

O POMORSKOJ TRGOVINI NA ISTOČNOM JADRANU U ANTICI KROZ ISTORIJSKE IZVORE

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Apstrakt:

Razvoj pomorske trgovine, odnosno razmjena dobara vodenim putevima, išlo je postepeno. Ljudi su oduvijek bili vezani za vodu i njoj težili. Bilo da su u pitanju rijeke, jezera ili mora, blizina vode je često bila glavna odrednica prilikom biranja lokacije za duže nastanjenje. Ovo ne čudi, jer pored činjenice da je voda jedan od glavnih izvora života, ona u mnogo čemu olakšava i transport dobara.

Pomorstvo na Mediteranu u punom smislu te riječi formira se oko velikih kulturnih celina Levanta početkom 3. milenijuma p.n.e., da bi sredinom 1. milenijuma p.n.e. svoj procvat doživjelo i na Jadranu. Tokom 6. vijeka p.n.e. više centara na Mediteranu doživljava trgovački procvat. U ovom periodu, generalno gledajući, Jadran je sasvim sporedno more. Ipak, po primorskim mjestima istočnog Jadrana tada se razvija niz privrednih grana, koje su bile od velikog značaja za život italskog stanovništva, poput solana, ribarstva, vađenja školjki i sl.

Tokom perioda 4. i 3. vijeka p.n.e. događaji sa Mediterana značajno utiču i mijenjaju situaciju na Jadranu. Dok na sjevernom i srednjem Jadranu i dalje dominira skupina ilirskih plemena, mahom Liburni, na južnom Jadranu i isturenim ostrvima pojavljuju se Grci. Ostvarivanjem kontakta sa Grcima, a potom i sa Rimljanima, stanovnici istočno-jadranske obale ulaze u

A MARITIME TRADE ON THE EASTERN ADRIATIC COAST IN ANCIENT TIMES THROUGH HISTORICAL SOURCES

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Abstract:

The development of maritime trade, the exchange of goods on waterways, happened gradually. People have always been connected to the water and aspired to it. Whether it comes to rivers, lakes or the sea, water is often a major determinant when choosing a location for a longer residence. This is not surprising, in addition to the fact that water is one of the main sources of life, water makes the transport of goods easier in many ways.

Maritime affairs in the Mediterranean in the full sense of the word was formed around major cultural establishment Levant in early 3rd millennium BC, and in the middle of the first millennium BC and experienced a boom on the Adriatic. During the 6th century BC more centers in the Mediterranean were experiencing a flourishing trade. During this period, generally speaking, Adriatic Sea is quite secondary. However, the coastal towns of the eastern Adriatic then developed a range of industries, which were of a great importance for the life of the Italic population, such as salt works, fisheries, shell extraction etc.

During the period of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the events happening in the Mediterranean have significantly affected and changed the situation in the Adriatic. While the northern and central Adriatic were still dominated by the group of Illyr-

processe razmjene robe, odnosno trgovinu, i time formiraju tržište od izuzetnog značaja, što će i dovesti do intenziviranja kontakata a time i porasta interesa za ovo područje. Svjedočanstva o plovnim aktivnostima na Jadranu su brojna, a najveći dio njih čine istorijski izvori, te ostaci brodoloma, veoma zastupljenih na području crnogorskog podmorja.

Ključne riječi: pomorska trgovina, Mediteran, istočni Jadran, istorijski izvori, plovidba, gusarenje, antika

ian tribes, mostly Liburni, in the southern Adriatic and protruding islands the Greeks appeared. By establishing the contact with the Greeks and afterwards the Romans, the citizens of East Adriatic coast were included in the process of exchange of goods, and trade, and thus formed a market of a great importance, which will lead to intensification of contacts and hence the growing interest for this area. Testimonies on the activities of ship vessels in the Adriatic are numerous, and most of them make a historical sources and remnants of shipwrecks, and are very present in the territory of the Montenegrin seabed.

Keywords: maritime trade, the Mediterranean, Eastern Adriatic, historical sources, sailing, piracy, Antiquity

Ovladavanje vještinom plovidbe na Jadranu i šire bio je dug ali neminovan proces. Velike imperije istrajale su u tome, svjesne činjenice da apsolutna vlast ne može da se održi bez adekvatne kontrole plovnih puteva. Rimsko carstvo, iako poznato po vojnoj superiornosti, temelje je gradilo na dobro organizovanim trgovinskim mrežama. Zato ne čudi što upravo u ovom periodu dolazi do velikog procvata brodogradnje i lučkih infrastruktura. Svjedočanstva o plovnim aktivnostima na Jadranu su brojna, a najveći dio njih čine istorijski izvori, te ostaci brodoloma, veoma zastupljenih na području crnogorskog podmorja.

Fernand Braudel (1972) opisao je Mediteran kao oblast sastavljenu od dva velika basena – istočnog i zapadnog, i dva mala, samostalna regiona – Tirensko i Jadransko more. Specifičnost njegovog pogleda na Mediteran je što ga on posmatra 'iz vazduha', odnosno kroz kartu, pa samim tim ga vidi drugačije od pomoraca. Dok pogled na kartu ukazuje na najbliže rastojanje između dvije tačke, brodovi prate putanje koje diktiraju razni faktori, poput raspoložive pomorske tehnologije, kulturni faktori, i prirodni faktori kao što su vjetrovi i morske struje. Osnovna slika o jadranskoj trgovini zahtjeva i identifikovanje 'nepokretne infrastrukture' na kopnu u smislu luka i sidrišta, istorijskih izvora koji se ovom problematikom bave, te tipova trgovine koja se ovdje odvijala.

Tipovi pomorske trgovine koji se na Jadranu javljaju tokom antike slični su onim u drugim periodima. Braudel je predložio sljedeću podjelu, koja je i među arheolozima opšte prihvaćena: prvi, u kojem trgovci prate priobalne puteve, posjećujući više luka, i drugi u kojem trgovci putuju između dvije specifične luke. Drugi tip bio je imperativan za prevoz žita iz Egipta u Rim. Međutim može se reći da prvi tip zapravo karakteriše principe trgovine u antičkom periodu, što se da zaključiti po pri-

Mastering the art of sailing on the Adriatic coast and beyond was a long but inevitable process. Great empires persisted in it, aware of the fact that absolute power cannot be maintained without an adequate control of waterways. The Roman Empire, although known for its military superiority, built its foundation on the well-organized trading networks. It is therefore not surprising that in this particular period, there is a great flourishing of shipbuilding and port infrastructure. Testimonies on the activities of ship vessels in the Adriatic are numerous, and most of them make the historical sources, remnants of shipwrecks, present to a great extent in the territory of the Montenegrin seabed.

Fernand Braudel (1972) described the Mediterranean as an area consisting of two major basins - eastern and western, and two small, autonomous regions - the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Sea. The specificity of his views on the Mediterranean which he observes 'from the air', i.e. the map, and therefore sees it differently than seafarers. While the view of the map shows the closest distance between two points, ships follow the path dictated by various factors, such as the available maritime technology, cultural factors, and natural factors such as winds and sea currents. The basic picture of the Adriatic trade requires the identified 'immovable infrastructure' on the mainland in terms of ports and anchorages, historical sources that deal with these issues, types of trades that took place on the spot.

