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Rasprava o podrijetlu proročkih riječi i povijesnom kontekstu osnivanja Fara

...Parani su prema nekome proročanstvu odaslali naseljenike u Jadran... (Diod. XV, 13, 4)

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Sažetak

U hrvatskoj historiografiji dva Diodorova odlomka oduvijek privlače posebnu pozornost. To su trinaesti i četrnaesti odlomak XV. knjige u kojima je grčki povjesničar iz 1. st. pr. Kr. rodom sa Sicilije opisao dolazak Parana 385./384. g. pr. Kr. na otok Far (današnji Hvar). Prema Diodoru (XV, 13, 4) Parani su odaslali naseljenike u Jadran prema nekom proročanstvu (κατά τινα χρησμόν). U radu se поближе raščlanjuje podrijetlo proročanstva pomoću komparativne analize odabranih odlomaka iz Diodorove *Povijesne knjižnice* te arheološkog i povijesnog konteksta. Posebno se razmatra mogućnost dodonske i delfske provenijencije proročkih riječi.

Ključne riječi: Parani, proročanstvo, Diodor, Dodona, Delfi, Far

A discourse on the origin of the oracles and the historical context surrounding the establishment of Pharos

...The Parians, in accordance with an oracle, sent out a colony to the Adriatic... (Diod. XV, 13, 4)

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Abstract

In Croatian historiography, two passages by Diodorus have always garnered particular attention. These are the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of book XV in which this Greek historian from the 1st century BC, originally from Sicily, described the arrival of the Parians on the island of Pharos (today's Hvar) in 385/384 BC. According to Diodorus (XV, 13, 4) the Parians sent out colonists to the Adriatic following the advice of an oracle (κατά τινα χρησμόν). The origin of this oracle is elaborated in detail in this paper with the help of a comparative analysis of selected passages from *The Library of History* and the archaeological and historical context. Particular scrutiny is accorded to the question of whether the oracle originated in Dodona or Delphi.

Key words: Parians, oracle, Diodorus, Dodona, Delphi, Pharos

Uvod

U istoj godini kad su Spartanci opsjedali arkađijsku Mantineju, Diodor Sicilski (XV, 13, 1) piše da je Dionizije Stariji odlučio osnovati gradove u Jadranu, jer je htio zavladata Jonskim prolazom ili naprosto cijelim Jonskim i Jadranskim morem (τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον).¹ Potom je prebacio vojsku u Epir s ciljem da opljačka Delfe² i postavi na mološko prijestolje prognanog kralja Alketu. Sklopio je savez s Ilirima i upleo se u veći sukob, jer su se Mološanima koji nisu podržavali Alketu pridružili Lakedemonjani (XV, 13, 2–3). Dok se to događalo, Parani su prema nekom proročanstvu poslali naseljenike u Jadran i uspostavili koloniju na otoku Faru. U tome im je pomogao sicilski tiranin Dionizije Stariji koji je nekoliko godina ranije na Jadranu osnovao grad Isu ili Lis³ (XV, 13, 4).

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- 1 Riječ πόρος može značiti prijelaz, prolaz, morski put ili more (Liddel, Scott 1940, s. v. πόρος; Katičić 1995, str. 81). Grci su pod Jonskim zaljevom (ὁ Ἰόνιος πόρος ili κόλπος) podrazumijevali današnje Jonsko i Jadransko more (Lisičar 1951, str. 7). Zato se ova rečenica može shvatiti tako da je Dionizije odlučio ovladati cijelim Jonskim morem pa tako i Jadranom. Vidi detaljnije u Braccesi 1977, str. 188.
- 2 Diodorova vijest o Dionizijevoj namjeri da opljačka Delfe čini se nepouzdanom (Stylianou 1998, str. 191-192). Vjerojatno potječe iz nekog danas izgubljenog teksta. Sudeći po detaljnoj analizi Diodorovih izvora što ju je učinio Lionel J. Sanders (Sanders 1981, str. 394-397; Sanders 1987, str. 27-29), čini se da bi ova vijest mogla potjecati iz redaka Timeja iz Tauromenija koji je bio veliki protivnik sirakuške tiranide i nije bio naklonjen Dionizijevoj politici (Novak 1961, str. 178; Berve 1967, str. 249; Braccesi 1977, str. 191). Zbog zemljopisnog konteksta Hammond je predložio da je Diodor zamijenio Dodonu Delfima (Hammond 1967, str. 278, bilj. 1). Ipak, njegova ideja nema uporište u rukopisnim verzijama (Oldfather 1954, str. 356).
- 3 Dvojba oko Ise i Lisa čest je predmet znanstvene rasprave. Prepisivačku pogrešku prvi je pretpostavio Ivan Lučić u djelu *O kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske u šest knjiga* iz 17. stoljeća. Detaljno je raspravljao o ideji da u Diodorovu tekstu Lis treba ispraviti u Isa: *Ita pro Lisso in Diodori textu reponi debet, cum Issae*

Introduction

In the same year that the Spartans laid siege to Arcadian Mantinea, Diodorus Siculus (XV, 13, 1) wrote that Dionysius the Elder decided to establish cities in the Adriatic, because he wanted to make the route to Epirus safe or simply take control of the entire Ionian and Adriatic Seas (τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον).¹ He then transferred an army to Epirus with the aim of sacking Delphi² and placed the exiled King Alcetas onto the Molossian throne. He forged an alliance with the Illyrians and became involved in a major conflict, because the Molossians who did not support Alcetas were joined by the Lacedaemonians (XV, 13, 2-3). While this was happening, the Parians, pursuant to an oracle, sent colonists to the Adriatic and established a colony on the island of Pharos. They were aided by the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the

* This article is based on a chapter from my master's thesis "Povijesni kontekst osnivanja grčke kolonije na Faru" ('The Historical Context of the Establishment of the Greek Colony on Pharos'). The thesis was defended at the History Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science in Zagreb on the 28 September 2017 before a committee consisting of Prof. Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, Ph.D., Prof. Boris Olujić, Ph.D. and Jelena Marohnić, Ph.D. I would like to thank my mentors, particularly Prof. Kuntić-Makvić, for their useful scholarly and linguistic corrections and advice. I would also like to thank Erica Angliker, Andrea Devlahović and Sara Popović for providing me with the relevant literature.

- 1 The word πόρος may mean pass, passage, maritime route or sea (Liddel, Scott 1940, s. v. πόρος, Katičić 1995, p. 81). The ancient Greeks used the term Ionian Gulf (ὁ Ἰόνιος πόρος or κόλπος) to refer to today's Ionian and Adriatic Seas (Lisičar 1951, p. 7). This is why this sentence may be understood such that Dionysius had decided to take control over the entire Ionian Sea, including the Adriatic. See more details in Braccesi 1977, p. 188.
- 2 Diodorus' account of the intentions of Dionysius to sack Delphi does not seem credible (Stylianou 1998, pp. 191-192). It probably originated in some now lost text. Judging by the detailed analysis of the sources used by Diodorus which was conducted by Lionel J. Sanders (Sanders 1981, pp. 394-397; Sanders 1987, pp. 27-29), it would appear that this information may have originated from the writings of Timaeus of Tauromenium, who was a major opponent of the Syracusan tyranny and hostile to the policies of Dionysius (Novak 1961, p. 178; Berve 1967, p. 249; Braccesi 1977, p. 191). Based on the geographic context, Hammond suggested that Diodorus had mistaken Delphi for Dodona (Hammond 1967, p. 278, note 1). However, his idea has no basis in the manuscript versions (Oldfather 1954, p. 356).

recte congruant quaecumque ipse Diodorus de statione classis Dionysii et Praetoris residentia refert (Lučić 1987, str. 121). Tezu je utemeljio na slučaju koji se nalazi u Polibijevu djelu (*Polyb. XXXII, 9*). Njegovu riječ *nission*, koju je kasnije Stjepan Bizantinac pročitao kao *Lission*, Lučić tumači kao *Isseon* (119). Ustvrdio je da su se iste pogreške potkrale u oba odlomka (*Diod. XV, 13-14*). Kasnije su o tom problemu pisali mnogi. U 19. stoljeću Bauer je zaključio da je Dionizije osnovao prvo Lis, a zatim Isu (Bauer 1895, str. 130). Josip Brunšmid prihvatio je Bauerovo i Mommsenovo mišljenje pa ustvrdio da je Dionizije osnovao Lis pa Isu (Brunšmid 1998, str. 27). Karl Julius Beloch ustvrdio je da je zbog geografskog položaja Vis bolji kandidat (Beloch 1922, str. 118, br. 2), dok se Beaumont založio za Lis (Beaumont 1936, str. 202). Dva i pol stoljeća nakon Lučića Grga Novak je nakon više rasprava o Dionizijevim kolonizatorskim pothvatima na Jadranu prihvatio staru korekciju i složio se da u petnaestoj glavi mora stajati Isa. U kapitalnom članku "Kolonizatorsko djelovanje Dionizija Starijeg na Jadranu" zaključio je da Dionizije nije osnovao Lis, nego Isu oko 390. g. pr. Kr., a pomoć Paranima morala je doći sa susjednog otoka (Novak 1940, str. 111-128). Jedan od preokreta u dotadašnjim istraživanjima bio je rad Karla Friedricha Stroheker koji je, pišući o Dioniziju Starijem i debatirajući o kontroverzi Lis-Isa, usporedio sačuvane rukopise. Analizi su podvrgnuti *Codex Patmius* (10. ili 11. stoljeće), *Codex Coislianus A* (15. stoljeće) i *Codex Venetus*, 375. U posljednjem od nabrojanih otkrio je rukopisnu verziju $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\eta} \Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ ili $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$, tj. prijelazni oblik koji se prepisivanjem iskvario u $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\eta} \Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ (Stroheker 1958, str. 120-129). U novijoj historiografiji mišljenja su podijeljena. Jedna struja smatra da u prvom odjeljku (*Diod. XV, 13. 4-5*) mora ostati oblik $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$ pa na taj način interpretiraju povijesni kontekst (npr. Woodhead 1970, str. 507-508; Braccesi 1977, str. 226; Kirigin 1990, str. 319-320; Vanotti 1991, str. 107-110; Čače 1994, str. 33-54; Kirigin 1996, str. 42-43). Primjerice, Slobodan Čače tvrdnju temelji na činjenici da ni u jednoj rukopisnoj verziji ne postoji oblik bez početnog *lambda* (Čače 1994, str. 45), a Branko Kirigin u novijoj raspravi o Isi sasvim ignorira raspravu o historijskoj kontroverzi te utemeljenje grčke kolonije ne dovodi u vezu s politikom Dionizija Starijeg (Kirigin 2010, str. 119-123). Drugi se autori priklanjaju Lučićevoj intervenciji (npr. Gabričević 1973, str. 148-149; Nikolanci 1970, str. 377-382; Kuntić-Makvić 1988, str. 32-33; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, str. 33-36; Cabanes 2001, str. 59-60; Jeličić-Radonić 2010, str. 125 i dr.). Osim Novakovog i Strohekerovog doprinosa, ideju o Dionizijevoj Isi temelje na nedostatku arheološkog horizonta prve polovice 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. u albanskom Lješju (Islami 1976, str. 101-112; Prendi, Zhaku 1986, str. 123), dok ističu rane grčke tragove na Visu (Protić 1985, str. 37-44; Zaninović 2015, str. 134-135). U prilog toj tezi spominju se citati Pseudo-Skilaka iz 4. st. pr. Kr. koji je napisao da su Novi Far i Isa otoci te

Elder, who had established the city Issa, or Lissus, on the Adriatic several years prior³ (*XV, 13, 4*).

- 3 The confusion surrounding Issa and Lissus has frequently been the subject of scholarly debate. The first to assume a transcription error was Ivan Lucić in the work *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (On the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia in six books) from the 17th century. He discussed in detail the idea that Lissus should be corrected to Issa in the text by Diodorus: "*Ita pro Lisso in Diodori textu reponi debet, cum Issae recte congruant quaecumque ipse Diodorus de statione classis Dionysii et Praetoris residentia refert*" (Lučić 1987, p. 121). He based his theory on a case found in the text by Polybius (*Polyb. XXXII, 9*). His word *nission*, which Stephanus of Byzantium read as *Lission*, was interpreted by Lučić as *Isseon* (119). He asserted that the same error had worked its way into both passages (*Diod. XV, 13-14*). Many wrote about this problem later. In the 19th c., Bauer concluded that Dionysius had first established Lissus, and then Issa (Bauer 1895, p. 130). Josip Brunšmid accepted the opinion of Bauer and Mommsen, so he claimed that Dionysius had founded Lissus and then Issa (Brunšmid 1998, p. 27). Karl Julius Beloch asserted that due to its geographic position Vis was a better candidate (Beloch 1922, p. 118, no. 2), while Beaumont preferred Lissus (Beaumont 1936, p. 202). Two and half centuries after Lučić, after several discourses on Dionysius' colonization undertakings in the Adriatic, Grga Novak accepted the old correction and agreed that the fifteenth chapter had to refer to Issa. In his major article "Kolonizatorsko djelovanje Dionizija Starijeg na Jadranu," he concluded that Dionysius did not establish Lissus, but rather Issa in around 390 BC, and that aid to the Parians had to have come from a neighbouring island (Novak 1940, pp. 111-128). One of the breakthroughs in research up to that point was the work by Karl Friedrich Stroheker who, writing about Dionysius the Elder and debating the controversy surrounding Lissus/Issa, compared the preserved manuscripts. He subjected the *Codex Patmius* (10th or 11th c.), *Codex Coislianus A* (15th c.) and the *Codex Venetus*, 375, to analysis. In the last of these, he uncovered the manuscript version $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\eta} \Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ or $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$, i.e., the transitional form which had been altered to $\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\tilde{\eta} \Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ in transcription (Stroheker 1958, pp. 120-129). Views in more recent historiography have diverged. One school believes that in the first section (*Diod. XV, 13. 4-5*) the form $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$ must remain, and the historical context must be interpreted in this way (e.g. Woodhead 1970, pp. 507-508; Braccesi 1977, p. 226; Kirigin 1990, pp. 319-320; Vanotti 1991, pp. 107-110; Čače 1994, pp. 33-54; Kirigin 1996, pp. 42-43). For example, Slobodan Čače based his assertion on the fact that the form without the beginning *lambda* does not exist in any manuscript version (Čače 1994, p. 45), while in a newer study on Issa, Branko Kirigin entirely ignored the debate on the historical controversy and did not link the establishment of the Greek colony with the policies of Dionysius

Diodor je jedini izvor koji piše detaljnije o ovom događaju.⁴ Prema njegovoj kronologiji računa se da su Parani poslali naseljenike na Jadran i napučili Far u doba atenskog arhonta Deksiteja te rimskih konzula Lucija Lukrecija i Servija Sulpicija.⁵ U literaturi se 385./384. g. pr. Kr. pojavljuje kao opće priznati datum.⁶

Prema *Povijesnoj knjižnici* Parani su prema nekom proročanstvu poslali sugrađane na Jadran (Πάριοι κατά τινα χρησμόν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμψαντες εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν). Frazom κατά τινα χρησμόν ne može se pouzdano tvrditi odakle je proročanstvo došlo i kako je točno glasilo.

Autori koji su pisali o kolonizacijskom pokretu na Far uglavnom predlažu da su Parani 385./384. godine potražili savjet Apolona Pitijskog. Bez dodatne argumentacije Otto Rubensohn i Eugenio Lanzillotta tvrde da su Parani konzultirali Delfe.⁷ Lanzillotta je dodatno naglasio veze Para i Delfa tijekom arhajskog i klasičnog razdoblja, iz čega slijedi zaključak da su Parani morali odabrati to proročište.⁸ Jasna Jeličić-Radonić pretpostavlja da su Delfi dali proročanstvo za kolonizaciju, jer su oduvijek bili zaduženi za taj čin.⁹ Cilj bi mogao biti populacijska disperzija u više valova kako bi

Diodorus is the only writer who considered this event in any detail.⁴ According to his chronology, the Parians sent colonists to the Adriatic and populated Pharos in the time of the Athenian archon Dexitheüs and the Roman consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servius Sulpicius.⁵ In the literature 385/384 BC appears as a generally recognized date.⁶

According to the *Bibliotheca historica* (*Library of History*), the Parians, in accordance with the prophecy of an oracle, sent their fellow citizens to the Adriatic (Πάριοι κατά τινα χρησμόν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμψαντες εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν). Based on the phrase κατά τινα χρησμόν, whence exactly the oracle came and what its actual content was cannot be ascertained.

the Elder (Kirigin 2010, pp. 119-123). Other scholars agreed with Lučić's intervention (e.g. Gabričević 1973, pp. 148-149; Nikolanci 1970, pp. 377-382; Kuntić-Makvić 1988, pp. 32-33; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, pp. 33-36; Cabanes 2001, pp. 59-60; Jeličić-Radonić 2010, p. 125 ff). Besides the contributions by Novak and Stroheker, they based the idea of a Dionysian Issa on the lack of archaeological horizons in Albania's Lezhë from the first half of the 4th c. BC (Islami 1976, pp. 101-112; Prendi and Zheku 1986, p. 123), while underscoring the early Greek traces on Vis (Protić 1985, pp. 37-44; Zaninović 2015, pp. 134-135). To back this hypothesis, they cite Pseudo-Scylax from the 4th c. BC, who wrote that New Pharos and Issa were islands as well as Greek cities (*Ps. Scyl. 23*) and Pseudo-Scymnus, who cited the statements of Timeaus and Eratosthenes on the settlement of the island of Issa by the Syracusans (*Ps. Scymn. 214, 412-414*). A detailed description of the many centuries of controversy around Lissus/Issa was provided by Marin Zaninović in the chapter "Naša obala i Jadran u imperijalnom pothvatu Dionizija Sirakuškog" in his monograph *Ilirski ratovi* (Zaninović 2015, pp. 123-133).

ujedno grčki gradovi (*Ps. Scyl. 23*) i Pseudo-Skimna koji citira Timejevu i Eratostenovu vijest o otoku Isi s naseobinom Sirakušana (*Ps. Scymn. 214, 412-414*). Detaljan opis višestoljetne kontroverze Lis-Isa donio je Marin Zaninović u poglavlju "Naša obala i Jadran u imperijalnom pothvatu Dionizija Sirakuškog" monografije *Ilirski ratovi* (Zaninović 2015, str. 123-133).

- 4 Osim Diodora još neki antički pisci spominju podatak da je Far parska kolonija na Jadranu. To su Efor iz Kime (*FGrH 70 F 89 = Steph. Byz. s. v. Φάρος*), Eratosten (*schol. ap. Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1215*), Pseudo-Skimno (*Ps. Scymn. 426-427*), Strabon (VII, 5, 5) i Stjepan Bizantinac (s. v. Φάρος). Ostali pisci koji su u nekom kontekstu spomenuli Far nabrojani su u: Kuntić-Makvić 1996, str. 33-38; Čače 1997, str. 217-235.
- 5 Vremenska odrednica je daleko sprijeda (*Diod. XV, 8, 1*). Vijest o parskoj kolonizaciji Jadrana nalazi se na kraju cjeline, nakon opisa događaja na Cipru, u Maloj Aziji i kod Mantineje.
- 6 Čače 1994, str. 35; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, str. 34; Jeličić-Radonić 2005, str. 316-317; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, str. 92-93; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015, str. 13 i dr. Za povijesni komentar oko datacije vidi: Stylianou 1998, str. 180.
- 7 Rubensohn 1949, str. 1818; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 131.
- 8 Lanzillotta 1987, str. 41-44, 111.
- 9 Jeličić-Radonić 2005, str. 317; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, str. 92.

