

5. GEOGRAFIJA ISTOČNOG JADRANA PREMA KASNOANTIČKIM GEOGRAFSKIM I DRUGIM IZVORIMA

Razdoblje kasne antike donosi rimskom društvu lagano nazadovanje, premda i u tom dobu bijahu ostvareni značajni projekti, posebno u arhitekturi. Na području geografske znanosti imamo nasuprot tome opću dekadenciju. Geografija tada naime prestaje biti znanošću u klasičnom smislu riječi, pa čak i poznatim rimskim prakticizmom.¹ Svodi se na itinerarije, koji su čitatelju najčešće trebali kazati što je ispred i iza njega, odnosno lijevo i desno. Tj. radi se o krajnjem izrazu toga istog prakticizma, bilo u pisanoj ili kartografskoj formi. Taj je i sam donio ponešto nove geografske grade, ali nerijetko u kontekstu koji nam mnogo ne može kazati o realnom geografskom stanju ove obale. Zato će i naša pažnja prema tim izvorima biti tome ekvivalentna.

5.1. Pomorski i ostali historijsko-geografski podaci s istočnojadranskog akvatorija u itinerarijama iz antoninskog doba

Bez obzira na ustvrđeno u uvodu ne može se osporiti da su itinerariji jedno od naših važnijih vrednosti za studij antičkih putova, kako je to u zadnje vrijeme u nizu studija argumentirano pokazao I. Bojanovski.² Predstavljaju, pa i itinerariji iz antoninskog doba, popise postaja

¹ O rimskom društvu kasne antike N. A. MAŠKIN, *Istorijska starog Rima*, Beograd 1978, 463—528, a o rimskom prakticizmu M. MARKOVIC, *Razvitak kartografskih upoznavanja današnjih jugoslavenskih zemalja*, knj. I, Zagreb 1975, 8—10. Korisno je uporediti i pregledni članak P. LÍSICÁR, *Tabula Peutingeriana i rimski itinerari. Pogled i primjedbe*, Putevi i komunikacije u antici, Materijali 17, izdanje SADJ i Muzej Kosova — Priština, Peć 1978, 9—19.

² Od najnovijih radova to bi bili: I. BOJANOVSKI, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, Djela ANUBiH knj. 47, CBI knj. 2, Sarajevo 1974. — ISTI, *Priči za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. I — Prehistorijska i antička komunikacija Salona — Narona i njera topografija u svjetlu arheoloških i historijskih izvora*, Godišnjak CBI, 13/1977, 83—152. — ISTI, o. c., II —

(putnih stanica) s međusobnim udaljenostima. U prilogu su obično imali posebne karte na kojima su isti ti podaci bili prikazani kartografski, od čega se do danas sačuvala samo »*Peutingerova karta*«.³ Datiniranje ovog izvora ni do danas nije riješeno na nedvojben način. No, nesumnjivo nećemo pogriješiti vidimo li njegov temelj nekako u rasponu 3—4. stoljeća n. e., tj. na stanovit način slično kako za »*Tabulu Peutingerianu*« predlaže E. Weber.⁴

Itinerarij iz antoninskog doba, koji kao i brojna druga vrela u nas nije posebno istraživan,⁵ u biti se sastoji iz dva itinerarija: kopnenih i pomorskih putova. Nama je u ovom vrelu zanimljiva komunikacija Akvileja — Salona — Dirahij koju daje u više dionica kopnom i morom, s time da se geografski podaci o njoj daju u oba dijela itinerarija.

Cesta je — naime — prvo vodila tamo od Akvileje na vrelo Timava, pa Tergeste, Ningum (*Ad Ningunt flumen* — putna stanica na mjestu prijelaza Flavijeve ceste preko Mirne),⁶ Parentij i Polu, te se mjerila sa (12 + 12 + 28 + 18 + 31) 101 milju (*It. Ant.* 270,1—4; 271,1—3). Time je data vrijednost suglasna sa sličnom kod Strabona (*Strab.* 7,5,3) i Plinija Starijeg (*Plin. NH* 3,129). Međutim, problem je s nastavkom komunikacije s obzirom da se put dalje nastavlja morem, pa se za trajekt Pola — Jader daje svega 450 stadija (*It. Ant.* 272,1). Kako tu vrijednost ponavlja i u »*Opisu pomorskih putova*« (*It. Ant. mar.* 496, 6—7) najvjerojatnije ne može biti riječi o grešci kakvoga prepisivača, već naprotiv Anonima. S obzirom da se informacija pruža u stadijima, značilo bi da ju je preuzeo iz kakvog grčkog originala, u što sumnjamo. Prije će biti riječ da je preuzet iz nekog prethodnog cestovnoga priručnika pisanih latinskim jezikom,⁷ pa će tome trebati pripisati pogrešku. Pretpostavljamo da se radi o onom podatku koji priopćava Plinije kao ophod Liburnije sa 180 milja, što nije, jasno, nikakav ophod već pomorska mjera plovidbe umutarnjom rutom — kako je pokazano uz Strabona i tamošnju raščlambu shvaćanja Podgorskog kanala i polozđaja ušća Tedanija-Telavija. Drugačije kazano, radi se o 180 mpm od-

Prehistorijska i rimska cesta Narona — Sarajevsko polje sa limitrofним naseljima, Godišnjak CBI 15/1978, 51—125, — ISTI, *Neka pitanja antičke topografije Donje Neretve*, Dolina rijeke Neretve, 181—194, — ISTI, *Epidauritana archaeologica I*, Dubrovački horizonti 26/1986, 36—45.

³ Uspor. M. MARKOVIĆ, o. c., 9—13, — E. WEBER, Kommentar, u: *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vinodobonensis* 324, Wien 1976, 20—23, gdje se daje i pregled literature.

⁴ E. WEBER, o. c., 20—23, osobito str. 23, gdje je shematski prikaz nasankta vrela. Slično M. KRIŽMAN, *Antička svjedočanstva o Istri*, Pula—Rijeka 1979, 316. Potrebno je napomenuti da Križman također donosi Weberovu shemu.

⁵ Postoje ipak prijevodi dijelova iz oba ova itinerarija: M. SUČ, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb 1976, 302—303, — M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 322—325. O tome itinerariju kratku notu daje P. LISIĆAR, o. c., 11—12.

⁶ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 324, — V. JURKLIĆ, *Prilog za sintezu povijesti Istre u Rimsko doba*, Arheološka istraživanja u Istri i Hrvatskom primorju, knj. I, Pula 1987, 70.

⁷ Tako E. WEBER, o. c., 23.

nosno, 1.440 stadija (*Plin. NH* 3,129), koje se u ovom primjeru najvjerojatnije zaokružilo na 1.450 stadija. U prepisivanju se sasvim slučajno izgubila jedinica od tisuće (tj. umjesto *MCCCCL*, ostalo je samo *CCCCL*). Prihvaćanje takva podatka držimo Anonimovom greškom, jer su mu svi drugi ne samo unutar općih okvira slične historijsko-geografske građe, već i prilično dobri, pa i odlični. Ako je, naime, to bila greška kakvog kasnijeg prepisivača, tada bi taj barem još jednom pogriješio, a nije, kako će se moći vidjeti kod slične grade.

Uporište ovim zaključcima nalazimo prije svega u činjenici da je spomenuti cestovni pravac Akvileja — Pola sasvim dobar, što je ukratko naprijed pokazano. Drugo, svi su ostali trajekti također dobri. Recimo, Brundizij — Dirahij sa 1.000 stadija (*It. Ant.* 317,3—5; 497,6—7) nesumnjivo je oviše dug, mjeri li se na suvremenoj pomorskoj geografskoj karti (*K-16*), s obzirom da je realno dug 650 stadija. No, izmjerimo li to kod Ptolemeja (*K-14*), dobit će se vrijednost 1.100 stadija, što znači da se u antici uzimao toliko dugim jer je navigacija podrazumijevala put prvo na sjever, pa kada se dotakne istočnu obalu Jadrana, onda niz nju prema istoku i Dirahiju. Da smo na suvremenoj karti tako mjerili dobili bismo itinerarij slične vrijednosti (mi smo mjerili izravno!). Dakako, tom trajektu nije smetnja ni donekle sličan Plinijev podatak sa 225 milja ili 1.800 stadija (*Plin. NH* 3,101), jer je najvjerojatnije podrazumijevao ponešto drugačiju navigaciju (dotičaj moguće i Epidaura, a tek zatim plovidba prema istoku). Vjerljivo je ta informacija istrgnuta iz konteksta od kojeg se sačuvalo tek toliko da je prijelaz iz Brundizija prema Dirahiju malo duži ali sigurniji. Jer, istraživani itinerarij ovaj trajekt s datom vrijednošću potvrđuje i navodom kako je od Brundizija do Aulone također 1.000 stadija (*It. Ant.* 323,9—10; 497,5). Konačno, nimalo manje nisu pouzdani, što smo ustvrdili u razmatranju Ptolemejeve geografske građe, trajekti Salona — Aterno i Salona — Sipont, dugi 1.500 stadija (*It. Ant.* 497, 3 i 7). Njima je sličan onaj od Ankone do Jadera sa 850 stadija (*It. Ant.* 497,2), što je u biti konkretnije izražen podatak koji je ranije zabilježio Plinije Stariji kao udaljenost Italija — Liburnija sa 100 milja, odnosno 800 stadija (*Plin. NH* 3,45).¹

Povratimo se ipak ovom itinerariju i putnom pravcu Akvileja — Dirahij. Dakle, Akvileja — Pola je solidno izmjerenog,² a trajekt Pola — Jader treba sanirati u 1.450 stadija. Odatile (tj. od Jadera) dalje nas vodi pravcem Blandona — Arsauzona — Pretorij — Tragurij — Salona, pa ovu cestu mjeri s $(20 + 20 + 30 + 16 + 12)$ ukupno 98 milja (*It. Ant.* 272,1—7). Mjera se prema tome uklapa u njegov prvi podatak po kojem je cesta Akvileja — Salona, pošto se izuzme plovidbu morem, duga 199 milja (*It. Ant.* 265,4; 270,1—2), jer je za put Akvileja — Pola imao 101, a Jader — Salona tih 98 milja. Opet, zadnjoj je razdaljini vrlo slična Plinijeva sa 112 milja (*Plin. NH* 3,142), a razlika nesumnjivo

¹ Vidi tekst ad 4.4.1., točka 2.1., ovog djela.

² Usp. tekst ad 2.1. ovog djela.

predstavlja poboljšanje tog cestovnog pravca u nekoliko stoljeća koja dijele ta dva izvora. Slično, konačno, daje i »*Peutingerova karta*« za pravac Jader — Skardona — Tragurij — Salona (*TP* 4,3—5,3: 20 + 11 + 20 + 20 + 15 + 9) preko vrijednosti od 95 milja.

Analogno je s cestom koja vodi dalje iz Salone ka Dirahiju, što će biti izmjereno sa 303 milje (*It. Ant.* 337,3—5; pa 338, 1—8; 339,1—5). Iznova je od Plinijeve mјere tek nešto različita, s obzirom da on za razdaljinu Salona — Epidaur — Lisos daje 285 milja (*Plin. NH* 3,142, 144: 100 + 100 + 85). Razlika je, pored ostalog i stoga jer, slično dijelom i prethodnoj cesti, ni ova nije podrazumijevala put obalom već u znatnoj mјeri unutrašnjošću, a i putni su pravci u međuvremenu, između doba nastanka Plinijevih i informacija iz antoninskog doba, nesumnjivo poboljšani.¹⁰

Na koncu, ovaj nam itinerarij priopćava da je iz Akvileje postojava i cesta za Sisciju, s kojom se dотicala Tarsatika, Ad Tures (*Criksenica*) te Senija (*It. Ant.* 272,8—9; 273,1—7). Također, u tom itinerariju imamo i geografsku gradu o otočju. Prvo će kazati da između Dalmacije i Istrijе postoje kao otoci (i to doslovno ovim redom) Apsor, Bratija, Solentija, Isa i Lisa, Korkira, te Melita, što znači da je izvor kojim se služio naše otoke solidno geografski locirao (*It. Ant.* 519,3—4; 520, 1—2). Nedvojbeno je sporna činjenica što između Apsora i Bratije ne spominje ni jedan otok, ali se moguće ovo treba objasniti onim njezivim trajektom Pola — Jader, s kojim se vjerojatno dотicalo samo Apsor. Lisa, ukoliko je to pogrešno zabilježeno ime Plinijeve Kise Portunatske (liburnske), o kojoj je bilo detaljnije uz Plinijevu otočje, ne

¹⁰ O obalnim cestama usporedi literaturu navedenu u bilj. 2, te: G. A. SKRIVANIĆ, *Jugoslovenske zemlje na Pojtingerovoј tabli*, Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae, knjiga I, Beograd 1975, 46—53, — M. ZANINOVIC, *Neki prometni kontinuiteti u srednjoj Dalmaciji*, Putevi i komunikacije u antici, o. c., 39—51, — P. MIJOVIĆ, *Nekoliko opažanja o rekonstrukciji antičkih i kasnoantičkih puteva kroz Črnu Goru*, Putevi..., o. c., 133—144, — A. SONJE, *Putevi i komunikacije u prahistoriji i antici na području Porečine i njihov odnos prema ostalim prometnicima u Istri*, Putevi..., o. c., 123—132, — I. MILK-CURK, *Dokazi kontinuiteta na rimski cestni mreži Slovenije*, Putevi..., o. c., 35—37, — J. SASEL, *Pomen raziskovanja rimskega cesta za politično, upravno in kulturno zgodovino*, Kronika 20/1972, 139—144, — ISTI, *Rimski ceste v Sloveniji*, Arheološka najdišča Slovenije, Ljubljana 1976, 74—99, — E. BOLTIN, *Zametki primorskih mest*, Arheološki vestnik 21—22/1970—1971, 167—172, — M. PAROVIĆ-PESIKAN, *Povodom novih nalaza miljokaza u zaledu Risiničuma (Risna)*, Putevi..., o. c., 21—32, — I. PUŠIĆ, *Novi pravac rimske ceste kroz Črnu Goru*, Istoriski zapisi 32(1)/1975, 127—131, — ISTI, *Antičke komunikacije kroz Boku kotorsku u svjetlu novih otkrića*, Putevi..., o. c., 145—154, — S. MIJUSKOVIĆ, *Novo tumačenje jednog fragmenta iz »Tabula Peutingeriana«*, Istoriski zapisi 23(1)/1966, 111—119, — A. MAYER, *Doprinosi poznавању rimskega cesta u Dalmaciji*, VAHD 51/1930—1934, 125—156, — L. BOSIO, *L'Istria nella descrizione della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria 22/1974, 17—95, gdje je i cjelokupna starija literatura.

¹¹ R. MATEJČIĆ, *Selce — Ad Tures, Zaština iskapanja rimske arhitekture u Selcima*, Jadranski zbornik 5/1961—1962, 152—158, — G. A. SKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 47.

bi imala što tražiti na mjestu na kojem se daje:iza Ise.¹² Međutim, prihvatimo li ovo kao drugo ime Ise — *Lisia* — kako to daje npr. i Prokopije,¹³ trebat će pretpostaviti naknadno dopisivanje u Anonimov tekstu, stoljeće ili dva poslije nastanka toga itinerarija, s ciljem da se pojasni o kojoj se Isi radi, pa će u tom slučaju podatak imati smisla.

Dalje se navodi kako je Melita udaljena od Epidaura 200 stadija (*It. Ant.* 520,2), pa je to dokaz više da se taj otok i treba vezati uz Epidaur, kao jako rimske naselje što je razumljivo preferiralo na bliske mu otroke (*Plin. NH* 3,152 — distanciranje Elafita od Melite). Spominje i južnjadransko odnosno, sjevernojonsko otočeje (*It. Ant.* 520, 3—4; 521,1—2).

Što zaključiti!? Premda smo ostvarili tek letimičan pogled na to nedvojbeno za putne pravce vrijedno djelo, mora se zaključiti da ono nije ništa drugo već uobičajeni itinerarij. U geografskom je pogledu vrijedno to što smo upoznati da se recimo Mirnu premoćivalo, te da je tu bila postaja (*Ningum*). Značajni su također i spomenuti trajekti. Iako oni ne donose neku posebnu novinu, za geografsko su upoznavanje Jadrana bitni dvojako. Prvo, kao skup informacija kojima su slične podatke donosili geografski enciklopedisti, Ptolemej — prvenstveno, kako se može izmjeriti na njegovoj V. i VI. karti Evrope (*K-14*), pa je to prilično zahvalan materijal za kompariranje i ostale različite usporedbe. Drugo, time je potvrđeno da se pomorske rute najvažnijih trajekata ovim morem niti u kasnoj antici nisu izmjenile, već dapače — potvrdile. Pri tome se prvenstveno misli na rute u južnom Jadranu, pa one između Salone, Aterna i Siponta, odnosno Jadera i Ankone, a zatim Pole i Jadera, premda je potpuno logično da je isto tako bila često upotrebljavana i ona na relaciji Pola — Ankona ili Ravena. Ipak, iz ovih ili onih razloga, ta ruta sebi nije uspjela naći mjesta u ovom izvoru. Na koncu je i spominjano otočeje, čime nismo bitno unaprijedili naša znanja o nesnimima, a izvjesno u istom su položaju bili i antički citatelji.

5.2. Geografski podaci istočnog Jadrana prema »Peutingerovoj karti«

Karta iz kasnoantičkog doba, tzv. crtani itinerarij (»*Itinerarium pictum*«), poznata kao »*Tabula Peutingeriana*«, odnosno »Peutingerova karta«, svoj izvor svakako, kako to misli njezin najnoviji izdavač i istraživač E. Weber, ima i u Agripinoj geografskoj karti. Po Weberu, naime, iz Agripine je prvo nastala cestovna karta, što se datira u početak 3. stoljeća n. e. Ova će karta u 4. stoljeću biti prerađena, pa će iz

¹² Slično M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 325.

¹³ Usapoređi A. MAYER, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, Bd. I, Wien 1957, 175, s. v., *Issa*. Detaljno G. NOVAK, *Issa i isejska država*, VAHD 54/1952, 5—40; VAHD 55/1953, 37—70.

njezine redakcije početkom tog stoljeća rezultirati dva itinerarija: Ravnenjaninov (u 6. st.),¹⁴ a iz karolinškog prijepisa — »*Tabula Peutingeriana*.«¹⁵ Ili, kako je to kazano uz itinerarije iz antoninskog doba, temelj ovoj karti treba tražiti negdje u 3—4. st. n. e., a autora moguće u Kastoriju.¹⁶

Ovaj je izvor, jer je kartografski i stvarno donosi dosta vrijednih itinerarijskih podataka, relativno dobro istražen, pa je u novije vrijeme G. A. Škrivanić pružio monografski prikaz.¹⁷ Međutim, tim ni približno nije sve iscrpljeno, s obzirom da su novija istraživanja autora ovog djela pokazala da se ona u mnogo čemu ugledala u »*Geografiju*« Klauđija Ptolemeja, što je dijelom pokazano i naprijed (ad 4.4.1., točka 2.3. teksta). U tom je smislu M. Marković u pravu kada osporava da se isključivo oslanjala na Agripinu geografsku kartu,¹⁸ budući ima daleko veći broj posrednih i neposrednih izvora.¹⁹

¹⁴ Uspor. M. SUIĆ, *Liburnia Tarsaticensis*, *Adriantica*, 705 i dalje. Slično J. MEDIĆI, *O nekim kronološkim i sadržajnim značajkama o Dalmaciji u djelu Cosmographia anonymnog pisca iz Rave*, Putci..., o. c., 69—72, — ISTI, *Provincia Liburnia*, Diadora 9/1980, 396—400.

¹⁵ E. WEBER, o. c., 23. — M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 316—317.

¹⁶ Detaljno s najnovijom literaturom E. WEBER, o. c., 9—23 te 32—37 (literatura), — G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 33—37.

¹⁷ G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 33—60. Pojedine su dijelove tog izvora istraživali Mijušković, Pušić, Bojanovski, itd. Njihovi se radovi navode u bilj. 2 i 10, pa se na njih upućuje. O primjeni nove metodologije te polućenim rezultatima u takvom istraživanju usp. kod M. KOZLIČIĆ, *Pomorska bitka kod Taurisa*, Dubrovački horizonti 23/1983, 38—42. Mnogo se to zornoje vidi u naša druga dva rada (oba u tisku) — *Prilog kartografskoj identifikaciji antičkog otoka Taurisa sa suvremenim otokom Šćedrom*, Mogućnosti (Split) odnosno, *K povijesnom kontekstu Nezakcija*, Nezakcij u povijesti i kulturni Istre, Zbornik rada međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Puli 1983. godine. O sličnim smo pitanjima, vezanim uz Istru, pisali u članku o Istri u svjetlu historijsko-geografskih podataka, *Histria historica* 5, u tisku.

¹⁸ M. MARKOVIĆ, o. c., 11.

¹⁹ O »*Peutingerovoj karti*« se u ovom djelu neće dati rezultati našeg kartografsko-matematičkog istraživanja. Nikako nije jedino riječ o činjenici da bi se djelo tim bitno povećalo za narednih stotinjak stranica teksta, desetak novih karata, pa identičan broj grafikona, tabelarnih pregleda i sličnog. Uostalom, o kojem je istraživanju riječ, što ono nudi i kakvi su mu rezultati, više nego samo kao početna informacija se daje u našim radovima naznačenim u bilj. 17, pa se na njih upućuje. Prvenstveno se radi o konцепciji ovog djela, koje je zamišljeno kao humanističko. Ta bi je razmatranja, što su u najvećem stupnju izbjegnuta i kod Ptolemeja, bitno narušila. Naime, svakako je uvijek u takvim prilikama riječ o supitljivim kartografskim analizama, koje nije moguće provesti bez stanovitih matematičkih razmatranja. Kako su grafikoni najčešće tek prvi korak u njima, tada bismo tekst stvarno opteretili jako različitom aparaturom u odnosu na sve druge dijelove i istraživane izvore. Tako bi bila narušena i naša koncepacija ovog djela, koja je ipak u najvećoj mjeri sintetički prikaz, dakle bez nekih posebnih istraživanja, iako u njemu ima dosta i takvih dijelova. Jer, konačno, kako ocijeniti neki numerički pomorački podatak bez minimalnog razmatranja? Drugo, na čemu temeljiti vlastita relativno složena istraživanja istih tih pomoračkih i sličnih podataka, ukoliko oni do kraja ni-

Za naše je istraživanje nesumnjivo mnogo interesantnija od itinerarija iz antoninskog doba s obzirom da nudi skoro sve grupe geografske grade koju smo analizirali kod drugih geografa na prethodnim stranicama. Barem se ta grada može izlučiti analizom. Uz to, ima i pričljivo novih podataka, a druge, starije, potvrđuje.

Zanemarujući cestovne razdaljine s obzirom da je o njima dovoljno rečeno, a i u literaturi su prilično dobro razjašnjene (s obzirom da su sva dosadašnja istraživanja i bila pretežno usmjerena na njih, a ne i druge sadržaje koje nudi),²⁹ treba konstatirati prvo to da je istočnojadranska obala, slijedimo li uobičajeno označavanje grude, data od *TP* 3,5 (Akvileja) do *TP* 6,3 (Akrokeruna),³⁰ dakle na četiri segmenta.³¹

su razrađeni primjerice kod Ps. Skilaka i njegove istovjetne geografske grude? Stoga se, vjerujemo, s pravom odlučilo na rečeni način. Pri kraju, potpora svemu ovom je i naša ocjena o dekadentnost kasnoantičkih geografskih izvora. Da li, s obzirom na takvu ocjenu, ti isti izvori zasluguju da se o njima pruži više nego recimo o Strabonu, Pliniju, Ptolemeju, o kojima se ipak dao relativno kratak tekst? Nesumnjivo — ne! Jer, njihova je dekadencija tako jasna da je nije potrebno dokazivati na nebrojenim stranicama. Odražava se u činjenici da su u općem geografskom smislu, ukoliko bi zasluživali suprotnu ocjenu, morali biti barem na nivou vrela iz prethodnog perioda, a sušinski čak i više od toga. Recimo, da je »*Peutingerova karta*« orientirala naše more u realnom smjeru, da mu je dala stvarne dimenzije, zatim mnogo više podataka nego Strabon, Plinije i Ptolemej, pa i puno više teoretskog o metodologiji kartografiranja, itd. Ona, pogleda li se njezin sadržaj, od toga ne da nije dala ništa, nego je i opći kartografski kvalitet preko kartografiranja istočnojadranskog akvatorija daleko ispod svih ranijih načina kartografiranja. Mogla bi se, u najboljem slučaju, usporediti s prederatostenskim vremenom u grčkoj kartografiji i geografiji, tj. s Erastostenom, začetnikom znanstvene geografije i kartografije. Ako imamo takav odnos prema »*Tabula*«, koja ipak daje dosta grade — drugačiji se ne može imati ni prema itinerarijima iz antoninskog doba kao izvoru kojeg autori tumače kao određeni pisani predložak tom kartografskom itinerariju, ali ni prema Ravenjaninu, koji je u gotovo istoj ulozi. Slično je recimo s Gvidom, ali i Bizantincem i njegovim leksikonom o našim krajevima napobričenim iz mnogobrojnih starijih izvora, od kojih moguće jedan dio izvorno nije ni video, već njihove podatke prenio iz druge, treće ili tko zna koje ruke. U tome je njihova suština! Međutim, to su vrijedni izvori za poznavanje cestogradnje, pa kasnoantičke gradogradnje, itd, jer mogu dati dosta takvih i sličnih informacija. Ali, za geografsko upoznavanje Jadrana, u smislu unapređenja ovog upoznavanja, bez obzira i na ponešto novih podataka, blijeda su slika prethodnih perioda, pa zato i dekadentni!

²⁹ Vidjeti radove u bilj. 2, 10, 16 i 17.

³⁰ Označavanje geografskih točaka kod »*Peutingerove karte*« slijedimo kako to predlaže njezin najnoviji izdavač Weber (cit. u bilj. 22). Mi još samo dodajemo kraticu »*TP*« (od »*Tabula Peutingeriana*«), kako bi se točno znalo na što se brojevi odnose, s obzirom da se u tekstu često daju i druge brojčane vrijednosti, koje se odnose na geografsku gradi o kojoj se govori.

³¹ Segmente ove kasnoantičke karte donosi G. A. SKRIVANIĆ, o. c., segmenti 1—4 (u prilogu tog rada). Kao faksimili daju se u najnovijem izdanju: *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vinodobonensis 324*, ed. E. Weber, Wien 1976.

Na obali se redom, od Akvileje (Oglaj) dalje, kartografiraju položaji slijedećih naselja odnosno, postaja. Prvo izvor Timava (*TP* 3,5 — Monfalcone),²³ Tergeste (*TP* 3,5), Parentij (*TP* 4,1) zatim Kveri (*TP* 3,5—4,1)²⁴ i Silvo (*TP* 5,1, *Rav.* 4,31: *Silvio* — Savudrija),²⁵ Pola (*TP* 4,1), pa jedna bezimena vinjeta iza Pole (*TP* 4,1), koja je najvjerojatnije predstavljala Nezakciju.²⁶ Dalje je prijelaz preko Arsije (*TP* 4,1) za koji Škrivanić misli kako je to grad Raša²⁷ odnosno, Albona (*TP* 4,1), Tarsatika (*TP* 4,1—2), Ad Tures (*TP* 4,2 — Crikvenica), Senija (*TP* 4,2), Jader (*TP* 4,3), Skradona (*TP* 4,4), pa Tragurij (*TP* 5,3: zanimljivo, samo kao naselje, a ne i otok), Sikuli (*TP* 5,3), Salona (*TP* 5,3). Od Salone je put vodio prema Ad Dijani (*TP* 5,3 — Dijanin hram na rtu Sv. Juraj, Marjan, Split),²⁸ Spalatu (*TP* 5,3 — Split, cijelina Dioklecijanove palače) odnosno, preko Epetija (*TP* 5,3) prema jugoistoku notirajući dalje Onej (*TP* 5,3 — Omiš), Inaroniju (*TP* 5,4 — obično se ubaćira u Makarsku),²⁹ da bi iza te opet bila bezimena postaja (*TP* 5,4), za koju se misli da je bila Gradac.³⁰ Naredna bi primorska naselja bila Narona (*TP* 5,4) i Epidaur (*TP* 6,1), pa Rizinij (*TP* 6,1), Olicinij (*TP* 6,1), koji je pogrešno kartografiran prije Butue (*TP* 6,1),³¹ da bi se recimo još bilježilo Skodru (*TP* 6,2), Lisos (*TP* 6,2), itd.

Vidljivo je prema tome da se ne donosi odviše novih podataka. Ipak, iz te se grupe čini najznačajnijim kartografsko isticanje luka u Seniji, Jaderu, Saloni te Epetiju, premda se u biti pod »*Port. Saloni-tanus*« (kako se doslovno daje na *TP*), misli na Kaštelski zaljev, barem na njegov istočni dio.

