
Sl. 1. Zračna snimka Salamandrije (foto: M. Miše)

for ship extraction. It is exposed to strong winds and has no spring water. These extreme conditions make any permanent occupation on the island very difficult without organised help from mainland in water and food supply. However, the geographical position, in the middle of the Adriatic, made Palagruža an important point on maritime sailing routes.

The archaeological site on Palagruža is located at the central plateau called Salamandrija (Fig. 1). It is the only flat surface of the island whose geomorphology consists of steep cliffs and slopes. This relatively a small area preserved traces of human activities, with shorter and longer interruptions, from the Early Neolithic to the present day. The first archaeological research at Salamandrija started in 1992 and 1993 with a survey, and continued with the excavations in 1994 and 1996. During these campaigns numerous potsherds of the Attic Black and Red figured ware and Gnathia ware were found, and some of them had the incised name or letters of the name Diomedes. Analysis of these potsherds together with potsherds from private collections and analyses of the ancient literature helped to identify Palagruža as the island of Diomedes - the Greek hero, who had fallen/died on a small island in the Adriatic where he was worshiped as a god.¹ After this discovery, it became necessary to do more thorough archaeological research and to find and identify the structure and/or shrine of the Diomedes sanctuary. Therefore the systematic excavations on Salamandrija were undertaken from 2002 till 2009 and in 2012 (Fig. 2).² The excavations were concentrated on southern and northern slopes, as well on the central plateau of Salamandrija beneath the stone pavement. Most of artefacts, such as Classical figured ware, Hellenistic and Early Roman fine and coarse ware, terracotta figurines, lamps and ampho-

svaki trajniji boravak na otoku vrlo je težak bez organizirane pomoći u opskrbi vodom i hranom s kopna. No, zahvaljujući svom zemljopisnom položaju usred Jadrana, Palagruža je postala važna točka na pomorskim plovidbenim pravcima.

Arheološko nalazište na Palagruži smješteno je na središnjem platou zvanom Salamandrija (sl. 1). Riječ je o jedinoj ravnoj površini otoka koji se geomorfološki sastoji od strmih litica i padina. Na tom razmjerno malom prostoru sačuvani su tragovi ljudske aktivnosti od ranog neolitika do danas, uz kraće i duže prekide. Prva istraživanja na Salamandriji započela su rekognosciranjem provedenim 1992. i 1993. godine, a nastavljena su iskopavanjima 1994. i 1996. godine. Prilikom tih zahvata nađeni su brojni ulomci atičke crno i crvenofiguralne keramike, te keramike tipa *Gnathia*, a na nekima od njih bilo je urezano ime ili slova iz imena Diomed. Analiza tih ulomaka, zajedno s ulomcima iz privatnih zbirki i proučavanjima antičke literature, dovela je do toga da je Palagruža prepoznata kao otok Diomeda - grčkog junaka palog/umrlog na malom otoku na Jadranu, gdje je štovan kao bog.¹ Nakon tog otkrića bilo je neophodno provesti još temeljitija arheološka istraživanja te pronaći i identificirati objekt i/ili hram gdje se nalazilo Diomedovo svetište. Stoga su od 2002. do 2009. te 2012. godine na Salamandriji provedena sustavna iskopavanja (sl. 2).² Ta su iskopavanja bila usredotočena na južnu i sjevernu padinu, kao i na središnji plato Salamandrije ispod kamenog pločnika. Većina artefakata, poput klasične figuralne keramike, helenističke i ranorimske fine i grube keramike, terakotnih figurica, svjetiljki i amfora, gema, helenističkoga i rimskog republikanskog novca, brončanih ukosnica, igli, fibula, prstenova, kockica za igru i vrhova strelica, nađena je u najnižim slojevima - br. 24 na južnoj padini i br. 2 na sjevernoj padini.³ Artefakti iskopani iz gornjih slojeva na obje padine povezuju se s aktivnostima kasnoan-

1 Kirigin, Čače 1998, pp. 63-110.

2 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 87-113.

1 Kirigin, Čače 1998, str. 63-110.

2 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 87-113.

3 Prilikom analize strateških sekvenci i tumačenja opsežnih arheoloških podataka tijekom 2012. i 2013. godine javila se potreba za jednostavnijim brojčanim označavanjem slojeva. Svi slojevi definirani tijekom iskopavanja objedinjeni su u iste kulturne slojeve prema njihovu opisu, nalazima, položaju i razini, a tim slojevima pridani su novi brojevi počevši od 0. Tako sloj 24 odgovara sloju 4050 iz prijašnjih objava (Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 87-113, i prethodno objavljeno izvješće koje se ondje citira). Taj model bio je spretaniji za unošenje u Harissov matricu (Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić i Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža*, pred objavom).

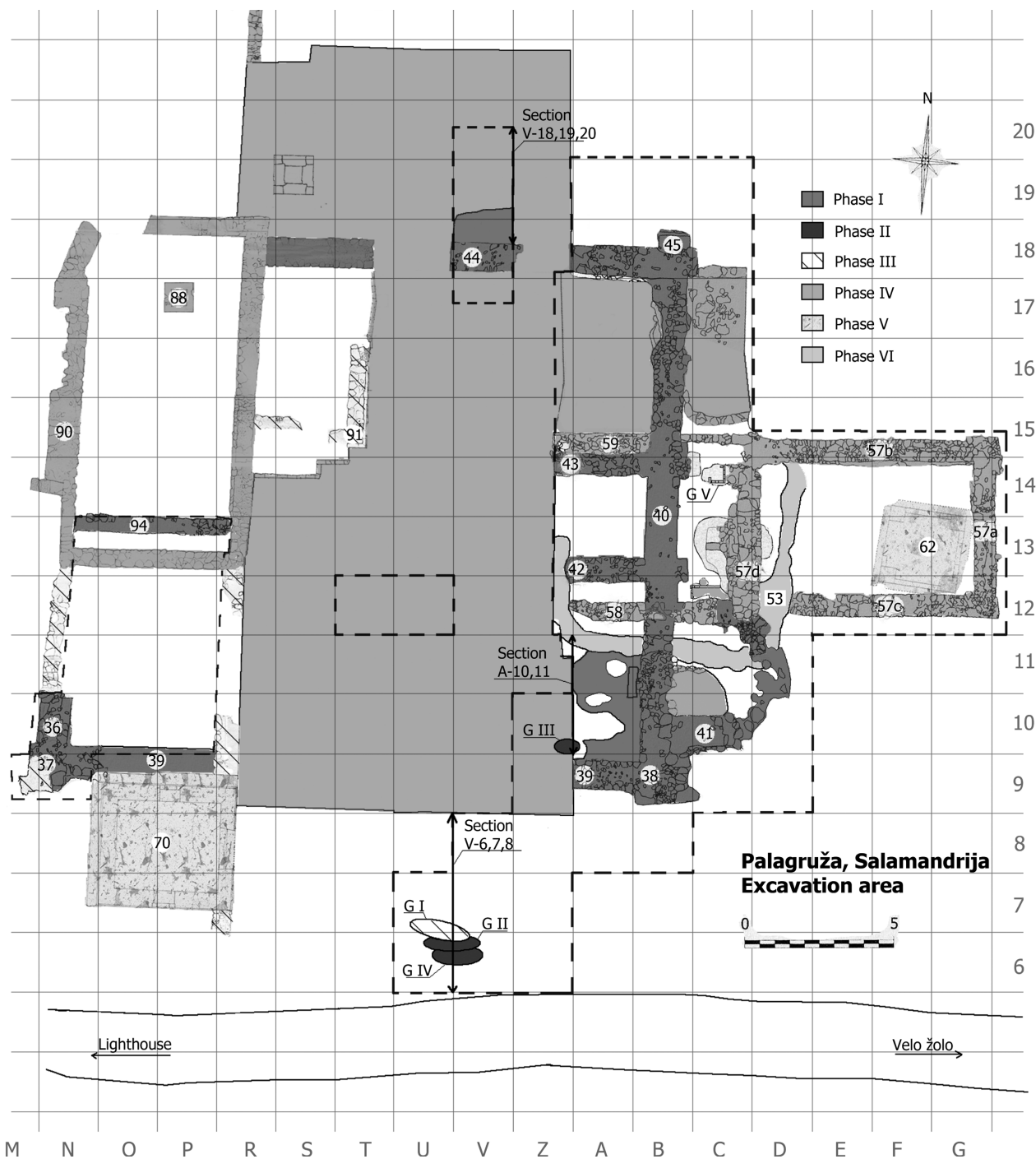


Fig. 2. Ground plan of Salamandrija (Archive of the Split Archaeological Museum, edited: V. Barbarić, 2017)
 Sl. 2. Tlocrt Salamandrije (Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu; uredio: V. Barbarić, 2017)

rae, gems, Hellenistic and Roman Republican coins, bronze hairpins, needles, fibulae, rings, dice and arrowheads were found in the lowest layers - no. 24 on the southern slope and 2 on the northern slope.³ The

3 During the analysis of the stratigraphic sequences and interpretation of extensive archaeological records in 2012-2013, the need for simpler numerical definition of layers has emerged. All the layers defined during the excavations were unified in the same cultural layers according to their description, finds, position and level,

tičke utvrde koja je bila izgrađena na Salamandriji. Slojevi ispod kamenog pločnika na središnjem platou nisu sadržavali artefakte povezane s Diomedovim svetištem. Zapravo, slojevi pod pločnikom bili su vrlo plitki, plići od 50 cm, a strukture kasnoantičke utvrde leže na živoj stijeni. To čvrsto ukazuje na to da je središnji plato Salamandrije prije gradnje utvrde očišćen, tako da su svi slojevi koji se povezuju s aktivnostima prije kasnorimskog razdoblja redeponirani na južnu

Trenches/ Sonda Shape/Oblik	Skyphos/ Skif	Bowl/ Zdjela	Kantharos/ Kantar	Unidetified/ Nepoznato	Plate/ Tanjur	Jugs/ Vrč	Small jugs/ Vrčić	Total/ Ukupno
A/8	10		2	10		1		23
A/9	2			3				5
B/8	16	1	2	18	1			38
B/9	2			5	1			8
B/16	1							1
A/B19	0			1				1
C/18	1				1			2
U/7	1							1
V/7	11		1	29	1	2		44
V/8	7			17				24
V/6	4	1		9	1		1	16
Z/6	28	2	4	56		2	6	98
Z/7	14	1	1	102		2	2	122
Z/8	15		4	89	2		2	112
Total/Ukupno:	145	5	17	344	10	12	12	545

Table 1. *Gnathia* ware found on Palagruža (JO Coll. = Jadranko Oreb Collection, L. Coll. = Lighthouse collection)

Tablica 1. Keramika tipa *Gnathia* nađena na Palagruži (Zb. JO. = Zbirka Jadranka Oreba, Zb. S. = Zbirka u Svjetioniku)

artefacts unearthed in upper layers on both slopes are associated with activities of the Late Roman fort that was built on Salamandrija. Layers beneath the stone pavement on the central plateau of Salamandrija didn't have artefacts associated with Diomedes sanctuary. In fact, the layers under the pavement were very shallow, less than 50 cm, and structures of the Late Roman fort lie on top of the bedrock. This strongly suggests that the central plateau of Salamandrija was cleaned before the building of the fort, and therefore all layers associated with activities before the Late Roman period were re-deposited on southern and northern slopes of the plateau.⁴ It also explains diversity of artefacts in the lowest layers 2 and 24; the potsherds

i sjevernu padinu platoa.⁴ To objašnjava i raznorodnost artefakata u najnižim slojevima 2 i 24, kao što su ulomci cetinske keramike iz brončanog doba⁵ te grčki, helenistički i ranorimski artefakti. Ovi potonji smještaju se u razdoblje od 6. st. pr. Kr. do 1. st. po. Kr.⁶ Usporedimo li broj nalaza u slojevima 2 i 24 na obje padine, čini se da je više ulomaka nađeno na južnoj padini, iz čega bi se dalo naslutiti da se područje intenzivnijih aktivnosti povezanih sa svetištem nalazilo bliže južnoj padini.⁷ Tragovi arhitekture svetišta nisu nađeni, pa se pretpostavlja da se tu radilo o svetištu otvorenog tipa.⁸

and the layers were assigned new numbers starting with the number 0. The layer 24 corresponds to layer 4050 in the previous publications (Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 87-113 and previously published report cited therein). This mode was more efficient for admission into the Hariss matrix (Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić and Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža* (forthcoming)).