Types of maritime trade which occur on the Adriatic throughout the ancient times are similar to those in other periods. Braudel proposed the following division, which is generally accepted among archaeologists: the first, in which traders monitor the coastal paths, visiting more ports, and the second, in which merchants travel between two specific ports. The second type was the imperative for grain trading from Egypt to Rome. However, it

sustvu velikog broja manjih luka i sidrišta kako u Jadranu, tako i u istočnom Mediteranu. Ove manje strukture mogle su prihvatiti samo omanja (prosječna) trgovačka plovila koja su upravo bila namijenjena za prevoz manje količine terete i posjete većem broju luka.

Pseudo Skimno nam u svom djelu 'Periegezi' iz 3 - 2. veka p.n.e., osim vrlo značajnih etnografskih podataka istočnog Jadrana, daje još značajniju – hidrometeorološku sliku ovog područja. Tako nam daje vrlo zanimljive informacije o rutama plovidbe Jadranom u odnosu na veličinu korišćenih brodova. Za velike brodove (koji su se uglavnom kretali isključivo pomoću jedara, te zavisili od vjetra) kaže da se kreću između dvije tačke (polazišta i krajnjeg odredišta), te da se uglavnom drže 'središta mora', zbog teškoća koje bi imali prilikom ulaska i izlaska iz luka. U ovom slučaju, na brodu bi bilo dovoljno namirnica za cio put. Ukoliko bi bilo neophodno (uslijed nepovoljnih vremenskih uslova), oni bi se sklanjali u veće luke (Kozličić,

can be said that the first type is actually characterized by the principles of trade in ancient times, which may be concluded by the presence of a large number of small ports and anchorages in the Adriatic and in the eastern Mediterranean as well. These smaller structures could be accepted only by a smaller (average) merchant vessels that were designed for such transport of small quantities of cargo and the visits to a larger number of ports.

Pseudo Skimno us in his work 'Periegezi' from 3 - 2nd century BC, apart from a very important ethnographic data of the eastern Adriatic Sea, provides an even more significant - hydrometeorological picture of the area. In this regard, he presents a very valuable information about the routes in the Adriatic, in relation to the size of the boats that were in use. For large vessels (which moved only with sails, and depended on the wind) he states that moving between two points (starting point and final destination), and that they were mainly directed to move in 'the cen-



Sl. 1, Rimski trgovci u sred plovidbe na brodu sa teretom amfora. Mozaik 2. – 3. vijeka n.e. iz Tebese, Alžir (Casson, 1964, plate 9b)

Fig. 1, The Roman merchants in the middle of sailing on a ship with a cargo of amphorae. Mosaic 2nd-3rd century AC from Tebessa, Algeria (Casson, 1964, plate 9b)

1990: 156). Oni koji se, sa druge strane, koriste brodovima srednje veličine, ne izbjegavaju u potpunosti obalu, ali ipak plove na određenoj distanci od nje. Uglavnom plove na potezu između ostrva i obale, gdje ovih ima, te se po potrebi usidravaju u veće luke. Manji brodovi (koji su kao glavni pogon uglavnom koristili vesla) opet, drže se rute uz samu obalu, te često uz nju pristaju, u lukama i sidrištima svih veličina, ne bi li se zaštitili od vremenskih nepogoda i snabdjeli hranom. Ovakve pomorske rute predlažu se i pri današnjoj plovidbi (Kozličić, 1990: 157).

Veličina brodova koji su plovili Jadranom uklapa se u standarde koji su važili na cijelom Sredozemlju. Većinu pomorskog prometa su obavljali manji brodovi – do 100 tona nosivosti ili manje. Uglavnom se radilo o obalnoj plovidbi vezanoj za stalnu trgovinu po lukama duž trase puta. Veliki brodovi (preko 300 tona nosivosti, pa čak i do 1700 – 1900 tona) su bez sumnje postojali, ali ih nije bilo mnogo. Uglavnom se tu radi o brodovima koji su prevozili terete žita za Rim, odnosno o tzv. *Annona floti*. O veličini, tonaži i nosivost najlakše je suditi prema količini tereta na intaktnim brodolomima, ali njih je na Jadranu vrlo malo (Jurišić 1991: 138).

Razmatrajući plovidbu u prošlosti teško je striktno primenjivati danas poznate šematske odrednice. Brzina antičkih jedrenjaka pod vjetrom bila je 5-6 Nm/sat. Pretpostavljeno vrijeme plovidbe je 10/12 sati dnevno. To bi značilo da je u najpovoljnijim uslovima brod pod povoljnim vjetrom za dana prelazio između 50 i 60 Nm (razdaljina između Bara i Barija iznosi oko 110Nm). Kako pod jedrima gotovo nikad nema najpovoljnijih uslova, taj se put treba smanjiti na realnih 30-40 Nm, a pod nepovoljnim vjetrom i manje (Jurišić 1991: 138). Sigurno je da su posade radije prelazile manji put i noćile u sigurnom sidrištu nego li forsirale plovidbu do krajnjih mogućnosti. Kako antički pisci ipak čes-

ters of the sea', due to the difficulties they encountered when entering and leaving the port. In this case, the ship would be supplied with enough food for the whole sail. If it was necessary (due to adverse weather conditions), they would move to the larger port (Kozličić, 1990: 156). Those who, on the other hand, used boats of a medium size, did not avoid the coast completely, but would still sail at a certain distance from it. They would mainly sail in the area between the islands and the coast, where these were present, and if necessary they would anchor in large ports. Smaller ships (which used paddles as power) again, sail the route along the coast, and often anchor near it, in ports and anchorages of all sizes, in order to protect themselves from the weather and to supply with food. These sea routes are proposed even in today's navigation (Kozličić, 1990: 157).

The size of ships that sailed the Adriatic fits the standards that were in force in the whole Mediterranean. Most of maritime transport were carried out by smaller ships - up to 100 tons or less. They were mainly engaged in coastal trade related to ongoing trade at ports along the way. Large ships (over 300 tons, and even up to 1700-1900 tons) undoubtedly existed, but to a smaller extent. Most of them were the ships carrying cargo of wheat to Rome, on so-called *Annona fleet*. The easiest conclusion about the size, tonnage and the capacity can be drawn by the amount of cargo on intact shipwrecks, but they were a very few in the Adriatic (Jurisic 1991: 138).