Od rijeka se kartografira Naron, kojoj se ušće vrlo dobro prikazalo kod kolonije Narone (*TP* 5,4). Daje se i bezimena rijeke kod gra-

²³ E. WEBER, *Kommentar*, o. c., 52.

²⁴ E. WEBER, o. c., 54, misli da je ovo Koper. Opet, M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 320, komentirajući Gnirsovo mišljenje (A. GNIRS. *Die Halbinsel Istrien in der antiken Ueberlieferung*, Pola 1902, 24—25), misli da bi moglo biti riječi o Istarskim toplicama kod Buzeta. Identično (po Gnirsu nesumnjivo) V. JURKIC, *Prilog za sintezu...*, o. c., 72. Suprotno našim autorima L. BOSIO, o. c., 52—58, kojem je *Queri* mostni prijelaz te putna stanica na Rijani, što bi praktički bio Weberov Kopar.

²⁵ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 320, — L. BOSIO, o. c., 54—55.

²⁶ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 320, — M. KOZLICIC, *K povijesnom kontekstu Nezakcija*, u tisku. E. WEBER, o. c., 58, suprotno tome misli da je riječ o Flanoni. Za Nezakciju se izjašnjava i L. BOŠIO, o. c., 78—80, što sa znanstveno utemeljenim argumentima i dokazuje.

²⁷ G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 46. Na određeni način slično misli L. BOSIO, o. c., 80—82 (*Castelnuovo d'Arsa?*).

²⁸ G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 50.

²⁹ G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 49, — E. WEBER, o. c., 55. Ipak, detaljno samo J. MEDINI, *Makarsko primorje u antici*, Makarski zbornik 1/1070, 25—27.

³⁰ G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., 49, — J. MEDINI, o. c., 42—43 te 46—48, gdje mu je Gradac Ravenjaninov Biston.

³¹ O problemima rimske ceste kroz Boku kotorsku detaljno pišu Mijušković, Pušić i Parović-Pešikan u radovima navedenim u bilješci 10, pa se na njih upućuje.

dačke neobilježene vinjete (TP 5,4), koja je tu, s obzirom na ukupnu dužinu toka, nesumnjivo pogrešno kartografiрана (vjerojatno je u pitanju Žrnovnica).¹² Zatim, što je posebno važno, na »Tabuli« imamo i Barbanu kod Skodre (TP 6,2) odnosno, na koncu Drilon kod Dirahija (TP 6,2). Zašto nema drugih rijeka? Nesumnjivo stoga jer ovom izvoru nisu bile zanimljive. Moguće bi izuzetak jedino mogla biti Arsija, što zagovora L. Bosio.¹³

Među provincijama se ističe Istrija, koja na ovoj karti pokriva jasno istaknuti poluotok, ali od Parentija do stanice na Arsiji, pa Liburniju, što se proteže od atle te prilično iza Skardone, vjerojatno do rta Ploče — Planka, Plinijeve Diomedovog rta, slično Ptolemeju.¹⁴ Međutim, Ptolemeja nimalo ne slijedi u imenovanju oblasti koja se nalazi između Liburnije i Dalmacije (pojas iza Skardone pa negdje do Tragurija). Za prvog je to pojas Hila, a »Tabuli« je to oblast, kako se bježi, koja nosi ime »Butinija« (TP 5,2). Na koncu dolazi Dalmacija (TP 5,2 do 6,2: od Tragurija do ušća Drilona). Ipak se njezino ime prostire i dalje kao »Nova Epirus Dalmatorum«, što je notiranje stanja u kasnom Carstvu (TP 6,3—6,4).¹⁵ Opet, na sjeveru se, prije Istrijie, daje Norik (TP 4,1—4,3).

Iako imenski Jadransko more »Peutingerova karta« proteže daleko nakon donje granične crte Ilirika (tj. iza Drilona), ne mislimo da se tako i držalo. Ime se daje od TP 6,3 do TP 7,5, što znači da se u unutrašnjosti Jadrana uopće ne naznačava, s obzirom da se ovo more stvarno proteže već od Akvileje, tj. od TP 3,5. Uzmemo li u obzir da se prije jadranskog imena daje naziv Egejskog mora (TP 6,1—6,2), a Jadrani se proteže tamo gdje bi se realno trebalo protezati Jonsko, a zatim i Egejsko more, nećemo moći drugaćije zaključiti već da su ta dva naziva greškom stavljena na kriva mjesta. Time se dobije još jedan jasan argument da »Tabula« nije slijedila jedino Agripinu geografsku kartu s rimske Marsove poljane, već i općenito rimski kut gledanja na Jadrani, po kojem je on na istočnoj obali donju granicu imao na Drilonu. Jer, ne može nikako biti slučajno da se egejsko ime daje unutar TP 6,1—6,2, premda su u istoj visini Taranto (TP 6,1), na suprotnoj, ili npr. Lisos (TP 6,2) na istočnoj obali. Sto je najzanimljivije, tu je i Dirahij (TP 6,2), ali i otok Korkira (TP 6,2: Krf).

Od otočja, krenemo li s NW prvo je S[...].Jomaia, što Weber restituira u *Septemmaria* (TP 3,5), ali otok i ne pokušava ubicirati.¹⁶ Križman ga donosi kao *Sepomaia*, pa ističući jaku oštećenost naziva, navodi Gnrirovo mišljenje po kojem bi moglo biti riječi o otočju (skupina)

¹² O kartografsko-matematičkoj ubikaciji te rijeke detaljnije M. KOZLIC, *Prilog kartografskoj identifikaciji...*, rad naveden u bilj. 17.

¹³ L. BOSIO, o. c., 43—46.

¹⁴ Usp. tekst ad 4.4.3. ovog djela.

¹⁵ Detaljnije s literaturom M. SUIC, *Hijeronom Stridonjanin — Građanin: Tarsatike*, Rad JAZU 426/1986, 224—225.

¹⁶ E. WEBER, o. c., 67.

pred Rovinjom.¹⁷ Ubiciranje otoka pod znak upita stavlja i L. Bosio, pomisljajući kako bi se možda moglo raditi o Siparu, videći u očuvanom dijelu imena Ravenjanovo (*Rav.* 4,31 i 5,14) *Siparis — Sapparis*.¹⁸ U odnosu na otok Ursariju neće se moći prihvatiti Križmanovo i drugih starijih autora mišljenje o ubiciranju u Vrsar, ili primjerice Škrivanićevu, koji će u njemu vidjeti čak Cres.¹⁹ Najargumentiranije je Bosiovo (»*isola di S. Giorgio*«). On preko ubiciranja tog otoka na mjesto otočića *Sv. Ivan na pučini* jedini ne samo argumentirano obrazlaže svoju ubikaciju, već ističe preko toga i onaj posebni kvalitet »*Tabulek*«, a taj je da ona nije samo kartografski prikaz kopnenih, već naravski i pomorskih putova. A na tim se pomorskim putovima bez jednoga tako značajnog navigacijskog orijentira kao što je *Sv. Ivan na pučini* plovidba ni danas ne može zamisliti. Slično je s Pularijom, Plinijevom Kisom Pularijskom, koju Bosio, ali i M. Suić s još više argumenata, ubiciraju na položaj Brijuna (Velikog i Malog).²⁰

Dalje bi, preko puta Tarsatike i Flanatičkog zaljeva, a zadnji je »*Tabuli*« luka (*Port. flanaticus* — *TP* 4,1), bila Kurikta, tj. Kurika (*Ins. Curica* — *TP* 4,1), kako se na njoj notira, dakle — Krk. Cresa u tom slučaju nema, a s njim ni Lošinja, jer se očigledno uzimalo u obzir samo pomorsku komunikaciju Tarsatika — Kurikta, eventualno Flanova ili Albona — Kurikta. Iza ove je opet otok *Erkonis* (Weber: *Efronis* — *TP* 4,2) koji bi mogao biti Pag, zatim *Parnodos* (*TP* 4,3 — *Primota* notira Weber), kao Premuda, pa *Sissa* (*TP* 4,3), svakako ona Plinijeva Lisa koja se nalazi nasuprot Jaderu (*Plin. NH* 3,152), pa to jeste Iž, te na koncu još Arba (*TP* 4,4: *Arva*), Rab, kojega se pogrešno lociralo ispod umjesta da ga se kartografira poviše Jadera.²¹ Naime, izvjesno je da su ovi zadnji otoči orijentirani prema Jaderu. To nas uopće ne čudi s obzirom na značenje koje je Jader imao i u to vrijeme, što se zorno vidi preko njegova kartografiranja: istureni poluotok s lukom, kartografiranom u obliku zaljeva.

Novog otočja, logično s obzirom na uočenu koncepciju po kojoj su kartografirani, nema prije salonitanskog akvatorija. Tamo će biti dati Bova (*TP* 5,3), koja se orijentira prema Traguriju, a još više prema pomorskom putu koji je vodio iz Salone ka NW. Jer, na tom je putu, zapadno od Bove (Čiovo) bezimeni otok (*TP* 5,3), koji može biti samo Veli i Mali Drvenik, a dalje bi, na suprotnu stranu, bili Isa (*TP* 5,3) i Solentija (*TP* 5,3), pa čak dva puta Bratija (*TP* 5,3): jedan put imenski obilje-

¹⁷ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 321.

¹⁸ L. BOSIO, o. c., 32—35.

¹⁹ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 321, — G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., karta »*Tabulek*« u prilogu.

²⁰ L. BOSIO, o. c., 36—37.

²¹ L. BOSIO, o. c., 38—40, — M. SUIC, *Cissa Pullaria — Baphium Cissense — Episcopus Cassensis*, Arheol. radovi i rasprave 10/1987, 185—219.

²² Usp. A. MAYER, *Die Sprache der alten Ilirier*, Bd. I, Wien 1957, 141—142, s. v., *Erafonia*, — G. A. ŠKRIVANIĆ, o. c., karta »*Tabulek*« u prilogu, — M. SUIC, *Zadarski otoci u antici*, Zadarsko otočje, 58—59, — ISTI, *Pag*, Zadar 1953, 18—21, gdje je i starija literatura.

žena kao otok na pomorskom putu od Salone prema Farosu, a drugi put kao onaj otok koji se »vidi« ili nalazi preko puta Epetiju (kao bezimeni otok), što se dobro potvrđuje činjenicom da se za Epetiju daje izražena vinjeta, njezin naziv, pa još i naziv epetijske luke (*Port. Epetius* — TP 5,3). Iza Bratije i Farije, na tom pomorskom putu može dale je biti samo Tauris (TP 5,4), Scedro, a još južnije, Melita (TP 6,1), Mljet, Korkira (TP 6,1 — *Corcyra*), Korčula, koja se interesantno kartografira prije Melite, te Ladesta (TP 6,1).⁴ Dalje slijede južnojadranski odnosno, sjevernojadranski otoci (TP 6,2 i d.).

Prema tome »*Tabula Peutingeriana*« je stvarno i donijela dio nove geografske grade. Međutim, način njezinog priopćavanja je najmanje što se može uopće reći — problematičan, čak i nama iz 20. stoljeća. Kako li je onda bilo u antici, i kakvu je uopće upotrebnu vrijednost mogla imati. Jer, njezin kartografski jezik je toliko specifičan, da sumnjamo da se na njoj u antici moglo snaći u potpunosti. Tj. preciznije, »pročitati« sve ono što je realno nudila. Izvjesno je da ono čime danas raspolažemo nije izvorni antički kartografski materijal — to nitko i ne osporava. Stoga u tom svjetlu treba priličan dio nelogičnosti tumačiti činjenicom da su nastale kroz brojna precrtavanja u kojima se često pogriješilo. Ako su do nama suvremenog vremena toliki tekstovi mogli doći u vrlo korumpiranoj formi, zašto se to nije moglo desiti s »*Tabulom*«?

5.3. Ravenjaninovi geografski podaci o našem moru

U novije vrijeme, nakon Medinijeve studije o nekim značjkama Ravenjaninove geografske grade o Dalmaciji, a još ranije M. Suićeve o Anonimovoj Tarsatičkoj Liburniji, pa računamo li i Križmanovo pisanje o gradi koja se odnosi na Istriju,⁵ data je primjerna slika o onom što nudi taj geografski izvor iz 6. st. n. e. u vlastitoj »*Kozmografiji*«. A nudi, što je dobro poznato, kako je već ukratko naprijed kazano, nizove geografskih podataka: naselja, otoka, rijeka, te poneku informaciju na temelju koje se može razlučiti (barem načelno) kontekst u kojem su dati. Međutim, za nas takvo djelo ipak nema osobito značenje iz dva razloga. Prvi je u činjenici da podaci koje donosi izlaze na određeni način iz vremenskih okvira ove radnje, s obzirom da dio tih po-

⁴ Detaljnije s literaturom M. KOZLJČIĆ, *Pomorska bitka...*, o. c., 38—42, — ISTI, *Prilog kartografskoj identifikaciji...*, o. c., u tisku.

⁵ J. MEDIĆI, *O nekim kronološkim...*, o. c., 69—83, — M. SUIC, *Liburnia Tarsaticensis*, Adriatica, 705—716. Takoder u studiji M. SUIC, *Hijeronim Stridonjanin...*, o. c., 213—278, te u M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 330—336. Dio Ravenjaninove »*Kozmografije*« koji se odnosi na istočni Jadran na hrvatskosrpski je preveden: M. SUIC, *Antički grad...*, o. c., 303—305, — M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 326—336, — N. CAMBI — U. PASINI, *Antički izvori o Naroni i Neretvi*, Dolina rijeke Neretve, 289—292.

dataka treba najranije datirati čak u 8. stoljeće.⁴³ Drugi je opet, kako to bilježi M. Križman, u tome da ono što danas poznajemo kao Ravnenjaninov geografski rad, potječe iz 13. stoljeća i tadašnje redakture, pa je već odatle predani tekst najvjerojatno korumpiran.⁴⁴ Iz toga slijedi, što se najbolje uočava na temelju postojeće literature,⁴⁵ da su problemi pri ubicanju većine toponima i nesonima, pa i hidronima, nerijetko tako složeni, da gotovo redovito za rješenje nekog od njih zahtijevaju cijele manje ili veće studije. A neriješenih i danas ima vrlo mnogo, pa uslijed svega toga raspoloživi nam prostor ne dozvoljava ulazak u razmatranje njegove geografske građe.

Međutim, ipak naznačimo tek troje. Jadran mu je veliko more koje ima i zapadni zaljev, u kojem je smjestio Tarsatičku Liburniju (*Rav. 4,22*), a osnovni mu je izvor, osim Provina i Marcella, »gotski filozof« Maksim (*Rav. 4,16; 4,22*; i tako dalje). Geografsku građu, što svakako pokazuje vrlo slabo poznavanje naših geografskih realiteta, reda dvojako. Jednom od NW prema SE (*Rav. 4,30*: istarska naselja od Tergesta pa do Pole), a u svim ostalim prilikama od SE ka NW (*Rav. 4,16*: naselja Dalmacije od — slijedimo li samo obalu — Butue do Jadera; *Rav. 4,22*: naselja Liburnije od Enone pa do Albone; *Rav. 4,31*: istarska naselja od Arsije do Tergesta; *Rav. 5,13*: naselja istočnog Jadrana od Lisosa do Tergesta; i *Rav. 5,24*: otočje od Korkire do istarske Cervarije).

Jedan od urgentnijih zadataka naše povijesne znanosti u biti je obrada ovog i drugih sličnih izvora, ali kroz posebne studije. Vjerovati je da će se one uskoro pojaviti, s čim bi nam bili približeni brojni problemi kasnoantičke geografije.

5.4. Geografska grada iz drugih izvora

Od drugih izvora, osim primjerice Gvida, treba spomenuti Stjepana Bizantinca i njegov poznati leksikon u kojem imamo sačuvan niz podataka iz ranijih perioda, što su komentirani u tekstu naprijed: recimo uz Hekateja. Tek površnog uvida radi nabrojimo neke od natuknica: Abri (etnija), Adrija (grad i rijeka istog imena, ali i zaljev: Hekatej), Autarijati (etnija), Apsirtidi (otočje), Apsor (grad), Butua (prema Filonu grad), Bulini (etnija), Dirahij (grad) Enhelejci (etnija), Epidamno (grad), Japodi (etnija), Japigi (etnija), zatim Ilirija, Histri (etnija), Jonsko more, pa Kulici (etnija), Liburni (etnija), Lisos (grad), Melita

⁴³ Uspor. I. BOJANOVSKI, *Mogorjelo — Rimsko Turres*, GZMS 24/1969, 139 i bilj. 9.

⁴⁴ M. KRIŽMAN, o. c., 330.

⁴⁵ Viditi npr. radove iz bilj. 2 i 43, te I. BOJANOVSKI, *Mogorjelo — Rimsko Turres*, o. c., 137—163, — ISTI, *Toponim „Ad Fines“ (Itin. Anton., Tab. Peut.) i njegova značenja (sinonimi toponimi: Ad Fines, Equoranda, Kobiljača)*, Godišnjak CBI 11/1976, 307—320.

(otok između Epira i Italije), Nest (grad i rijeka), Parentij (luka i grad), Parti (etnija), Pola (grad), Rizon (grad te istoimena rijeka), Salona (grad), Taulanti (etnija), opet Tergeste (grad), Hitmiti (etnija), Hili (etnija), Faros (otok, ali i grad), Orlik (grad u Jonskom moru), itd.⁴

⁴ Dio ostalih izvora donosi M. KRIŽMAN, *o. c.*, 283—313, gdje su primjerice i Kasiodorova pisma o poljoprivrednom bogatstvu Istre. Opće, dio Gvidove »Geografije« u prijevodu uz original donosi se kod N. CAMBI — U. PASINI, *Izvori..., o. c.*, 292—293. O dijelu ove historijsko-geografske grade i problemima istraživanja F. PAPAZOGLU, *Steph. Byz.: Skordiskoi kai Skirtois*, Zbornik FF u Beogradu 9(1)/1967, 61—66, — ISTA, *O pojmovima »Epir« i »Ilirija« u poznorepublikansko doba*, Godišnjak CBI 11/1976, 197—211.

6. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA O GEOGRAFIJI ISTOČNOG JADRANA U STAROM VIJEKU

Znanstveno promatrajući razvitak historijske geografije, odnosno geografskih znanja i spoznaja o istočnom Jadraru kroz oko 1.500 godina, pri čemu je ostvaren nešto detaljniji uvid u dvadesetak djela geografskog i sličnog obilježja, a podaci iz narednih tridesetak su konsultirani, moglo se ustvrditi da se razvoj do sredine 2. stoljeća naše ere kretao uzlaznom linijom, točnije, čak geometrijskom progresijom. Nakon tog vremena, silazno, čak dekadentno. Imajući u vidu takvu konstataciju kao temeljno polazište, navedeni se razvoj u zaključnoj formi može opisati na način kako slijedi.

1. U najstarijem periodu geografija istočnog Jadrana, a to znači u vremenu do 4. stoljeća prije nove ere, obilježena je laganim, ali ipak kontinuiranim porastom broja geografskih informacija. Spoznaja u klasičnom smislu riječi za najstariji dio tog perioda nema, ali i do njih dolazi s logografima: posebno Hekatejem. Glavni su izvor geografske grade pomorci te njihove trgovačke navigacije, osobito oni grčki. Plovi se isključivo na tzv. »*dugim navigacijama*« (Herodotovi Fokejci), ali će se vremenom pojaviti i one kraće, iz kojih će nastati obujam Krka izražen sa 500 stadija. Duge navigacije potvrđuju se i Teopompovim navodom o maritimnoj dužini istočnog Jadrana sa 6 dana plovidbe, što bi značilo manje-više neprekidnu danonoćnu navigaciju tuk uz vanjski otočni rub. Nesonimi, etnonimi, te druga geografska grada upoznata u tom nesumnjivo najdužem periodu, kojem ishodište treba tražiti još koncem II. milenija pr. n. e., tek su vjeran refleks tih plovidbi. Zna se za navedeni Krk, jer se po jantar svračalo i u riječku regiju, ali u biti pretežno za tzv. vanjske i ujedno velike otokе: Apsirtide (Cres i Lošinj), Isu (Vis), Faros (Hvar), pa Crnu Korkiru (Korčulu), Ladestu (Lastovo).

Liburnsko ime na obali i otocima dominira, ali se ubrzo pojavljuje i ilirsko, histarsko, japodsko, mentorsko itd., pa se i tim potvrđuje put dolaska do geografske građe: *plovidbe grčkih i ostalih mediteranskih pomoraca*. Fragmentiranost geografskih djela iz ovog perioda ne

dozvoljava nam i precizniji uvid u tadašnja znanja starog svijeta o geografiji našeg dijela Jadrana, ali i iz onoga što se očuvalo vidljivo je kako je registrirano samo ono što se moglo uočiti s broda: plovidbom po red obale i otoka, ili u trgovačkom doticaju s lokalnim življem. Moguće da takav zaključak i jest ono najvređnije što se uopće moglo izlučiti.

2. Prethodnim je vrlo dugim vremenom, koje bi mogli nazvati i periodom uvdognog upoznavanja Jadrana u cjelini, a onda i njegovog istočnog dijela, bio pripremljen teren za pojavu geografskih djela i o tom moru s bitno novim kvalitetom. Jer *peripli* i *perieze* ne bi niti mogli realno registrirati sve ono što jesu da iza sebe nisu imali stoljetnu tradiciju u prethodnim navigacijama mediteranskih pomoraca morskim vodama ovog mora. Sretna je okolnost da se njihova pojava kroz opis naših strana desila nekako usporedo sa stupnjem na povijesnu pozornicu sirakuške i parske kolonizacije srednjodalmatinskog otočja. To kažemo zato jer se tako dobio daleko veći kvalitet u priopćenim informacijama nego što bi realno mogao biti postignut recimo stoljeće ranije. Doduše, i tad smo imali (barem tako kažu povijesni izvori) grčku kolonizaciju — onu Kniđana na Korčuli — ali je ona mogla biti tek uvod u nešto što dolazi i što je na koncu odista i došlo. Kroz posljednjih stoljeće-dva prije kolonizacije Ise i Farosa, kako se to dosta lijepo vidi iz Teopompovih podataka, morali su se o ovom moru, u cjelini, prikupiti *osnovni geografski podaci*, jer te kolonizacije ne bi imale smisla, a niti bi se mogle poduzeti! Ako se o njemu ništa nije znalo — gdje bi se to uopće poduzele?! Sirakuški tiranin Dionizije je bio oviše velik vojnopolomski znalac a da bi sebi dozvolio luksuz uspostavljanja kolonije ili barem vojnopolomске baze negdje gdje to nema smisla, u području koje ne poznaje. Odatle, na podatke o kojima se može tek naslućivati, dogradit će se brojna ostala geografska građa iz vremena uspostavljanja rečenih grčkih kolonija kod nas, pa notirati prvo u »*Periplu*« Ps. Skilaka, tom prvom peljaru ovog mora, zatim i u Ps. Skimnovoj »*Periegezi*«, a imat će velikog odraza i na Eratostenovu viziju o Jadranu, kao i onu Apolonija Rođanina.

Tako se uz postojeći *pomoračko-trgovački* pojavljuje novi *pomoračko-kolonizacijski* način dolaska do građe o geografiji Jadrana. Kolonizatori su dolazili morem, prenda su kolonije koje su uspostavili mahom imale agrarni karakter, mora niti su se mogli a ni željeli odrediti, što najbolje pokazuje širenje isejske kolonizacije na otocima te obali srednje Dalmacije. Tu je i dalje zato, uz druge mediteranske pomorce, plovidba u službi trgovaca probitaka, a na ovom se moru, pored tradicionalnih pomoraca Liburna, kao pomorački narodi inauguiraju Histri i Iliri, kao značajna opće-pomorska, pa i vojno pomorska snaga ovoga perioda.

Sasvim je jasno kako toliki broj plovidbi — trgovaca, kolonizacijskih, što znači ofenzivnih vojno-pomorskih, pa defenzivnih radi obrane vlastite matice ili interesnog akvatorija, općih obrambenih, itd. — dovodi do daljnog upoznavanja istočnjadranskog morskog prostora.

Stari se podaci sada mogu provjeriti novim, svježim, pa se pored *interjadranskih* odnosno, »*dugih navigacija*«, kojih je u ovo vrijeme moralo biti više nego ranije (jer, odakle bi to Strabon premjerio Jadran s oko 6.000, a prije njega Polibije sa 6.150 stadija, premda su ove mjere mogle nastati i zbrajanjem manjih, kako je to činio recimo Ptolemej), uvede se i »*srednje*«. Njih u egzaktnom pogledu nalazimo u Ps. Skilakovom »*Periplu*«, kao dužine obala pojedinih etnija koje su ih nastavale. Mjere se danima i noćima navigacije, a stoljeće-dva kasnije, pojavit će se i tzv. »*kratke*« ili »*male navigacije*«, mjerene dijelovima dana, što će sve kroz kratko vrijeme kod Strabona, Plinija ili Ptolemeja, biti donešeno preračunato u stadije ili rimske milje. Te »*male plovidbe*«, koje su se odvijale na kratkim rutama, npr. onaj poznati Plinijev podatak o razdaljini Crne Korkire s knidijskom naseobinom i Ise sa 25 rimskih milja, što je izvorno svakako nesumnjivo bilo izmjereno s pola dana navigacije, bit će dodatni impuls za dublja upoznavanja našeg priobalja.

U njima će se moći doći i do tako finih informacija kakvi su hidrometeorološki podaci, ali nedvojbeno i do poprilično vrijednih oceanografskih informacija, kakvi su npr. podaci o morskim strujama, dubinama i sličnom. Također se preko svih tih plovidbi uspjelo detaljnije upoznati ekonomiju našeg autohtonog življa, a kroz nju i ovo življe, pa će iz svih tih podataka kasniji geografi imati što baštiniti.

Usporedo, uz stvaranje lokalnih vizija o pojedinim dijelovima Jadranskog mora, uspjelo se sagledati ovo more i u cjelini, za što nisu zasluzni oni koji su dolazili do podataka, već oni koji su ih obradivali u geografskim djelima: dakle, geografi. Eratostenu se u tom smislu mora odati osobito priznanje jer je prvi znanstveno odredio položaj ovog mora u okolnom geografskom prostoru, geografsku gradu s kojom se raspolagalo dobro proučio, pa na temelju nje te analognih informacija o okolnim morima (a svakako i kopnenim pojasevima), pružio znanstveno utemeljenu viziju Jadrana, orijentirajući ga u tom geografskom prostoru sa smjerom protezanja NW-SE.

Jasno, Jadran u ovom, kao i prethodnom periodu, jest na ivici svjetsko-značajnih zbivanja. Ipak, to nije značilo da za ovog nije postojao značajan interes, koji se svakako odrazio i u njegovom geografskom upoznavanju. Međutim, da je bio nešto bliže žili tih procesa i broj geografskih podataka bi bio daleko veći. No, prethodni je period od ovog i po tome različit, a naredni još više, jer se protokom vremena Jadran, kao i druge njemu slične regije, sve više blžio toj matici, zbog čega su i razlozi k njegovom dalnjem geografskom upoznavanju bili ne samo trgovачki kao u samome početku, već domala i kolonizacijski, a zatim i strategički s obzirom na ratove koje će ovdje voditi Rim, a na koncu će se pojavit i rimska vlast kao rezultat ovih ratova, koja će već radi svoje prirode zahtijevati daljnje geografsko upoznavanje. Ono neće biti jedino uvjetovano htijenjem da se ovdje još bolje učvrsti, da naplati porez, već u prvom redu ekonomski da integrira u

vlastiti sustav osvojena područja u cilju maksimalna iskorištenja njihovog bogatstva: rudnog, poljoprivrednog i drugog.

3. Period rimsко-ilirskih ratova koje su Rimljani vodili protiv Histra, Japoda, Delmata i ostalih starosjedilaca primorja i njegova bližeg ili dubljeg zaleda, nije donio ono bogatstvo geografskih podataka i spoznaja koje bi se realno moglo i trebalo očekivati. Glavni je ovome ipak razlog u činjenici da su oni skupljeni, ali ih u periodu njihova nastanka od geografa nije imao tko iskoristiti u smislu jednoga Eratostena, primjerice. Živio je i djelovao tada Polibije, no on je ipak prvenstveno bio povjesničar, premda se geografijom bavio toliko da se može slobodno kazati da je bolji geograf i od pojedinih pisaca koji su jedino i bili geografi. Kako je djelovao negdje s početka ovih ratova, realno nije niti mogao iskoristiti sve one podatke koje je recimo bio u poziciji posjedovati Livije. Opet, od Artemidorovog su se djela sačuvali tek fragmenti, na temelju kojih se može tek naslućivati što i kako je o pojedinim pitanjima mogao znati.

