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## JADRANSKA OGIGIJA I VUČEDOLSKI BOG METALURGIJE – DVA PRIMJERA HISTORIJSKOG (DIS)KONTINUITETA

UDK 291.215:903 (36/38:497.5)  
Izvorni znanstveni rad

*U Argonautici Apolonija Rođanina Kalipsin otok, koji se kod Homera naziva Ogigija, smješten je na Jadran. Antička tradicija Ogigiju čvrsto veže uza zapadna područja, što je koncept koji se može iščitati već iz Odiseje. Apolonijev prethodnik Kalimah smještio je Kalipsino obitavalište na otok Gaud kod Malte, nedaleko otoka Kossure (današnja Pantellaria). Ta je činjenica mogla imati za posljedicu Apolonijevo smještanje Kalipsinog otoka i susjednog otoka imena Keros na Jadran, to više što je postojalo određeno dupliciranje mito-geografskih lokacija na Sicilskom i Jadranskom moru. Etimologija bliskih geografskih lokacija – Vukovara, Vučedola, rijeke Vuke – odražava predslavensku toponimiju ovog područja. Ta se imena mogu povezati s rimskim bogom vatre i kovačkog umijeća Vulkanom, a ta činjenica možda odražava snažnu metaluršku tradiciju ovog područja koja potječe iz pretpovijesih razdoblja.*

*Ključne riječi: Ogigija, Mljet, Malta, Pantellaria, Vučedol, Vukovar, Vulkan, Volcejske močvare  
Key words: Ogygia, Mljet, Malta, Pantellaria, Vučedol, Vukovar, Vulcanus, Volcaian marshes*

### UVOD

Antička tradicija ostavila je na području koje danas zauzima Republika Hrvatska neizbrisiv trag; s druge strane, naše područje, čini se, nije u nekoj većoj mjeri utjecalo na razvitak antičke civilizacije. No ono je u svakom slučaju bilo njezin dio, pa su određeni toponimi – prvenstveno oni jadranski – ušli u korpus antičke mitologije. U tom kontekstu osobito je zanimljivo djelo Apolonija Rođanina, jedina *Argonautika* (uz onu nazvanu »Orfička«), koja je u cjelovitom obliku preživjela do današnjeg dana i uz koju su sačuvane mitološki vrlo bitne sholije. U svojoj *Argonautici* Apolonije odabire tzv. zapadni put povratka Argonauta, koji je vodio od dunavskog ušća preko Balkana do Jadrana, pa uz Po/Eridan do Rajne i Rhone i dalje uz tirensku obalu Italije. Uplovivši u sjeverni Jadran zamišljenom spojnicom s Dunavom, Argonauti plove prema jugu došavši skoro do feačke Sherije – Kerkire/Krfa. Na svome putu prolaze uz nekoliko jadranskih otoka, a njihova plovidba kulminira spominjanjem Kalipsinog otoka. Ova Apolonijeva mito-geografska konstrukcija ostavila je traga i u današnjim raspravama, među onima koji pokušavaju lokalizirati mitološka kozmička

putovanja u duhu njihovih antičkih prethodnika. Na stranu s tim, zbrku oko Kalipsinog otoka nužno je raščistiti i na taj način pokušati objektivno analizirati ovaj »naš« doprinos antičkoj mitološkoj geografiji. Drugi primjer kojeg smo odlučili analizirati u ovom radu je etimologija triju podunavskih toponima – rijeke Vuke, grada Vukovara i poznatog prehistorijskog nalazišta Vučedola. Pokazuje se da su nazivi Vuke i Vukovara – sasvim izvjesno i Vučedola – stariji od slavenskog naseljavanja te da potječu barem iz antičkog razdoblja. Kako nas izvori koji spominju te toponime vraćaju u rano 1. st., zapravo na sam prag literarnih svjedočanstava o ovim krajevima, izvjesno je da njihovi nazivi potječu iz nekog starijeg razdoblja. Svjedočimo li ovdje kontinuitetu iz prehistorije nije moguće pouzdano ustvrditi, ali kontinuitet iz antike je nesumnjiv. Ako je prva pretpostavka točna, mitološki element ovdje se pokazuje kao odlučujući faktor u prenošenju tradicije preko golemih vremenskih prepreka.

### 1. DIO: JADRANSKA OGIGIJA

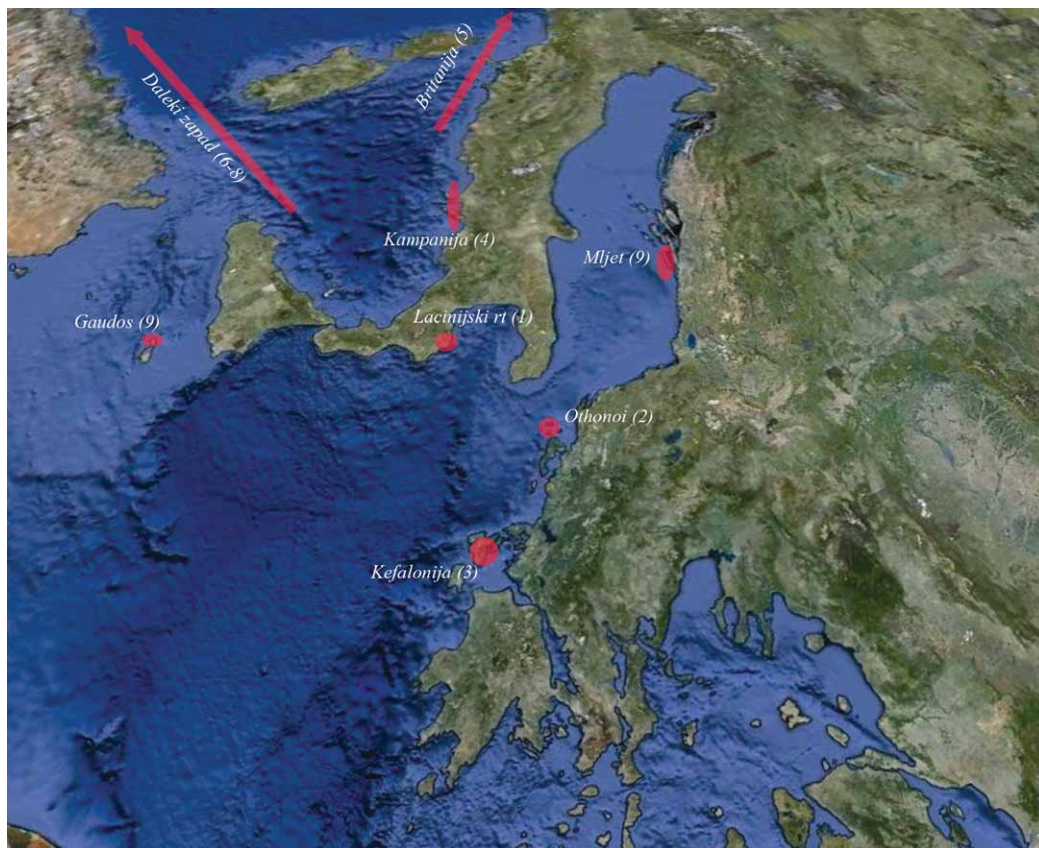
U četvrtoj knjizi *Argonautike* Apolonije Rođanin opisuje jedinstveni smještaj Kalipsine Ogigije, mitskog otoka poznatoga iz Homerove *Odiseje*, gdje je opisan kao »pupak mora« (*Od.* I.50–51). Prema njegovom izvještaju Argonauti su ploveći niz Jadran prošli pokraj otoka Nimfeje (Νυμφαία), na kojem je živjela Kalipso (A. R. IV.574–575; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νυμφαία [MEINEKE 1849: 478], koji ovu informaciju prenosi iz Apolonija, WILLAMOWITZ 1884: 114, bilj. 2). Lokaciju poznaju i kasniji autori. Tako Cezar (*BC* III.26) spominje luku Nimfej nedaleko Lješa, dok Plinije (*HN* III.22.144; cf. II.96.209) tamo smješta rt Nimfej (KATIČIĆ 1995: 108), a poznajemo i Nimfej kod Apolonije (Str. VIII.5.8, XVI.2.43; Ampel. *Lib. Memor.* 8.1; Cass. Dio XLI.45.1–5; App. *BC* II.9.59; Ael. *VH* XIII.16).