Considering the navigation in the past it is difficult to strictly apply today's schematic guidelines. Speed of the ancient sail boats against the wind was 5-6 Nm / hour. The assumed time of the cruise is 10/12 hours a day. This would mean that in the best weather conditions the ship would, under favorable wind, cross between 50 and the 60 Nm (distance between Bar and

to spominju dan i noć plovidbe kao mjeru udaljenosti, valja razmotriti mogućnost noćne plovidbe. Ravnajući se po zvjezdama kapetani su mogli voditi svoje brodove u određenom smjeru, a ako su još poznavali obalu, u dobrim vremenskim uslovima (lagani vjetar, mjesečina) noćna plovidba nije bila nemoguća. Svetionike, izuzev u okolini najvažnijih gradova, ipak valja izostaviti (Jurišić 1991: 138). Znamo takođe da Eratostenu (3 – 2. vek p.n.e.), danas smatranim za 'prvog pravog geografa', imamo da zahvalimo na formiranju kartografske projekcije u okviru koje je uvrstio sva saznanja sakupljena do tog perioda, te na uvođenju geografskih koordinata (Kozličić, 1990: 168).

Dakle, rimska trgovina bila je društvena djelatnost zasnovana na povezanosti na različitim nivoima, uključujući i lokalne zajednice za proizvodnju robe, jedrenje, kretanje trgovačkih brodova, kao i infrastrukturnu podršku za trgovinu.

O razvoju pomorske trgovine

Pomorstvo na Mediteranu u punom smislu te riječi formira se oko velikih kulturnih celina Levanta početkom 3. milenijuma p.n.e., da bi sredinom 1. milenijuma p.n.e. svoj procvat doživelo i na Jadranu (Kalender, 2004: 261).

Kako je linija jadranske obale apeninskog poluostrva manje razuđena od obale balkanskog poluostrva, naročito njegovog južnog dijela, ne iznenađuje što je na istočnoj strani Jadrana bilo znatno više luka. Geografski položaj i prirodna razuđenost istočne jadranske obale, sa velikim brojem ostrva, uvala, zaklona, te pogodnim vjetrovima i morskim strujama, omogućili su izuzetno intenzivan promet i samim tim razvoj pomorstva i trgovine u prošlosti (Vrsalović, 1974: 14).

Ipak, nekoliko se značajnih luka nalazilo i na italijanskoj obali jadranskog mora. Za razliku od istočne obale, gde na

Bari is approximately 110Nm) during the day. As there are never the most favorable conditions for sailing, this route should be reduced to a real 30-40 Nm, and under adverse wind even less (Jurisic 1991: 138). It is certain that the crew would rather exceed the shoarter route and would spend the night in a safe anchorage, then pushing the sailing to its full potential. Ancient writers frequently mentioned day and night navigation as a measure of distance, it is good to consider the possibility of night navigation. Levelling according to the stars the captains were able to keep their boats at a certain direction, and if they more familiar with the coast, and with good weather conditions (light wind, the moon) night navigation was possible. Lighthouses, except around major cities, should be omitted (Jurisic 1991: 138). We also know that to Eratosthenes (3 - 2nd century BC), today regarded as the 'first real geographer', we owe the formation of map projections in which he included all information collected through this period, and the introduction of geographical coordinates (Kozličić, 1990 : 168).

Thus, the Roman trade was a social activity based on the connection at various levels, including local communities for the production of goods, sailing, movement of merchant ships, as well as infrastructure support for trade.

On the development of maritime trade

Maritime affairs in the Mediterranean in every sense of the word was formed around the major cultural parts of Levant in the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC to the middle of the 1st millennium BC when a boom in the Adriatic accrued as well (Kalender 2004: 261).

As the line of the Adriatic coast of the Apennine peninsula is less dispersed coast than the Balkan peninsula, especially in its southern part, it is not surprising

već nekoliko stotina metara od obale dubine dosežu 50 i više metara, italijanska obala je vrlo plitka, što je uslovljavalo sidrenje na nekoliko kilometara od obale. Upravo ovo je slučaj i sa veoma značajnom lukom rimskog perioda – Brindizijem. Osim Brindizija, kao veliki lučki centar izdvaja se i Tarent, a južno do njega i nekoliko manjih luka ovog perioda (Maškin, 1951: 49).

Strabon (1. v.p.n.e. – 1.v.n.e.) nam donosi pregršt informacija o području istočne obale Jadrana, što istorijskih što geografskih, ali na žalost do danas geografska građa koju nam je on ostavio nije detaljno istražena. On nam tako govori o naseljima, ušćima rijeka, privredi, ostrvima i ostalim aspektima ovog područja (Kozličić 251). Nama bi ipak zanimljivo bilo izdvojiti njegov opis istočne obale Jadrana, a u kontekstu plovidbe. On naime govori kako je ilirska obala pogodna za plovidbu, te da sadrži dobre luke, za razliku od suprotne, italijanske obale, koja ih skoro pa nema. Takođe on prvi Boku kotorsku naziva zalivom, dok su je pređašnji autori nazivali rijekom (Strab. 7,5,10).

Tokom 6. vijeka p.n.e. vrhunac pomorske moći dosežu tri centra na Mediteranu. Sa jedne strane tu je *Magna Graecia*, koja svoj prosperitet gradi na teritoriji centralnog Mediterana, koji omogućava posredovanje između zapadnomediterranskog bazena sa Masalijom kao izuzetno važnim punktom i istočnog Sredozemlja sa matičnim grčkim teritorijama. Potom Etrurija, koja nastoji da ovlada cijelom Italijom, a to uključuje i Tirensko i Ligursko more. I na kraju Kartagina, koja kontroliše sjevernu Afriku, Gibraltar, Korziku, Sardiniju i zapadnu Siciliju. U ovom periodu, generalno gledajući, Jadran je sasvim sporedno more. Po primorskim mjestima se u ovom periodu vremenom razvija niz privrednih grana, koje su bile od velikog značaja za život italskih plemena, poput solana, ribarstva, vađenja školjki i sl. (Maškin, 1951: 50).

to find significantly more ports on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The geographical location and the natural dispersion of the eastern Adriatic coast, with a large number of islands, bays, shelters, and suitable winds and the sea currents, created an extremely intense traffic and therefore the development of shipping and trade in the past (Vrsalović, 1974: 14).

However, several important ports were located on the Italian coast of the Adriatic Sea. Unlike the east coast, where at already a few hundred meters from the shore the depth reaches 50 m or more, the Italian coast is very shallow, which required anchoring only a few kilometers from the coast. This is precisely the case with the very important port of the Roman period - Brindisi. In addition to Brindisi, as a major port city there is Tarentum, and south to it, several smaller ports of this period (Maskin, 1951: 49).

Strabon (1 century BC - 1 century AD) provides us with a wealth of information about the area of the eastern Adriatic coast, both historical and geographical, but unfortunately up to today the geographical structure that he had left is not thoroughly researched. He is also elaborating on settlements, estuaries, economy, islands and the other aspects of the area (Kozličić 251). We are mainly interested in sorting out the description of the eastern Adriatic coast, and the context of navigation. He in fact states that the Illyrian coast is suitable for navigation, and has a good port, as opposed to the other, the Italian coast, which almost does not have them. In addition, he is the first to address Boka as a bay, while the former authors called it a river (Strab. 7,5,10).

