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## Diomedove ptice

### The birds of Diomedes

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Mit o Diomedovim pticama postavlja se u kontekst sustava grčke mitologije usporedbom s mitovima o Meleagrovim, Ahilejevim i Memnonovim pticama. Na temelju objavljenih podataka o ornitofauni jadranskih pučinskih otoka vrednuju se u literaturi predložene identifikacije Diomedovih ptica. Izvještaji grčkih moreplovaca o dvjema vrstama pučinskih ptica, kaukalima i blunama, vjerojatno su se uklopili u mitove o preobrazbama u ptice pri oplakivanju junaka, te je uz Diomedovo svetište na Palagruži nastao i etiološki mit o pticama.

*Ključne riječi: Diomedov otok, Palagruža, mitologija, Diomed, Ahilej, Memnon, Meleagar, ptice, kaukal, bluna*

The myth of the birds of Diomedes is placed in the context of the Greek mythological system by way of a comparison with the myths of the birds of Meleager, Achilles and Memnon. The identifications of the Diomedean birds proposed in the scholarship are evaluated on the basis of the ornithological data about the more remote Adriatic islands. Reports of Greek sailors about two types of seabirds, the Scopoli's shearwater and the northern gannet, probably fit into the myths of metamorphosis into birds at the time of mourning over a hero and thus the aetiological myth of birds emerged about the Diomedean shrine on Palagruža.

*Key words: island of Diomedes, Palagruža, mythology, Diomedes, Achilles, Memnon, Meleager, birds, Scopoli's shearwater, northern gannet*



Brojni antički autori prenose pripovijest o preobrazbi Diomedovih drugova u ptice koje ostaju sklone Grcima, a nesklone barbarima i žive na Diomedovu otoku na Jadranu.<sup>1</sup> To je svetište prvi put spomenuto u izvorima u VI. st. pr. Kr. kod pjesnika Ibika,<sup>2</sup> a u novije je vrijeme i arheološki potvrđeno na Palagruži.<sup>3</sup> Diomedovo pučinsko svetište na Palagruži, zajedno s drugim Diomedovim svetištem na rtu Ploči,<sup>4</sup> mjesto je kulta vezanog uz plovidbu i dio kompleksne problematike razgranatog mita o povratku Diomeda iz Troje, njegovu odlasku na zapad, smrti i apoteozu.

Diomedov povratak iz Troje prvotno je bio opjevan u kikličkim epovima. Prve sačuvane vijesti o tome mitu potječu od pjesnika iz VII.-V. stoljeća prije Krista, a najveći dio podataka u nekoliko inačica potječe iz helenističkog doba. Mit obuhvaća mnoge elemente: Diomedov odlazak iz Arga zbog nevjerne žene Egijalije, putovanje u Italiju preko Korinta i Etolije, ženidbu Daunovom kćeri Euipom, osnutke gradova, pobjedu nad zmajem, smrt i apoteozu te preobrazbu Diomedovih drugova u ptice.<sup>5</sup> Junakovo ime izvori vežu uz cijeli niz mjesta u Italiji i na Jadranu. U literaturi se Diomedov mit razlaže na povijesne slojeve<sup>6</sup> i povezuje kako s kultovima i migracijama negričkih naroda,<sup>7</sup> tako i s plovidbama, susretima, sukobima i drugim jadranskim pothvatima Rođana,<sup>8</sup> Etolaca<sup>9</sup> i Korinčana<sup>10</sup> te potom sirakuškog tiranina Dionizija Starijeg,<sup>11</sup> episkog vladara Aleksandra Mološanina,<sup>12</sup> Spartanca Kleonima i Tarančana<sup>13</sup> te Rimljana<sup>14</sup>.

Iako se ptice često pojavljuju u grčkim mitovima, uglavnom je prihvaćeno mišljenje da one same kod Grka nisu bile predmet kulta.<sup>15</sup> Među brojnim elementima mita o Diomedu na Zapadu, motiv o preobrazbi njegovih drugova u ptice ističe se kao *aition* (grč. τὸ αἴτιον uzrok; mit koji tumači postanak nečega), i to kao jedan od mitova koji tumače nešto iz krajolika - ptice koje se gnijezde na liticama Diomedova svetog otoka. Ujedno je i ogranak šireg mita, "svete priče" o postanku kulturnog mjesta, tzv. *hieròs lógos* (grč. ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος)<sup>16</sup>, priče o Diomedovoj smrti na otoku. U povijesnoj se znanosti

Numerous Greek and Roman authors recounted the story of the metamorphosis of Diomedes' companions into birds which retained an affinity for the Greeks and a dislike of barbarians, and which lived on the island of Diomedes in the Adriatic Sea.<sup>1</sup> In the literary sources, this shrine was first mentioned in the sixth century BC, by the poet Ibycus,<sup>2</sup> and in recent times it has been archeologically confirmed on the island of Palagruža.<sup>3</sup> The high-seas Diomedean shrine on Palagruža, together with another Diomedean shrine on Cape Ploča,<sup>4</sup> is the site of a cult tied to navigation, and a component of the complex, multilayered myth on the return of Diomedes from Troy, his departure for the west, his death and apotheosis.

Diomedes' return from Troy was initially described in the Cyclic epics. The earliest accounts of this myth are preserved in the works of the poets of the seventh to the fifth centuries BC, but most of our information comes from the several variants of the Hellenistic period. The myth encompasses many elements: Diomedes' departure from Argos due to his unfaithful wife Aegiale, his voyage to Italy via Corinth and Aetolia, his marriage to Daunus' daughter Euipe, the foundation of cities, the victory over a dragon, his death and apotheosis, and the transformation of Diomedes' companions into birds.<sup>5</sup> Sources associate the hero's name to a series of locales in Italy and on the Adriatic Sea. In scholarship, the Diomedean myth has been deconstructed into historical layers,<sup>6</sup> and linked both with the cults and migrations of non-Greek peoples,<sup>7</sup> and with the maritime voyages, encounters, conflicts and other Adriatic exploits of the Rhodians,<sup>8</sup> Aetolians,<sup>9</sup> and Corinthians,<sup>10</sup> as well as the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius the Elder,<sup>11</sup> the Epirot ruler Alexander of Molossia,<sup>12</sup> the Spartan Cleonymus and the Tarentines,<sup>13</sup> and the Romans.<sup>14</sup>

Even though birds often appear in Greek myths, it is generally accepted that among the Greeks they were not the subject of cult veneration.<sup>15</sup> Among the numerous elements of the Diomedean myth in the West, the motif of metamorphosis of his companions into birds is prominent as an *aition* (Gr. τὸ αἴτιον, cause; a myth about the origin of something), in this case as a myth about a feature of the landscape: the birds which nest on the cliffs of

1 Ovaj je rad razvijen iz priopćenja predstavljenog na antičkoj sekciji III. kongresa hrvatskih povjesničara u Supetru na Braču 4. listopada 2008.  
2 *Schol. Pind. Nem.* X, 12; v. i Katičić 1989, str. 41. i Katičić 1995, str. 361-362.  
3 Kirigin, Čače 1998.  
4 Čače 1997; Kirigin, Čače 1998; Bilić Dujmušić 2002; Čače, Šešelj 2005.  
5 Pregled, analiza i prijevod izvora: Katičić 1989, Katičić 1995.  
6 Noviji pregledi: Malkin 1998, str. 234-257; D'Ercole 2000, str. 16-19 i D'Ercole 2006., s ondje navedenom literaturom.  
7 Ljubić 1866; Baeumont 1936, str. 194-195; Katičić 1991.  
8 Gianelli 1963, str. 53-59; Braccesi 1977, str. 55-63.  
9 Lepore 1980, str. 119, 123; Malkin 1998, str. 240-242.  
10 Braccesi 1994, str. 85-87.  
11 Mastrocinque 1988, str. 47-51; Braccesi 1994, str. 85-110.  
12 Bérard 1941, str. 375; Lepore 1980, str. 130; Mastrocinque 1988, str. 50-51.  
13 Braccesi 1994, str. 121-127.  
14 Malkin 1998, str. 250-252.  
15 Pollard 1977, str. 172-177; Antonetti 1990, str. 181, 334, bilj 581.  
16 Dowden 1992, str. 95.

1 This article was developed from a report delivered to the Ancient History section of the Third Congress of Croatian Historians in Supetar, on the island of Brač, on 4 October 2008.  
2 *Schol. Pind. Nem.* X, 12; see also Katičić 1989, p. 41 and Katičić 1995, pp. 361-362.  
3 Kirigin, Čače 1998.  
4 Čače 1997; Kirigin, Čače 1998; Bilić Dujmušić 2002; Čače, Šešelj 2005.  
5 For a review, analysis and translation of sources: Katičić 1989, Katičić 1995.  
6 More recent overviews: Malkin 1998, pp. 234-257; D'Ercole 2000, pp. 16-19 and D'Ercole 2006 with the sources cited therein.  
7 Ljubić 1866; Baeumont 1936, pp. 194-195; Katičić 1991.  
8 Gianelli 1963, pp. 53-59; Braccesi 1977, pp. 55-63.  
9 Lepore 1980, pp. 119, 123; Malkin 1998, pp. 240-242.  
10 Braccesi 1994, pp. 85-87.  
11 Mastrocinque 1988, pp. 47-51; Braccesi 1994, pp. 85-110.  
12 Bérard 1941, p. 375; Lepore 1980, p. 130; Mastrocinque 1988, pp. 50-51.  
13 Braccesi 1994, pp. 121-127.  
14 Malkin 1998, pp. 250-252.  
15 Pollard 1977, pp. 172-177; Antonetti 1990, pp. 181, 334, note 581.

preobrazba Diomedovih drugova u ptice povezuje sa sličnim etolskim mitovima<sup>17</sup> kao jedan od argumenata za eventualno etolsko porijeklo Diomedova mita. Motiv o pticama koje prema Likofronu žive zajedno i grade ptičje zidine, tumači se kao uspomena na neku neuspjelu raniju kolonizaciju, a motiv o razlikovanju Grka i barbara kao izraz nesigurnosti Grka u barbarskom okruženju na Jadranu u IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>18</sup> Ističe se zasebnost epizode o pticama i njezina pripadnost sloju Diomedova mita koji se tiče plovidbe.<sup>19</sup>

Pokušat ćemo mit o Diomedovim pticama tumačiti u kontekstu mitova o Meleagrovim, Ahilejevim i Memnonovim pticama.<sup>20</sup> U literaturi se zoološki problem Diomedovih ptica naziva neriješenim<sup>21</sup> i kolaju različite neuvjerljive identifikacije<sup>22</sup> te ćemo stoga ponoviti argumente za identifikaciju Diomedove ptice s kaukalom<sup>23</sup> i dodati ovome rješenju pokojnu dopunu. Identifikacija mitološkog bića sa stvarnom ptičjom vrstom opravdana je utoliko što mitovi o preobrazbama ljudi u ptice u pravilu opisuju stvarne vrste ptica.<sup>24</sup>

U sačuvanim helenističkim tradicijama o Diomedovim pticama uvijek su prisutna tri elementa: preobrazba u ptice pri oplakivanju junaka (uz kasniju obrnutu verziju u kojoj junak oplakuje drugove<sup>25</sup>), sveti otok gdje ptice potom žive i sposobnost da razlikuju Grke od barbara. Tome predaja dodaje i niz raznovrsnih detalja o ptičjem izgledu i ponašanju.

Prvi element, preobrazba Diomedovih drugova u ptice, sačuvan je u raznolikim helenističkim verzijama: drugovi su pretrpjeli brodolom i kod otoka postali ptice;<sup>26</sup> pretvorili su se u ptice oplakujući Diomedovu smrt;<sup>27</sup> Atena ih je pretvorila u ptice nakon što je Diomeda učinila bogom,<sup>28</sup> ili je to učinila da ih izbavi od gladi i bijede nakon Diomedove smrti;<sup>29</sup> Zeus ih je pretvorio u ptice kad su na otoku pokopali Diomeda koji je bio umro u Italiji<sup>30</sup> ili su voljom gnjevne Venere<sup>31</sup> postali ptice još za Diomedova života<sup>32</sup>.

Diomedes' sacred island. It is simultaneously a branch of a broader myth, the "sacred story" of the emergence of a cult site, a so-called *hieròs lógos* (Gr. ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος),<sup>16</sup> the story of Diomedes' death on the island. In historical scholarship, the transformation of Diomedes' companions into birds is associated with similar Aetolian myths<sup>17</sup> as one of the arguments for the possible Aetolian origin of this element of the myth of Diomedes. The motif of birds, which according to Lycophron live together and build their own walls, is interpreted as a memory of an unsuccessful earlier attempt at colonisation, and the motif of differentiation between Greeks and barbarians as an expression of Greek insecurity over their barbarian surroundings in the Adriatic in the fourth century BC.<sup>18</sup> The separate aspect of the bird episode and its place in the navigation layer of the Diomedean myth is also stressed.<sup>19</sup>

An attempt shall here be made to place the myth of the Diomedean birds within the context of the myths about the birds of Meleager, Achilles and Memnon.<sup>20</sup> As the zoological problem of the Diomedean birds is designated as unresolved<sup>21</sup> and various unconvincing identifications have been proffered,<sup>22</sup> the argument favouring the identification of the Diomedean birds as the Scopoli's shearwater<sup>23</sup> shall be reiterated, with some supplements to this solution. The identification of a mythological being with an actual species of bird is justifiable insofar as the myths on transformation of people into birds typically describe an actual species.<sup>24</sup>

In the preserved Hellenistic traditions on the Diomedean birds, three elements are always present: the transformation into birds at the time of mourning over the hero (with the subsequent opposite version in which the hero mourns his companions),<sup>25</sup> the sacred island where the birds then live, and their ability to distinguish between Greeks and barbarians. These three elements are supplemented by a series of various details on the appearance and behaviour of the birds.