4 Cleaning of the central plateau on Salamandrija must have happened after the cessation of the Diomedes sanctuary and before the building of the Late Roman fort - between 1st and 4th AD.

4 Središnji plato na Salamandriji po svoj je prilici očišćen nakon što je Diomedovo svetište prestalo postojati, a prije nego što je izgrađena kasnoantička utvrda, tj. između 1. i 4. st. po. Kr.

5 Forenbaher, Kaiser 1997, str. 15-28; Forenbaher 2009, str. 73-87.

6 Miše, Šešelj 2008, str. 113-119; Kirigin *et al.* 2009, str. 137-155; Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 87-113.

7 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 98.

8 Iscrpna rasprava o postojanju arhitekture ili struktura svetišta u: Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić i Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža* (pred objavom).

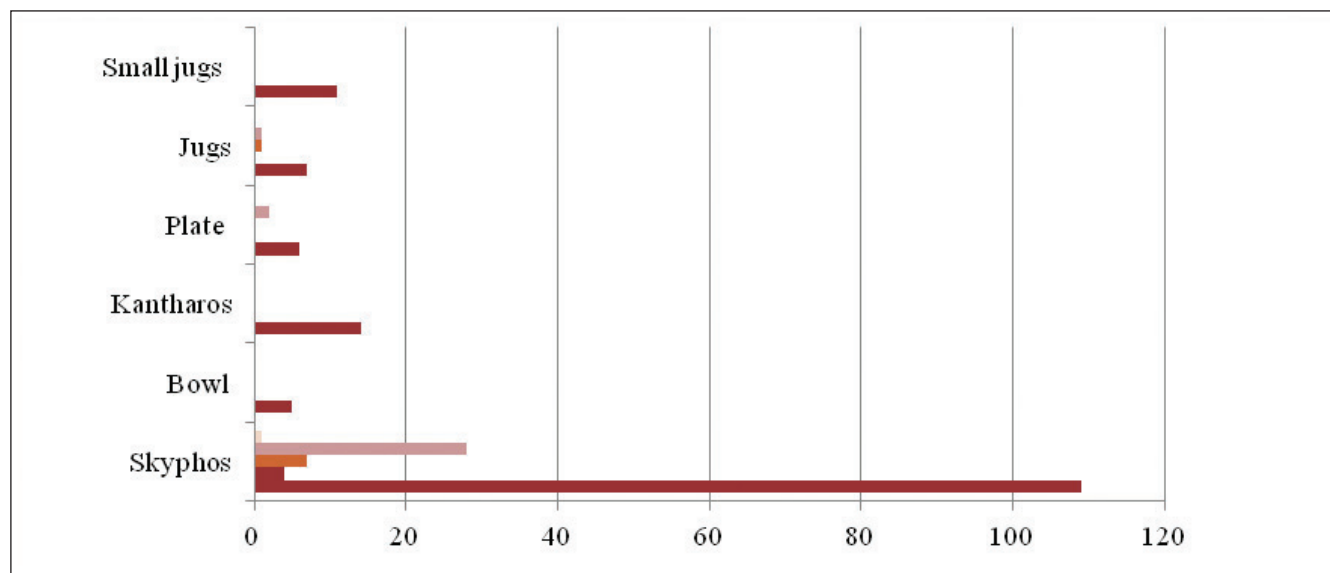


Table 2. Shapes of the *Gnathia* ware on Palagruža
 Tablica 2. Oblici keramike tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži

of the Bronze Age Cetina pottery⁵ and the Greek, Hellenistic and Early Roman artefacts. The latter artefacts are dated from 6th c. BC to 1st c. AD.⁶ Comparing the number of finds in the layers 2 and 24 on both slopes, it seems that more potsherds were found on the southern than on the northern slope, and this could indicate that area with more intensive activities connected to the sanctuary was closer to the southern slope.⁷ The traces of architecture of the sanctuary were not found, and it is assumed that sanctuary had an open shrine.⁸

Gnathia ware on Palagruža

Among 10863⁹ sherds of fine Greek and Hellenistic ware, 545 sherds of *Gnathia* ware were unearthed during excavations on the southern and northern slope.¹⁰ Only 50 of them are found outside the archaeological context on the surface or gathered by the lighthouse

Keramika tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži

Tijekom istraživanja na južnoj i sjevernoj padini, između 10.863⁹ ulomka fine grčke i helenističke keramike, iskopano je 545 ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia*.¹⁰ Od toga je samo njih 50 nađeno izvan arheološkog konteksta, a ti su zatečeni na površini ili su ih sakupili svjetioničari i sada se čuvaju u privatnim zbirka. Najveća privatna zbirka pripada Jadranku Orebu iz Vele Luke na otoku Korčuli, a manja zbirka čuva se u svjetioniku na Palagruži. Svi ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* iskopani tijekom istraživanja u zadnjem desetljeću minulog i prvom desetljeću ovog stoljeća čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (dalje u tekstu AMS).

Iz prikazanog (Tablica 1 i 2) je razvidno da je većina ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia* nađene u sondama na južnoj padini, A/8-9, B/8-9, V/6-8 i Z/6-8, i u najnižem sloju. Svi iskopani ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* vrlo su maleni (< 5 cm). Njihovo stanje sačuvanosti vjerojatno je posljedica redeponiranja materijala sa svetišta niz padine Salamandrije. Zbog toga velik broj ulomaka pripada još uvijek nepoznatim oblicima. Većinom se radi o trbusima posuda otvorenog oblika, ali s tankim stijenkama (od 3 do 5 mm) i s razmjerno dobro sačuvanim crnim premazom. Kod ovako malih ulomaka pripisivanje podrijetla uvelike se svodi na

5 Forenbaher, Kaiser 1997, pp. 15-28; Forenbaher 2009, pp. 73-87.

6 Miše, Šešelj 2008, pp. 113-119; Kirigin *et al.* 2009, pp. 137-155; Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 87-113.

7 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, p. 98.

8 A detailed discussion about the existence of architecture or structures of sanctuary in Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić and Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža* (forthcoming).

9 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 92, 100, T. 1, 2.

10 Some potsherds probably have remained lost due to natural erosion and landslides on both slopes and some *Gnathia* potsherds could have been ascribed to the Black coated ware, due to lack of preserved decoration.

9 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 92, 100, T. 1, 2.

10 Neki su ulomci vjerojatno trajno izgubljeni zbog prirodne erozije i klizanja tla na obje padine, a neki ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* možda su pripisani crno-premazanoj keramici jer na njima nije bilo sačuvanih ukrasa.



Fig. 3. Sherds of Gnathia ware from Palagruža (photo: V. Barbarić)
Sl. 3. Ulomci keramike tipa Gnathia (foto: V. Barbarić)

keepers and now are kept in private collections. The largest private collection belongs to Jadranko Oreb from Vela Luka on the island of Korčula and the smaller collection is kept in the lighthouse on Palagruža. All unearthed Gnathia potsherds during the excavation campaigns in 1990s and 2000s are stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split (hereafter AMS).

From the above (Table 1 and 2), it can be noted that the most Gnathia potsherds were found in the trenches in the southern slope - A/8-9, B/8-9, V/6-8 and Z/6-8 and in the lowest layer. All unearthed Gnathia potsherds are very small (< 5 cm). They state of preservation is probably due to the re-deposition of material from the sanctuary down the slopes on Salamandrija. Because of it, a large number of potsherds remained unidentified. Most of them are bellies of probably open shape vessels, but with thin walls (from 3 to 5mm) and with relatively well preserved black coating. It is very speculative to attribute such small sherds, but given the vertical walls and wide rims, most of them can be parts of smaller open shape vessels, such as cups of different sizes (Fig. 3). However, large jugs, oinochoai (also served as a pitcher) and pelikai are very difficult to identify. Only few of them survived with distinctive typological features.

nagađanja, ali s obzirom na okomitost stijenki i širinu oboda, većinom bi se moglo raditi o dijelovima manjih posuda otvorenog oblika, kao što su čaše različitih veličina (sl. 3). No velike vrčeve, enoheje (koje su služile i kao krčag) i pelike vrlo je teško razaznati. Tek ih je nekoliko sačuvano s jasnim tipološkim značajkama.

Oblici

Kako je prethodno prikazano (Tablica 2), najzastupljeniji oblici keramike tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži su skifi. Slabije su zastupljeni kantari, vrčevi i tanjuri, uz tek nekoliko ulomaka malih zdjela. Najsačuvaniji skif tipa *Gnathia* pripada Zbirci Oreb.¹¹ Tijelo mu je poluloptasto, a stoji na uskoj nozi i stopi u obliku diska, sa sjajnim crnim premazom i bez rebrastog ornamenta. Na gornjem dijelu tijela nalaze se vodoravne bijele i crvene crte. Nažalost, ručke skifa nisu sačuvane. S obzirom na stanje sačuvanosti ostalih ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia*, ova posuda omogućuje detaljniju komparativnu tipološko-stilsku analizu u odnosu na sve druge. Najveću podudarnost u obliku nalazimo u južnoj Italiji, u Dauniji na sjeveru Apulije. Skifi istoga

11 Kirigin 2012, str. 67, sl. 56.

Shapes

As shown above (Table 2), the most presented shapes of Gnathia ware on Palagruža are skyphoi. Less presented are kantharoi, jugs and plates, and there are only few sherds of small bowls. The best preserved Gnathia skyphos belong to the Oreb Collection.¹¹ It has a hemispherical body on a narrow stem and disk foot, with lustrous black coating and without ribbing. In the upper part of body are horizontal white and red lines. Unfortunately, the handles on the skyphos did not survive. Given the state of preservation of other Gnathia potsherds, this vessel allows for a more detailed comparative typo-stylistic analysis than any other. The closest parallel in shape can be found in southern Italy, in Daunia - northern Apulia. Skyphoi of the same shape are found in the rich tomb of the Niobidi vase in Arpi, dated in the last third of the 4th and beginning of 3rd c. BC.¹² The decoration on skyphoi from Arpi, with hanging grapes and tendrils, correspond to the decorative pattern of the Knudsen group that was produced in Canosa - Daunian settlement.¹³ However, the slightly prolonged stem on the skyphos from the Oreb Collection - partly red coated - shows a strong resemblance with type C skyphoi of the Laurel group (ita. Gruppo del Ramo di Alloro) of probably Peucetian production, dated at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC.¹⁴ Considering the modest decoration on this skyphos from Palagruža, the closest resemblance in decoration and in shape can be found in Issa - a neighbouring Greek polis on the island of Vis. Skyphoi with the similar shape and decoration, but not with such lustrous coating, were found in tombs at Martvilo necropolis¹⁵ and in the palm nursery in Vis together with other imported vessels.¹⁶ A similar potsherd with lustrous coating and decoration was also found in the Diomedes sanctuary at Cape Ploča.¹⁷ Since skyphoi of hemispherical shape were uncommon in the Issaeen Gnathia production,¹⁸ this skyphos from Palagruža can be attributed to the Canosan or Peucetian workshops.