During the 6th century BC, the culmination of maritime power was reached in three centers in the Mediterranean. Firstly, there was the *Magna Graecia*, which built its prosperity on the territory of the central Mediterranean, which provides

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Grčka kolonizacija istočnog Jadrana svoj najveći zamah doseže upravo u ovom periodu, koji značajno karakterišu sirakuško kolonizovanje *Isse* (ostrvo Vis) i parska *Pharosa* (ostrvo Hvar). Dionizije Stariji, sirakuški tiranin, povezuje grčke sicilijanske gradove u jaku državu. Kao isturenu tačku svoje države na Jadranu on osniva koloniju *Issu* početkom 4. veka p.n.e. a istovremeno pomaže pri osnivanju kolonije na Hvaru – *Pharos* (385.g.p.n.e.). Međutim, nakon Dionizijeve smrti država postepeno slabi i gubi uticaj na Jadranu. Ovo dovodi do stanja u kojem pridošli Grci 'politički' postaju prepušteni sami sebi a 'ekonomski' i dalje ostaju povezani sa grčkim svijetom (Stipčević, 1989: 52).

Samim tim, ne čudi što u ovom periodu dolazi do napretka u poznavanju geografije naše obale, uključujući i osnovne hidrološke uslove, presudne za plovidbu. Posledica ovoga je formiranje geografskih dijela, u okviru kojih se vrši opšta sistematizacija pomorsko – geografskih podataka, za područja koja su Grcima tada bila od interesa. Riječ je o svojevrsnim peljarima pomoraca 'mediteranskih mora', koja su do danas očuvani kao njihovi 'peripli' (oplovljavanja) i 'periegeze' (obilasci) (Kozličić, 1990: 73).

O ovome svjedoči i Geografski priručnik 'Plovidba morem uz obale nastanjene Evrope', poznat kao 'Peripl' Pseudo Skilaka koji potiče iz sredine 4. vijeka p.n.e. Ovdje je od izuzetnog značaja činjenica da je jezgro dijela bazirano na izvornim pomorskim podacima (Kozličić 74). Pseudo Skilak nam, između ostalog, daje vrlo bogate informacije o obali Histra, Liburna, geografskim odlikama srednjeg di-

mediation between the west of the Mediterranean basin with Massalia as extremely important checkpoint and the Eastern Mediterranean to the main Greek territories. Then the Etruscans, which tries to conquer the whole Italy, and that includes the Tyrrhenian and Ligurian Sea. And finally, Carthage, which controls North Africa, Gibraltar, Corsica, Sardinia and western Sicily. During this period, generally speaking, Adriatic is just a secondary sea. along the coastal towns in this period, a range of industries were eventually established, which were of a great importance for the life of the Italic tribes, such as the salt pans, fishing, shellfish extraction, etc. (Maskin, 1951: 50).

During the period of the 4th and 3rd century BC, the events from the Mediterranean significantly influenced and modified the situation in the Adriatic. While the northern and central Adriatic were still dominated by the group of Illyrian tribes, mostly Liburni, in the southern Adriatic and protruding islands Greeks appeared.

Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic its greatest momentum reaches precisely in this period, which is characterized by significant Syracuse colonization of *Issa* (island of Vis) and *Pars Pharos* (Island of Hvar). Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, joins Greek Sicilian cities into a strong state. As a distinguished spot of their country on the Adriatic he founded the colony *Issa* in early 4th century BC but at the same time he helps in establishing a colony on the island of Hvar - *Pharos* (385 BC). However, after the death of Dionysius, the state gradually weakens and loses its influence in the Adriatic. This leads to a situation in which newly arrived Greeks become 'politically' left alone and 'economically' remain connected with the Greek world (Stipčević, 1989: 52).

Consequently, it is not surprising that in this period there was a progress in the knowledge of the geography of our

jela istočne obale Jadrana, te ostrvlju ovog područja. Međutim, nama najznačajnije informacije su one koje se tiču Jadrana kao mora, odnosno, kako ga on naziva – ‘zaliva’. Naime, Jadran će u narednom periodu uglavnom nositi ovaj epitet, dok će se ka njemu kao moru odnositi tek Apolonije Rođanin. Takođe, kao kod Pseudo Skilaka, tako i kod kasnijih autora, granice Jadrana, konkretno njegov odnos sa Jonskim morem u znatnome varira. Iako Skilak na jednom mjestu njihovu granicu smješta na Otranskim vratima, već na kraju djela on poistovjećuje ova dva mora kao jedno te isto (GGM, 1855: 22-23). Međutim, mimo geografskih razgraničenja, Ps. Skilak nam daje i izuzetno bogate maritimno – numeričke podatke za obje obale Jadrana, a koji se prije svega odnose na njihove dužine u stadijima (1 stadij – 157,7m), te dužine plovidbe između različitih tačaka (tabela 1). Ono što je od značaja je da on, pri preračunavanju ovih vrijednosti, uzima u obzir i varijetet faktora koji na različite načine utiču na brzinu i efikasnost plovidbe, kao što su plovdba noću, odmorišta, vjetrovi i morske struje, o čemu je već riječi bilo ranije (Suić, 1955: 127-128).

coast, including the basic hydrological conditions, crucial for navigation. The consequence of this is the formation of the geographical area, within which, the general systematization of the Sea is performed - geographical data, for the areas that were of an interest for Greeks. It is a kind of *pilot* sailors of ‘Mediterranean Sea’, which are preserved up to this day as their ‘periplus’ (circumnavigation) and ‘periegeze’ (tours) (Kozličić, 1990: 73).

This is testified as Geographic manual ‘Sailing the sea along the coast of occupied Europe’, known as the ‘Periplus’ Pseudo Scylax, dating from the middle of the 4th century BC. The core part of this work is of a great importance as it is based on the original maritime data (Kozličić 74). Pseudo Scylax provides us, among other facts, with a very rich information on the bank of the Histri, Liburnians, geographical features of the central part of the eastern Adriatic coast, and the Isles of the area. However, to us the most important information is those concerning the Adriatic Sea as the sea, or, as he refers to it - ‘bay’. Particularly, the Adriatic will in the future period be mainly connected to this ti-

Pogl.	Pomorska ruta		Dužina plovidbe				
	od	do	dana	noći	Stadija	Prosječno	
						danju	noću
24.	Narona (Vid kod Metkovića)	Butua (Budva)	2	-	1.150	575	-
25.	Butua (Budva)	Epidamnos (Drač)	1	1	800	500	300
26-28.	Epidamnos (Drač)	Korkyra (Krf)	(2)	-	1.120	560	-

Tabela 1, Plovidbene relacije prema Ps. Skilakovom „Periplu“
Table 1, Navigation routes according to Ps. Scylax “Periplu“

Takođe, Ep o Argonautima Apolonija Rođanina, grčkog pjesnika iz 3. vijeka p.n.e. značajan je za nas iz dva razloga: prvo, zbog originalnog teksta, koji nam daje izuzetan broj istorijsko-geografskih informacija o istočnoj obali Jadrana u hronološkom rasponu od 8. do 3. vijeka p.n.e.; drugi razlog je prisustvo velikog broja komentara na određene dijelove njegovog epa, koji nam takođe daju niz zanimljivih mlađih i starijih istorijsko – geografskih podataka, u ovom slučaju i do 1. vijeka p.n.e. (Kozličić, 1990: 129). Tako nam, pored pregršt etnografskih podataka o ovom području, Apolonije ostavlja izuzetno bogatu hidrografsku građu, uključujući ovde osnovne karakteristike Jadrana (po autoru – dijelu jonskog zaliva), značajne riječne sisteme ove oblasti, te informacije o jadranskim ostrvima (Apoll.Rhod. 4,308).