- 4 Besides Diodorus, other Classical writers mentioned that Pharos was a Parian colony on the Adriatic. These are Ephorus of Cyme (*FGrH 70 F 89 = Steph. Byz. s. v. Φάρος*), Eratosthenes (*schol. ap. Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1215*), Pseudo-Scymnus (*GGM I, 426-427*), Strabo (VII, 5, 5) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. Φάρος). Other writers who mentioned Pharos in any context are listed in: Kuntić-Makvić 1996, pp. 33-38; Čače 1997, pp. 217-235.
- 5 This chronological designation comes far ahead in the text (*Diod. XV, 8, 1*). The account of the Parian colonization of the Adriatic is at the end of the section, after descriptions of events on Cyprus, and in Asia Minor and Mantinea.
- 6 Čače 1994, p. 35; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, p. 34; Jeličić-Radonić 2005, pp. 316-317; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, pp. 92-93; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015, p. 13 ff. For historical commentary on dating, see: Stylianou 1998, p. 180.

otočani riješili problem prenapučenosti Para.¹⁰ Branko Kirigin dao je opširniji osvrt na pitanje proročišta pomoću zaključaka povjesničara Irada Malkina o ulozi Delfa u procesu naseljavanja prekomorskih teritorija. Delfi su glavno proročište kamo je većina ekista odlazila potražiti božanski savjet.¹¹ Apolon Arheget (Ἄπόλλων Ἀρχηγέτης) glavni je vodič i zaštitnik puta – onaj koji omogućuje kolonizaciju i jamči uspjeh.¹² Kad primi proročanstvo, ekist dobiva božje ovlasti i smije tumačiti Apolonove upute. Postaje odgovoran za put, izbor odgovarajućeg mjesta, odnos s domaćim stanovnicima, raspodjelu zemljišta u budućoj koloniji te prijenos svete vatre, grčkih običaja i kultura.¹³ Upotrijebivši Malkinove zaključke, Kirigin je pokušao rekonstruirati proces kolonizacije Fara. Do povratka ekista iz proročišta Parani nisu znali kamo idu, a odredište su prihvatili kao Apolonov dar.¹⁴ Potom su se podredili proročanstvu i zamolili Dionizija da im pomogne. Kirigin zaključuje da su Delfi imali podatke o Faru, a iz njihovih obavještajnih izvora potječe ideja o upućivanju Parana na Jadran. Ekist je tako mogao prepoznati mjesto za naselje koje mu je određeno.¹⁵ Delfske upute bile su u obliku zagonetke ili izravnih uputa s geografskim odrednicama. Budući da tekst proročanstva nemamo ni u kakvu obliku, o detaljima se može samo spekulirati.¹⁶ Alessandra Coppola tvrdi da su Parani, kao i u slučaju kolonizacije Tasa, proroštvo dobili u Delfima. U argumentaciji se koristila viješću o Apolonovom tronošću u zemlji Hileja na Jadranu iz Apolonijeva *Spjeva o Argonautima* (*Apoll. Rhod. IV, 522-539*) te spornim Diodorovim iskazom (XV, 13, 1) o Dionizijevoj namjeri pljačkanja Delfa.¹⁷

S druge strane, australski povjesničar Peter Londey smatra manje pouzdanim da je proročanstvo Paranima 385. godine došlo iz Delfa.¹⁸ Njegov se rad temelji na Fontenroseovim zaključcima o kvazipovijesnosti delfskih proroštva koje su Grci

The scholars who wrote about the colonization movement to Pharos have generally posited that in 385/384 BC the Parians sought counsel from Pythian Apollo. With no additional backing arguments, Otto Rubensohn and Eugenio Lanzillotta asserted that the Parians consulted with the Delphic oracle.⁷ Lanzillotta further stressed the ties between Paros and Delphi during the Archaic and Classical eras, from which it followed that the Parians had to have selected that oracle.⁸ Jasna Jeličić-Radonić assumed that Delphi conveyed the oracle for colonization, because it had always had this duty.⁹ The objective may have been a dispersal of the population in several waves, so that the islanders could resolve the problem of overpopulation on Paros.¹⁰ Branko Kirigin wrote an extensive review of the question of oracular temples with the help of historian Irad Malkin's conclusions on the role of Delphi in the process of settlement of transmarine territories. Delphi was the main oracle, to which most oikists came in search of divine counsel.¹¹ Apollo Archegetes (Ἄπόλλων Ἀρχηγέτης) was the primary guide and protector of journeys – the one who facilitated colonization and guaranteed its success.¹² When the oikist received the oracle, he then had the authority and was permitted to interpret Apollo's words. He became accountable for the journey, the selection of a suitable location, relations with the indigenous population, the allocation of lands in the future colony and the conveyance of the holy fire, Greek customs and cults.¹³ Having made use of Malkin's conclusions, Kirigin attempted to reconstruct the process behind the colonization of Pharos. Until the return of the oikist from the oracle, the Parians did not know where they were going, and they accepted the destination as a gift from Apollo.¹⁴ Then they submitted to the oracle and appealed to Dionysius for aid. Kirigin concluded that Delphi had information on Pharos, and the idea of sending the Parians to the Adriatic originated from their intelligence sources. The oikist could thus recognize the settlement site specified for him.¹⁵ The Delphic instructions came in the form of a riddle or specific directions with geographic guidelines. Since the text of the oracle is not

10 Jeličić-Radonić 2005, str. 317 prema Graham 2001, str. 25-28. Tako smatra i Mislav Kukoč referirajući se na Platonove *Zakone* (Kukoč 2011, str. 25-26, 29-30).

11 Kirigin 2004, str. 61, bilj. 225.

12 Malkin 1987, str. 5; Dougherty 1993, str. 23.

13 Malkin 1987, passim; Dougherty 1993, str. 4-24.

14 Kirigin 2004, str. 62.

15 Kirigin 2004, str. 62-63.

16 Malkin 1987, str. 31-37; Dougherty 1993, str. 19-20.

17 Coppola 2018, str. 372-373.

18 Londey 1990, str. 119.

7 Rubensohn 1949, p. 1818; Lanzillotta 1987, p. 131.

8 Lanzillotta 1987, pp. 41-44, 111.

9 Jeličić-Radonić 2005, p. 317; Jeličić-Radonić 2014, p. 92.

10 Jeličić-Radonić 2005, p. 317 based on Graham 2001, pp. 25-28. This view is shared by Mislav Kukoč, citing Plato's *Laws* (Kukoč 2011, pp. 25-26, 29-30).

11 Kirigin 2004, p. 61, note 225.

12 Malkin 1987, p. 5; Dougherty 1993, p. 23.

13 Malkin 1987, passim; Dougherty 1993, pp. 4-24.

14 Kirigin 2004, p. 62.

15 Kirigin 2004, pp. 62-63.

dobivali tijekom 8. i 7. st. pr. Kr.¹⁹ Olovne pločice koje su pronađene u epirskom proročištu Dodoni, lik Zeusa na najranijem novcu Fara te neki ulomci literarnih izvora dodatno pridonose dvojbi oko podrijetla proročanstva, o čemu ćemo detaljnije poslije.

Proročki glas epirske Dodone

Jedan dio uputa za naseljavanje Fara zasigurno je došao iz Dodone. Ondje su glavni medij komunikacije s proročištem bile olovne pločice, čiji se početak korištenja prema paleografiji tradicionalno datira u sredinu 6. st. pr. Kr.²⁰ U znamenitom Zeusovom svetištu do sada je pronađeno više od 4000 primjeraka,²¹ od kojih se 9 može povezati s odlaskom na Far. Upute na njima osobnog su karaktera, primjerice, pojedinci pitaju bi li pošli ili ostali te hoće li imati poslovne ili novčane koristi.²² Iako dodonske pločice općenito sadrže privatne, ali i državne upite,²³ svih 9 koje se odnose na Far su ili pitanja koja su uputili pojedinci i manje skupine ljudi ili odgovori proročišta. Dvije objavljene pločice spominju pojedince koji se žele seliti na Far. Na prvoj neki Eksakon pita Zeusa i Dionu je li mu

extant in any form whatsoever, one may only speculate as to its details.¹⁶ Alessandra Coppola asserted that the Parians, as in the case of the colonization of Thasos, consulted the oracle in Delphi. She made use of the account of Apollo's tripod in the land of the Hylleians in the Adriatic from the *Argonautica* (*Apoll. Rhod.* IV, 522-539) and the questionable claim by Diodorus (XV, 13, 1) about Dionysius' intent to sack Delphi.¹⁷

On the other hand, Australian historian Peter Londey believed it less likely that the oracle to the Parians in 385 BC came from Delphi.¹⁸ His work is based on Fontenrose's conclusions on the quasi-historical nature of the Delphic oracles which the Greeks had obtained during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.¹⁹ The lead tablets found in the Epirote oracular shrine of Dodona, the image of Zeus on the earliest coins of Pharos and some fragments from literary sources cast additional doubt on the origin of the oracle, about which more shall be said below.

The prophetic voice of Epirote Dodona

A part of the instructions for settling Pharos certainly came from Dodona. There the primary medium for communication with the oracle was lead tablets. According to palaeography, the beginning of their use is traditionally dated to the mid-6th century BC.²⁰ In the notable sanctuary of Zeus, over 4,000 examples have been found,²¹ of which 9 may be linked to the departure for Pharos. The instructions on them had a personal character; for example, individuals asked whether to stay or go and whether they will derive commercial

19 Fontenrose 1978, str. 142.

20 Pločice su rađene od tankog savitljivog olova. Zbog toga se moglo brisati natpise, a pločice upotrijebiti nekoliko puta. Isto tako, na jednom se primjerku može pronaći nekoliko upita. Natpisi teku uzduž duljine i nikada se ne nastavljaju na stražnju stranu. Većina tablica je presavijena ili zamotana, a upit za proročište nalazi se na unutarnjoj strani (Piccinini 2017, str. 23, bilj. 36). Za dataciju vidi: Lhôte 2006, str. 11-12; Piccinini 2017, str. 26.

21 Dakaris *et al.* 2013. Parker smatra da je ukupan broj od 4216 pločica koji navode autori neprecizan, jer jedan primjerak može sadržavati nekoliko pitanja i odgovora ili nositi natpis na obje strane. Isto tako, neke pločice su jako fragmentarne i ne pružaju gotovo nikakve podatke (Parker 2016, str. 72). Za dodatne komentare o dodonskim pločicama vidi Dieterle 2007, str. 70; Piccinini 2017, str. 24-26 i bazu podataka koju uređuje Sveučilište u Montrealu <https://dodonaonline.com>.

22 Ovih devet natpisa izdvojila je Jelena Marohnić iz novog korpusa dodonskih pločica (Dakaris *et al.* 2013). Predstavila ih je u izlaganju "Dodonske pločice kao izvor za farsku povijest" na znanstvenom skupu *Faros i Starogradsko polje 7. – 8. rujna 2016.* (Marohnić 2016a, str. 10). Radovi sa skupa nisu još objavljeni.

23 Prestianni Giallombardo 2002, str. 127-128; Piccinini 2017, str. 24-26.

16 Malkin 1987, pp. 31-37; Dougherty 1993, pp. 19-20.

17 Coppola 2018, pp. 372-373.

18 Londey 1990, p. 119.

19 Fontenrose 1978, p. 142.

20 The tablets were made of thin, pliable lead. The messages could thus be erased and the tablets used several times. Similarly, several queries can be seen on a single example. The texts run across the length of the tablets and sometimes continued on the back. Most tablets were bent or rolled, with the query to the oracle on the inside (Piccinini 2017, p. 23, note 36). For dating, see: Lhôte 2006, pp. 11-12; Piccinini 2017, p. 26.

21 Dakaris *et al.* 2013. Parker felt that the total number of 4,216 tablets which these authors cite is inaccurate, because one example may contain several queries and responses or bear messages on both sides. By the same token, some tablets are very fragmented and do not provide almost any data (Parker 2016, p. 72). For additional comments on the Dodona tablets, see Dieterle 2007, p. 70; Piccinini 2017, pp. 24-26 and the data-base edited by the University of Montreal (<https://dodonaonline.com>).

korisnije živjeti na Faru.²⁴ Na drugoj osoba čije ime nije sačuvano traži savjet treba li ići s Paranima na Par u Jonskome zaljevu.²⁵ Grčki arheolog Soterios Dakaris prvu je pločicu izravno povezao s osnivanjem Fara 385. g. pr. Kr,²⁶ a drugu je Ioulia Vokotopoulou epigrafski datirala u kraj 5. ili početak 4. stoljeća.²⁷ Možda je trenutak zapitati se je li primarni razlog datiranja ove dvije pločice stil slova ili sadržaj koji se na prvi pogled lako povezuje s Diodorovom kronološkom odrednicom utemeljenja parske kolonije na Jadranu. Jessica Piccinini tvrdi da je datacija dodonskih pločica velik problem.²⁸ Iako se primjerci datiraju prema paleografskom temelju, oblik slova teško je procijeniti zbog nekoliko čimbenika. Olovne pločice su vrlo tanke i rastezljive pa se lako moglo dogoditi da oblik slova nije ispao kako je autor uistinu poželio. Na pisanje je znatno utjecala kvaliteta alatke, ograničen prostor na pločici, vještina pisanja i opća pismenost pitalaca.²⁹ Općenita datacija upotrebe pločica također je vrlo upitna. Tradicionalno se kronološki određuje od sredine 6. st. do prve polovice 2. st. pr. Kr., što je kratak vremenski raspon, jer je religijsko središte djelovalo od ranog željeznog doba do rimskog osvajanja Epira 168./167. g. pr. Kr. ili možda sve do 3. stoljeća.³⁰

Imajući na umu probleme s datacijom, postavlja se pitanje može li se sadržaj pločica o preseljenju na Far odnositi na kasnija razdoblja. Primjerice, Eksakonov upit nema izravnu kronološku poveznicu s utemeljenjem kolonije, odnosno predložena 385./384. godina koja se temelji na Diodorovim

or monetary benefits.²² Even though the Dodona tablets generally contain private, but also political (state) queries,²³ all nine that pertain to Pharos are either questions submitted by individuals and small groups or responses from the oracle. Two published tablets mention individuals who wished to move to Pharos. On the first, a certain Exakon asked Zeus and Diona whether it would be better for him to live on Pharos.²⁴ On another, a person whose name has not been preserved seeks advice as to whether he should go with the Parians to Paros in the Ionian Gulf.²⁵ Greek archaeologist Soterios Dakaris linked the first tablet to the establishment of Pharos in 385 BC,²⁶ while the second was epigraphically dated by Ioulia Vokotopoulou to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century BC.²⁷ Perhaps it would be opportune to ask whether the primary reason for the dating of these tablets is the style of lettering or the content, which at first glance may be easily tied to the chronological determinant set by Diodorus on the establishment of the Parian colony in the Adriatic. Jessica Piccinini asserted that dating the Dodona tablets is a major problem.²⁸ Even though examples have been dated according to a palaeographic foundation, the shape of the letters is difficult to assess due to several factors. The lead tablets are very thin and pliable, so it easily may have been the case that the shape of the letters did not turn out as the writer had intended. The quality of the implement used, the limited space on the tablet, and the writing skill and general literacy of the petitioner all considerably influenced what was written.²⁹ The general dating of the use of tablets is also rather questionable. Traditionally, the practice has

24 Dakaris 1967, str. 49-50, br. 6, T. 34β.

25 Lombardo 2002, str. 133-135; Lhôte 2006, str. 271. Valja primijetiti da se ime Jadrana na ovoj pločici pojavljuje u obliku ὁ Ἴόνιος κόλπος, točnije kao uputa ...ἔς Πάρων... ἔς τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον.... (M122, B). Vidi u Marohnić 2012, kat. br. 15, s popisom starije literature. To je vrlo slično Diodorovu imenu τὸν Ἴόνιον πόρον u XV, 13, 1.

26 Dakaris 1967, str. 50. Njegovu dataciju preuzimaju i ostali. Vidi Lombardo 2002, str. 135; Kirigin 2004, str. 80; Lhôte 2006, str. 271; Marohnić 2012, str. 36.

27 Vokotopoulou 1992, str. 83-84; br. 11b, sl. 3e.

28 Piccinini 2017, str. 25-26.

29 Piccinini 2017, str. 26.

30 Tako ih datira Lhôte 2006, str. 11-12. Nije posve jasno kada je svetište prestalo djelovati. Kraj se ponekad datira prema Plutarhovu izvješću (*Aem.* XXIX, 2-5) o osvajanjima Emilija Paula u Epiru, no zna se da se festival u čast Zeusovu održavao u Dodoni sve do 3. stoljeća (Cabanès 1988). Vidi Piccinini 2017, str. 26, bilj. 47.

22 These nine inscriptions were distinguished by Jelena Marohnić from the new body of Dodona tablets (Dakaris *et al.* 2013). She presented them in the paper "Dodonske pločice kao izvor za farsku povijest" at the scholarly seminar *Faros i Starogradsko polje 7. – 8. rujna 2016.* (Marohnić 2016a, p. 10). The papers from the seminar have not yet been published.

23 Prestianni Giallombardo 2002, pp. 127-128; Piccinini 2017, pp. 24-26.

24 Dakaris 1967, pp. 49-50, no. 6, Pl. 34β.

25 Lombardo 2002, pp. 133-135; Lhôte 2006, p. 271. It is noteworthy that the name Adriatic on this tablet appears in the form ὁ Ἴόνιος κόλπος, more precisely as the instruction ...ἔς Πάρων... ἔς τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον.... (M122, B). See Marohnić 2012, cat. no. 15, with the list of older references. This is rather similar to Diodorus' name τὸν Ἴόνιον πόρον, mentioned in XV, 13, 1.

26 Dakaris 1967, p. 50. His dating was assumed by others. See Lombardo 2002, p. 135; Kirigin 2004, p. 80; Lhôte 2006, p. 271; Marohnić 2012, p. 36.

27 Vokotopoulou 1992, pp. 83-84; no. 11b, Fig. 3e.

28 Piccinini 2017, pp. 25-26.

29 Piccinini 2017, p. 26.

podatcima zapravo je samo *terminus post quem*.³¹ Intrigantan je primjer anonimnog pojedinca koji traži savjet za pridruživanje Paranima. Osim Diodorova izvješća u obzir dolaze i povijesne okolnosti s kraja 3. ili početka 2. stoljeća koje se spominju na Farskoj psefizmi i Parskom reskriptu.³² Ipak, ova ideja zahtijeva mnogo detaljniji epigrafski i kontekstualni pristup. Iz cijele rasprave valja zaključiti jedno. Budući da gravitira jadranskom prostoru, pojedinci su se s razlogom obratili Zeusovu proročištu, tim više ako su potjecali iz Epira ili okolnih područja, a ukazala se prilika za nove poslovne uspjehe i mogućnost širenja trgovačke mreže u jonsko-jadranskoj regiji.

Međutim, čak i ako se prihvati Dakarisova datacija pločica u 385./384. godinu, ne bi bilo neobično da su se Paranima u kolonizaciji Fara priključili i drugi Grci.³³ To je bio čest slučaj tijekom naseljavanja na novom prekomorskom teritoriju. Slično se dogodilo u arhajskom razdoblju tijekom naseljavanja Kirene, Zankle pa i parskih kolonija Tasa i Parija.³⁴ Platon piše da je za novu zajednicu ponekad bolje da su stanovnici podrijetlom s raznih strana, jer će tako lakše prihvatiti novi ustav. S druge strane, ako pripadaju istom plemenu zajedničkog jezika i zajedničkog zakona ostvaruju prijateljsku vezu, ali ne podnose lako pravne inovacije i tuđa državna uređenja (*Nom.* IV, 708b–d).³⁵ Osim toga, atenski filozof naglašava važnost upute proročanstva. Naime, tijekom osnivanja novog ili obnove

been chronologically specified from the mid-6th to the 2nd century BC, which is a rather brief chronological range, because the religious centre had operated from the early Iron Age until the Roman conquest of Epirus in 168/167 BC, or perhaps until the 3rd century.³⁰

Keeping in mind the problems of dating, a question that arises is whether the content of the tablets on the move to Pharos may refer to some later period. For example, the query submitted by Exakon has no direct chronological link to the colony's establishment, i.e., the proposed date of 385/384 BC, based on Diodorus, is actually just the *terminus post quem*.³¹ The anonymous individual seeking advice on joining the Parians is an intriguing example. Besides the account by Diodorus, this case could be linked to the historical circumstances at the end of the 3rd or early 2nd century BC, mentioned in the Pharos psephisma or the Parian rescript.³² Nonetheless, this idea requires a more detailed epigraphic and contextual approach. One thing is worth concluding from the entire discussion. Since it gravitated toward the Adriatic zone, individuals sought the oracular shrine of Zeus for a reason, all the more so if they originally hailed from Epirus or surrounding regions, and an opportunity arose for commercial success and the possibility of expanding the mercantile network into the Ionian-Adriatic region.

However, even if the dating of the tablets to 385/384 BC by Dakaris is accepted, it would not have been unusual if the Parians had been joined by other Greeks in the colonization of Pharos.³³ This was a common case during the settlement of new transmarine territories. A similar thing happened in the Archaic Period

31 To se odnosi i na većinu pločica koje je izdvojila Jelena Marohnić (Marohnić 2016a, str. 10). Budući da radovi sa skupa nisu objavljeni, ne donosimo njihov sadržaj u detalje. Ipak, kao što je već spomenuto, na njima pojedinci pitaju o posljedicama odlaska i uspješnosti posla. Zahvaljujem autorici na informacijama.

32 O tome opširnije vidi u podnaslovu ovoga rada *Odnos Para i Delfa, hram Apolona Pitijskog na Paru, Farska psefizma i Parski reskript*.

33 Kirigin 2004, str. 80; Marohnić 2012, str. 36. Ipak, detaljna onomastička analiza pitalaca nije učinjena pa ne možemo raspravljati o njihovu podrijetlu. Dakaris je predložio da je Eksakon epirskog podrijetla (Dakaris 1967, str. 50).

34 Detaljno o tome: Malkin 2011, str. 55-57. Ne zna se pouzdano tko je uz Parane naselio Tas. Strabon (VIII, 6, 6) prenosi Arhilohovu vijest o panhelenskim jadima na Tasu. Parij su osim Parana naselili Milećani i Eretrijci (*Strab.* X, 5, 7; XIII, 1, 14).

35 Mislav Kukoč u članku "Je li Faros ustrojen prema Platonovoj zamisli?" smatra da se Platonova praktično-politička doktrina iskazana u *Zakonima* može primijeniti na osnivanje Fara (Kukoč 2011, str. 21-29).

30 This is how they were dated by Lhôte 2006, pp. 11-12. The end of the religious activities in the shrine is sometimes dated according to Plutarch's account (*Aem.* XXIX, 2-5) of the conquests of Aemilius Paulus in Epirus, but it is known that the festival honouring Zeus was held in Dodona until the 3rd century (Cabanes 1988). See Piccinini 2017, p. 26, note 47.