Međutim, podaci koji će u tom periodu biti sakupljeni, svoju će geografsku obradu dobiti tek s geografskim enciklopedistima, pa su u takvom smislu izvanredno važni za geografiju istočnog Jadranu. Prvo, jer se tako dobio novi način, pa čak i metod dolaska do geografskih informacija: *rat!* Potpuno je jasno da se ni s plovidbama nije stalo; nije ni moglo. Rimljani su u ove prostore dolazili kopnom preko sjevernog Jadranu, ali i morem, preko njegovog južnog dijela. A navigacije su i inače funkcionalne, jer se život uz more ne može ni zamisliti bez njih. Brojnost hidroarheoloških nalaza što ih je do danas registrirala naša arheologija, o tome najbolje svjedoči jer se broj potonulih plovnih objekata, kako se primičemo razmeđu dvije ere, sve više povećavao. Dakle, znatan broj plovidbi, uslijed slabih maritimnih osobnosti tadašnjega brodovlja, značio je u ekstremnim hidrometeorološkim situacijama i veći broj potonuća, tj. upravo pravilno proporcionalno jednog prema drugom. Konačno, svim tim se brojnost i kvalitet geografske građe i spoznaje nisu smanjili, već suprotno: povećali. Tako se dotok geografskih informacija o Jadranu i dalje odvijao geometrijskom progresijom, iako se to do kraja ne može reći i za geografske spoznaje. Te su, naime, uvjek i bile najviši mogući kvalitet koji se mogao dobiti u geografskom uvidu u kakvu oblast, pa njih i treba tražiti kod istinskih geografa. A tih, kako je kazano, do enciklopedista i nije bilo. Nikako, opet, to ne znači da i ovaj period nije imao svojih geografskih spoznaja. Dio je ostvaren u njegovom toku, a najviše ustvari kasnije s tim toliko spominjanim enciklopedistima, koji će već radi karaktera vlastitih djela biti upućeni na potrebu da registriraju sve vrijedno iz svojega ali i starijih, pa i ovoga perioda.

Prema tome, glavni razlog zašto iz ovoga perioda nemamo sasvim direktno daleko više posvjedočene geografske građe te analognih spoznaja, jest u činjenici da je, barem kada je Jadran u pitanju, mahom obilježen historiografskim, a ne geografskim djelima. Stoga se u tim djelima moglo dati onoliko geografije ovog područja, koliko je to od-

govaralo koncepciji pisca koji ga je stvarao. Kako nam je poznato, s izuzetkom Polibija, najčešće njihovim koncepcijama to i nije odgovaralo.

4. Sa Strabonom, Melom, Plinijem Starijim te, na koncu, Klaudijem Ptolemejem, istočnojadranska geografija ima vlastiti zenit. Takve »vježdane« trenutke neće znova doživjeti do duboko u srednji vijek, čemu je razlog u velikom broju objektivnih povijesnih činilaca. A vlastiti zenit doživjava s obzirom na činjenicu da su u to doba djelovali nesumnjivo stvari velikani geografske znanosti koji su se znali pravilno i krajnje znanstveno okoristili svim prethodnim spoznajama kao i općenito znanjima. Znali su iskoristiti i podatke vlastitog vremena, pa se tim pomoračko-trgovačka metoda opet potvrđuje, ali se sada pojavljuje rimski premjer, pa službeni akti i drugi zvanični izvori rimske države, u čijem je sastavu i naše priobalje. Opće-vojni izvori su nedvojbeno i u ovom periodu prisutni, ne samo zbog delmatsko-pansonskog ustanka s početka naše ere (6—9. god. n. e.), već i zbog stacioniranja rimske vojske u našim krajevima, koja doduše ovdje više i neće ratovali, ali će imati veliki broj drugih obaveza.

Promatraju li se sva četvorica spomenutih autora, morat će se zaključiti da su Strabon, Mela i Plinije Stariji učinili grandiozan posao prikupivši sve geografske podatke koji su uopće nešto vrijedili, i to doslovno bez obzira na vremenski period nastanka. Pravu sintezu tih podataka, istinsko njihovo uobičavanje u geografskom i kartografskom pogledu, pružit će tek Klaudije Ptolemej, s čime će period biti u potpunosti zaokružen dajući, kako rekosmo, najviše što se uopće moglo tada — u starom vijeku — o geografiji Jadrana i njegovoga istočnog dijela dati.

Tim nimalo ne minimaliziramo ulogu i značenje ni jednog iz plejade tih velikih ljudi i geografa. Dapaće! Strabon će svakako u opće-geografskom pogledu, ne zanemarujući ni u kojem vidu posebno-geografski aspekt, donijeti možda najviše, želeći na nesumnjivo originalan način odgovoriti u prvom redu na upit što je to uopće geografija! S obzirom na odgovor koji je pružio, a taj je čak i za ovo sadašnje vrijeme prilično sadržajan, pa čak i poticajan, organizirat će izlaganje o geografskoj viziji nastanjenog svijeta u cjelini ali i o Jadranu. U takvom će svjetlu geografsku građu i Strabonove spoznaje o ovom moru trebati promatrati ne samo kroz nju samu, izdvajajući je iz konteksta »Geografije«, što se može u velikoj mjeri učiniti kod znatnog broja drugih ondašnjih autora, već eto i u kontekstu njegovih opće-geografskih razmatranja. A po tima, Jadran je, kao i u svim ranijim periodima, relativno prilično udaljen od matice svjetsko-značajnih zbivanja, pa ga suglasno tome treba tako geografski i dati. I doista, usporedimo li ono što donosi o Apensinskom poluotoku, s onim što priopćava o obali i otocima istočnog Jadrana, ili pak konsultiramo li bilo koji drugi dio njegove »Geografije«, uočit ćemo da stvarno tako i postupa. Stoga o istočnome Jadranu donosi pažljivo odabrane informacije, pobija na znanstvenim temeljima i zablude, ali i pogrešna shvaćanja o pojedinim

aspektima istočnojadranske geografske realnosti, te općenito pruža maksimalno cjelovitvu, utemeljenu, pa i razrađenu geografsku viziju. Ukoliko ta vizija Jadrana ipak nije bila sveobuhvatna, ako je u njoj nedostajalo ovo ili ono, za to se nikako ne može okriviti Strabona, jer je on dao maksimum koji se uopće mogao dati djelujući podalje od Rima. Sve podatke koji su mu nedostajali, prvenstveno one iz rimskog premjera, te ostalih rimskih službenih izvora, tek se stvaralo, pa će njih moći iskoristiti tek Plinije Starici, a on će to doista i učiniti.

Dok je Strabon bio i ostao Grkom po izričaju i obrazovanju, premda ne i porijeklu, pa je rimska latinska vrela tek ponešto konsultirao (a puno toga duduše nije ni imao u strogo geografskom pogledu pročitati), dotle će Mela, vlastiti oslonac u geografiji prvenstveno potražiti u grčkoj baštini, a ni latinsku, tj. rimsku, neće zanemariti. Najvrednije što je uopće dao, u biti je njegovo orijentiranje Jadrana na eratostenski način: NW-SE, što će imati odraza i na kasnijeg Ptolemeja, ali i kartografiju srednjega vijeka. Tako će on slijediti jedan znameniti grčki uzor, a Strabon, od kojega bi se ovo najprije trebalo očekivati, s obzirom da je nekoliko godina djelovao u Aleksandriji, gdje je Eratosten mogao izvorno konsultirati, okrenut će se, zanimljivo, rimskom kultu promatranja geografske orijentacije Jadrana od W prema E. Ptolemej će, pored Plinija Starijeg, koji će ga analogno orijentirati, time biti doveden u priliku da ima potvrđeno i takvo orijentiranje ovog mora, ali se ni njemu neće u cijelosti prikloniti, premda će ga djelomice uvažiti. Orijentirat će svoj Jadran tako da se po smjeru nade negdje po sredini između Eratosten-Melinog i Strabon-Plinijevog pravca. Drugačiji kompromis, radi ugleda i općeg značenja tih geografa, nije ni mogao učiniti!

Plinije, opet, djelajući u vrijeme već dubokog mirnog perioda rimske države, raspolažući sa svim što se uopće vrijednoga u geografiji do njega moglo ostvariti, uključujući jasno i pregršt izvanredno značajnih službenih podataka države u kojoj je i sam imao visok položaj, dao je najcjelovitiju, dakako u pisanoj formi, geografsku sliku istočnog Jadrana. Nije to jedino slika koja se sastoji od nizova informacija koje je našao u djelima svojih prethodnika, ili u faktima Rima, već i zaokružena geografska vizija o obali i otočju istočnog Jadrana, rekli bismo čak vrlo iskusnog i vještog geografa. Ne daju se dakle tek informacije radi njih samih, kako će to činiti kasnoantički geografi, već da bi se s njima pružili svi aspekti jedne razradene i cjelovite geografske vizije. Praktički ovo znači da je on morao, želeći takvu viziju ostvariti, pružiti numeričke informacije i podatke o rimskom municipalitetu, ali i građu o gospodarstvu, pa otočju, maritimnim te oceanografskim obilježjima naših morskih voda, itd. Zato se kod Plinija otoče primjerice daje kako bi se pokazao njihov razmještaj u općegografskom pogledu, ali istovremeno i kako bi se pokazao stupanj municipaliteta s kojim je jedan dio bio obuhvaćen već do njegova vremena. Također, kako bi se jasno dalo do znanja što u gospodarskom smislu pojedini od tih otoka mogu pružiti, ali isto tako i koje stanovništvo na

njima obitava, uz općenite informacije o njihovom položaju prema obali ili ka ostalim susjednim otocima. Drugim riječima, upravo cijelovita geografska informacija o obali i otočju s obzirom na podatke kojima je realno ne samo on već i općenito antički čovjek mogao raspolagati o ovom akvatoriju. Jadran je i za njega relativno daleko od središta svjetsko-značajnih zbivanja. O njemu stoga ne raspolaže s onakvom gradom kakvom je mogao, pa i jeste, o Apeninskom poluotoku, ali nikako to nije značilo, što je Plinije praktično i pokazao, da se o njemu treba pisati s manje pažnje. Dapaće!

U ovakvom je smislu Klaudije Ptolemej posebno od Plinija imao što preuzeti. Za nas suvremene istraživače Plinijeva je geografska građa opet dragocjena ne samo radi činjenice kako se na temelju nje može izvanredno dobro rekonstruirati geografski izgled Jadrana u njegovo vrijeme ili na koji se način taj isti Jadran shvaćalo u to vrijeme, već i radi brojnih podataka iz starijeg vremena koje navodi, a koji se inače nisu sačuvali u izvornom obliku, s obzirom da bi bez njih bilo dosta teško znanstveno razlučiti neke pojave i procese, pa i geografskog obilježja iz starijih perioda. Stoga »*Prirodopis*« Plinija Starijega, a slično je i sa Strabonovom »*Geografijom*«, u dobroj mjeri jest i stanovit oblik historijske geografije, što je za suvremena istraživanja od posebno velikoga značenja.

Da je geografija ovog mora s Plinijem izvanredno napredovalo potpuno je jasno. Nitko ni prije, ali ni poslije njega u pisnoj formi neće dati cjelovitije i svestranije vizije. U tome jest najveća vrijednost »*Prirodopisa*«, premda tome prvenstveni zadatak nije bio geografsko objašnjavanje, već naprotiv svestrani opis svih regija ondašnjeg Rimskog Carstva. Takvim htijenjem Plinije se udaljio od starovjekovnog shvaćanja geografije, ali bitno približio suvremenom, u kojem geografija nije prosti zbroj geografskih dužina i širina, različitih numeričkih i drugih podataka i sličnog, već cjelovita, doslovno sveobuhvatna informacija o svim realitetima područja o kojem se radi, pa čak i društveno-političkim. Plinijevu inzistiranje na municipalitetu, osobito na konventima, pri čemu je bio mnogo više detaljan nego što bi možda ovo mogli i očekivati, o tome najbolje svjedoči. Zato Plinije Stariji, treba to posebno podvući, jeste geograf i to moderni, rekli bismo čak da je po takvim strelmjenjima, barem kada je u pitanju istočnojadransko područje, mnogo više nego tek malo ispred vlastitog vremena.

Ukoliko se u takvom smislu promatra sve ono što navodi, tada njeovi nebrojeni podaci neće izgledati kao kakva usputna i bez nekog velikog smisla opterećenja teksta. Tada će biti potpuno jasno kako pred sobom imamo začetnika moderne geografije, koji je iz njemu raspoloživog fundusa geografske grude dosta uspješno izvukao maksimum koji se uprće mogao izlučiti. Uslijed svih tih čimbenika njegov »*Prirodopis*« stvarno i jeste nezaobilazan u iznalaženju historijsko-geografske slike starovjekovnog Jadrana u cjelini, njegove istočne obale ili pojedinog dijela.

Klaudije Ptolemej, djelujući na koncu tog niza geografskih velikana, u strogo geografskom smislu dao je dakako najviše. Prvenstveni mu je cilj bio kartografski uobličiti viziju nastanjenog svijeta njegova vremena, a u njoj onda i istočnog Jadrana. Zadatak je mogao ostvariti tek on, na način kako to daje »Geografija«, jer je izuzev geografskih, podjednako imao astronomiske, matematičke i kartografske interese. Ovo kažemo stoga što njegova geografska vizija ekumene i Jadrana nikako nije prosti zbroj znanja i spoznaja polučenih u jednom ili drugom pogledu prije njega. Ptolemej se sa svim spoznajama i znanjima vlastitih prethodnika izvanredno jako okoristio — za istočni Jadran posebno Strabonom i Plinijem — ali je nužno morao na njih dodati i vrlo mnogo vlastitog; izvornih podataka podjednako koliko i intelektualnog rada oko iznalaženja potpuno nove kartografske projekcije, organizacije i praktične realizacije kartografiranja, a uz sve ovo i izlaganja, kako teorijskih principa kojima se rukovodio u kartografiranju, tako i geografskom uobičavanju nastanjenoga svijeta. Da je u ovome maksimalno uspio, premda se i njegovoj viziji o Jadranskom moru mogu uputiti i više nego stanovite zamjerke, nesumnjivo je. Čak što više, kako smo rekli naprijed, to je i vrhunac onog što je stari vijek u strogo geografsko-kartografskom pogledu uopće mogao dati. Zato je za nas njegova vizija izvanredno značajna, jer je to jedina prava kartografska slika ovog mora u starom vijeku.

Na obali i otocima, s obzirom na mjerilo vlastitih geografskih karta, dao je ono što je i u njegovu vrijeme trebalo i moglo biti najznačajnije: naselja, ušća rijeka, zaljeve, rtove, oronime, granice, regije, oblasti u kojima su obitavale pojedine etnije, otočje i otočna naselja, te sami Jadran — veličinu (uzduž i poprijeko), vodeći računa o pojedinim odnosima određenih dijelova jedne prema drugoj obali, ali i obale prema otocima. Uz sve to dao je i geografske pozicije najvećeg broja geografskih točaka koje je kartografirao izražene kroz vrijednosti geografske širine i dužine, a za najznačajnija naselja (Jader, Salona, Narona) i otok Skadronu, još i astronomskim putem određenu geografsku poziciju.

Morao je, prema tome, raspolagati s možda barem desetak preko-jadranskih trajekata, s obzirom da se samo uz takav broj te vrste podataka ovoga moglo pravilno kartografirati na njegov način. A koliko je poznato iz ranijih geografskih djela — barem onih čiji su podaci dospjeli do danas — prekojadranskih trajekata nije bilo odviše. Slično je s priličnim dijelom obalne crte, osobito pojasa južnog Jadrana, kako se egzaktno može ustvrditi mjerenjem na njegovim geografskim kartama, oko čijeg je kartografiranja vjerojatno imao prilično problema, s obzirom da se o tom dijelu obale istočnog Jadrana nešto numeričkih podataka jedino sačuvalo kod Plinija, ali je i to, dakako, vrlo malo za istinsko kartografiranje. Odatle je Ptolemej morao i sam potražiti brojne podatke, kako bi kartografiranje mogao učiniti na stvarno znanstveni način. To je i učinio, pa je geografska karta koju danas imamo pred sobom prilično točna, bez obzira na pojedine dijelove koji su deformirani u ovom ili onom pogledu.

Prema tome, maksimalno se stvaralački odnoseći prema podacima s kojima je raspolagao, dostignućima svojih prethodnika, bilo da su bili geografi, kartografi, astronomi ili su se samo usputno bavili njemu zanimljivim pitanjima, dao je vrijednu i originalnu viziju ovog mora. Greške su joj većinom tamo gdje i tim prethodnicima, što znači da ni u njegovu vrijeme o tim dijelovima Jadrana nisu postojale bolje informacije. Primjerice to je Podgorski kanal, koji mu je enormno dug, ali je on to isto Strabonu i Pliniju Starijem. Ili recimo protezanje Jadrana, koje se daje između starijih viđenja (NW-SE) i onih koji su mu neposredno prethodili (W-E). Slično je s drugim geografskim problemima.

Međutim, za Jadran je bitno da ima ovu geografsko-kartografsku viziju, jer to znači kako je i sam bio važno morsko prostranstvo starog vijeka. Jasno ne najznačajnije, niti je to ikada bio, ali jeste među najznačajnijima, pa se odatle razložno i njega kartografiralo u Ptolemejevoj »Geografiji«. Nama je takva činjenica svakako od osobita značenja, jer iznova potvrđuje kontinuitet mjeseta u geografiji i općenito ondašnjem svijetu istočnojadranskog akvatorija. Bio je na periferiji, ali ne takvoj da nije zasluživao više nego samo određenu pažnju, pa i u geografsko-kartografskom pogledu.

5. Stanovito nazadovanje rimskog društva u kasnoj antici odrazit će se preko rimskog prakticizma i na geografiju, a preko nje na geografsko upoznavanje i prikazivanje istočnojadranskog prostora. Pri tome neće biti riječi o onome rimskom prakticizmu u geografiji kakav će u izvornom obliku inauguirati Agripa, kada je taj prakticizam bio potican i u stvaralačkom pogledu, o čemu moguće još najbolje svjedoči Agripina geografska karta s rimske Marsove poljane. Radi se o zadnjem obličju tog načina viđenja objektivne realnosti kada je on doveden do krajnje uporabne točke; kada se pretvorio gotovo u vlastitu suprotnost, sudeći na temelju geografskih i drugih djela kasne antike i ranog srednjeg vijeka.

Jer, onā ne prikazuju neku oblast sa što više važnih ali i vrijednih podataka, s ciljem da konkretnu oblast geografski opišu tako podrobno da se može i govoriti o njezinom cijelovitom geografskom prikazu. Želja im je nabrojati po njima naročito važne podatke: prvenstveno naselje, a uz njih i one koji bi orijentacije radi pri putovanju putniku kopnom, odnosno morem, mogli biti od koristi. Jasno da to nikako ne znači da je riječ o praktičnim putnim priručnicima, nego o itinerarijima. Ti nastadoše u prvom redu na temelju građe dobivene na osnovi postojeće rimske cestovne mreže, u koju su ulazili podjednako kopneni i pomorski putovi. Kako su u izvornoj varijanti, svaki od njih, imali tekstualni i kartografski dio, zaključak je da su bili jasni tadašnjem čovjeku. Danas, kada raspolažemo samo jednim od tih oblika — kod itinerarija iz antoninskog doba jedino pisanim oblikom, a tako je i s Ravenjaninom, dok kod »Peutingerove karte« opet imamo samo kartografski izraz tog itinerarija — prilične se poteškoće ispostavljaju prilikom bilo kakvih znanstvenih rekonstrukcija.

Uslijed takvog metoda nisu bili u stanju registrirati ni djelić onog enormnog geografskog bogatstva tadašnje grade kojom su stvarno mogli raspologati. Tako nam je ostalo nepoznatim, barem što se njih tiče, gospodarstvo tadašnjih žitelja s obale i otoka ovog mora, premda će djeći tih podataka u svojim pismima ostaviti zabilježenim Kasiodor. Nepoznati su brojni maritimni, hidrografske, oceanografske te ostali podaci o istočnojadranskim i interjadranskim morskim vodama. Jer, ako se i u kojem dobu najviše plovilo ovim morem, onda je nedvojbeno to bilo u ovom i prethodnom. Prethodno je pružilo maksimum koji je uopće moglo dati, a iz ovoga, s izuzetkom nekoliko trajekata u itinerarijima iz antoninskog doba, marinskih podataka suštinski i nemamo. Ukoliko se pak želio uhvatiti korak s prethodnim geografima i njihovim vizijama svijeta, tada su i geografi kasne antike morali ne samo posegnuti za tom vrstom podataka, već kritički razmotriti sve prethodne, pa na temeljima vlastitih spoznaja dati novu mnogo bogatiju i razrađeniju viziju. Prema tome, ne samo da nisu proučili prethodne podatke, već nisu registrirali ni one s kojima je raspolažao antički čovjek njihova vremena. U tom smislu, želimo li danas ostvariti uvid u brojnost ondašnjih navigacija, rute kojima se plovilo i slično, pomoći trebamo tražiti jedino od arheologije: kako one koja istražuje kopno, jer su sve te navigacije i činjene radi kopna i prosperiteta ljudi, tako i od hidroarheologije, kroz njezino registriranje na ovaj ili onaj način potonulih predmeta, te ostalih objekata materijalne kulture tog razdoblja.

Dakle, da se uopće i ne spominju brojne druge skupine i vrste geografske grade, nesumnjivo su ta djela bitno dekadentna u odnosu kako na prethodni period tako i, rekli bismo moguće s punim pravom, većinu istraživanog povijesnog vremena. Vjerojatno je u ovom smislu najbolji primjer Bizantinčev leksikon koji je tek puko registriranje raznih geografskih informacija iz različitih djela: po vremenu nastanka te vlastitoj prirodi. Odatle je jasno da geografsko upoznavanje istočnojadranskog prostora kroz ta djela nije moglo napredovati. Upravo, suprotno: ono je nazadovalo! S njima je toliko puta isticana uzlazna crta geografskog upoznavanja, koju smo u matematičkom pogledu opisali kao geometrijsku progresiju, nepovratno prekinuta. Mogla je samo da se kreće na dolje, prema vlastitom minusu.

Međutim, bitno je naglasiti da takva dekadencija u geografskom upoznavanju nije jedino obilježje istočnojadranskog akvatorija. Identično je bilo s geografskim prikazom cijelog tadašnjeg čovjeku poznatog svijeta, čime Jadran ni dalje nije zanemaren s obzirom na svoje mjesto u tom istom svijetu. Ako je u prethodnim razdobljima imao vlastiti zénit, imali su to i svi drugi krajevi ekumene. Ako mu je sada geografska vizija bitno dekadentna, to je situacija i s ostalim regijama, čak i sa središtem rimske države: Apeninski poluotok nije niti malo bolje »prošao«!

6. Prema tome, tokom staroga vijeka istočnojadranski je prostor, srazmjerne vlastitom općenitom političkom, društvenom, ekonomskom,

vojnogeografskom i drugom značenju, dobio razmjerno primjerenu geografsku sliku. Pojedini su njegovi dijelovi više upoznati od drugih, no i to ima svoja čvrsta opravdanja pa i utemeljenja. Primjerice, osobito je to srednjodalmatinska regija. Jer, prva je kolonizirana u doba grčke kolonizacije. Kasnije, zahvaljujući svojem centralnom geografskom položaju u odnosu na cijeli istočnojadranski obalni rub i otočni niz, te unutrašnjost, kao i visokom stupnju postignutom u gradogradnji u predrimskom periodu, bit će i centrom rimske vlasti. Stoga će u starije vrijeme biti zanimljiva grčkim geografima, a kasnije opet rimskim, bez obzira da li su bili s grčkim ili latinskim izričajem. U velikoj će mjeri slično biti i s drugim značajnim gradskim aglomeracijama s ove obale. Ako je Salona bila ona koja je predstavljala žigu interesa za rimske vladavine, Isa i Faros u grčkom periodu, onda će u rimsko doba također biti značajni Pola, Jader, Narona, Epidaur, pa će srazmjerne tom značaju dobiti i prikladno mjesto u geografskoj viziji istočnog Jadranu. Zabilježit će se primjerice otočje koje im je vrlo blisko i težeće (Pola s Kismom Pularijskom, a kasnije, preko »Peutingerove karte« i Ravenjanina i ostalim otočjem; Jader s Lisom, Kolentom, a domala s kasnoantičkim izvorima i brojnim drugim otocima; Narona s pelješkim poluotokom, pa Crnom Korkirom; Epidaur s Melitom i Elafitima; itd.). Isto tako će se dati i veliki broj ostalih informacija upravo s obzirom na njihov geografski položaj. Recimo prekojadranski trajekti, koji će se mjeriti od Pole, Jadera i Salone, tj. od istinskih centara istočnog Jadranu.

Starovjekovna geografija više od naznačenog nije bila u stanju dati. Sve što joj je nedostajalo, u prvom redu u metodološkom pogledu, moći će se donijeti tek nebrojenim stoljećima kasnije.

III. DIO

IZVORI I LITERATURA

Pripomena: Popis upotrijebljenih izvora i literature predstavlja izbor konsultiranih izvora, zbirki izvora, djela, studija i članaka, što je uvjetovano raspoloživim prostorom.

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THE HISTORIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC IN ANCIENT TIMES

(SUMMARY)

Generations of Yugoslav and foreign historians, archaeologists, classic philologists and geographers in their research set the foundations for the historic geography of the territorial waters of the Eastern Adriatic. The results of our research are added to them, resulting in this work, revealing an insight into the history of the geographic cognition of territorial waters.¹

With regard to the professional orientation of the writer (seaman), this study was realized in a rather unusual way, but, nevertheless, it is based on history and its methodology. Namely, a somewhat wider scope of methodology was applied, characteristic for terrene and astronomical navigation, hydrometeorology, marine and general geology, partly cartography. Thus, the maritime aspects towards Eastern Adriatic historical geography of ancient times were taken into account, even though many other aspects were not neglected. Naturally, all cited methodological approaches (along with ample use of computer technology and program support) were applied in a way characteristic for the historic and geographic sciences. The result, of course, is evident — it is the work which lies in front of us: the first synthesis of this type in Yugoslavia and abroad.

This presentation of research results is given chronologically, that is, with regard to the history of these territorial waters. Naturally, geographic material of Greek and Latin origin is in the center of interest. Undoubtedly, somewhat more attention was given to those geographical sources in which, for the most part, geographical material came from a seafaring autopsy. In this light, this study is a particular maritime history of the Eastern Adriatic in ancient times.

¹ The writer of this work is a professional seaman and thus was already directed to the seafaring aspects of the historical geography of the Eastern Adriatic waters. He has been dealing with the historical geography and maritime history of the Eastern Adriatic in the ancient period for a long time now and from this field he published several scientific works and won his doctorate in historic sciences. Now, he is the curator in the Naval Museum of the Yugoslav Naval Forces (Vojnopolomorski muzej Jugoslavenske ratne mornarice), Gripe Fortress, Split, Yugoslavia.

A HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL PICTURE OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC DURING THE TIME OF THE FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE HELLENIC WORLD

The first news and, at the same time, the first historical-geographical data about the Eastern Adriatic history originated in the studied period. Both elements represent a reflection of the level achieved in the development of man's thought and geographic comprehension.

Greek comprehension of the Eastern Adriatic geography from the earliest period to the beginning of Greek colonization (beginning of the 4th century B.C.), can be defined in this way:

1. Up to the 8th century, and most probably stretching through the first half of the 7th century B.C., the Adriatic Sea was grasped as an incomprehensibly distant sea expanse; a sea whose furthest western part touches Oceanus which encircles the earth's plane with water. In other words, it was a sea expanse which linked the Aegean Sea — as known to the Greeks — with the sea expanse lying, according to this idea, supposedly to the incomprehensibly far west. Therefore, this sea was named the Cronian and Rhean Sea, after Cronus and Rhea. The areas in which Cadmus and Harmonia had resided were localized here. This entire area included not only the Adriatic, but also the entire Alpine belt, that is, its interior, stretching right up to the Atlantic. In this sense, the Adriatic was only a fragment of the Sea of Cronus and Rhea.

Thanks to the Greek penetration of Corcyra (Corfu) in the middle of the 8th century B.C., this same Adriatic, as opposed to the time before the 8th century, when it was most certainly named after Cronus and Rhea, acquired inhabitants — the Liburnians (Strabo).

Therefore, in that earliest period, only one concrete and sure geographic fact was known about the Adriatic — that the Liburnians inhabited its hinterland. In these earliest times, it could not have been known exactly where this inhabited region had been, whether both coasts were inhabited and how many Liburnians were there at all, as well as what type of people they were, etc. Most probably only one fact existed in the Greek knowledge of that time: that they were a seafaring people, since they were as such pushed off firstly from the Island of Corcyra (Strabo), and a century from the Albanian coast as well (Appian).

2. Even the very existence of the Greek element on Corcyra, followed probably at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. by more intensive occurrence of trade navigation in the Adriatic waters, involving the trade of amber and tin in the Aquileia-Trieste and Rijeka regions, will contribute to the idea of the Adriatic as being some sort of extension of the Ionian Sea. Greek geographic comprehension will thus move the Sea of Cronus and Rhea even further to the west — right to the coast of the Atlantic and the North Sea. In this way, a definite and complete break-off with the former concepts was not made. The resting-places of these Greek deities of the oldest generation would be localized in the Adriatic Sea waters. However, the ancient historic geography of the Eastern Adriatic is full of anachronisms of this type.