Sredinom 3. vijeka p.n.e. ilirska plemena južnog Jadrana postaju sve jača. Vladar Argon ovladava južnim Jadranom i dolazi u sukob sa grčkim zajednicama. Istu politiku nastavlja Teuta, ali u sukobu sa Rimom ilirsko ardijejsko pleme slabi.

Kroz ova dešavanja, Polibije, iako se kroz svoju 'Istoriju' mahom fokusira na istorijska zbivanja 3. i 2. vijeka p.n.e., a vezana za rimsku državu, nam sporadično daje informacije koje se tiču plovidbe. Tako on, pričajući o rimsko-ilirskim sukobima, a kroz priču o Teuti, ženi ilirskog kralja Agona, govori o gusarstvu. On kaže da Teuta toleriše gusarenje svojih podanika, te kako osnovni motiv dolaska Rimljana u ove krajeve predstavljaju česti ilirski napadi na italske trgovce. Takođe, na dva mjesta nam stavlja do znanja da su se Iliri, makar smatrali, iskusnim brodograditeljima: prvo pri opsadi Isse (229. g.p.n.e.), gde Teuta zarad ovog cilja naređuje izgradnju većeg broja brodova (*lambi*) (Polyb. 2,9,1-2), i drugo, kada Filip V od Ilira traži izgradnju čak sto brodova za lične potrebe (Polyb. 5,109,3-4)

Uvreženo je mišljenje da je Jadran,

and it will be regarded as a sea only by Apollonius of Rhodes. In addition, as with Pseudo Scylax, and with later authors, the borders of the Adriatic, specifically his relationship with the Ionian Sea varies to a great extent. Although Scylax, placed its borders on Otrant door, but at the end of his work, he identified these two seas as one (GGM, 1855: 22-23). However, apart from geographical demarcation, Ps. Scylax gives us an extremely rich maritime - numerical data for both coasts of the Adriatic, which is primarily related to their length in stages (stage 1 - 157,7m), and length of navigation between different points (Table 1). What is important is that he, in the conversion of these values, is taking into account the variety of factors which in various ways affect the speed and efficiency of navigation, such as sailing at night, resting areas, winds and sea currents, which we have already mentioned earlier (Suić, 1955: 127-128).

Additionally, Epic of the Argonauts Apollonius of Rhodes, the Greek poet from the 3rd century BC is particularly important for us for two reasons: First reason, because of the original text, which provides us with an extraordinary number of historical and geographical information on the eastern Adriatic coast in the chronological range from eighth to third century BC; Another reason is the presence of a large number of comments on certain parts of his epic, which also provides a number of interesting younger and older historical - geographic data, in this case up to 1st century BC (Kozličić, 1990: 129). Moreover, apart from a handful of ethnographic data on this field, Apollonius leaves extremely rich hydrographic structure, including here the basic characteristics of the Adriatic (according to the author - part of the Ionian Gulf), major river systems of the area, as well as information on the Adriatic islands (Apoll.Rhod. 4,308).

In the middle of the third century BC

u vrijeme cjelokupnog ilirskog prisustva na ovim prostorima, predstavljao izuzetnu opasnost za grčke brodove i kolonizatore sve do momenta dolaska Rimljana. Međutim, treba uzeti u obzir činjenicu da su tragovi gusarenja kod ilirskih plemena prije sredine 3. vijeka p.n.e. ili jako rijetki ili ih nema, pa se postavlja pitanje da li je i koliko intenzivna bila praksa gusarenja prije ovog perioda (Dell, 1967: 344). Teorija o dominaciji Jadranskim morem od strane ilirskih plemena prije sredine 3. vijeka p.n.e. zasniva se mahom na mišljenju da je ovo bio razlog zašto Rimljani nisu ranije uspjeli da prodru na teritoriju Balkana (Džino, 2005: 3-4). Međutim, činjenica je da na pomen ovih plovila (*lembusa*) u kontekstu sa Ilirima prvi put nailazimo kod Polibija i to u spomenu njihove pobjede nad etolskim Grcima 231. godine p.n.e. Ovaj naziv takođe koriste i Demosten, Aristotel i Diodor, ali njime samo opisuju lagano, pokretljivo plovilo i ne dovode ga u vezu sa Ilirima ni na koji način. Dakle, iako se ilirska plemena vezuju za *lembus* u dešavanjima iz 231. godine, ne postoje istorijski dokazi koji bi ih sa njim povezali prije ovog perioda (Dell, 1967: 346). Takođe, znamo da je Dionizije I sirakuški (432–367), u cilju širenja svoje moći na teritoriju Grčke (konkretno Epira) unajmio i naoružao Ilire kao ispomoć u ostvarenju ovog cilja. Ovdje bi se očekivalo da se, ako je moć Ilira u gusarenju i plovidbi zaista bila tolika koliko se na tome danas insistira, više značaja posveti upravo ovoj činjenici. Međutim, u ovom slučaju nema spomena ikakvom ilirskom učešću u pomorskim aktivnostima u okolini Epira ili uopšte na Jadranu. U vrijeme vladavine Filipa II Makedonskog (382-336) dolazimo da zanimljivih informacija o moći ilirskih plemena na jadranskoj obali. Naime, iako se po Izokratu, Filip mogao nazvati „gospodarem svih Ilira“, posebno je naglašeno da u ove Ilire ne spadaju i oni na jadranskoj obali. Ono što skreće pažnju - obzirom na okolnosti – je da iz-

Illyrian tribes of the southern Adriatic become stronger. Ruler Argon mastered the southern Adriatic and came into conflict with the Greek communities. The same policy was continued by Teuta, but in conflict with Rome, the Illyrian tribe Ardidean weakened.