The first element, the transformation of Diomedes' companions into birds, is preserved in various Hellenistic versions: the companions survived a shipwreck and became birds near the island;<sup>26</sup> they turned into birds while mourning Diomedes' death;<sup>27</sup> Athena turned them into birds after elevating Diomedes to godhood;<sup>28</sup> or she did so to

17 Antonetti 1990, str. 181, 257.

18 *Lycophr.* 603-4; Malkin 1998, str. 238, 241 i 251.

19 Giangiulio 2006, str. 63.

20 Sličnosti mitova uočio je Heyne 1833, str. 701; prvu studiju napisao Holland 1895.

21 Bömer 1986, str. 150; Katičić 1989, str. 64; Katičić 1995, str. 368.

22 Utva: Cuvier 1828, str. 307-308; Keller 1913, str. 235; ronac: André 1967, str. 39-40; kameničar: Gagé 1972, str. 763-764.

23 Fowler 1918, str. 66-68; Thompson 1918; Thompson 1936, str. 88-91; Capponi 1979, str. 138; Arnott 2007, str. 37-38.

24 Pollard 1977, str. 162-171.

25 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

26 *Ps-Aristot. Mir. 79; Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271.

27 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594.

28 *Schol. B II. V.*, 412.

29 *Schol. D II. V.*, 412.

30 *Ant. Lib.* 37.

31 *Verg. Aen.* XI, 271-277; *Ovid. Met.* XIV, 494-511.

32 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

16 Dowden 1992, p. 95.

17 Antonetti 1990, pp. 181, 257.

18 *Lycophr.* 603-4; Malkin 1998, pp. 238, 241 and 251.

19 Giangiulio 2006, p. 63.

20 The similarity of myths was noted by Heyne 1833, p. 701; the first study was written by Holland, 1895.

21 Bömer 1986, p. 150; Katičić 1989, p. 64; Katičić 1995, p. 368.

22 Shelduck: Cuvier 1828, pp. 307-308; Keller 1913, p. 235; goosander: André 1967, pp. 39-40; turnstone: Gagé 1972, pp. 763-764.

23 Fowler 1918, pp. 66-68; Thompson 1918; Thompson 1936, pp. 88-91; Capponi 1979, p. 138; Arnott 2007, pp. 37-38.

24 Pollard 1977, pp. 162-171.

25 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

26 *Ps-Aristot. Mir. 79; Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271.

27 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594.

28 *Schol. B II. V.*, 412.

U jednoj od najstarijih sačuvanih verzija mita u djelu Antigona iz Karista (*Antig. Mir.* 172) iz I. st. pr. Kr. saznajemo i nešto o porijeklu mita o preobrazbi. U Antigonovu je djelu citiran aleksandrijski pjesnik Kalimah (IV.-III. st. pr. Kr.), koji se pozvao na nešto starijeg povjesničara Lika iz Regija. Kalimah je prenio živ i detaljan Likov opis ptičjeg prepoznavanja Grka koji se zapute u one krajeve, u neizrečenoj opreci s barbarima koji ondje stanuju. Zatim je tekst oštećen. Slijedi pomalo neodređena starija priča o preobrazbi Diomedovih drugova koja je dodana kako bi se objasnilo neobično ponašanje ptica: λέγεσθαι δέ τι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ἑταίρων εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀρνέων τούτων φύσιν μετασηματισθέντων. (Kalimah kaže i) "da domaći tamo govore nešto kao da su se Diomedovi drugovi pretvorili u te ptičje stvorove.<sup>33</sup>" Vrlo se jasno pojavljuje odraz lokalne tradicije kako su je definirali "domaći", doslovno, oni koji su "u zemlji" ("u" ἐν, "zemlja" χώρα, "oni koji su u zemlji, stanovnici, domaći, starosjedioci" οἱ ἐγχώριοι). Ova se grčka riječ općenito može odnositi i na Grke i na ne-Grke. U ovome kontekstu IV. i III. st. pr. Kr. kao najvjerojatniji izvor usmene tradicije koju je Kalimah zabilježio nameću se isejski Grci, najbliži Palagruži. Ne mogu se ipak potpuno isključiti ni negrčki stanovnici: ako je Kalimah iz svoje aleksandrijske perspektive upravo bio citirao Lika prema kojemu se "poneki Grk u one predjele zaputi" (παραβάλλη τις εἰς τοὺς τόπους), moguće je da ne bi malo poslije Grke nazvao "stanovnicima" (οἱ ἐγχώριοι). Koji god bio Kalimahov izvor, ptice se na prijelazu između života i smrti pojavljuju i u grčkim i u negrčkim koncepcijama. Veza ptica i ispraćaja pokojnika potvrđena je u grčkoj mitologiji u mitovima o Meleagru i Memnonu, te o pticolikim sirenama i harpijama koje su se katkad prikazivale na nadgrobnim spomenicima i vodile duše umrlih.<sup>34</sup> Potvrđena je međutim i u prapovijesti sjevernojadranskih krajeva, npr. na vačkoj situli<sup>35</sup> iz otprilike 500. g. pr. Kr, što dopušta pomišljati na vlastite predaje domaćih naroda o pticama i smrti.<sup>36</sup> Moguće je i da je došlo do preslojavanja autohtonih i grčkih koncepcija.

Drugi element, junakov sveti otok, potječe od homerskih otoka blaženih na kojima su završavali junaci Trojanskog rata. Diomedov otok prvi put u VI. st. pr. Kr. spominje pjesnik Ibik<sup>37</sup> kao mjesto gdje se on štuje kao bog. Prema helenističkim izvorima, na svojem je otoku Diomed bio pokopan<sup>38</sup> ili je ondje nestao, ostavio život.<sup>39</sup> Na otoku se nalazio Diomedov "humak" (lat. *tumulus*),<sup>40</sup> "stepeničasti humak", dosl. "humak s padinom u obliku

deliver them from starvation and misery after Diomedes' death;<sup>29</sup> Zeus transformed them into birds after they buried Diomedes, who died in Italy, on the island,<sup>30</sup> or they became birds at the behest of a wrathful Venus<sup>31</sup> while Diomedes was still alive.<sup>32</sup>

In one of the earliest versions of the myth, in the work of Antigonus of Carystus (*Antig. Mir.* 172) from the first century BC, there are some hints at the origin of the metamorphosis myth. Antigonus cites the Alexandrian poet Callimachus (fourth-third cent. BC), who in turn referred to a somewhat earlier historian Lycus of Rhegium. Callimachus conveyed Lycus' vigorous and detailed description of the birds' recognition of the Greeks who travelled in those areas, in implicit contrast to the barbarians who resided there. The text is then damaged. This is followed by a slightly ambiguous older story about the transformation of Diomedes' companions that was added to explain the birds' unusual behaviour: λέγεσθαι δέ τι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ἑταίρων εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀρνέων τούτων φύσιν μετασηματισθέντων. [Callimachus also said] "...that the locals there speak of something as though the companions of Diomedes were transformed into bird-like beings."<sup>33</sup> This is a very clear reflection of the local tradition as defined by the "locals", or literally, those who are "in the land" ("in" ἐν, "land" χώρα, "those who are in the land, dwellers, locals, indigenes" οἱ ἐγχώριοι). This Greek word may refer both to Greeks and to non-Greeks. In this context of the fourth and third centuries BC, the Issaeans seem to impose themselves as the most likely source of the oral tradition which Callimachus recorded, as they were the closest to Palagruža. Nevertheless, one cannot completely discount non-Greek dwellers either: if Callimachus, from his Alexandrian perspective, cited Lycus, according to whom "some Greek may set off for those parts" (παραβάλλη τις εἰς τοὺς τόπους), it is likely that he would not refer to the Greeks as "dwellers" (οἱ ἐγχώριοι) only a little later. Whatever the source used by Callimachus, birds at the transition between life and death appeared in both Greek and non-Greek concepts. The link between birds and funerals has been confirmed in Greek mythology in the myths of Meleager and Memnon, and in the myths about bird-like sirens and harpies, who were sometimes portrayed on grave monuments and who guided the souls of the deceased.<sup>34</sup> It has also been confirmed in the prehistory of the Northern Adriatic regions, e.g. on the situla from Vače<sup>35</sup> dating to ca 500 BC, which makes it possible to imagine that the local peoples had their own legends about birds and death.<sup>36</sup> It is also possible that an overlay of indigenous and Greek concepts occurred.

33 V. i Katičić 1989, str. 59.; Katičić 1995, str. 361-362. Grčki tekst preuzet iz A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae*, Milano 1965 putem CD-ROM-a TLG vol. E, Irvine 1999.

34 Weicker 1902; Pollard 1977, str. 188-191.

35 Kastelic 1962, str. 54; Turk 2005, str. 36.

36 Katičić 1984; Šašel Kos 2008.

37 *Schol. Pind. Nem.* X, 12; Katičić 1989, str. 41.; Katičić 1995, str. 336.

38 *Ant. Lib.* 37; *Fest.* s. v. *Diomedea insula*.

39 *Strab.* VI, 3, 9; *Eust. D. P.* 483; *Ps-Scymn.* 432.

40 *Plin. NHX*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

29 *Schol. D. Il.* V, 412.

30 *Ant. Lib.* 37.

31 *Verg. Aen.* XI, 271-277; *Ovid. Met.* XIV, 494-511.

32 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

33 See also Katičić 1989, p. 59; Katičić 1995, pp. 361-362. Greek text taken from A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae*, Milano 1965 by CD-ROM TLG vol. E, Irvine 1999.

34 Weicker 1902; Pollard 1977, pp. 188-191.

35 Kastelic 1962, p. 54; Turk 2005, p. 36.

36 Katičić 1984; Šašel Kos 2008.

kazališta" (grč. θεατρόμορφος πρὸς κλίτει γεώλοφος),<sup>41</sup> "spomenik" (lat. *monumentum*),<sup>42</sup> "sveto mjesto, svetište" (grč. ἱερόν<sup>43</sup>, lat. *templum*<sup>44</sup>) "hram, svetište" (lat. *delubrum*),<sup>45</sup> "hram" (lat. *aedes*).<sup>46</sup> Ondje je rasla i jedina platana na Jadranu.<sup>47</sup> Niz antičkih autora piše o jednom Diomedovom otoku.<sup>48</sup> Strabon i Plinije Stariji spominju dva otoka, od kojih je jedan nenaseljen,<sup>49</sup> a Ptolemej pet otoka.<sup>50</sup> Tradicija koja je zabilježena nešto ranije spominje Diomedov otok u kontekstu istočnojadranskih otoka,<sup>51</sup> a druga, posvjedočena obilnije, ali zabilježena nešto kasnije, veže ga uz zapadnu obalu Jadrana.<sup>52</sup>

Srednjovjekovne karte,<sup>53</sup> slijedeći Ptolemeja, Diomedovim otocima nazivaju Tremite, arhipelag u blizini apulske obale što ga čine otok San Domino površine 2,08 kilometara četvornih, otočići San Nicola (0,42 kilometara četvornih), Caprara (0,45 kilometara četvornih), Cretaccio (0,04 kilometara četvornih) i dublje u Jadranu položena Pianosa (0,13 kilometara četvornih). Na otočiću San Nicola benediktinci iz Monte Cassina osnovali su početkom XI. st. samostan koji je u XIII. st. bio predan cistercitema iz Parme, a potom u XV. st. lateranskim kanonicima. Budući da je o Diomedovu otoku i pticama pisao sv. Augustin,<sup>54</sup> autor nesumnjivo i dostupan i čitan u brojnim apulskim samostanima, moguće je da identifikacija Tremita s Diomedovim otocima potječe od benediktinaca.<sup>55</sup> No nikakav trag Diomedova svetišta ondje nije pronađen pa o Tremitima i dalje vrijedi ono što je početkom XVII. stoljeća napisao Ulisse Aldrovandi: *neque enim templi Diomedis nostro aevo ulla aiunt esse vestigia* "a kažu da u naše doba nema nikakvih tragova Diomedova hrama".<sup>56</sup>

The second element, the hero's sacred island, has its origins in the Homeric islands of the blessed, the final destination for the heroes of the Trojan War. The island of Diomedes was first mentioned in the sixth century BC by the poet Ibycus<sup>37</sup> as the place where he is revered as a god. According to Hellenistic sources, on that island Diomedes was buried<sup>38</sup> or he disappeared there, leaving this life.<sup>39</sup> On the island was Diomedes' "mound" (Lat. *tumulus*),<sup>40</sup> a "staired mound", literally a "mound with a theatre-shaped (amphitheatrical) slope" (Gr. θεατρόμορφος πρὸς κλίτει γεώλοφος),<sup>41</sup> a "monument" (Lat. *monumentum*),<sup>42</sup> a "holy place, a shrine" (Gr. ἱερόν<sup>43</sup> Lat. *templum*<sup>44</sup>) a "temple, sanctuary" (Lat. *delubrum*),<sup>45</sup> and a "temple" (lat. *aedes*).<sup>46</sup> The only plane-tree in the Adriatic grew there.<sup>47</sup> A series of authors wrote about one island of Diomedes.<sup>48</sup> Strabo and Pliny the Elder indicate two islands, one of which was uninhabited,<sup>49</sup> while Ptolemy mentions five.<sup>50</sup> One tradition places the island of Diomedes among the Eastern Adriatic islands,<sup>51</sup> while the other, more copious but somewhat later, ties it to the western coast of the Adriatic.<sup>52</sup>

According to medieval maps,<sup>53</sup> which adhered to Ptolemy, the islands of Diomedes were the Tremiti, an archipelago near the Apulian coast consisting of the island of San Domino, with a surface of 2.08 km<sup>2</sup>, the islets of San Nicola (0.42 km<sup>2</sup>), Caprara (0.45 km<sup>2</sup>), Cretaccio (0.04 km<sup>2</sup>) and Pianosa (0.13 km<sup>2</sup>) farther out in the Adriatic Sea. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Benedictine monks from Monte Cassino established a monastery on San Nicola, which was handed over to the Cistercians from Parma in the thirteenth century, and then to the Lateran canons in the fifteenth century. Since the island of Diomedes and its birds were described by St. Augustine,<sup>54</sup>

41 *Lycophr.* 600.