Općenito je obitavalište ove nimfe čvrsto locirano na zapadu, a možemo ustvrditi da je ona u pravilu bila povezivana sa zapadnim dijelom svijeta, kako svojim obiteljskim vezama tako i svojom naravi. Istaknimo da je iz uputstava za plovidbu koje Kalipso daje Odiseju i same plovidbe (*Od.* V.270–281) razvidno da je junak plovio u smjeru istoka. Kalipso ga je uputila da drži Medvjeda (odnosi li se uputstvo na UMA ili UMi nebitno je za našu raspravu) sa svoje lijeve strane, na taj način ga upućujući na plovidbu upravo prema istoku. To je jedan od rijetkih egzaktnih podataka vezanih uz duljinu plovidbe te uz polazne i odredišne točke u čitavoj *Odiseji*. Sedamnaest je dana Odisej plovio od Ogigije do Sherije, što locira Kalipsin otok upravo toliko dana zapadno od zemlje Feačana. Kako se ona redovito poistovjećuje s Kerkirom/Krfom, možemo zaključiti da je Ogigija zamišljena 17 dana plovidbe na zapad od Krfa.

Promotrimo sada ukratko antičke lokalizacije Kalipsine Ogigije. Nju su tražili na različitim lokacijama, ali uvijek negdje na zapadu (vidi Sl.1):

- (1) Obala Brutija, nedaleko Lacinijskog rta (*HN* III.10.96; [Scyl.] *Peripl.* 13 [*GGM* i.22], cf. Iambl. *VP* 11.57);
- (2) Otoci Othonoi kod Kerkire (Procop. *Bell.* VIII.22.20–21, koji se ni sam ne čini uvjeren tom teorijom);
- (3) Kako su Kefalenjani smatrani potomcima Hermesa i Kalipso (Hes. fr. 150.30–31 MERKEL-BACH-WEST u P. Oxy. 1358 fr. 2 col. I), možemo pretpostaviti da je i Kefalonija smatrana Ogigijom, barem od strane autora ove pretpostavke (MEULI 1921: 61; WEST 1966: 435);
- (4) Obala Kampanije, pored jezera Averna i Lukrinskog jezera (Dio Cass. XLVIII.50.4);
- (5) Otok udaljen pet dana plovidbe na zapad od Britanije, »blizu mjesta ljetnog zalaska«, tj. zalaska sunca na ljetni solsticij (Plut. *De fac.* XXVI.941A, CD);

- (6) Strabon tvrdi da Kalipsinu Ogigiju, »pupak mora« (*Od.* I.50–51), Sheriju, zemlju Feačana, koji »žive daleko na bjesnjecem moru, najudaljeniji od sviju ljudi« (*Od.* VI.204–205), kao i »tok rijeke Oceana« (*Od.* XII.2) treba tražiti na Atlantskom oceanu: »Svi ovi događaji jasno se smještaju u mašti na Atlantski ocean« (Str. I.2.18; cf. III.4.4 s Krates fr. 75 BROGGIATO; cf. Krates fr. 31 METTE *ap.* Gell. *NA* XIV.6.3, također i fr. 37 BROGGIATO *ap.* Gemin. *Elem. Astron.* XVI.22 [MANITIUS str. 172.15–20]; Apolodor fr. 157 = Eratosth. IA3 *ap.* Str. I.2.37; vidi također Str. I.2.10, 31, 38, 40);
- (7) Zapad općenito ( $\Sigma$  HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.25]);
- (8) Među (6) i (7) treba ubrojiti i Eustath. *Od.* I.51, i.17, koji povezuje Ogigiju s Platonovom Atlantidom, kao i s planinom Atlasom i Atlantikom, I.52, i.17–18;
- (9) U kontekstu Apolonijeve *Argonautike* nama je najzanimljivija lokalizacija koju donosi Kalimah, njegov prethodnik u Aleksandrijskoj biblioteci: on je povezuje s otokom Gaudom, današnjim Gozom, kod Malte (Callim. fr. 470 PFEIFFER = fr. 563a SCHNEIDER *ap.* Str. I.2.37, VII.3.6, fr. 470b PFEIFFER = 524 SCHNEIDER *ap.* Aristonik *ap.* Ammon. *De Adf. Voc. Diff.* 352.5 s.v. ὀλίγον). Kada na izidorskoj mapi iz Rima (8. st. ili ranije, Biblioteca



Sl. 1: Lokalizacije Ogigije u antici (© google.com; uredio T. Bilić- 2009).