Other sherds of skyphoi from Palagruža are too small for reconstruction of their shapes, but it is

oblika nađeni su u bogatoj grobnici vaze slikara *Niobida* u Arpiju, koja se smješta u posljednju trećinu 4. i početak 3. st. pr. Kr.¹² Ukrasi na skifima iz Arpija, s visećim grozdovima i viticama, odgovaraju ukrasnom uzorku na skupini Knudsen, koja se proizvodila u daunskoj naseobini Kanuziji.¹³ No lagano izdužena noga skifa iz Zbirke Oreb - dijelom crvenopremazana - pokazuje veliku sličnost sa skifima tipa C iz skupine Laurel (tal. Gruppo del Ramo di Alloro), koji su vjerojatno proizvedeni u Peucetiji, a smješta ih se na početak 3. st. pr. Kr.¹⁴ S obzirom na skromnost ukrasa na ovom skifu s Palagruže, najveću sličnost u ukrašavanju i obliku nalazimo u Isi, susjednom grčkom polisu na otoku Visu. Skifi sličnog oblika i dekoracije, ali ne i s tako sjajnim premazom, nađeni su u grobnicama na nekropoli Martvilo¹⁵ i kod rasadnika palmi u Visu, zajedno s drugim uvezenim posudama.¹⁶ Slični ulomci sa sjajnim premazom i ukrasima nađeni su i u Diomedovu svetištu na rtu Ploča.¹⁷ Kako su skifi poluloptastog oblika bili neuobičajeni u isejskoj proizvodnji keramike tipa *Gnathia*,¹⁸ ovaj skif s Palagruže može se pripisati kanuzijskim ili peucetskim radionicama.

Ostali ulomci skifa s Palagruže premaleni su za rekonstrukciju njihovih oblika, ali moguće je razaznati različite obode: izvijene (sl. 4, 6-8) i okomite (sl. 5). Nažalost, ni na jednom ulomku skifa nisu sačuvane obje ručke, već samo dio početka jedne ručke (sl. 7), koji ukazuje na vodoravni potkovasti oblik. Uz gore spomenuti skif iz Zbirke Oreb, sa stopom u obliku diska, tu su i skifi sa stožasto profiliranom stopom (sl. 9). Ti oblici vrlo su česti u proizvodnji keramike tipa *Gnathia*, ali stanje sačuvanosti ove stope otežava bilo kakvo točnije pripisivanje podrijetla.

Zbirci Oreb pripada i najbolje sačuvani vrč s Palagruže. Riječ je o dijelu trbuha veće posude, a kako drugi dijelovi nedostaju, teško je razabrati radi li se o enoheji ili pelici. Ima širok i plitak rebrasti ornament, a premaz mu nije najkvalitetniji. Kreće se u rasponu od crno-sivkastog do crvenkastog. Zamijećeno je da su premazi na posudama tijekom helenističkog razdoblja izgubili na kvaliteti i mogu se javljati u različitim bojama.¹⁹ Mogu biti pečeni u crvenoj, sivoj i smeđoj boji, a katkad se na istoj posudi javlja više boja i

11 Kirigin 2012, p. 67, fig. 56.

12 De Juliis 1992, pp. 38-39, 102-103, nos. 92-96.

13 Green 2001, pp. 57-103; Miše 2015, p. 5.

14 Lanza Catti 2008, pp. 119-120, Figs. 87-88.

15 Cambi *et al.* 1981, Pl. X. 26; Kirigin, Marin 1985, Pl. VIII. 1, Pl. IX. 9, 11, 16; Miše 2015, no. 48, 50, 53-57, 90-94.

16 Čargo 2010, pp. 117-118, nos. 16-19.

17 Šešelj 2009, pp. 57-58, no. 3.

18 Miše 2013, pp. 99-130; Miše 2015, pp. 35-35, Pl. 3, 158.

12 De Juliis 1992, str. 38-39, 102-103, br. 92-96.

13 Green 2001, str. 57-103; Miše 2015, str. 5.

14 Lanza Catti 2008, str. 119-120, sl. 87-88.

15 Cambi *et al.* 1981, T. X. 26; Kirigin, Marin 1985, T. VIII. 1, T. IX. 9, 11, 16; Miše 2015, br. 48, 50, 53-57, 90-94.

16 Čargo 2010, str. 117-118, br. 16-19.

17 Šešelj 2009, str. 57-58, br. 3.

18 Miše 2013, str. 99-130; Miše 2015, str. 35-35, T. 3, 158.

19 *Agora* XXIX, str. 10-11.



Fig. 4. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56529 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 4. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56529 (foto: V. Barbarić)

possible to recognize different rims; out-curved (Fig. 4, 6-8) and vertical (Fig. 5). Unfortunately, none of the sherds of skyphoi have preserves both handles, but only part of beginning of one handle (Fig. 7), which suggest a horizontal horseshoe shape. Besides above mentioned skyphos with disk foot from the Oreb Collection, there are also skyphoi with a conical profiled foot (Fig. 9). These shapes are very common in the Gnathia production, but due to the state of preservation of this foot it is difficult to make any detailed attribution.

The best preserved jug from Palagruža also belongs to the Oreb Collection. It is part of a belly of a larger vessel, and because other parts are missing it is difficult to distinguish whether it is an oinochoe or pelike. It has wide and shallow ribs and the coating is not of the best quality. It ranges from black-greyish to reddish. It is noted that coatings on vessels during the Hellenistic period deteriorated and can have different colours.¹⁹ They can be fired in red, grey and brown, and sometimes, as it is on this sherd from Palagruža, several colours and their shades can occur on the same vessel. Among small Gnathia potsherds on Palagruža, to identify oinochoe or pelike or other shapes of larger vessels, one can only depend on the thickness of the walls, as it is the sherd of lower part of a vessel (Fig. 3, lowest on the left), or on rims. One rim with a good black coating from trench V-6 with traces of painted decoration was probably part of a trefoil mouth (Fig. 10). As in the case of skyphoi, the pelike and oinochoe are very common shapes in Gnathia production, and



Fig. 5. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56496 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 5. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56496 (foto: V. Barbarić)

njihovih tonova, kao u slučaju ovog ulomka s Palagruže. Kako bi se među malim ulomcima keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže prepoznale enoheje, pelike ili drugi oblici većih posuda, moguće je osloniti se jedino na debljinu stijenki, kao kod ulomka donjeg dijela posude na (sl. 3, sasvim dole lijevo), ili na obod. Jedan obod s dobro sačuvanim crnim premazom i tragovima slikanog ukrasa, koji je nađen u sondi V-6, vjerojatno je bio dio trolisnog izljeva (sl. 10). Baš kao i skifi, pelike i enoheje vrlo su uobičajeni oblici u proizvodnji keramike tipa *Gnathia*, ali točno pripisivanje teško je bez posve sačuvanih posuda i ukrasa.

Debljina stijenke pokazala se ključnom odrednicom i kod prepoznavanja tanjura među ulomcima keramike tipa *Gnathia* nađenim na Palagruži. Uz zrakasto-rebrasti ornament na unutarnjoj strani posuda, uspjela sam razaznati više tanjura. Nažalost, ni jedan obod tanjura nije bio posve sačuvan kako bi se odredili njihovi oblici. Na sačuvanim ulomcima uočavamo kako svi imaju zrakast, širok i duboko urezan rebrasti ornament, a na nekim primjercima - kao što je tanjur iz sonde Z-8 - vidimo i slikane ukrase: crvene crte oko rebara (sl. 11).

Ostali mali ulomci mogu se opisati kao dijelovi zdjela, vrčeva i/ili kantara. No moramo biti oprezniji, jer su se na crnom premazu nekih malih ulomaka možda i nalazili ukrasi, ali je moguće da su otpali, pa su zato neki ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* možda pripisani crnoprernazanoj keramici.

¹⁹ *Agora XXIX*, pp. 10-11.



Fig. 6. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56447 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 6. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56447 (foto: V. Barbarić)



Fig. 7. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56545 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 7. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56545 (foto: V. Barbarić)

without completely preserved vessel and decoration it is difficult to make detailed attribution.

The thickness of a wall was also the determining factor for identifying plates among the Gnathia potsherds on Palagruža. Together with the radial ribbing on the inside of vessels, I was able to determine several plates. Unfortunately, none of the rims of plates were preserved entirely in order to determine their shapes. According to the preserved fragments, we can notice that they all have radial, wide and deep carved ribbing, and on some examples, as on plate from trench Z-8, we can see painted decoration – red lines around the ribbing (Fig. 11).

Other small sherds can be identified as bowls, jugs and/or kantharoi. We should nonetheless exercise caution, because some small sherds may have had decorations on the black coating that had fallen off, so that some Gnathia sherds could have been attributed to Black-coated ware.