31 This also pertains to most of the tablets distinguished by Jelena Marohnić (Marohnić 2016a, p. 10). Since the papers from the conference in Stari Grad in 2016 have not yet been published, I shall not cite their content in detail. Even so, as already noted, individuals mostly asked about the consequences of departure and the success of their potential commercial ventures. I would like to convey my thanks to the author for this information.

32 For more on this, see the section below, "Relations between Paros and Delphi, the temple of Pythian Apollo on Paros, the Pharos psephisma and the Parian rescript."

33 Kirigin 2004, p. 80; Marohnić 2012, p. 36. Nevertheless, a detailed onomastic analysis of the petitioners has not been conducted, so it is impossible to discuss their origin. Dakaris suggested that Exakon was of Epirote descent (Dakaris 1967, p. 50).

starog polisa o pitanjima kultova, bogova i svetišta treba konzultirati Delfe, Dodonu ili Amonovo proročište (*Nom.* V, 738c). Slično je spomenuo i Ciceron (*De. Div.* I, 3), upitavši koje su kolonije Grci poslali u Eoliju, Joniju, Aziju, na Siciliju ili Italiju, a da nisu prije konzultirali Delfe, Dodonu ili Amona.³⁶

Prvi neupitni dokaz kultne aktivnosti u Dodoni datira se u rano željezno doba.³⁷ Ipak, ako se promotre samo kolonizacijske upute proročišta iz literarnih izvora, većina ih pripada mitološkim vremenima, što je vrlo vjerojatno naknadna intervencija čija je namjera obogatiti tradiciju Zeusova svetišta. Dionizije Halikarnašanin (I, 13) piše da su Pelazgi ondje dobili proročanstvo neka plove preko Jonskog zaljeva u Italiju. Također, Eneja je pošao u Dodonu kad je pristao u Butrotu da dobije upute kamo dalje (*Dion. Hal.* I, 51 i 55). Proroštvo o smjeru kretanja dobili su od dodonskog Zeusa mitski Apolonovi sinovi Galej i Telmez. Prvi se uputio na Siciliju, a drugi u Kariju, gdje je kasnije

during the settlement of Cyrene, Zancle and even the Parian colonies of Thasos and Parium.³⁴ Plato wrote that it was sometimes better for the residents to come from different places, because they would then more easily accept the new laws. On the other hand, if they belonged to the same race, with the same language and laws, this engendered friendliness, but they did not easily tolerate laws or politics different from those of their homeland (*Nom.* IV, 708 b-d).³⁵ Furthermore, the Athenian philosopher stressed the importance of paying heed to the sayings of oracles. For when framing a new state or reforming an old one, the advice from Delphi, Dodona or Ammon must be followed on matters pertaining to cults, gods and shrines (*Nom.* V, 738c). Something similar was also pointed out by Cicero (*De. Div.* I, 3), who asked whether the Greeks ever sent a colony to Aeolia, Ionia, Asia, Sicily or Italy without first consulting the Pythian or Dodonian oracle, or Jupiter Ammon.³⁶

The first unambiguous evidence of cult activities in Dodona dates to the early Iron Age.³⁷ Even so, if only

36 Prema sačuvanim izvorima, napatke za kolonizaciju davali su i Sibila, Apolon Didimski, Klarski, Grinejski, Delski i likijsko proročište. Autentičnost nekih je osporavana. Primjerice, proročanstvo s Dela, iz eolskog Grineja i Likije smatra se naknadnom Vergilijevom intervencijom (*Aen.* III, 85-87; IV, 345, 346, 377). Vidi detaljnije: Pease 1917, str. 4, bilj. 8-13. Smatramo da nijedno od navedenih izvora proročanstva nije moglo imati ulogu u parskom naseljavanju Fara. Delfi i Dodona jedine su valjane opcije za raspravu.

37 Dieterle tvrdi da je teško definirati ulogu Dodone tijekom kasnog brončanog doba (Dieterle 2007, str. 17). Piccinini se detaljnije posvetila problemu (Piccinini 2017, str. 40-42). Ispod dodonskog buleuterija postojala je brončanodobna apsidalna građevina u kojoj je otkrivena lončarska peć, skromna količina lokalne keramike te uvezenih i grubo imitiranih mikenskih posuda (Tartaron 2004, str. 20-23, 148; Hammond 1997, str. 40). Većina nalaza, poput nakita, sjekira, mačeva, kopalja itd., koji se datiraju od 14. do 10. st. pr. Kr., ne mogu se odrediti isključivo kao kulturni predmeti zbog manjka jasno definiranog konteksta. Jedini mogući primjer su namjerno slomljene sjekire koje možda pripadaju jednostavnom kućnom ritualu (Piccinini 2017, str. 41). Autorica pretpostavlja da je Dodona u kasnom brončanom dobu bila naselje transhumantnih pastira. Velika se promjena dogodila na početku željeznog doba kad su nestali tragovi stanovanja, a područje je postalo namijenjeno isključivo kulturnim aktivnostima (Piccinini 2017, str. 41-42). To dokazuju zavjetni predmeti, od kojih se neki oblici ili dekorativni elementi 8. i 7. stoljeća mogu usporediti s istovremenima iz Delfa i Olimpije (opsežnije: Piccinini 2017, str. 41-44).

34 More details on this: Malkin 2011, pp. 55-57. It is not known for certain who settled Thasos with the Parians. Strabo (VIII, 6, 6) cited the account by Archilochus on the Pan-Hellenic woes on Thasos. Besides the Parians, Parium was also settled by Milesians and Eretrians (*Strab.* X, 5, 7; XIII, 1, 14).

35 Mislav Kukoč, in his article "Je li Faros ustrojen prema Platonovoj zamisli?" wrote that Plato's practical and political doctrines expressed in the *Laws* may be applied to the founding of Pharos (Kukoč 2011, pp. 21-29).

36 According to preserved sources, instructions to colonize were also given by the Sibyl and Apollo at Didyma, Clarus, Gryneion, Delos, as well as *Lyciae sortes*. The authenticity of some has been contested. For example, the oracle from Delos, from Aeolian Gryneion and Lycia, are deemed later interventions by Virgil (*Aen.* III, 85-87; IV, 345, 346 and 377). See details in: Pease 1917, p. 4, notes 8-13. I believe that none of these sources of oracles could have played a role in the Parian settlement of Pharos. Delphi and Dodona are the only valid options for discussion.

37 Dieterle asserted that it is difficult to define Dodona's role during the late Bronze Age (Dieterle 2007, p. 17). Piccinini considered the problem in greater detail (Piccinini 2017, pp. 40-42). Beneath the Dodonian buleuterion, there was a Bronze Age apsidal building in which a pottery kiln, a modest quantity of local pottery as well as imported and coarsely imitated Mycaean vessels were discovered (Tartaron 2004, pp. 20-23; 148; Hammond 1997, p. 40). Most of the finds, such as jewellery, axes, swords, spears, etc., dated from the 14th to 10th c. BC, cannot be classified as exclusively cult items due to the lack of a clearly defined context. The sole possible examples are the intentionally broken axes, which may have been a part of some simple

utemeljio Apolonovo proročište (*Steph. Byz.* s. v. Γαλεῶται).

Rijedak podatak iz povijesnih vremena o dodonskim uputama za kolonizaciju pripada kasnom 5. stoljeću. Prema Puzaniji (VIII, 11, 12) i članku iz Sude (s. v. Ἀννίβας) Atenjani su dobili proročanstvo u Dodoni neka koloniziraju Siciliju. Međutim, bog je mislio na maleno brdo pokraj Atene, a ne na udaljeni otok. Krivo shvativši proročanstvo, njihov je prekomorski pohod završio sicilskom tragedijom 413. g. pr. Kr.³⁸

Neki od spomenutih primjera mogli bi poslužiti kao dobar argument za tezu da su Parani dobili proročanstvo u Dodoni. Osim toga, Zeusovo proročište pripada jonsko-jadranskom svijetu pa bi bilo logično da pitanja za kolonizaciju Jadrana pripadaju dodonskoj kompetenciji. Upečatljiva je još jedna sitnica. Sicilsko pleme Galeota (Γαλεῶται/Γαλεοί) potjecalo je od junaka Galeja koji je u Dodoni potražio kolonizacijski savjet (*Steph. Byz.* s. v. Γαλεῶται). Za njih se u antici govorilo da su najpobožniji narod na Siciliji te da vješto tumače snove i znamenja (*Cic. De div.* I, 39; *Paus.* V, 23, 6).³⁹ Ciceron i Puzanija spominju da im je izvor sicilski pisac Filist.⁴⁰ Bio je to Dionizijev vojskovođa i suradnik sve do 386. g. pr. Kr.⁴¹ Iako se povezanost Dodone, Galeota i Filista kojeg Braccesi naziva autorom tzv. jadranskog projekta⁴² može pretpostaviti, ta se veza čini manje vjerojatnom

the colonization instructions of the oracles from literary sources are considered, most belong to mythological times, which were probably subsequent interventions intended to enrich the traditions of shrines dedicated to Zeus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 18) wrote that the Pelasgians were commanded by an oracle to sail across the Ionian Gulf into Italy. Further, after Aeneas had landed at Buthrotum he went to Dodona to consult whither next (*Dion. Hal.* I, 51 and 55). The mythical sons of Apollo, Galeotes and Telmessus, received an oracle on the direction of their journey from Dodonian Zeus. The first went to Sicily, and the second to Caria, where he later established an oracular shrine of Apollo (*Steph. Byz.* s. v. Γαλεῶται).

Rare data from historical times on Dodonian instructions for colonization belong to the 5th century BC. According to Pausanias (VIII, 11, 12) and an entry from the *Souda* (s. v. Ἀννίβας), the Athenians received an oracle in Dodona to colonize Sicily. However, the god was thinking of a small ridge near Athens, and not the distant island. Misunderstanding the oracle, their expedition across the sea ended with the Sicilian disaster in 413 BC.³⁸

Some of these examples may serve as a sound argument to back the hypothesis that the Parians received their oracle from Dodona. Moreover, the oracle of Zeus belonged to the Ionian-Adriatic world, so it would have been logical for queries about colonization of the Adriatic to fall under Dodonian purview. Another detail is striking. The Sicilian Galeotae tribe (Γαλεῶται/Γαλεοί) were descended from the hero Galeotes, who sought counsel on colonization in Dodona (*Steph. Byz.* s. v. Γαλεῶται). It was said of them that they were the most pious nation on Sicily and that they skillfully interpreted dreams and portents (*Cic. De div.* I, 39; *Paus.* V, 23, 6).³⁹ Cicero and Pausanias noted that their source was the Sicilian writer Philistus.⁴⁰ He was

38 Pease 1917, str. 4.

39 Pojavljuje se i oblik imena Gereati, npr. kod Puzanije koji Malu Hiblu naziva i Gereatskom - Ἐγβλα ἢ μικρά ili ἢ Γερεᾶτις (vidi oblik: *Pausanias* 1901, str. 265). Opširnije o tome: Kjellberg 1910, str. 592-594.

40 Ciceron (*De div.* I, 39) povezuje proricanje snova s anegdotom o Dionizijevoj majci i tiraninovu rođenju. Puzanija (V, 23, 6) opisuje Zeusov kip u Olimpiji što ga je darovalo sicilsko pleme Hibleja. Potom ukratko spominje stanovnike i običaje Hible Gereatske.

41 Filist je u 4. st. pr. Kr. napisao 13 knjiga pod naslovom *Povijest Sicilije* (Συκελικά). Bio je državnik i vojnik u službi Dionizija Starijeg, no zbog tiraninove samovolje završio je u progonstvu od 386. do 367. godine. Plutarh (*Dio.* XI, 4) piše da je Filist tada načinio najveći dio svojih spisa. Na sirakuški se dvor vratio nakon dolaška Dionizija Mlađeg na prijestolje, a ondje je boravio sve do smrti 356. g. pr. Kr. Podatci važni za vladavinu Dionizija Starijeg potječu iz posljednjih šest knjiga, tj. drugog dijela koji je nosio naslov *O Dioniziju* (Περὶ Διονυσίου). Filistova se povijest još u antici smatrala pouzdanim izvorom (npr. *Dion. Hal. epist. ad Cn. Pomp.* V; *Cic. De. orat.* II, 57). Vidi: Sanders 1987, str. 43-47; Škiljan 1996, str. 211.

42 Braccesi 1977, str. 193.

household ritual (Piccinini 2017, p. 41). Piccinini hypothesized that in the late Bronze Age Dodona was a settlement of transhumant shepherds. A major change occurred at the beginning of the Iron Age, when traces of settlement disappeared, and the area was exclusively set aside for cult activities (Piccinini 2017, pp. 41-42). This is proven by votive items, of which some forms or decorative elements of the 8th and 7th c. BC may be compared to contemporaneous items from Delphi and Olympia (more details: Piccinini 2017, pp. 41-44).

38 Pease 1917, p. 4.

39 The form of the name Gereatis also appears, e.g., in Pausanias, who mentioned Lesser Hybla Gereatis - Ἐγβλα ἢ μικρά or ἢ Γερεᾶτις (see the form: *Pausanias* 1901, p. 265). More on this: Kjellberg 1910, pp. 592-594.

40 Cicero (*De div.* I, 39) associated the interpretation of dreams with an anecdote about the mother of Dionysius

zbog karaktera spomenutih vijesti koje su na grani-
ci povijesnosti i fikcije.

Branko Kirigin predložio je da se na najranijem novcu Fara nalazi lik Zeusa što bi eventualno moglo upućivati na vezu sa svetištem u Dodoni.⁴³ Ipak, treba naglasiti da se Zeusov kult također može povezati izravno s Parom. Iako nema konkretnih arheoloških tragova, prema natpisima se pretpostavlja da je u Parikiji (Παρουκιά) moglo postojati Zeusovo svetište.⁴⁴ Nedaleko od parskog polisa na gori Kunad (Κουνάδος) stajao je hram, vjerojatno monumentalnih razmjera. Na njegovoj lokaciji danas je kapelica svetog Ilije u koju su uzidani mramorni spoliji hrama. Tijekom 80-ih godina 20. st. ondje je otkriven reljef bradatog Zeusa na prijestolju. Prema natpisu (*IG XII, 5, 183*) iz 5. st. pr. Kr. saznaje se da je hram bio posvećen Zeusu Vrhovnome (Ζεὺς Ὑπάτος).⁴⁵ S obzirom na tradiciju Zeusova kulta na obližnjem Delu od 7. st., čini se da bi i svetište na gori Kunadu moglo biti starije od 5. st.⁴⁶ Dva natpisa s kraja 6. i iz 5. stoljeća (*IG XII, 5, 1027 = SEG 48–1136; SEG 48–1138*) spominju kult Zeusa Elastera (Ζεὺς ἑλάστερος). Točne lokacije pronalaska oba natpisa nisu poznate.⁴⁷ Nije isključeno da je među elitom koja je došla na Far bilo štovatelja nekog od Zeusovih kultova potvrđenih na Paru pa zato farski novac nosi lik vrhovnoga grčkog boga.

Neprijeporna kompetencija Apolona Pitijskog

Konzultiranje proročišta u Delfima nameće se kao mnogo konkretnija opcija. Apolonovo proročište⁴⁸ se u literaturi nerijetko spominje kao središte

a military commander and collaborator of Dionysius until 386 BC.⁴¹ Even though the link between Dodona, the Galeotae and Philistus, who was described as the originator of the so-called Adriatic project by Braccesi⁴² may be assumed, this link seems less probable due to the character of the aforementioned accounts which straddle the line between historical fact and fiction.

Branko Kirigin suggested that the earliest coins of Pharos bore the image of Zeus, which could possibly indicate the link to the shrine in Dodona.⁴³ Even so, it should be stressed that the cult of Zeus may also be directly tied to Paros. Even though there are no tangible archaeological traces, according to inscriptions it may be assumed that a shrine to Zeus may have existed in Parikia (Παρουκιά).⁴⁴ Not far from the Parian polis, on a hill called Kounados (Κουνάδος), there was a temple that probably had monumental dimensions. The Chapel of St. Elias stands at its location today, with marble spolia from the temple built into it. During the 1980s, a relief of a bearded Zeus on a throne was found there. According to an inscription (*IG XII, 5, 183*) from the 5th century BC, the temple was dedicated to the supreme or most high Zeus (Ζεὺς Ὑπάτος).⁴⁵ Given the tradition of the cult of Zeus in nearby Delos since the 7th century, it would appear that the shrine atop Kounados may have predated the 5th century.⁴⁶ Two inscriptions

and the tyrant's birth. Pausanias (V, 23, 6) described a statue of Zeus in Olympia that he had given to the Hyblaeans, a Sicilian tribe. He then briefly mentioned the people and customs of Hybla Gereatis.

41 In the 4th c. BC, Philistus had written thirteen books under the title *History of Sicily* (Σικελικά). He was a statesman and soldier in the service of Dionysius the Elder, but because of the tyrant's capriciousness he was exiled from Syracuse in the period between 386 and 367. Plutarch (*Dio.* XI, 4) wrote that Philistus then wrote the bulk of his texts. He returned to the Syracusan court after Dionysius the Younger ascended to the throne, and remained there until his death in 356 BC. Data pertinent to the reign of Dionysius the Elder can be found in the final six books, i.e., the second section which bore the title 'On Dionysius' (Περὶ Διονυσίου). Philistus' history was deemed a reliable source even in Antiquity (e.g. *Dion. Hal. epist. ad Cn. Pomp.* V; *Cic. De. orat.* II, 57). See: Sanders 1987, pp. 43-47; Škiljan 1996, p. 211.

42 Braccesi 1977, p. 193.

43 Kirigin 2004, p. 141, note 590. Even so, in his primary discussion on the consultation of oracles, he opted for Delphi (Kirigin 2004, pp. 62-63). See also above in the text.

44 Papadopoulou 2013; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 146.

45 Ohnesorg 1994, pp. 327-331; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 147.

46 Plassart 1928, pp. 56-57; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 150.

43 Kirigin 2004, str. 141, bilj. 590. Ipak, autor se u glavnoj raspravi o konzultiranju proročišta odlučio za Delfe (Kirigin 2004, str. 62-63). Vidi također gore u tekstu.

44 Papadopoulou 2013; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 146.

45 Ohnesorg 1994, str. 327-331; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 147.

46 Plassart 1928, str. 56-57; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 150.

47 Marinatos 1950-1951; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 181, bilj. 41; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 151.

48 Tijekom kasnog brončanog doba u Delfima je postojalo naselje. U kontekstu stambene arhitekture pronađeno je mnogo lokalne grube keramike i keramičkih životinjskih figurina (Scott 2014, str. 43). Općenito se smatra da u brončanom dobu nema obilnog dokaza za kulturnu praksu, osim mikenskih *phi* i *psi* figurina iz kasnijeg Ateninog svetišta (vidi u Scott 2014, str. 44, bilj. 42). Život u naselju nastavlja se od 11. do 9. stoljeća, a keramički nalazi uglavnom potječu iz sjeverne Fokide i

širenja geografskog i političkog znanja u antici koje je bilo nužno za grčku kolonizaciju Mediterana.⁴⁹ Arthur Stanely Pease uočio je da se većina proroštava o prekomorskim seobama pripisuje Delfima.⁵⁰ Pod izrazom ὁ θεός (bog) najčešće se podrazumijeva Apolon Pitijski.⁵¹ U opširnijoj analizi Irad Malkin piše da su Delfi glavno proročište za pitanja kolonizacije još od 8. st. pr. Kr. Već u 6. stoljeću fokidsko je svetište postalo glavni autoritet u grčkome svijetu. Jedan od snažnijih argumenata je poslanstvo Fokejaca Pitiji, a ne maloazijskim proročištima.⁵² Grčki gradovi diljem Mediterana baštinili su ili naknadno kreirali priče o osnivanju kolonija u kojima posjet Delfima zauzima posebno mjesto.⁵³ Tako su omogućili još snažniju afirmaciju Apolonova svetišta u grčkom svijetu. Prema riječima Georgea Forresta, kolonizacija je učinila više za širenje delfskog utjecaja i prestiža nego što su Delfi napravili za kolonizaciju.⁵⁴

Uzevši u obzir analizu povijesnih podataka, Irad Malkin smatra da su Grci gotovo uvijek tražili proročanstvo za kolonizaciju na državnoj razini u Delfima. Uz iznimku maloazijske Didime, tragove o proricanju na drugim mjestima smatra vrlo nesigurnima.⁵⁵

U prilog delfskom podrijetlu proročanstva govore neke povijesne situacije. Spartanski kraljević Dorijej nije uspio u kolonizaciji Libije, jer, kako piše Herodot (V, 42, 2), nije tražio proročanstvo iz Delfa, niti je učinio kako je propisano:

Tesalije (Scott 2014, str. 44-45, bilj. 44). Kao i u ostatku grčkog svijeta, situacija se mijenja u 8. stoljeću s prvim brončanim tronošcima i ostalim predmetima za kulturnu upotrebu (Scott 2014, str. 45). Razvoj Delfa simultan je velikim promjenama koje su se zbivale u grčkom svijetu tijekom 8. st. pr. Kr. Uvriježeno je mišljenje da je proročište postalo aktivno u kasnom 8. st. (Morgan 1990, str. 134; Scott 2014, str. 48), iako postoje prijedlozi za raniji početak tijekom 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr. (Bommelaer 1991, str. 19). Valja spomenuti da se Delfi često pojavljuju kao proročište u mitovima (vidi primjere u Pease 1917, str. 6; Scott 2014, str. 33).