Through these events, Polybius, although through its 'History' he mainly focuses on historical events of 3rd and 2nd century BC, and related to the Roman state, he occasionally provides information concerning navigation. In this manner he, while talking about the Roman-Illyrian conflicts, and the story of Teuta, wife of the Illyrian king Agron, talks about piracy. He says Teuta tolerated piracy of their subjects, as the basic motive of the Roman arrival in this area are common Illyrian attacks on the Italian merchants. Also, on two points, he acknowledges that the Illyrians, considered as skillful, experienced ship builders: firstly, during the siege of *Issa* (229 BC), where Teuta for the sake of this goal ordered the construction of a large number of ships (*lembi*) (Polyb. 2.9, 1-2), and secondly, when Philip V of Illyrians requires the development of hundreds of boats for personal use (Polyb. 5,109,3-4)

The conventional wisdom is that the Adriatic, at the time of the entire Illyrian presence in this region, represented the extreme threat for the Greek ships and colonists until the moment of arrival of the Romans. However, one should take into account the fact that traces of piracy with the Illyrian tribes, before the middle of the third century BC were either very rare or non-existent, so the question is whether and how intense the practice of piracy was before this period (Dell, 1967: 344). The theory of the domination of the Adriatic Sea by the Illyrian tribes before the middle of the third century BC is based mainly on the belief that this was the reason why the Romans did not previously been able to penetrate the territory of the Balkans (Gino, 2005:

gleda Filip, kao i njegovi nasljednici, nije ni bio zainteresovan za postizanje kontrole nad jadranskom obalom (Dell 1967: 346), a i da u vrijeme njegove vladavine i vladavine kasnijih makedonskih kraljeva ne nailazimo na bitnije pomene navodnog terora koji su ilirski gusari vršili po Jadranu (Dell 1967: 347). Međutim, u kasnijem periodu se na osnovu mahom ogorčenih zapisa rimskih i grčkih pisaca može zaključiti da su vremenom ipak ilirska plemena bila zaslužna što je Jadran stekao prilično zlokobni ugled. U Atini, u 5. vijeku p.n.e. nailazimo na skoro poslovičnu frazu „ploviti Jadranom“ u smislu poduzimanja opasnog poduhvata. Tako iz Lisijevih govora vidimo da postoji izvjesna zabrinutost trgovaca prilikom slanja brodova u Jadransko more. S druge strane, Tit Livije nas obavještava o opasnostima Jadrana kroz svoj opis pomorske ekspedicije Spartanaca 302. godine p.n.e., upozoravajući na divlja plemena Ilira, Liburna i Istrana poznatih po gusarenju. Ogorčenje tih pisaca možemo shvatiti jer su oni izražavali stav jedne dobro organizovane i razvijene civilizacije u kojoj je slobodna i sigurna trgovina bila jedan od njenih osnovnih stubova. No ono što je u očima rimskih pisaca bilo sramotno i za najoštriju kritiku, u očima ilirskih plemena, kojima gusarska aktivnost nije ometala normalan privredni život, to je predstavljalo način privređivanja (Stipčević 1989: 151). Naime, gusarski napadi Ilira na grčke i italske trgovačke brodove imali su preventivno privredni značaj, a tek onda kada je zbog njih počelo dolaziti do sukoba sa Grcima i posebno sa Rimljanima poprimila je ta aktivnost i političko značenje. Cilj napada ilirskih gusara bili su brodovi koji su uz istočnu obalu Jadrana prevozili robu sa sjevera prema jugu i obratno. Ti su brodovi morali ploviti upravo uz ilirsku obalu, jer suprotna, nerazvijena italska obala nije mogla pružiti potrebnu zaštitu u slučaju vremenskih nepogoda na moru. Ilirska je obala, međutim, sa svojim brojnim

3-4). However, the fact is that the mentioning of these vessels (lembus) in the context of Illyrians were firstly encountered with Polybius when mentioning their victory over the Greeks Aitolian 231 BC. This term is also used by Demosthenes, Aristotle and Diodorus, but it only describes light, movable vessel and is not brought in connection to the Illyrians in any way. In addition, although the Illyrian tribes were associated with lembus during the events occurred in 231, there are no historical evidences to connect with it before this period (Dell, 1967: 346). Also, we know that Dionysius I of Syracuse (432-367), in order to expand its power in the territory of Greece (specifically Epirus) hired and armed the Illyrians to assist in achieving this objective. You would expect that, if the power of the Illyrians in piracy and navigation was really great as it is insisted up to this day, more importance should be dedicated precisely to this fact. However, in this case there are no proofs on any Illyrian participation in maritime activities around Epirus or even on the Adriatic. During the reign of Philip II of Macedonia (382-336) we found interesting data about the power of the Illyrian tribes on the Adriatic coast. Although according to Isocrates, Philip could be called “lord of the Illyrians,” it is particularly emphasized that these Illyrians do not include those on the Adriatic coast. What draws attention - given the circumstances - it seems as Philip and his successors, were not even interested in regaining control over the Adriatic coast (Dell 1967: 346), and during the time of his reign and rule of later Macedonian kings we do not come across any significant meanings of alleged terror that Illyrian pirates carried out in the Adriatic (Dell 1967: 347). Moreover, at a later stage and based on mostly bitter records of Greek and Roman writers can be concluded that with the time Illyrian tribes were responsible for quite sinister reputation that Adriatic gained. In Athens in the

ostrvima i prirodnim lukama bila idealna za plovidbu, a gospodari te obale – ilirska plemena – nisu propustili priliku koja im se ukazivala: presrećući i napadajući brodove pune dragocene robe dolazili su oni na lak način do bogatstava. Napadi ilirskih brzih brodova na grčke i italske trgovačke lađe, pa i na grčke gradove u samo Grčkoj, donosili su im lijepu korist, i stoga nije čudno što je plemenskim vođama teško bilo odustati od tako unosnog zanimanja. Koristi od tih aktivnosti bile su očigledno tako velike da se prilično sigurno može pretpostaviti da je upravo gusarstvo u mnogome ubrzalo proces privrednog razvoja ilirskih plemena na primorju i da je roba opljačkana od grčkih i italskih pomoraca imala znatnu ulogu u procesu raslojavanja ilirskog društva (Stipčević 1989: 151). Uprkos velikim opasnostima što su trgovačkim lađama koje su plovile Jadranom pretile od ilirskih gusara, Grci uporno trguju sa plemenima i osnivaju svoje stalne trgovačke postaje (emporije) tamo gde je to bilo moguće i najpotrebnije (Stipčević 1989: 154). O značaju trgovine putem Jadrana i rizicima zanimljive podatke ostavio nam je svakako poznati atinski retoričar Lisija (440 -380), koji je smatrao da je trgovina na Jadranu izuzetno opasna ali unosna. Tako je u jednom svom govoru protiv Dioginita ostavio zanimljivu priču za sobom – naime za njega tvrdi da je veliki lopov, jer kada šalje brodove u Jadran ne priznaje svoju finansijsku odgovornost u tome, jer se boji propasti posla. Svoj udio u poslu priznaje tek onda kada se brod sigurno vrati i dobitak udvostruči (Zaninović, 1992: 107).