Decorations

Painted decorations still can be recognized on some skyphoi and kantharoi. The usual decorative pattern on Gnathia potsherds from Palagruža are palm branches (Fig. 6) and also the “toothed saw” motif - densely arranged short slashes that are placed above the horizontal line. Ivy branches are very rare, but can be noticed mostly on skyphoi. Painted ovules and incised lines below rims are very common decorations in the early and the middle Apulian Gnathia

Ukrasi

Na nekim skifima i kantarima još uvijek se mogu razaznati slikani ukrasi. Uobičajeni ukrasni motivi na ulomcima keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže su palmine grane (sl. 6) i motiv “nazubljene pile”, tj. kratkih kosih crta gusto raspoređenih iznad vodoravne crte. Grane bršljana vrlo su rijetke, i najbolje su sačuvane na skifima. Slikane ovule i urezane crte ispod obođa vrlo su česti ukrasi u ranoj i srednjoj fazi apulske produkcije keramike tipa *Gnathia*.²⁰ No obod skifa iz sonde Z-7 s Palagruže premalen je za bilo kakvo točnije pripisivanje podrijetla (sl. 4). Na skifu iz iste sonde naslikani su viseći grozdovi, vitice i crvena vrpca (sl. 5). Taj motiv jedna je od glavnih značajki posuda skupine Knudsen, koje su se proizvodile krajem 4. i početkom 3. st. pr. Kr. Pretpostavlja se da se radionica iz koje potječu nalazila u Dauniji, iako su se mogle proizvoditi i u Peucetiji.²¹ Uz oblik i rebrasti ornament, palmine grane, “nazubljena pila” i jednostavne vodoravne crvene i bijele crte najčešće su značajke kasne faze apulske proizvodnje keramike tipa *Gnathia*. Te motive redovito nalazimo na kasnoj kanuzijskoj skupini, koja se smješta pred kraj 3. st. pr. Kr.²² Na Palagruži nisu nađeni ulomci s figuralnim prikazom iz prve faze apulske proizvodnje keramike tipa *Gnathia*. Dakle, većina ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže pripada srednjoj i kasnoj fazi apulske

20 Miše 2015, str. 2-4, i prijašnja literatura koja se ondje citira.

21 Green 2001, str. 57-103; Lanza Catti 2008, str. 29-48; Miše 2015, str. 10.

22 Green 2001, str. 57-103; Miše 2015, str. 5-6.



Fig. 8. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56434 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 8. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56434 (foto: V. Barbarić)

production.²⁰ However, the rim of skyphos from trench Z-7 from Palagruža is too small for any precise attribution (Fig. 4). On a skyphos from the same trench are painted hanging grapes, tendrils, and a red ribbon (Fig. 5). This motif is one of the main characteristics of the Knudsen group produced in the late 4th and early 3rd c. BC. The workshop of the Knudsen group is assumed to be in Daunia, although could have been produced in Peucetia as well.²¹ The palm branches, “toothed saw” and simple horizontal red and white lines are, beside shape and ribbing, the most common features of the Apulian Gnathia production. These motifs are regularly found on the Late Canosan group dated in the late 3rd c. BC.²² Potsherds with the figural depiction/scene of the first phase of the Apulian Gnathia production were not found on Palagruža. So, most sherds of Gnathia ware from Palagruža belong to middle and late Apulian Gnathia dated at the end of 4th and in 3rd c. BC. Their provenance has to be sought in the workshops in the northern and central Apulia. This is not unusual since there are numerous sites on the east Adriatic coast with imported Gnathia ware



Fig. 9. Fragment of skyphos, AMS 56700 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 9. Ulomak skifa, AMS 56700 (foto: V. Barbarić)

keramike tipa *Gnathia*, koja se smješta na kraj 4. i u 3. st. pr. Kr. Njihovo podrijetlo treba tražiti u radionica-ma sjeverne i središnje Apulije. To nimalo ne čudi jer se na istočnoj obali Jadrana nalaze brojni lokaliteti s uvezenom keramikom tipa *Gnathia* iz tih radionica.²³ Na Palagruži nisu nađeni ni ulomci posuda aleksandrijske skupine, koje su se proizvodile u grčkoj koloniji Tarantu, a u daleko većem broju nađene su u susjednoj Isi.²⁴ Dakako, s uma opet ne smijemo smetnuti stanje sačuvanosti ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia* i mogućnost da neki nisu prepoznati kao takvi.

Premazi

Što se tiče premaza na sačuvanim ulomcima keramike tipa *Gnathia*, uglavnom su crni, a neki su čak i vrlo sjajni. Na nekim ulomcima premaz je crvenkast i sivkast, kao na spomenutom vrču iz Zbirke Oreb, a na nekima je smeđ, kao na skifu iz sonde V-7 (sl. 8). Raznolikost boja nije neuobičajena za helenističku keramiku, gdje kvaliteta premaza nije ostvarena tako umješno kao što je to bila na antičkoj keramici iz klasičnog razdoblja.²⁵ No, smeđi premaz na gore spomenutim skifima i na ulomcima onog što je vjerojatno enojoja (sl. 3, sasvim dole, lijevo) zaslužuje nešto

20 Miše 2015, pp. 2-4 and previous literature cited therein.

21 Green 2001, pp. 57-103; Lanza Catti 2008, pp. 29-48; Miše 2015, p. 10.

22 Green 2001, pp. 57-103; Miše 2015, pp. 5-6.

23 Miše 2015, str. 23-28, karta 4.

24 Miše 2015, str. 6, 25-28, karta 4.

25 Miše 2015, str. 55-56.



Fig. 10. Fragment of jug/oinochoe, AMS 56445 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 10. Ulomak vrča/enohoje, AMS 56445 (foto: V. Barbarić)

from these workshops.²³ Potsherds of the Alexandrian group produced in the Greek colony Taras, and which is found in a rather greater number in neighbouring Issa, also were not found on Palagruža.²⁴ Of course, we still need to keep in mind the state of preservation of the Gnathia potsherds and the possibility that some were not identified.

Coatings

Regarding the coatings on the preserved Gnathia sherds, they are mostly black and some of them even very lustrous. Certain sherds have reddish and greyish coatings, as the above mentioned jug from the Oreb Collection, and some have brown, as the skyphos from trench V-7 (Fig. 8). The variety of colours is not uncommon on Hellenistic ware, when quality of the coating is not proficiently achieved as it was on the Attic ware of the Classical period.²⁵ However, the brown coating on above mentioned skyphoi and the sherds of what was likely an oinochoe (Fig. 3, lowest on the left) deserves some more attention. This colour of the coating was uncommon in southern Italy, but it is well known on the Hellenistic vessels in north-western Greece and on vessels assumed to belong to Dalmatian workshops, most likely to Issa, that are dated in the 2nd c. BC.²⁶ So, the sherds with brown coating could be attributed to the Issaeon Gnathia ware. The



Fig. 11. Fragment of plate, AMS 56600 (photo: V. Barbarić)

Sl. 11. Ulomak tanjura, AMS 56600 (foto: V. Barbarić)

veću pozornost. Ta boja premaza bila je neuobičajena u južnoj Italiji, ali je itekako poznata na helenističkim posudama iz sjeveroistočne Grčke i na posudama za koje se pretpostavlja da potječu iz dalmatinskih radionica, najvjerojatnije iz Ise, a smješta ih se u 2. st. pr. Kr.²⁶ Dakle, ulomci sa smeđim premazom mogli bi se pripisati isejskoj keramici tipa *Gnathia*. Tradicija smeđeg premaza u srednju je Dalmaciju vjerojatno stigla sa sjeverozapada Grčke.

Grafiti

Među ulomcima keramike tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži jedanaest je primjeraka s grafitima, od kojih dva pripadaju Zbirci Oreb, a ostali se čuvaju u AMS-u.²⁷ Gotovo svi grafiti nalaze se na skifima i kantarima. Nažalost, nisu sačuvani cjeloviti natpisi, već samo slova [α] ili [δ] ili slovni skupovi ΔIO ili OM, koji bi se mogli odnositi na ime Diomed. Na keramici tipa

23 Miše 2015, pp. 23-28, Map. 4.

24 Miše 2015, pp. 6, 25-28, Map 4.

25 Miše 2015, pp. 55-56.

26 Miše 2015, p. 59. These sherds are numerous in Resnik, a Hellenistic port on the coast between Split and Trogir. However, a ceramic workshop in Resnik has not yet been confirmed archaeological nor with archaeological analysis.

26 Miše 2015, str. 59. Ti ulomci brojni su u Resniku, helenističkoj luci na jadranskoj obali između Splita i Trogira. No lončarska radionica u Resniku još nije arheološki potvrđena, a čeka se i arheometrijska analiza.

27 Zahvaljujem dr. Branku Kiriginu što mi je dao taj podatak i omogućio kratak uvid u rukopis knjige o grafitima na grčkoj i helenističkoj keramici na prostoru Hrvatske, koja je pred objavom.

tradition of brown-coating probably came to Central Dalmatia from the north-western Greece.

Graffiti

Among the Gnathia potsherds on Palagruža there are eleven sherds with graffiti; two of them belong to the Oreb Collection and others are kept in AMS.²⁷ Almost all graffiti are on skyphoi and kantharoi. Unfortunately, complete inscriptions are not preserved, but only letters [α] or [δ] or letters with ΔΙΟ or ΟΜ that could refer to the name of Diomedes. The best preserved inscription [αγαθα] on the Gnathia ware is on the rim of probably skyphos from the Oreb Collection that, as Allan Johnston assumes, belongs to the "grammata ekpomata" series of Hellenistic drinking vessels.²⁸

West Slope ware on Palagruža

During the analysis of the Gnathia ware from Palagruža, several sherds of the West Slope ware were identified. The West Slope ware was the eastern counterpart to the Gnathia ware produced on the western Mediterranean; they were produced at the same period and with similar painted motifs on the black surface of vessels.²⁹

Potsherds of the West Slope ware differ from the Gnathia sherds from Palagruža with dark black lustrous coating on a dark red fabric. Among these sherds there are at least two kantharoi. One of them, found in trench Z-7, has an out-curved rim, straight wall and one preserved vertical handle (AMS Inv. no 56499 and 56503). Other kantharos, from V-7 has an out-curved neck with a sharp transition to globular body - outlining the biconical profile of the vessel (AMS Inv. no 40107). A third kantharos sherd was found in A-8 and only a small part of the neck and ribbed body is preserved with ivy painted in white (AMS Inv. no 56695). It has almost the same shape as the kantharos from V-7, but because they were found approximately 2m from each other this sherd could be a part of another kantharos. All kantharos sherds have wide and deep ribbings. Although their decoration fell off, traces of wavy branches with vertical leaves can be recognized. The lustrous and well preserved black coating

Gnathia najsačuvaniji natpis [αγαθα] nalazi se na obodu vjerojatnog skifa iz Zbirke Oreb, koji - kako to pretpostavlja Allan Johnston - pripada seriji helenističkih posuda za pijenje *grammata ekpomata*.²⁸

Keramika tipa *West Slope* na Palagruži

Tijekom analize keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže otkriveno je i nekoliko ulomaka keramike tipa *West Slope*. Keramika tipa *West Slope* bila je istočni pandan keramici tipa *Gnathia*, koja se proizvodila u zapadnom Sredozemlju. Oba tipa proizvodila su se u istom razdoblju i sa sličnim slikanim motivima na crnoj površini posuda.²⁹

Ulomci keramike tipa *West Slope* razlikuju se od ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže, koji se odlikuju sjajnim crnim premazom na tamnocrvenoj fakturi. Među tim ulomcima nalaze se barem dva kantara. Jedan od njih, nađen u sondi Z-7, ima izvijen obod, ravnu stijenku i sačuvanu okomitu ručku (AMS Inv. br. 56499 i 56503). Drugi kantar, iz sonde V-7, ima izvijen vrat koji oštro prelazi u trbušasto tijelo, naglašavajući bikonični profil posude (AMS Inv. br. 40107). Treći ulomak kantara nađen je u sondi A-8, a sačuvan je tek djelić vrata i rebrastog tijela, s bršljanom slikanim bijelom bojom. (AMS Inv. br. 56695). Gotovo je istog oblika kao i kantar iz sonde V-7, ali kako su nađeni približno na 2 m udaljenosti jedan od drugoga, taj bi ulomak mogao pripadati nekom drugom kantar. Na svim ulomcima vidljiv je širok i dubok rebrasti ornament. Iako su im ukrasi otpali, mogu se razaznati tragovi valovitih grančica s okomitim listovima. Svojim sjajnim i dobro očuvanim crnim premazom i crvenom fakturom ti ulomci uvelike podsjećaju na atičke proizvode. Naime, umješni atički lončari dobivali su premaz visokoga sjaja, koji se u klasičnom razdoblju prerastao u standard, ali ga druge lončarske radionice u helenističkom razdoblju nisu tako uspješno imitirale. Crvena faktura ili lončarska smjesa atičkih posuda dobivala se od gline bogate željezom.³⁰ Premda su ulomci s Palagruže vrlo maleni i ne razotkrivaju puni oblik posuda, u atičkoj proizvodnji svejedno se mogu uočiti neke podudarnosti kad je riječ o ulomcima s bikoničnim tijelom i bršljanom na vratu, nađenim u sondama V-7 i A-8. Slični su atičkim kupama-kantarima s kraja 4. i početka 3. st. pr. Kr.³¹ Drugi oblik kantara, takozvani helenistički kantar s

27 I would like to thank to Dr Branko Kirigin for this information and for allowing me a short glance into the manuscript of the forthcoming book about graffiti on Greek and Hellenistic wares from Croatia.