49 Forrest 1956; Snodgrass 1980, str. 120; Snodgrass 1986, str. 53-54; Malkin 1987, str. 17.

50 Pease 1917, str. 4.

51 Detaljan popis izvora u Peasovoj drugoj bilješki (Pease 1917, str. 4).

52 Malkin 1987, str. 17.

53 O problemu odnosa kolonizacije i delfskih proročanstava vidi Malkin 1987, str. 89-91; Dougherty 1993; Scott 2014, str. 63, bilj. 40 s relevantnom literaturom.

54 Forrest 1956, str. 174.

55 Malkin 1987, str. 17, bilj. 1-3.

from the end of the 6th century and from the 5th century (*IG XII*, 5, 1027= *SEG* 48-1136; *SEG* 48-1138) mention the cult of Zeus Elasteros (Ζεὺς ἑλάστερος). The precise find sites of both inscriptions are not known.⁴⁷ It may not be excluded that among the elite who came to Pharos, there were worshippers of one of the cults of Zeus confirmed on Paros, which was why the Pharos coins bore the image of the supreme Greek deity.

The sacrosanct authority of Pythian Apollo

Consultation with the oracle in Delphi stands out as the far more likely option. Apollo's oracle⁴⁸ is often mentioned in the scholarly literature as the hub for the dissemination of geographic and political knowledge in Antiquity, which was necessary for the Greek colonization of the Mediterranean.⁴⁹ Arthur Stanley Pease observed that most oracles on transmarine migrations are attributed to Delphi.⁵⁰ The expression ὁ θεός (god) most often implies Pythian Apollo.⁵¹ In an extensive analysis, Irad Malkin wrote that Delphi had already been the primary oracle for questions of colonization since the 8th century BC. Already in the 6th century BC, the Phocian shrine had become the leading authority in the Greek world. One of the most significant supporting arguments is that a Phocaeen embassy consulted

47 Marinatos 1950-1951; Lanzillotta 1987, p. 181, note 41; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 151.

48 There was a settlement in Delphi during the late Bronze Age. A considerable quantity of local coarse pottery and ceramic animal figurines was found within the context of residential architecture (Scott 2014, p. 43). Generally it is believed that in the Bronze Age there was no evidence of cult practices, with the exception of Mycaean *phi* and *psi* type figurines from the later Athenian shrine (see in Scott 2014, p. 44, note 42). Life in the settlement continued from the 11th to 9th c. BC, but pottery finds generally originated in northern Phocis and Thessalia (Scott 2014, pp. 44-45, note 44). As in the remainder of the Greek world, the situation changed in the 8th century with the first bronze tripod and other artefacts for cult use (Scott 2014, p. 45). The development of Delphi ran parallel to the major changes that had occurred in the Greek world during the 8th c. BC. The accepted view is that the oracle became active in the late 8th c. (Morgan 1990, p. 134; Scott 2014, p. 48), even though there are proposals for an earlier start during the second millennium BC (Bommelaer 1991, p. 19). It is noteworthy that Delphi often appeared as an oracular shrine in myths (see examples in Pease 1917, p. 6; Scott 2014, p. 33).

49 Forrest 1956; Snodgrass 1980, p. 120; Snodgrass 1986, pp. 53-54; Malkin 1987, p. 17.

50 Pease 1917, p. 4.

51 A detailed list of sources can be found in Pease's second footnote (Pease 1917, p. 4).

Ἦ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λέων Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἦντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴη, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων. ... ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

“Dorijej je bio silno uvrijeđen i smatrao je nedostojnim da mu Kleomen bude kralj, pa je zatražio od Spartanaca ljudstvo i odveo ga je da osnuju naseobinu, a da nije niti upitao proročište u Delfima u koju bi zemlju išao osnivati niti je uradio išta od onoga što je bilo uobičajeno. ... Ali treće su ga godine odande istjerali libijski Maki i Kartažani, pa se vratio na Peloponez.”⁵⁶

Propast kolonizatorskog pokušaja smatrala se kaznom zbog svetogrđa prema Apolonu. Herodot tako aludira da je posjet Delfima bio uobičajena praksa prije ideje o iseljavanju.⁵⁷ Delfska kompetencija u pitanjima upute kolonizatorima nije bila poljuljana ni u helenističkom razdoblju. Više od sto godina nakon osnivanja Fara, aleksandrijski pjesnik Kalimah (*Ap.* 55 – 57) napisao je:

Φοίβωι δ' ἔσπομενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο ἄνθρωποι: Φοῖβος γὰρ αἰεὶ πολίεσσι φιληθεῖ κτιζομένησ', αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὕφαινει.

Ljudi što slijediše Feba, ucrtale gradove sebi Mjerilima, jer Feb se gradovima uvijek veseli
Kada se grade, a Feb im i osobno temelje smišlja.⁵⁸

Delfi u Diodorovoj *Povijesnoj knjižnici*

Diodorova *Povijesna knjižnica* golemo je djelo. Reprezentativan je primjer takozvane univerzalne povijesti koja obuhvaća širok vremenski raspon od mitskih vremena do piscu suvremenog razdoblja. Radnja je pisana analističkim pristupom, tj. zbivanja na različitim mjestima sistematizirana su po godinama i potom navedena kronološkim redom. Djelo se sastojalo od 40 knjiga od kojih je do danas sačuvano prvih pet te niz od jedanaeste do

with the Pythian priestess rather than any of the oracles in Asia Minor.⁵² Greek cities throughout the Mediterranean either nurtured or subsequently devised legends on the founding of colonies in which a visit to Delphi played a prominent role.⁵³ They thus facilitated even greater affirmation of Apollo's shrine in the Greek world. According to George Forrest, colonization did more to spread Delphic influence and prestige than Delphi did for colonization.⁵⁴

Taking into consideration the analysis of historical data, Irad Malkin believed that the Greeks almost always sought an oracle for colonization at the state level in Delphi. With the exception of Didyma in Asia Minor, traces of oracles at other sites are deemed rather uncertain.⁵⁵

Certain historical situations tend to back the Delphic origin of oracles. The Spartan prince Dorieus did not succeed in the colonization of Libya because, as Herodotus wrote (V, 42, 2), he neither inquired of the oracle at Delphi, nor did anything else that was customary:

Ἦ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λέων Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἦντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴη, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων. ... ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

“Dorieus was very angry (...). Since he would not tolerate being made subject to Cleomenes, he asked the Spartans for a group of people whom he took away as colonists. He neither inquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should establish his settlement, nor did anything else that was customary but set sail in great anger for Libya (...). [B]ut in the third year he was driven out by the Macae, the Libyans and the Carchedonians and returned to the Peloponnesus.”⁵⁶

The failure of a colonization venture was considered punishment for blasphemy against Apollo. Herodotus thus alluded that a visit to Delphi was the customary

56 Prijevod: Škiljan 2007, str. 427.

57 Dougherty 1993, str. 19.

58 Prijevod: Glavičić 2010, str. 15.

52 Malkin 1987, p. 17.

53 On the problem of the relationship between colonization and Delphic oracles, see Malkin 1987, pp. 89-91; Dougherty 1993; Scott 2014, p. 63, note 40 with the relevant scholarly literature.

54 Forrest 1956, p. 174.

55 Malkin 1987, p. 17, notes 1-3.

56 Translation: Godley 1920 (accessed online: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>).

dvadesete.⁵⁹ Velik broj različitih povijesnih epizoda pruža mogućnost komparacije odlomaka. Ipak, valja biti na oprezu, jer je Diodor puno kompilirao, pa sadržaj pojedinih knjiga ovisi o kvaliteti i opsežnosti konzultiranih izvora.⁶⁰ Osim parskog slučaja (XV, 13, 4) pisac na više mjesta u tekstu spominje kolonizacijske aktivnosti i pripadajuća im proročanstva. Nekoliko je različitih načina kojima indirektno piše o Delfima.

U odlomku IX, 16, 1 Delfi se spominju samo kao proročište (χρηστήριον). S obzirom na kontekst povijesnog zbivanja i sadržaj pitijskog proročanstva koje je autor usputno naveo, spomenuti se izraz ne može odnositi ni na koje drugo proročište. U komentaru Charlesa Henrija Oldfathera također stoji Delfi.⁶¹

Diodor (XII, 10, 5) se koristi i drugačijim izrazom, poput "Apolonova proroštva" (χρησμὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος). Atenjani su zajedno s nekim Peloponežanima prema Apolonovu napatku naselili teritorij na kojem će imati dovoljno vode, a kruha u izobilju (XII, 10, 3–5). Na tom je mjestu niknula znamenita grčka kolonija Turij. Apolonovo proroštvo *par excellence* za kolonizaciju je ponovo ono iz Delfa.

Geografske okolnosti također mogu pomoći u analizi podrijetla proročanstva. Poslije kratkog boravka u Korintu sikelski je vođa Duketije dobio napatku od bogova (χρησμὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν) pa je na Siciliji s velikim brojem kolonista osnovao grad Kalakte (XII, 8, 2). Proročište najbliže Korintu koje je moglo dati napatke za naseljavanje su Delfi.

Na nekoliko mjesta Diodor izravno spominje pitijsku proročicu ili Delfe pa prenosi doslovni ili prepričani tekst proročanstva. U takve primjere pripada vijest o zlatnom Apolonovom tronošću što ga je trebao dobiti naj mudriji Grk (IX, 3, 1–3). Autor citira pitijsko proročanstvo upućeno Grcima koji su zaratili protiv Kire tijekom Prvoga svetog rata (IX, 16, 1). Diodor (XV, 49, 1) je prepričao sadržaj delfskog proročanstva koje su dobili gradovi maloazijske Jonije, jer zbog rata nisu mogli održati svečanosti nedaleko od rta Mikale.

practice prior to setting out on a colonial expedition.⁵⁷ Delphic authority on matters of advice to colonizers did not founder even during the Hellenistic era. Over one hundred years after the establishment of Pharos, the Alexandrian poet Callimachus (*Ap.* 55 – 57) wrote:

Φοίβωι δ' ἔσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
ἄνθρωποι: Φοῖβος γὰρ ἄει πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ
κτιζομένησ', αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος
ὑφαίνει.

And Phoebus it is that men follow when they map
out our cities.

For Phoebus evermore delights in the founding of
cities,

And Phoebus himself doth weave their founda-
tions.⁵⁸

Delphi in The Library of History by Diodorus

Diodorus' *Library of History* is an immense work. It is an ideal example of so-called universal histories that encompasses a wide chronological range from mythical times to the writer's contemporary period. The text is written according to the annalist approach, i.e., events at various locations are systematized by year and then recounted in chronological order. The work consisted of forty books, of which the first five and the series from eleven through twenty have been preserved.⁵⁹ A high number of different historical episodes provide an opportunity to compare passages. Caution must nevertheless be exercised, because Diodorus was a prodigious compiler, so the content of individual books depends on the quality and scope of the consulted sources.⁶⁰ Besides the Parian case (XV, 13, 4), the writer mentioned colonization and the associated oracles at several places. He indirectly wrote about Delphi in several different ways.

In a fragment from book IX, 16, 1, Delphi is mentioned only as the oracle (χρηστήριον). Given the context of historical events and the content of a response to an inquiry made to the Pythian priestesses, this cannot

59 Škiljan 1996, str. 140.

60 Diodor se koristio brojnim izvorima, od kojih su za 4. st. pr. Kr. osobito važni Atenjani Efor i Ksenofont, Filist Sirakužanin, Teopomop Hijanin, Timej iz Tauromenija i drugi. Vidi opširnije: Gray 1987, str. 75-88; Sanders 1987, *passim*; Čače 1994, str. 38; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, str. 35; Stylianou 1998, str. 25-132.

61 Oldfather 1989, str. 23, bilj. 2.

57 Dougherty 1993, p. 19.

58 Translation: Mair 1929 (accessed online: <http://www.theoi.com/Text/CallimachusHymns1.html>).

59 Škiljan 1996, p. 140.

60 Diodorus used numerous sources, among which particularly important ones for the 4th c. BC were the Athenians Ephorus and Xenophon, Philistus of Syracuse, Theopomopus of Chios, Timaeus of Tauromenium and others. For more, see: Gray 1987, pp. 75-88; Sanders 1987, *passim*; Čače 1994, p. 38; Kuntić-Makvić 1996, p. 35; Stylianou 1998, pp. 25-132.

S druge strane, fraza κατά τινα χρησμόν podrazumijeva izostavljanje detalja o podrijetlu proročanstva i upućuje na pretpostavku da Diodor nije bio siguran kako je točno glasio njegov sadržaj. Takav se slučaj primjećuje u dva navrata kad se opisuju zbivanja tijekom Peloponeskog rata.

U prvom slučaju Diodor (XII, 58, 6) piše da su Atenjani 426. g. pr. Kr. zbog bolesti u gradu očistili Apolonov sveti otok Del od grobova prema nekom proročanstvu (κατά τινα χρησμόν).⁶² O istom događaju Tukidid izvještava (III, 104, 1): *Iste zime očiste i Atenjani Del prema nekom proroštvu* (κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα).⁶³ Iako suvremenik ovih zbivanja Tukidid nije definirao proroštvo, Diodor smatra da je razlog čišćenju Dela bila bolest koju je božanstvo poslalo kao kaznu. Brojna vrela svjedoče da je Apolon glavno božanstvo koje šalje bolest i liječi.⁶⁴ Osim toga, Pauzanija (I, 3, 4) piše da je Kalamidov kip Apolona s atenske Agore, koji zovu braniteljem od zla (Ἰεξίκακος), dobio nadimak zato što je bog nekim proroštvom iz Delfa odagnao kužnu bolest tijekom Peloponeskog rata (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν). Zato bi Apolon Delfski trebao biti izvor proročanstva o čišćenju Dela.⁶⁵

62 Grčki izvornik (XII, 58, 6): οἱ δ' Ἰθναῖοι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου τὰς αἰτίας τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπεμπον. διὸ καὶ κατά τινα χρησμόν ἐκάθηραν τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον, Ἰπόλλωνος μὲν οὖσαν ἱεράν, δοκοῦσαν δὲ μεμάνθαι διὰ τὸ τοῦς τετελευτηκότας ἐν αὐτῇ τεθάρθαι.

63 Prijevod: Telar 2009, str. 219. Grčki izvornik (III, 104, 1): τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἰθναῖοι κατά χρησμόν δή τινα. Kod Tukidida (III, 104) slijedi opis čišćenja otoka za Pizistrata, dok Diodor (XII, 58, 6) detaljnije opisuje raskopavanje grobova 426. g. pr. Kr.

64 Graf 1996, str. 865-866.

65 Postoje i oprečna mišljenja. Simon Hornblower i Roger Brock smatraju da proročanstvo nije stiglo iz Delfa (Hornblower 1991, str. 517; Hornblower 1992, str. 191-194; Brock 1996, str. 321-322). Brock predlaže da potječe od lutajućih proroka bakida (Brock 1996, str. 321-322). Ipak, komentari iz analize mogu se upotrijebiti kao dobri kontraargumenti. Brockove pretpostavke, poput ljutog antagonizma Atene i Delfa, kvazipovijesne Pauzanijine informacije, Tukididove ironične antireligijske propagande i drugog (Brock 1996, str. 321-323 s bilješkama), ne djeluju dovoljno uvjerljivo. Primjerice, Atenjani su morali biti u ranim godinama rata u kontaktu s Delfima, o čemu svjedoči Pauzanija (I, 3, 4). Čak i da su pali u nemilosti, 426.

refer to any other oracle. A comment by Charles Henry Oldfather also specifies Delphi.⁶¹

Diodorus (XII, 10, 5) also used different expressions, such as “Apollo’s oracle” (χρησμόν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰπόλλωνος). The Athenians together with some Peloponnesians followed Apollo’s instructions and settled a territory in which they would have “water to drink in due measure, but bread to eat without measure” (XII, 10, 3-5). The notable Greek colony of Thurium sprang forth at this place. Apollo’s *par excellence* oracle for colonization was once more the one from Delphi.

Geographic circumstances can also help in analysing the origin of oracles. After a brief stay in Corinth, in response to his plea the Sicilian leader Ducetius received an oracular reply from the gods (χρησμόν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰπόλλωνος), so he sailed to the island of Sicily with a number of colonists and established the city of Calacte (XII, 8, 2). The oracle closest to Corinth which may have given the reply for colonization was Delphi.

At several points, Diodorus directly mentioned the Pythian oracle or Delphi, so he literally transcribed or recounted in his own words the texts of the oracular message. Such examples include the account of Apollo’s golden tripod, which was supposed to be given to the wisest Greek (IX, 3, 1-3). He cited the Pythian oracle delivered to the Greeks, who had besieged Cirrha during the First Sacred War (IX, 16, 1). Diodorus (XV, 49, 1) recounted the content of the Delphic oracle received by the cities of Ionia in Asia Minor, for they could not hold sacrifices at Mycalê due to the outbreak of wars in the vicinity.

On the other hand, the phrase κατά τινα χρησμόν implied the absence of details on the origin of the oracle and points to the assumption that Diodorus was not certain of its exact content. Such a case was observed in two instances in which events of the Peloponnesian War are described.

In the first case, Diodorus (XII, 58, 6) wrote that in 426 BC, due to an outbreak of disease in the city, the Athenians purified Apollo’s sacred island of Delos by digging up the graves there in response to the command of a certain oracle (κατά τινα χρησμόν).⁶² Thucydides reported on the same event (III, 104, 1): “The same winter the Athenians purified Delos in compliance, it appears, with a certain oracle” (κατὰ

61 Oldfather 1989, p. 23, note 2.

62 Greek original (XII, 58, 6): οἱ δ' Ἰθναῖοι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς νόσου τὰς αἰτίας τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπεμπον. διὸ καὶ κατά τινα χρησμόν ἐκάθηραν τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον, Ἰπόλλωνος μὲν οὖσαν ἱεράν, δοκοῦσαν δὲ μεμάνθαι διὰ τὸ τοῦς τετελευτηκότας ἐν αὐτῇ τεθάρθαι.

Mnogo je jasniji sljedeći primjer. Šest godina nakon čišćenja Dela Diodor (XII, 77, 1) je spomenuo da su Atenjani ponovo po nekom nedefiniranom proročanstvu (κατά τινα χρησμόν) vratili Del domaćem stanovništvu.⁶⁶ Za taj je događaj Tukidid (V, 32, 1) zapisao: *Deljane odvedu natrag na Del pomišljajući na svoje nedaće u bojovima i jer je bog u Delfima tako naredio.*⁶⁷ Dakle, iza Diodorove fraze κατά τινα χρησμόν doista može stajati delfsko proročanstvo. Smatramo da se isti zaključak s razlogom može primijeniti na vijest o nekom proročanstvu prema kojem su Parani stigli na Jadran.

Odnos Para i Delfa, hram Apolona Pitijskog na Paru, Farska psefizma i Parski reskript

Parani su na državnoj razini imali tradicionalno dobar odnos s Delfima još od arhajskog razdoblja. Kontakti s Apolonovim proročištem spominju se u vezi s kolonizacijom Tasa i biografije parskog pjesnika Arhiloha.⁶⁸ Par je konzultirao Pitiju u osamdesetim godinama 5. stoljeća. Tad su htjeli kazniti svećenicu Timo, jer je pomogla Miltijadu u opsadi grada i otkrila mu ritual koji nije bio namijenjen muškarcima, no Pitija ju je lišila odgovornosti (*Hdt.* VI, 135, 1–3). O kontaktu Parana s Delfima svjedoči natpis o sporu Tasa i Neapola (*IG* XII, 5, 109). Prema Bengstonovoj rekonstrukciji sadržaja, Tas se sukobio sa svojom kolonijom, a kako bi riješili nesuglasje predložili su da presude Delfi. Proročište nije htjelo preuzeti odgovornost pa je uvjerilo sukobljene strane neka se obrate taškoj matici Paru. Kad su Parani obavili arbitražu, spomenici o političkom aktu postavljeni su na Paru, Tasu,

bila je pitijaska godina kad su svi mogli pohoditi Delfe (Hornblower 1991, str. 191).

- 66 Grčki izvornik (XII, 77, 1): ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν κατά τινα χρησμόν Δηλίους ἀπέδοσαν τὴν νῆσον, καὶ κατήλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα οἱ τὸ Ἀδραμύτιον οἰκοῦντες Δῆλιοι.
- 67 Prijevod: Telar 2009, str. 325. Grčki izvornik (V, 32, 1): ...Δηλίους δὲ κατήγαγον πάλιν εἰς Δῆλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τὰς τε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ξυμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρίσαντος.
- 68 Türk 1934, str. 1312-1313; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 38-44; Berranger 1992, str. 156-157, 170-180. Iako Peter Londey tvrdi da Delfi nisu bili neizbježni centar za kolonizacijsku kompetenciju, ipak nabraja polise, poput Sparte, Korinta, Mileta ili Megare koji su tradicionalno imali dobre veze s proročištem tijekom arhajskog razdoblja. Na tom se popisu nalazi i Par (Londey 1990, str. 126-127, T. 2).