The Greeks had anticipated that far to the west, but certainly before these seas, regions must exist from which amber and tin were supplied. Greek mariners sailed for these goods into the Northern Adriatic, although a part of them were certainly transported by Liburnian galleys as well, so it is logical that these seas were shifted even further to the west.

Thus, besides the seas which were splashing the Greek coast, a sea expanse appeared which was a gulf of the sea known to the Greeks — the Ionian Gulf. The size of this gulf, its maritime characteristics etc., were not even approximately known to them. All that was known about it was that it ended somewhere in the region of the Veneti (Aleman). In this way, wit-

hin their knowledge, they should have had an even deeper comprehension of the fact that the Liburnians were in the Adriatic. However, besides that formulation — «within» — not much else was known. For this period, through a record of their presence around Dyrrhachium (modern Durrës), this fact about the Liburnians was confirmed; from the same source, the Illyrians were also mentioned (Appian). In essence, that period, that is, the second half of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C., is characterized by the Liburnian name as well.

3. During the time around the 6th century B.C., thanks to a relatively long seafaring period in the Adriatic waters within the expanse of the Ionian Gulf, certain hydrometeorological differences were noticed. Due to the fact that, except for the south, the Greeks had realized their influence on the Adria area, to the extreme north of that Ionian Gulf, its most northern part started to be named after the settlement and the river bearing; the same name — Adria (Hecataeus).

If we summarize everything which was characteristic for this time (about the middle of the 6th century B.C.), we should conclude that the Liburnians and the Veneti were known on the Adriatic (facts were not confirmed, but one naturally assumes this because they had been mentioned before and after this time) along with the Illyrians. The Adria settlement as well as the river of the same name were also known. In this way, the upper Adriatic was slowly being separated from the rest of the Ionian Gulf (making it shorter), acquiring a separate name — Adria.

Doubtless, in those times, within the Adriatic, its coasts started to be differentiated. This was the result of a relatively clear fact: all seas, as well as gulfs, always have two coasts, so it is clear that the localization of the settlement and river Adria also meant the specification of the Adriatic Coasts.

4. A further increase in Greek navigation along the entire Adriatic was enabled by Epidamnus and Apollonia organized as Greek settlements (Hecataeus and Appian) along with Adria (Hecataeus), as well as the beginning of Greek infiltrations in Butua (Sophocles) and the Cnidian colony on 'Black Corcyra' (Pseudo Scymnus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder). Clearly, this resulted in the final differentiation between the eastern and western coasts, as well as, at least to some extent the approximate notion about the entire expanse of the Adriatic. As in all former periods, the Adriatic was orientated in a W—E (west-east) direction. The roots for this claim lie in the fact that one could sail from Corcyra towards the North Adriatic trade centres straight to the north, right to Epidamnus (Durrës), from where one took the westerly or easterly course, depending on the direction of navigation. This is why the name Adria — Adriatic — spread at the time (at the end of the 6th century B.C.) along the eastern coast approximately as far as Epidamnus and the extreme northern regions, whose Appenine Coast was inhabited by the Iapygi, that is, approximately up to Monte Gargano. Another reason for this is a truly strong hydrometeorological influence coming from the Mediterranean and the Ionian Seas felt almost to the recorded boundary line. For all of the ancient sealers (especially the earliest ones) this was of life importance.

The Adriatic of that time was in this respect considered an expanse of the sea stretching beyond the Ionian Sea. The Ionian Sea was but a gulf of the Mediterranean; thus the Adriatic could only have been a sea expanse found extending beyond the Ionian Gulf. This is the reason why one part of that gulf was called Ionian, while the other was called Adriatic. Hecataeus' facts are proof that their separation still does not exist: the part named Adria, in some places is still called the Ionian Gulf. This mixing of names was the result of the fact that this new name had not yet been accepted.

A great number of ethnological facts prove the above said. Besides the Veneti in the extreme north, there were also the Histri, Culici, Mentores, Iapodes, Daorsii, Illyrians, Encheleans and Abroi. The Hythmitae and Sypioi were known as well, while on the opposite (western) coast were the Picenes (as well as the Veneti), shown through Hecataeus' data. Another known fact existed about the Aoos River (Vijosë in Albania), but it is necessary to conclude that this rather large amount of facts expressly had to do with the coast and the islands (the hinterland as of yet is unknown; even then, only cloudy ideas about it existed). These facts in Hecataeus' work obviously originated from Greek seafarers. It is evident that besides the Phocaeans (Herodotus), many others also sailed these waters.

Nevertheless, the exact positions of individual ethnic groups in the Adriatic were still unknown to the Greeks. All of them were approximately localized. However, this material also gives proof that an important step forward was made from the former understanding that our coast, that is, the entire Adriatic was inhabited by only three ethnic populations — the Veneti, Liburnians and the Illyrians; the rest were most probably classified under them. A large number of contacts with the inhabitants of the coast and the islands showed that neither all the Liburnians nor the Illyrians among themselves were the same. This is why a number of other ethnic names appeared, as a basic marker for differences noticed even then between our ethnic groups.

Finally, this level of knowledge could have been achieved not only from long periods of seafaring in our sea waters, but also by a considerable frequency increase of these navigations and an increase in the quantity and type of goods traded along the coastline. This meant an increase in the number of trade points (let us give them this name only conditionally). Up to today, registered archaeological and hydroarchaeological finds of imported goods tell us much about this.

5. Exceptionally qualitative facts for the further comprehension of the Adriatic were given primarily by Herodotus. Surely, it was noticed even in Hecataeus' time that not all Illyrians were of the same ethnic group, but Herodotus, and later Thucydides, started to differentiate the Illyrian ethnic groups. Therefore, these two complete the ethnographical picture of the Adriatic with the Taulantioi and the Enchelei, while the Illyrians were mentioned as a separate ethnic name.

Even though we have cited these kinds of facts, these two in essence did not involve themselves with the Adriatic Sea, but from the things they had left recorded in their works, we can conclude very distinctly what the Adriatic — was not. It was not the sea expanse which stretched from the northernmost boundary of the Iapygi on the western coast (that is, approximately from Monte Gargano), up to Dyrrachium and Appolonia on the eastern coast, since according to their knowledge, these two settlements and the Iapygi territory were located in the Gulf of Ionia.

Herodotus and his negations definitely and extremely rationally severed the connection between the Adriatic Sea expanse and the resting-place of the blessed deceased in the far west, telling us at the same time that it was not the sea in which they could or should be localized. By negating the existence of the Adriatic islands on which amber and tin could be found, he negated its link with the northern seas from where these products truly came from. In this manner, he negated the old idea that the River Hister emptied into the Northern Adriatic. This can be applied also to the Eridanus. By his negating the existence of amber and tin islands in the Adriatic, he did not negate the existence of island groups within this sea expanse. In other words, with these negations, he indirectly informed us that in the northern Adriatic, islands did exist, but they did not supply amber and tin.

6. The existence of a navigator's description holding at least a few basic facts about navigation in the Adriatic waters must be assumed if not by the 6th, then certainly by the 5th century B. C. Since the recorded development of Greek knowledge about our sea literally grew in geometric progression, the existence of this description as the forerunner of the later work »Periplus« by Pseudo Scylax seems to have a sound base. The fact that this type of handbook was not saved up to the present cannot be an obstacle to this thesis, since many other ancient works experienced the same fate. Finally, among other works, we see a foundation for this in Suić's (M. Suić, Rad JAZU 306/1955) ideal restitution of Pseudo Scylax' »Periplus«. Like everything else in sea navigation, the facts in the »Periplus« are of the type which could become constant, not through a few years nor in a few decades, but rather after at least one or two centuries.

In the process of achieving these types of facts, we cannot neglect the role of the Phocacans and their navigations with the goal to investigate the interior of the sea. We do not know for certain whether some facts given by Theopompus or Pseudo Scylax should directly be ascribed to them. However, with regard to the existence of the geographic material found in them, these facts had most certainly played more than a sporadic role, so they represent one of the most important bridges between the period of geographic familiarization and the analogous, at first rational, and later, scientific forming of geographic recognitions about this sea.

Namely, according to Herodotus, the Phocaean in the Adriatic established »long navigations« or sailing without stopping for a long time. Probably, their direct relic was the data found in Theopompos' writings — namely, that the maritime length of the Adriatic amounts to 6 days of navigation, which means six days of continual day/night navigation right along the outer island edges of the Eastern Adriatic. This information was later repeated by other sources in different versions. This did not only represent a further step in navigation, which came about as time passed, but also a further step in the geographic knowledge of these waters. The Phocaean »long navigations« resulted from the level of geographic knowledge of the territorial waters, the lack of adequate stronger ports in that early time, and especially the fact that the basic goal of these navigations was, besides reconnaissance for eventual colonization, to sail to the amber and tin market in the Aquileia-Trieste and Rijeka region. In this way, through geographic and historic sources, we are informed about the historic development of navigation in these sea waters, of which especially qualitative facts can be seen in the works of a general pilot type, as in the previously mentioned »Periplus« by Pseudo Scylax.

7. The time span stretching through the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century B. C. was a period in which much geographical knowledge must have been gathered as a base for colonization. Without this base, not one act of colonization, not even Syracuse Issa nor Cnidian Black Corcyra could have been accomplished, nor would there be any point in it. Namely, the act of Greek colonization was not an elemental process. This means that in the colonization of our land, one should look for some other goals to be realized: the expansion of the Syracusean empire, followed by the strategic interests through the defending of Dionysius' Syracuse from the north, and expansion of trade. Regarding the Cnidian colonization along with trade, one would also have to assume the act of founding new settlements, since in the old land, because of the Greek-Persian War, this could not be done. For both, an abundance of fresh geographical data had to exist; this was gathered by navigators.

Part of the geographical material was obtained through logographs and other similar sources, a basic source for the Adriatic up to the beginning of the 4th century B. C. However, even part of the logographic data was saved

up to today; even this small part gives proof of the rather large amounts of geographic material which must have been available, inasmuch as one wanted to undertake further trade, colonization and other tasks. Their meaning surpasses all the former ones, so one of the basic reasons for the further comprehension of the Adriatic geography was found in them.

In this light, the appearance of Aeschylus, Lysias, Ephorus, Timaeus and quite a few others, and finally Theopompus, seems a logical and necessary consequence of the entire former development in the geographical comprehension of the Eastern Adriatic area. At the same time, the facts which they bring, especially the general quality through the development of the Adriatic's geographic picture together with the assumed forerunner of the »Periplus« in the work of the true Scylax, make the necessary bridge. Without it, the inner logic for the cognition of the Adriatic between the earlier periods (up to and including the first half of the 5th century B. C.), and the somewhat later periods (first half of the 4th century B. C.), would be irretrievably lost, while the historic and geographic processes would be almost completely unclear. In this way, this bridge was completed. Thus, qualitatively and quantitatively in its entirety, the terrain was prepared for the appearance of handbooks with a new quality like the »Periplus« and the »Peregrinationes«, with which Eastern Adriatic geography would advance substantially.

Concretely, to the knowledge gathered in the previous centuries, one should add at this time: the cognition of Pharos (Ephorus), Issa (Timaeus), Ladesta (Theopompus), an island with a circumference of 500 stadia or one day of navigation (Theopompus), the Greek Emporium at the mouth of the River Naron (Theopompus), the Hyllica Peninsula (Timaeus), and the mountain ridge: Delphium or Albius (Theopompus and Pseudo Aristotle). The Adriatic was very clearly defined climatologically (Timaeus), navigationally and geographically (Theopompus), as a bay 6 days of navigation long, which stretches from the Trieste-Aquileia region to the Ceraunian Massif on the eastern, and the Cape of Iapygi on the western coast. It is called Adria and is sharply differentiated from Ionia, along with the note that it is in a geographic sense a gulf.

8. To conclude, the analysed time period, even though one of its basic characteristics is the extreme fragmentation of all sources of historico-geographical facts, shows that the geographic comprehension of the Adriatic Sea and its eastern coast developed gradually and continuously.

Knowledge about the Adriatic had been unravelled with the gradual increase in the number of Mediterranean seafarers' navigations in its waters; this especially applies to the Greeks. The more frequent these trade navigations were, the greater was the geographic understanding of our waters. Since all of this took place during the time span of a few centuries, the geographic knowledge was included in the existing geographic visions of mankind of that time, in the geographic picture of the ecumene. Probably from this time came a number of stimuli for its further expansion. Namely, the Adriatic Sea was not observed separately from the universal observation of the geography of the world known to man in those times. In other words, knowledge about the Adriatic Sea more or less has practically developed identically with the geographical science in that period. Had the interest of the Mediterranean world, especially of the Greeks, for our regions been more pronounced, its geographic picture would have been even richer. However, it was not! During the entire period of the ancient world, numerous reasons existed for this, and all of them caused the centre of historic events to be constantly held relatively far away from our regions. Therefore, as a relative periphery of the ancient world, even though in many cases this was not true, our regions obtained more than a solid place in the general history of the ancient times and its geographical science.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC ACCORDING TO PERIPLI, PERIEGESES AND OTHER SOURCES FROM THE TIMES OF GREEK COLONIZATION

The period from the 4th to the 2nd century B. C. is marked by a great number of historical-geographical data and a true wealth of general and specific knowledge. The works of Pseudo Scylax, Apollonius of Rhodes, Eratosthenes and Pseudo Scymnus illustrate this. Among them, quite logically, there is no agreement in the method and views on the geographic material as well as on the description of the Eastern Adriatic. Each of them represent something special. A mutual characteristic of these works is a new quality in the geographic description of the ecumene, including the Adriatic. Nevertheless, they can be grouped into three separate categories: 1. textbook (geographical, navigational and seafaring in general) literature (Pseudo Scylax, Pseudo Scymnus), followed by 2. works of literature with mythological themes (Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus, Lyoophron) and 3 scientific works in geography (Eratosthenes). Although they obviously differed, each brought a greater or smaller amount of geographic material and knowledge. Together, they represent an important geographical view of the world — enlightened practically in all aspects. In this sense, they were logically derived from the strivings of the former period, achieving the most that could be achieved during the time in which they appeared. At the same time, this type of categorization also represented a certain specialization in the science of geography. In other words, this means that since geography itself as a separate science had progressed so well, it could have dispersed its own knowledge into other realms of man's intellectual creativity. Of course, this process existed in the former period as well, when the mythological phase was marked primarily by Homer, geographical, in the strictest sense, by Hecataeus and other logographers, as well as the historiographical phase (which, in truth, did not exist during the period between the 4th and the 2nd century B. C.), expressed through the works of Herodotus, Thucydides and Theopompus. In this division, we regard the Adriatic and its eastern coast. Even though that former period truly influenced at first the formation and later the expansion of geographic knowledge, initiating its dispersion and the beginning of specialization, nevertheless, besides this, realistically it could not contribute more, since general geographical knowledge was still scarce, and the quality was on a relatively low level.

In spite of the fact that in those times the process of Greek colonization was initiated and the Macedonian wars, especially the conquests of Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, took place, a relatively larger span of time was necessary so that the gathered geographical data could be formed into knowledge. This knowledge gave a radical, new quality to man's view of the world.

The former phase was aimed primarily at gathering geographical facts. Near its end, these facts started to become more comprehensible. In this period, the gathering of facts was continued, but not by recording each available fact anymore, regardless of whether its quality could enable the completion of the Adriatic geographical picture. Namely, facts were now gathered much more systematically, their type and quality consciously chosen. It is clear that this approach was in the service of a scientific look at the world. This scientific look had already a well-formed vision of that world and thus strove to fill in the gaps which had not been filled through the former gathering of facts and their generalization. Therefore, in that period we find the geographical knowledge in which certain geographical information is still of the greatest importance (because it is a base for every geography, even the geography of those times). But, this information should not be used separately, as one of the many similar pieces of information, but

rather on the contrary: with the goal to deepen the knowledge involving a definite geographical problem.

These types of works are especially auctor prior's »Periplus« and Eratosthenes, but by no means enormous supplements to Pseudo Scylax' »Periplus«, because they are mainly the result of the former period when the main goal was to record and offer as many facts as possible for the facts themselves. A similar case are the individual facts from other works of the studied period.

Therefore, the real historiographical picture of the Eastern Adriatic of this period (4th — 2nd century B. C.), would be the following:

1. As early as in the 4th century B. C. the basic group of geographic data are definitely organised. Theopompus' data about the entire maritime length of the Adriatic (6 days of constant navigation) are confirmed by Pseudo Scylax' »Periplus« and furtherly elaborated.

Namely, Pseudo Scylax gives proof that the nautical length of the Adriatic (regardless of whether it applies to the eastern or western) should be expressed with 10 days and 2 nights of navigation and should be considered from Aquileia to the Ceraunian Massif on the eastern and the Iapygi Cape on the western coast. Also defined are the parts of the coast which were inhabited by individual ethnic groups, followed by their indirect or direct boundary lines, thus locating them in geographical space. Also defined was the width of the entrance into the Adriatic (the Strait of Otranto), but its width in other parts was still unknown, which meant that this sea expanse was not known as of yet in its entirety. Its »peak« was also defined as the uppermost part around Aquileia, but even this was not sufficient for the whole picture of its true expanse. This is why the defining of its »peak« represents a distinct boundary line between the eastern and western coast, representing scientific progress which simply cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, although on the basis of knowledge from the previous period we know the location of the Adriatic in a wider geographical space, Eratosthenes will add new knowledge, about which we learn from the later works, Pseudo Scymnus' »Periegesis« and Strabo's »Geography«.

However, even this level of knowledge is enough for a more than fundamental vision of the Adriatic, which is still considered a gulf of the Ionian Sea, as well as its eastern coast. Now, not only do we know that in its interior individual peoples could be found, together with defined nesonyms, hydronyms, oronyms and toponyms, but we also have a more precise idea of their position, even though they were not yet strictly defined cartographically. However, considering the time in which it appeared, this alone offers a pretty true picture of the Adriatic as a sea expanse.

Diodorus' description of the sea battle which took place in 384 B. C. off Pharos proves that in the 4th century B. C. even a greater number of facts were available than we could conclude on the basis of auctor prior's »Periplus.² Its number was an important condition for the success of the Syracusean colonization along the Italian Adriatic Coast and Issa. Furthermore, at that time, understanding undoubtedly existed involving this geographical space in its entirety. This enabled the planning and the realization of Syracusean strategic naval operations. This understanding certainly implied that data

² In the text ad 2.4.2. of this work, a part of Diodorus' »Library«, which speaks about colonization of individual areas of the Adriatic by Dionysius the Elder (Dionysius I) was analysed in detail. It is stated that Diodorus »Lisson« is a corrupted form which originally was »Issan«, which means that he did not talk about Dionysius' colonization of Lissus but rather of Issa. In favour of that locations, for which much evidence has been given, are historical-geographical arguments, followed by military/strategic maritime observations, and by a certain number of archaeological indications from the wider Central Dalmatian territorial waters, etc.

about the width of the Adriatic right in its widest part (that is, on the route E coast — Issa — W coast) must have existed, as well as a number of other facts which were not recorded in the geographical literature of that time. This quality of the entire geographical knowledge not only follows from Diodorus' text, but also without it we could not clearly define the meaning and the scope of Dionysius the Elder's naval operations on this sea.

As we have stated before, the »Periplus« contains a lot of geographical data. Among the ethnic groups (or »peoples« in the wider sense) Pseudo Scylax knew of the Histri, Liburnians, Boulinoi, Hylloi, Nestoi, Manioi, Autariatae, Encheleans and the Illyrians. He records these as well as other facts from the west towards the east down the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Among hydronyms, he mentions the River Hister as a remnant of the previous phase of geographical visions (identifying the trade route with the river course), followed by the River Katarbates, which we identify with the Krka River, the Nestos (Cetina), Naron, Rhizon (expressly as a river) and the Drilo. Among neosynoms, he mentions the Mentorides and Electrides in the northern part, Issa, Pharos, Black Corcyra and Melite in the central and southern Adriatic. In connection with them, the Pelješac Peninsula is defined, along with the Pelješac Channel, part of the Lastovo Channel on the route for Cape Lovišće (Island of Mljet) — Cape Ražnjić (Island of Korčula) and the Split Gate. He also mentions the Hylica Peninsula, as well as the Heraclea toponym. Of other toponyms, he records firstly the Greek cities on Issa and Pharos, followed by a trade centre at the mouth of the Naron River (on the spot where the colony of Narona was founded much later) and Butua, as a Greek city. The Greek settlements on the Albanian Adriatic Coast (Epidamnus and Apollonia) are also mentioned.

In the »Periplus« there are more historical/geographical data, but they cannot be dated in the 4th century B.C. Some of the previously mentioned facts cannot be placed in the original text of the »Periplus«, either since they were added to this work later, but, nevertheless, it is necessary to classify them into the 4th century B.C. We especially refer to the 24th chapter, which in the auctor prior had a lapidary form, as they all had. Later on data originating from the same period were supplemented primarily according to the analogies of hydrological situations of the Naron and Drilo Rivers. In this way, the Scodra Lake (Lake Skadar), the Emporium which existed on it (later Scodra) and the Emporium on Drilo (Lissus or Dyrrachium) were known, and also the island on the lake and its agricultural fertility. Naturally, in the analysis of the geographical material in this chapter (in the form known to us today) we used the methodology characteristic for the theory of navigation and knowledge from the science of geology, especially knowledge linked with the Karst and the hydrology of the Skadar-Drin and the Neretva regions. The obtained, partly even exact, knowledge is a reflection not only of the used methodology, but even more, the result of the geographical material qualities which we find in the »Periplus«. In other words, we have found that the explored source when involving distincies in stadia, days of navigation, and other maritime and geographical data, is extraordinarily precise. This preciseness could be proven only by the methodology which was used for obtaining the facts classified in it. On the basis of this, we can exactly state that the seafaring geographical written documents, that is, the sources which sprung up from the seafaring autopsies, should primarily be explored through the methods characteristic for and present in the theory of navigation. Also it is evident that almost all the facts as a result of centuries of navigation in these sea waters were astonishingly precise. However, their geographical and historical interpretations in analogous works and their corruption in countless transcriptions throughout the later centuries, gave them a reputation and epithet of being something not under-

standable and »im precise«.³ Of course, these epithets were supported by explorations with inadequate methodological approaches.

Therefore, as one of the most important constants in research, we point out the adequacy of research methodology with origins and the nature of geographic material in them. In other words, seafaring data should be researched by the methodology characteristic for branches of science and scientific disciplines with which sea navigation is described, while the geographic-cartographic characteristic with the analogous methodology as in geography and cartography! Then, results can almost always be exact! The reason for this lies in the fact that all the mistakes in navigation are of the sort which do not end up in geographical literature! Those who had made mistakes, without exemption, remain at the bottom of the sea! And those who in turn did not make mistakes, left data, as outstanding proof of their own knowledge and skill in navigation.

³ Special consideration is given to the analysis of the 24th chapter of this source (text ad 2.14. of this work). In this way it is stated how the chapter in the original version talked only about the River Naron (Neretva), the Manioi who inhabited its delta (or the banks of the lower part of the Neretva River), as well as Butua (Budva) up to where one would sail to a length of two days of navigation. Later, the chapter started to expand with information about the navigability of the Naron for larger Greek ships (triremes), to which logically was added the data about the agricultural fertility of the wider lower Neretva waters. In the further phase of the next development, an analogy was found with the River Drilo (agricultural fertility of the delta, navigability), so the formulation about the analogy was inserted in the text, but was later lost. On the other hand, when the Drilo was already added, then naturally one wished to specify it in relation to Butua as an extreme point of seafaring in that chapter. Here, it was not known whether the Drilo was located before or after Butua when it was viewed from the navigational direction Naron-Butua. It was decided for the wrong side, so it happened that Drilo was only one day away from the Naron River, instead of three days (because, namely, from Naron to Butua, there were in fact two days and from Butua to the mouth of Drilo only one day of navigation). However, parallelly, the Drilo was mistaken for the Barbana (Bojana), between which rivers was only half a day of navigation. The lake was then in the same context Skadar (Lacus Labeatis), while the island mentioned by Pseudo Scylax is a row of islands on the Skadar Lake of that time. This lake had changed significantly in the last 150 years. Namely, due to large floods in the middle of the 19th century, a river connection was created between the Drin and Lake Skadar over then-established rivulet Drinjača. This river started to bring into the lake much more water than the earlier Montenegro rivers did, and even more than this: also the recent material which was accumulated at the point of Bojana River exit from the lake. As a result of this, the level of the lake waters rose 5 meters. If we lower the present-day level of the lake for those 5 meters and measure the navigational direction from Scodra (Skadar) towards the mouth of the River Rijeka Crnojevića, we obtain Pseudo Scylax' 120 stadia. This means that that measure was originally the size of the lake and not of the island. The lake on the Naron is the present-day Deran Lake, that is today's swamp part from the mouth up to Metković, while the island is once again the present-day Mount Ostrovo. Of course, Naron and Drilo during countless transcriptions, were corrupted in the text of the chapter. Because of this, a »correction« was made of the corrupted name into Arion since the *delta* of the Drilo was easily mistaken for *alpha*, while the *lambda* then became unnecessary, and was omitted. It was easier if we had in view the fact that the name Arion was confirmed on the Mediterranean. Of course, this is only a summary of our analysis.

If perhaps (?) from the cited data it is not possible to irrefutably pinpoint different sources from which they were taken and added to the »Periplus«, this could surely be done with length data. It was concluded that in the 4th century B. C., at least in the case of the Eastern Adriatic, the maritime lengths were still given in navigation days. However, these days were not always of the same length. This is not only the question of how the maritime lengths were defined into »common« and »long days«, as well as »nights«, which represent more than a certain difference. Naturally, it also has to do with the fact that all of the regions which were inhabited by individual peoples were as long as they were, so that those lengths should have been »interpolated« into this metric system. This is why all the »common« days are not equal.

In addition, we have concluded that in the basic »Periplus« text, the »common« day of navigation is 500 stadia long, but besides it also 480 stadia long. Parallel to them, there are also fractioned parts of a sailing day, e. i. 1/4 and 1/3, 120 and 320 stadia long respectively, derived from the system of a navigation day 480 stadia long.

The coast was measured in days of navigation with the length of 500 stadia, giving thus the facts from the basic system of geographical data. With the length of 480 stadia, facts from the system of special geographical data were given, so that through that length (this meaning its regular fractioned parts), the size of individual sea channels was specified, along with passages, the distances between the islands, the distances between the islands and the coast, the size of Lake Scodra, etc.

As we have already stressed, unambiguity, however, does not exist here either. Besides the previously mentioned, it should be pointed out that it is clearly noticeable especially in the navigation days with the length of 500 stadia. These days appear in the maritime routes measured in the E-W direction (19th and 20th chapter), parallel with the routes having a W-E direction (all the other chapters about the eastern and western coast). These lengths were derived on the basis of the lengths of an actual journey, the activity of sea currents, the real time needed for that journey, as well as Pseudo Scylax' data about its time length.

If we take into account only the measuring of sea lengths in navigation days, on the basis of studied geographic works and works of a similar nature, one can assume that this method for the east Adriatic sea waters existed probably right up to the 2nd century B. C. Their calculations into stadia lengths quite certainly had been already made by Eratosthenes, since he exclusively used the stadium as a measuring unit for length. In the following century or two, the days of navigation would be replaced entirely and expressly by stadia and Roman miles, by all authors.

2. Between Pseudo Scylax' »Periplus« and Eratosthenes' »Geography«, not even an indirect connection exists. Very similar is the relation between the »Periplus« and the Rhodian's epic about the Argonauts, while the similarities between the »Periplus« and the »Periegesis« are of the sort which could have come about by a direct insight of Pseudo Scymnus into the »Periplus«. One of the reasons for this was the fact that the »Periplus« was the textbook/geographical reflection of a certain level of the Eastern Adriatic geographic comprehension during the middle of the 4th century B. C. This means that at least that level (in reality it was much higher) had to be available to the Alexandrian scientific circle which would, in either case, give other works important for this period: Apollonius of Rhodes', Eratosthenes' and Pseudo Scymnus' works. Connections between the three are more than obvious and through this mutual accordance between the »Periplus« and the »Periegesis« we conclude that the »Periplus« was also popular in Alexandria, but in a rather later period (probably at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century B. C.), and because of this it could not influence the Rhodian and Eratosthenes. Nevertheless, even though a direct connection does not exist,

certain geographical parallels between these works can be observed. They are the result, on the one hand, of a similar intellectual milieu, and, on the other hand, of not so great a difference in fundamental geographical knowledge (in the sense of knowing the facts, but not their explanation, that is, comprehension) between the 4th and the 3rd century B. C.