Fig. 1: Localizations of Ogygia in Greek and Roman period (© google.com; adapted by T. Bilić 2009).

Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 6018, ff. 63<sup>v</sup>–64) nalazimo veliki otok imena *Calypsum* između Sicilije i Kartage (WILLIAMS 1997: 16, fig. 6), sigurni smo da je to posljedica poznavanja tradicije koja potiče od Kalimaha.<sup>1</sup>

Možemo se zapitati nije li Kalimahov učenik Apolonije smjestio Kalipsin otok na Jadran, nedaleko Melitê (Μελίτη), današnjeg Mljeta<sup>2</sup> i Kerosa (Κερωσσός)<sup>3</sup> iz jednostavnog razloga što je Kalimah locirao Kalipsino obitavalište na Gaud, Pseudo Skilakov (111 [GGM i.89]) Γαῦλος, nedaleko Μελίτη (Malte) i *Cossure* ili *Cossyre*, Pseudo Skilakovog (111 [GGM i.89]) Κόσσυρος (današnja Pantellaria).<sup>4</sup> Potpuno je nemoguće da je Homer zamišljao Ogigiju na Jadranu, iz razloga što bi to učinilo Kalipsine plovidbene instrukcije besmislenima, štoviše, one bi jednostavno bile netočne. Ako bi netko plovio od Lacinijskog rta prema Kerkiri, one bi, s druge strane, imale više smisla, iako ovaj kriterij manje-više izbacuje Gaud iz kruga »legitimnih« kandidata za Ogigiju. Štoviše, kao što smo vidjeli, Procop. *Bell.* VIII.22.20–21 locira otočje Ὀθωνοί nedaleko Kerkire (Krfca); upravo tamo otok toga imena smještaju Hesihije (*Lex.* o 164 s.v. Ὀθρωνός) i Plinije (*HN* IV.12.52; čitanja u rukopisima variraju: *Othronos*, *Otronos*, *Odronos*, *Othoronos*, *Athoronos*, *Thoronos*, *Toronos*, vidi MAYHOFF I.321.2). Čini se da je Likofron (*Alex.* 1034–1035) smatrao da je otok smješten na istoj lokaciji, osobito što ga povezuje s nedvojbeno jugoistočnojadranskim lokacijama (*Alex.* 1043 Amantija = Abantija, cf. Callim. fr. 259 Schneider *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαντίς [MEINEKE 1849: 4], Ἀμαντία [MEINEKE 1849: 82]; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαντίς [MEINEKE 1849: 3–4], Ἀμαντία [MEINEKE 1849: 82–83]; A. R. IV.1214; [Scyl.] 26 [GGM i.32–33]; Hesych. o 3430 s.v. Ἀμαντοί; Σ A. R. IV.1174–1175b [str. 308 WENDEL]; Paus. V.22.3, *Alex.* 1034 Ancintanijanci, *Alex.* 1046 Haonija). Ali u stihovima koji prethode (1027–1029) Likofron smješta Othrōnos kod Melitê, »oko koje sikanski val pritišće uz Pahin« (= Malta). Tzetz. (Σ) Lycoph. 1027 [II.318 SCHEER] objašnjava kako je ovdje na djelu zabuna između Melitê na Jadranu (koja se može povezati s »otokom Othrōnos između Epira i Italije«) te Melitê/Malte južno od Sicilije (cf. paraph. Lycoph. 1027 [i.88 SCHEER]). Hesych. o 164 s.v. Ὀθρωνός također donosi kako »neki tvrde da je [Othrōnos] otok južno od Sicilije« (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀθρωνός [MEINEKE 1849: 484]). Procop. *Bell.* III.14.16 tvrdi kako Gaulos i Melitê »označavaju granicu između Jadranskog i Tirenskog mora«, što pokazuje da se i Maltu moglo smjestiti na Jadran.

1 S druge strane, Kalimah je mogao misliti i na otok Gaud (Klaud) kod Krete. Antimah fr. 142 Wyss *ap.* Σ HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.24–25] čita Ὠγυλίην umjesto Ὠγυλίην, a Hes. fr. 70 RZACH (cf. fr. 204.60 M-W u P. Berol. 10560) *ap.* Σ HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.25] smješta Ὀγυλίος kod Krete, dok drugi smještaju isti otok između Krete i Peloponeza (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὠγυλος [MEINEKE 1849: 706]). To bi zaista mogao biti Gaud/Gaul, osobito ako čitamo Καυδοῦς umjesto καλοῦς ili καυλοῦς u Σ HP *Od.* I.85 (MERKELBACH – WEST 1967: 100; SCHMIDT u *PWRE* 2079.35–49 s.v. *Ogylos*; DINDORF 1855: I. 25). Eustath. Dion. Periege. 823 [GGM II.362] spominje da se Kalipsin otok nazivao Μίλητος; ta informacija vjerojatno potječe iz Steph. Byz. s.v. Μίλητος [MEINEKE 1849: 453] te je vjerojatno pogreška za Μελίτη (WILAMOWITZ 1884: 139, 1927: 177 bilj. 1; VON GEISAU u *PWRE* 1799.50–55 s.v. *Kalypsous nēsos*). To bi smjestilo Kalipso na samu Maltu, a ne na Gozo, ali je i dalje samo modifikacija Kalimahove teze.

2 Μελίτη: A. R. IV.572, [Scyl.] 23 [GGM i.30], Ptol. *Geog.* II.16(17).14 NOBBE, Appian *Ill.* IV.16, Agathem. 23 [GGM ii.484]; *Melite*: *HN* III.26.152; *Malata*: Anon. Raven. V.24, str. 408.20 PINDER-PARTHEY; *Melta*: *Itin. Ant.* 520.2 PINDER-PARTHEY 1848: 255.

3 »Neidentificiran«, KATIČIĆ 1995: 108, koji dodaje da otok spominje i Arkadije, gramatičar iz 4. st., *De acc.* 78.4 [SCHMIDT 89.9]; cf. BÜRCHNER u *PWRE* 328.52 s.v. *Kerossos*.

4 Str. II.5.19, VI.2.11: Κόσσυρα, XVII.3.16: Κόρσορα (cf. Cass. Dio u Zonar. VIII.14, ii.211–212 DINDORF), Κόσσυρος; Zon. VIII.14: Κόρσορα; Plb. III.96.13: Κόσσυρος; App. *BC* I.11.96, V.11.97: Κόσσυρα; Pomp. Mel. II.7.120, Oros. V.21.11, 24.16, *Itin. Ant.* 517.6: *Cossura* (PINDER-PARTHEY 1848: 253); Sil. Ital. *Pun.* XIV.272, *HN* III.8.92, Mart. Cap. VI.648: *Cossyra*; Ov. *Fas.* III.567: *Cosyra*.