χρησμόν δὴ τινα).⁶³ Even though a contemporary to these events, Thucydides did not define the oracle, while Diodorus believed that the reason for the purification of Delos was disease which the deity had sent as punishment. Numerous sources testify to the fact that Apollo was the primary deity who brought disease but also healing.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Pausanias (I, 3, 4) wrote that the statue of Apollo from the Athenian Agora, made by Calamis, was called the averter of evil (Ἰλεξίκακος) and that it was given this name because the god, acting at the behest of an oracle from Delphi, stayed a pestilence which afflicted the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν λοιμώδη σφίσι νόσον ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελοποννησίων πολέμῳ πιέζουσιν κατὰ μάντευμα ἔπαυσεν ἐκ Δελφῶν). This is why the Delphic Apollo should be the source of the oracle on the purification of Delos.⁶⁵

The next example is far clearer. Six years after the purification of Delos, Diodorus (XII, 77, 1) mentioned that the Athenians, in obedience to a certain oracle (κατά τινα χρησμόν), returned Delos to its native population.⁶⁶ Thucydides wrote (V, 32, 1) of this event: “She also brought back the Delians to Delos, moved by her misfortunes in the field and by the commands

63 Translation: Dent 1910 (accessed online: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>). Greek original (III, 104, 1): τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα. Thucydides (III, 104) followed this with a description of the purification of the island by Pisistratus the tyrant, while Diodorus (XII, 58, 6) provided a detailed description of the digging of graves in 426 BC.

64 Graf 1996, pp. 865-866.

65 There are other views. Simon Hornblower and Roger Brock believe that the oracle did not come from Delphi (Hornblower 1991, p. 517; Hornblower 1992, pp. 191-194; Brock 1996, pp. 321-322). Brock suggested that it came from the itinerant oracles of Bacis (Brock 1996, pp. 321-322). Even so, the comments from the analysis may be used as sound counter-arguments. Brock's suppositions, such as the fierce antagonism between Athens and Delphi, the quasi-historical accounts from Pausanias, Thucydides' ironic anti-religious propaganda and so forth (Brock 1996, pp. 321-323 with notes), are not convincing enough. For example, the Athenians had to have been in contact with Delphi during the early years of the war, to which Pausanias testified (I, 3, 4). Even if they had fallen into disfavour, 426 BC was a Pythian year when all could visit Delphi (Hornblower 1991, p. 191).

66 Greek original (XII, 77, 1): ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν κατά τινα χρησμόν Δηλίους ἀπέδοσαν τὴν νῆσον, καὶ κατήλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα οἱ τὸ Ἀδραμύτιον οἰκοῦντες Δῆλιοι.

Neapolu i u Delfima.⁶⁹ Prema stilu slova natpis se datira u kraj 5. ili prvi dio 4. stoljeća. U literaturi se dokument povezuje s kronologijom podataka iz literarnih izvora (Tukidid i Ksenofont) pa se 410., 407. ili 404. navode kao granične godine kad je natpis mogao nastati.⁷⁰

Prema dekretu proksenije iz 2. st. pr. Kr. (*IG XII, 5, 110 i 111*) zna se da je na Paru postojao gradski arhiv koji se čuvao u Pitonu. Početkom 20. stoljeća oko 400 m jugozapadno izvan zidina antičkoga grada otkriveno je svetište s dvama hramovima na terasama.⁷¹ Iako na gornjoj terasi nisu pronađeni natpisi, u arheološkom kontekstu donjeg Asklepijevog hrama pronađeno je nekoliko primjerala. Jedan od njih (*IG XII, 5, 148*) spominje učestali epitet Apolona ili Artemide, ἔκηβό[λω] ili ἔκηβό[λη] (*dalekometni* ili *dalekometna*), dok se na drugom (*IG XII, 5, 147*) nalazi Apolonov epitet Φοί[β.], tj. Feb. Otto Rubensohn povezo je ova dva natpisa s dekretom proksenije, predloživši da je hram bio posvećen Apolonu Pitijskom.⁷² Prema Rubensohnovim nalazima i novim nalazima, pretpostavlja se da je Apolonov hram na gornjoj terasi mogao biti sagrađen već u arhajskom razdoblju.⁷³ Taj je horizont iz nepoznatog razloga uništen, a fragmenti arhitekture sugeriraju da je hram ponovo

of the god at Delphi.”⁶⁷ Thus, a Delphic oracle may indeed be behind Diodorus’ phrase κατά τινα χρησμόν. I believe that the same conclusion may be applied to the account of an oracle leading to the arrival of the Parians in the Adriatic.

Relations between Paros and Delphi, the temple of Pythian Apollo on Paros, the Pharos psephisma and the Parian rescript

At the state level, the Parians had traditionally good relations with Delphi since the Archaic period. Contacts with Apollo’s oracle were mentioned with reference to the colonization of Thasos and in the biography of the Parian poet Archilochus.⁶⁸ Paros consulted the Pythian priestess in the 580s BC. At the time, they wanted to exact vengeance on the underpriestess Timo, because she had aided Miltiades in his siege of the city and revealed mysteries to him that could not be divulged to a male person, but the Pythian prophetess acquitted her of this responsibility (*Hdt. VI, 135, 1-3*). An inscription on the dispute between Thasos and Neapolis also testifies to contact between the Parians and Delphi (*IG XII, 5, 109*). According to Bengston’s reconstruction of its content, Thasos was in conflict with its colony, and in order to resolve the disagreement they proposed that Delphi should have made the final judgment. The oracle did not want to assume responsibility, so the conflicting parties were urged to refer to the matter to Paros, the mother city of Thasos. When the Parians performed arbitration, monuments to this act were installed in Paros, Thasos, Neapolis and Delphi.⁶⁹ Based on the style of the letters, the inscription has been dated to the end of the 5th or the first part of the 4th century BC. In the scholarly literature this document is tied to the chronology

69 Bengston 1962, str. 143-145. Takvu rekonstrukciju prihvaća i Lanzillotta 1987, str. 124. Berranger-Auserve smatra razumnim da su Delfi prepustili metropoli rješavanje sukoba između dviju kolonija (Berranger-Auserve 2000, str. 94).

70 U starijem radu Feyel je epigrafski spomenik datirao u razdoblje od 357. do 355. g. pr. Kr. (Feyel 1945, str. 141-143). Najskeptičniji je Bengston, koji piše da zbog velikog oštećenja teksta natpis nije moguće pouzdano datirati (Bengston 1962, str. 143-145).

71 Rubensohn 1902, str. 189-199; Berranger 1992, str. 96; Zafeiropoulou 2009, str. 21; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 141.

72 Rubensohn 1902, str. 189-199, 190. Danièle Berranger je skeptična prema ideji da je hram bio posvećen Apolonu Pitijskom, jer je teško vjerovati da bi se arhiv bio nalazio izvan gradskih zidina (Berranger 1992, str. 100). Sličan stav vidi u Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 155.

73 Natpis posvećen Febu (*IG XII, 5, 148*) datira se u 6. st. pr. Kr. (Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 155). Tijekom istraživanja pronađeni su ostatci mramornog arhajskog kurosa (Berranger 1992, str. 99; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 141). Tijekom čišćenja lokaliteta 1995. godine pronađeni su arhajski keramički ulomci i mramorni blok s likovima Apolona i Artemide (Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 141).

67 Translation: Dent 1910 (accessed online: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>). Greek original (V, 32, 1): ...Δηλίους δὲ κατήγαγον πάλιν ἐς Δῆλον, ἐνθουμούμενοι τὰς τε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ξυμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρήσαντος.

68 Türk 1934, pp. 1312-1313; Lanzillotta 1987, pp. 38-44; Berranger 1992, pp. 156-157; 170-180. Even though Peter Londey claimed that consultation with Delphi on colonization was not essential, he nonetheless listed poleis, such as Sparta, Corinth, Miletus or Megara, that traditionally had sound relations with the oracle during the Archaic era. This list also includes Paros (Londey 1990, pp. 126-127, Pl. 2).

69 Bengston 1962, pp. 143-145. This reconstruction was also accepted by Lanzillotta 1987, p. 124. Berranger-Auserve considered it reasonable that Delphi would relinquish resolution of the conflict between two colonies to their mother city (Berranger-Auserve 2000, p. 94).

izgrađen ili obnovljen u prvoj polovici ili sredinom 4. st. pr. Kr.⁷⁴

Obnova hrama Apolona Pitijskog nedaleko od parskog polisa tijekom 4. st. bila bi simbolička zahvala za delfsko proročanstvo, uspješan dolazak na Jadran i uspostavu naseobine na Faru, a prema tome i poprilično jak argument o konzultiranju Delfa 385. g. pr. Kr.⁷⁵

Spomenimo usputno da je Piton postojao i na akropoli parske kolonije Tasa. Pretpostavlja se da je sagrađen odmah po osnutku kolonije.⁷⁶ Arhajski horizont Apolonova svetišta na Paru možda može biti poveznica s osnivanjem kolonije na Tasu, iako ovu ideju valja uzeti s velikim oprezom. Analogno tome idući horizont obnove hrama u 4. st. bio bi indikator naseljavanja Fara.

O kontinuitetu dobrih odnosa Parana s Delfima svjedoče Farska psezizma i Parski reskript.⁷⁷ U ovom je slučaju u povijesni kontekst izravno uključen Far. Spomenici se datiraju u kraj 3. st. ili početak 2. st. pr. Kr. Oba su poprilično oštećena, a procjenjuje se da je opstalo manje od četvrtine ukupnog teksta. Unatoč stanju očuvanosti, veći dio teksta može se rekonstruirati pomoću pravno-političkih fraza sličnih odluka koje su donijeli drugi grčki gradovi.⁷⁸ Natpisi izvještavaju o farskom poslanstvu na Par i u još jedan grad (vjerojatno Atenu), jer im je trebala pomoć. Primivši farsko izaslanstvo, Parani su poslali šestoricu građana u Delfe po proročki savjet. Dobili su naputak da treba žrtvovati božanstvu i na zapad poslati Praksi-epa. Većina autora teži interpretaciji da su Farani poželjeli obnoviti grčku populaciju pa su zatražili pomoć od matice.⁷⁹ Ovdje donosimo dio teksta

of data from literary sources (Thucydides and Xenophon), so that 410, 407 or 404 BC are cited as the latest years when the inscription may have appeared.⁷⁰

According to a proxeny decree from the 2nd century BC (*IG XII*, 5, 110 and 111), we know that there was a city archive on Paros that was maintained in Pythion. At the beginning of the 20th century, a shrine with two temples on terraces was discovered approximately 400 m south-west outside of the ramparts of the ancient city.⁷¹ Although no inscriptions were found on the upper terrace, several examples appeared in the archaeological context of the lower temple of Asclepius. One of them (*IG XII*, 5, 148) mentions a frequent epithet of Apollo or Artemis, ἔκηβό[λωι] or ἔκηβό[ληι] (far-shooting), while another (*IG XII*, 5, 147) contains Apollo's epithet Φοῖ[β.] (Phoebus). Otto Rubensohn tied these two inscriptions with the proxeny decree, proposing that the temple was dedicated to Pythian Apollo.⁷² According to Rubensohn's finds and some later finds, it is assumed that the temple of Apollo on the upper terrace may have already been built in the Archaic era.⁷³ This horizon has been destroyed for reasons unknown, but the architectural fragments suggest that the temple was rebuilt or restored in the first half of or mid-4th century BC.⁷⁴

The renewal of the temple of Pythian Apollo not far from the Parian polis during the 4th century would have been symbolic gratitude to the oracle of Delphi, the successful arrival on the Adriatic and the establishment of a settlement on Pharos, and thus a

74 Schuller 1982, str. 245-264; Berranger-Auserve 2000, str. 100-101; Ohnesorg 2005, str. 149-150; Rutishauser 2012, str. 233; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, str. 141.

75 Tu je tezu iznijela Dora Katsonopoulou u izlaganju "Paros in the Fourth Century BC and the Foundation of Pharos" na simpoziju *Međunarodni znanstveni skup Faros i Starigradsko polje 7. - 8. rujna 2016.* (Katsonopoulou 2016, str. 10). Radovi sa skupa nisu još objavljeni. Kult Apolona Pitijskog na Paru u kontekstu delfskog proročanstva ukratko je spomenula i Alessandra Coppola (Coppola 2018, str. 372-373).

76 Pouilloux 1954, str. 27-28.

77 Za stariju literaturu, izvorni tekst i prepričani sadržaj vidi Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 77-78. Za pregled povijesti istraživanja, paleografska obilježja i diplomatsku analizu vidi Marohnić 2016b, str. 49-62.

78 Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 77.

79 Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 78.

70 In an older work, Feyel dated the epigraphic monument to the period from 357 to 355 BC (Feyel 1945, pp. 141-143). The most sceptical was Bengston, who wrote that the inscription could not be reliably dated to the great damage to the text (Bengston 1962, pp. 143-145).

71 Rubensohn 1902, pp. 189-199; Berranger 1992, p. 96; Zafeiropoulou 2009, p. 21; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 141.

72 Rubensohn 1902, pp. 189-199, 190. Danièle Berranger was sceptical of the idea that the temple was dedicated to Pythian Apollo, because it was difficult to believe that the archive would have been housed outside of the city walls (Berranger 1992, p. 100). See a similar stance in Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 155.

73 An inscription dedicated to Phoebus (*IG XII*, 5, 148) was dated to the 6th c. BC (Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 155). During excavations, the remains of a marble archaic kouros (Berranger 1992, p. 99; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 141) were found. During cleaning of the site in 1995, archaic ceramic fragments and a marble block bearing images of Apollo and Artemis were found (Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 141).

74 Schuller 1982, pp. 245-264; Berranger-Auserve 2000, pp. 100-101; Ohnesorg 2005, pp. 149-150; Rutishauser 2012, p. 233; Kourayos *et al.* 2018, p. 141.

Parskog reskripta koji izvještava o delfskom poslanstvu:

... ἔλῃσθαι δὲ [καὶ θεοπρόπους ἐκ τῶν]
 πολιτῶν ἄνδρας {ας} ἕξ εἰς Δελφοὺς -- καὶ
 ἕξεῖ]-
 ναὶ τῶι βουλομένῳ κατ[-----]
 τας πρεισβεῦσαι εἰς Δελ[φούς· ἔρωτᾶν δὲ τὸν
 θε]-
 ὄν τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶι θύων [ὁ Φαρίων δῆμος
 ἄβλα]- 20
 βῆ τήν τε πόλιν ἕξει κα[ὶ τήν χώραν καὶ --
 τό]-
 πων ἔφ' ἑτέρων καρπί[σ]ε[ται -----]
 χρῆνι [θεός].
 Πραξιέπη πέμπειν Πά[ριον -----]
 πρὸς δυσμὰ[ς --]πει Φ..ΙΟΣ [-----] 25
 [-----Ω]ΜΟΥ [-----]⁸⁰

... ali da se izaberu [kao poklisari između]
 građana šest ljudi z[a Delfe --- i da je]
 slobodno svakome tko hoće [- - - - -]
 ići kao poslanik u Del[fe, neka pitaju bo] 20
 ga kome bogu ili božici žrtvujući [farski će
 narod neošte]-
 ćen imati grad i [zemlju i na]
 drugim mjestima uživati plodove [- - - -]
 Odgovora b[og]
 Praksiepa poslati Pa[ranina - - - - -] 25
 na zapa[d - - - -]⁸¹

Iako se u redcima 17 i 19 ne nalazi potpuno sa-
 čuvano ime proročišta, većina komentatora razrje-
 šava lakune spominjući Delfe.⁸² Dakle, fokidsko
 je svetište bilo neizbježno mjesto za konzultiranje
 oko pitanja obnove grada ili novog vala naseljavanja
 Fara više od sto godina nakon osnivanja pars-
 kog naselja.

Politički kontekst ranog 4. stoljeća – Delfi, Spartanci, Parani i Dionizije

Usporedba literarnih izvora te povijesni i epigraf-
 ski kontekst pridonose razmišljanju da se iza Dio-
 dorovih riječi κατά τινα χρησμὸν krije proročište

80 Odabrana je restitucija Louisa Roberta koja se najče-
 šće citira (Robert 1960). Njome se koriste Čače 1997,
 str. 240; Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, str. 77-78;
 Marohnić 2016b, str. 66.

81 Prijevod: Čače 1997, str. 240-241.

82 Vidi različite varijante restitucije redaka 17 i 19 u
 Marohnić 2016b, str. 69.

rather strong argument in favour of consultation in
 Delphi in 385 BC.⁷⁵

It should be noted as an aside that there was also
 a Pythion on the acropolis of the Parian colony of
 Thasos. It is assumed that it was constructed immedi-
 ately upon the colony's establishment.⁷⁶ The Archaic
 horizon of the Apollonian shrine in Paros may be the
 link to the establishment of the colony on Thasos,
 even though this idea should be considered with some
 measure of caution. By way of analogy, the subse-
 quent horizon of the temple's renewal in the 4th cen-
 tury would then be an indicator of the settlement of
 Pharos.

The Pharos psephisma and the Paros rescript tes-
 tify to the continuity of sound relations between the
 Parians and Delphi.⁷⁷ In this case, Pharos has been di-
 rectly included in the historical context. These docu-
 ments have been dated to the end of the 3rd or early
 2nd century. Both are rather damaged, and it has been
 estimated that less than one fourth of the total text
 remains. Despite their state of preservation, most of
 the text may be reconstructed with the help of legal/
 political phrases of similar decisions made by other
 Greek cities.⁷⁸ The inscriptions report on the Pharian
 embassy to Paros and one more city (probably Athens)
 because they needed assistance. Upon receiving the
 Pharian embassy, the Parians sent six citizens to Del-
 phi for counsel from the oracle. They were instructed
 to make a sacrifice to the deity and send Praxiepes to
 the west. Most scholars prefer the interpretation that
 the Pharians wanted to renew the Greek population,
 so they sought assistance from the mother city.⁷⁹ Here
 I will cite an excerpt of the Parian text that reports on
 the Delphic embassy:

... ἔλῃσθαι δὲ [καὶ θεοπρόπους ἐκ τῶν]
 πολιτῶν ἄνδρας {ας} ἕξ εἰς Δελφοὺς -- καὶ

75 This hypothesis was put forth by Dora Katsonopoulou
 in her paper "Paros in the Fourth Century BC and the
 Foundation of Pharos" at the international conference
Međunarodni znanstveni skup Faros i Starigradsko
polje 7. - 8. rujna 2016. (Katsonopoulou 2016, p. 10).
 The papers from the symposium have not yet been pub-
 lished. The cult of Pythian Apollo on Paros in the con-
 text of the Delphic oracle was also briefly mentioned by
 Alessandra Coppola (Coppola 2018, pp. 372-373).

76 Pouilloux 1954, pp. 27-28.

77 For the older literature, the original text and its sum-
 marized content, see Kuntić-Makvić and Marohnić
 2010, pp. 77-78. For an overview of the research his-
 tory, palaeographic features and diplomatic analysis,
 see Marohnić 2016b, pp. 49-62.

78 Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, p. 77.

79 Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, p. 78.

u Delfima. Diodor spominje Parane kao političku zajednicu koja je primila proročanstvo i poslala sugrađane na Jadran. Olovne pločice iz Dodone svjedoče o pojedincima ili manjim skupinama ljudi čija je želja bila uputiti se na Far. Smatramo da je proročanstvo gradu državi ipak moralo doći iz Delfa.

U početku 4. stoljeća Delfi su mogli imati pouzdane podatke o srednjodalmatinskim otocima. Na to prvotno upućuju grčki arheološki nalazi koji se pojavljuju na Jadranu od kraja 7. st. pr. Kr., a potom i literarni izvori kao što je Hekatejev peljar *Putovanje oko svijeta* s početka 5. st. pr. Kr. Osim Korkirana i njihovih kolonija na Jadranskom moru koji su vjerojatno prvi udarili temelj intenzivnijem kontaktu s autohtonim narodima,⁸³ u Jadran su tijekom 5. stoljeća često plovili Atenjani. U dvjema nekropolama koje su pripadale gradu Spini, arheolozi su pronašli mnogobrojne atičke crvenofiguralne vaze ranoklasičnog i klasičnog razdoblja s natpisima na atičkom alfabetu.⁸⁴ Dokaz je to snažnog atenskog utjecaja na Spinu koji je potrajao tijekom cijelog 5. st. i u ranom 4. stoljeću.⁸⁵ Također, atičke posude iz 5. st. pronađene su diljem zapadne i istočne jadranske obale.⁸⁶ O atenskim aktivnostima na Jadranu svjedoči i Lizija oko 400. godine (XXXII, 25; *Lys. ap. Aeschin.* F 1, 4). Podatci mogu potjecati i od zapadnih Grka iz južne Italije i sa Sicilije.⁸⁷

Povijesne okolnosti u grčkom svijetu tijekom sredine osamdesetih godina 4. stoljeća govore u prilog delfskoj provenijenciji proročanstva. Pregovori s perzijskim kraljem Artakserksom II. i Antalkidin

ἔξεϊ]-
 ναὶ τῶν βουλομένων κατ[-----]
 τὰς πρῆξις εἰς Δελ[φούς· ἔρωτᾶν δὲ τὸν
 θεῖ]-
 ὄν τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεῶν θύων [ὁ Φαρίων δῆμος
 ἄβλα]- 20
 βῆ τὴν τε πόλιν ἔξει κα[ὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ --
 τό]-
 πων ἐφ' ἑτέρων καρπί[σ]ε[ται -----]
 χρῆνι [θεός]-
 Πραξιέπη πέμπειν Πά[ριον -----]
 πρὸς δυσμὰ[ς --]πει Φ..ΙΟΣ [-----] 25
 [-----Ω]ΜΟΥ [-----]⁸⁰

...but also let elect [as envoys among]
 the citizens six men fo[r Delphi - - - and let it be]
 free to everybody that wishes and [- - - - -]
 to go as an envoy to Del[phi; let them ask the go-]
 d what god or goddess sacrificing should [the 20
 Pharian people have a sa]
 fe city and land and on]
 other places enjoy the fruits [- - - -]
 The response of the g[od] 25
 Praxiepes to send the Pa[rian - - - - -]
 to the wes[t - - - -]⁸¹

Even though lines 17 and 19 do not contain the full name of the oracle, most commentators resolved the lacunae by citing Delphi.⁸² The Phocian shrine was thus an unavoidable site for consultation on questions of renewing the city or a new wave of settlement on Pharos over one hundred years after the establishment of the Parian colony.