3. In this light, the observed work of Appollonius of Rhodes, even though it is a poem with mythological contents, brings a number of elements for the entire geographical understanding of our regions in the 3rd century B. C. In this way, if we organize the peoples generally from the west towards the east in accordance with the coastal direction followed in this work, we have the Histri, Liburnians, Mentors, Hyleans, Nestoi, Manioi, Illyrians and the Encheleans. The epic mentioned only the River Salagon, which was included into the east Adriatic geography by mistake, and the Illyrian River, which should not be regarded as a river but rather as a sea, in accordance with the analogous notes from Callimachus. With this, Apollonius, besides the existing, introduces the name »Illyrian Sea« — for the Adriatic. He identified it, because he comprehended it, as a sea in the general geographic sense. Some time later, this was confirmed by Pseudo Scymnus and we should believe that already from the 3rd century B. C. the Adriatic was thought of as a sea. This could be accredited only to the Alexandrian scientific geography school, that is, to Eratosthenes. Apollonius of Rhodes, in truth, needed the Adriatic as a sea expanse for his characters and story in his work, as accentuated through analysis. However, it seems that in this type of formulation he also had a real foothold in the Alexandrian geographical school.

Of nesonyms, Apollonius mentions the Electrides, known even before, and the Apsyrtides, which up to his work were not known in the historic geography of the Adriatic (both should most probably be linked with Cres and Lošinj, probably including the smaller nearby islands). Besides this, he wrote about the Liburnides, meaning the north and central Dalmatian islands, which in his time had been or were under the rule of the Liburnians.

Among the Liburnides, he especially points out Dysceladus (probably the Islands of Kornati up to the Mulo Reef at Cape Ploče), Issa and Pitycia (probably Hvar). He also points out and talks about Black Corcyra and Melite, while in the southern Adriatic he had knowledge of Coreyra.

At the same time, Apollonius, with regard to Alexandria, where he wrote the first version of his literary work and where he matured intellectually, gives a survey of the development important for the comprehension of the Adriatic from the mythological phase (in which it was named according to the Greek deities of the older generation) up to his time, when it was started to be understood not anymore as a bay of the Ionian Sea, but rather as a separate sea.

The character of Apollonius' work did not allow many data to be revealed about the Adriatic of those times. A similar statement should be made for Pseudo Scylax and Pseudo Scymnus. This was probably one of the main reasons, besides the previously mentioned ones, for the further supplementation of the »Peripluse« and, in a certain sense, of the Apollonius' epic as well, using numerous scholia, which offer a true wealth of historical and geographical data. We will probably be not far from the truth if most of these later additions to their original meaning would also be dated in this period, quite certainly near its end.

4. Eratosthenes, who as a true geographer should have given the most facts about the Adriatic, in fact did just this. However, today we do not know the true scopes of the material he had at his disposal, because his original work was not saved. From the preserved excerpts and interpretations by Strabo and other sources (Pseudo Scymnus, scholia to the Rhodian's epic), we learn that he operated with a certain amount of numerical data about the southern Adriatic and the geographical space surrounding it. From the

eastern coast, he had knowledge of Hyllus and the Hyllus Peninsula, Nestos the Island of Pharos, the Drilo and Aos Rivers, the Autariatae and Illyrians. We should note that he gave his facts like Apollodorus did, that is, in the opposite direction to all the other writers of that period, as well as to the majority of writers from the later periods: from the east towards the west.

Regarding Eratosthenes, it is necessary to consider the basic fact that the goal of this scientist (astronomer and geographer); which he had set for himself, of course, was to show the World of that time in its entirety. So as to strike sturdy scientific foundations not only to a new view of the ecumene, but even in a wider sense, to the World in its entirety, he had to occupy himself with basic geographical and astronomical, even methodological questions. Most probably near the end of his life, the final result of Eratosthenes' work was the geography of the ecumene, as a complete picture of all that he had achieved in geography and astronomy.

It is clear that this picture of the ecumene, like all other pictures of the World, included the basic facts about each region, thus of the Adriatic as well. Therefore this work probably did contain more data than what Pseudo Scylax had offered. In spite of this, on the basis of these facts, the Adriatic should undoubtedly have been defined in the geographic space which served as its boundary. Its length must have been known, as well as a few widths (from different positions), the basic ethnography and geographical data about the location of each people, followed by the topography and its geographic data with which maps, charts, etc. could be drawn. It is a known fact that the «Geography» was not preserved along with many more classical works, but rather only a small amount of information was saved. Do we have the right, on the basis of this reality, to negate all that it truly could and actually did give to the science of geography and the geography of the Adriatic as well? How else could we explain Ptolemy's «Geography» as a mature geographical work which offers completely organized data for cartography! Today, it is perfectly clear that Ptolemy could not have accomplished all this by himself. It is also clear that neither did all of these data belong to Eratosthenes, even though part of them definitely did. The geographic width and length of a certain geographical point is easy to calculate if a geographic map exists founded on the cartography based on mathematics, and that is exactly what Eratosthenes himself had inaugurated. In general for that time, when that entire science was at its very start in comparison with the achievements of modern times, it is all the same whether this would be a cartographic projection of this or that type, but the transition from non-mathematical and non-scientific to mathematical and scientific cartography and geography is essential, even crucial. Finally, it is evident that before Ptolemy, for mapping of a geographical point, at least two pieces of data must have been known: the direction and the distance from a given geographic point whose geographic position was established by astronomical means. Now, it is not difficult for a true geographer and cartographer to calculate the geographical position of that point and then map it on his own geographical chart, regardless of the cartographic projection used. All of these first steps, as well as the methodology of drawing on a map on mathematical base, and also defining of geographic positions of the landmarks of his time by astronomical means, the development of the geographical map itself with regard to the circumference of the earth, and from this the length of one degree of the geographical longitude along with the cartography of the geographical data obtained by non-astronomical means, especially regarding the problem of defining the geographical latitude, etc., were given by Eratosthenes.

Therefore, Eratosthenes was a geographer of the entire World. This is why he had given consideration to individual regions in his work, but this consideration was proportional to the quantity of qualitative geographical data and their importance in the world of that time, as Strabo pointed out

in his work. The Eastern Adriatic regions were in those times also on the margin of the events of that world, so they attained an adequate place in the total amount of the ancient geographic knowledge. A more detailed description of these regions in the »*Periplus*« and the »*Periegesis*« did not mean a change in these relations. This only meant that these works, as school textbooks, had offered in more detail the geographic material which in this quantity could not be found in other works also compulsory in school. Since it was too difficult for schoolchildren, Eratosthenes' work surely was not of that type, but there certainly existed many easier geographic and especially historic works, starting from Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides, etc.

5. Pseudo Scymnus confirms most of the facts which were known before him, mentioning only a few new ones. He knew of the Histri, Ismenoi, Mentors, Liburnians, Boulinoi, Hylloi, Illyrians (and Illyria) and the Brygeans. Of islands, mentioned were the Apsyrides, Elecrides, Liburnian Islands, the Tin Islands, Pharos and Black Corcyra. He also talks of Diomedes' Islands along the neighbouring Italian coast. This involves the defining of the over-sea ferry between the Adriatic coasts. However, the most important fact in the »*Periegesis*« is the mention of the Hyllica Peninsula and, in connection with it, the hydrometeorological situation of the Adriatic of that time. Since Diomedes' Cape (Cape Ploče — Planka) is linked with this peninsula, we on the basis of this definition come to the conclusion that the Adriatic climate was at that time practically identical to the present-day climate. Also, we learn that this type of data was registered very early in geographical works as well.⁴ On the basis of this we can conclude that for this period, as well, seafarers and their ship logs were still a main source of geographical information. Also, the geographical picture of a region could not be envisioned without defining, at the same time, its meteorology and hydrometeorology. This was a direct product of Eratosthenes' geographic-cartographic scientific learnings according to which the ecumene was divided in climatic belts. Finally, this was all confirmed by Pseudo Scymnus' introduction of demography as an inevitable geographical fact.

6. In conclusion, we should yet precisely define the new knowledge in the geography of the Eastern Adriatic, starting from the first news from the former period, up to the end of this period. The known peoples were: Histri, Mentors, Culici, Hythmitae, Ismeni, Syopioi, Iapodes, Liburnians, Boulinoi, Hylloi, Nestoi, Manioi, Daorsii, followed by Illyrians, Encheleans, Autariatae, Taulantioi, Abrii and Brygeans. The mentioned toponyms were: Issa, Pharos, a Greek settlement on Black Corcyra, Heraclea (if it indeed was located in the central part of the Eastern Adriatic), followed by the Greek emporium at the mouth of the Naron River; also emporia in Butua, on Lake Skadar (on the spot of Scodra) and at the mouth of the River Drilo (Lissus or Dyrrachium), as well as Epidamnus (Dyrrachium), Apollonia and a Greek city on Corcyra. Within this time span, Callimachus' Pôlei, in which we see the forerunner of

⁴ Pseudo Scymnus links the climatological situation of the Eastern Adriatic (variable and unstable weather) with Diomedes' Cape od the present-day Cape Ploče, that is, Planka (a protrusion between Rogoznica and Trogir), an area in which the present-day sailors sail with great precaution. Thus this information gets material confirmation. Originally, this situation on that part of the Adriatic was deduced from the differences in the climatology at the mouth of the River Hister in the Black Sea and of the northern Adriatic, where in the so-called mythological phase of development of the Eastern Adriatic geography was also the mouth of this river (the trade route was mistaken for the river course). Later, the specification of the situation was transferred onto area of Diomedes' Cape, that is, Central Dalmatia, if we have in mind that the similar hydrometeorological situation was connected with the Island of Issa as well.

Nesacitium, should also be dated. Among *nesonyms*, we have a true wealth of names: Electrides, Mentorides, Apsyrtides, Tin Islands, an island with a circumference of 500 stadia, Liburnides, Dysceladus, Issa, Pharos, Pityeia (most probably another name for Pharos), followed by Black Corcyra, Lades-ta, Melite, an island in the Naron River and on Lake Skadar, as well as the Island of Sason and Corcyra in the southern Adriatic, and Diomedes' Islands along the opposite shore. These nesonyms, better than any of the other historic-geographic data, prove that the central part of our side of the Adriatic was best known. Only in this part (and of course, in the extreme south), are the islands defined by names. Proof of this is seen through the knowledge of *sea channels and passages* right from these waters: the Split Gate, the Pelješac and Mljet Channels, that is, those sea areas in which seafarers sailed every day near the end of the analyzed period. Histria was known as a *peninsula*, as well as the Hyllica Peninsula and the Pelješac Peninsula, even though this last one was in fact not named, but rather defined only as a piece of land which «stands out» or «stretches» into the sea. Here are also facts about Diomedes' Cape, the Lake Skadar, as well as the existence of the *mountain* massif — Mt. Haemus (Balkan) in the hinterland, Delphium-Albius and the Ceraunian Mountain Range along the eastern Adriatic coast. Among *general information*, Illyria was mentioned as a province, but also as a state. Finally, closely linked with the above shown is the hydrometeorological picture of the Adriatic in those times, data about the agricultural and cattlebreeding wealth in this region, as well as facts regarding its demography.

Of *hydronyms*, in the sense of flowing waters, a few are known by name: Hister (although a growing consciousness that it was an error prevails), the River Katarbates (Krka), Nestos (which was also mentioned as a bay), Naron, Rhizon, Drilo and Aoos. Raša (Arsia) and Bojana (Barbana) were not mentioned in the texts by name. However, knowledge about these two rivers should at least be placed near the end of the analyzed period, because they were defined indirectly in the »*Periplus*«.

As stressed in the analysis of Pseudo Scylax' »*Periplus*«, a large amount of numeric geographic data existed. The source of these as well as of other data were still the Greek and the Mediterranean seafarers.

The Adriatic Sea, as a sea expanse, passed through a true metamorphosis: from the sea which carried the names of the Greek deities of an older generation from the former period (Cronus and Rhea), through the phase when it was considered a part of the Ionian-Adriatic expanse, at first as the Ionian Gulf and later the Adriatic Gulf, while the Ionian Sea was still called the Ionian Gulf. So, for a time, within the Ionian-Adriatic sea expanse, two gulfs existed — the Adriatic and the Ionian — as integral parts of the Mediterranean Sea. In the coming period, sometime in the 3rd century B. C., the Adriatic finally became a sea in the general geographical sense. Somehow at the same time, the Adriatic was named after the Illyrians (»the Illyrian Sea«); the reason for this was primarily the inauguration of the Illyrian state's rising strength along with its military skill. On this basis the expansion of the Illyrian name towards the northwest of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea took place.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL PICTURE OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC REGION DURING THE TIME OF ROMAN PENETRATION INTO ITS STATE OF AFFAIRS

The arrival of the Roman military force, at first on the coast of the Eastern Adriatic, and in time, in the interior of our country, meant an important new chapter in its history, not only in general, but in the geographical sense as well. When this ruling power consolidated on the boundary of

two eras, it bore certain consequences on the geographical picture of these regions through the works of the classic geographic encyclopedists — Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy. However, the transient period lasting over two centuries was not geographically anonymous. On the contrary, it had its own strong recognizable tone in the literary works which dealt with Roman wars in these parts. Through them, this period, having its own rather unique geographical picture, became a necessary bridge between two quite different geographical visions: the pilot-Eratosthenic and the geographic-encyclopedist. The former, in the Greek language and the Greek spirit, gave the scientifically-based geographical vision of the ecumene. The latter was Greek-Latin, a geographically and scientifically mature vision in the classic sense, which was able to deal with countless details.

This was the bridge the objective of which was to register the course of war operations, but also, because the waging of war and geography always went hand in hand, to give basic information about the regions of the Eastern Adriatic. Most interesting is the fact that this course of operations along with the insight into these geographical conditions were given by the authors who were practically their contemporaries: Polybius in the 3rd—2nd, Livius in the 2nd and Appian in the 2nd—1st century B. C. Through their works we learn not only about the regions in which battles were fought, of which individual battles were the épopee of heroism, self-sacrifice and love for freedom (i. e. Nesactium, Metulum, Delminium), but also about the manner in which these military campaigns were described, along with the method of collecting and delivering the geographical material.

1. The most successful author to further the expansion of horizons in geographical knowledge about the Adriatic and its eastern part was Polybius. His greatness is reflected in the fact that he was not a mere chronicler of war operations, but was rather an author who tended to go even further, more than only a step further. If we follow Strabo's testimony, Polybius was so skilled in the geographic study of the World, which he himself furthered in a certain way, that Strabo rightly went as far as to call him a geographer.

Even though the historical frame about which he wrote, to a greater or lesser extent, included only Roman wars with the Illyrians of the Illyrian state, and thus his interest in the Adriatic was restricted to the southern and partly the central part of our sea, he nevertheless left a number of extraordinarily valuable facts.

All of his research, including research on the Adriatic, he put in a wider historical context of the entire Roman state's history of his time, as well as the repercussions to the Roman state with regard to the wars that it fought in one of those regions. As a result of a multitude of problems which the ecumene of that time had presented, this inevitably pushed him into dealing more with general facts rather than with specifics. However, he did not avoid the specifics, not even when the Adriatic was in question, since he frequently delved into analysis of detail, inasmuch as it was important for the entire understanding of history about which he wrote.

The number of facts presented by him is not large. Regarding peoples, they are: the Illyrians, Ardiaei, Parteni, Atintanes, Encheleans, Lebeates, Daorsii and Delmatae. It is important to note that he mentioned even the Delmatae as Illyrians, giving proof about the continual expansion of the Illyrian name along our coast, which in the 2nd century B. C. succeeded, so it seems, to reach as far as Titium, the traditional northwest boundary line of the Delmatae. As is generally known, these peoples were continental peoples! However, Polybius' wider Illyria went even further along the coast, even up to the Iapodes and the Trieste region, as witnessed by Strabo. These data probably originated by the end of the 2nd century B. C.

These »stretchings« of Illyria represent new historical-geographical data, in accordance with the earlier geographic material. For example, up to Pseudo Scymnus, the Illyrian name had expanded to Nestos. Of course, Polybius

would not deserve our previously mentioned epithets, were it not for his knowledge about the Illyria »proper«: the Illyria with Illyrian ethnic characteristics (*Illyrii proprie dicti*), which he had located approximately up to Rhizon Bay (Boka Kotorska).

With regard to the remaining geographical material, he already followed known frames. This is obvious not only by his mentioning the important central Dalmatian islands (Issa and Pharos). Primarily, it involves toponymy, that is, the knowledge of Tragurium and Epetium, not known to the geography of earlier times, followed by Rhizon, Arba, Scodra, Metcon, etc.

He understood the Adriatic within the normal Greek comprehension — after all, he himself was of Greek origin. This is why he started from the Ceraunian Mountains, with the note that the eastern coast, according to him, measured 6,150 stadia, therefore up to the Trieste-Aquileia region. Especially interesting is the fact that he was aware of the sea currents in the northern Adriatic as well. Along the western coast they were strong; along the eastern coast, they were relatively weak (region of a decreasing sea current), which is new for the geographical comprehension of the sea.

2. Livius, as opposed to Polybius, was only a historian, although not on the level of a mere chronicler. He did not pay any attention to geography, so the geographical material as cited only up to the point necessary for the most basic comprehension of the course of history, although this matter was dealt with in great detail at times. Even though in his work he dealt with the entire Eastern Adriatic — in a historical-geographical sense — nevertheless he directed most of his attention to the south. This is natural considering the hardships and the length of military operations in Roman-Illyrian wars. Finally, the southern Adriatic was directly linked with the Greek motherland, which was of great interest to the Romans. These regions fell soon under their rule as well.

The Roman division of Illyricum from 167 B. C. into southern, central and northern Illyricum is especially interesting. According to Livius, the central part included the region inhabited by the Labeates. He gave most of his consideration to this region. Therefore this region was geographically described in more detail.

Of toponyms, on the whole coast he mentioned Nesactium, Faveria and Mutilla, followed by Acruvium, Risinium, Olcinium and Scodra. Besides Histri, Liburnians, Iapodes and Illyrians, he also had knowledge of Labeates, Ardiaei, Daorsii, and of the islands Issa and possibly our Korčula, but, which is interesting, not Pharos, which is probably due to the fact that, like in the case of Polybius, his work was not preserved in full.

The rivers only complete the given picture. In Istria, it is the Budava, which flowed at Nesactium, while on the south besides the Drilo (which he called Oriund) he knew of the Barbana, mentioned here for the first time. The reason for noting this river is the result of a number of Roman operations which took place around Scodra, so that with regard to this, the Kiri River and Lake Skadar were mentioned; which are also completely new data. On the basis of the text in which these data are given, we could conclude that he was excellently informed about the Skadar-Drim waters, which nevertheless, is not so. For example, he considered the River Bojana a tributary of the River Drim.

His description of the Adriatic also must receive credit regarding originality, although in truth he merely presented the ideas of the Roman geographical circle. However, he first illustrated these ideas, actually rather unskillfully, and therefore he should be regarded as their public speaker. Thus, his vision was the Roman vision of the Adriatic: it is the »upper sea«, which in reality it was in relation to the Apennine Peninsula and the Tyrrhenian Sea, since this sea expanse washes its southern coast. His division between the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea is radically different from the earlier Greek

understanding. The southern boundary of our sea is marked by Cape Brundisium on the western coast and the River Drilo on the eastern coast, which directs us to the time at least around the end of the 2nd, and most probably the 1st century B.C., and the organization of the Macedonian Roman province, whose northernmost boundary (towards Illyricum) went along the Drilo.

3. Appian finds a place in this chapter thanks to the fact that he wrote about our history from the 2nd to 1st century B.C. In our context his genealogy of the Illyrians is geographically interesting which, as a basic idea, existed at least 3–4 centuries before his time. He adapted this genealogy — which in very early sources talked about the Illyrians in the original-ethnic sense — to the Illyrians seen from the Roman administrative-geographical standpoint, stretching them across the entire eastern Adriatic. This is confirmed by quoting the length of the Illyrian coast (over 6,000 stadia). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in this genealogy, he did not include, for example, Histri, Iapodes, Liburnians and Delmatae. If he had really known about our geography, he should have included these peoples, since he had included the Pannonians and Paiones.

In this way, he contradicted himself, since in the holdings of his own ethnographical material with clear Illyrian characteristics and attributions, he listed: the Retini, Norici, Histri and Iapodes, Liburnians and Maezai, and the Delmatae, but also the Illyrians, probably understanding them at least approximately as *Illyrii proprie dicti*. If we follow his genealogy, then it is obligatory to include into this Illyrian ethnic list also the Encheleans, Autariatae, Dardani, Maezai, Taulantii, Perebi, Parthini, Daorsii, Dassareti, Pannonians and Paiones. Finally, the Brygeans remain, not only without the Illyrian, but without any other wider ethnographic characteristics.

Naron and Apsus were known to him as rivers; of the islands we have Pharos, Issa and Corcyra (Corfu). Among coastal settlements, he mentioned Salona, Epidamus-Dyrrachium, Scodra, the port Nympheum, Apollonia and Oricum.

In the comprehension of the Adriatic Sea, he followed the ideas inaugurated by Livius. On the eastern coast, it stretched to Dyrrachium, while he saw its lower boundary on the western coast at Brundisium. According to Appian, the Adriatic's south had somewhat unfavourable hydrometeorological characteristics compared to the rest of it, as a result of the influence from the Otranto. He orientated our sea to the W–E direction, the sea south of the Dyrrachium-Brundisium boundary to the N–S direction.

4. Among the remaining sources, we set aside two more: Artemidorus of Ephesus and Caesar's »Opus«. Artemidorus of Ephesus is important because he was the only true geographer from this period. Only a few of his facts have been preserved about the Adriatic. It is clear that his knowledge about Alvona and Flanona as well as the Flanatic Gulf was undoubtedly of great value to us since they were mentioned for the first time in the history of the Eastern Adriatic geography. He also had knowledge of the Apsyrtides, but it is interesting to note that Apsorus was also known to him as a toponym; which is also a new fact. Finally, he mentioned the Boulinoi and the Nestos River.

Within Caesar's »Opus«, even though Caesar himself was in the southern Adriatic, we do not find as much geographical material as could be expected. In it, he confirmed the knowledge of Salona, Dyrrachium, Lissus, Apollonia and Oricum, the Ceraunian Mountains, as well as Issa (the city and the island), Sason and Corcyra (Corfu), while of the newer data, he mentioned Epidaurus (Cavtat), Tauris (Šćedro) and Curicta (Krk). To a great extent, his ethnography coincided with the given material: Liburnians, Histri, Labeates, Parthini and Illyrians. The provinces Liburnia and Illyricum were also mentioned. Also interesting is the record, coming from a separate group of geographical data, of the Iaderatinoi, as a part of the Liburnian people.

The most interesting are, in any case, the hydrometeorological data because they completed Pseudo Scymnus' definition of two basic types of winds on the Adriatic: the Bura and Jugo. If we add to this picture Lucan's formulation about the Adriatic's zephyrs, we can conclude that up to the boundary of the old and new era, success in obtaining a pretty whole hydro-meteorological vision of this sea was evident.

Let us note that besides the given data, Lucan also confirmed the Roman way of naming the Adriatic, but he went a step even further. He called it the »Illyrian Sea«, with which the much earlier formulation of Callimachus was confirmed. This again gives proof to the fact that individual comprehension from the holdings of the eastern Adriatic geography was living on for centuries.

5. Even though this is a rather specific picture of our sea, nevertheless, we should conclude that this picture assisted in its further comprehension. If we sum up all that was learned in the former periods, we obtain, near the end of the period of Roman armed penetration into our regions, the following groups of geographic material treating the Eastern Adriatic: first, the *peoples*: Raetians, Noricans, Histri, Mentors, Culici, Hythmitae, Ismenoi and Syopioi, Iapodes, Liburnians, Hylloii, Delmatae, Boulinoi, Nestoi, along with Manoi, Daorsii, Labeates, Ardiaei, Illyrians and Autariatae, Partheni, Taulantii, Abrii, Brygians, and a large number of peoples in the interior of our country; second, *toponyms*: Tergeste, Nesactium, Alvona, Flanona, Apsorus, Heraclea, Issa and Pharos, followed by the Cnidian colony on Korčula, Tragurium, Salona, Epetium, as well as the Greek Emporium at the mouth of the River Naron, Epidaurus, Risinium and Acruvium, Butua, Olcinium, Scodra, Epidamnus, Nympheum, Apollonia and Oricum, and a certain number of toponyms in the nearer or deeper interior (for example Mutila, Favera, Arupium, Avendo, Metulum, Segestica, Delminium, Synodium, etc.); third, *hydronyms*: Hister (Soča), Budava (a rivulet at Nesactium), Katarbates (Krka), Naron, Rhizon, Barbana, Drilo and Aoos. Of lakes, we know only of Lake Skadar (Lacus Labeates). In the deeper hinterland, a number of hydronyms were known, starting with the River Sava to the Ister or Danube, up to Lake Lychnidus, etc.; fourth, *oronyms*: Albius or Delphium, Sar Mountain and the hilly coastal belt of Illyricum, as well as the Ceraunian Mountains, while in the interior there is primarily Mt. Haemus (Balkan), etc.; fifth, *sea passages and channels*: first the Split Gate, the Pelješac and the Mljet Channels, followed by the Strait of Otranto — in the sense of a passage, and the boundary between the Adriatic and the Ionian Seas. The isthmus between the Adriatic and the Black Sea could not be located, because of the false theories from the mythological phase of development in the Eastern Adriatic geography; sixth, *the ferries*: in Otranto, between two opposite coasts (Illyrian and Greek on one and the Italic on the other side), the eastern shore — Issa — the Italian shore, as well as the ferry on the route from our coast touching Lastovo, towards the Italian coast. The plans of the ferry courses in Otranto can be established exactly, since they represented regular navigation routes from Brundisium or Hidruntum to the north in the direction of Dyrrachium or to the east in the direction of Apollonia or Corcyra. It was totally analogous with the ferry which touched Issa, since it was a question of navigation in the S or N direction, depending on whether one sailed from our coast towards the Italian coast, or vice versa. It is similar up to a point to the ferry which sailed via Lastovo; seven, *peninsulas*: in the first place Istria, and then the Hyllica Peninsula and Pelješac; eight, among *capes*, only Diomedes' was known; ninth, *gulfs*: the Flanatic and the Mamios Gulf; tenth, *nesonyms*: Mentorides and Tin Islands, Apsyrides, Electrides, Curicta (=island of 500 stadia), Liburnides, Dysceladus, Pharos (Pityeia), Issa and Tragurium, Tauris, Black Corcyra, Melite, Ladesa and the island located in the lower course of the River Naron, as well as one on Lake Skadar, while in the extreme south are Sason and Corcyra (Corfu). Along the western

coast of the Adriatic are Diomedes' Islands; eleventh, *economic branches*: agriculture and livestock breeding, shipbuilding, mining (silver, gold and iron) and trade; twelfth, *the Adriatic*: as early as in the 3rd century B. C., (Polybius) it was considered a sea whose lower boundary was at the Ceraunian Mountains. It had a length of 6,150 stadia. Livius from the Roman point of view called it: «Upper» or «Illyrian Sea» (Lucan), which stretched to Dyrrachium. The width of the Adriatic was still not known, except for the width of the Strait of Otranto (500 stadia — Pseudo Scylax). The Adriatic was expressly a sea in the general geographical sense; thirteenth, *maritime and oceanographic data*: in the Northern Adriatic, the sea currents were known, along the eastern coast somewhat milder, and along the western coast stronger. The weather on it was unstable, that is, variable, and besides mild breezes (zephyrs — Lucan), the bura and jugo winds predominated as the main winds. The depths along the eastern coast were guessed, but of still hazy visions. Linked with the depths, still no knowledge existed about their rather close connection with sea currents. Namely, in narrow channels, along with small depths and narrow passages, sea currents are always significantly quicker. This problem remained for the next period, to be solved by Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela.

6. The data cited above were not confirmed in that period, but represent the total sum of facts approximately until the boundary between the old and the new era. It is most probable that not all these facts were in circulation, since in the meantime individual geographical situations were changed, like the previously mentioned ethnographic processes, which included the Liburnian peoples: Mentors, Hythmitae, Syopioi, etc. Nevertheless, reminiscences even about them must have existed during this whole period, since there was not even a single work with more subtle geographic-historic analyses in which records about the new situation should undoubtedly have found place. In the following period, from Pliny as well as other authors, quite a lot of data about these existed, but we have no right to make any corrections, because on the one hand, to the greatest extent they give a picture of their own time, and on the other hand they bring out a surprising quantity of data from the earlier periods. On the basis of this, we were in most cases not in the situation to bring forward a conclusion which would and should be unambiguous.

In spite of this, on the basis of the previously illustrated material, we could exclude the River Hister, replacing it with the River Soča, but with this we gain a river with no name. Probably the same might be applied to the names Pitygia and Electrides — the Amber Islands, as well as to an island with a circumference of 500 stadia in which we see Curicta — Krk. Perhaps a few more facts should be excluded, but on the other hand, a great number of facts from the following period should find a place in the sense of basic naming: for example, the rivers Raša, Zrmanja, etc., also Parentium and Pola, which, near the end of this period had already matured quite a bit within the Roman colonial system, not to mention the others. Therefore, this too is one of the important characteristics from period of the Roman penetration of the east Adriatic and Balkan state of affairs in general, on which more light will most certainly be shed through future explorations.