28 Kirigin, Čače 1988, Pl. 1, 4.

29 For West Slope ware see Rotroff 1991, pp. 14-46 and *Agora XXIX* and a brief description in Miše 2015, pp. 50-54.

28 Kirigin, Čače 1988, T. 1, 4.

29 O keramici tipa *West Slope* vidi Rotroff 1991, str. 14-46, i *Agora XXIX* te kratak opis u Miše 2015, str. 50-54.

30 Miše 2015, str. 56.

31 *Agora XXIX*, str. 86.

and red fabrics on these sherds are very similar to Attic products. Namely, skilful Attic potters achieved a high gloss coating, which became the standard in the Classical period and was less successfully imitated, as mentioned above, by other ceramic workshops in the Hellenistic period. Red fabrics or pastes of Attic vessels were made of clays rich in iron.³⁰ Although sherds from Palagruža are very small and do not reveal complete shape of the vessels, still it is possible to trace some parallels in the Attic production for sherds with biconical body and ivy on the neck, found in trenches V-7 and A-8. They are similar to Attic cup-kantharoi of the late 4th and the beginning of the 3rd c. BC.³¹ Other shape of kantharoi, so called Hellenistic kantharoi with straight wall and vertical handles, such as one from the trench Z-7 from Palagruža, were also produced in Athens at around same period - the last quarter of 4th and beginning of the 3rd c. BC - under the influence of Boeotian workshops, where this shape probably originated.³² However, most of the Athenian examples have knots or spurs on top of the handles. Unfortunately, the example from Palagruža has only one handle, that was probably part of the straight-walled kantharos, and it does not have spur or knot. Also, examples from Palagruža have ribbing, which are very rare in the Attic production.³³ A closer look at the production of this type of kantharoi shows that they were common in the late 4th and 3rd c. BC in Thessaly, on Peloponnesus and in Macedonia.³⁴ Still, the closest parallels in shape with example from Palagruža can be found in Phoinike in southern Albania, where two similar hemispherical kantharoi with vertical handles were found in a layer dated to the middle and second half of the 4th c. BC.³⁵ The hemispherical drinking cups with vertical handles and ribbings - skyphoi - were common in the Gnathia production in southern Apulia.³⁶ However, they didn't have lustrous coating and white painted ivy on the neck. Certainly, Gnathia and West Slope ware have, as two contemporaneous Hellenistic styles, influenced each other and similarities are not accidental. Also, we should keep in mind that during the Hellenistic period different workshops on mainland Greece begun to imitate Attic vessels. On the other hand, kantharos sherds from Palagruža have lustrous black coating of a good quality on a dark red fabric that probably indicates their Attic origin.

ravnom stijenkom i okomitim ručkama, poput onog iz sonde Z-7 s Palagruže, također se proizvodio u Ateni otprilike u istom razdoblju, tj. posljednjoj četvrtini 4. st. i početkom 3. st. pr. Kr., a pod utjecajem beotskih radionica iz kojih je taj oblik vjerojatno potekao.³² No većina atenskih primjeraka ima čvorove ili izbočine na vrhu ručki. Nažalost, na primjerku s Palagruže samo je sačuvana jedna ručka koja je vjerojatno pripadala kantararu ravnih stijenki, a na njoj nema izbočine ni čvora. Isto tako, na primjercima s Palagruže vidljiv je rebrasti ornament koji je u atičkoj proizvodnji vrlo rijedak.³³ Pomnija analiza proizvodnje ove vrste kantara pokazuje da su krajem 4. i u 3. st. pr. Kr. bili uobičajeni u Tesaliji, na Peloponezu i u Makedoniji.³⁴ No znatne oblikovne podudarnosti s primjerkom s Palagruže nalazimo u Fenike u južnoj Albaniji, gdje su dva slična polukuglasta kantara s okomitim ručkama nađena u sloju koji se smješta u sredinu i drugu polovicu 4. st. pr. Kr.³⁵ Skifi - poluloptaste čaše s okomitim ručkama i rebrastim ornamentom - bili su uobičajeni u proizvodnji keramike tipa *Gnathia* na jugu Apulije.³⁶ Međutim, na njima nije bilo sjajnog premaza i bršljana slikanog bijelom bojom na vratu. *Gnathia* i *West Slope* su kao dva tipa helenističke keramike iz istog razdoblja zasigurno utjecali jedan na drugog i njihove sličnosti nisu slučajne. Isto tako, ne smijemo smetnuti s uma da su tijekom helenističkog razdoblja razne radionice u kontinentalnoj Grčkoj počele imitirati atičke posude. S druge strane, ulomci kantara s Palagruže odlikuju se kvalitetnim sjajnim crnim premazom na tamnocrvenoj fakturi, što vjerojatno ukazuje na njihovo atičko podrijetlo.

Jedan od najzanimljivijih ulomaka nađenih na Palagruži pripada zdjeli iz Zbirke Oreb. Sačuvan je samo središnji dio posude, s još uvijek vidljivom, premda izbljedjelom glavom Meduze. Oko reljefnog prikaza Meduzine glave prolaze cik-cak linije s trokutima. Ovom ulomku najbližnije su takozvane zdjele s Meduzom, koje nalazimo na Kreti. Ta vrsta helenističke zdjele pripisuje se lokalnoj kretskoj proizvodnji keramike tipa *West Slope* s kraja 3. st. i početka 2. st. pr. Kr.³⁷ Te zdjele nađene su i na atenskoj Agori, a Susan Rotroff tvrdi da im podrijetlo valja tražiti u metalnim prototipovima te ga nastoji točno odrediti ili u dvorskom stilu rane helenističke Makedonije ili

30 Miše 2015, p. 56.

31 *Agora XXIX*, pp. 86.

32 *Agora XXIX*, pp. 97-100

33 *Agora XXIX*, p. 67. Ribbing only on several examples and dated from 325 to 200 BC.

34 Kallini 2013, p. 63.

35 Gamberini 2009, pp. 90-91, Fig. 7/8, 10.

36 Giannotta 1996, pp. 453-468.

32 *Agora XXIX*, str. 97-100.

33 *Agora XXIX*, str. 67. Rebrasti ornament nalazi se samo na nekoliko primeraka, koji se smještaju u razdoblje od 325. do 200. g. pr. Kr.

34 Kallini 2013, str. 63.

35 Gamberini 2009, str. 90-91, sl. 7/8, 10.

36 Giannotta 1996, str. 453-468.

37 Callaghan 1981, str. 61-63; Coldstream *et al.* 2001, str. 100-101.

One of the most interesting sherds found on Palagruža belongs to the bowl from the Oreb Collection. Only the middle part of the vessel is preserved with still visible, although worn off, head of Medusa. Around the mould made Medusa's head are incised zigzag lines with triangles. The closest parallel for this sherd can be found on Crete in so called Medusa bowls. This type of Hellenistic bowl is attributed to the local Cretan production of the West Slope ware in the late 3rd and early 2nd c. BC.³⁷ These bowls were also found on the Athenian Agora and Susan Rotroff argues that their origin should be sought in the metal prototypes, and attempts to pinpoint their origin either in the court style of early Hellenistic Macedonia or in Hellenistic Alexandria of the late 4th c. BC, through which it influenced Athenian products. However, they seem to appear in Athens around 275 BC, as appeared about the same time in South Italy.³⁸

In honour of Diomedes

Considering the context where Gnathia and West Slope sherds were found on Palagruža, their state of preservation is not insignificant. The lowest re-deposited layers on both slopes on Salamandrija, as mentioned before, are associated with the period of functioning of the Diomedes sanctuary. There are several pieces of evidence for that. The character of the artefacts found within these layers - a high number of fine ware, mostly sherds of drinking vessels. Besides being the dominant shape of vessels in the Hellenistic period, they also dominated in the previous Classical period with figured-painted kylikes and craters.³⁹ The incised letters of Diomedes on such vessels are also found within these layers, and finally, the artefacts from layers above show a completely different character. They mostly belong to cooking ware and amphorae dated to the Late Roman period.⁴⁰ Focusing in this paper on the Hellenistic ware, I proposed here the reconstruction of the sacrificial rituals on Diomedes sanctuary during the period in question. As already mentioned, most of the sherds of Gnathia and West Slope ware belong to a Greek wine drinking set. Also, the decoration on those vessels, with motifs of ivies, grapes, tendrils and palm branches are associated with the Dionysius circle - the god of wine. John Green has already shown the connection between the deco-

u helenističkoj Aleksandriji s kraja 4. st. pr. Kr., preko koje su utjecale na atenske proizvode. No čini se da su se u Ateni pojavile oko 275. g. pr. Kr., a u otprilike isto vrijeme javljaju se i u južnoj Italiji.³⁸

U čast Diomedu

S obzirom na kontekstu u kojem su na Palagruži nađeni ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope*, njihovo stanje sačuvanosti nije beznačajno. Kako je već spomenuto, najniži redeponirani slojevi na obje padine Salamandrije povezuju se s razdobljem djelovanja Diomedova svetišta. Za to postoji više dokaza. Među njima je i narav artefakata nađenih u tim slojevima, tj. velika količina fine keramike, većinom ulomaka posuda za pijeње. Osim što su činile prevladavajući oblik posuda u helenističkom razdoblju, i u prethodnom klasičnom razdoblju prevladavale su s figuralno oslikanim kiliksima i kraterima.³⁹ Na ulomcima takvih posuda u tim su slojevima pronađena i urezana slova iz imena Diomed. Naposljetku, artefakti iz slojeva koji se nalaze iznad njih posve su drukčije naravi i većim dijelom pripadaju posudu za kuhanje i amforama koje se smještaju u kasno rimsko razdoblje.⁴⁰ Kako se ovaj članak poglavito bavi helenističkom keramikom, ovdje bih predložila rekonstrukciju žrtvenih obreda u Diomedovu svetištu tijekom odnosnog razdoblja. Kako je već spomenuto, ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope* većinom pripadaju grčkom posudu za pijeње. K tome, ukrasi na tim posudama, s motivima bršljana, grožđa, vitica i palminih grana, povezuju se s krugom Dioniza, boga vina. John Green već je dokazao vezu između ukrasa na keramici tipa *Gnathia* i funkcije posuda tog tipa na privatnim i javnim simpozijima.⁴¹ Iako su motivi na keramici tipa *West Slope* raznolikiji i kreću se u rasponu od prirodne tematike, preko predmeta izrađenih ljudskom rukom, pa sve do geometrijskih ukrasnih uzoraka,⁴² grane bršljana na kantarima - kupama za pijeње vina, poput one nađene na Palagruži - mogu se povezati s vinskim svetkovinama ili žrtvenim obredima u kontekstu svetišta. K tome, ulomci posuda za kuhanje s Palagruže, premda su nađeni u znatno manjem broju nego ulomci fine keramike, pripadaju malim posudama koje nisu prikladne za pripremu hrane, nego služe za njezinu

37 Callaghan 1981, pp. 61-63; Coldstream *et al.* 2001, pp. 100-101.

38 *Agora* XXIX, pp. 110-112.