Tako imamo otoke Melitê, Kos(s)ura/-os i Gaudos/Ôgugia južno od Sicilije te otoke Melitê, Kerôssos i Numphaia/Ôgugia na Jadranu. Još nam samo preostaje dodati dva otoka imena Kerkura/Korkura (današnji Krf i Korčula) da bi zbrka bila potpuna.<sup>5</sup> Uz otok Othrônos ili otoke Oth(r)ônoi, koji su također lokalizirani uz »obje« Melitê, dolazimo do jasnog zaključka o dupliciranju geografskih – ili mito-geografskih – lokacija na području Sicilskog (između Sicilije, Kalabrije i Apulije s jedne te Jonskih otoka, zapadnog Peloponeza i zapadne obale Krete s druge strane, vidi BILIĆ 2006: 16–17) i Jadranskog mora (Grci su oba poznavali kao Jonsko more i zaljev). Predaja o Mljetu kao lokaciji Odisejevog dugogodišnjeg zatočeništva, koja se nadovezuje na Eustatijeovu lokalizaciju Kalipsinog otoka na Μίλητος/Μελίτη, posljedica je upravo takvog dupliciranja. Slična je tome i – s nautičkog stajališta – potpuno besmislena lokalizacija Pavlovog brodoloma na jadransku Melitê (vidi BILIĆ 2009: 131–132 bilj. 15 i Fig. 1 na str. 117).<sup>6</sup>

## 2. DIO: VUČEDOLSKI BOG METALURGIJE

Etimologije Vukovara (tj. prefiksa *vuko-*, poradi toga što je *-var* mađarska riječ za »grad«), Vuke i Vučedola uobičajeno se izvode iz slavenske riječi »vuk«. Ali sličan naziv pojavljuje se na ovom području već u rimsko doba: Οὐολκαίοις ἔλεσι (Dio Cass. LV.32.3, »Volkejske močvare«), *paludem Hiulcam* ([Aurel. Vict.], *Epit.* 41.5, »Hiulkejska močvara«), *Pont. Vlcae* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, V, A–B 1 DESJARDINS, »most preko Vlke«), *Vlca fluvius* (Enodije, *Panegyricus regi Theoderico*, VII.28, 206.31 VOGEL »rijeka Vlka«).<sup>7</sup> Na taj je način izvjesno da imena ne potječu iz nekog slavenskog jezika. Predslavensko porijeklo imenâ Vuke i Vukovara naglašavali su već BRAŠNIĆ 1873: 11, V. KLAJČ 1880: i.166, BRUNŠMID 1902: 126 bilj. 1, te N. KLAJČ 1983: 66–69, koja navodi ranije autore (za ostalu literature vidi GRAČANIN 2006: 106 bilj. 30). U razdoblju nakon slavenskog naseljavanja već se sredinom 9. st. spominje *fluvium Valchau* u darovnici kralja Ludovika II knezu Pribini 846. godine (N. KLAJČ 1983: 19),<sup>8</sup> grad ili tvrđava *Vlcou* sredinom 10. st. (*Gesta Hungarorum*, 43, N. KLAJČ 1983: 68, 146 bilj. 232), županija *Wolkow* 1220. godine u darovnici kralja Andrije II (N. KLAJČ 1983: 40, 143 bilj. 41, CD III.183), kao i brojne različite varijante tih imena tijekom srednjeg vijeka: za rijeku (Walkow 1231. godine, Wolko 1235. i 1323., Wlkou 1263., Wolkov, Wolkou, Wolkow 1300., Wolkou, Wlcha 1303., Wolkouize 1347.; CD III.346, 445, V.264, VII.382–383, VIII.69, IX.136, XI.370), grad ili tvrđavu (Valkow 1231. godine, Walkoy 1238., Walkow 1244. i 1263., Wlkou 1263., Wolko i Walco 1270., Wolco 1274., Wlko 1283., Wolk i Wolko 1291., Vlkou 1305., Wolkouar 1323.; CD III.346, IV.49, 227, V.264, 280, 537, 579, VI.66, 423, VII.56, 154, Codex andegavensis i.92), ili županiju (Wolkou i Wolcou 1221. godine, Walkow i Wolcayenses 1231., Volco 1239., Wlco 1240., 1269. i 1270., Wolcou 1246., Wolkow 1267., Wolko 1273., 1298. i 1310., Wolkow 1293. i 1322., Wlko 1311. i 1319., Wolkau i Wakow 1351., Wolkou 1376. i 1377., Walko 1378.; CD III.204, 220, 346, 348, IV.81, 120, 288, V.449–450,

5 Κόρκυρα: Str. II.5.20, VII.5.5; [Scymn.] 428 [GGM I.214]; Agathem. I.5 (= 23, [GGM II.484]); Ptol. *Geog.* II.17.14 NOBBE; Appian *Ill.* IV.16; Eustath. Dion. *Perieg.* 492 [GGM II.310]; *Corcyra: HN* III.26.152; Pomp. Mel. II.7.114; *Itin. marit.* 520; Diktys V.17; Κέρκυρα: A. R. IV.566, 571 i Σ A. R. IV.564–566 [str. 288 WENDEL]; [Scyl.] 23 [GGM i.30]; *Corcora: Anon. Raven.* V.24 [str. 407.16 PINDER-PARTHEY].

6 Osim ako netko ne smatra da su aleksandrijski brodovi zimovali na Mljetu te otamo plovili u proljeće do Siraquze (*Djela* 28:11–12)! To ne znači da obje lokalizacije

ne treba – zajedno s Korčulom kao rodnim mjestom Marka Pola na Kerkiri – potencirati u turističke svrhe. Važno je samo da znanost ne zaobilazi činjenice.

7 Prema Brašniću (1873: 11, 17 bilj. 45) u *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (*Hierosolymitanum*) 563.2 (vjerojatno pogreška za 563.1 WESSELING) trebalo bi čitati *mutatio Ulcoamne*, ali to čitanje ne nalazimo u izdanjima Pindera i Partheya (1848: 267), Toblera (1877: 8) te Geyera (1898: 9).