The political context in the early 4th century BC: Delphi, the Spartans, Parians and Dionysius of Syracuse

A comparison between literary sources and the historical and epigraphic context contributes to the opinion that the oracle of Delphi is concealed behind the words κατὰ τινα χρησίων written by Diodorus. Diodorus mentioned the Parians as a political community which received the oracle and sent its fellow citizens to the Adriatic. The lead tablets from Dodona testify to individuals or smaller groups whose desire

83 Vidi detaljnije: Čače, Kuntić-Makvić 2010, str. 65.

84 Johnston 1979, str. 277-279.

85 Poraz Atene u Peloponeskom ratu i keltska agresija na sjeveru Apeninskog poluotoka ostavili su posljedice na grčki kontakt s Jadranom. Iako je Spina bila među pošteđenim gradovima, ondje su se naselili brojni etruščanski izbjeglice iz doline rijeke Pada, a izolacija je s vremenom pretvorila grad u gusarsko središte (Sassatelli 2004, str. 190). Pretpostavlja se da je političke probleme na sjeverozapadu Jadrana iskoristio Dionizije Sirakuški, čiji je emporij u Adriji (osnovan vjerojatno 389./388.) istisnuo stoljetni utjecaj Atenjana i Spinjana (Zaninović 2015, str. 135 s priloženom starijom literaturom).

86 Detaljna analiza lokaliteta s atičkom keramikom i katalogom na Jadranu u Giudice *et al.* 1999, *passim*. Dodatno za istočnu jadransku obalu vidi: Šešelj 2009, str. 422-424 i karta 22.

87 O grčkom utjecaju na Jadran prije 4. stoljeća vidi: Beaumont 1936; Braccesi 1977, str. 13-184; Čače, Kuntić-Makvić 2010, str. 64-65; Zaninović 2015, str. 59-117.

80 The restoration by Louis Robert, which is most often cited, was selected (Robert 1960). It was also used by Čače 1997, p. 240; Kuntić-Makvić, Marohnić 2010, pp. 77-78; Marohnić 2016b, p. 66.

81 Translation: Čače 1997, pp. 240-241.

82 See different variations of the restoration of lines 17 and 19 in Marohnić 2016b, p. 69.

mir sklopljen godine 387. omogućili su Sparti da postane najjača sila među Grcima. Lakedemonjani su kao predvodnici nove političke situacije započeli obračun sa saveznicima koji su im prijetili tijekom Korinskog rata (395.–387. g. pr. Kr.) ili pokazivali otvorenu sklonost prema neprijateljima (*Xen. Hell.* V, 2, 1). Najupečatljivija agresivna odmazda zbilja se kod arkadske Mantineje 385. godine neposredno prije osnivanja Fara.

Diodor (XV, 4, 1) dodaje da su Lakedemonjani uvijek bili skloni upravljanju i ratovanju pa su u nekim gradovima potaknuli pokrete koji su, poduprti prospartanskim snagama, uzdrмали dotadašnju vlast. Drugi su gradovi, nakon osamostaljenja, protjerali bivše lakedemonske simpatizere. Izbjeglice su pronašli utočište u Sparti, da bi se kasnije uz pomoć zaštitnika vratili u matične gradove i obnovili upravu. Prvo su pali manji gradovi, a zatim se rat proširio i na veće, tako da primirje nije potrajalo ni dvije godine (XV, 4, 2–3).

Učinak Antalkidino g mira morao je ostaviti traga i na Paru.⁸⁸ Iako nema izravnih literarnih ili arheoloških dokaza koji bi potvrdili političku promjenu, Diodorov opis nemira u Grčkoj nakon 386. godine (XV, 4, 3) i cjelokupni povijesni kontekst govore u prilog jačanju oligarhijske i prospartanske struje među Paranima.

Kontakt s delfskim proročištem bio bi jasan indikator spartanskog utjecaja. Poseban odnos Sparte i Delfa primjećuje se još od arhajskog razdoblja,⁸⁹ a Lakedemonjani politički dominiraju ondje gotovo puna tri desetljeća 4. stoljeća.⁹⁰ Spartanski kralj Agid žrtvovao je Apolonu desetinu plijena poslije rata s Eliđanima (*Xen. Hell.* III, 3, 1), a u fokidskom je svetištu dao podići spomenik na vrhu visokog stupa kako bi naglasio spartansku supremaciju (*FD* III, 4, 196).⁹¹ Nakon bitke kod Koroneje Agezilaj je otišao u Delfe i žrtvovao bogu desetinu vrijednu više od sto talenata (IV, 3, 21). Mladi kralj Agezipolid pitao je Apolona slaže li se sa Zeusovom odlukom da zarati protiv Arga 388. g. pr. Kr., a Pitija je u skladu sa spartanskim željama potvrdno odgovorila

was to go to Pharos. I believe that the oracle had to have come to the city state from Delphi.

At the beginning of the 4th century BC, Delphi could have had reliable information on the central Dalmatian islands. This is primarily indicated by the Greek archaeological finds that appeared in the Adriatic as of the end of the 7th century BC, and then by literary sources such as the *Journey Round the Earth (Periodos ges)* by Hecataeus from the 5th century BC. Besides the Korkyrans and their colonies on the Adriatic, which probably laid the foundations for more intense contacts with the indigenous peoples,⁸³ the Athenians had also frequently sailed into the Adriatic in the 5th century BC. In two necropoleis which had belonged to the city of Spina, archaeologists discovered numerous Attic Red-figure vases of the early Classical and Classical periods bearing inscriptions in the Attic alphabet.⁸⁴ This is evidence of the strong Athenian influence on Spina, which endured throughout the 5th century and into the early 4th century BC.⁸⁵ Moreover, Attic vessels dated to the 5th century BC were also found throughout the western and eastern Adriatic seaboard.⁸⁶ In approximately 400 BC, Lysias also testified to Athenian activities in the Adriatic (XXXII, 25; *Lys. ap. Aeschin.* F 1, 4). The data may have also been obtained from the western Greeks in southern Italy and Sicily.⁸⁷

Historical circumstances in the Greek world during the mid-380s BC point to the Delphic origin of the oracles. Negotiations with the Persian king, Artaxerxes II, and the Peace of Antalcidas concluded in 387 BC paved the way for Sparta to become the strongest power among the Greeks. The Spartans, as the leaders

88 Rubensohn 1949, str. 1818; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 130; Kirigin 2004, str. 59.

89 Između ostalog Spartanci su imali tzv. Pitije, trajne i nasljedne poslanike u Delfima (*Hdt.* VI, 57, 60; *Xen. Lak. Pol.* XV, 5). Ta je funkcija uspostavljena vjerojatno već u 8. stoljeću (Cartledge 2002, str. 111). O intenzivnom i prisnom odnosu s Delfima vidi: Cartledge 2002, str. 89-90, 116-117 i dr.

90 Parke, Wormell 1956, str. 209; Scott 2014, str. 142.

91 Scott 2014, str. 141.

83 See details in: Čače, Kuntić-Makvić 2010, p. 65.

84 Johnston 1979, pp. 277-279.

85 The defeat of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War and the Celtic aggression in the northern Apennine Peninsula had repercussions on Greek contacts with the Adriatic. Even though Spina was among the cities that had been spared, many Etruscan refugees from the Po River Valley settled there, and over time its isolation transformed the city into a hub of piracy (Sassatelli 2004, p. 190). It is assumed that the political problems in the north-western Adriatic were exploited by Dionysius of Syracuse, whose emporium in Adria (probably established in 389/388 BC) squeezed out the century-long influence of the Athenians and Spinians (Zaninović 2015, p. 135 with the cited older literature).

86 A detailed analysis of the sites with Attic pottery in the Adriatic and a catalogue can be found in Giudice *et al.* 1999, *passim*. For more on the eastern Adriatic seaboard see: Šešelj 2009, pp. 422-424 and map 22.

87 On Greek influence on the Adriatic prior to the 4th c. BC, see: Beaumont 1936; Braccesi 1977, pp. 13-184; Čače, Kuntić-Makvić 2010, pp. 64-65; Zaninović 2015, pp. 59-117.

(IV, 7, 2).⁹² To je daleko najbolji primjer spartanske političke manipulacije proročištima samo tri godine prije osnivanja Fara. Valja izdvojiti Lizandrov pokušaj potplaćivanja delfskog, dodonskog i libijskog proročišta 403. ili 396. g. pr. Kr.⁹³ ne bi li svrgnuo lakedemonske kraljeve (*Ephor. FGrHist* 70 F 207; *Cleon. FGrHist* 583 T 1 a-c; *Nep. Lys.* 3; *Diod.* XIV, 13; *Plut. Lys.* 25 i 30, 3).⁹⁴ Ipak, plan mu nije uspio, jer su se Delfi priklonili staroj oligarhijskoj struji (*Nep. Lys.* 3).

Spartanci su konzultirali i ostala svetišta. Ciceron (*De div.* I, 43, 95) piše da su za pogrebna pitanja tražili savjet od Delfa, Zeusa Amona i Dodone.⁹⁵ U Dodoni su Spartanci prisutni od 6. st. pr. Kr., što se zaključuje prema stilskim svojstvima zavjetnih predmeta.⁹⁶ Osim Lizandrova pokušaja podmićivanja svetišta Lakedemonjani su zatražili savjet prije bitke kod Leuktre 371. godine (*Callisth. FGrHist* 124 F 22a; *Cic. De div.* I, 74-76), a tumačenje dodonske proročice o "bitci bez suza" dobili su prije sukoba s Arkadanima, Argivcima i Mesenjanima 368. g. pr. Kr. (*Diod.* XV, 72, 3).⁹⁷

Posljednja dva izvješća pripadaju konzultacijama s Dodonom na državnoj razini. Posljedice velikog potresa koji je pogodio Delfe 373. g. pr. Kr.⁹⁸ mogle su spojiti Spartance i epirsko proročište. Te su godine teško nastradali Apolonovo svetište i hram, a posljedice su bile dugotrajne.⁹⁹ Naime, pretpostavlja se da je zbog velikog oštećenja proročište bilo

in this new political situation, began to settle accounts with those who had threatened them during the Corinthian War (395-387 BC) or who had displayed an open affinity for their enemies (*Xen. Hell.* V, 2, 1). The most strikingly aggressive retribution occurred at Arcadian Mantinea in 385 BC, immediately prior to the establishment of Pharos.

Diodorus (XV, 4, 1) added that the Lacedaemonians loved to command and wage war by their very nature, so that in various cities they stirred up pro-Spartan forces in order to weaken the current authorities. Other cities, after recovering their autonomy, exiled the former Lacedaemonian sympathizers. These exiles found refuge in Sparta, and they returned to their mother cities with the help of their sponsor. The smaller cities fell first, and then warfare spread to the larger cities, so that no peace endured for even two years (XV, 4, 2-3).

The impact of the Peace of Antalcidas must have been felt on Paros as well.⁸⁸ Even though there is no direct literary or archaeological evidence that could confirm a political change, the descriptions of the unrest in Greece after 386 BC by Diodorus (XV, 4, 3) and the overall historical context indicates the strengthening of oligarchic and pro-Spartan currents among the Parians.

Contact with the Delphic oracle would serve as a clear indicator of Spartan influence. The special relationship between Sparta and Delphi had been observed since the Archaic era,⁸⁹ and the Lacedaemonians were politically dominant there for almost three full decades in the 4th century.⁹⁰ The Spartan King Agis sacrificed a tenth of his spoils to Apollo after a war with the Eleians (*Xen. Hell.* III, 3, 1), and he had a monument raised atop a high column in Delphi in order to underscore Spartan supremacy (*FD* III, 4, 196).⁹¹ After the battle at Coronea, Agesilaus went to Delphi and sacrificed a tithe to the god worth over one hundred talents (IV, 3, 21). The young King Agesipolis asked Apollo if he agreed with the decision of Zeus to declare war against Argos in 388 BC, and the Pythian oracle answered affirmatively in line with the wishes of Sparta (IV, 7, 2).⁹² This is by

92 Ovo je jedini poznati literarni primjer spartanskog konzultiranja proročišta u Olimpiji (Richter 2012, str. 303-304).

93 O problemu datacije vidi: Angeli Bertinelli *et al.* 1997, str. 277-278.

94 O vjerodostojnosti ove priče vidi u Flower 1991, str. 81-83. Lizandrov pokušaj podmićivanja interpretira se kao izmišljena priča političkih protivnika nakon Spartančeve smrti (Flower 1991, str. 83). Spomen Dodone i Lizandra kod Efora (*FGrHist* 70 F 207) i Kleona (*Cleon. FGrHist* 583 T 1 a-c), koji su pisali u 4. stoljeću, dokaz je da su Spartanci tada bili upoznati s epirskim proročištem (Piccinini 2017, str. 93).

95 Pauzanija (III, 18, 3) izvještava da su se Lakedemonjani više od drugih Grka koristili libijskim Amonovim proročištem.

96 Opširnije: Piccinini 2017, str. 88-90.

97 U vjerodostojnost ovog iskaza se sumnja (Piccinini 2017, str. 96).

98 Parke, Wormell 1956, str. 214; Scott 2010, str. 114; Amandry, Hansen 2010, str. 147-151; Scott 2014, str. 145.

99 Urušio se cijeli istočni zid Apolonova svetišta, a masivni poligonalni zid terase hrama ostao je deformiran (Amandry, Hansen 2010, str. 151).

88 Rubensohn 1949, p. 1818; Lanzillotta 1987, p. 130; Kirigin 2004, p. 59.

89 Among other things, the Spartans had the so-called Pythians, permanently hereditary ambassadors in Delphi (*Hdt.* VI, 57, 60; *Xen. Lak. Pol.* XV, 5). This function had probably been established already in the 8th c. BC (Cartledge 2002, p. 111). On intense and close relations with Delphi, see: Cartledge 2002, pp. 89-90, 116-117 ff.

90 Parke and Wormell 1956, p. 209; Scott 2014, p. 142.

91 Scott 2014, p. 141.

92 This is the only known literary example of Spartan consultation with the oracle in Olympia (Richter 2012,

zatvoreno od 373. do 262. godine.¹⁰⁰ U tom slučaju Spartanci su morali proročanstvo potražiti negdje drugdje, osobito pred bitku kod Leuktre i kasnije.

Potencijalno ograničenje upotrebe pisma u Sparti za javne i privatne svrhe može biti jedan od razloga većeg spartanskog zanimanja za Delfe.¹⁰¹ U tom bi slučaju fokidsko proročište imalo prioritet, jer se ondje savjet vrlo vjerojatno tražio usmeno, za razliku od komunikacije olovnim pločicama u Dodoni.¹⁰²

Spartanska intervencija u parske unutarnje poslove uz pomoć delfskog proročanstva posve je logična. Proročka je riječ jedina mogla nagnati Parane na iseljavanje bez previše okolišanja i otpora. Od potencijalnih spartanskih interesa dva osobito padaju u prvi plan. Budući da naseobina na Jadranu otvara nove tržišne potencijale, Spartanci bi pomogli parskim saveznicima u ekonomsko-gospodarskim pitanjima.¹⁰³ Taj gospodarski element ne treba

far the best example of Spartan political manipulations with the oracles only three years prior to the establishment of Pharos. Also noteworthy is Lysander's attempt to bribe the oracles at Delphi, Dodona and Cyrene in 403 or 396 BC⁹³ in order to abolish the line of Lacedaemonian kings (*Ephor. FGrHist* 70 F 207; *Cleon. FGrHist* 583 T 1 a-c; *Nep. Lys.* 3; *Diod. XIV*, 13; *Plut. Lys.* 25 and 30, 3).⁹⁴ However, his plan did not succeed, as Delphi sided with the oligarchic party (*Nep. Lys.* 3).

The Spartans also consulted other oracles. Cicero (*De div.* I, 43, 95) wrote that on matters of grave concern they consulted the oracle at Delphi, or that of Jupiter Hammon or of Dodona.⁹⁵ The Spartans had been present in Dodona since the 6th century BC, which has been concluded on the basis of the stylistic properties of votive offerings.⁹⁶ Besides Lysander's attempts to bribe the oracles, the Lacedaemonians also sought counsel prior to the Battle of Leuctra in 371 (*Callisth. FGrHist* 124 F 22a; *Cic. De div.* I, 74-76), while they received assurances of a "tearless battle" from the Dodonian oracle prior to warfare with the Arcadians, Argives and Messenians in 368 BC (*Diod. XV*, 72, 3).⁹⁷

The final two accounts belong to the consultations with Dodona at the polity level. The consequences of a major earthquake which struck Delphi in 373 BC⁹⁸ may have brought the Spartans into connection with the Epirote oracle. During that year, the Apollonian shrine and temple sustained serious damage, and the impact was long-lasting.⁹⁹ It is assumed that because of this great damage, the oracular shrine was closed from 373 to 262 BC.¹⁰⁰ In this case, the Spartans had to

100 Osim nekih iznimaka tijekom 40-ih godina 4. stoljeća. Vidi u Scott 2014, str. 145.

101 Spartanska pismenost vrlo je kontroverzna tema. Vidi Cartledge 1978; Andreev 1994/1995, Millender 2001. Piccinini smatra da se privatni upiti Spartanaca u Dodoni pojavljuju tek u 4. st., nakon intenzivnijeg korištenja pisma u javne i privatne svrhe (Piccinini 2017, str. 96-97).

102 Nema antičkog izvora koji izravno daje podatke o proceduri kontakta s Pitijom. Ne zna se je li konzultant boravio u istoj prostoriji s proročicom ili je postojala posebna soba. Herodot (VII, 140) spominje *megaron*, a Plutarh (*Mor.* 437c) *oikos* kao prostor gdje se primalo proročanstvo. Za to nema arheološkog dokaza (Scott 2014, str. 18). Usmeni oblik upućenog pitanja spominju Euripid (*Andr.* 1104) i Aristofan (*Plut.* 39), a Herodot (I, 48) navodi da su Lidani primili pa potom zapisali proroštvo prije povratka u Sard. Ipak, ne može se tvrditi da je to bila standardna procedura (Parke, Wormell 1956, str. 33; Price 1985, str. 136; Scott 2014, str. 19). Atenska crvenofiguralna posuda iz druge polovice 5. stoljeća pronađena u Etruriji (danas u Državnom muzeju u Berlinu) prikazuje muškarca, vjerojatno Egeja, koji stoji ispred Temide ili Pitije tijekom konzultacija (Fontenrose 1978, str. 204; Scott 2014, str. 10, 18). Fontenrose smatra da ovaj prikaz dokazuje uobičajeni način komunikacije proročice i pitalaca (Fontenrose 1978, str. 223). U Delfima do sada nisu pronađeni mediji konzultiranja ni tragovi arhiva s pitanjima ili odgovorima Pitije. Neka je vrsta arhiva vrlo vjerojatno postojala (Flacelière 1961, str. 52; Scott 2014, str. 310, bilj. 2).

103 Spartansku ulogu u promicanju političko-gospodarskog napretka Para predložio je i Eugenio Lanzillotta. Autor smatra da su se parski i lakedemonski interesi poklopili, jer su Spartanci imali planove u jonsko-

pp. 303-304).

93 On the problem of dating, see: Angeli Bertinelli *et al.* 1997, pp. 277-278.

94 On the credibility of this story, see Flower 1991, pp. 81-83. Lysander's attempts at bribery have been interpreted as a story devised by his political opponents after this Spartan's death (Flower 1991, p. 83). The mention of Dodona and Lysander by Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 207) and Cleon (*Cleon. FGrHist* 583 T 1 a-c), who wrote in the 4th c. BC, proves that the Spartans were aware of the Epirote oracle at the time (Piccinini 2017, p. 93).

95 Pausanias (III, 18, 3) noted that the Lacedaemonians consulted the Libyan oracle of Ammon more than other Greeks.

96 More in: Piccinini 2017, pp. 88-90.

97 The veracity of this statement is doubted (Piccinini 2017, p. 96).

98 Parke, Wormell 1956, p. 214; Scott 2010, p. 114; Aman-dry, Hansen 2010, pp. 147-151; Scott 2014, p. 145.

99 The entire eastern wall of Apollo's shrine collapsed, and the massive polygonal wall of the temple's terrace was left deformed (Amandry, Hansen 2010, p. 151).