42 *Plin. NH III*, 151.

43 *Thphr. H. P. 4*, 5, 6; *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79.

44 *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

45 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

46 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

47 *Thphr. H. P. 4*, 5, 6; *Plin. NH XII*, 3; Beaumont 1936, str. 195.

48 *Lycus in Antig. Mir.* 188; *Lyc.* 599; *Schol. Lyc.* 592, 594, 602; *Schol. Pi. N. X*, 12; *D. P.* 483; *Ps-Scymn.* 431-433; *Ps-Arist. Mir.* 80; *Varr. in Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *luba in Plin.* X, 126-7; *Plin.* XII, 13; *Ael. NA I*, 1; *Sol.* II, 45; *Mela II*, 114; *Ver. Flac. in Fest. s. v. Diomedea insula*; *Serv. Aen.* XI, 271; *St. Byz. s. v. Διομήδεια*; *Isid.* 12, 7, 28-9. Prvi zapadni otok koji se spominje uz Diomeda je Korkira, današnji Krf, gdje je Diomed ubio zmaja i zato bio čašćen (*Heraclid. Pont. frg.* 27; *Schol. Lyc.* 615 i 617.) ili se navodi da je Diomed dospio na 'liburnske otoke' (*Schol. Th.* I, 12, 2), no ptice se u ovim verzijama ne pojavljuju.

49 *Strab.* VI, 3, 9 i II, 5, 20; *Plin. NH III*, 151.

50 *Ptol.* III, 1, 80.

51 *Ps-Scymn.* 431-433; *Pomp. Mela II*, 114.

52 *Strab.* II, 5, 20 i VI, 3, 9 bis; *Varr. in Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Ptolem.* 3, 1, 80; *Dion. Perieg.* 481-3; *Solin.* II, 45; *Serv. Aen.* XI, 127; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

53 Kirigin, Čače 1998, str. 75.

54 *Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

55 V. i Thompson 1918, str. 92.

56 Aldrovandi 1603, str. 61.

37 *Schol. Pind. Nem.* X, 12; Katičić 1989, p. 41 and Katičić 1995, p. 336.

38 *Ant. Lib.* 37; *Fest. s. v. Diomedea insula*.

39 *Strab.* VI, 3, 9; *Eust. D. P.* 483; *Ps-Scymn.* 432.

40 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

41 *Lycophr.* 600.

42 *Plin. NH III*, 151.

43 *Thphr. H. P. 4*, 5, 6; *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79.

44 *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

45 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

46 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

47 *Thphr. H. P. 4*, 5, 6; *Plin. NH XII*, 3; Beaumont 1936, p. 195.

48 *Lycus in Antig. Mir.* 188; *Lyc.* 599; *Schol. Lyc.* 592, 594, 602; *Schol. Pi. N. X*, 12; *D. P.* 483; *Ps-Scymn.* 431-433; *Ps-Arist. Mir.* 80; *Varr. in Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *luba in Plin.* X, 126-7; *Plin.* XII, 13; *Ael. NA I*, 1; *Sol.* II, 45; *Mela II*, 114; *Ver. Flac. in Fest. s. v. Diomedea insula*; *Serv. Aen.* XI, 271; *St. Byz. s. v. Διομήδεια*; *Isid.* 12, 7, 28-9. The first western island mentioned together with Diomedes is Corcyra, today's Corfu, where Diomedes killed a dragon and was thus honoured (*Heraclid. Pont. frg.* 27; *Schol. Lyc.* 615 and 617) or it is mentioned that Diomedes made his way to the "Liburnian islands" (*Schol. Th.* I, 12, 2), but the birds do not appear in this version.

49 *Strab.* VI, 3, 9 and II, 5, 20; *Plin. NH III*, 151.

50 *Ptol.* III, 1, 80.

51 *Ps-Scymn.* 431-433; *Pomp. Mela II*, 114.

52 *Strab.* II, 5, 20 and VI, 3, 9 bis; *Varr. in Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Ptolem.* 3, 1, 80; *Dion. Perieg.* 481-3; *Solin.* II, 45; *Serv. Aen.* XI, 127; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

53 Kirigin, Čače 1998, p. 75.

54 *Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

Najuvjerljivijim kandidatom za Diomedov otok posljednjih je godina postala Palagruža. Otočići Palagruža vela (0,29 kilometara četvornih) i Palagruža mala (0,03 kilometara četvornih) u sredini su Jadrana, relativno blizu tremitskog arhipelaga. Već kod opata Fortisa u XVIII. st. pojavljuje se naznaka da je postojalo takvo mišljenje,<sup>57</sup> a u novije je vrijeme na Palagruži pronađena velika količina ulomaka kvalitetne grčke keramike iz kasnog arhajskog, klasičnog i helenističkog razdoblja, s grafitima Diomedova imena, što upućuje na zaključak da je upravo ondje bilo Diomedovo svetište.<sup>58</sup> Zbog osamljenog položaja usred Jadrana na razmeđu dviju struja Palagruža je važna postaja na plovnom putu te se antički opisi položaja Diomedova otoka mogu tumačiti njoj u prilog.<sup>59</sup>

Treći element mita je ponašanje ptica. Ptice na Diomedovu otoku posebne su po tome što razlikuju Grke od barbara: u svim su izvorima Grcima sklone te im same prilaze i čak im se umiljavaju, a barbarima su nesklone. Istovjetno ponašanje pripisuje se i psima u Ateninu hramu u Dauniji,<sup>60</sup> gdje se čuvalo oružje koje je bilo Diomedov zavjetni dar. Taj motiv bi sam po sebi morao biti grčkog porijekla, no mlađi od mita o preobrazbi. Zbog umiljavanja Grcima Carl Linné, osnivač moderne taksonomije, ime Diomedovih ptica je, osim za albatrose, najveće pučinske ptice koje i danas u biologiji nose ime *Diomedea*, upotrijebio i za jednu vrstu pingvina, naizgled pitome ptice.<sup>61</sup>

Uz nesklonost barbarima veže se i čudovišni element u izgledu i ponašanju Diomedovih ptica. U izvorima se pojavljuju dvije verzije ponašanja prema barbarima: prema jednoj tradiciji ptice otvoreno napadaju barbare obarajući se na njih s visine i ranjavajući ih kljunovima,<sup>62</sup> a prema drugoj ih samo izbjegavaju i od njih bježe.<sup>63</sup> Također, ptice imaju zube<sup>64</sup> i ognjene ili oštre oči.<sup>65</sup> Čudovišne ptice poznate su u grčkoj mitologiji: Apolonije Rođanin,<sup>66</sup> primjerice, opisuje kako su Harpije otimala i zagađivale hranu Fineju, a Heraklo je morao svladati strašne stimfalske ptice.<sup>67</sup> Ovaj motiv ponašanja ptica može biti etiološki: mnoge vrste napast će i ljude ako im je gnijezdo ugroženo.

an author undoubtedly both available and widely read in the many Apulian monasteries, it is possible that the identification of the Tremiti as the islands of Diomedes originated with the Benedictines.<sup>55</sup> However, no trace of any shrine to Diomedes has been found there, and thus, that which Ulisse Aldrovandi wrote about the Tremiti at the beginning of the seventeenth century, still stands: *neque enim templi Diomedis nostro aevo ulla aiunt esse vestigia* - "and they say that in our time there are no traces of the temple of Diomedes".<sup>56</sup>

In recent years, Palagruža emerged as the most convincing candidate for the island of Diomedes. The islets of Palagruža Vela (0.29 km<sup>2</sup>) and Palagruža Mala (0.03 km<sup>2</sup>) are in the middle of the Adriatic Sea, relatively close to the Tremiti archipelago. Ever since Abbot Fortis in the eighteenth century, indications of this view have appeared,<sup>57</sup> while in recent years a high quantity of fragments of high-quality Greek ceramics from the late Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods have been found there, some with graffiti of the name Diomedes, which indicates the site of a Diomedean shrine.<sup>58</sup> Because of its remote location in the middle of the Adriatic where two currents divide, Palagruža is an important station on navigation routes, and ancient descriptions of the position of Diomedes' island can be interpreted in its favour.<sup>59</sup>

The third element is the behaviour of the birds. Birds on the island of Diomedes are specific in that they distinguish between the Greeks and barbarians: in all sources they have an affinity for the Greeks, approach them on their own and even nestle with them, while they dislike barbarians. Identical behaviour is ascribed to the dogs in Athena's temple in Daunia,<sup>60</sup> where the weapons that were the votive gift of Diomedes were kept. This motif should in and of itself be Greek in origin, but of a later date than the transformation myth. Because of their ingratiating to the Greeks, Carl Linné, the founder of modern taxonomy, used the name Diomedean birds for both the albatross, the largest high-seas bird which today bears the name *Diomedea*, and for a species of penguin, an apparently tame bird.<sup>61</sup>

The dislike of barbarians is also tied to a monstrous element of the behaviour of the Diomedean birds. Two versions of their behaviour toward barbarians appear in the sources: in one version, the birds openly attack barbarians, diving at them from above and wounding them with their beaks,<sup>62</sup> while according to another, they simply avoid them and flee from them.<sup>63</sup> Also, the birds have teeth<sup>64</sup> and blazing

57 Kirigin, Čače 1998, str. 75.

58 Kirigin 1996; Kirigin, Čače 1998; Kirigin, Katunarić 2001; Kirigin 2003; Kirigin et al. 2004, Kirigin et al. 2005, Kirigin et al. 2009.

59 Kirigin, Čače 1998, str. 75-78; Colonna 1998.

60 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 109; *Strab.* VI, 3, 9; *Ael. NA* XI, 5.

61 Linné 1767, str. 214-215.

62 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH* X, 127; *Solin.* II, 44; *Isid.* 12, 7 28-9.

63 *Lycophr.* 604-605; *Strab.* VI, 3, 8; *Ant. Lib.* 37; *Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271; *Schol. Lycophr.* 592.

64 *Iuba apud Plin. X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

65 *Lycophr.* 597; *Plin. NH* X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

66 *Ap. Rhod.* II, 178-208.

67 *Npr. Paus.* VIII, 22, 4.

55 See also Thompson 1918, p. 92.

56 Aldrovandi 1603, p. 61.

57 Kirigin and Čače 1998, p. 75.

58 Kirigin 1996; Kirigin, Čače 1998; Kirigin, Katunarić 2001; Kirigin 2003; Kirigin et al. 2004, Kirigin et al. 2005, Kirigin et al. 2009.

59 Kirigin, Čače 1998, pp. 75-78; Colonna 1998.

60 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 109; *Strab.* VI, 3, 9; *Ael. NA* XI, 5.

61 Linné 1767, pp. 214-215.

62 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH* X, 127; *Solin.* II, 44; *Isid.* 12, 7 28-9.

63 *Lycophr.* 604-605; *Strab.* VI, 3, 8; *Ant. Lib.* 37; *Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271; *Schol. Lycophr.* 592.