THE FIRST CENTURIES OF ROMAN RULE ON THE EASTERN ADRIATIC: ENCYCLOPEDIC AND OTHER ORIGINS OF GEOGRAPHICAL DATA ABOUT ITS COAST AND ISLANDS

The time period starting somewhere on the boundary between two eras up to the end of the 2nd century A. D. was the era when the Roman rule was entirely strengthened on the Eastern Adriatic. The coast (if we observe it from Targesta to the Ceraunian Mountains) was integrated into as many

as three Roman provinces: the tenth Italic region, which included Istria, Illyricum from Arsia to Drilo, and Macedonia, starting from Drilo up to the Ceraunian Mountains and Oricum. Liburnia and Dalmatia were a part of Illyricum.

This period was not only the time of general peace, but also the time of wealth and progress in general, bringing every form of prosperity. In it, the Eastern Adriatic region and its coastal and island settlements matured at an accelerating rate into true cities: some with Italic, others with Roman civil rights. In the natural course of development and time, most of the former migratory societies with Italic civil rights, or perhaps even without them, attained Roman civil rights.

In this way, the autochthonous inhabitants of this belt theoretically but also practically, of course, were integrated into an almost immeasurable Roman empire. Judging on the basis of written sources, the Illyrian name expanded to all peoples of this region. Nevertheless, as it is learned from the epigraphic materials (whether they originate from our country, Italy, Hispania or perhaps Africa), the inhabitants will keep their own ethnic characteristics for a long time, including in this the names of the peoples from which they originated. However, neither geographical nor historical sources will »forget« the multitude of our peoples. On the contrary, like in former sources, frequently peoples could be found which in reality had already disappeared from the historic scene, or had, in the meantime, changed their habitat. Furthermore, thanks to the Roman measuring of our regions, as well as the general flourishing of urbanism, of all aspects of exceptionally high levels of achievements in communications by land and sea, and the further development of geography as a science an abundance of other geographic material were presented, attaining a quality like never before nor after this period.

This involves the »Pax Romana«, »Roman peace«, the final true creative period, even for the science of geography. At the end of this period, that is, the 2nd to 3rd century A. D., at first moderate and later more numerous and stronger penetrations of the so-called barbarian peoples had started. These movements will, some centuries later, transform into a torrent known in history as the *migration of peoples*. With this, the Roman world and their state enter a new phase of development. This resulted in the development of two separate worlds and two states: the Western and Eastern Empires. The former fell, disappearing from the historic scene in the form and sense which had existed in the previous centuries. The latter continued partly with the traditions of the previous period and partly adopted (composing into its organism even the mentality) spiritual, but also other values of the Hellenic world, living on as the Eastern, that is, the Byzantine Empire. Thus, this transition period, precisely the late Antiquity, was decadent in the science of geography and, as a result, in the geographical description of the Eastern Adriatic.

Therefore, the period in question in this chapter, on one hand, is the time period between the Roman — Illyrian and other Roman wars with the inhabitants of our parts, having in mind to occupy these regions and, on the other hand, it is the time of a slow but inevitable loss of these same territories. This is why it was the time which could really offer Strabo, Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy the total geographical material from the earlier periods integrated with that which was primarily brought by the Roman state organism (legal political divisions, tax systems, measuring, etc.). All this included a certain number of different pieces of information obtained on the basis of travelling, trade and general military experience resulting from the communications carried out in these regions (by land and sea). So, summing up all this, that authors justified their own visions of the Eastern Adriatic expanse, each one in his own way, by his own methodologies and illustrations, using the material which could have been known up to

their time. Looking at it as a whole, this vision was outstanding under the conditions of the antiquity. However, the same applies to each author separately, because each of them were true individuals even when it came to the geographic vision of the Adriatic Sea. This is why we should discuss each of them taking into account their true individual natures, ambitions and the potential each of them had, and finally, what each one of them wanted to convey with his own geographical description.

The image of these geographers and their peculiarities is at the same time the picture of the Eastern Adriatic. In the light of these statements, providing they are well founded, in spite of the fact that all of these authors were active during a relatively short period of time their general geographical vision can be presented in the following way:

1. On the boundary between the two eras, geographical material was gathered by Strabo and Pomponius Mela. Even though the former belonged to the Greek, and the latter to the Latin (Roman) circle of geographers, they, nonetheless, had a common understanding of the Adriatic Sea. Dealing with its expanse, they accepted the ideas established by Pseudo Scylax, later on adapted by Eratosthenes, Pseudo Scymnus and Polybius. After them, it reached the Ceraunian Mountains and was about 6.000 stadia long, as Strabo recorded it. This measurement coincided with the measurements of his predecessors. Nonetheless, Strabo did not orientate this sea in the NW—SE direction according to Eratosthenes' method. He accepted the Roman views of this method, orientating the Adriatic in the W—E direction. Especially interesting is the fact that Mela, on the other hand, followed Eratosthenes' method not only in orientating the Adriatic but also in the order of exposition of the geographical material which he recorded in his »Chorography«. This Roman geographer cited more data about our part of this sea than about the western coast, because everything was known about it anyway, at the same time giving a testimony undoubtedly important for the geography of the Eastern Adriatic. He not only informed us in this time (40 A. D.) the opposite coast of the Adriatic was rather far away from Rome, and therefore of less interest, but also the generally known fact that he himself had roots in the Latin geographic literature, and, what is of greater importance, Greek as well. Precisely this Greek aspect explains the reason why much more attention was given to this coast. He undoubtedly answered clearly our questions asked on the previous pages of this work, but at the same time directed us to his own Greek ideal sources, not only Eratosthenes but also Artemidorus of Ephesus and Apollodorus, whose works we know of only through fragments, etc.

As already said, Mela did not present numerical data, but Strabo did: the length and width of our sea, oversea ferries, lengths of coastal lines of certain individual peoples, etc.

³ A somewhat greater attention in the text ad 4.1.3. of this work was payed to the analysis of Strabo's navigational data about the Istrian and north-Dalmatian part of the Eastern Adriatic. In the analysis, it was exclusively shown that around the boundaries of the two eras, the Podgora or the Velebit Channel was hardly known, and because of this it was measured around 2,500 stadia (Ptolemy), that is, 1,000 stadia for the part of the Iapodi coast (mouth of the Arsia — mouth of the Tedanius), to which was added 1,500 stadia for the length of the Liburnian coast (mouth of the Arsia — mouth of the Titius). During this measuring it was not known that the measurements were taken in the interior sea waters and that the same maritime route was added simultaneously first to the Iapodes and immediately after that to the Liburnians. On the basis of this, Strabo's geographical material, and similar material of Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy, the River Tedanius or Telanius was located on the spot of the present-day Zrmanja. At this point, we consulted other maritime data in classic works and in the science of geology.

Therefore, the two of them represent the geographers who appeared by the beginning of the mentioned peaceful period. They had matured to a great extent on Greek theoretical and practical geographical literature and materials derived from them. They could have, and had indeed, made use of most of the results of finally concluded Roman operations in our parts, as well as of the first official acts of the Roman state, which regulated the ethnic and provincial boundaries, building of cities in the light of Italic and Roman civil rights, etc.

Let us point out that Strabo and Mela were discussed together in this work, since they had more in common than we had already stressed. Besides the fact that they were both inspired by the Greek geographical school, and were contemporaries as well, they most probably did not offer even half of the information about the Eastern Adriatic that they could have done. Strabo did not do this since he was of the opinion that the regions which were distant from the course of world-important events could have been described with a smaller amount of geographical material (our coast, as Mela confirmed, as truly remote in those times). His ideal was to write the *«Geography»* which would be of use to the state and its statesmen. He considered that the matters which were far from the state's center were of a lesser interest to it and for geography as well.

Mela, on the other hand, did not offer much material about the Eastern Adriatic since his work, preserved up to now, his *«Chorography»*, was only a sketch for a more ambitious work. Since he could not realize his own geographical vision in full — in the form of a separate work — only the *«Chorography»* remained.

Finally, the Eastern Adriatic geography still greatly progressed with the help of these two geographers. Not only through the material shown but also, to a great extent, through the scientific definition of this sea in relation to the surrounding geographic space. With their works, namely, this sea finally obtained a place in the ecumene of that time, defined even with a number of geographical—cartographical facts: for example, the value of the longest day, that is, the time value for the geographic latitude. They also brought more oceanographic and hydrographic data about the Adriatic, especially about its northermost part. The geography of later times, of Ptolemy especially, had much to inherit from them.

2. Pliny the Elder, although he was active for a certain time simultaneously with Strabo and Mela, nonetheless created his own work when these two had already concluded their similar works, which allowed him a much wider and more qualitative foundation. However, as much as it could be learned from our historical-geographical investigations, he did not know of Strabo, since they were separated by a few decades (regarding the period of their creative work). Considering the fact that, because of the the ways of communication in those days (not only physical) were relatively complicated, it is probable that Strabo's work could not have been known in Rome before the end of the 1st century A. D., which means a few decades after Pliny. However, he had knowledge of Mela, which he recorded in his work — the *«Natural History»*. In this way, a continuity was achieved through Mela towards Pliny, all three of them acting as a bridge towards Ptolemy, and through him towards Classical Period, leading even to a much later time — the Middle Ages.

Pliny, compared to Strabo and Pomponius Mela, was exclusively a Roman geographer. Although he had exceptional knowledge of the Greek geographical sources, and used much of this knowledge in his *«Natural History»*, he scarcely followed them in his concept of presenting the Eastern Adriatic. If the data were reliable, he did not criticise them, but cited them. If not, no doubt justifiably, he questioned their value with arguments. In this way, he proved himself to be not only a writer who reproduced what others had

already written but also a classic scientist. The fact that he had an encyclopedic interest does not separate him from the intellectual milieu of those times, but in his encyclopedism, regardless of his obviously sharp intelligence, extraordinary diligence, his developed methods of writing, observing and noticing objective realities, he could not offer much more. In this sense, he could be compared with Aristotle, even though this one was a philosopher, and had quite a different basic field of thought. He was also a unique encyclopedist. But, to be an encyclopedist in the times of Alexander the Great was one thing, quite another thing was being an encyclopedist centuries later when human knowledge had increased almost to an immeasurable height. Pliny wanted to reach these heights, and succeeded greatly. He did not engage himself in the geographic material (and it was only one of the numerous areas about which he wrote in the »Natural History«) as much as he, most probably, could regarding its availability. If we observe the »Natural History« in this light, the reason why he did not offer more geographical material about the Eastern Adriatic will be much clearer. However, what he did give us represents an exemplary, true picture of our coast and islands, even though in the work of Pliny there were quite numerous reminiscences of the earlier periods. Here we think primarily of his data about the toponymy and ethnography, which he adopted from Roman official acts, because they are one of the most valuable and most trustworthy testimonies about our coast, not only from the geographical point of view. In this sense, we respect his data about the islands, which reflect the spirit of the consolidated Roman rule in these areas. Valuable are also the provincial boundaries, facts about the inter-Adriatic ferries, a part of the material with numerical characteristics taken from Agrippa's measurements, the oceanographic data modern at his time, and the general maritime data about the Eastern Adriatic. Here we mean primarily the definitions of depths and sea currents.

The earlier material which this writer noted was also valuable past all doubt, especially because a large number of classic geographical and other works had not been preserved, so that through the »Natural History« we learn somewhat about what was written on their pages. On the other hand, these facts have an extraordinary meaning regarding our need to observe other facts critically; without Pliny, this would be almost impossible. We should by no means consider only the neosynms and the like, but primarily the different numerical data which most frequently became familiar only when compared to Pliny's data. Considering this encyclopedian view of most of the geographical material, Claudius Ptolemy had indeed a source from which he took data for the cartography of our coast, islands and the hinterland.⁶

Viewed in this light, Pliny's dealings with the geography of the Eastern Adriatic should be valued with the highest possible grades, because he contributed greatly to the furthering of geographic comprehension. This is why his orientation of the Adriatic in the W—E direction could not be evaluated in any other way but only as following the vision of the circle from which he physically and intellectually originated — that is, Rome and its geography school, as we call it.

⁶ In the text ad 4.3.6. of this work in a detailed analysis the location of the Cnidian settlement from the 6th century B. C. on the site of present-day Korčula on the Island of Korčula was completed. The possibility of locating that colony in Vela Luka on the same island was discussed, but for this thesis we could not find enough arguments. Maritime routes of the early Greek seafaring navigations in the Eastern Adriatic sea waters direct us to Korčula, along with Theopompus' data about a Greek Emporium at the mouth of the Naron, the millennium-old functioning of the Neretva trade route, etc. It is necessary to confirm this thesis by archaeology.

3. Claudius Ptolemy, by using the data of Strabo, Mela and Pliny the Elder, along with a number of other authors, could and did give the most. In essence, he gave the most for the time until his, as well as for the time up to the Middle Ages, since the geographers who followed him could not be even his shadow. In short, he united the knowledge of his predecessors, carefully studied it, noticed its deficiencies and with the data he had gathered from other sources, worked out theoretically and practically his vision of the world, and within it, of the Eastern Adriatic. Since he made charts of his own vision and left a detailed description of his methods and recorded all of the data that he used in his maps, he gave the first true (and unfortunately the only preserved one!) geographical and cartographical picture of this sea. If this picture is not perfect, if it has some faults, it is not because of a flaw in his genius, but rather the result of the time in which he lived. It could not have offered more!

What did Ptolemy give for the geography of the eastern part of the Adriatic? If we say that it was undoubtedly a lot, even the most that could have been given in the old age, most probably it will be the closest thing to the historic truth! This judgement is supported by many facts.

Firstly, he was an equally successful astronomer, mathematician, geographer and cartographer. This is why in his «Geography» he could have included more elements, even methodological ones which he developed through his own astronomical point of view of the cosmos, or even mathematics. Joining them together, he developed the first simple conical cartographic projection, which was truly a novelty in those ancient times. He developed it, which speaks of his genius, presenting the world of those times (ecumene) which in all the spheres of knowledge, as well as his, stretched more along the geographical parallels (longitude) than meridians (latitude). Therefore, he made charts of the regions which were longer than they were wide, and the conical cartographic projection, as we know it today, is the most suitable cartographic projection for mapping such regions. Another problem is that these regions do not really stretch in length, that is, in the W-E direction. We, who live today, know this, but this could not have been known before the late Middle Ages when the portolans of those appeared on the basis of seafaring experience. Therefore, undoubtedly on the basis of a number of already existing cartographic projections, he invented a completely new projection characterized by minimal cartographic deformations if regions are charted on it which stretch mainly in the W-E direction. The Eastern Adriatic, its coastal region and islands, even the interior of our country, in the knowledge of those times lay in that direction.

Secondly, wishing to give the geographic picture of the ecumene on the cartographic basis, he used all the geographic literature available to him. On that cartographic base, he mapped, first of all, the most outstanding geographical points. He did this on the basis of the astronomical values of their geographical position (the distance from Alexandria or any other meridian along parallel, from which he obtained data about the geographical longitude, and the time value of the longest day, from which he extraced data for the geographical latitude through a rather simple mathematical operation). The basic material of this sort, as we know from Strabo's and Pliny's works, he could have taken from them, which we doubt because these same data, but in any case more reliable and more numerous ones, he could have obtained from his predecessors, whose works were available in the Alexandrian library. However, this does not exclude the possibility that in that sense he did make use of the «Geography» and «Natural History».

Thirdly, after he had mapped the basic points on our shore (which were the colonies of Iader, Salona and Narona, and the Island of Scardona), as well as, according to analogous principles, the neighbouring Italian coast, then he sketched in broad outline the shoreline, which practically meant

the Adriatic as a whole, working out true cartographic methods. On this starting sketch he had to map all the remaining geographical data, like the positions of other settlements, gulfs, river courses, islands, etc., but also the provincial boundaries coinciding with the mentioned material, as well as the geographical material about the peoples that inhabited the interior of the province, constantly taking into account that it all were in mutual accordance. The data for this part of the job, which was not a bit easier than the previous one, he could have taken, and did, when the Eastern Adriatic was concerned, — only from Strabo and Pliny. He used them parallelly, which has been illustrated on the previous pages, according to the type and quality of the material which they presented in their works. However, as we have also shown, this also being rather well known, he took a part of the data from other sources in an attempt to adapt them to his own time. The fact that he could not have achieved this accordance as much as he probably wanted to (which can be well noticed through some data about our sea unknown in earlier sources) shows that between Ptolemy on the one hand, and Strabo, Mela and Strabo, Mela and Pliny on the other, there were really no especially significant geographers nor writers of geography whose works he could have made use of. In any case, the common points confirmed among them such that no other conclusion could be given.

Fourthly, when mapping other geographical information he frequently compared the same information obtained by different methods and at different times. He did it not mechanically but very critically. In the Book one of his »Geography« he developed true, we could even say scientific, instruments for this.

We must once again state that, when his total geographical and cartographical result is observed as a whole, he gave an extraordinary original picture concerning the Adriatic in its entirety, as well as its eastern part. This picture was not Strabo's even though it had some of his elements. It was not Mela's either, even though he carefully studied the work of this geographer as well. It was not Pliny's, whose facts, it is certain, he made use of the most. But, it was neither the vision of Marius of Tyre, his own contemporary and mentor. In it, since the elements of the geographical visions of all these geographers did exist, much was inherited from Eratosthenes, the founder of the scientific phase in the development of geography, and undoubtedly from other geographers: Polybius, Poseidonius, Crateus etc. Obviously, Ptolemy had carefully studied all of them and from each took the best. He included all geographical material which he himself had gathered, mapped it on a geographical chart, after he had found for the chart itself a new, that is, original cartographic projection. In that regard, Ptolemy neither was nor could have been a compiler, since all of his predecessors had worked in the same way. He was a scientist who offered an original geographical vision of the Adriatic, not overlooking even a single important result of his predecessors. The fact that he was an astronomer, mathematician, geographer and cartographer, all at the same time, made it possible for him to offer a much better and qualitative (both in the geographic and cartographic sense) vision of the Eastern Adriatic. Therefore, as a geographer, he was unavoidable in the scientific study of our historic geography.⁷

4. Observing its as a whole and taking into consideration the data from the previous times, too, if they had succeeded to endure the test of time, near the end of the period analyzed in this chapter, from the geographical point

⁷ Soon, in the edition »Latina et Graeca«, 41.000 Zagreb, Kaptol 21, Yugoslavia, the author's monographic analysis of Claudius Ptolemy and his cartographic-geographic comprehension of the Eastern Adriatic under the title »Istočni Jadran u Geografiji Klauđija Ptolemeja«, will published.

quintessence of which is the fact that Rome was interested in them in the of view, the following was known about the Eastern Adriatic: first, *the ethnic data* were practically unchanged with regard to the earlier many war last 2—3 centuries of the old age, because against these peoples many war onslaughts were waged, while in the first centuries of the new era they were interesting as part of the population of the State for fiscal taxing, recruiting, etc. Still actual were (even though for one part of them we cannot be sure whether they truly existed under those names, since they had most probably integrated — during the final centuries B. C. — into larger ethnic entities): Retini, Noricans, Histri, Mentors, Culici, Hythmitae, Ismenoii and Syopioi, Iapodes, Liburnians, Hylli, Delmatae, Boulinoi, Nestoi, Manioi, Daorsi, Labeates, Ardiaei, Encheleans, Autariatae, and Parthini, Taulantii, Abrii, Brygeans, Pyraei etc. Although it originated from an insight into the older sources, of special importance was the specifying of Illyrians in the narrowest sense (Mela and Pliny); second, *toponyms* are a part of the material in which most of the truly new data given. These are: Tergeste, Pucin, Egida, Parentium, the colony of Pola, Nesactium, Alvona and Flanona, Tarsatica, Volcaera, Senia, Lopsica, Ortoplania, Vegium, Argyruntum, Corinium, the district of Pasinum, (if it should be found partly on the coastal edge), Aenonoa, the Iader colony, Blandona, Scadrona, Siculi, the colony of Salona, Epetium, Nareste, Oeneum, Narona, Epidaurus, Risinium, Acruvium, Butua, Olcinium and Lissus. Of the islands were: Crepsa, Apsorus, Fulfinium, Curicta, Arba and Cissa, Colentum, Tragurium, Issa, Pharos; the Cnidian city on Korčula is furthermore noted; third, *hydronyms* differed in relation to the time before this, because all of our most important running waters were «characterized» by names, since they were regular in the function of boundary lines, and now as boundary lines for provinces-districts, as stressed countless times: Formionus, Arsia, Oeneum, Tedanius, Titius, Nestos (epigraphically confirmed as Hippius), Naron, Barbana and Drilo; fourth, *oronyms*, among which especially actual were different parts of the Alpine massifs which include our country as well, and as such were named according to the peoples which inhabited them, like the Carnium and Iapodi Alps (Okra), the latter including Mt. Albius. This was followed by Ardia, the Montenegro-Albanian mountain massif Scardus, to the south the Carauanian Mountains; fifth, *sea passages and channels*: first, the Flantic Gulf, which from its original meaning, at least according to Pliny, had spread over the entire Quarner, Quarnero, the Velebit Channel and the sea within the northern part of the Zadar Archipelago. Furthermore: the Split Gate, the Pelješac and Mljet Channels, Strait of Otranto. Pliny stated that in our part of the Adriatic there were many more smaller channels and other passages between the islands. Here he meant the passages and channels between the islands and the coast. Sixth, *the ferries*: in Otranto and the southern Adriatic they were numerous and they were the result of almost regular overseas connections between the two coasts. A similar situation exist in Central Dalmatia and its connection via Issa and Black Corecyra with the wider area of Monte Gargano (especially Sipontum). The situation was similar with the Iader territorial waters, which, in spite of the long row of islands, had a ferry connection with Ancona (Pliny: Italy — Liburnia) as well as with the Istrian area and the ferry Pola — Ancona, and undoubtedly Pola — Ravenna, etc; seventh, *the peninsulas and capes*: Istria and Cape Kamenjak, with which Pliny divided the Istrian from the Liburnian Islands, while Kamenjak was significant not only as a coastal sailing landmark, but also as an overseas landmark, since all the ferries from the Istrian towards the opposite shore started from there. The Hyllica Peninsula was also known, whose cape (Ploče — Planka) Pliny named after Diomedes, as well as Pelješac, which was hazily outlined in Pseudo Scylax' time, while Pliny knew somewhat more about it, even though it stil had no name; eight, among the known *gulf/s* were: the Trieste, Flanatic, Manios and Risinium Gulfs; ninth,

nesonyms were more numerous and had a more definite character than in the earlier period: Cissa of Pola (Istrian), Apsorus, Curieta, Scardona, Cissa Portunata (Liburnian), Lissa opposite to Iader, Colentum, Tragurium, Bos, Solentum and Brattia, Pharos and Issa, Black Corcyra, Melite and the Elephites of Dubrovnik. But, also some island groups which, during this time, could have been considered part of historical geography: Amber Islands, Crateiae and Celaduse etc; tenth, *economic branches*: agriculture, livestock breeding, shipbuilding, mining, trade, etc; eleventh, *the Adriatic*: two opinions existed. One was inherited from Eratosthenes' results and views, therefore with orientations of the Adriatic in the NW—SE direction (Strabo and Mela), and the other, which in the end completely predominated, was the Roman point of view, with an orientation in the W—E direction and a boundary already on the Drilo. The first view stretched it to the Ceraunian Mountains. Ptolemy, like an arbitrary, decided in favour of the Roman point of view — but not to the end — so he orientated it in the W—E direction, but set its boundary on the Drilo. It was the Adriatic and the Upper Sea; twelfth, *the oceanographic and maritime material in general*; the Eastern Adriatic climate was sufficiently known. It was mild with mild winds, but also with the bura (north) and the jugo (south) winds in different periods of the year. The northern part of the Adriatic was somewhat colder than the southern and central parts (Strabo), while the sea currents in the narrower channels were somewhat faster than the usual ones along our coast. These stable currents were of a significantly mild intensity (Pliny), especially regarding the western part of the Adriatic (Strabo); thirteenth, *the provinces* were known in the earlier period, but now we had their strongly defined boundaries. We mention them at the end of all the given data since they all belonged within these boundaries. There was Istria (Formion — Arsia), followed by Illyricum (Arsia — Drilo), within which there was Liburnia (Arsia — Titius) and Dalmatia (Titius — Drilo), while to the south, Macedonia stretched to Oricum. Of the *conventus* within these province boundaries the especially significant ones were those with their seats in Scardona, Salona and Narona.

Finally, as an answer to the question whether the Eastern Adriatic was still the periphery of the classic world, we give a partially affirmative answer. It was not the periphery in the same sense as it had been in the previous period, since it was included into the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, it was physically and intellectually still situated rather far from its centre, the interest for it was rather small, but in any case greater than before. Strabo and Mela, if not other authors, directly gave proof of this.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER SOURCES OF THE LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The Late Classical Period effected slow degression of the Roman society, even though in those times significant projects were realized, especially in architecture. In the area of geographical science, there was a general decadence. Geography at that time, namely, ceases to be a science in the classical sense of the word, even in the sense of known Roman practicism. It was reduced to itineraries which told the reader most frequently what was before and behind him, as well as what was to his left and right. That is, it represents the extreme expressions of that same practicism, whether it be in a written or cartographic form. It brought some new geographic material, but often in the context which does not tell us much about the real geographical conditions of this coast. This is why these sources are of little interest to us.

In other words, if we set historical geography in the focus of our interest, from a superficial look at the geographical material which the Late Classical Period had to offer, we could undoubtedly deduce the conclusion that it the time when the input of fresh and qualitative geographical information stagnated, along with the geographical methods which showed the general geographical and cartographical picture of the inhabited world, as well as our part of the Adriatic Sea. At the same time, it is the essential excuse for this type of insight which does not go into more detailed analysis. If we examine closely what the Late Classical Period brought, namely a few new names of cities, islands, etc., we must conclude that the geographic picture, in quality but also in quantity, was far below what was achieved with the geographical encyclopedists. That is, it degressed and was therefore decadent. In view of this, the few new facts could not contribute to the further expansion of knowledge about the Adriatic in those times, except that to us — in the 20th century — they revealed the appearance of new settlements, while some other smaller islands were successfully marked by name.

Considering all this, we probably will not be mistaken if we conclude the classic period of the Eastern Adriatic with what Strabo, Mela, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy had presented.

Namely, the geographical works of the Late Classical Period and the early Middle Ages did not present the Adriatic waters with as many important and valuable data as possible, with the aim to geographically describe a specific region in such detail that one could talk its complete geographical illustration. Their intention was to enumerate data, especially the important ones according to them: primarily settlements and along with them those which would orientation-wise be of some use to travellers who travelled either by land or by sea. It is clear that this by no means resulted in practical travel handbooks, but rather itineraries. They were made primarily on the basis of the material obtained from the already-existing Roman road network, in which land and sea routes were equally represented.

As a result of this method, they were not able to register even a small part of the enormous geographical wealth of the material available in those times. So the economic branches of the coastal and islands inhabitants of this sea remained unknown to us, fraction of these data in his letters. Numerous maritime, hydrographic, oceanographic and other data about the Eastern Adriatic, as well as about the inter-Adriatic sea waters remained unknown. If this sea was ever sailed frequently in any particular period, then it was surely during this and the previous period. The previous period offered the maximum that could have been presented in general, while from this period noteven the essential marine data remained, except for a few ferries from Antoninus. If there was in fact a wish to keep step with the geographers of the previous time and their visions of the world, then the geographers of the Late Classical Period not only had to reach out for that type of data, but also critically investigate all the previous data, and on the basis of their own knowledge give a new, much richer and more developed vision. Therefore, they neither studied the previous data, nor even registered the data which were available to the man of their time. In this sense, if we wish today to create an insight into the number of navigations of those times, the routes on which they sailed, etc., we should seek help only from archaeology: either from the branch which investigates the land because all of these navigations were undertaken because of the land and human prosperity, or naturally from hydroarcheology through it registering in this or that way the sunken objects, as well as other objects belonging to the material culture of that period.

Therefore, not to mention numerous other groups and types of geographical materials, these works were undoubtedly decadent in relation to the previous period as well as, we can rightfully say, to most of the investigated

historical time. Probably the best example for this is the lexicon of the Byzantinian which merely registered different geographical information from various works, listed according to the time of appearance and their nature. Therefore, it is clear that the geographical comprehension of the east-Adriatic area with these works could not progress. On the contrary; it declined. With them, the frequently stressed rising line of geographical comprehension, which we have described in the mathematical sense as geometric progression, was irretrievably interrupted. It could have had only a downward trend.