100 With certain exceptions during the 40s of the 4th c. BC. See Scott 2014, p. 145.

tražiti samo u farskom polisu, hori i otoku, već u potencijalu uključivanja u novu trgovačku mrežu na istočnoj jadranskoj obali i otocima koja je morala biti važna nit vodilja Dionizijeve kolonizacije Jadrana na početku 4. stoljeća.¹⁰⁴ Iz perspektive Ise, osnovane po svemu sudeći prije 385./384.,¹⁰⁵ Far je jedna stepenica bliže dalmatinskom kopnu.

Gledajući sliku iz parske perspektive, savez sa Spartancima pomogao bi u složenoj političkoj situaciji koja je nastala nakon Antalkidina mira, a nova ekonomska prilika dodatni je privlačni faktor. Neki autori spominju i prenapučenost Para kao mogući razlog odlaska.¹⁰⁶ Prema procjeni Karla Belocha, Eugenio Lanzillotta interpretira Par tijekom 5. stoljeća kao prosperitetni otok s populacijom od oko 3000 ljudi, dok Berranger prema suvremenoj napučenosti predlaže broj od 6000 do 9000.¹⁰⁷ Postavlja se pitanje koliko je ljudi moglo živjeti na tom otoku nakon Peloponeskog i Korinskog rata. Na prvi pogled teško je vjerovati da je populacija bila veća nego na početku 5. stoljeća kad Efor naziva Par najsigurnijim i najvećim među Cikladima (*Eph. ap. Steph. Byz.* s. v. Πάρος) ili pak kasnije, kad su otočani morali platiti iznimno visok tribut Atenskom pomorskom savezu.¹⁰⁸

jadranskoj regiji. To bi dokazivao rat u Epiru (*Diod.* XV, 13, 3). Lanzillotta 1987, str. 132-133.

- 104 Ekonomsku pozadinu osnivanja kolonije na Faru i važnost kontakta s neretvanskim plovnim putem naglasili su Rubensohn 1949, coll. 1818; Pouilloux 1954, str. 54-56; Braccesi 1977, str. 233-234; Braccesi 2003, str. 59-60; Coppola 2018, str. 369-370.
- 105 Vidi opsežnu bibliografiju o tom historiografskom problemu u bilješci 3.
- 106 Demetrius Schilardi piše bez detaljnijeg osvrtu da su Parani došli na Hvar zbog prenaseljenosti otoka te nedostatka zemlje i hrane (Schilardi 2002, str. 177-178). Jasna Jeličić-Radonić pretpostavlja da je cilj kolonizacije mogla biti populacijska disperzija u više valova da se riješi problem prenapučenosti Para (Jeličić-Radonić 2005, str. 317, prema Graham 2001, str. 25-28). Tako misli i Mislav Kukoč, referirajući se na Platonove Zakone (Kukoč 2011, str. 25-26).
- 107 Beloch 1886, str. 110, bilj. 18; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 117; Berranger 1992, str. 156. Metoda procjene prema suvremenom populacijskom stanju poprilično je upitna.
- 108 Od 454. g. plaćali su godišnje 16 srebrnih talenata i 1200 drahmi, dok je 446./445. namet povećan na 18 talenata. Tijekom Peloponeskog rata, Atenjani su Paranima godine 425. ponovo povisili davanja koja su tada iznosila 30 talenata (*ATL* T. III, 26, 57 i 349). Prema popisu (*IG* I³ 288, 11) koji se datira u 417./416. godinu, tribut je vraćen na nekadašnjih 18 talenata

seek oracles elsewhere, particularly before the Battle of Leuctra and later.

The possible restriction against the use of writing in Sparta for public and private purposes may have been one of the reasons for the greater Spartan interest in Delphi.¹⁰¹ In this case, the Phocian oracle would have had priority, as there the consultations were probably sought verbally, as opposed to the lead tablets in Dodona.¹⁰²

The Spartan intervention in Parian internal affairs with the help of the Delphic oracle was entirely logical. The oracle's word was the only thing that could prompt the Parians to migrate without excessive delays and resistance. Among the potential Spartan interest, two in particular come to the fore. Since a settlement in the Adriatic could open new markets, the Spartans would help their Parian allies in economic and commercial matters.¹⁰³ This economic aspect need not be sought

101 Spartan literacy is a very controversial topic. See Cartledge 1978; Andreev 1994/1995, Millender 2001. Piccinini believes that private queries by Spartans in Dodona appeared only in the 4th c. BC, after increased use of writing for public and private purposes (Piccinini 2017, pp. 96-97).

102 There are no sources from Antiquity which directly provide any information on the procedures for contact with the Pythian oracle. It is not known whether the petitioner was in the same room as the oracle or if there was a separate room. Herodotus (VII, 140) called the room in which the oracle was received the *megaron*, while Plutarch (*Mor.* 437c) called it the *oikos*. There is no archaeological evidence for this (Scott 2014, p. 18). The verbal form of delivering the queries were mentioned by Euripides (*Andr.* 1104) and Aristophanes (*Plut.* 39), while Herodotus (I, 48) stated that the Lydians heard and then wrote down the utterance by the Pythian priestess before returning to Sardis. Even so, it cannot be asserted that this was the standard procedure (Parke, Wormell 1956, p. 33; Price 1985, p. 136; Scott 2014, p. 19). The Athenian Red-figure vessel from the latter half of the 5th c. BC found in Etruria (today in the Berlin State Museum) shows a man, probably Aegeus, standing in consultation before Themis or the Pythian priestess (Fontenrose 1978, p. 204; Scott 2014, pp. 10, 18). Fontenrose believed that this depiction demonstrates the customary manner of communication between the oracle and petitioners (Fontenrose 1978, p. 223). In Delphi thus far, neither media for consultation, nor traces in archives with queries or responses from the Pythian priestess have been found. Some type of archive probably existed (Flacelière 1961, p. 52; Scott 2014, p. 310, note 2).

103 The Spartan role in the promotion of the political-economic advancement of Paros has also been posited by Eugenio Lanzillotta. This scholar believed that Parian and Lacedaemonian interests were congruent, because the Spartans had plans in the Ionian-Adriatic region.

S druge strane, iseljavanjem dijela parskog stanovništva Lakedemonjani bi riješili potencijalne političke sukobe u ciklaskim vodama, ako bi Parani pokušali ponovno prijeći na atensku stranu. Naznake političkih previranja na Cikladima nalaze se u redcima Izokratova *Panegirika* koji je napisan oko 380. godine. Autor (IV, 136) piše da su se Atena i Sparta prepirale oko Ciklada (τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφοιβητοῦμεν) i žali nesretne otočane, jer su zbog nedostatka zemlje prisiljeni obrađivati onu u planinama. Upitao se zašto dva vodeća polisa raspravljaju oko tako malog područja kad bi mogli zajedničkim snagama pokoriti Perzijance i iskoristiti plodnu zemlju Male Azije (IV, 132-136). Ako se Izokratova vijest odnosi na razdoblje nakon Antalkidina mira, kako predlaže većina autora,¹⁰⁹ upletanje Spartanaca u politički život Parana treba povezati s ovim podatkom.

Međutim, jedna okolnost na prvi pogled stvara nejasnoće u spartansko-parskim odnosima. Naime, Diodor (XV, 13, 4) spominje da je Paranima pri naseljavanju pomogao sirakuški tiranin Dionizije Stariji. Iako je neposredno prije ove vijesti pisac naveo da su se Spartanci i Dionizije našli na suprotnim stranama tijekom vojnih sukoba u Epiru (XV, 13, 2 – 3), smatramo da se to potencijalno neslaganje zbilo u istoj godini, ali kasnije, tj. nakon što su Parani primili proročanstvo iz Delfa. Tu tvrdnju osnažuje Diodorov način pisanja povijesti.

(Rutishauser 2012, str. 123). U usporedbi s ostalima, jedino su Bizantijci i krimski Hersonežani uz Parane plaćali visokih 18 talenata prije 450. godine, a tijekom Peloponeskog rata 30 talenata davali su samo Bizantij, Tas, Egina i Par (ATL T. I. 563; Lanzillotta 1987, str. 116-117).

109 Iako je Izokratova vijest vrlo značajna, nije posve jasno odnosi li se na razdoblje prije ili poslije Kraljeva mira. Zbog termina ἀμφοιβητοῦμεν koji se koristio u diplomatskoj terminologiji, Robert Sinclair smatra da se spor pojavio oko uprave nad otokom Delom nakon 386. godine (Sinclair 1978, str. 43, bilj. 154). Prema Rutishauseru, svađa Atene i Sparte nastala je zbog podrške političkim frakcijama na otocima. Međutim, o tome se može samo nagađati zbog nedovoljno podataka. Prema događajima koji slijede zna se da su Spartanci imali neku vrstu uprave na Naksu (Diod. XV, 34, 4-35, 2), a možda su pomorske baze bile i na Egini, Andru i Keju (Xen. Hell. V, 4, 61). Rutishauser 2012, str. 155.

solely in the Pharian polis, *chōra* and island, rather the potential involvement in a new trade network on the eastern Adriatic coast and islands had to have been an important guiding idea in the colonization of the Adriatic at the beginning of the 4th century BC by Dionysius.¹⁰⁴ From the standpoint of Issa, established by all indications prior to 385/384 BC,¹⁰⁵ Pharos was one step closer to the Dalmatian mainland.

Looking at this picture from the Parian point of view, the alliance with the Spartans would have helped in the complex political situation that emerged after the Peace of Antalcidas, while new economic opportunities would have been an additional attraction. Some scholars have also noted the overpopulation of Paros as a possible reason for departure.¹⁰⁶ Based on Karl Beloch's estimate, Eugenio Lanzillotta interpreted Paros during the 5th century BC as a prosperous island with a population of approximately 3,000, while Berranger, using the current population model, proposed a figure ranging from 6,000 to 9,000.¹⁰⁷ The question arises as to how many people could have lived on the island after the Peloponnesian and Corinthian Wars. At first glance, it is difficult to believe that the population in the beginning of the 4th century would have been higher at the beginning of the 5th century BC, when Ephorus called Paros the most fortunate and largest among the Cyclades (*Eph. ap. Steph. Byz.* s. v. Πάρος) or even later, when the islanders had to pay an exceptionally high tribute to the Athenian League.¹⁰⁸

This would be demonstrated by the war in Epirus (Diod. XV, 13, 3). Lanzillotta 1987, pp. 132-133.

104 The economic background for the establishment of a colony on Pharos and the importance of contact with the Neretva navigation route have been underscored by Rubensohn 1949, coll. 1818; Pouilloux 1954, pp. 54-56; Braccesi 1977, pp. 233-234; Braccesi 2003, pp. 59-60; Coppola 2018, pp. 369-370.

105 See the extensive bibliography on this historiographic problem in note 3.

106 Demetrius Schilardi wrote without a more detailed consideration that the Parians came to Hvar due to the overpopulation of their own island and the shortage of land and food (Schilardi 2002, pp. 177-178). Jasna Jeličić-Radonić assumed that the objective of colonization may have been dispersion of the population in several waves in order to solve the problem of overpopulation on Paros (Jeličić-Radonić 2005, p. 317, based on Graham 2001, pp. 25-28). This view is shared by Mislav Kukoč, citing Plato's *Laws* (Kukoč 2011, pp. 25-26).

107 Beloch 1886, pp. 110, note 18; Lanzillotta 1987, p. 117; Berranger 1992, p. 156. The estimation method using the contemporary population is rather questionable.

108 As of 454 BC, they annually paid 16 silver talents and 1,200 drachmas, while in 446/445 BC the tribute was raised to 18 talents. During the Peloponnesian War in

Dolazak Parana na Far u odnosu prema delfskom proročanstvu

Organizacija građe prema vremenu i mjestu radnje primjećuje se u cijeloj *Povijesnoj knjižnici*. Diodor opisuje događanja na određenome mjestu (npr. Grčka, Cipar, Mala Azija, Sicilija itd.) od početka do kraja godine, a zatim kreće drugi odlomak u kojem iznosi vijesti na isti način o različitoj lokaciji ili drugim akterima. Iako postoje nedosljednosti u kronološkom sustavu XV. knjige,¹¹⁰ Diodor je poprilično sistematičan za 386./385. i 385./384. godinu. Primjerice, Eforovu vijest o opsadi Mantineje podijelio je u dva dijela.¹¹¹ Početak pripada 386./385. godini (XV, 5, 1) i započinje frazom *dok se to događalo* (ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους). Narativ o ratu Spartanaca i Mantinejaca zastaje na kraju godine pa se Diodor prebacuje na sicilske događaje (XV, 6 – 7). Slijede podatci iz 385./384. godine, o završetku Ciparskog rata (XV, 8 – 11) pa o suđenju perzijskom satrapu Tirabazu (XV, 10 -11). Zatim Diodor (XV, 12, 1) ponovno piše o opsadi arkadijskoga grada koja se nastavila tijekom ljeta (τὸ μὲν θέρος) i nadolazeće zime (τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐνστάτος).¹¹² Nakon opsade Mantineje autor navodi Dionizijeve pretenzije na Jadran i događanja u Epiru (XV, 13, 1 – 3). Promatrajući kronološki redosljed, jasno je da se neki događaji na Cipru i Siciliji, u Maloj Aziji, Arkadiji i Epiru zbivaju simultano tijekom 385./384. godine. Napokon slijedi Diodorov odlomak koji spominje proročanstvo (XV, 13, 4) i počinje riječima:

ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πάριοι κατὰ
τινα χρησμὸν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέψαντες εἰς τὸν
Ἀδρίαν...

(“Dok se to događalo, Parani su prema nekome proročanstvu odaslali naseljenike u Jadran...”)¹¹³

Frazom *dok se to događalo* (ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους) pisac se vraća na događaje s početka godine. To je osobito važno u kronološkom slijedu narativnih cjelina za 385./384. godinu:

110 Diodor ponekad zaobilazi analistički sustav izlaganja od regije do regije. Primjerice, u godinama od 351. do 348. autor se usredotočio samo na perzijska zbivanja. Nema spomena o događajima u Grčkoj tijekom Trećeg svetog rata (Stylianou 1998, str. 136).

111 Stylianou 1998, str. 137.

112 Stylianou 1998, str. 137.

113 Prijevod: Kuntić-Makvić 1996, str. 36, bilj. 10.

On the other hand, for the Lacedaemonians the emigration of a part of the Parian population would have resolved potential political conflicts in Cycladian waters had the Parians decided to once more join the Athenian side. Indications of political turmoil in the Cyclades can be found in the lines of the *Panegyricus* by Isocrates written at around 380 BC. He (IV, 136) wrote that Athens and Sparta were wrangling over the islands of the Cyclades (τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφοιβητούμεν) and he pitied the unfortunate islanders, who were compelled to till the mountains due to the scarcity of land. He posed the question of why the two leading poleis fought over such small territories when they could join forces to subjugate the Persians and exploit the fertile land of Asia Minor (IV, 132-136). If Isocrates' account pertains to the period after the Peace of Antalcidas, as suggested by most scholars,¹⁰⁹ the interference of the Spartans into Parian political life should be associated with this fact.

However, at first glance one circumstance gives rise to ambiguities in Spartan-Parian relations. Namely, Diodorus (XV, 13, 4) noted that the Parians were aided in their colonization by the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius the Elder. Even immediately prior to this account the writer noted that that Spartans and Dionysius were on opposing sides during military conflicts in Epirus (XV, 13, 2-3), I believe that this potential discord occurred in the same year, but later, i.e., after the Parians received the oracle from Delphi. This assertion is reinforced by the manner in which Diodorus wrote his history.

425 BC, the Athenians once more raised the tribute paid by the Parians, which then totalled 30 talents (*ATL* T. III, 26, 57 and 349). Based on a census (*IG* I³ 288, 11) dated to 417/416 BC, the tribute was returned to the former 18 talents (Rutishauser 2012, p. 123). In comparison to the others, only the Byzantines and the Crimean Chersonesians paid the 18 talents prior to 450 BC together with the Parians, while during the Peloponnesian War, 30 talents were only paid by Byzantium, Thasos, Aegina and Paros (*ATL* T. I. 563; Lanzillotta 1987, pp. 116-117).

109 Even though Isocrates' account is very significant, it is not entirely clear as to whether it pertains to the period before or after the King's Peace. Due to the expression ἀμφοιβητούμεν that was used in diplomatic terminology, Robert Sinclair believed that the dispute arose over administration of the island of Delos after 386 BC (Sinclair 1978, p. 43, note 154). According to Rutishauser, the dispute between Athens and Sparta was caused by support for political factions on the islands. However, this remains within the realm of conjecture due to a lack of data. Based on ensuing events, we know that the Spartans had some form of control over Naxos (*Diod.* XV, 34, 4-35, 2), and there may have also been naval bases on Aegina, Andros and Kea (*Xen. Hell.* V, 4, 61). Rutishauser 2012, p. 155.

bitka kod Mantineje (zbivanja na Peloponezu), Dionizijev jadransko-epirski pohod i odluka Parana o naseljavanju Fara. Smatramo da u početak 385./384. godine pripada Dionizijeva odluka o ovladavanju Jonskim zaljevom kojoj treba pridružiti proročanstvo Paranima o odlasku na Far.¹¹⁴ Dakle, neslaganje Spartanaca i Dionizija oko političkih previranja u Epiru zbilo se kasnije u 385./384. godini, jer su početak godine obilježili savez s Ilirima uz posredovanje Alkete Mološanina i pripreme za epirski pohod, tj. opremanje 2000 vojnika i 500 kompleta grčkog naoružanja (XV, 13, 1–2). Također, valja imati na umu da su Sparta i Dionizije Stariji vrlo bliski od tiraninovog dolaska na vlast pa sve do njegove smrti 367. godine.¹¹⁵ Diodor nije precizno definirao ishod sukoba u Epiru (XV, 13, 3) pa se ne može pouzdano tvrditi da su Lakedemonjani i Sirakužani ušli u izravni politički ili vojni konflikt. O prisnoj komunikaciji Lakedemonjana i Sirakuzze neposredno nakon epirske epizode pišu Izokrat (IV, 126; VI, 63; VIII, 99) i Diodor (XV, 23, 5), a njihova se vojna suradnja nastavila i tijekom idućih petnaestak godina (*Xen. Hell.* VI, 2, 4; VII, 1, 20–22; *Diod.* XV, 46 i 70, 1; *Plut. Ages.* XXXIII; *Polyaen.* V, 8, 2).

Prema predloženoj kronološkoj shemi delfsko bi proročanstvo pripadalo samom početku godine, tj. ranom proljeću. Valja istaknuti da je Pitija proricala samo jednom mjesečno tijekom devet najtoplijih mjeseci u godini, jer se vjerovalo da je Apolon odsutan tijekom zime.¹¹⁶ Proročanstvo se moglo dobiti i tijekom zimskih mjeseci na jednostavna pitanja bacanjem graha,¹¹⁷ no Parani su zatražili upute za kolonizaciju na državnoj razini pa treba pretpostaviti da su konzultirali izravno Pitiju. Štoviše, egzaktan geografski podatak o jadranskom otoku Faru podrazumijeva proroštvo na najvišoj razini. Početak sezone proricanja u Delfima bio je Apolonov rodendan, odnosno sedmi dan

Arrival of the Parians on Pharos in relation to the Delphic oracle

The organization of materials based on time and place of events may be noted in the entire *Library of History*. Diodorus described events at a given place (e.g. Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Sicily, etc.) from the beginning to the end of a given year, and then began another passage in which he set forth accounts of a different location or different protagonists in the same manner. Even though there are inconsistencies in the chronological system of Book XV,¹¹⁰ Diodorus was rather systematic for 386/385 and 385/384 BC. For example, he divided the account of the siege of Mantinea by Ephorus into two sections.¹¹¹ The beginning takes place in 386/385 BC (XV, 5, 1) and begins with the phrase “While these events were taking place (...)” (ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις). The narrative on the war between the Spartans and Mantineians stops at the end of the year, and then Diodorus turned to Sicilian events (XV, 6–7). This is followed by data from 385/384 BC, on the end of the Cypriot War (XV, 8–11) and then on the trial of the Persian satrap Tiribazus (XV, 10–11). Diodorus then (XV, 12, 1) once more wrote about the siege of the Arcadian city which continued over the summer (τὸ μὲν θέρος) and the approaching winter (τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐνστάτης).¹¹² After the siege of Mantinea, he noted Dionysius’ pretensions to the Adriatic and events in Epirus (XV, 13, 1–3). Looking at the chronological order, it is clear that some events on Cyprus and Sicily, in Asia Minor, Arcadia and Epirus occurred simultaneously during 385/384 BC. This is finally followed by the passage in which Diodorus mentioned the oracle (XV, 13, 4) which begins with the words:

ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πάριοι κατὰ
τινα χρησμὸν ἀποικίαν ἐπέμψαντες εἰς τὸν
᾽Αδρίαν...