64 *Iuba apud Plin. X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

Tugu za Diomedom njegove ptice iskazuju glasanjem: one "milo cvile", προσφιλὲς κνυζούμενοι,<sup>68</sup> "ispunjavu stijene plačnim glasovima", *scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent*,<sup>69</sup> "tuguju kao nekim suznim glasovima", *lacrimosis quasi vocibus dolentes*,<sup>70</sup> ili pak "uznemiruju kricima", *clangore infestant*.<sup>71</sup>

Od antičkih autora o izgledu i ponašanju Diomedovih ptica saznajemo i da su velike,<sup>72</sup> bijele<sup>73</sup> i velikih tvrdih kljunova.<sup>74</sup> Na granama oko Diomedova groba izgradile su gnijezda poput grada, zajedno idu u lov danju, a noću zajedno spavaju u šumi te se hrane 'ribljim sjemenom'.<sup>75</sup> Ulov skupljaju na gomilu pa ga zatim dijele.<sup>76</sup> U letu imaju dvojicu vođa, jednog na čelu, drugog na začelju; kopaju jame u zemlji i pokrivaju ih pleterom te u njima legu jaja; gnijezda imaju dva otvora, jedan prema istoku, za izlazak u lov, drugi prema zapadu, za povratak; lete u vjetar kad prazne crijeva.<sup>77</sup> Nadalje, ptice sjede oko svetišta,<sup>78</sup> oblijeću oko hrama,<sup>79</sup> lete oko grebenja i stijena<sup>80</sup> i klate se po rijekama.<sup>81</sup>

Neki motivi iz mita o Diomedovim pticama pojavljuju se i u mitu o Meleagrovim pticama.<sup>82</sup> U mitološkoj genealogiji Meleagar je stariji od Diomeda (i Ahileja i Memnona): iz Ilijade<sup>83</sup> znamo da je u vrijeme pohoda na Troju već bio umro. S Diomedom ga povezuje zajedničko etolsko porijeklo: Meleagrov polubrat Tidej otac je Diomedov. Mit o Meleagrovim pticama blizak je Diomedovu mitu utoliko što se u ptice pretvaraju ljudi iz junakove blizine u vrijeme njegove smrti, i što ptice završavaju na svetom otoku, po jednoj verziji čak na jadranskom otoku. Meleagrove ptice u antici su bile detaljno opisane te se identificiraju s biserkama, *Numida meleagris*.<sup>84</sup>

Helenistički izvori čuvaju pripovijest da su se neutješne Meleagrove sestre preobrazile. Nagovještaj te inačice pojavio se već kod Sofokla (V. st. pr. Kr.), koji ih povezuje s jantarnim suzama i smješta iza Indije,<sup>85</sup> a očita je analogija sa starijim mitom o preobrazbi neutješnih Faetontovih sestara u jablanove koji plaču jantar, posvjedočenim već kod Hezioda (VIII./VII. st.

or sharp eyes.<sup>65</sup> Monstrous birds are known in Greek mythology: Apollonius of Rhodes,<sup>66</sup> for example, described how Harpies snatched away and fouled the food of Phineas, while Heracles had to overpower the terrifying Stymphalian birds.<sup>67</sup> This motif may be aetiological: many species will attack people if their nests are threatened.

The birds express their sorrow for Diomedes by their cries: they "tenderly wail", προσφιλὲς κνυζούμενοι;<sup>68</sup> "fill the rocks with their tearful voices", *scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent*;<sup>69</sup> "mourn as though with tearful voices", *lacrimosis quasi vocibus dolentes*;<sup>70</sup> or they "anno with the noise", *clangore infestant*.<sup>71</sup>

The remaining references to the appearance and behaviour of the Diomedean birds note that they there are large,<sup>72</sup> white,<sup>73</sup> and have large, sturdy beaks.<sup>74</sup> On the branches around Diomedes' grave they built their nests like a city; they set off together to hunt by day, while at night they sleep in the forest and feed on "the spawn of fishes".<sup>75</sup> They gather their prey in a pile and then share it.<sup>76</sup> In the summer they have two leaders, one at front and one in back; they dig holes in the ground and cover them with woven reeds and lay their eggs in them; the nests have two openings, one facing east to depart for the hunt, and the second facing west, for their return; they fly into the wind when evacuating their bowels.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the birds sit around the shrine,<sup>78</sup> fly circles around the temple,<sup>79</sup> fly around reefs and cliffs<sup>80</sup> and hover over rivers.<sup>81</sup>

Some of the motifs of the myth of Diomedes' birds also appear in the myth of Meleager's birds.<sup>82</sup> In the mythological genealogy, Meleager is older than Diomedes (and Achilles and Memnon): from the Iliad<sup>83</sup> we know that he had already died by the time of the expedition against Troy. He is tied to Diomedes by a common Aetolian origin: Meleager's half-brother Tydeus is the father of Diomedes. The myth of Meleager's birds is similar to the Diomedean myth in that the people near the hero at the time of his death are transformed into birds, and that these birds end up on a sacred island - an Adriatic island according to one version. Meleager's birds were thoroughly described and have been

68 *Lycophr.* 608.

69 *Verg. Aen.* XI, 274.

70 *Isid. Etym.* XII, 7, 29.

71 *Iuba apud Plin. NH X*, 127. Prijevod Katičić 1995, str. 361-362.

72 *Ps. Aristot.* 79.

73 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

74 *Ps. Aristot.* 79; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

75 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

76 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594.

77 *Plin. NH X*, 126-127; *Solin.* II, 44.

78 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79.

79 *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

80 *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

81 *Verg. Aen.* 273.

82 Holland 1895, str. 18; Antonetti 1990, str. 181; Malkin 1998, str. 241.

83 *Il.* II, 638-644.

84 Cuvier 1828, str. 267-268; Thompson 1936, str. 197-200; André 1967, str. 99-100; Capponi 1979, str. 322; Arnott 2007, str. 138-140.

85 *Soph. apud Plin. NH XXXVII*, 40-41.

65 *Lycophr.* 597; *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

66 *Ap. Rhod.* II, 178-208.

67 E.g. *Paus.* VIII, 22, 4.

68 *Lycophr.* 608.

69 *Verg. Aen.* XI, 274.

70 *Isid. Etym.* XII, 7, 29.

71 *Iuba apud Plin. NH X*, 127.

72 *Ps. Aristot.* 79.

73 *Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

74 *Ps. Aristot.* 79; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

75 *Lycophr.* 592-609.

76 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594.

77 *Plin. NH X*, 126-127; *Solin.* II, 44.

78 *Ps-Aristot. Mir.* 79.

79 *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17.

80 *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

81 *Verg. Aen.* 273.

82 Holland 1895, p. 18; Antonetti 1990, p. 181; Malkin 1998, p. 241.

83 *Il.* II, 638-644.



pr. Kr.).<sup>86</sup> Meleagrove sestre<sup>87</sup> ili žene koje su ga oplakivale<sup>88</sup> u ptice je pretvorila Artemida<sup>89</sup> i, prema najbolje posvjedočenoj helenističkoj tradiciji,<sup>90</sup> smjestila ih na Ler, otok veličine Lošinj na ulazu u miletski zaljev. Drugi se antički autori opredjeljuju za druge otoke daleko na istoku ili zapadu: jedan od tri otoka u jezeru Afrodita<sup>91</sup> blizu Crvenog mora i otoke u jezeru Kefisija<sup>92</sup> na atlantskoj obali Afrike. Meleagride se pojavljuju i na raznim drugim mjestima.<sup>93</sup> Tradicija sačuvana kod Strabona<sup>94</sup> Meleagride čak stavlja u Jadran, na Elektride, ispred ušća Pada. Strabon tu verziju odbacuje kao lažnu, ali nažalost ne navodi ime autora čije mišljenje ne prihvaća.

Preobrazba Diomedovih drugova gotovo je jednaka sudbini pratilaca etiopskoga kralja Memnona kojeg je Ahilej ubio pod Trojom.<sup>95</sup> Pjesnik Mosho u II. st. pr. Kr. spominje tužaljku Memnonovih ptica za njihovim junakom.<sup>96</sup> I Memnonova i Ahilejeva smrt spominju se u izgubljenom Arktinovu epu *Etiopida* iz VIII. st. pr. Kr. čiji je sadržaj u II. st. sačuvao Proklo<sup>97</sup>, no preobrazbu Memnonovih vojnika u ptice opisuju tek u IV. st. Kvint iz Smirne i Servije,<sup>98</sup> koji pripovijeda da su Memnona njegovi vojnici toliko voljeli da su ih bogovi, vidjevši njihovu žalost, iz samilosti pretvorili u ptice koje su na grobu tugovale i do smrti se ranjavale. U Ovidijevim *Metamorfozama*, koje sadrže oba mita, Diomed sam priča kako je ljutita Venera preobrazila njegove pratiocice u ptice slične labudovima, a Jupiter Aurorinu molbu da iskaže Memnonu neku posmrtnu čast uslišuje preobrazbom pepela s njegove lomače u ptice koje se međusobno bore.<sup>99</sup> Čitav niz autora spominje borbe Memnonovih ptica na njegovu grobu u Etiopiji<sup>100</sup> ili u Troji<sup>101</sup>, a Plinije Stariji isto navodi i za Meleagrove ptice u Beotiji<sup>102</sup>. Lomača i borbe referencija su na pogrebne igre u junakovu čast. Zamisao o ptičjoj borbi može potjecati iz promatranja prirode: postoji ptica pršljivac (*Philomachus pugnax*), koja na stalnim snubilištima izvodi ritualne borbe i izgledom odgovara antičkim opisima, te je identificirana kao moguća inspiracija za mit o

identified with the helmeted guineafowl, *Numida meleagris*.<sup>84</sup>

Hellenistic sources recount the story of the metamorphosis of Meleager's inconsolable sisters. An intimation of this variant appeared already in the work of Sophocles (fifth century BC), who associated them with amber tears and placed them beyond India,<sup>85</sup> and there is an obvious analogy with the older myth of the metamorphosis of Phaeton's grief-stricken sisters into poplar trees which cry amber tears, something to which Hesiod already testified (eighth/seventh centuries BC).<sup>86</sup> Meleager's sisters<sup>87</sup> or the women who mourned him<sup>88</sup> were transformed into birds by Artemis<sup>89</sup> and, according to a copiously attested Hellenistic tradition,<sup>90</sup> placed by her on Leros, an island the size of Lošinj at the entrance to the Bay of Miletus. Other ancient writers prefer islands far to the east or west: one of the three islands in the lake of Aphrodite<sup>91</sup> near the Red Sea, and the islands in Lake Kephisia<sup>92</sup> on the Atlantic coast of Africa. The Meleagrides appear at various other places as well.<sup>93</sup> According to a tradition preserved by Strabo,<sup>94</sup> the Meleagrides are even placed in the Adriatic Sea, on the Electrides at the mouth of the Po River. Strabo rejects this version as false, but unfortunately he does not specify the name of the writer whose views he rejects.

The metamorphosis of Diomedes's companions is identical to the fate of the companions of the Ethiopian king Memnon, who was slain by Achilles under the walls of Troy.<sup>95</sup> In the second century BC, the poet Moschus mentioned the lament of Memnon's birds over their hero.<sup>96</sup> The deaths of both Memnon and Achilles are described in the lost epic *Aethiopsis* by Arctinus in the eighth century BC (the content of which was preserved by Proclus in the second century),<sup>97</sup> but the transformation of Memnon's companions into birds was only described in the fourth century by Quintus Smyrnaeus,<sup>98</sup> who told the story that Memnon's companions loved him so much that the gods, seeing their sorrow, pitied them and transformed them into birds which mourned over his grave and wounded themselves to death. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which contain both myths, Diomedes himself recounts how the wrathful Venus transformed his companions into birds similar to swans, while Jupiter granted Aurora's wish to bequeath posthumous honours to Memnon by

86 *Hes. apud Hyg.* 154.

87 *Hyg. Fab.* 172.

88 *Apollod.* I, 8, 3.

89 *Ovid. Met.* VIII, 533-546.

90 *Clytus apud Athen. Deipn.* XIV, 71; *Antig. Mir.* 11; *Ister apud Ael. NA V*, 27; *Nicand. apud Ant. Lib.* 2; *Ael. NA IV*, 42.

91 *Agathar. mar. erythr.* 81; *Diod. Sic.* III, 39, 3.

92 *Ps. Scyl.* 112.

93 Pollard 1977, str. 162-163; Arnott 2007, str. 138-140.

94 *Strab.* I, 5, 9.

95 Holland 1895, str. 1-5.

96 *Mosch.* III, 44.

97 *Procl. Chr.* 2.

98 *Quint. Smyrn.* II, 570-596; *Serv. ad Aen.* I, 751.

99 *Ovid. Met.* XIII, 576-619; XIV, 494-509.

100 *Crementius apud Plin. NH X*, 37.

101 *Ovid. Met.* XIII, 604-619; *Ovid. Amor.* I, 13, 3; *Plin. NH X*, 37; *Dionys. Av.* I, 8; *Paus.* X, 31, 6; *Solin.* XL, 19; *Ael. NA V*, 1; *Isid. Etym.* XII, 7, 30.

102 *Plin. NH X*, 38.

84 Cuvier 1828, pp. 267-268; Thompson 1936, pp. 197-200; André 1967, pp. 99-100; Capponi 1979, p. 322; Arnott 2007, pp. 138-140.

85 *Soph. apud Plin. NH XXXVII*, 40-41.

86 *Hes. apud Hyg.* 154.

87 *Hyg. Fab.* 172.

88 *Apollod.* I, 8, 3.

89 *Ovid. Met.* VIII, 533-546.

90 *Clytus apud Athen. Deipn.* XIV, 71; *Antig. Mir.* 11; *Ister apud Ael. NA V*, 27; *Nicand. apud Ant. Lib.* 2; *Ael. NA IV*, 42.

91 *Agathar. mar. erythr.* 81; *Diod. Sic.* III, 39, 3.

92 *Ps. Scyl.* 112.

93 Pollard 1977, pp. 162-163; Arnott 2007, pp. 138-140.

94 *Strab.* I, 5, 9.