8 Tj. gotovo tri i pol stoljeća nakon što je Enodije spomenuo rijeku Vlku.

491, 537, VI.51, VII.258, 310, VIII.259, 279, 543, IX.50–51, XII.37, 56, XV.250, 255, XVII.89). Zanimljivo je da je osnova *volca* – u imenu rimskog boga vatre i kovačke vještine Volkana/Vulkana (*Volcanus/Vulcanus*) povezana s vedskim oblikom *ulká* »jureći, bačeni plamen« (RV 4.4.2, 10.68.4) i/ili *várcas* – »sjaj, bljesak« (WEST 2007: 268). Odgovarajući teonim pronađen je u imenu legendarnog osetskog kovača Kurd-Alä-Wärgona, a izvorni IE oblik \*włkã pretpostavio je Meid (1957: 95–97; citiran u: WEST 2007: 268). Tako je metalurška slava »Vučedolaca« (DURMAN 1983; 1997; 2004) možda očuvana u različitim toponimima u regiji od eneolitika preko antike sve do srednjeg vijeka, otkud je nastavila svoj put – u lokalnom nazivlju – do modernog doba.

### ZAKLJUČAK

Dva primjera historijskog (dis)kontinuiteta s područja koje danas zauzima Republika Hrvatska pokazuju nužnost temeljite analize prehistorijske i antičke tradicije naših prostora. Apolonijevo uključivanje jadranskih toponima u kozmičko putovanje Argonauta svjedoči o njihovom prisustvu unutar korpusa grčke mitološke geografije. Bilo da su podaci o Jadranu do Apolonija stigli preko Timeja ili nekog drugog autora, ostaje činjenica da ih je tek on uključio u korpus lokalizacija homerskih mito-geografskih podataka.<sup>9</sup> To ne znači da je njegova interpretacija manje vrijedna od, primjerice, Kalimahove, ali čini se da je ona samo posljedica nedovoljnog poznavanja geografije središnjeg Mediterana. Duplikacija naziva geografskih lokacija na Sicilskom i Jadranskom moru vjerojatno je posljedica upravo tog nedovoljnog poznavanja geografije središnjeg Mediterana. S druge strane, prehistorijska manifestacija koju nazivamo Vučedolski kulturni kompleks (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979), svojom kompleksnom kulturom, religijom i mitologijom morala je ostaviti nekog traga među populacijama koje su ju naslijedile na istom prostoru; kako su nosioci Vučedolske kulture, kao i sve populacije koje su nastanjivale ovo područje nakon njih, govorili indoevropskim jezicima, kontinuitet u toponimiji – vrlo konzervativnom području – nije moguće sasvim odbaciti, osobito uzevši u obzir određene kultne manifestacije – prvenstveno antropomorfnu plastiku – koje se tijekom srednjeg brončanog doba pojavljuju u Podunavlju, a koje, čini se, barem djelomice potječu iz Vučedolske tradicije (LETICA 1973: 53, usporedi različitu interpretaciju u MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1982; za utjecaj Vučedolske antropomorfne plastike na brončanodobnu kultnu plastiku južnobalkanskog područja vidi MARAN 1998: II.329–330. cf. I.296–298, II.362). Tako je moguće da nazivi Vuka, Vukovar i Vučedol, zajedno s imenom srednjovjekovne županije, odražavaju tradiciju čiji se počeci vežu uz jednu eneolitičku kulturnu manifestaciju.

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<sup>9</sup> I ostale su jadranske lokalizacije plod zabuna, primjerice, Lotofazi (Hijerastamni, Bulini i Hyllini) u trogirskom zaleđu (Ps. Scylax 22 [GGM I.28]; cf. SUIĆ 1955: 136, 139–143) i Sherija u zaljevu povezanom s rijekom

Cetinom (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρχιόλη [MEINEKE 1849: 24]), odnosno Alkinojev dvor na Jadranu u Istri (Hug. *Fab.* 23).

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## ADRIATIC OGYGIA AND VUČEDOLIAN GOD OF METALLURGY – TWO EXAMPLES OF HISTORICAL (DIS)CONTINUITY

### INTRODUCTION

Classical tradition left a considerable impact on the territory of the modern Republic of Croatia; this territory, on the other hand, did not, as it seems, make a comparable impact on the development of Classical civilization. Yet it certainly formed a part of that civilization; consequently, certain toponyms – in the first place Adriatic ones – entered the corpus of Classical mythology. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes – the sole *Argonautica*, other than the so-called Orphic one, preserved in its entirety, together with important mythological Scholia – is especially interesting in this context. Here Apollonius selected the so-called western return voyage for the Argonauts, which led from the mouth of the Danube through the Balkans and Adriatic up the Po/Eridanus to the Rhine and Rhone, and further down the Tyrrhenian shore of Italy. Entering the northern Adriatic through an imaginary connection with the Danube the Argonauts sailed south arriving almost as far as the Phaeacean Scheria – Kerkyra/Corfu. Their voyage led them by several Adriatic islands, culminating with the island of Calypso. This Apollonius' mytho-geographic construction has left a considerable trace in modern discussions, especially among those trying to find »earthly« locations for mythological cosmic voyages, following their Classical predecessors. Notwithstanding these controversies, this confusion concerning the island of Calypso should be cleared out and »our« contribution to Classical mythological geography should be analyzed objectively. Our second example in this paper concerns the etymologies of three Danubian toponyms – the river Vuka, the city and county of Vukovar, and the celebrated prehistoric site of Vučedol. We conclude that the names of the river and the city – almost certainly also of the site – are certainly earlier than the Slavic migration, and originated at least in the Classical period. Since the literary sources that mention these toponyms take us back to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, that is, in the earliest period of the history of this region as witnessed by Classical authors, it is clear that they originated in an even earlier period. It is not possible to determine whether this is an example of continuity from Prehistory, but the continuity from the Classical period is more than evident. If the former is true than the mythological element – once again – appears to be a determinative factor in the transfer of tradition over vast obstacles offered by time.

### PART 1: ADRIATIC OGYGIA

In the fourth book of his *Argonautica* Apollonius of Rhodes described what seems to be a unique localization of Calypso's island Ogygia, the mythical island described in the *Odyssey* as the »navel of the sea« (*Od.* I.50–51). According to his report the Argonauts, sailing down the Adriatic, passed by the island Nymphaea (Νυμφαία), where Calypso lived (*A. R.* IV.574–575; cf.