(“While these events were taking place, the Parians in accordance with an oracle, sent out a colony to the Adriatic...”) ¹¹³

By using the phrase ‘while these events were taking place’ (ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις), the writer

114 Pod ovladavanjem Jonskim zaljevom podrazumijeva se isključivo vijest s početka 13. poglavlja Diodorove XV. knjige. O prijašnjim Dionizijevim pothvatima u Jadranu i potencijalnim datumima osnutka Adrije, Numane i Ankona vidi: Novak 1961, str. 187–188; Braccesi 1977, str. 185–246; Zaninović 2015, str. 134–138 i dr.

115 Vidi: Mansuelli 1958, str. 84–85; Berve 1967, str. 248; Lewis 1994, str. 139–140.

116 Prema: *Plut. Mor.* 388E. Vidi: Flacelière 1961, str. 39; Lloyd-Jones 1976, str. 66; Malkin 1987, str. 29; Scott 2014, str. 13.

117 Lloyd-Jones 1976, str. 66; Price 1985, str. 132.

110 Diodorus sometimes bypassed the annalist system of writing from region to region. For example, he only concentrated on Persian events from the years 351 through 348 BC. There is no mention of events in Greece during the Third Sacred War (Stylianou 1998, p. 136).

111 Stylianou 1998, p. 137.

112 Stylianou 1998, p. 137.

113 Translation: Oldfather 1954, p. 35.

delfskog mjeseca bisija (Βύσιος).¹¹⁸ Ako se taj datum uspoređi sa suvremenim kalendarom, pripadao bi drugoj polovici veljače ili početku ožujka.¹¹⁹ Diodor je sinkronizirao brojne kalendare grčkih polisa s rimskima. S obzirom da se početak rimske nove godine (prvi ožujka) podudara s početkom sezone proricanja, bilo bi logično pretpostaviti da su Parani dobili delfsko proročanstvo ili u ranom ožujku ili mjesec dana nakon toga.

Kolonizacijski proces zasigurno je potrajao, jer je bilo nužno okupiti koloniste i obaviti logistiku. Pomorski je put od Para do Fara dug i zahtjevan¹²⁰ pa je za takav pothvat najbolje birati kasno proljeće ili ljeto (*Hes. WD* 663 – 684; *Veg. Mil.* IV, 39).¹²¹

118 O Delfima se zna znatno više nego o Dodoni. Nije poznato kad je u Dodoni počinjala sezona proricanja i kad su se točno održavale velike svečanosti u Zeusovu čast. Mediji preko kojih su Zeus i Diona određivali sudbinu bili su raznovrsni: voda, munje, mjedeni kotlovi, a iznad svega sveti hrast i golubice koje su živjele na njemu (MacGillivray Nicol 1958, str. 138). Kao što je spomenuto, od 6. st. dodonski su proroci i proročice davali odgovore hodočasniciima na olovnim pločicama. Ciceron (*De div.* I, 34, 76) piše da su upiti Zeusu sakupljani u posudi pa prema tome Donald Nicol pretpostavlja da su se odgovori dijelili tijekom specifičnih dana u godini (Nicol 1958, str. 141).

119 Lunisolarni kalendari Delfa i Atene su kompatibilni. Iako su imena dvanaest mjeseci različita, nova godina u oba slučaja počinje prvim mjesecom nakon ljetnog solsticija, dakle u delfskom kalendaru apelejem (Ἀπελλαιός), a u atenskom hekatombejem (Ἑκατομβαιών). Delfski mjesec bisij podudaran je atenskom antesteriju (Ἀνθεστηριών), tj. kasnoj veljači i ranom ožujku u suvremenoj kronologiji (Thomson 1943, str. 53-55; Lloyd-Jones 1976, str. 66).

120 Kirigin je predložio dvije potencijalne rute od Para do Fara. Prva je kroz Egejsko more preko rta Maleje pa prema Jadranu, a druga preko Korintske prevlake. Procjenjuje da je Paranima trebalo ploviti minimalno sedam dana i noći, bez pristajanja, po najpovoljnijim vremenskim uvjetima (Kirigin 2004, str. 64-66). Zbog logistike i promjenjivog vremena cjelokupni je proces morao biti i duži.

121 Heziod (*Op.* 679-681) piše da sezona plovidbe počinje kad su listovi smokve veliki poput otiska vranine noge što suvremene analize stavljaju u drugu polovicu ožujka (Snider 1978, str. 131). Međutim, autor (679-683) smatra da to nije idealno vrijeme za plovidbu, već 50 dana nakon ljetnog solsticija (663-669). Gotovo tisuću godina nakon Hezioda Vegecije (IV, 39) navodi da najsigurnija plovidba traje od 6 dana prije junjskih kalendi (27. svibnja) pa do 18 dana prije oktobarskih kalendi (14. rujna). Vidi opširnije u Beresford 2013, str. 10-16. U Jadranu je povoljno ploviti tijekom ljeta zbog umjerenog maestrala koji dominira,

returned events to the beginning of the year. This was particularly important in the chronological sequence of narrative units for 385/384 BC: the battle at Mantinea (events on the Peloponnese), the Epirote incursion by Dionysius and the Parian decision to colonize Pharos. I believe that the decision by Dionysius to take control of the Ionian Gulf came at the beginning of 385/384 BC, and that the oracle to the Parians on the settlement of Pharos should be added to this.¹¹⁴ So the disagreement between the Spartans and Dionysius over the political turbulence in Epirus occurred later than 385/384 BC, because the beginning of the year was marked by an alliance with the Illyrians, the mediation of Alcetas with the Molossians and the preparations for the incursion into Epirus, i.e., the deployment of 2,000 troops and 500 Greek suits of armour (XV, 13, 1-2). It is also worth recalling that Sparta and Dionysius the Elder were very close from the tyrant's ascension to authority until his death in 367 BC.¹¹⁵ Diodorus did not precisely define the outcome of the conflict in Epirus (XV, 13, 3) so it cannot be stated with any certainty whether the Lacedaemonians and Syracusans became involved in a direct political or military conflict. Both Isocrates (IV, 126; VI, 63; VIII, 99) and Diodorus (XV, 23, 5) wrote about the close relations between the Lacedaemonians and Syracuse, and their military cooperation that continued during the subsequent decade and a half (*Xen. Hell.* VI, 2, 4; VII, 1, 20-22; *Diod.* XV, 46 and 70, 1; *Plut. Ages.* XXXIII; *Polyaen.* V, 8, 2).

Based on the proposed chronological outline, the Delphic oracle would have originated at the very beginning of the year, i.e., in the early spring. It bears emphasis that the Pythian priestess only issued prophecies once monthly during the nine warmest months of the year, because it was believed that Apollo was absent during the winter.¹¹⁶ The oracle could also be received during the winter months in response to simple questions by tossing beans,¹¹⁷ but the Parians sought instructions for colonization at the state level, so it must be assumed that they consulted the Pythian priestess directly. Moreover, exact geographic data on

114 Taking control of the Ionian Gulf exclusively refers to the account from the beginning of chapter 13 of Book XV by Diodorus. On the previous undertakings by Dionysius and the possible dates for the establishment of Adria, Numana and Ancona, see: Novak 1961, pp. 187-188; Braccisi 1977, pp. 185-246; Zaninović 2015, pp. 134-138 ff.

115 See: Mansuelli 1958, pp. 84-85; Berve 1967, p. 248; Lewis 1994, pp. 139-140.

116 Based on: *Plut. Mor.* 388E. See: Flacelière 1961, p. 39; Lloyd-Jones 1976, p. 66; Malkin 1987, p. 29; Scott 2014, p. 13.

117 Lloyd-Jones 1976, p. 66; Price 1985, p. 132.

Iako je navigacija otvorenim morem bila moguća i tijekom zime, plovidba uz obalu koja je u većem dijelu potrebna za dolazak na Far u tom je razdoblju opasna zbog kratkog dana, magle, kiše, mogućih jakih naleta vjetrova itd.¹²² U antici su kružile priče da je Jadran opasno more. Već se u Eshilovim stihovima (*Prom.* 837–838) može opaziti zloglasna jadranska bura,¹²³ a Pseudo-Skimno (369–387) piše da se Jadran prevrtljivo mijenja, jer njime šibaju munje i gromovi te bijesne pijavice. Silinu jadranskog juga i nevolje s vremenom spominju i brojni rimski pisci (npr. *Ovid. Trist.* I, 4, 3–16; *Hor. Carm.* I, 16, 1–4, I, 33, 13–16; *Luc. Phars.* V, 379; *Iamb. Vit. Pyth.* XXXIII, 257 itd.).¹²⁴ Sudeći po meteorološkim podatcima, smatramo da su Parani morali krenuti prema Faru tijekom kasnog proljeća ili ljeta 385./384. godine, dakle relativno brzo nakon upućenog proročanstva. Iste su godine napučili otok (XV, 13, 4), vjerojatno tijekom ljeta.¹²⁵ Tom najranijem horizontu grčkog dolaska mogli bi pripadati nalazi iz sonde 3 vrta Plančić u

the Adriatic island of Pharos implies the highest-level oracle. The beginning of the oracular season in Delphi was Apollo's birthday, specifically the seventh day of the Delphic month of Bysios (Βύσιος).¹¹⁸ If this date is compared to the modern calendar, it would fall in the latter half of February or the beginning of March.¹¹⁹ Diodorus had synchronized many of the calendars of the Greek poleis with the Roman one. Given that the beginning of the Roman New Year (the first day of March) corresponded to the beginning of the oracular season, it would be logical to assume that the Parians had received the Delphic oracle either in early March or one month afterward.

The colonization process certainly lasted for a time, as it was necessary to gather colonists and handle the related logistics. The maritime route from Paros to Pharos was long and demanding,¹²⁰ so such it would have been best to choose early spring or summer for such a venture (*Hes. WD* 663–684; *Veg. Mil.* IV, 39).¹²¹

povoljnih pomorskih struja i suhog zraka (Kirigin *et al.* 2009, str. 149).

122 Detaljno za Jadran vidi: Botrić 1952, str. 223–408; Morton 2001, str. 48–49, 64, 86; Šešelj 2009, str. 361–393; Kirigin *et al.* 2009, str. 143–152; Beresford 2013, str. 63, 91–99.

123 Vučetić 2011, str. 64. Vučetić spominje i ostale antičke literarne izvore o oštini vremenskih uvjeta na Jadranu (Vučetić 2011, str. 60–66).

124 Vidi opširnije: Milićević Bradač 2009, str. 285–288.

125 Kirigin smatra da su doseljenici stigli na otok krajem ljeta, što zaključuje po održanoj 99. Olimpijadi koja se odvijala u 8. ili 9. mjesecu (Kirigin 2004, str. 66 prema *OCD* 1996, s. v. Olympic games; također u engleskoj verziji Kirigin 2006, str. 46–47). Međutim, valja imati na umu da su Parani stigli na Far godinu dana ranije, jer se Diodorova vijest o prvom dolasku na otok (XV, 13,4) veže za dataciju koju autor navodi prije, dakle za vladanja atenskog arhonta Deksiteja i rimskih konzula Lucija Lukrecija i Servija Sulpicija (XV, 8, 1). Diodor (XV, 13,4) piše da su u 385./384. godini Parani odasli naselejenike na Jadran (ἀπουκίαν ἐκπέμψαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰαδρίαν) i napučili na njemu otok Far (ἔκτισαν ἐν αὐτῷ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Φάρον). U idućoj godini, koja se datira prema arhontu Diotrefu, konzulima Luciju Valeriju i Aulu Maliju, elejskoj 99. Olimpijadi i pobjedniku Dikonu, Parani su utemeljili grad, opasali ga bedemima te došli u bliski kontakt s domaćom populacijom (XV, 14, 1). Uz to, preko aoristnog oblika u sintagmi τὴν Φάρον οἰκίσαντες (XV, 14, 1) daje se naslutiti da su Parani već bili naselili otok. Stoga, 99. Olimpijada ne može biti relevantna datacijska odrednica za dolazak na Far.

118 Far more has been written about Delphi than about Dodona. Nothing is known about when the oracular season in Dodona began and when the major festivities in honour of Zeus were held. The media whereby Zeus and Diona formulated destiny were diverse: water, thunderbolts, brass cauldrons, and above all the sacred oak and the doves which lived in them (MacGillivray Nicol 1958, p. 138). As already mentioned, as of the 6th c. BC, the Dodona oracles gave responses to pilgrims on lead tablets. Cicero (*De div.* I, 34, 76) wrote that queries to Zeus were gathered in a vessel, so Donald Nicol thus assumed that the responses were distributed during specific days in the year (Nicol 1958, p. 141).

119 The lunisolar calendars of Delphi and Athens were compatible. Although the names of the twelve months were different, the New Year in both cases began in the first month after the summer solstice, thus Apellaios (Ἀπελλαιός) in the Delphic calendar, and Hekatombaion (Ἑκατομβαιών) in the Athenian. The Delphic month of Bysios corresponded to the Athenian Anthes-terion (Ἀνθεστηριών), i.e., late February and early March in the contemporary chronology (Thomson 1943, pp. 53–55; Lloyd-Jones 1976, p. 66).

120 Kirigin proposed two potential routes from Paros to Pharos. The first ran through the Aegean Sea past Cape Malea toward the Adriatic, and the other via the Corinthian Isthmus. He estimated that the Parians had to have sailed a minimum of seven days and nights without stopping, under the best possible conditions (Kirigin 2004, pp. 64–66). The overall process had to have been longer due to the logistics involved and a possibility of unstable weather.

121 Hesiod (*Op.* 679–681) wrote that the sailing season began when the fig leaves were as large as the crow's foot, which based on contemporary analysis would be the latter half of March (Snider 1978, p. 131). However, he (679–683) believed that this was not an ideal

Starom Gradu na Hvaru.¹²⁶ Ondje je prva faza izgradnje definirana temeljima suhozidnih struktura na kamenu živcu s nalazima ranog 4. stoljeća. Mješavina grčke i autohtone keramike u ovom sloju spominje se kao dokaz interakcije epihorskog stanovništva i grčkih došljaka,¹²⁷ koja bi odgovarala Diodorovoj vijesti o prvotnom napučivanju Fara u 385./384. godini.

Zaključna razmatranja

Promatrajući kontekst Diodorova pisanja, arheoloških nalaza s Para, epigrafske restitucije Parskog reskripta i općenitih povijesnih okolnosti, Delfi djeluju kao neizostavno središte koje je moglo spojiti interese Spartanaca, parske oligarhije i Dionizija Sirakuškog. Iza Apolonovih proročkih riječi koje su Parani primili u početku 385./384. godine zrcale se nove političke i ekonomske težnje koje su u razdoblju nakon Antalkidina mira bile prijeko potrebne svim navedenim akterima.

Even though navigation on the open sea was also possible during the winter, sailing close to the shore, which was mostly necessary in order to reach Pharos, was perilous during this part of the year due to the short days, fog, rain, potential powerful gusts of wind, etc.¹²² During Antiquity, the Adriatic had a reputation as a dangerous sea. Already in the verse of Aeschylus (*Prom.* 837-838) one can note the notorious Adriatic bora winds,¹²³ while Pseudo-Scymnus (369-387) wrote that the Adriatic changed capriciously, because it was whipped by lightning and thunder and raging whirlwinds. The force of the Adriatic sirocco and troubles with the weather were also mentioned by many Roman writers (e.g. *Ovid. Trist.* I, 4, 3-16; *Hor. Carm.* I, 16, 1-4, I, 33, 13-16; *Luc. Phars.* V, 379; *Iamb. Vit. Pyth.* XXXIII, 257, etc.).¹²⁴ Judging by meteorological data, I believe that the Parians had to have set off toward Pharos during the late spring or summer of 385/384 BC, thus relatively soon after receiving the oracle. They populated the island in that same year (XV, 13, 4), probably during the summer.¹²⁵ This

time for sailing, but rather the fiftieth day after the summer solstice (663-669). Almost a thousand years after Hesiod, Vegetius (IV, 39) stated that the safest time for navigation lasted from the sixth day prior to the June calends (27 May) until the eighteenth day prior to the October calends (14 September). See more in Beresford 2013, pp. 10-16. Sailing in the Adriatic during the summer was suitable due to the prevailing moderate mastral winds, favourable sea currents and dry air (Kirigin *et al.* 2009, p. 149).

122 For details on the Adriatic, see: Botrić 1952, pp. 223-408; Morton 2001, pp. 48-49, 64, 86; Šešelj 2009, pp. 361-393; Kirigin, Johnson *et al.* 2009, pp. 143-152; Beresford 2013, pp. 63, 91-99.

123 Vučetić 2011, p. 64. Vučetić also mentioned other Classical literary sources on the severity of the weather in the Adriatic (Ibid. pp. 60-66).

124 See more in: Milićević Bradač 2009, pp. 285-288.

125 Kirigin believed that the colonists arrived on the island during the summer, which he concluded on the basis of the 99th Olympian Games, held in August or September according to the modern calendar (Kirigin 2004, p. 66 according to *OCD* 1996, s. v. Olympian games; also in an English version, Kirigin 2006, pp. 46-47). However, it should be recalled that the Parians arrived on Pharos a year earlier, because the account by Diodorus about the first arrival on the island (XV, 13, 4) is tied to the dating which the writer mentioned earlier, thus during the reign of the Athenian archon Dexitheüs and the Roman consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servius Sulpicius (XV, 8, 1). Diodorus (XV, 13, 4) wrote that in 385/384 BC, the Parians sent colonists to the Adriatic (ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμψαντες εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν) and settled the island of Pharos in it (ἔκτισαν ἐν αὐτῷ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Φάρον). In the next year, which has been dated on the basis of

126 O istraživanju u vrtu Plančić u sklopu *Projekt Jadranski otoci. Veze, trgovina i kolonizacija 6000 pr. Kr.–600 god.* vidi Forenbaher *et al.* 1994; Popović 2010b, str. 144-145.

127 Tako nalaze interpretiraju Kirigin *et al.* 2002, str. 245. Arheološki horizont grčkog dolaska na Far je vrlo kontroverzna tema koja ovisi o interpretaciji složenih stratigrafskih situacija na nekoliko iskopskih površina u Starom Gradu na Hvaru. Nova istraživanja na lokalitetu Remete vrt (Popović 2009, str. 670-673; Popović 2010a, str. 719-722; Popović 2010b, str. 139-140; Popović, Devlahović 2018, str. 383) kao i nalazi iz vrta Plančić daju drugačiju sliku grčkog dolaska na Far s obzirom na agresivnu rekonstrukciju zbivanja (vidi npr. Jeličić-Radonić 2005; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015, str. 33). Kritiku nasilnog slijeda događaja vidi u Kirigin 2016, str. 308-309.

earliest horizon for the Greek arrival may be documented by the finds from trench 3 of the Plančić garden in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar.¹²⁶ There the first phase of construction was defined by the foundations of a stacked stone structure on bedrock with finds dated to the early 4th century. The mixture of Greek and indigenous pottery in this layer has been noted as evidence of interaction between the epichoric population and Greek newcomers,¹²⁷ which would correspond to Diodorus' account of the first settlement of Pharos in 385/384 BC.

Concluding considerations

Considering the context of the writings of Diodorus, archaeological finds from Paros, the epigraphic restoration of the Parian rescript and general historical circumstances, Delphi serves as the unavoidable centre which could link the interests of the Spartans, the Parian oligarchy and Dionysius of Syracuse. The prophetic words of Apollo which the Parians received in 385/384 BC reflected the new political and economic aspirations which were essential to all of the aforementioned protagonists after the Peace of Antalcidas.

the archon Diotrepes, the consuls Lucius Valerius and Aulus Mallius, the Eleian 99th Olympiad and the victor Dicon, the Parians established their city, built walls around it and got in touch with the indigenous population (XV, 14, 1). Additionally, based on the aorist form in the phrase τὴν Φάρον οἰκίσαντες (XV, 14, 1) it may be concluded that the Parians had already settled the island. Thus, the 99th Olympiad cannot be a relevant determinant to date the arrival on Pharos.

126 On excavations in the Plančić garden as part of the *Projekt Jadranski otoci. Veze, trgovina i kolonizacija 6000 pr. Kr.–600 god.* see Forenbaher *et al.* 1994; Popović 2010b, pp. 144-145.

127 This is how the finds have been interpreted by Kirigin *et al.* 2002, p. 245. The archaeological horizon for the Greek arrival on Pharos is a rather controversial topic which is contingent upon the interpretation of the complex stratigraphic situation at several excavated surfaces in Stari Grad on Hvar. New excavations at the Remete vrt site (Popović 2009, pp. 670-673; Popović 2010a, pp. 719-722; Popović 2010b, pp. 139-140; Popović, Devlahović 2018, pp. 383) as well as finds from the Plančić garden paint a different picture of the Greek arrival on Pharos given the aggressive reconstruction of events (see, e.g., Jeličić-Radonić 2005; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015, p. 33). For a critique of the violent sequence of events, see Kirigin 2016, pp. 308-309.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

ATL	The Athenian Tribute Lists, ed. B. D. Merritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, Princeton 1950.
DNP	Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike, Stuttgart - Weimar
FD	Fouilles de Delphes, Paris
FGrH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin - Leiden
GCNP	Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, Sydney, 9 – 14 July 1985
GGM	Geographi graeci minores, Paris
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin
JAZU	Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. S. Hornblower i A. Spawforth, Oxford - New York 1996.
PWRE	Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Leiden

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A discourse on the origin of the oracles and the historical context surrounding the establishment of Pharos

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