95 Holland 1895, pp. 1-5.

96 *Mosch.* III, 44.

97 *Procl. Chr.* 2.

98 *Quint. Smyrn.* II, 570-596; *Serv. ad Aen.* I, 751.

Memnonovim pticama.<sup>103</sup> Kandidati za memnonide su i crna lunja (*Milvus migrans*) i kratkorepa sadža (*Pterocles orientalis*).<sup>104</sup> Mit o Memnonovim pticama odveć je sličan mitu o Diomedovim pticama a da ne bi s njim bio povezan: obojica su ratovala pod Trojom i prema helenističkim izvorima vojnici su im se preobrazili u ptice, no Memnonove ptice nemaju svoj otok.

Ahilej je, kao i Diomed, imao vlastito otočno svetište i obilježja plovidbenog božanstva. Obojica junaka završila su na malenom nenaseljenom otoku na rubu poznatoga svijeta, jedan na istoku, drugi na zapadu, a mit o Ahilejevu otoku u izvorima se pojavljuje ranije. Najstarija vijest o tome kako je Tetida svojega sina Ahileja ugrabila s pogrebne lomače i odnijela na otok Leuke u Crnome moru, potječe iz VIII. st. pr. Kr. iz *Etiopide*<sup>105</sup> Arktina iz Mileta. Ahilejev otok Leuke ("Bijeli otok") današnji je ukrajinski otočić *Zmeinyj* ("Zmijski otok") površine 0,17 kilometara četvornih, kojih 45 kilometara udaljen od ušća Dunava, gdje je i arheološki potvrđeno postojanje Ahilejeva svetišta.<sup>106</sup> To je tek jedno od nekoliko Ahilejevih kulturnih mjesta na Pontu<sup>107</sup>, kao što je Diomedov otok tek jedno od nekoliko njegovih kulturnih mjesta na Jadranu. Nakon Arktina, Ahilejev otok spominju Pindar i Euripid.<sup>108</sup> Prema Euripidu, na Leuki je završila i lijepa Helena kao Ahilejeva mladenka. Od helenističkog vremena nadalje izvori<sup>109</sup> su brojniji: saznajemo da je ondje Ahilejev "hram" ναός,<sup>110</sup> *aedes*,<sup>111</sup> "sveto mjesto, svetište" ἱερόν,<sup>112</sup> "žrtvenici" βωμοί,<sup>113</sup> da se ondje može dobiti "proroštvo" χρησμός,<sup>114</sup> da ondje postoji "drveni kip stare izrade" ξόανον τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας,<sup>115</sup> "kip" ἄγαλμα,<sup>116</sup> "kipovi" ἀγάλματα Ahileja i Helene,<sup>117</sup> ostaci hrama i posvetni darovi,<sup>118</sup> posude, prstenje, drago kamenje te grčki i latinski metrički natpisi.<sup>119</sup> Pomorci ondje nisu smjeli prenoćiti i uz to su se vezale strašne priče.<sup>120</sup>

transforming the ash from his pyre into warring birds.<sup>99</sup> An entire series of writers mentioned the battle of Memnon's birds over his grave in Ethiopia<sup>100</sup> or in Troy,<sup>101</sup> and Pliny the Elder said the same of Meleager's birds in Boeotia.<sup>102</sup> The pyre and the battle are references to the funeral games held in the hero's honour. The idea of warring birds may have originated in observations of nature: there is a species of bird, the ruff (*Philomachus pugnax*), which wages ritual struggles at permanent breeding grounds and its appearance corresponds to ancient descriptions. It has therefore been identified as a possible inspiration for the myth of Memnon's birds.<sup>103</sup> Other candidates for the Memnonides are the black kite (*Milvus migrans*) and the black-bellied sandgrouse (*Pterocles orientalis*).<sup>104</sup> The myth of Memnon's birds is far too similar to the myth of Diomedes' birds for them not to be linked: both heroes waged war at Troy and according to Hellenistic sources their companions were transformed into birds, although Memnon's birds do not have their own island.

Achilles, like Diomedes, had his own island shrine and the traits of a seafaring deity. Both heroes ended up on a tiny uninhabited island at the edge of the known world, one in the east, the other in the west, but the myth of Achilles' island is attested earlier. The oldest narrative of how Thetys snatched her son Achilles from the funeral pyre and took him to Leuke Island in the Black Sea dates to the eighth century BC, from the *Aethiopsis*<sup>105</sup> by Arctinus of Miletus. The Leuke ('White') Island of Achilles is today's Snake Island (Ukrainian: *Zmiinyi*) with a surface area of 0.17 km<sup>2</sup>, roughly 45 km from the mouth of the Danube, where the existence of a shrine to Achilles has been archeologically confirmed.<sup>106</sup> This is only one of several cult sites dedicated to Achilles in Pontus,<sup>107</sup> just as the island of Diomedes is only one of several of his cult sites on the Adriatic Sea. After Arctinus, the island of Achilles was also mentioned by Pindar and Euripides.<sup>108</sup> According to Euripides, the beautiful Helen came to Leuke Island as the bride of Achilles. From the Hellenistic era onward, the sources<sup>109</sup> become numerous: we can learn that on it Achilles has a "temple", ναός<sup>110</sup> *aedes*,<sup>111</sup> a "sacred place, a shrine", ἱερόν,<sup>112</sup> "altars",

103 Cuvier 1828, str. 267; Thompson 1936, str. 200-201; André 1967, str. 100; Arnott 2007, str. 140-141.

104 Capponi 1979, str. 322-325.

105 *Procl. Chr.* 2.

106 Hedreen 1991, str. 319-322; Rusyaeva 2003, str. 5-14.

107 Milićević-Bradač 2004, str. 388-391.

108 *Pind. Nem.* 4.49; *Eurip. Andr.* 1260-1262.

109 *Lyc. Alex.* 188-189; *Antig. Caryst.* 122; *Ps. Scymn.* 785-797; *Pomp. Mela* II, 98; *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Arr. Peripl.* 21-23; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Paus.* 3, 9, 11; *Dion. Perieg.* 541-547; *Anton. Lib.* 27; *Sol.* 19, 1; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 2 - 57, 17; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 8, 35; *Anon. Peripl.* 64-66.

110 *Antig. Mir.* 122; *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Paus.* III, 9, 11; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

111 *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

112 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 3.

113 *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7.

114 *Arr. Peripl.* 22.

115 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

116 *Paus.* III, 19, 11.

117 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 3.

118 *Amm. Marc.* XXII, 8, 35

119 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

120 *Arr. Peripl.* 21-22; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 10-11; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

99 *Ovid. Met.* XIII, 576-619; XIV, 494-509.

100 *Cremutius apud Plin. NH X*, 37.

101 *Ovid. Met.* XIII, 604-619; *Ovid. Amor.* I, 13, 3; *Plin. NH X*, 37; *Dionys. Av.* I, 8; *Paus.* X, 31, 6; *Solin.* XL, 19; *Ael. NA V*, 1; *Isid. Etym.* XII, 7, 30.

102 *Plin. NH X*, 38.

103 Cuvier 1828, p. 267; Thompson 1936, pp. 200-201; André 1967, p. 100; Arnott 2007, pp. 140-141.

104 Capponi 1979, pp. 322-325.

105 *Procl. Chr.* 2.

106 Hedreen 1991, pp. 319-322; Rusyaeva 2003, pp. 5-14.

107 Milićević-Bradač 2004, pp. 388-391.

108 *Pind. Nem.* 4.49; *Eurip. Andr.* 1260-1262.

109 *Lyc. Alex.* 188-189; *Antig. Caryst.* 122; *Ps. Scymn.* 785-797; *Pomp. Mela* II, 98; *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Arr. Peripl.* 21-23; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Paus.* 3, 9, 11; *Dion. Perieg.* 541-547; *Anton. Lib.* 27; *Sol.* 19, 1; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 2 - 57, 17; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 8, 35; *Anon. Peripl.* 64-66.

110 *Antig. Mir.* 122; *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Paus.* III, 9, 11; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

111 *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

112 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 3.

Ahilejeve ptice pojavljuju se u istim ili suvremenim helenističkim izvorima kao i Diomedove ptice.<sup>121</sup> Ni u jednom se ne spominje metamorfoza.<sup>122</sup> Najstariji izvor za Ahilejeve ptice, Antigon<sup>123</sup> iz Karista, iz I. st. pr. Kr., prenosi i najstarije svjedočanstvo<sup>124</sup> o Diomedovim pticama, mit tada već nešto detaljniji i razvedeniji. O Ahilejevim pticama iz izvora saznajemo da se ne usuđuju letjeti iznad njegova hrama<sup>125</sup> ili ući u hram,<sup>126</sup> da to nebrojeno mnoštvo ptica čine λάροι "galebovi", αἰθυιαί "vranci" i κορώναι αἱ θαλάσσιοι "morske vrane", vjerojatno "gregule",<sup>127</sup> te da su bijele i žive na moru.<sup>128</sup> Anna S. Rusaeva dopušta i mogućnost da su ptice zavladaile otokom i svetištem kad je hram napušten i kult obustavljen,<sup>129</sup> no ptice su se na nenaseljenom otoku mogle gnijezditi na liticama i neovisno o ljudima i svetištu. Prema opisu lako je zamisliti veliko jato sastavljeno od nekoliko vrsta pučinskih ptica.

Paralelizam Ahilejeva i Diomedova svetog otoka na dva suprotna i rubna kraja poznatog arhajskog svijeta upućuje na međusobni utjecaj tih dvaju mitova. U otkrivanju i naseljavanju Crnoga mora uz Milećane su sudjelovali i Tejani, Hijani i - Fokejci, koji su na suprotnoj strani plovili i Jadranskim morem.<sup>130</sup>

Izravnu vezu među Ahilejevim, Memnonovim i Diomedovim pticama uspostavlja pripovijest da Diomedove ptice moče krila u moru i zatim škrope zidove hrama,<sup>131</sup> koju je Pausanija<sup>132</sup> donio o Memnonovim pticama, a Arijan i Filostrat<sup>133</sup> o Ahilejevim pticama, koje prema Arijanu čak i peru pod. O Diomedu je ta pripovijest ranije zapisana, pa je moguće da su i Ahilej i Memnon tu čast dobili po uzoru na Diomeda. Moguće je etiološko porijeklo tog elementa: neke vrste pučinskih ptica lete nisko nad morem pa se doista može činiti da moče krila. Briga o svetištu pripisuje se i pticama u drugim hramovima, npr. kod Hiperborejaca labudovi pjevanjem himana sudjeluju u obredima u Apolonovu hramu.<sup>134</sup>

Nastojanje da se Diomedove ptice identificiraju u prirodi, počelo je još u antici. U nekim se grčkim izvorima<sup>135</sup> one nazivaju

βωμοί,<sup>113</sup> that there one may receive a "prophecy"; χρησμός,<sup>114</sup> that there is a "wooden statue of old make"; ξόανον τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας,<sup>115</sup> a "statue"; ἀγάλμα,<sup>116</sup> "statues", ἀγάλματα of Achilles and Helen,<sup>117</sup> the remains of a temple and dedicatory gifts,<sup>118</sup> vessels, rings, precious stones and Greek and Latin metric inscriptions.<sup>119</sup> Seafarers could not spend the night there, and terrifying stories were associated with this.<sup>120</sup>

Achilles' birds appear in the same or contemporary Hellenistic sources as Diomedes' birds.<sup>121</sup> Not one mentions a metamorphosis.<sup>122</sup> The earliest source for the birds of Achilles, Antigon<sup>123</sup> of Carystus from the first century BC, also contains the earliest testimony<sup>124</sup> to the birds of Diomedes, a myth that was already more detailed and developed at that time. Achilles' birds do not dare fly over his temple<sup>125</sup> or enter it;<sup>126</sup> this multitude of birds consists of λάροι, "seagulls", αἰθυιαί, "cormorants" and κορώναι αἱ θαλάσσιοι, "sea crows", probably "Levantine shearwaters",<sup>127</sup> and they are white and live on the sea.<sup>128</sup> Anna S. Rusaeva allowed for the possibility that the birds took over the island and the shrine once the temple was abandoned and the cult ceased,<sup>129</sup> but the birds could have nested on the cliffs of the uninhabited island regardless of the people and the shrine. Based on the description, it is easy to imagine a large flock composed of several species of seabirds.

The parallels between the islands of Achilles and Diomedes at two opposite ends of the known Archaic world indicates the mutual influence these myths had on each other. In the discovery and settlement of the Black Sea, the Milesians were joined by the Teians, Chians and - Phocaeans, who also navigated the Adriatic Sea in the other direction.<sup>130</sup>

A direct link between the birds of Achilles, Memnon and Diomedes is established by the story that Diomedes' birds soaked their wings in the sea and then sprinkled the walls of the temple,<sup>131</sup> which Pausanias<sup>132</sup> recounted of Memnon's birds, while Arrian and

121 *Antig. Mir.* 122; *Demetrius apud Anon. Peripl.* 65 et *apud Ps. Scymn.* 785-797; *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Paus.* III, 9, 11; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

122 Holland 1895, str. 5-12.

123 *Antig. Mir.* 122.

124 *Lycus apud Antig. Mir.* 172.

125 *Antig. Mir.* 122.