Steph. Byz. s.v. Νυμφαία [MEINEKE 1849: 478], who derives this information from Apollonius, WILLAMOWITZ 1884: 114, n. 2). This location was not unknown to later authors. Thus Caesar (*BC* III.26) mentioned a harbour Nymphaeum not far from Lissos, while Pliny (*HN* III.22.144, cf. II.96.209) placed there a cape of the same name (KATIČIĆ 1995: 108); we also hear of a Nymphaeum near Apollonia (Str. VIII.5.8, XVI.2.43; Ampel. *Lib. Memor.* 8.1; Cass. Dio XLI.45.1–5; App. *BC* II.9.59; Ael. *VH* XIII.16).

The abode of this nymph is of a firm western provenance, and she was as a rule associated with the western part of the world, both through her family background and through her very nature. We can emphasize that the sailing directions given by Calypso to Odysseus and the ensuing voyage (*Od.* V.270–281) suggest the hero actually sailed to the east. Calypso told him to keep the Bear (whether *Ursa Major* or *Minor* is irrelevant for our discussion) on his left, thus instructing him to sail in an easterly direction. This is one of the rare precise pieces of information concerning both the length of the voyage and the starting and ending points in the whole *Odyssey*. For seventeen days Odysseus sailed from Ogygia to Scheria, which places Calypso's island that many days' west of the land of the Phaeacians. Since the latter was regularly identified with Kerkyra/Corfu, we can deduce that Homer imagined Ogygia located 17 days to the west of Corfu.

Let us briefly analyze classical localizations of Calypso's Ogygia. It was to be found in various places, but always somewhere in the West (see Fig. 1):

- (1) The coast of Bruttium, near the Lacinian promontory (*HN* III.10.96; [Scyl.] *Peripl.* 13 [*GGM* i.22], cf. Iambl. *VP* 11.57);
- (2) The Othonoi Islands near Kerkyra (Procop. *Bell.* VIII.22.20–21, himself unconvinced by this theory);
- (3) Since the Kephallenians were treated as the descendants of Hermes and Calypso (Hes. fr. 150.30–31 MERKELBACH-WEST in P. Oxy. 1358 fr. 2 col. i), we can presume that Kephallenia was considered as Calypso's Ogygia by the author of this conjecture (MEULI 1921: 61; WEST 1966: 435);
- (4) The Campanian shore, next to the Lake Avernus and the Lucrine Lake (Dio Cass. XLVIII.50.4);
- (5) An island located five days sail westward from Britain, »near the place of the summer sunset«, that is, the sunset on the summer solstice (Plut. *De fac.* XXVI.941A, CD);
- (6) Strabo claimed how Calypso's Ogygia, »the navel of the sea« (*Od.* I.50–51), Scheria of the Phaeacians, who »far off dwell in the surging sea, the furthestmost of men« (*Od.* VI.204–205), and the »stream of the river Oceanus« (*Od.* XII.2) are to be looked for in the Atlantic Ocean: »Now all these incidents are clearly indicated as being placed in fancy in the Atlantic Ocean« (Str. I.2.18; cf. III.4.4 with Krates fr. 75 BROGGIATO; cf. Krates fr. 31 METTE *ap.* Gell. *NA* XIV.6.3, and also fr. 37 BROGGIATO *ap.* Gemin. *Elem. Astron.* XVI.22 [MANITIUS p. 172.15–20]; Apollodoros fr. 157 = Eratosth. *IA3 ap.* Str. I.2.37; see also Str. I.2.10, 31, 38, 40);
- (7) The West in general ( $\Sigma$  HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.25]);
- (8) One should place with (6) and (7) Eustath. *Od.* I.51, i.17, who associated Ogygia with Plato's Atlantis and with the mountain Atlas and the Atlantic, I.52, i.17–18;
- (9) In the context of Apollonius' *Argonautica* the most interesting localization is certainly that of Callimachus, his predecessor in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina; he associated Ogygia with the island of Gaudos, modern Gozo, next to Malta (Callim. fr. 470 PFEIFFER = fr. 563a SCHNE-

IDER *ap.* Str. I.2.37, VII.3.6, fr. 470b PFEIFFER = 524 Schneider *ap.* Aristonikos *ap.* Ammon. *De Adf. Voc. Diff.* 352.5 s.v. ὀλίγον). When we find a large island named *Calypsum* between Sicily and Carthage on an Isidorean map from Rome (8<sup>th</sup> c. or earlier, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 6018, ff. 63<sup>v</sup>–64, WILLIAMS 1997: 16, fig. 6), we can be certain that its author followed the Callimachean tradition.<sup>10</sup>

One wonders did Callimachus' pupil Apollonius place the island of Calypso in the Adriatic, next to Melitê (Μελίτη), modern Mljet<sup>11</sup> and Kerôssos (Κερωσσός)<sup>12</sup> simply because Callimachus located the abode of Calypso in Gaudos, Pseudo Scylax's (111 [GGM i.89]) Γαῦλος, near Μελίτη (Malta) and *Cossura* or *Cossyra*, Pseudo Scylax's (111 [GGM i.89]) Κόσουρος (modern Pantellaria).<sup>13</sup> It is utterly impossible that Homer imagined Ogygia in the Adriatic, because that would make Calypso's navigational instructions pointless, moreover, they would simply be incorrect. If one sailed from the Lacinian promontory towards Korkyra/Corfu, this would, on the other hand, make more sense, although this criterion more or less also rules out Gaudos as a »legitimate« candidate for Ogygia. Moreover, we have seen how Procop. *Bell.* VIII.22.20–21 located the Ὀθρονόι Islands near Kerkyra (Corfu); that is, exactly where the island of that name was placed by Hesychius (*Lex.* ο 164 s.v. Ὀθρωνός) and Pliny (*HN* IV.12.52; the readings of the codices are *Othronos*, *Otronos*, *Odronos*, *Othoronos*, *Athoronos*, *Thoronos*, *Toronos*, see MAYHOFF i.321.2). From *Alex.* 1034–1035 it would seem that Lycophron imagined the island placed in the same location, especially because he associated it with some undoubtedly southeastern Adriatic localities (*Alex.* 1043 Amantia = Abantia, cf. Callim. fr. 259 Schneider *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄβαντίς [MEINEKE 1849: 4], Ἄμαντία [MEINEKE 1849: 82]; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄβαντίς [MEINEKE 1849: 3–4], Ἄμαντία [MEINEKE 1849: 82–83]; A. R. IV.1214; [Scyl.] 26 [GGM i.32–33]; Hesych. α 3430 s.v. Ἄμαντοι; Σ A. R. IV.1174–1175b [p. 308 WENDEL]; Paus. V.22.3, *Alex.* 1034 Antintanians, *Alex.* 1046 Chaonia). Yet in the preceding verses (1027–1029) Lycophron locates Othrônos near Melitê, »round which the Sikanian wave laps beside Pachynus« (= Malta). Tzetz. (Σ) Lycoph. 1027 [ii.318 SCHEER] explained this as confusion between the Melitê in the Adriatic (which could be associated with the »Island Othrônos between Epirus and Italy«) and Melitê/Malta south of Sicily (cf. paraph. Lycoph. 1027 [i.88 SCHEER]). Hesych. ο 164 s.v. Ὀθρωνός also mentioned that »according to some [Othrônos is] an island to the south of Sicily« (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀθρωνός [MEINEKE 1849: 484]). Procop. *Bell.* III.14.16 claimed how Gaulos and Melitê »mark the boun-