Početakom 2. vijeka p.n.e. na cijelom Jadranu dolazi do sve intenzivnijih rimskih uplitanja, što dovodi do izbijanja sukoba. Tokom rimsko – ilirskih ratova osvojena je Istra (177. godina p.n.e. pada Nezakcija), južnoilirski država (168. godine p.n.e. poražen Gencije), slijede ratovi protiv Delmata (156-155 i 119-117. godine p.n.e.), Ardijeja i Pleareja (135. godine p.n.e.), te

5th century BC, we encountered almost a proverbial phrase “to sail the Adriatic,” in the sense of taking a dangerous endeavor. Thus, from Livius’s speeches we see that there are some concerns that traders had when they were sending ships into the Adriatic Sea. However, Titus Livius tells us about the dangers of the Adriatic through his description of the marine expedition of Spartans 302 BC, and their warning of wild Illyrian tribes, the Liburnians, and Istrians known for piracy. The bitterness of these writers can be understood because they expressed the attitude of a well organized and developed civilization in which the free and secure trade was one of its main pillars. But what was in the eyes of the Roman writers infamous and for the sharpest criticism, in the eyes of the Illyrian tribes, where pirate activity did not interfere with the normal economic life, was a way of doing business (Stipčević 1989: 151). The pirate attacks of Illyrians on Greek and Italian merchant ships were primarily of an economic importance, but only when they have become the source of conflict with the Greeks and especially the Romans, this activity took a political significance. The aim of the attacks of Illyrian pirates were ships that were from the eastern coast of the Adriatic carrying goods from north to south and vice versa. These ships had to sail right along the Illyrian coast, because on contrary, undeveloped Italic coast could not provide the necessary protection in the event of bad weather at sea. Illyrian coast, however, with many of its islands and natural harbors were ideal for sailing, and the masters of that coast - Illyrian tribes - did not miss the opportunity that appeared for them: intercepting and attacking ships full of valuable goods was an easy way to get rich. The attacks of Illyrian fast boats on Greek and Italian merchant ships, including the Greek cities in Greece, brought a nice benefit for them, and is therefore not surprising that the tribe leaders had a dif-



Sl. 2, Dva broad na ulazu u rimsku luku. Reljef 3. vijeka n.e. iz katakombe Pretekstatusa (Praetextatus), Rim (Casson, 1971., plate 148)

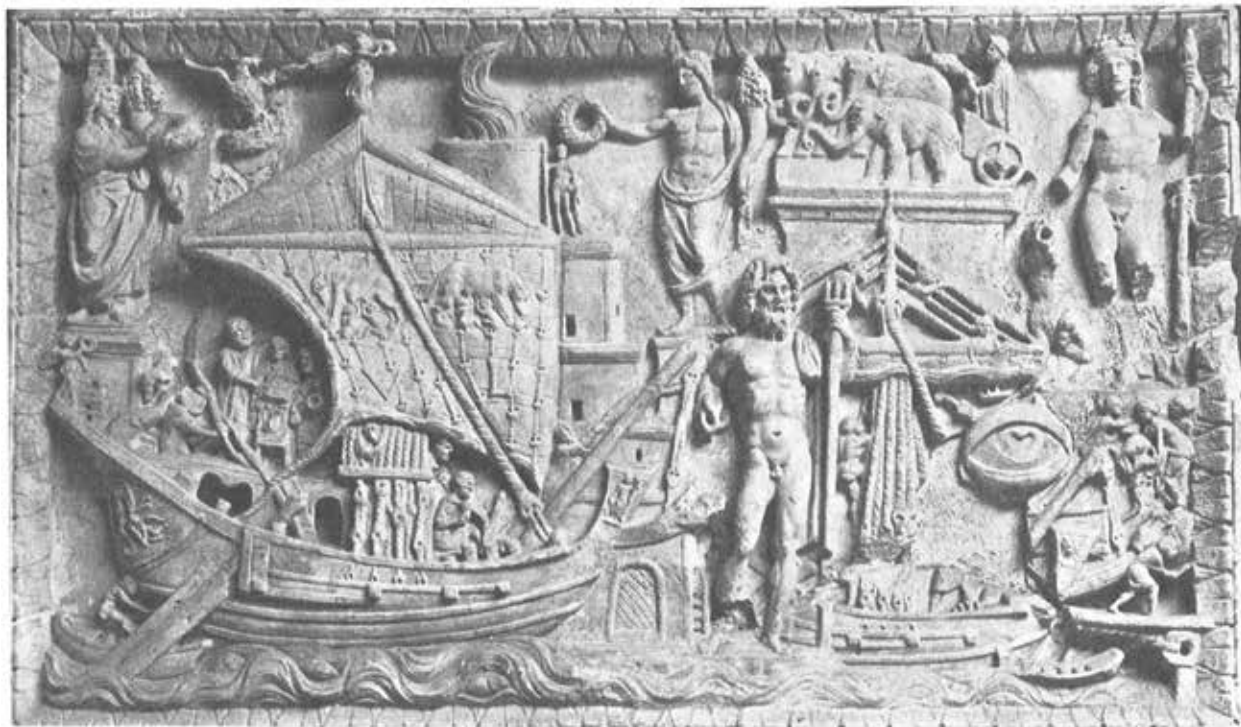
Fig. 2, Two ships on the entrance to the Roman port. Relief 3rd century AD from the catacombs Praetextatus, Rome (Casson, 1971, plate 148)

Histra i Japoda (129. godine p.n.e.) Tokom 1. vijeka p.n.e. rimska država će uglavnom kontrolisati Jadran, a slijede joj još ratovi za prevlast nad zaleđem (Stipčević 1989, 40).

O ovom periodu i pomenutim dešavanjima svjedoče zapisi Tita Livija i Apijana. Apijan (2. vijek p.n.e.) nam u svom dijelu 'Ilirika' govori o ilirskim gusarima, te problemima koje su rimskim trgovcima izazivali. Pojedinačno nam za Liburne govori kako su svojim brzim brodovima pljačkali, te da su Rimljani njihove tehnike brodogradnje, zbog maritimnih osobina, obijeručke prihvatili (Appian. Bell. C., 2,41; 2,59; 3,63; 4,75).

Tit Livije (1. vek p.n.e.), prije svega historičar, nije nam ostavio puno geografskih podataka, ali iz njegovih opisa tadašnjih događaja dobijamo posredne informacije o pomorskim aktivnostima. Tako nam on saopštava da je rimski pretor Lucije Anicije uz zarobljenog Gencija i članova njegove porodice, između ostalog, kao plijen donio i 220 ilirskih brodova. Čak i uz mogućnost da su ovi podaci preuveličani, sam broj brodova (a i ostalog plijena) govori o bogatstvu ilirske kraljevske porodice (Liv. 45,43,5-10). Takođe, daje nam interesantne podatke vezane za Dardane, odnosno njihovu zemlju. Za nju

ficulty in giving up such a lucrative profession. The benefits of these activities were apparently so large that it can be easily assumed that the piracy itself accelerated the process of economic development of the Illyrian tribes on the coast and that the goods were looted from Greek and Italic sailors played an important role in the process of disintegration of the Illyrian society (Stipčević 198 : 151). Despite the great dangers to commercial ships that sailed the Adriatic under the threat of Illyrian pirates, the Greeks insisted on trading with the tribes and established their permanent trading stations (*emporía*) where it was possible and most needed (Stipčević 1989: 154). A well known Athenian rhetorician Lissieux (440 -380) left an interesting data on the importance of trade via the Adriatic and its risks. He considered the trade on the Adriatic coast as an extremely dangerous but profitable. Thus, in one of his speeches against Dioginita he left an interesting story - namely, for him, he claims that is a great villain because once he sent ships in the Adriatic dhe oes not recognize his financial responsibility in this activity, because he fears the collapse of the job. His share in the business is recognized only when the ship safely returns and gains doubles (Zaninovic, 1992: 107). At the beginning of



Sl. 3, Trgovački brod u rimskoj luci, vezan i pri istovaru. Reljef u Torlonia muzeju, Rim (Casson, 1971, plate 144)

Fig. 3, A merchant ship in the Roman port, bound and unloading. Relief in Torlonia Museum, Rome (Casson, 1971, plate 144)

kaže da obiluje drvetom za brodogradnju. Zanimljiv je kod Livija i pomen Skadarskog jezera i rijeke Bojane. Tako kaže kako Gentije 'uspne se na lađu i rijekom Barbanom plovi u Labeatsko jezero...', odnosno 'kad je istekao treći dan poslao je istu lađu uz rijeku u Skodru'. Iz ovog navoda se nedvosmisleno može zaključiti da je rijeka Bojana tada bila plovna, te da je korišćena kao veza između Jadrana i Skadra (Liv. 44,31).