126 *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

127 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; identifikacije prema Arnott 2007, str. 7-8, 130-131 i 115-116.

128 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 9.

129 Rusaeva 2003, str. 3.

130 *Hdt.* I, 163.

131 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44

132 *Paus.* X, 31, 6.

133 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 9.

134 *Ael. NA XI*, 1.

135 *Lycus apud Antig. Mir.* 172; *Schol. B i D II. V*, 412; *Ael. NA I*, 1; *Steph. Byz. s. v.* Διομήδεια.

113 *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7.

114 *Arr. Peripl.* 22.

115 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

116 *Paus.* III, 19, 11.

117 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 3.

118 *Amm. Marc.* XXII, 8, 35

119 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

120 *Arr. Peripl.* 21-22; *Max. Tyr.* 9, 7; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 10-11; *Anon. Peripl.* 66.

121 *Antig. Mir.* 122; *Demetrius apud Anon. Peripl.* 65 et *apud Ps. Scymn.* 785-797; *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Paus.* III, 9, 11; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

122 Holland 1895, pp. 5-12.

123 *Antig. Mir.* 122.

124 *Lycus apud Antig. Mir.* 172.

125 *Antig. Mir.* 122.

126 *Plin. NH X*, 78; *Solin.* XIX, 1.

127 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; identification based on Arnott 2007, pp. 7-8, 130-131 and 115-116.

128 *Philostr. Her.* 54, 9.

129 Rusaeva 2003, p. 3.

130 *Hdt.* I, 163.

131 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei XVIII*, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH X*, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44

132 *Paus.* X, 31, 6.

čapljama, οἱ ἐρφοδιοί, te taj podatak ponavljaju i latinski autori.<sup>136</sup> Čaplja se u vezi s Diomedom pojavljuje već kod Homera: u desetom pjevanju Ilijade.<sup>137</sup> Atena je Odiseju i Diomedu prilikom tajnog polaska u trojanski tabor kao dobar znak poslala čaplju te se u sholijama<sup>138</sup> uz Ilijadu navodi da je upravo Atena Diomedove drugove poslije pretvorila u čaplje. Čaplje (*Ardeidae*) se na morskim hridinama zadržavaju u vrijeme migracija, no gnijezde se u močvarnim područjima. Opisu Diomedovih ptica odgovaraju utoliko što imaju snažne kljunove i što su neke vrste bijele i gnijezde se kolonijalno, no neka od tih obilježja imaju i brojne druge ptice, pa i druge porodice močvarnih ptica, npr. ibisi i žličarke (*Threskiornithidae*) te rode (*Ciconiidae*), koje je Petar Nisiteo<sup>139</sup> smatrao Diomedovim pticama.

U vezi s Diomedovim pticama spominju se i druge slatkovodne ptice: mauretanski kralj Juba (I. st. pr. Kr. - I. st. po. Kr.) Diomedove ptice uspoređuje s liskama (*fulicae*), a pjesnici Likofron i Ovidije te Likofronov sholijast s labudovima (οἱ κύκνοι, *cygni*).<sup>140</sup> U oba je slučaja riječ tek o poredbi, ne o definiciji. Liska (*Fulica atra*) pretežno je crne boje, zdepastija i oblija od većine pataka. Grci su je dobro poznavali<sup>141</sup>, te se usporedba može odnositi samo na oblik tijela Diomedove ptice. Iako je Likofron pjesnik, podacima u spjevu nastojao je pokazati svoju učenost u skladu s očekivanjima njegova žanra i razdoblja te bi se usporedba s labudom mogla odnositi na boju i pitomost ptica. Isto vrijedi i za Ovidija.

Izvori u kojima Diomedove ptice napadaju barbare, nazivaju ih kataraktama, οἱ καταρράκται, *catarractae*, od καταράσσω "obaram se", jer se obrušavaju s visine.<sup>142</sup> Iako se riječ može koristiti za svaku pticu koja se obrušava, koristi se i kao naziv za jednu pučinsku pticu čiji je opis sačuvan u nekoliko različitih verzija.<sup>143</sup> Aristotel je kataraktu definirao ovako (*HA* 615a 28): Ὁ δὲ καταρράκτης ζῆ μὲν περὶ θάλατταν, ὅταν δὲ καθῆ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βαθύ, μένει χρόνον οὐκ ἐλάττονα ἢ ὅσον πλεῖθρον διέλθοι τις ἔστι δ' ἔλλατον ἰέρακος τὸ ὄρνειον. "Katarakta živi oko mora; kad zaroni u dubinu, ostaje onoliko vremena koliko bi nekome trebalo da prohoda jedan pletar; manja je od sokola". Tom opisu približno odgovara nekoliko vrsta ptica, a od sredozemnih vrsta prepoznate su npr. mala čigra (*Sterna albifrons*) i crvenokljuna čigra (*Sterna hirundo*), obje zastupljene i u Grčkoj i u Hrvatskoj.<sup>144</sup>

U suvremeno doba u antičkim opisima Diomedovih ptica prepoznati su kaukali, uz neka oprečna mišljenja. Već su lateranski

Philostratus<sup>133</sup> wrote the same of Achilles' birds, which according to Arrian even washed the floor. This story was written about Diomedes earlier, and it is possible that both Achilles and Memnon were so honoured based on the model of Diomedes. There is a possible aetiological origin of this element: some species of seabirds fly just above the water's surface and it may truly appear as though they are soaking their wings. Care for shrines is also ascribed to birds at other temples, such as, for example, the Hyperborean swans singing hymns to participate in rituals at Apollo's temple.<sup>134</sup>

Attempts to identify the Diomedean birds in nature began in Antiquity. In some Greek texts<sup>135</sup> they are called herons, οἱ ἐρφοδιοί, and this is reported by Latin writers as well.<sup>136</sup> The heron in association with Diomedes already appears in Homer: in the tenth book of the Iliad,<sup>137</sup> Athena sent a heron as a good omen to Odysseus and Diomedes during their secret reconnaissance of the Trojan camp, and the scholia<sup>138</sup> also note that it was in fact Athena who turned Diomedes' companions into herons. Herons (*Ardeidae*) land on seaside cliffs during migrations, but they nest in wetlands. The description of Diomedes' birds is suitable insofar as they have powerful beaks, and some species are white and nest in colonies, but many of these traits are shared by numerous other birds, even many marsh birds, such as ibis, spoonbills (*Threskiornithidae*) and storks (*Ciconiidae*), which Petar Nisiteo<sup>139</sup> considered the birds of Diomedes.

Other freshwater species are mentioned as well: the Numidian King Juba (first cent. BC - first cent. AD) compared the birds of Diomedes to coots (*fulicae*), while the poets Lycophron and Ovid, and Lycophron's scholiast, likened them to swans (οἱ κύκνοι, *cygni*).<sup>140</sup> In both cases, this is only a comparison, not a definition. Coots (*Fulica atra*) are predominantly black, and also squat and rounder than most ducks. The Greeks were familiar with them,<sup>141</sup> and the comparison can only refer to the shape of the bodies of Diomedes' birds. Even though Lycophron is a poet, he attempted to demonstrate his learning in line with the expectations of his genre and the period, and the comparison with swans may refer to the colour and docility of the birds. The same applies to Ovid.

The sources in which Diomedes' birds attack barbarians refer to them as "catarrhactes", οἱ καταρράκται, *catarractae*, from καταράσσω, "dash down", for they swoop from high above.<sup>142</sup> Even though the word can be applied to any bird that dives, it is also used as a name

136 *Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

137 *Il.* X, 274-276.

138 *Schol.* B i D *Il.* V, 412.

139 Ljubić 1866, str. 499-500.

140 *luba apud Plin.* NH X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44; *Lycophr.* 597; *Schol. Lycophr.* 592, 594; *Ovid. Met.* XIV, 509.

141 Arnott 2007, str. 182-183.

142 *Ps-Aristot.* 79; *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *luba apud Plin.* NH X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

143 Thompson 1936, str. 131-132; Capponi 1979, str. 132-139; Arnott 2007, str. 85-86.

144 Arnott 2007, str. 85-86; Lukač 2007, str. 101.

133 *Arr. Peripl.* 21; *Philostr. Her.* 54, 9.

134 *Ael. NA* XI, 1.

135 *Lycus apud Antig. Mir.* 172; *Schol.* B and D *Il.* V, 412; *Ael. NA* I, 1; *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Διομήδεια.

136 *Serv. ad Aen.* XI, 271; *Isid.* XII, 7, 28-9.

137 *Il.* X, 274-276.

138 *Schol.* B and D *Il.* V, 412.

139 Ljubić 1866, pp. 499-500.

140 *luba apud Plin.* NH X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44; *Lycophr.* 597; *Schol. Lycophr.* 592, 594; *Ovid. Met.* XIV, 509.

141 Arnott 2007, pp. 182-183.

142 *Ps-Aristot.* 79; *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *luba apud Plin.* NH X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

kanonici u XV. st. Flaviju Biondu opisali najistaknutiju ptičju vrstu na Tremitima, velikog zovoja, iako su ga nazivali guskom, *anser*.<sup>145</sup> Jadranska podvrsta velikog zovoja danas se u biologiji naziva *Calonectris diomedea* ssp. *diomedea*, a hrvatski ornitolozi rabe naziv "kaukal", preuzet od komiških ribara.<sup>146</sup> Riječ "kaukal" u hrvatskome jeziku može označavati i galeba, a potječe iz grčkog jezika, vjerojatno posredstvom dalmatskog jezika.<sup>147</sup> U Hezihijevu *Leksikonu* iz V. stoljeća riječ *καυκαλίας* je definirana kao *ὄρνις ποιός*, "neka ptica", a *καυκαλίας* kao *βοτάνη τις, ὁμοία κορίφ. καὶ ὄρνις* kao "neka biljka, slična korijandru; i ptica". Veliki zovoj čest je i na Tremitima i na arhipelagu Visa i Lastova,<sup>148</sup> gdje su ga ribari nekad lovili za hranu.<sup>149</sup> Na Palagruži se gnijezdi barem 20 parova,<sup>150</sup> a ukupna populacija pučinskih otoka procjenjuje se u rasponu od 500 do 5000 parova.<sup>151</sup> Kaukala su prema primjerku s Tremita opisali njemački prirodoslovac i filolog Konrad Gesner te potom talijanski prirodoslovac Ulisse Aldrovandi (v. sliku 1).<sup>152</sup> Znanstveni opis po kojem i danas u biologiji nosi atribut *diomedea*, objavio je talijanski prirodoslovac Giovanni Antonio Scopoli<sup>153</sup>, a istu je pticu na Palagruži kratko opisao i engleski istraživač Richard Burton<sup>154</sup>. U klasičnu filologiju i vezu s Diomedovim pticama ponovno ju je zajedno sa srodnom gregulom (*Puffinus yelkouan*) uveo škotski biolog i grecist D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, kojega slijede i Filippo Capponi te W. Geoffrey Arnott.<sup>155</sup>

Iz Jubina<sup>156</sup> podatka da Diomedove ptice imaju zube i da kopaju jame u kojima se gnijezde, prirodoslovac Georges Cuvier zaključio je da je riječ o utvi.<sup>157</sup> Utva (*Tadorna tadorna*) je ptica iz potporodice pataka (*Anatinae*), crne i bijele boje, s tamnozelenom glavom i kestenjastom prugom na prsima. Doista se gnijezdi u jamama koje kopa u pijesku, a u Hrvatskoj je prisutna u malom broju uglavnom kao zimovalica.<sup>158</sup> Cuvierovo je mišljenje u knjizi o životinjama u antičkom svijetu slijedio i filolog Otto Keller<sup>159</sup> i dodao da su utve zimi česte u okolici Foggie te ustvrdio da su bijela boja i obrušavanje značajke koje su u izvor ušle zamjenom utvi s galebovima. Budući da je poznato da se i kaukal ponekad

for a seabird whose description is preserved in several different versions.<sup>143</sup> Aristotle defined the "catarrhactes" thus (*HA* 615a 28): Ὁ δὲ καταρράκτης ζῆ μὲν περὶ θάλατταν, ὅταν δὲ καθῆ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βαθύ, μένει χρόνον οὐκ ἐλάττονα ἢ ὅσον πλεθρον διέλθοι τις; ἔστι δ' ἔλλατον ἰέρακος τὸ ὄρνειον. - "The catarrhactes lives near the sea; when it makes a dive, it will keep under water for as long as it would take a man to walk a furlong; it is smaller than the common hawk". This description corresponds to many species of birds, and among the Mediterranean species, one can recognize, e.g. the little tern (*Sterna albifrons*) and the common tern (*Sterna hirundo*), both present in Greece and Croatia.<sup>144</sup>