10 On the other hand, Callimachus might have had in mind the island Gaudos (Klaudios) near Crete. Antimachos fr. 142 WYSS *ap.* Σ HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.24–25] reads Ὠγυλίην instead of Ὠγυγίην and Hes. fr. 70 RZACH (cf. fr. 204.60 M-W in P. Berol. 10560) *ap.* Σ HMPQ *Od.* I.85 [DINDORF 1855: i.25] placed Ὀγυλίος near Crete, while others place it between Crete and the Peloponnese (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὠγυλος [MEINEKE 1849: 706]). This could well be Gaudos/Gaulos, especially if we read Καυδοῦς instead of καλοῦς or καυλοῦς in Σ HP *Od.* I.85 (MERKELBACH – WEST 1967: 100; SCHMIDT in *PWRE* 2079.35–49 s.v. *Ogylos*; DINDORF 1855: i. 25). Eustath. Dion. Perieg. 823 [GGM ii.362] mentioned that the Island of Calypso was called Μίλητος; this information probably comes from Steph. Byz. s.v. Μίλητος [MEINEKE 1849: 453], and is probably a mistake for Μελίτη (WILLAMOWITZ 1884: 139, 1927: 177 n. 1; VON GEISAU in *PWRE* 1799.50–55 s.v. *Kalypsous nēsos*). This would place it on Malta itself, rather than Gozo, but is still only a modification of Callimachus' thesis.

11 Μελίτη: A. R. IV.572, [Scyl.] 23 [GGM i.30], Ptol. *Geog.* II.16(17).14 NOBBE, Appian *Ill.* IV.16, Agathem. 23 [GGM ii.484]; *Melite*: *HN* III.26.152; *Malata*: Anon. Raven. V.24, p. 408.20 PINDER-PARTHEY; *Melta*: *Itin. Ant.* 520.2 PINDER-PARTHEY 1848: 255.

12 »Unidentified«, KATIČIĆ 1995: 108, who also reports that the island was mentioned by a 4<sup>th</sup> c. grammarian Arkadios *De acc.* 78.4 [SCHMIDT 89.9]; cf. BÜRCHNER in *PWRE* 328.52 s.v. *Kerossos*).

13 Str. II.5.19, VI.2.11: Κόσουρα, XVII.3.16: Κόρσουρα (cf. Cass. Dio in Zonar. VIII.14, ii.211–212 DINDORF), Κόσουρος; Zon. VIII.14: Κόρσουρα; Plb. III.96.13: Κόσουρος; App. *BC* I.11.96, V.11.97: Κόσουρα; Pomp. Mel. II.7.120, Oros. V.21.11, 24.16, *Itin. Ant.* 517.6: *Cossura* (PINDER-PARTHEY 1848: 253); Sil. Ital. *Pun.* XIV.272, *HN* III.8.92, Mart. Cap. VI.648: *Cossyra*; Ov. *Fas.* III.567: *Cosyra*.

dary between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas«, which shows that someone might have imagined Malta to lie in the Adriatic.

Thus we have Melitê, Kos(s)ura/-os, and Gaudos/Ôgugia south of Sicily, and Melitê, Kerôssos, and Numphaia/Ôgugia in the Adriatic. One might add two islands with the name Kerkura/Korkura (modern Korfu and Korčula) to make the confusion complete.<sup>14</sup> Along with the island of Othrônos or the Oth(r)ônoi Islands, both likewise localized by »both« Melitês, we arrive at a clear conclusion concerning the duplication of geographic – or, rather, mytho-geographic – locations on the Sicilian (between Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia on the one and the Ionian Islands, western Peloponnesus, and the western coast of Crete on the other side, see BILIĆ 2006: 16–17) and Adriatic Seas (to the Greeks both were known as the Ionian Sea and Gulf). The tradition that holds Mljet as the location of Odysseus' long captivity, appending to Eustahius' localization of Calypso's island on the Μίλητος/Μελίτη, is precisely a consequence of this duplication. Not unlike it is a completely meaningless – from the nautical point of view – localization of St Paul's shipwreck on the Adriatic Melitê (see BILIĆ 2009: 131–132 n. 15 and Fig. 1 on p. 117).<sup>15</sup>

## PART 2: VUČEDOLIAN GOD OF METALLURGY

The etymologies of »Vukovar« (that is, *vuko-*, since *-var* is a Hungarian word for »town«), (river) »Vuka«, and »Vučedol« are usually derived from the Slavic word for wolf, »vuk«. But a similar name was already attested in the Roman period: Οὐολκαίοις ἔλασι (Dio Cass. LV.32.3, »Volcaian marshes«), *paludem Hiulcam* ([Aurel. Vict.] *Epit.* 41.5, »Hiulcan marsh«), *Pont. Vlcae* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, V, A–B 1 DESJARDINS, »bridge over the Ulca«), *Vlca fluvius* (Ennodius, *Panegyricus regi Theoderico* VII.28, 206.31 VOGEL »river Ulca«).<sup>16</sup> Therefore, it could not be derived from some Slavic language. The pre-Slavic origin of the name of both Vuka and Vukovar was already emphasized by BRAŠNIĆ 1873: 11, V. KLAIĆ 1880: i.166, BRUNŠMID 1902: 126 n. 1, and N. KLAIĆ 1983: 66–69, who cites earlier authorities (for other literature see GRAČANIN 2006: 106 n. 30). In the Slavic period, we hear of *fluvium Valchau* already in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century (donation of King Ludovic II to Count Pribina in 846, N. KLAIĆ 1983: 19),<sup>17</sup> the town or fortress *Vlcou* in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century (*Gesta Hungarorum*, 43, N. KLAIĆ 1983: 68, 146 n. 232), the county of *Wolkow* in 1220 (donation of King Andrew II, N. KLAIĆ 1983: 40, 143 n. 41, CD iii.183), and numerous different variants of these names during the Middle Ages: for the river (Walkow in 1231, Wolko in 1235 and 1323, Wlkou in 1263, Wolkov, Wolkou, Wolkow in 1300, Wolkou, Wlcha in 1303, Wolkouize in 1347; CD iii.346, 445, v.264, vii.382–383, viii.69, ix.136, xi.370), town or fortress (Valkow in 1231, Walkoy in 1238, Walkow in 1244 and 1263, Wlkou in 1263, Wolko and Walco in 1270, Wolco in 1274, Wlko in 1283, Wolk and Wolko in 1291, Vlkou in 1305, Wolkouar