39 Pers. comm. with B. Kirigin.

40 More in Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić and Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža* (forthcoming).

38 *Agora* XXIX, str. 110-112.

39 Osobna komunikacija s B. Kiriginom.

40 Više u Kirigin, Miše, Barbarić i Zec, *Omphalos of the Adriatic Sea: Tracing Past Human Activity on the Island of Palagruža* (pred objavom).

41 Green 1979, str. 81-90; Green 1989, str. 221-226.

42 *Agora* XXIX, str. 46-47.

ration on Gnathia ware and the function of Gnathia vessels in private and public symposium.⁴¹ Although the range of motifs on the West Slope ware are more diverse, ranging from natural objects, man-made to geometric decorative patterns,⁴² the ivy branches on wine drinking cups - kantharoi, as one found on Palagruža, can be connected to wine festivities, or sacrifices in the context of a sanctuary. Furthermore, sherds of cooking ware from Palagruža, although found in significantly smaller number than sherds of fine ware, belong to small pots, not suitable for cooking, rather for consuming food.⁴³ Besides drinking, as a main activity, visitors on the Diomedes sanctuary on Palagruža probably consumed food that was prepared somewhere else, probably on ships anchored on the Žolo beach. The similar activities are also noted to the Diomedes sanctuary on Cape Ploča, where among dominate fine wares, small cooking pots were also found.⁴⁴ Assuming that libation, a wine sacrifice, was offered to Diomedes on Palagruža is not that difficult. This is not surprising, given that libation was very important ritual among Greek sailors, and was often performed not only on maritime sanctuaries, but also before departure, during sailing and after a safe arrival in ports.⁴⁵

Crossing the Adriatic Sea

As shown above, through shapes of the Gnathia and West Slope vessels it was possible to assume that a wine sacrifice was offered to Diomedes on Palagruža. Further comparative typo-stylistic analyses, especially of the Gnathia ware, since they were found in a much greater number than the West Slope ware, can offer answers for trading routes. Namely, in recent years, the state of research of Gnathia ware in their main production area - Apulia on the western coast and their distribution and production on the eastern Adriatic coast, allow us to trace from where they came from on Palagruža, and more importantly, where the sailors who brought them to Palagruža came from. This approach could be backed up with the fact that, besides on the eastern Adriatic coast, Gnathia ware was not exported outside the Apulia and its distribution pattern can be reconstructed.⁴⁶

konzumaciju.⁴³ Osim što su ispijali vino, a to je bila glavna aktivnost, posjetitelji Diomedova svetišta na Palagruži vjerojatno su konzumirali hranu koja se pripremala negdje drugdje, po svoj prilici na brodovima usidrenima kod plaže Žolo. Slične aktivnosti opažene su i u Diomedovu svetištu na rtu Ploča, gdje su među prevladavajućom finom keramikom nađene i male posude za kuhanje.⁴⁴ Nije stoga teško pretpostaviti da se na Palagruži Diomedu prinosila žrtva ljevanica, tj. žrtveno vino. To ne čudi jer je prinošenje žrtve ljevanice među grčkim pomorcima bilo vrlo važan obred i često se obavljao ne samo u pomorskim svetištima nego i prije isplavljanja, tijekom plovidbe i nakon sigurnog dolaska u luku.⁴⁵

Prelazak preko Jadrana

Kako je izloženo, prema oblicima posuda tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope*, moguće je pretpostaviti da se Diomedu na Palagruži prinosilo žrtveno vino. Daljnje komparativne tipološko-stilske analize - napose keramike tipa *Gnathia*, koja je nađena u daleko većoj količini od keramike tipa *West Slope* - mogu dati odgovore na pitanja o trgovačkim pravcima. Naime, posljednjih godina, stanje istraživanja keramike tipa *Gnathia* u Apuliji kao glavnom području proizvodnje na zapadnoj obali, kao i njezine distribucije i proizvodnje na istočnoj obali Jadrana, omogućuje nam da ustanovimo odakle je ta keramika stigla na Palagružu i, što je još važnije, odakle su bili pomorci koji su je onamo donijeli. U prilog ovom pristupu mogla bi ići i činjenica da se, osim na istočnu obalu Jadrana, keramika tipa *Gnathia* nije izvozila izvan Apulije, a obrazac njezine distribucije može se rekonstruirati.⁴⁶

Kako je već spomenuto, mnoge posude nemoguće je prepoznati jer su ulomci keramike tipa *Gnathia* maleni. No među ulomcima na kojima je detaljna analiza bila moguća većinu se može prepoznati kao apulsku keramiku tipa *Gnathia*. Oblici skifa s ravnim stijenkama ili skifa s izvijenim obodom vrlo su česti u apulskoj proizvodnji, najvjerojatnije u peucetskim i/ili kanuzijskim radionicama. Stopa u obliku diska, poput one na skifu iz Zbirke Oreb, još je jedno od obilježja svojstvenih apulskoj proizvodnji. No pri točnom određivanju radionica od veće su pomoći ukrasni uzorci i izbor motiva. Viseće grožđe i vitice na skifu iz sonde Z-7 ukazuju na skupinu Knudsen i kanuzijsku

41 Green 1979, pp. 81-90; Green 1989, pp. 221-226.

42 *Agora* XXIX, pp. 46-47.

43 Miše 2006, pp. 203-215; Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 92, 100, Pl. 1, 2.

44 Šešelj 2009, pp. 236-284.

45 Šešelj 2009, pp. 560-564, 623 and publications cited therein.

46 Miše 2015, p. 15.

43 Miše 2006, str. 203-215; Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 92, 100, T. 1, 2.

44 Šešelj 2009, str. 236-284.

45 Šešelj 2009, str. 560-564, 623, i objave koje se ondje citiraju.

46 Miše 2015, str. 15.

As mentioned above, small Gnathia sherds disable identification of many vessels. Yet on those sherds where detailed analyses were possible, most of them can be identified as Apulian Gnathia. The shapes of straight-walled skyphoi or skyphoi with out-curved rims are very common in Apulian production, most probably in Peucetian and/or in Canosan workshops. The disk foot as on the skyphos from the Oreb Collection is also one of the Apulian characteristic features. However, the decorative patterns and the choice of motifs provide more assistance in identifying specific workshops. Hanging grapes and tendrils on the skyphos from trench Z-7 are pointing to the Knudsen group and Canosan workshop. Sherds of skyphoi with "toothed saw" motifs and horizontal lines, and probably sherds with palm branches can be assigned to the same workshop. On the other hand, vessels with brown coating, like on the skyphos from V-7, are uncommon in southern Italy, but are found in Issa and Resnik. It is assumed that they belong to the Issaeen Gnathia production of the 2nd c. BC.⁴⁷ It is no surprise that Issaeen Gnathia vessels were found on Palagruža given the vicinity of Issa - the closest Greek town and ceramic production centre.⁴⁸ According to Slobodan Čače and Lucijana Šešelj, Issaeans founded the Diomedes sanctuary on Cape Ploča in the 4th c. BC, and maintained it until it ceased functioning in the 1st c. AD.⁴⁹ However, the presence of Issaeen Gnathia vessels on Palagruža is the first material evidence that sailors from the eastern Adriatic visited Palagruža in the last millennium BC. Namely, there is no evidence that Iron Age communities from the East Adriatic sailed to Palagruža. Indeed, by the 2nd c. BC, the Issaeen community - founded in the 4th c. BC by the Greeks - already had a highly developed economy based on wine production and exportation, and trade connections with the western Adriatic coast.⁵⁰ It is also noteworthy that after the cessation of Apulian Gnathia production in the late 3rd and beginning of 2nd c. BC, Issaeans continued the production of this type of ware on the eastern Adriatic.⁵¹ The distribution pattern of Issaeen Gnathia ware followed the interest of the Issaeen traders in the Central Dalmatia. Their presence on Palagruža just highlights the already assumed Issaeen dominance in this area of the Adriatic in the 2nd c. BC.

radionicu. Istoj se radionici mogu pripisati i ulomci skifa s motivom "nazubljene pile" i vodoravnim crtama, a vjerojatno i oni s palminim granama. S druge strane, posude sa smeđim premazom, poput skifa iz sonde V-7, neuobičajene su u južnoj Italiji, ali ih nalazimo i u Isi i Resniku. Pretpostavlja se da pripadaju isejskoj proizvodnji keramike tipa *Gnathia* iz 2. st. pr. Kr.⁴⁷ To što su isejske posude tipa *Gnathia* nađene na Palagruži ne čudi s obzirom na blizinu Ise, najbližega grčkog grada i središta lončarske proizvodnje.⁴⁸ Prema Slobodanu Čači i Lucijani Šešelj Isejci su ustanovili Diomedovo svetište na rtu Ploča u 4. st. pr. Kr. i vodili su ga do prestanka njegova djelovanja u 1. st. po. Kr.⁴⁹ Međutim, prisutnost isejskih posuda tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži prvi je materijalni dokaz da su pomorci s istočnog Jadrana posjećivali Palagružu u posljednjem tisućljeću pr. Kr. Naime, nema nikakvih dokaza o tome da su željeznodobne zajednice s istočnog Jadrana plovile do Palagruže. Štoviše, isejska zajednica - koju su Grci osnovali u 4. st. pr. Kr. - do 2. je stoljeća pr. Kr. već imala visokorazvijeno gospodarstvo utemeljeno na proizvodnji i izvozu vina te trgovinskim vezama sa zapadnom obalom Jadrana.⁵⁰ Valja napomenuti i to da su, nakon prestanka apulske proizvodnje keramike tipa *Gnathia* krajem 3. i početkom 2. st. pr. Kr., Isejci nastavili s proizvodnjom te keramičke vrste na istočnom Jadranu.⁵¹ Obrazac distribucije isejske keramike tipa *Gnathia* kreće se tragom zanimanja isejskih trgovaca za srednju Dalmaciju. Njezina prisutnost na Palagruži samo naglašava već pretpostavljenu isejsku prevlast na tom području Jadrana u 2. st. pr. Kr.

Prisutnost apulskih posuda tipa *Gnathia* također je prva čvrsta potvrda da je Palagruža u helenističko doba služila kao tranzitna točka na putu preko Jadrana. Kad je riječ o kasnom arhajskom razdoblju od kraja 6. st. pr. Kr., kada je svetište osnovano, pa sve do sredine 4. st. pr. Kr., atičke crnofiguralne i crvenofiguralne vaze čine većinu nalaza u slojevima koji se povezuju s djelovanjem svetišta.⁵² Jasno, na temelju malih ulomaka teško je prepoznati slikare i radionice, ali sjajni crni premaz na tamnocrvenoj fakturi ukazuje na atičke lončarske radionice. No preliminarna analiza ulomaka crvenofiguralnih vaza s Palagruže pokazala je da bi neki od njih mogli pripadati kasnim apulskim crvenofiguralnim vazama s kraja 4. st. pr.