In the contemporary era, the Diomedean birds have been recognized as shearwaters, with some opposing views. In the fifteenth century, Lateran canons described the most notable bird species on Tremiti, the Cory's shearwater, to Flavio Biondo, even though they called it a goose, *anser*.<sup>145</sup> The Adriatic sub-species of the Cory's shearwater in today's biology is referred to as the *Calonectris diomedea* ssp. *diomedea* (Scopoli's shearwater), while Croatian ornithologists use the term "kaukal", assumed from the fishermen of Komiža, on the island of Vis.<sup>146</sup> In the Croatian language, the word *kaukal* may also denote a seagull, and it is derived from Greek, probably via the now extinct Dalmatian language.<sup>147</sup> In the Lexicon of Hesychius from the fifth century, the word *καυκαλίας* is defined as *ὄρνις ποιός*, "some sort of bird", and *καυκαλίας* as *βοτάνη τις, ὁμοία κορίφ. καὶ ὄρνις*, "a plant, similar to coriander; and a bird". The Cory's shearwater is common both on the Tremiti and the Vis and Lastovo archipelago,<sup>148</sup> where fishermen used to hunt them for food.<sup>149</sup> Currently at least twenty pairs nest on Palagruža,<sup>150</sup> and the total population of the remote islands has been estimated at anywhere between 500 and 5,000 pairs.<sup>151</sup> Based on a specimen from the Tremiti, the *kaukal* (Scopoli's shearwater) was described by the German naturalist and philologist Konrad Gesner and then by the Italian naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (see Fig. 1).<sup>152</sup> The scientific description whereby in biology to this day it bears the attribute *diomedea* was published by the Italian naturalist Giovanni Antonio Scopoli,<sup>153</sup> and the same bird on Palagruža was also described by the English explorer Richard Burton.<sup>154</sup> The Scottish biologist and philologist D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson re-introduced the tie between the Diomedean birds and the Cory's and the related

145 Blondus 1482, str. 422.

146 Krpan 1980, str. 98-99; Sušić, Radović 1988; Heinzel *et al.* 1999, str. 30.

147 Vinja 2003, str. 77-78.

148 Krpan 1965, str. 116-118; Krpan 1970a, str. 72; Krpan 1970b, str. 904-905; Krpan 1980, str. 98-99.

149 Božanić 1992, str. 227-228.

150 Stipčević, Lukač 2001, str. 16.

151 Stipčević, Lukač 2001, str. 16-17; Radović *et al.* 2005, str. 79; Lukač 2007, str. 64.

152 Aldrovandi 1603, str. 57-59.

153 Scopoli 1769, str. 74-75.

154 Burton 1879, str. 187-188.

155 Fowler 1918, str. 66-68; Thompson 1918; Thompson 1936, str. 88-91; Capponi 1979, str. 132-139 i 219-220; Arnott 2007, str. 37-38.

156 *Iuba apud Plin. NH X*, 126-7.

157 Cuvier 1828, str. 307-308.

158 Lukač 2007, str. 73.

159 Keller 1913, str. 235.

143 Thompson 1936, pp. 131-132; Capponi 1979, pp. 132-139; Arnott 2007, pp. 85-86.

144 Arnott 2007, pp. 85-86; Lukač 2007, p. 101.

145 Blondus 1482, p. 422.

146 Krpan 1980, pp. 98-99; Sušić, Radović 1988; Heinzel *et al.* 1999, p. 30.

147 Vinja 2003, str. 77-78.

148 Krpan 1965, pp. 116-118; Krpan 1970a, p. 72; Krpan 1970b, pp. 904-905; Krpan 1980, pp. 98-99.

149 Božanić 1992, pp. 227-228.

150 Stipčević, Lukač 2001, p. 16.

151 Stipčević, Lukač 2001, pp. 16-17; Radović *et al.* 2005, p. 79; Lukač 2007, p. 64.

152 Aldrovandi 1603, pp. 57-59.

153 Scopoli 1769, pp. 74-75.

154 Burton 1879, pp. 187-188.



Slika 1.  
 Kaukal (*Calonectris diomedea*). Ulisse Aldrovandi, početak XVII. stoljeća.  
 Legenda: *Diomedaea avis Artena vulgo*. Fotografija: Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna

Figure 1.  
 Kaukal (*Calonectris diomedea*). Ulisse Aldrovandi, early seventeenth century.  
 Caption: *Diomedaea avis Artena vulgo*. With permission by Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna

gnijezdi u jamama,<sup>160</sup> postalo je suviše raspravljati o utvama, koje se gnijezde na muljevitim obalama, a ne na stjenovitim otocima.

I Jacques André je u knjizi o latinskim imenima ptica nastojao identificirati pticu koju kod Plinija opisuje Juba i opredijelio se za vrstu veliki ronac, *Mergus merganser*, a kao mogućnosti spominje i vrste mali ronac, *Mergus serrator*, i bijeli ronac, *Mergus albellus*; njegovo mišljenje za dio Jubina opisa koji se odnosi na morfologiju ptica, slijedi i Filippo Capponi.<sup>161</sup> Ronci su patke ronilice s uskim nazubljenim kljunovima i kukmastim glavama. Sve tri vrste su prilično šarene, čak i bijeli ronac. Zaranjaju izravno s površine mora. Na dalmatinskim otocima ronci su uglavnom zimovalice, a gnijezdi se tek vrlo malen broj parova

Levantine shearwater (*Puffinus yelkouan*) into classical philology, and he was followed in this by Filippo Capponi and W. Geoffrey Arnott.<sup>155</sup>

From Juba's<sup>156</sup> detail that the Diomedean birds had teeth and dug holes in which they nested, the naturalist Georges Cuvier concluded that they were shelducks.<sup>157</sup> The common shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) is a bird from the duck subfamily *Anatinae* that is black and white with a dark green head and a chestnut stripe on the breast. It does nest in holes it digs in the sand, and in Croatia it is present in small numbers, mostly as a wintering bird.<sup>158</sup> Cuvier's opinion was furthered

155 Fowler 1918, pp. 66-68; Thompson 1918; Thompson 1936, pp. 88-91; Capponi 1979, pp. 132-139 and 219-220; Arnott 2007, pp. 37-38.

156 Juba *apud Plin. NH X*, 126-7.

157 Cuvier 1828, pp. 307-308.

158 Lukač 2007, p. 73.

160 Gaston 2004, str. 148.

161 André 1967, str. 39-40; Capponi 1979, str. 132-139 i 219-220.

velikog ronca.<sup>162</sup> Od ronaca bi eventualno mogao potjecati detalj o zubima, točnije, nazubljenom kljunu koji sprečava da riba isklizne.<sup>163</sup>

Jean Gagé<sup>164</sup> pokušao je povezati kamenje iz trojanskih zidina koje je Diomed prema Likofronu<sup>165</sup> ponio sa sobom na zapad s pticama koje hranu traže pod kamenjem te je predložio kameničara (*Arenaria interpres*), vrstu šarenog obalnog ćurlina koja prevrće kamenje i alge u potrazi za hranom. U Hrvatskoj je prisutan u hladnijem dijelu godine u malom broju.<sup>166</sup>

I antički i suvremeni problem nastao je zbog toga što su kaukali pučinske ptice, koje su i u antici i danas dobro poznavali samo mornari. Na obali se rijetko viđaju pa su većini ljudi daleke i nepoznate, i stoga odličan materijal za mit. Pučinske ptice čine svega oko 5 postotaka ukupnog broja ptičjih vrsta. Antički opisi pučinskih ptica daleko su neprecizniji od opisa ostalih ptica; elementi izgleda i ponašanja u opisima se miješaju i isprepleću i vrlo je teško razlučiti pojedine vrste. U tome nam ne pomažu ni same ptice koje često lete u miješanim jatima, a stanište im je uvjetovalo i brojne zajedničke značajke. Osnovna su im obilježja prehrana ribom, kolonijalno gniježđenje, relativno dug životni vijek i mali broj potomaka koje podižu u parovima. Posljednja tri obilježja stekle su kao prilagodbu na činjenicu da im je hrana daleko na otvorenome moru i stoga jako udaljena od mjesta gniježđenja. Populacije im jako fluktuiraju ovisno o ribi i uvjetima gniježđenja, za koje traže puste litice i otoke. Boja perja pučinskih ptica ovisi o načinu lova: vrste koje se obrušavaju i one koje lete nisko nad površinom u potrazi za ribom obično su pretežno bijele, barem s donje strane, iako nijedna potpuno bijela pučinska ptica ne živi u Sredozemlju.<sup>167</sup>

Iz Likofronova i Jubina opisa jasno je da je riječ o pticama "koje sve rade zajedno", tj. gnijezde se kolonijalno, koliko god neke tvrdnje o ponašanju bile nespojive sa stvarnim vrstama. Istureni jadranski otočići i hridi gnijezdišta su za pučinske ptice koje najveći dio godine provode daleko na otvorenome moru. Kaukal se danas najviše gnijezdi na Sv. Andriji. Za drugu pučinsku pticu iz iste porodice zovoja, gregulu (*Puffinus yelkouan*), sigurno je da se gnijezdi na otočiću Zaklopatici u lastovskom arhipelagu, a ukupna se populacija danas procjenjuje na manje od 100 parova.<sup>168</sup> Treća pučinska vrsta, prisutna u vrlo malom broju (manje od 10 parova), jest burnica (*Hydrobates pelagicus*).<sup>169</sup> Na pučinskim se otocima

in a book on animals in the ancient world by philologist Otto Keller,<sup>159</sup> who added that shelducks often winter in the vicinity of Foggia and asserted that the white colour and plunge-diving are traits which entered the sources because they were confused for seagulls. Since it is known that the Scopoli's shearwater sometimes nests in holes in the ground,<sup>160</sup> it has become redundant to continue the discussion about shelducks, which nest on muddy shores rather than rocky islands.

Jacques André, in a book on the Latin names of birds, also attempted to identify the bird which Juba described in Pliny and opted for the goosander, *Mergus merganser*, and he also mentioned as a possibility the red-breasted merganser, *Mergus serrator*, and the smew, *Mergus albellus*, and his opinion on the part of Juba's description pertaining to the morphology of the bird was assumed by Filippo Capponi.<sup>161</sup> Mergansers are diving ducks with narrow serrated bills and crested heads. All three species are rather colourful, even the smew (also known as the white merganser). They dive directly from the surface of the sea. On the Dalmatian islands, mergansers are mainly wintering birds, and only a very small number of goosander pairs nest here.<sup>162</sup> Only the detail about the teeth could have originated with the mergansers, i.e. the serrated bill which prevents fish from slipping from its grasp.<sup>163</sup>

Jean Gagé<sup>164</sup> attempted to tie the stones of the Trojan walls which Diomedes, according to Lycophron,<sup>165</sup> took with him to the west with the birds which sought food under stones, and thus proposed the turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*), a species of colourful wading bird which overturns stones and seaweed in search of food. In Croatia it is present in small numbers during the colder seasons of the year.<sup>166</sup>

Both the ancient and the contemporary problem emerged due to the fact that the Scopoli's shearwater is one of the seabirds, which have been well known only by seafarers, in Antiquity as today. They are rarely seen on the coast, so they are distant and unknown to most people, and therefore an ideal basis for myth. Seabirds make only about 5% of the total number of bird species. Greek and Roman descriptions of seabirds are far more imprecise than the descriptions of other birds; elements of their appearance and behaviour overlap and intermingle in the descriptions and it is difficult to discern individual species. The birds themselves are no help in this, as they often fly in mixed flocks, and their specific habitat caused them to have many common features. The basic traits are their diet of fish, colonial breeding, relatively long life-span and small number of offspring which they raise in pairs. The last three traits developed as an adaptation to the fact that their food is far on the high seas and

162 Lukač 2007, str. 77.

163 Thompson 1918, str. 93. predložio je novo čitanje Plinijeva teksta koje bi eliminiralo potrebu za zubima: u rečenici *eis esse dentes oculosque igneo colore* (Plin. NH X, 126) moglo bi stajati <can>dentes oculos.

164 Gagé 1972, str. 763-764.

165 Lycophr. 615.

166 Lukač 2007, str. 96.

167 Gaston 2004.

168 Radović et al 2005, str. 78; Lukač 2007, str. 65.

169 Lukač 2007, str. 65.

159 Keller 1913, p. 235.

160 Gaston 2004, p. 148.

161 André 1967, pp. 39-40; Capponi 1979, pp. 132-139 and 219-220.

162 Lukač 2007, p. 77.

163 Thompson 1918, p. 93, proposed a new reading of Pliny's text that would eliminate the need for teeth: in the sentence *eis esse dentes oculosque igneo colore* (Plin. NH X, 126) it could read <can>dentes oculos.

164 Gagé 1972, pp. 763-764.

165 Lycophr. 615.

166 Lukač 2007, p. 96.

gnijezdi i 60-70 parova Eleonorinog sokola (*Falco eleonorae*),<sup>170</sup> grabljivice posebne po tome što je društvena i lovi u skupinama. Velika, upečatljiva jata ne-pučinskih vrsta ptica su i selice kojima je potez Gargano - Palagruža - Lastovo - Pelješac - Rilić preletno područje; tu se, primjerice, sigurno odmara više od 700 škanjaca osaša i više od tisuću ždralova.<sup>171</sup> Prisutne su i različite dobro poznate i široko rasprostranjene obalne ptice: gnjurci, vranci, galebovi, ronci i čigre.