14 Κόρκυρα: Str. II.5.20, VII.5.5; [Scymn.] 428 [GGM i.214]; Agathem. I.5 (= 23, [GGM ii.484]); Ptol. *Geog.* II.17.14 NOBBE; Appian *Ill.* IV.16; Eustath. *Dion. Perieg.* 492 [GGM ii.310]; *Corcyra: HN* III.26.152; Pomp. Mel. II.7.114; *Itin. marit.* 520; *Diktys* V.17; Κέρκυρα: A. R. IV.566, 571 with Σ A. R. IV.564–566 [p. 288 WENDEL]; [Scyl.] 23 [GGM i.30]; *Corcora: Anon. Raven.* V.24 [p. 407.16 PINDER-PARTHEY].

15 Unless anyone believed that Alexandrian ships wintered on Mljet and thence sailed to Syracuse in spring (*Acts* 28:11–12)! Which does not mean that both localizations – together with Korčula as Marco Polo's birthplace on the

Adriatic Kerkyra – should not be emphasized for tourist purposes. But it is important that scholars do not circumvent the facts.

16 According to BRAŠNIĆ 1873: 11, 17 n. 45 one should read *mutatio Ulcoamne* in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense (Hierosolymitanum)* 563.2 (perhaps a mistake for 563.1 WESSELING), but this is not the reading we find in Pinder-Parthey (1848: 267), Tobler (1877: 8), or Geyer edition (1898: 9).

17 That is, almost three and a half centuries after Ennodius mentioned river Ulca.

in 1323; CD iii.346, iv.49, 227, v.264, 280, 537, 579, vi.66, 423, vii.56, 154, Codex andegavensis i.92), or county (Wolkou and Wolcou in 1221, Walkow and Wolcoyenses in 1231, Volco in 1239, Wlco in 1240, 1269, and 1270, Wolcou in 1246, Wolkov in 1267, Wolko in 1273, 1298, and 1310, Wolkow in 1293 and 1322, Wlko in 1311 and 1319, Wolkau and Wakow in 1351, Wolkou in 1376 and 1377, Walko in 1378; CD iii.204, 220, 346, 348, iv.81, 120, 288, v.449–450, 491, 537, vi.51, vii.258, 310, viii.259, 279, 543, ix.50–51, xii.37, 56, xv.250, 255, xvii.89). It is interesting that *volca-* in the name of the Roman fire and smith-god Volcanus/Vulcanus is related to Vedic *ulká* »darting flame« (RV 4.4.2, 10.68.4) and/or *várcas-* »brilliance, glare« (WEST 2007: 268). A matching theonym was found in the Ossetic legendary smith Kurd-Alä-Wärgon, and an original Indo-European form \*włkā was postulated by MEID 1957: 95–97 (cited in WEST 2007: 268). Thus the »Vučedolian« metallurgical fame (DURMAN 1983, 1997, 2004) could have been preserved in various toponyms in the region from the Copper Age through Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, from which it was passed on to the modern period.

#### CONCLUSION

Two examples of historical dis(continuity) from the territory now occupied by the Republic of Croatia show the necessity for a detailed analysis of both Prehistoric and Classical tradition pertaining to this territory. Apollonius' inclusion of certain Adriatic toponyms in the itinerary of the cosmic voyage of the Argonauts testifies to their presence in the corpus of Greek mythological geography. Whether the information on the Adriatic arrived to Apollonius through Timaeus or some other author, the fact remains that it was precisely him who included them into a corpus of localizations of Homeric mytho-geographical data.<sup>18</sup> This does not mean that his interpretation is any less valid than that of, for example, Callimachus, but it does seem it is only a consequence of an incomplete knowledge of the geography of the Central Mediterranean. Duplication of geographical locations on the Sicilian and Adriatic Seas probably derives from this incomplete knowledge. On the other hand, the prehistoric manifestation we are accustomed to call the Vučedol cultural complex (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1979), with its complex culture, religion, and mythology must have left some trace among the populations that inherited it in the same territory; since both the Vučedolians and every subsequent population in the region spoke an Indo-European language, the continuity in toponymy, which is indeed a very conservative discipline, is not to be completely discarded, especially taking into account certain cultic manifestations – in the first place the anthropomorphic plastic – that appeared in the Danubian region during the Middle Bronze Age, which, as it seems, at least partially derives from the Vučedolian culture (LETICA 1973: 53; compare a different interpretation in MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1982; for the influence of Vučedolian anthropomorphic plastic on the Bronze Age cultic plastic of the southern Balkan area see MARAN 1998: ii.329–330. cf. i.296–298, ii.362). Thus it is possible that the names of Vuka, Vukovar, and Vučedol, together with the name of the mediaeval county, reflect a tradition whose origins derive from an Eneolithic cultural manifestation.

Rukopis primljen: 1.XI.2009.  
Rukopis prihvaćen: 15.XI.2009.

18 Other Adriatic localizations also resulted from misconceptions: Lotophagoi (Hierastamnai, Boulinoi and Hyllinoi) in the hinterland of Trogir (Ps. Scylax 22 [GGM i.28]; cf. SUIĆ 1955: 136, 139–143), Scheria in a gulf

associated with the Cetina river (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρχιτάλη [MEINEKE 1849: 24]), and the court of Alcinoos in the Adriatic in Histria (Hyg. *Fab.* 23).