47 Miše 2015, p. 59.

48 Kirigin 2012, p. 66 mentions that no Issaeen Gnathia were found on P, but only a coin (fig. 58 on p. 68)

49 Čače, Šešelj 2005, pp. 163-186.

50 Kirigin *et al.* 2005, pp. 7-24 (and the same paper in English: Kirigin *et al.* 2006, pp. 119-225).

51 Miše 2015, pp. 40-41, 61-64 and Map 7.

47 Miše 2015, str. 59.

48 Kirigin 2012, str. 66, navodi da na P. nije nađena isejska keramika tipa *Gnathia*, već samo jedan primjerak novca (sl. 58 na str. 68)

49 Čače, Šešelj 2005, str. 163-186.

50 Kirigin *et al.* 2005, str. 7-24 (i isti članak na engleskom: Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 119-225).

51 Miše 2015, str. 40-41, str. 61-64, i karta 7.

52 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, str. 87-113.

The presence of Apulian Gnathia vessels is also the first solid confirmation that Palagruža served as a transit point on the cross-Adriatic route in the Hellenistic period. In the Late Archaic period, from the late 6th c. BC when sanctuary was established, up to the mid 4th century BC, the Attic Black and Red-figured vases make most of the finds in the layers associated with the functioning of the sanctuary.⁵² Certainly, among the small sherds it is difficult to identify painters and workshops, but lustrous black coating with dark red fabrics, point towards the Attic ceramic workshops. However the preliminary analysis of sherds of the Red-figured vases from Palagruža have shown that some of them could belong to the Late Apulian Red-figured vases of the late 4th c. BC.⁵³ The Late Apulian Red-figured vases were produced at the same time and in the same workshops as the Apulian Gnathia ware and it is highly likely that they “travelled” together - exported by the same traders. The same types of Apulian Gnathia vessels unearthed on Palagruža were also found in Issa, in the Diomedes sanctuary at Cape Ploča and other sites on the East Adriatic.⁵⁴ Furthermore, if sherds of the Attic figured vases on Palagruža and in the northern Adriatic prove Athenian trade in the Adriatic in the Classical period, then the Apulian Gnathia ware on Palagruža and on both Adriatic coasts proves the trans-Adriatic trading route in the Hellenistic period. In this regard, Palagruža during the Hellenistic period, when trade contact between west and east Adriatic intensified, served as a bridge between Adriatic communities.

On the other hand, presence of Attic West Slope ware on Palagruža, although in a significantly smaller number than Apulian Gnathia ware, could indicate that Athenian sailors visited Palagruža sometimes during the Hellenistic period. At the same time, it opens up the question about the Athenian presence in the Adriatic in the Hellenistic period. It is definitely a question that deserves more attention. However, based on the Attic potsherds and one Cretan West slope sherd on Palagruža, and a very few potsherds of the same type of ware found on East Adriatic sites (Issa and Pharos in Central Dalmatia and in Budva and Apollonia in the southern East Adriatic⁵⁵) it is very difficult to make any assumption about eastern Mediterranean sailors/traders in the Adriatic in the Hellenistic period.

Kr.⁵³ Kasne apulske crvenofiguralne vaze proizvodile su se u isto vrijeme i u istim radionicama kao i apulska keramika tipa *Gnathia*, pa je vrlo vjerojatno da su zajedno i “putovale”, tj. da su ih izvozili isti trgovci. Iste vrste apulskih posuda tipa *Gnathia* nađene su i u Isi, na Diomedovu svetištu na rtu Ploča i na drugim lokalitetima na istočnom Jadranu.⁵⁴ Usto, ako ulomci atičkih crvenofiguralnih vaza na Palagruži i sjevernom Jadranu potvrđuju atensku trgovinu na Jadranu u klasičnom razdoblju, onda apulska keramika tipa *Gnathia* na Palagruži i na obje obale Jadrana potvrđuje trgovački pravac preko Jadrana u helenističkom razdoblju. U tom smislu, tijekom helenističkog razdoblja, kada su se trgovački odnosi između zapadnog i istočnog Jadrana razmahali, Palagruža je služila kao most između jadranskih zajednica.

S druge strane, prisutnost atičke keramike tipa *West Slope* na Palagruži, premda u znatno manjoj količini od apulske keramike tipa *Gnathia*, mogla bi ukazivati na to da su atenski pomorci tijekom helenističkog razdoblja katkad posjećivali i Palagružu. To je svakako pitanje koje zaslužuje veću pozornost. No na temelju nekoliko ulomaka atičke i jednog ulomka kretske keramike tipa *West Slope* na Palagruži te vrlo malobrojnih ulomaka ove keramičke vrste nađenih na lokalitetima istočnog Jadrana (u Isi i Farosu u srednjoj Dalmaciji te Budvi i Apoloniji na jugu istočnog Jadrana⁵⁵), vrlo je teško iznijeti bilo kakvu pretpostavku o prisutnosti pomoraca/trgovaca iz istočnog Sredozemlja na Jadranu u doba helenizma.

52 Kirigin *et al.* 2010, pp. 87-113.

53 I would like to thank Dr Francesca Silvestrelli, from University of Lecce, for sharing this valuable information after examination of Red-figured ware from Palagruža.

54 Miše 2015, pp. 23-30.

55 Miše 2015, pp. 53-55, and the potsherd on the West Slope plate from Pharos, was brought to my attention by Dr. Branko Kirigin.

53 Zahvaljujem dr. Franceski Silvestrelli sa Sveučilišta u Lecceu što mi je slijedom ispitivanja crvenofiguralne keramike s Palagruže prenijela taj dragocjeni podatak.

54 Miše 2015, str. 23-30.

55 Miše 2015, str. 53-55, i ulomak tanjura tipa *West Slope* iz Farosa, na koji mi je pozornost skrenuo dr. Branko Kirigin.

Catalogue description of presented Gnathia ware from Palagruža

1. Skyphos, AMS 56529 (Fig. 4). From Z-7, layer 24, h: 4.8cm, w: 2cm. Pale yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) and black to bluish black coating is damaged. Slightly out-curved rim outlining gentile S-profile. Below the rim are painted ovules between double incised lines.
Late 4th - beginning of 3rd c. BC.
2. Skyphos, AMS 56496 (Fig. 5). From Z-7, layer 24, h: 5cm, w: 4.4cm. Pale yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) and black to bluish black coating is damaged. Vertical rim and body with decoration: horizontal incised lines, red ribbon with hanging grapes and tendrils.
Knudsen group, Canosa.
330-300 BC.
3. Skyphos, AMS 56447 (Fig. 6). From V-6, layer 24, h: 2.4cm, w: 2.5cm. Pale yellow to ochre clay (10YR 6/6) and damaged black coating. Slightly out-curved rim and vertical walls. Below the rim is painted horizontal palm branch, but visible in traces. Below red horizontal line are ribbings.
Late Canosan, Canosa.
3rd c. BC.
4. Skyphos, AMS 56545 (Fig. 7). From Z-8, layer 24, h: 2.2cm, w: 2.3cm. Pale yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) and black coating. Vertical rim and walls with beginning of a horizontal handle below the rim. Horizontal red line marks the beginning of ribbing on the body.
3rd c. BC.
5. Skyphos, AMS 56434 (Fig. 8). From V-7, layer 24, h: 4.7cm, w: 4.3cm. Pale yellow clay (10YR 7/6) and brown coating. Slightly out-curved rim and dense ribbings on the body.
Issaeian Gnathia.
2nd c. BC.
6. Skyphos, AMS 56700 (Fig. 9). From B-9, layer 24, h: 4cm, w: 5.3cm. Ochre to reddish clay (5YR 6/6) and black coating on outer and inner walls of the body. A conical profiled foot with very short stem and concave lower part of body.
Apulian Gnathia.
Probably 3rd c. BC.

Kataloški opis prezentiranih ulomaka keramike tipa *Gnathia* s Palagruže

1. Skif, AMS 56529 (sl. 4). Kvadrant Z-7, sloj 24, v: 4,8 cm, š: 2 cm. Blijedožuta glina (7.5YR 7/6) i plavičast do crni premaz koji je oštećen. Malo izvijen obod naglašava S-profil posude. Ispod oboda su naslikani ovuli između dvostruko urezanih horizontalnih crta.
Kasno 4. i početak 3. st. pr. Kr.
2. Skif, AMS 56496 (sl. 5). Kvadrant Z-7, sloj 24, v: 5 cm, š: 4.4 cm. Blijedožuta glina (7.5YR 7/6) i plavičast do crni premaz koji je oštećen. Okomit obod i tijelo s ukrasom: horizontalno urezane crte, crvena vrpca, viseći grozdovi i vitice.
Skupina Knudsen, Kanuzij.
330.-300. g. pr. Kr.
3. Skif, AMS 56447 (sl. 6). Kvadrant V-6, sloj 24, v: 2,4 cm, š: 2,5 cm. Blijedožuta do oker glina (10YR 6/6) i oštećeni crni premaz. Malo izvijen obod i okomite stijenke. Ispod oboda je naslikana horizontalna palma grana, ali je vidljiva samo u tragovima. Ispod horizontalne crvene crte su kanelure.
Kasnokanuzijska skupina, Kanuzij.
3. st. pr. Kr.
4. Skif, AMS 56545 (sl. 7). Kvadrant Z-8, sloj 24, v: 2,2 cm, š: 2,3 cm. Blijedožuta glina (7.5YR 7/6) i crni premaz. Okomiti obod i stijenke s početkom horizontalne ručke. Horizontalna crvena crta označava početak kanelura.
3. st. pr. Kr.
5. Skif, AMS 56434 (sl. 8). Kvadrant V-7, sloj 24, v: 4,7 cm, š: 4,3 cm. Blijedožuta glina (10YR 7/6) i smeđi premaz. Pomalo izvijen obod i guste kanelure.
Isejska *Gnathia*.
2. st. pr. Kr.
6. Skif, AMS 56700 (sl. 9). Kvadrant B-9, sloj 24, v: 4cm, š: 5.3cm. Žućkasta do crvenkasta glina (5YR 6/6) i crni premaz na unutrašnjim i vanjskim stjenkama. Konična profilirana stopa s kratkom peteljkom i konkavnim donjim dijelom tijela.
Apulska *Gnathia*.
Vjerojatno 3. st. pr. Kr.