I kaukalu i greguli svojstven je klizni let ukrućenih krila, kao da režu valove, naginjući se s jednog krila na drugo<sup>172</sup>, što podsjeća na antičke opise Diomedovih ptica koje moče krila u vodi.<sup>173</sup> Ornitolog Mladen Krpan o kaukalu je opazio: "ne boji se ribarskih brodova, dolazi im u neposrednu blizinu".<sup>174</sup> Zacijelo je to vrijedilo i za grčke brodove te podsjeća na pitomost i prijateljstvo koje Diomedove ptice iskazuju Grcima. I glasanje kaukala u ornitološkoj literaturi opisano je gotovo istim rječnikom kao i tugovanje Diomedovih ptica kod antičkih autora: "glasa se promuklim kašljanjem i žalobnim krikovima."<sup>175</sup> Gotovo sve vrste pučinskih ptica u svojim se kolonijama glasaju nekom vrstom krikova, no baš su kaukali poznati po upravo jezivom noćnom kričanju i zavijanju.<sup>176</sup>

Kaukal ostaje najizglednijim kandidatom za Diomedovu pticu, no između više antičkih tradicija ona koja potječe od mauretanskog kralja Jube ili njegovih helenističkih izvora<sup>177</sup> ipak upućuje na barem još jednu vrstu pučinskih ptica. I kaukal i gregula obrušavaju se u more, iako ne s velike visine.<sup>178</sup> No Diomedove katarakte kako ih opisuje Juba, bijele ptice ognjenih očiju nazvane po obrušavanju, ne odgovaraju baš posve vrstama koje nalazimo na Palagruži: ni kaukalima, koji su relativno maleni, sivo-smeđe-bijeli, neupadljivih očiju i obrušavaju se s male visine, niti još manjim i tamnijim gregulama ili pak smeđe-sivim malenim Eleonorinim sokolima. Jubin opis upravo neodoljivo podsjeća na blune (*Morus bassanus*, v. sliku 2), koje su velike, pretežno bijele i izrazito naglašenih očiju, a poznate su upravo po obrušavanju s velike visine (v. sliku 2).<sup>179</sup> Blune žive pretežno u sjevernom dijelu Europe i stoga se nisu povezivale s Diomedovim pticama. Bile su predložene kao jedna od mogućnosti za kataraktu na temelju izvora koji je ne povezuje s Diomedom<sup>180</sup> ili se spominju samo kao

therefore far from the nesting grounds. Their populations fluctuate widely depending on fish and the nesting conditions, for which they seek barren cliffs and islands. The colour of the feathers of seabirds depends on their hunting method: species that dive and those they skim over the surface in search of fish are normally mostly white, at least on their undersides, although not one entirely white seabird lives in the Mediterranean.<sup>167</sup>

According to the descriptions of Lycophron and Juba, these are clearly birds "which do everything together", i.e. they nest in colonies, however much some claims of their behaviour cannot be tied to actual species. Outlying Adriatic islets and jutting rocks are nesting grounds for seabirds, which spend most of the year far out on the high seas. The Scopoli's shearwater today nests mostly on the island of Sveti Andrija. In the case of another seabird from the same family, the Levantine shearwater (*Puffinus yelkouan*), they certainly nest on the islet of Zaklopatica in the Lastovo archipelago, while the total population is today estimated at less than a hundred pairs.<sup>168</sup> The third seabird, present in a very small number (less than ten pairs), is the storm petrel (*Hydrobates pelagicus*).<sup>169</sup> Roughly sixty to seventy pairs of Eleonora falcons (*Falco eleonorae*)<sup>170</sup> nest on the more outlying islands. These birds of prey are specific in that they are sociable and hunt in groups. Large, striking flocks of non-seabirds consist of migratory birds for whom the Gargano-Palagruža-Lastovo-Pelješac-Rilić route is an over flight zone, e.g. over 700 honey buzzards and over a thousand cranes certainly rest here.<sup>171</sup> Also present are various well-known and widespread shore birds: grebes, cormorants, gulls, mergansers and terns.

Both the Scopoli's and Levantine shearwaters are specific for their gliding with rigid wings, as though they are slicing (shearing) the waves, tilting from one wing to the other,<sup>172</sup> which recalls the description of Diomedes' birds soaking their wings in the water.<sup>173</sup> Of Scopoli's shearwaters, ornithologist Mladen Krpan observed: "they are unafraid of fishing boats, they come quite close to them"<sup>174</sup> Certainly the same was true of ancient Greek boats, and this recalls the docility and friendliness which Diomedes' birds demonstrate toward the Greeks. Even the call of the Scopoli's shearwater in the ornithological literature is described in almost the same words as the wailing of the Diomedean birds by ancient writers: "their call is a hoarse croak and baleful shriek".<sup>175</sup> The calls of almost all species of seabirds in their colonies are some type of cry, but the Scopoli's shearwater is known

170 Radović *et al.* 2005, str. 79; Lukač 2007, str. 83.

171 Radović *et al.* 2005, str. 80.

172 Heinzl *et al.* 1999, str. 32.

173 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH* X, 126-7; *Sol.* II, 44

174 Krpan 1980, str. 98-99.

175 Heinzl *et al.* 1999, str. 32.

176 Ove je argumente iznio i Thompson 1918, str. 93-96; i za gregulu Capponi 1979, str. 138.

177 *Iuba apud Plin. NH* X, 126-7; *Solin.* II, 44.

178 Gaston 2004, str. 48.

179 Blomdahl *et al.* 2003, str. 85.

180 *Dion. Ixeut.* II, 2; Capponi 1979, str. 137-138.

167 Gaston 2004.

168 Radović *et al.* 2005, p. 78; Lukač 2007, p. 65.

169 Lukač 2007, p. 65.

170 Radović *et al.* 2005, p. 79; Lukač 2007, p. 83.

171 Radović *et al.* 2005, p. 80.

172 Heinzl *et al.* 1999, p. 32.

173 *Schol. Lycophr.* 594; *Varr. apud Aug. Civ. Dei* XVIII, 16-17; *Iuba apud Plin. NH* X, 126-7; *Sol.* II, 44.

174 Krpan 1980, p. 98-99.

175 Heinzl *et al.* 1999, p. 32.





Slika 2

*Bluna (Morus bassanus) trenutak neposredno prije obrušavanja. Fotografija: Alan D. Wilson, naturepicsonline.com*

Figure 2.

*Northern gannet (Morus bassanus) a moment before diving. Photograph by Alan D. Wilson, naturepicsonline.com*

vrsta odsutna iz Grčke i prevelika da bi bila katarakta.<sup>181</sup> No blune su ipak prisutne u zapadnom, Jubinom, dijelu Sredozemlja, gdje zimuju.<sup>182</sup> U Jadran doskitažu vrlo rijetko. Na pitanje je li moguće da su se prije dva i pol milenija blune gnijezdile i u Jadranu, zasad ne nalazimo odgovora.

Moguće je da su se mornarske priče o kaukalima s Diomedova otoka koji se glasaju zvukom nalik na naricanje, ponekad kopaju jame za gnijezda, lete toliko nisko da moče krila u vodi i ne boje se brodova, pomiješale s drugim pričama o bijelim blunama upadljivih očiju koje se obrušavaju s velike visine. Slabo poznavanje pučinskih ptica, koje su najveći dio godine na oceanima, daleko od bilo koje obale, sigurno je tome pridonijelo. Kombinacija izgleda i ponašanja ovih dviju vrsta pokriva većinu značajki koje je antička predaja pridijelila Diomedovim drugovima

precisely for its unsettling night-time squawks and wails.<sup>176</sup>

The Scopoli's shearwater remains the most likely candidate for the bird of Diomedes, but among the many ancient traditions, that which originated with the Numidian King Juba or his Hellenistic sources<sup>177</sup> nonetheless points to at least one other species of seabird. Both the Scopoli's and Levantine shearwater plunge dive into the sea, albeit not from great heights.<sup>178</sup> But the "catarrhactes" of Diomedes, described by Juba as white birds with blazing eyes named for their diving, do not entirely correspond to any of the species found on Palagruža: neither the Scopoli's shearwater, which is relatively small, coloured grey, brown and white, with unassuming eyes and which dives from relatively low heights, nor the even smaller and darker

181 Arnott 2007, str. 86.

182 Heinzel *et al.* 1999, str. 36; Blomdahl *et al.* 2003, str. 85.

176 These arguments were first made by Thompson 1918, pp. 93-96; and for the Levantine shearwater, Capponi 1979, p. 138.

177 *Iuba apud Plin. NH X, 126-7; Solin. II, 44.*

178 Gaston 2004, p. 48.

pretvorenima u ptice. Nekoliko bitnih obilježja (relativna pitomost, rezanje površine mora krilima, glasanje) i zajamčeno prebivalište u Jadranu ipak daju prevagu identifikaciji s kaukalom, te smatram da uz nju treba i pristati.

Zapažanja o stvarnim pticama uklopila su se u predaje, ne isključivo grčke, koje ptice povezuju sa smrću, oplakivanjem junaka i dušama umrlih. Izvještaji o pticama koje se gnijezde na pustim stjenovitim otocima, uklopili su se u grčke mitove o dalekim svetim otocima na kojima život nakon smrti nastavljaju trojanski junaci: na nastanak arhajskog mita o Diomedovom jadranskom otoku mogao je utjecati ranije posvjedočeni mit o Ahilejevom crnomorskom otoku. Helenistički mit o preobrazbi Diomedovih drugova u ptice blizak je mitu o preobrazbi Meleagrovih sestara utoliko što se preobrazba u ptice događa ljudima iz junakove blizine u vrijeme njegove smrti, što junake veže zajedničko etolsko porijeklo i što ptice završavaju na svetom otoku; po sadržaju još je bliži mitu o preobrazbi drugova trojanskog heroja Memnona nad pogrebnom lomačom. Diomedovo svetište i pripovijesti koje su se oko njega širile mogli su pridonijeti tome da su se i ptice na Ahilejevu otoku, o kojima nije sačuvan mit o metamorfozi, počele nazivati Ahilejevim pticama. Okvirna usporedba mitova o junacima i njihovim pticama ne seže dalje, no iscrpna filološka analiza izvora mogla bi otvoriti prostor za dalekosežnije zaključke.

## Izvori

Kratice grčkih autora i djela navedene su uglavnom prema H. G. Lidell, R. Scott, *Authors and Works*, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford 1996<sup>10</sup> (1843), xvi-xxxviii, a kratice latinskih autora i djela prema C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *Abbreviations*, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1879, vii-xi.

Levantine shearwater, nor certainly the Eleanora's falcon. Juba's description in fact irresistibly recalls the northern gannet (*Morus bassanus*, see Fig. 2), which is large, mainly white, with very striking eyes, and is known precisely for its plunges from great heights (see Fig. 2).<sup>179</sup> Northern gannets live mostly in northern Europe and they were therefore not associated with the Diomedean birds. They are proposed as one of the possibilities for the "catarrhactes" based on sources which do not link them to Diomedes<sup>180</sup> or they are mentioned only as a species absent in Greece and too large to be "catarrhactes".<sup>181</sup> However, northern gannets are present in the western (Juba's) part of the Mediterranean, where they winter.<sup>182</sup> They are very rare in the Adriatic. There is no answer as yet to the question of whether it may have been possible that the northern gannet nested in the Adriatic twenty-five hundred years ago.

It is possible that the sailors' tales of Scopoli's shearwaters from the island of Diomedes with calls similar to mourning wails, which sometimes dig holes for nests, skim low over the sea's surface so as to soak their wings and which are unafraid of boats, may have become intertwined with other tales on gannets with striking eyes which dive from great height. The meagre knowledge of seabirds which spend most of the year over the oceans, far from any coast, certainly contributed to this. The combination of the appearance and behaviour of these two species of birds covers most of the traits which ancient tales ascribed to the companions of Diomedes who were transformed into birds. Several essential features (relative docility, shearing the sea's surface with their wings, their calls) and a certain domicile on the Adriatic nevertheless lend more credence to their identification as the Scopoli's shearwater, and I believe that this should be accepted.

The observations on actual birds were incorporated into legends, not exclusively Greek, which associate birds with death, the mourning for heroes and the souls of the dead. Stories of birds nesting on barren rocky islands were incorporated into Greek myths of remote sacred islands on which the Trojan heroes continued to live after death: the emergence of the Archaic myth of Diomedes' Adriatic island may have been influenced by the earlier attested myth of Achilles' Black Sea island. The Hellenistic myth of the transformation of Diomedes' companions is akin to the myth of the transformation of Meleager's sisters in that the transformation into birds occurs to people in the hero's vicinity at the time of his death, that the heroes are linked by their common Aetolian heritage, and the fact that the birds end up on a sacred island, but in terms of content it is even more akin to the myth of the transformation of the companions of the Trojan hero Memnon over his funeral pyre. The shrine of Diomedes and the stories which arose around it may have contributed to the fact that the birds on Achilles' island, about which no metamorphosis myth has been preserved, began to be called

179 Blomdahl *et al.* 2003, p. 85.

180 *Dion. Ixeut.* II, 2; Capponi 1979, pp. 137-138.

181 Arnott 2007, p. 86.

182 Heinzl *et al.* 1999, p. 36; Blomdahl *et al.* 2003, p. 85.

Achilles' birds. A general survey of myths about heroes and their birds reaches no further, but an extensive philological analysis of the relevant sources may open the way for further-reaching conclusions.

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The abbreviations for Greek writers and works are generally cited in accordance with H. G. Lidell, R. Scott, *Authors and Works, A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996<sup>10</sup> (1843), xvi-xxxviii, while the abbreviations for Latin writers and works comply with C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *Abbreviations, A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879, vii-xi.

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