However it is important to stress that this sort of decadence in geographical comprehension was not characteristic for the east-Adriatic territorial waters only. It was so also with the geographical illustration of the entire known world of those times, by which the Adriatic even then was not neglected with regard to its general place in that same world. If in the previous periods it had its own zenith, so had all the other parts of the ecumene. If now its geographical vision was decadent, this was the situation with the other regions as well, even with the centre of the Roman state: the Apennine Peninsula did not »fare» better.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE ANCIENT HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

In the course of the Old Age, the east Adriatic expanse, proportionally to its own general, political and social, economical, military/geographical and other importances attained a proportionally adequate geographical picture. Its individual parts were better known than others, however this too had its own strong reasons and foundations. This refers especially to the Central Dalmatian region — since it as the first to be colonized in the period of Greek colonization. Later on, thanks to its central geographical position in relation to the entire Eastern Adriatic coastal edge and islands, along with its interior, and to the high level achieved in city planning in the pre-Roman period, it was to become the center of the Roman rule. Thus, in the earlier times, it was interesting to Greek geographers, and latter on to Roman geographers, regardless of whether they were of Greek or Latin expression. To a great extent, similar applied to other significant city agglomerations on this coast. If Salona was the city which was in the focus of interest during Roman rule, as Issa and Pharos were in the Greek period, then in the Roman period important were also Pola, Iader, Narona, Epidaurus, and proportionally to that importance, they attained an adequate place in the geographical vision of the Eastern Adriatic. For example, the islands which were near them and gravitated towards them were noted (Pola with Cissa Polaria, and later on, through the »Tabulae« and Ravennas, other islands; Iader with Lisa, Colenta, and very soon in the sources of the Late Classical Period numerous other islands; Narona with the Pelješac Peninsula and Black Corcyra; Epidaurus with Melite and Elaphite Islands; etc.). Also, a great number of other data with regard to their geographical position were given like the overseas Adriatic ferries, measured from Pola, Iader and Salona, that is, from the true centers of the Eastern Adriatic.

The ancient geography could not give more than we have presented. Everything it lacked, primarily in methodology, will be available only many centuries later.

Translated by Linda Tasovac

INDEKS
geografskih naziva i pojnova

Napomena: uz geografske nazive i pojmove pobliže se odrednice daju samo kada se radi o manje poznatom toponimu, nesonimu te sličnoj geografskoj građi. Uz geografske pojmove to se činilo nešto češće, s obzirom na obilježje takve vrste podataka.

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osobnih imena

Napomena: pojašnjenja uz imena da-
ju se samo izuzetno, i to redovito uz
povjesne ličnosti. Mitske ličnosti se
ne komentiraju, čemu je razlog ras-
položivi prostor.

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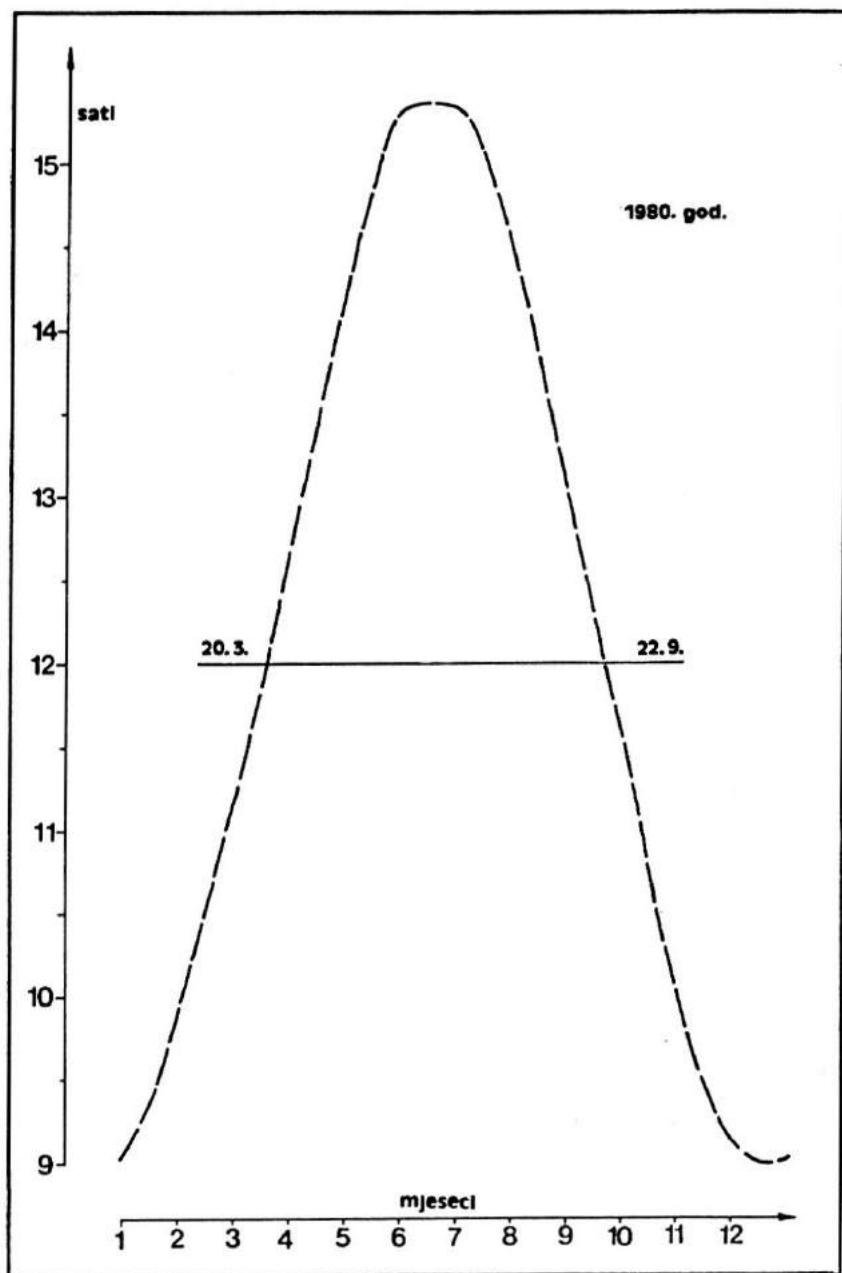
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PRILOZI



Grafikon 1. Vremensko trajanje dužine dana na istočnom Jadranu tokom 1980. godine (podaci u Tabeli 3)

Br.	R u t a	Dužina		Primjedba
		stad.	Nm	
1	Trst — zaljev Raša	900	90	Ruta br. 1
2	Trst — Plomin	1030	103	Ruta br. 1—2
3	Trst — Opatija	1140	114	Ruta br. 1—3
4	Grado — zaljev Raša	1070	107	Ruta br. 5—1
5	Grado — Plomin	1200	120	Ruta br. 5—1—2
6	Grado — Opatija	1310	131	Ruta br. 5—1—3

Tabela 1. Pomorske udaljenosti s karte K-1

Pogl.	Pomorska ruta		Dužina plovidbe			Prosječno	
	od	do	dana	noći	stadija	danju	noću
14.	Japigijski rt ¹	<i>Orion mons</i> ²	4	—	2.100	525	—
15.	<i>Orion mons</i>	Ankona	3	1	1.750	500	250
16—17.	Ankona	Spina — ušće Eridana	2	1	1.250	500	250
18—19.	Ušće Eridana	Ušće Histera	1	—	655	655	—
20.	Ušće Histera	Ušće Arsije	1	1	1.070	560	510
21.	Ušće Arsije	Ušće Titija	2	—	1.120	560	—
22.	Ušće Titija	Ušće Nesta	1 dugi	—	750	750	—
23.	Ušće Nesta	Ušće Narona	1	—	500	500	—
24.	Ušće Narona	Butua	2	—	1.150	575	—
25.	Butua	Epidamno	1	1	800	500	300
26—28.	Epidamno	Korkira ⁴	(2)	—	1.120	560	—

Bilješke: ¹ Japigijski rt = S. Maria di Leuca

² *Orion mons* = Vieste na Monte Garganu

³ Ušće Histera = ušće Soče

⁴ Korkira = sjeverna obala otoka Krfa

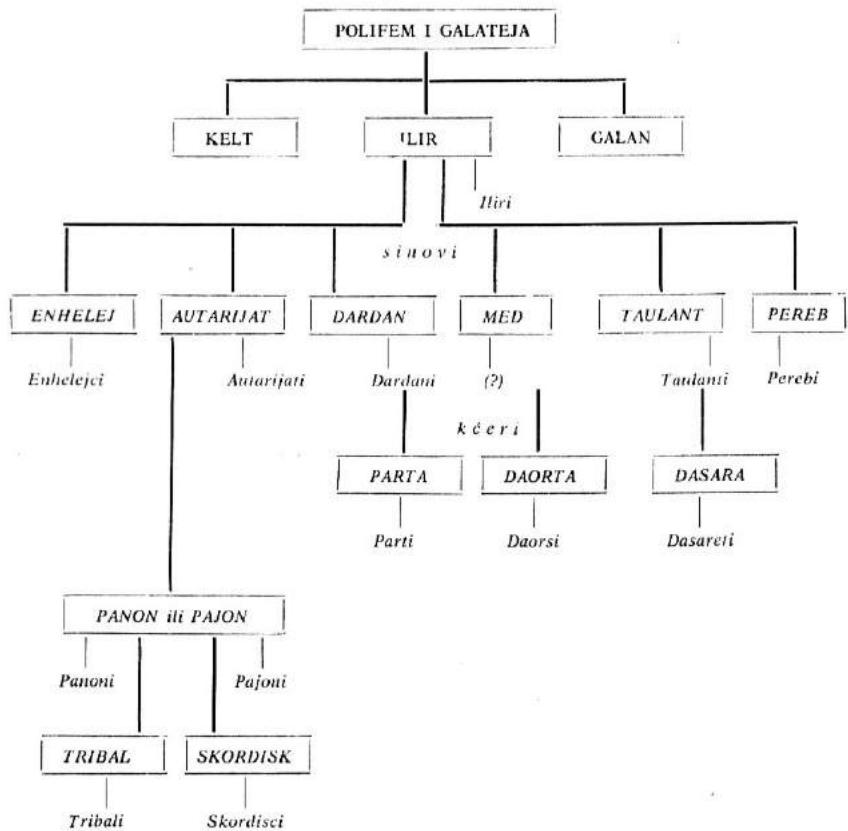
Tabela 2. Plovidbene relacije Jadran prema Ps. Skilakovom »Periplu«

Datum	Građansko svitanje	Građanski sumrak	Vremensko trajanje	
			dana	noći
01.01.	07 ^h 19 ^m	16 ^h 41 ^m	09 ^h 22 ^m	14 ^h 38 ^m
01.02.	07 ^h 11 ^m	17 ^h 06 ^m	09 ^h 55 ^m	14 ^h 05 ^m
01.03.	06 ^h 30 ^m	17 ^h 31 ^m	11 ^h 01 ^m	12 ^h 59 ^m
01.04.	05 ^h 35 ^m	18 ^h 18 ^m	12 ^h 43 ^m	11 ^h 17 ^m
01.05.	04 ^h 47 ^m	19 ^h 01 ^m	14 ^h 14 ^m	09 ^h 46 ^m
01.06.	04 ^h 07 ^m	19 ^h 27 ^m	15 ^h 20 ^m	08 ^h 40 ^m
01.07.	04 ^h 18 ^m	19 ^h 38 ^m	15 ^h 20 ^m	08 ^h 40 ^m
01.08.	04 ^h 45 ^m	19 ^h 18 ^m	14 ^h 33 ^m	09 ^h 27 ^m
01.09.	05 ^h 18 ^m	18 ^h 30 ^m	13 ^h 12 ^m	10 ^h 48 ^m
01.10.	05 ^h 51 ^m	17 ^h 37 ^m	11 ^h 46 ^m	12 ^h 14 ^m
01.11.	06 ^h 28 ^m	16 ^h 18 ^m	09 ^h 50 ^m	14 ^h 10 ^m
01.12.	07 ^h 06 ^m	16 ^h 19 ^m	09 ^h 13 ^m	14 ^h 47 ^m

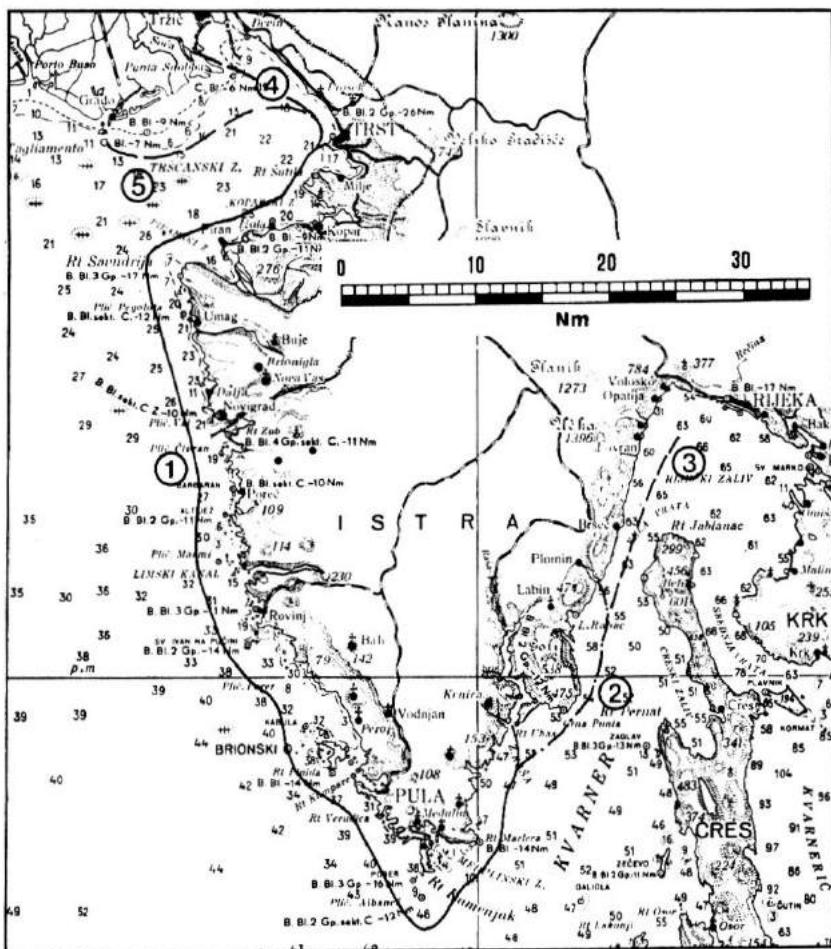
Napomena:

Vrijednosti su uzete za Split iz *Grafikona izlaza i zalaza Sunca i Mjeseca za 1980*, izd. HI JRM, Split 1980. Podaci o dužini trajanja dana i noći se ne mijenjaju. Vrijede za Jadran u cijelini.

Tabela 3. Vremensko trajanje dužine dana i noći na jadranskom akvatoriju

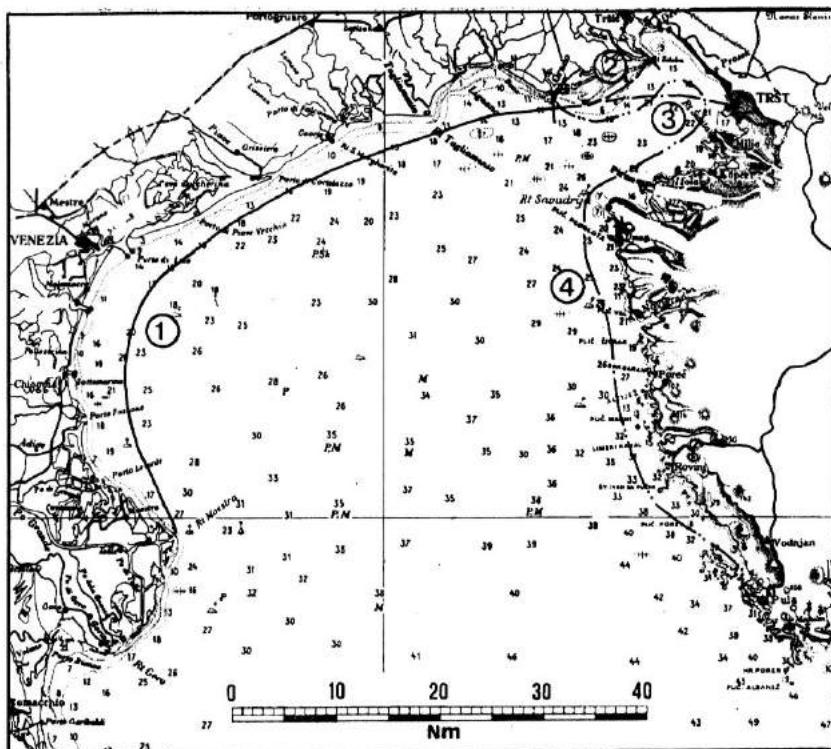


Shema 1. Ilirsko rodoslovje prema drugom poglavljju Apijanove »Ilirske povijesti«

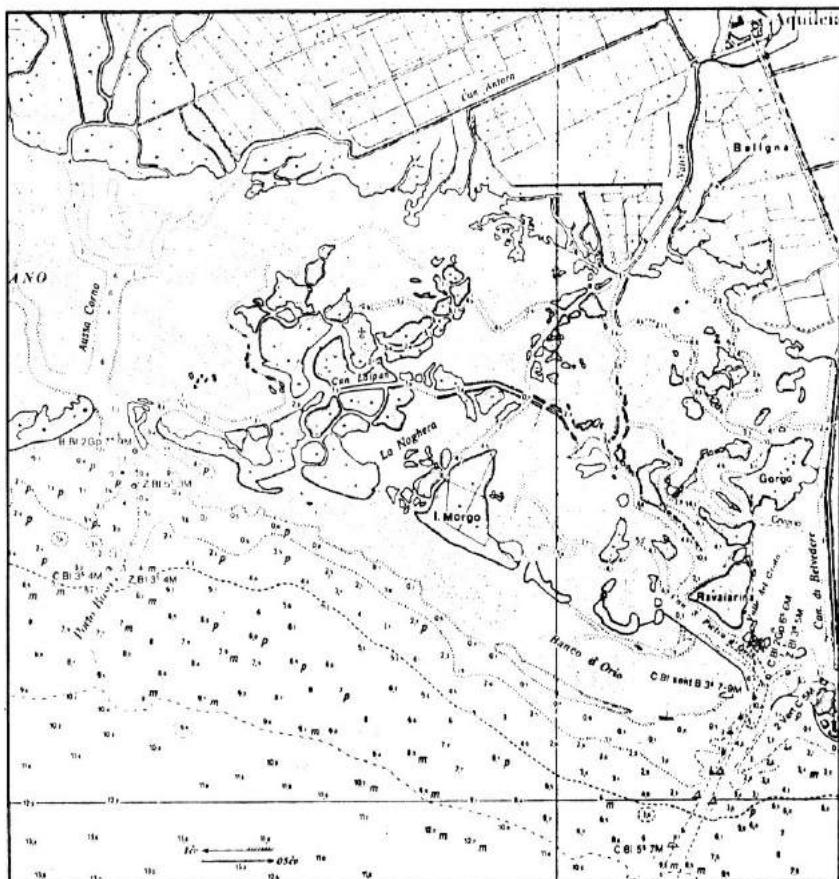


Karta 1. Realne i hipotetične pomorske rute uz obalu Istre prema podacima iz 19–20. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla« (podaci u Tabeli 1)

K—2

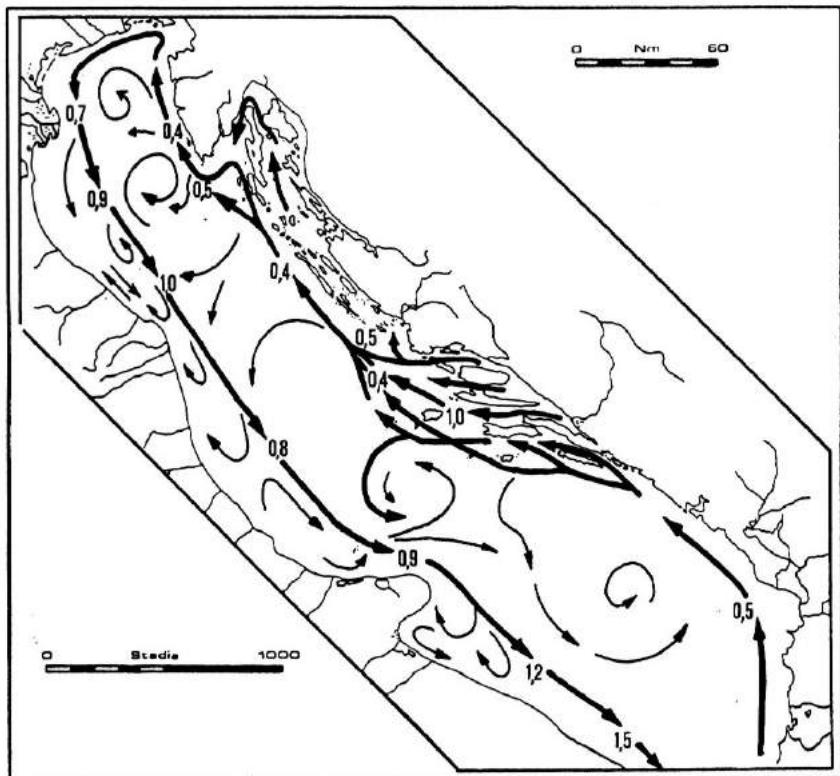


Karta 2. Pomorske rute sjevernog dijela Jadranskog mora prema geografskoj gradi iz 19–20. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«

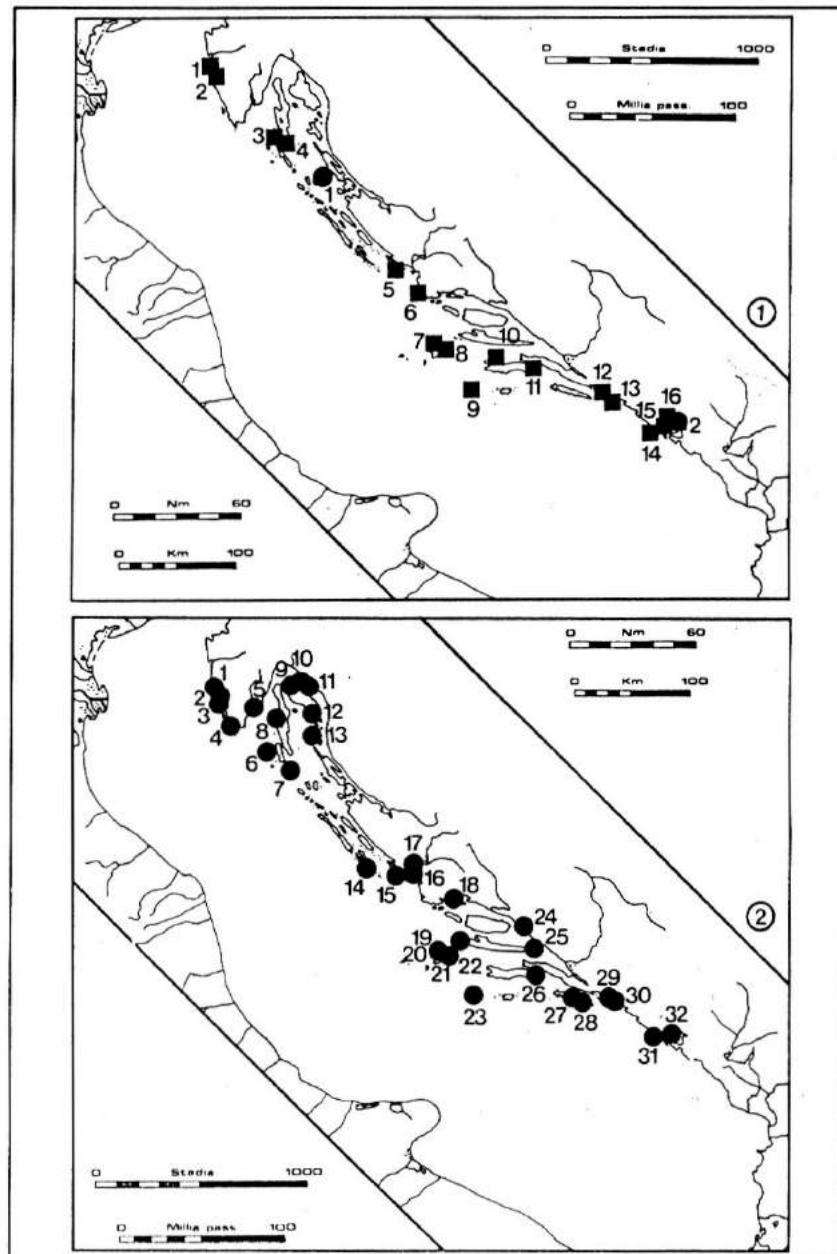


Karta 3. Segment pomorske geografske karte akvilejskog područja s prikazom morskih strujanja i složenosti njegove hidrografije

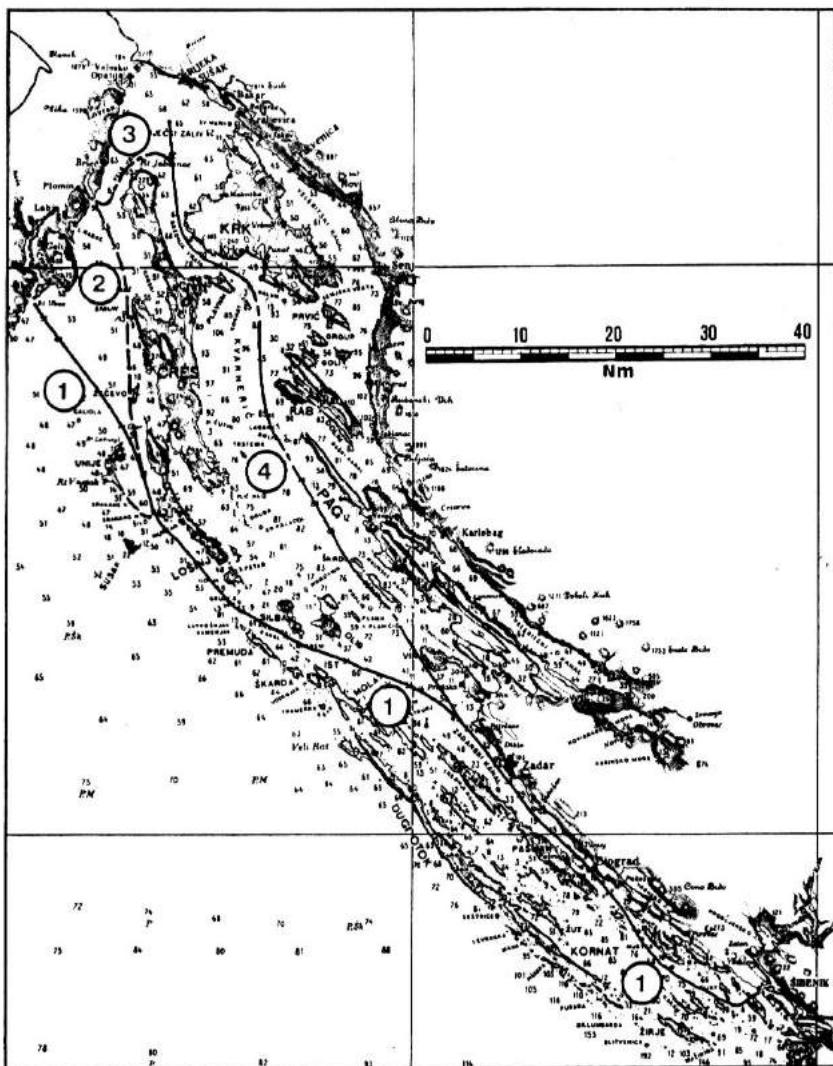
K-4



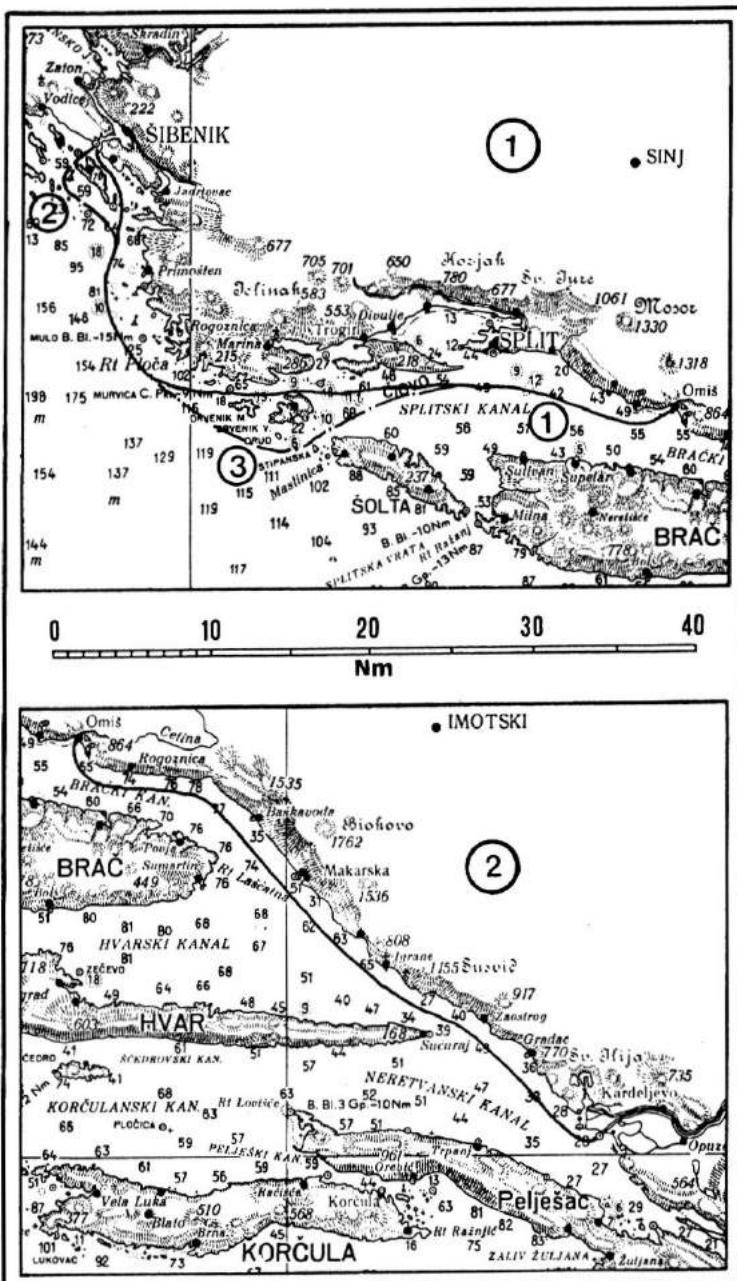
Karta 4. Morsko strujanje Jadranskim morem