7. Jug/oinochoe, AMS 56445 (Fig. 10). From V-6, layer 24, h: 2.6cm, w: 6.1cm. Yellowish clay (7.5YR 8/6) and black coating. Part of trefoil mouth with still visible white vertical lines below the rim.
250-200 BC.
8. Plate, AMS 56600 (Fig. 11). From Z-8, layer 24, w: 3.5 x 5cm. Pale yellow clay (10YR 7/6) and damaged black coating. Tick horizontal wall with radial wide ribbing on inner side, and probably part of red line.
Late Gnathia, probably Canosa.
3rd c. BC.
7. Vrš/enohoja, AMS 56445 (sl. 10). Kvadrant V-6, sloj 24, v: 2,6 cm, š: 6,1 cm. Žućkasta glina (7.5YR 8/6) i crni premaz. Dio trolisnog izljeva s vidljivim naslikanim okomitim crtama ispod oboda.
250.-200. g. pr. Kr.
8. Tanjur, AMS 56600 (sl. 11). Kvadrant Z-8, sloj 24, š: 3,5 x 5 cm. Blijedožuta glina (10YR 7/6) i oštećeni crni premaz. Debele stijenke sa zraka-stim, širokim kanelurama na unutrašnjoj strani i sačuvani dio crvene trake.
Kasna *Gnathia*, vjerojatno Kanuzij.
3. st. pr. Kr.

Catalogue description of West Slope ware in AMS from Palagruža

1. Kantharos, AMS 56499. From Z-7, layer 24, h: 6cm, w: 12cm. Dark red clay (10R 4/8) and black lustrous coating. Slightly out-curved rim and vertical walls. Below rim is ivy painted in white and still visible in traces. Wide ribbings on the body.
Probably Attic West Slope.
Last quarter of 4th - beginning of 3rd c. BC.
2. Handle of kantharos, AMS 56503. From Z-7, layer 24, h: 4cm, w: 3.8cm. Dark red clay (10R 4/8) and black lustrous coating. Vertical strip handle with slightly out-curved rim. Part of the same vessels as previous.
First quarter of 3rd c. BC.
3. Cup-kantharos, AMS 40107. From V-7, layer 24, h: 10, w: 8.9cm. Dark red clay (10R 4/8) and black lustrous coating. Lower part of neck with body - concave profile.
Probably Attic West Slope.
3rd c. BC.
4. Kantharos, AMS 56695. From A-8, layer 24, h: 2.2cm, w: 2.5cm. Dark red clay (10R 4/8) and black lustrous coating. Upper part of belly and lower part of neck are preserved, outlining concave transition from neck to body. Visible painted ivy on the neck. Wide ribbings on the belly. Maybe part of previous vessel.
Probably Attic West Slope.

Kataloški opis *West Slope* keramike iz AMS-a s Palagruže

1. Kantar, AMS 56499. Kvadrant Z-7, sloj 24, v: 6 m, š: 12 cm. Tamnocrvena glina (10R 4/8) i crni sjajni premaz. Pomalo izvijen obod i okomite stijenke. Ispod oboda je naslikan bršljan u bijeloj boji, koji je vidljiv u tragovima. Široke kanelure na tijelu.
Vjerojatno atička *West Slope* keramika.
Zadnja četvrtina 4. - početak 3. st. pr. Kr.
2. Ručka kantara, AMS 56503. Kvadrant Z-7, sloj 24, v: 4 cm, š: 3,8 cm. Tamnocrvena glina (10R 4/8) i crni sjajni premaz. Okomita trakasta ručka s ostacima pomalo izvijenog oboda. Vjerojatno dio prethodne posude.
Prva četvrtina 3. st. pr. Kr.
3. Čaša-kantar, AMS 40107. Kvadrant V-7, sloj 24, v: 10, š: 8,9 cm. Tamnocrvena glina (10R 4/8) i crni sjajni premaz. Sačuvan donji dio vrata s tijelom konkavnog profila.
Vjerojatno atička *West Slope* keramika.
3. st. pr. Kr.
4. Kantar, AMS 56695. Kvadrant A-8, sloj 24, v: 2,2 cm, š: 2,5 cm. Tamnocrvena glina (10R 4/8) i crni sjajni premaz. Sačuvan je gornji dio trbuha i donji dio vrata, s naglašenim prijelazom. Vidljivi tragovi naslikanog bršljana na vratu. Široke pravilne kanelure na truhu. Možda je dio iste posude kao i prethodni ulomak.
Vjerojatno atička *West Slope* keramika.

BIBLIOGRAPHY / LITERATURA

- Agora XXIX S. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported wheelmade table ware and related material*, The Athenian Agora XXIX, Princeton 1997.
- Blečić Kavur 2015 M. Blečić Kavur, *Povezanost perspective. A coherence of perspective - Osor u kulturnim kontaktima mlađeg željeznog doba. Osor in cultural contacts during the Late Iron Age*, Koper - Lošinj 2015.
- Callaghan 1981 P. Callaghan, *The Medusa Rondanini and Antiochus III*, The Annual of the British School at Athens 76, Athens 1981, 59-70.
- Cambi *et al.* 1981 N. Cambi, B. Kirigin, E. Marin, *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja helenističke nekropole Isse (1976. i 1979. god.) - preliminarni izvještaj*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 75, Split 1981, 63-83. (Isti članak na engleskom jeziku: *Excavations at Issa, Island of Vis, Yugoslavia 1976, 1979 A Preliminary report*, Rivista di archeologia 4, Roma - Venezia 1980, 81-91.)
- Coldstream *et al.* 2001 J. N. Coldstream, L. J. Eiring, G. Forster, *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Greek and Roman*, British School at Athens Studies 7, Athens 2001, 1-178.
- Čače, Šešelj 2005 S. Čače, L. Šešelj, *Findings from the sanctuary of Diomedes on Cape Ploča: new contributions to the discussion of Hellenistic period on the east Adriatic*, Illyrica antiqua, Ab honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević. Radovi s međunarodnog skupa o problemima antičke arheologije, Zagreb, 6.-8. XI. 2003, Zagreb 2005, 163-186.
- Čargo 2010 B. Čargo, *Istraživanja jugozapadne Isejske nekropole do 1970. godine*, Split 2010.
- De Juliis 1992 M. E. De Juliis, *La tomba del vaso dei Niobidi di Arpi*, Bari 1992.
- Forenbaher 2009 S. Forenbaher, *Adriatic Offshore Islands and Long-Distance Interaction in Prehistory*, in: A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Prehistory, S. Forenbaher (ed.), Oxford: BAR S Series 2037, Oxford 2009, 73-87.
- Forenbaher, Kaiser 1997 S. Forenbaher, T. Kaiser, *Palagruža, jadranski moreplovci i njihova kamena industrija na prijelazu iz bakrenog u brončano doba*, Opuscula archaeologica 21, Zagreb 1997, 15-28.
- Gamberini 2009 A. Gamberini, *Le prime fasi di vita della città Phoinike (Albania meridionale): La stratigraphia del vanto I. nella "Casa dei due peristili*, in: Ελληνιστική κεραμική από την αρχαία Ήπειρο, την Αιτωλοακαρνανία και τα Ιόνια Νησιά, Athens 2009, 87-96.
- Giannotta 1996 M. T. Giannotta, *La ceramic sovraddipinta policroma: l'area messapica*, in: Arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia, E. Lippolis (ed.), Napoli 1996, 453-468.
- Green 1979 J. R. Green, *Ears of Corn and other Offerings*, in: Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall, A. Cambitoglou (ed.), Sydney 1979, 81-90.
- Green 1989 J. R. Green, *Motifs and Symbolism and Gnathia vases*, in: Beitrage zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann, H. U. Cain, H. Gabelman, D. Salzmann (eds.), Bonn 1989, 221-226.
- Green 2001 J. R. Green, *Gnathia and Other Overpainted Wares of Italy and Sicily: a Survey*, in: Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines, III, P. Lévêque, J. P. Morel (eds.), Paris 2001, 57-103.
- Kallini 2013 Ch. Kallini, *Hellenistic Kantharoi. Their production centers and their distribution in the Eastern Mediterranean*, in: Networks in the Hellenistic World According to the pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, N. Fenn, C. Römer-Strehl (eds.), BAR International Series 2539, Oxford 2013, 59-66.
- Kirigin 2012 B. Kirigin, *Palagruža - Diomedov otok*, Književni krug, Split 2012.
- Kirigin, Čače 1998 B. Kirigin, S. Čače, *Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic*, Hesperia: studi sulla grecità di Occidente 9, Roma 1998, 63-110.
- Kirigin, Marin 1985 B. Kirigin, E. Marin, *Issa '80*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 78, Split 1985, 45-72. (Isti članak na engleskom jeziku: *Excavations at Issa, island of Vis (YU) 1980, a preliminary report*, Studi di antichità 5, Lecce 1988, 129-147.)
- Kirigin *et al.* 2005 B. Kirigin, T. Katunarić, L. Šešelj, *Amfore i fina keramika (od 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr.) iz srednje Dalmacije: preliminarni ekonomski i socijalni pokazatelji*, Vjesnik za

Maja Miše, Banquet among the stars: Gnathia and West Slope ware from Diomedes sanctuary on the island of Palagruža
Gozba među zvijezdama: Keramika tipa *Gnathia* i *West Slope* iz Diomedova svetišta na otoku Palagruži

- arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 98, Split 2005, 7-24. (Isti članak na engleskom jeziku: *Preliminary notes on some economic and social aspects of amphorae and fine ware pottery from Central Dalmatia, 4th - 1st BC*, in: Rimini e l'Adriatico nell'eta delle guerre puniche, F. Lenzi (ed.), Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Rimini, Musei Comunali, 25-27 marzo 2004, Bologna 2006, 191-225.)
- Kirigin *et al.* 2009 B. Kirigin, A. Johnston, M. Vučetić, Ž. Lušić, *Palagruža - The Island of Diomedes - and Notes on Ancient Greek Navigation in the Adriatic*, in: *A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Prehistory*, S. Forenbahe (ed.), Oxford: BAR S Series 2037, Oxford 2009, 137-155.
- Kirigin *et al.* 2010 B. Kirigin, M. Miše, V. Barbarić, *Palagruža - the island of Diomedes. Summary excavation report 2002- 2008*, *Hesperia: studi sulla grecità di Occidente* 25, Roma 2010, 87-113. (Isti članak na hrvatskom jeziku: *Palagruža - Diomedov otok. Sažeti pregled arheoloških iskopavanja 2002.-2008. godine*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja na srednjem Jadranu*, Izdanja HAD-a br. 25, Split 2010, 43-60.)
- Lanza Catti 2008 E. Lanza Catti, *La ceramica "di Gnathia" a Museo Nazionale Jatta di Ruvo di Puglia*, Roma 2008.
- Miše 2006 M. Miše, *Antička kuhinjska keramika iz Diomedovog svetišta na Palagruži*, *Histria Antiqua* 14, Pula 2006, 203-215.
- Miše 2013 M. Miše, *Prilog proučavanju isejske keramike tipa Gnathia (A contribution to the study of Gnathia ware from Issa)*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 106, Split 2013, 99-130.
- Miše 2015 M. Miše, *Gnathia and Related Hellenistic ware on the East Adriatic coast*, Oxford 2015.
- Miše, Šešelj 2008 M. Miše, L. Šešelj, *The late Hellenistic and early Roman fine pottery from the sanctuaries of Diomedes in Dalmatia*, *Acta RCRF* 40, Bonn 2008, 113-119.
- Rotroff 1991 S. Rotroff, *Attic West Slope vase painting*, *Hesperia* 60, 1, Princeton 1991, 14-46.
- Šešelj 2009 L. Šešelj, *Promunturium Diomedis: svetišna rtu Ploča i Jadranska Pomorska Trgovina u helenističkom razdoblju*, (Diss. University of Zadar) Zadar 2009.