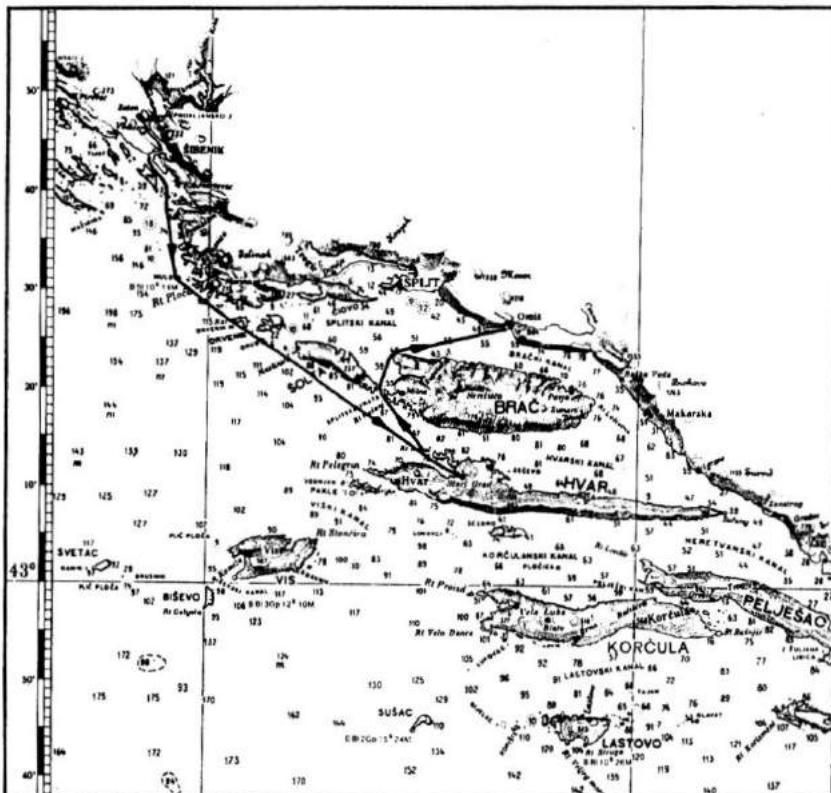
Karta 5. Hidroarheološka nalazišta brodoloma, usamljenih predmeta i rastresitih nalazišta brodskog tereta duž istočnog dijela Jadrana:
 1 — iz 4. (krugovi) i 3. (kvadrati); 2 — iz 2. (krugovi) stoljeća pr. n. e.
 (podaci prema D. Vrsaloviću)



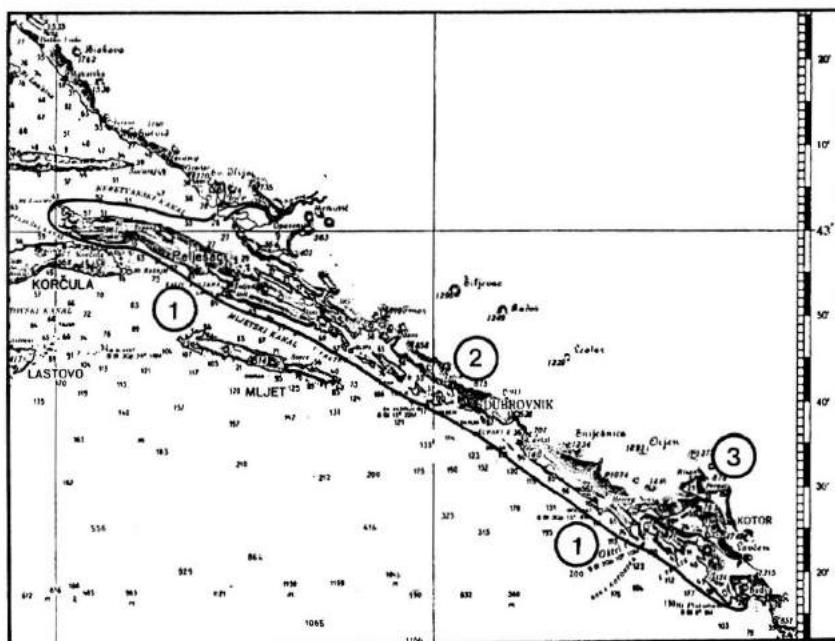
Karta 6. Realne i hipotetične pomorske rute morskim vodama sjeverne Dalmacije za analizu geografske građe 21. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova
»Peripla«



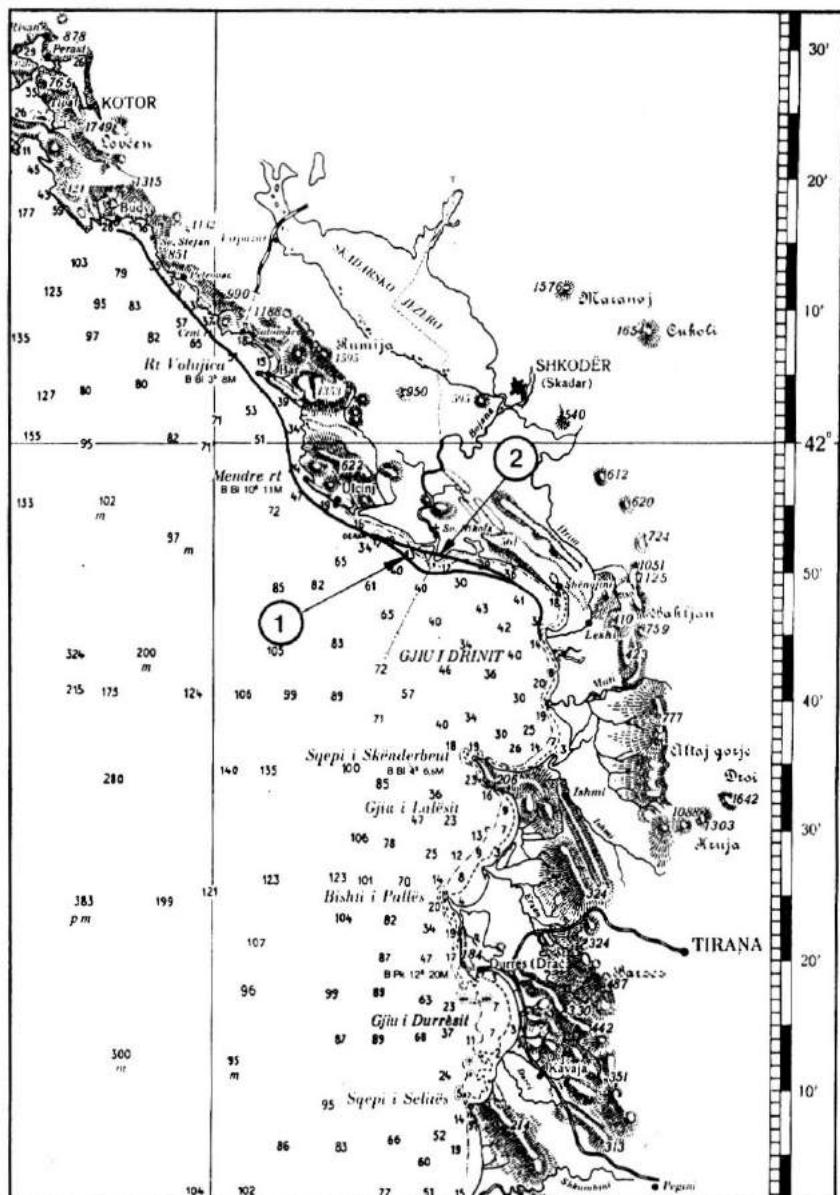
Karta 7. Realne i hipotetične pomorske rute morskim vodama srednje Dalmacije prema podacima iz 22. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«



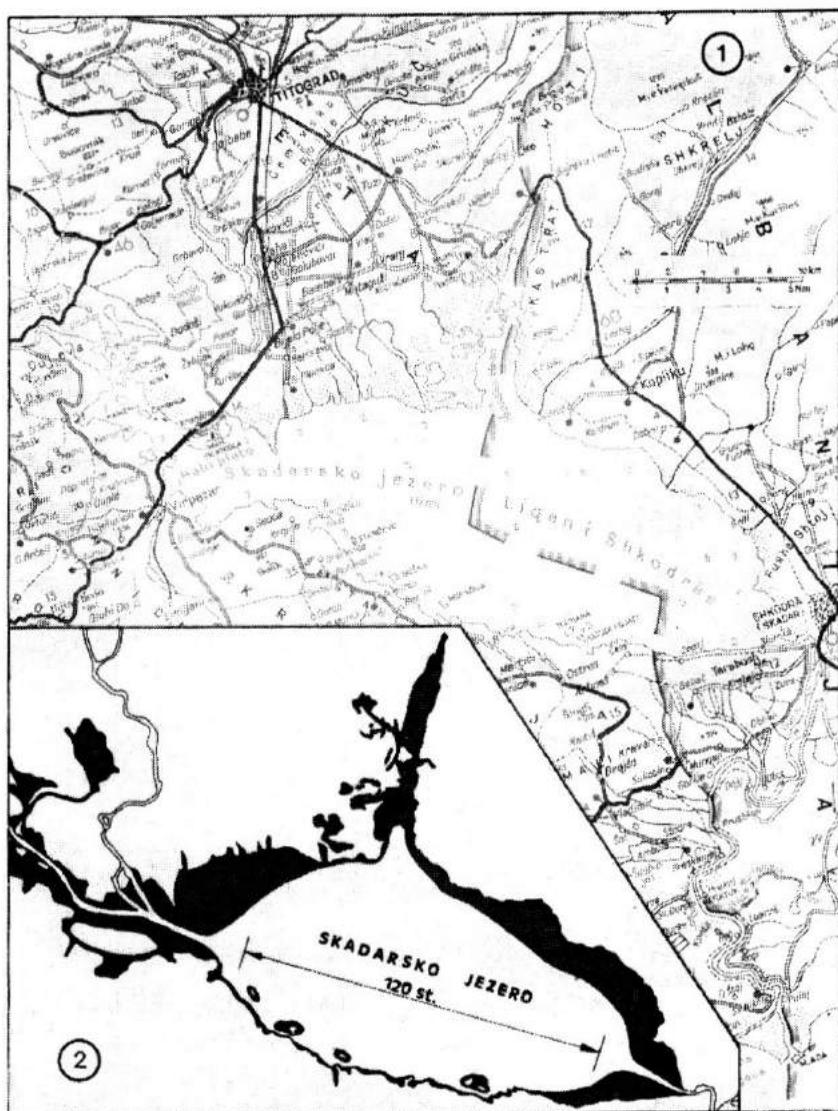
Karta 8. Pomorska ruta od ušća Titija do ušća Nesta uz doticaj luke Faros prema podacima iz 23. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«



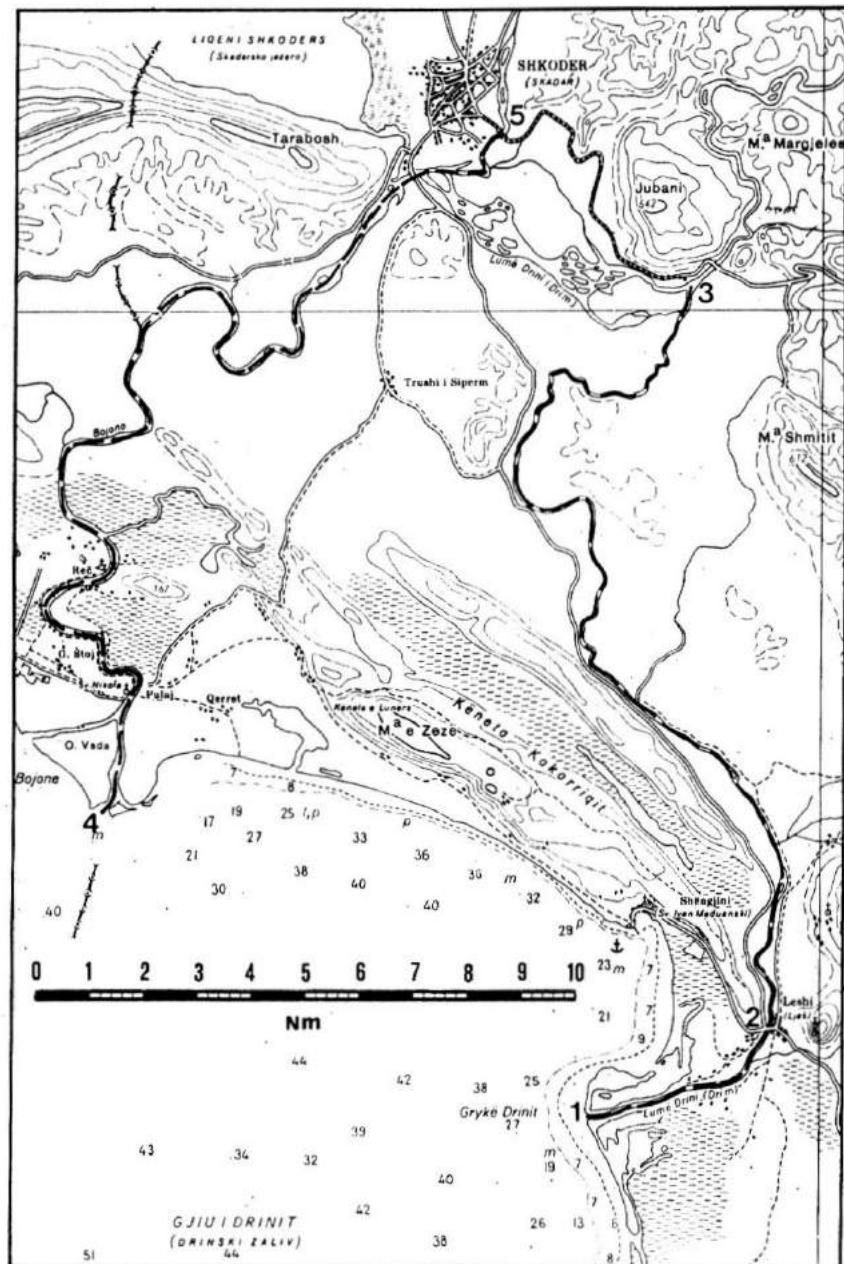
Karta 9. Pomorska ruta od ušća Narona do Butue prema geografskoj građi iz 24. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«



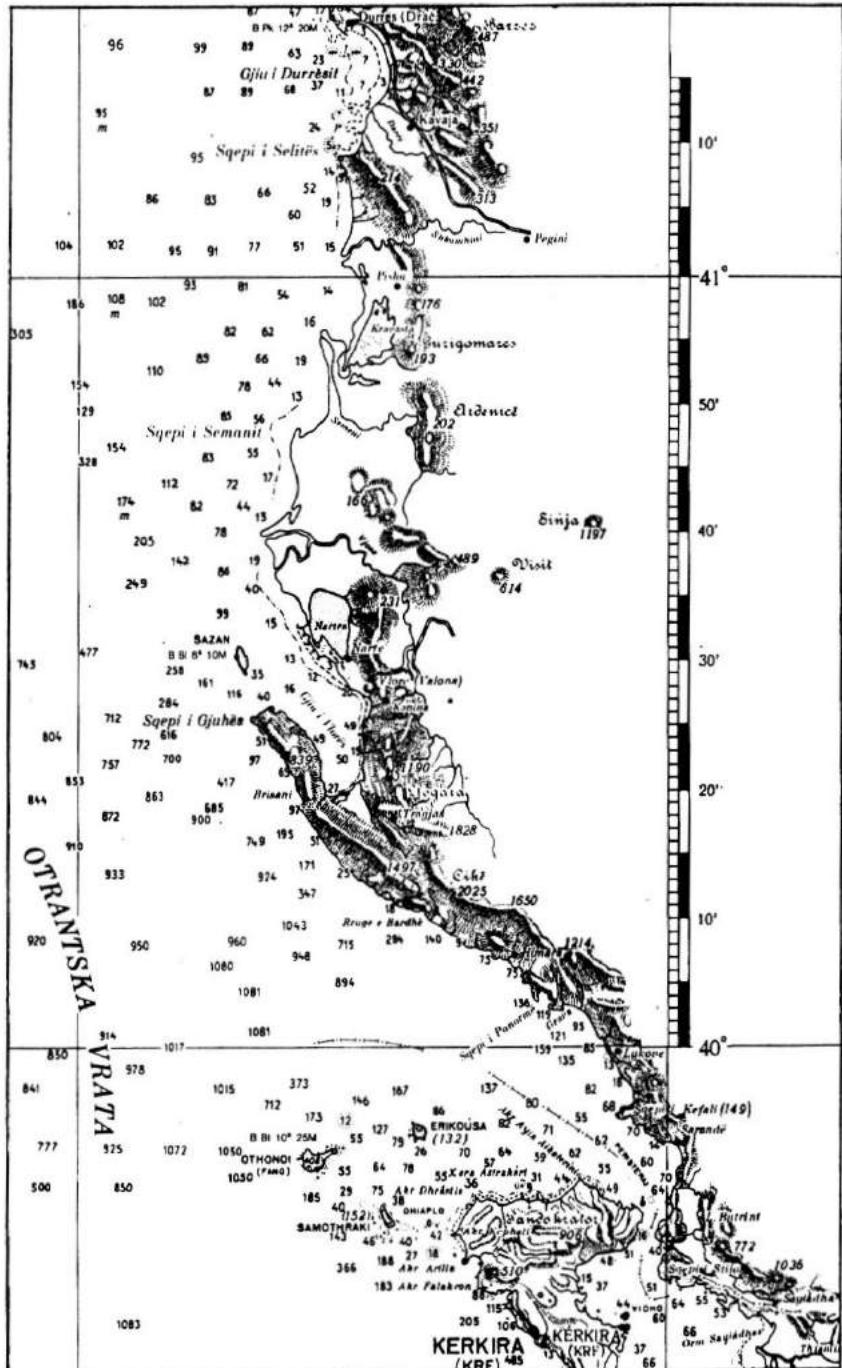
Karta 10. Pomorska ruta od Butue do ušća Drilona prema 25. poglavljju
Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«



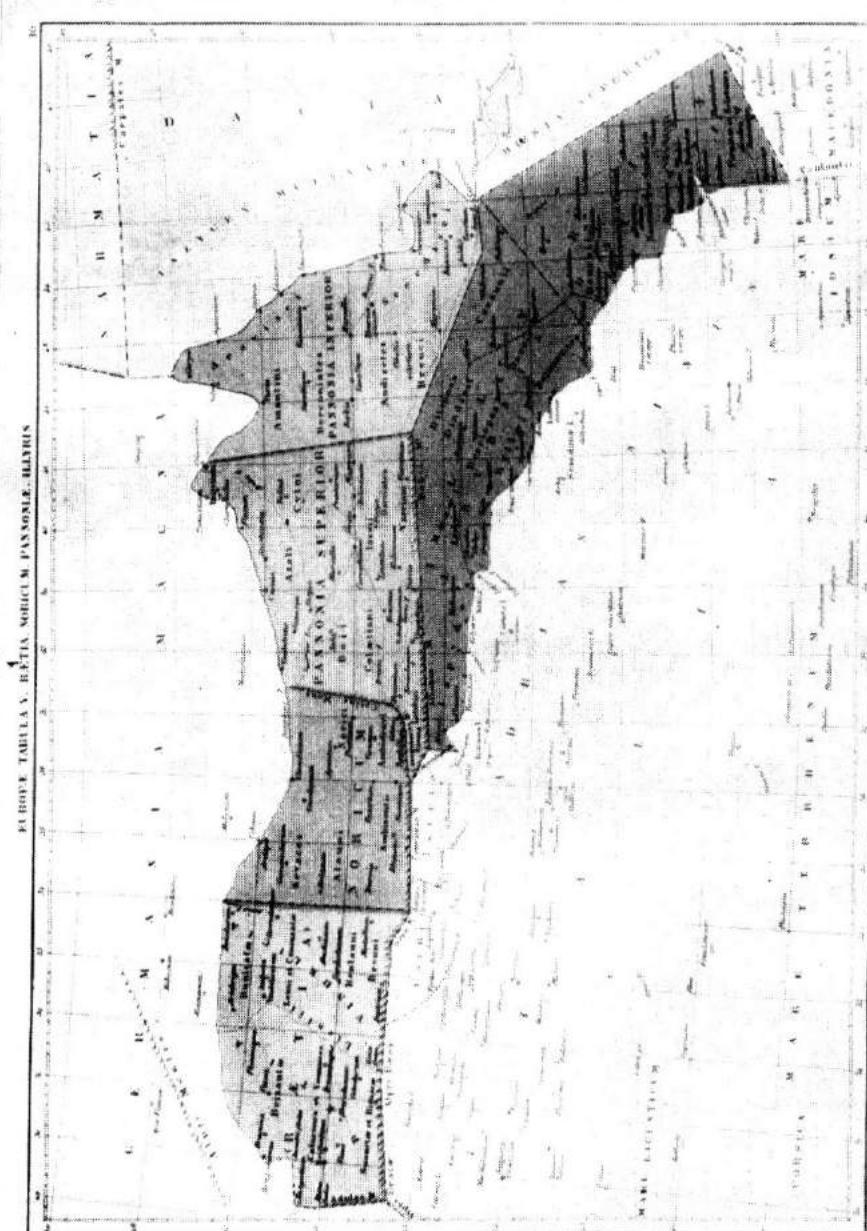
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Karta 12. Mogući riječno-putni pravci od Skodre do obale Jadrana
(kartografski prilog analizi 24—25. poglavlja Ps. Skilakova »Peripla«)

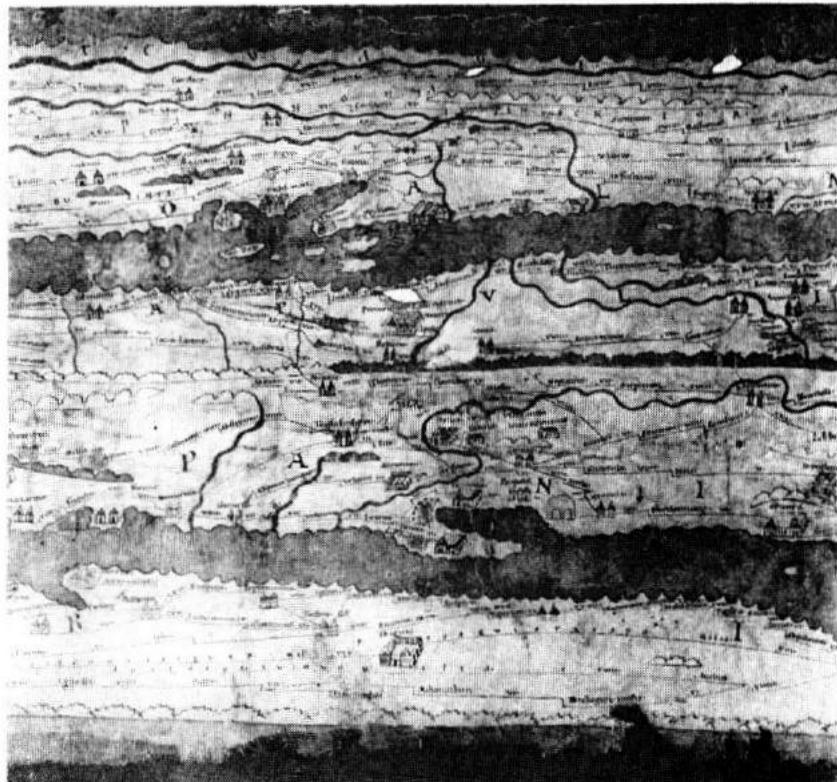


Karta 13. Segment s pomorske geografske karte južnog dijela istočnog Jadran

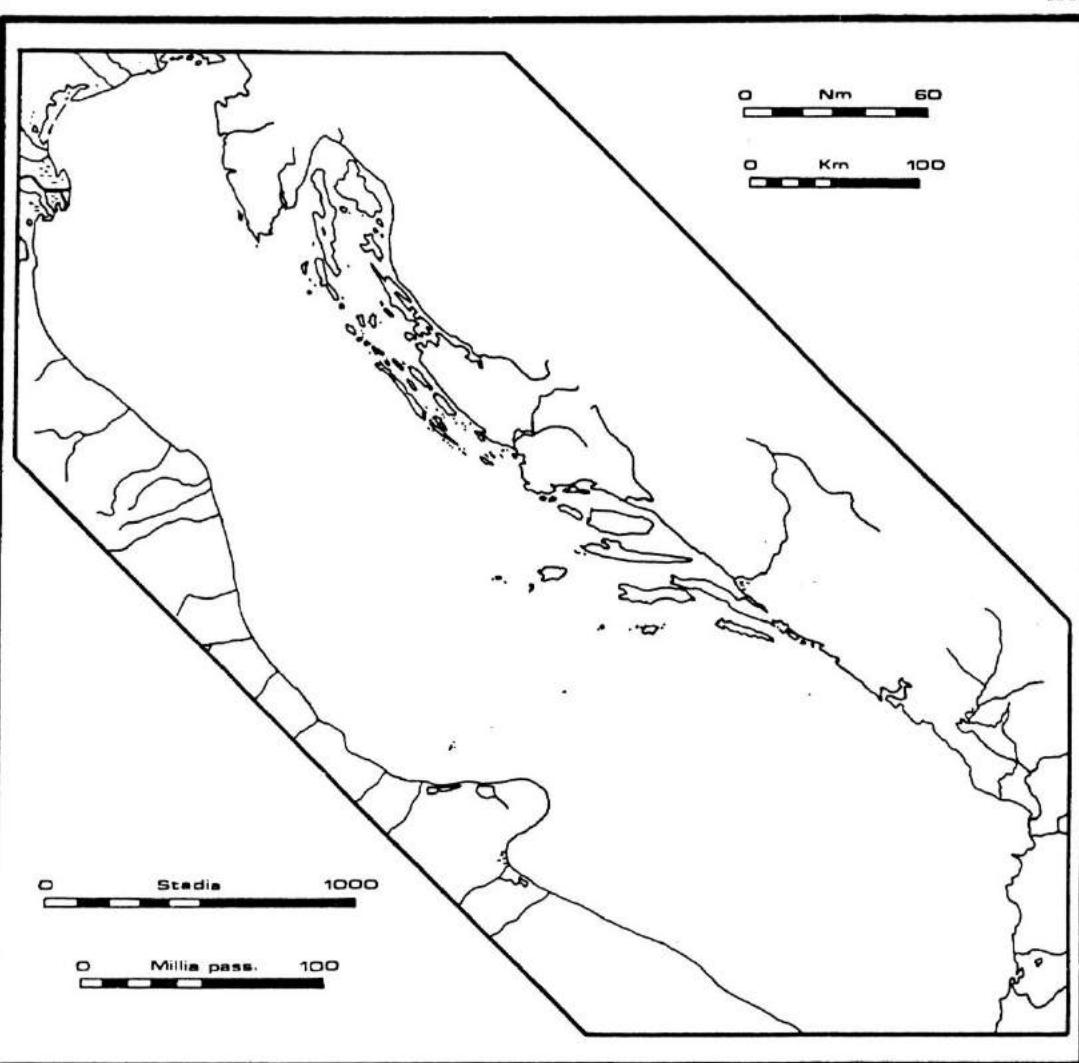


Karta 14. »Peta karta Evrope« Klaudija Ptolemeja (izdanie C. Müller)

K—15



Karta 15. Segment »Peutingerove karte« srednjeg Jadrana (iz izdanja E. Webera)



Karta 16. Posebno priređena karta Jadranskog mora za usporedne analize antičke historijsko-geografske građe o njemu

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