Nakon što je dovršeno osvajanje cijelog mediteranskog basena ratna problematika seli se postepeno na periferiju carstva, što pozitivno utiče na razmjenu dobara i procvat trgovine. Na Jadranu su nakon niza ratova i ustanaka primirena istočno – jadranska plemena i ustanovljena je provincija. Duž obale formiraju se i jačaju gradski centri. Dolazi do opšteg napretka provincije i rasta gradova. U ovom periodu postepeno opada italska ekonomska dominacija dok paralelno s tim raste važnost

the second century BC the whole Adriatic Sea became more involved in intense Roman interference, which led to the outbreak of conflict. During the Roman - Illyrian wars Istra region was conquered (177 BC before the fall of Nesactium), South Illyrian state (168 BC Gencius defeated), followed by wars against Delmata (156-155 and 119-117. BC), Ardiaei and Plearei (135 BC), and Histrians and Japoden (129 BC) During the first century BC, Roman state will largely control the Adriatic, followed by more wars for the control of the hinterland (Stipčević 1989, 40).

During this period and the above mentioned events were witnessed in the records of Livy and Appian. Appian (2nd century BC) in his work 'Ilirica' explains Illyrian pirates, and the problems caused to the Roman traders. Individually for Liburians he states that their fast boats robbed, and that the Romans with their techniques of shipbuilding, due to maritime charac-

provincija.

Hidrografske podatke i uopšte informacije o plovidbi u periodu 1. i 2. vijeka n.e. dobijamo od Plinija Starijeg i Klaudi-



Sl. 4, Prikaz rimskog trgovačkog broda sa jedrima. Reljef na sarkofagu nađenom u Sidonu, Liban (Bass, 1974, pp. 80, plate 2)

Fig. 4, The Roman merchant ship with sails. The relief on the sarcophagus found in Sidon, Lebanon (Bass, 1974, pp. 80, plate 2)

ja Ptolomeja. Plinije Stariji (1. vijek n.e.) bi se, obzirom na podatke koje nam je ostavio, mogao nazvati geografskim enciklopedistom. U svom dijelu 'Prirodopis' daje nam svoju viziju istočno-jadranske obale u opšte-geografskom, antropološkom pa čak i socijološkom smislu. Koristi se velikim brojem starih ali još većim brojem novih podataka, ali su nama od najvećeg značaja numerički podaci koje nam daje (mahom vezani za razdaljine između pojedinih mjesta), a koji omogućavaju da se stvori egzaktnija slika o istočnom

teristics, were greatly accepted. (Appian. Bell. C., 2,41; 2,59; 3,63; 4,75).

Titus Livius (1st century BC), primarily historian, has not given us a lot of geographic data, but from his description of the events we obtained the indirect information on maritime activities. Thus he tells us that the Roman Praetor Lucius Anicius with captive Gentius and members of his family, among other things, as a prey brought 220 Illyrian boats. Even with the possibility that this data is exaggerated, the total number of ships (and other prey) speaks to the richness of the Illyrian royal family (Liv. 45,43,5-10). It also gives some interesting information related to the Dardanelles, i.e. their country. For them, he states that abounds in wood for shipbuilding. What is interesting is that Livio mentions Skadar Lake and Bojana River. Thus says Gentius' ascend to the boat and sails on the river Barbano to Labeat lake ... ' or ' when the third day expired, he sent the same boat on the river in Shkodra. From this allegation it can unequivocally be concluded that the river Bojana at that time was navigable, and that is was used as a link between the Adriatic and the Skadar (Liv. 44,31).

Having completed the conquest of the entire Mediterranean basin the war problems were moving gradually to the periphery of the empire, which had a positive impact on the exchange of goods and flourishing of the trade. In the Adriatic, after a series of wars and uprisings the east - Adriatic tribes calmed and founded the province. Along the coast were formed and strengthened some urban centers. There is a general progress of provinces and growth of towns. During this period, Italic economic dominance was gradually decreasing while parallelly the importance of the provinces is growing.

Hydrographic data and general information about navigation in the period of the 1st and 2nd century AD we obtained

Jadranu (Kozličić, 1990: 288). 'Geografija' Klaudija Ptolomeja (2. vijek n.e.) sadrži pak nama zanimljive informacije, koje je on kao izuzetni astronom, matematičar, geograf i kartograf prikupio. Prije svega treba napomenuti da je upravo on razvio prvu prostu perspektivnu kartografsku projekciju. Potom je, želeći da ovoj projekciji da geografsku sliku ekumene, prvo na njoj kartirao najmarkantnije geografske tačke (kolonije Jader, Salona, Naron) i skicirao obalnu crtu. Zatim je ovoj 'početnoj' skici dodao sve ostale geografske podatke, kao što su položaji drugih naselja, zalivi, reke, ostrvlja, itd (Kozličić, 1990: 307-308). Svojim radom uspio da stvori do tada najrealnije i najtačnije viđenje Jadrana, njegovih dimenzija, odnosa između pojedinih mesta, a izraženih u jasnim metričkim podacima.

Pretpostavlja se da se u velikoj mjeri na podatke Klaudija Ptolomeja naslanja i Pojtingerova karta – *Tabula Peutingeriana*, nastala vjerovatno u 3-4. vijeku n.e. Iako karta ne obiluje novim podacima, odnosno uglavnom objedinjuje one poznate od ranije, ovdje prvi put nailazimo na kartografsko isticanje luka, te na kartiranje pojedinačnih mjesta i ostrvlja izuzimanih ranije. Određene nelogičnosti i specifičan kartografski jezik koji je teško protumačiti mogu se pripisati brojnim prectavanjima ovog materijala kroz vijekove, te mogućim greškama koje su pri tom nastajale (Kozličić, 1990: 321).

Mogućnost da se uspostavi kontakt sa velikim udaljenim tržištima čini vrijednom težnju da se proizvodnja poveća na lokalnom nivou, pa samim tim i stvori višak dobara konkurentnih na tržištu. Snabdjevanje ovih tržišta potom zavisi od efektivnosti transporta dobara od proizvođača do potrošača. Upravo ovdje pomorski vid transporta dominira nad ostalim, omogućavajući jeftiniji pristup velikim, udaljenim tržištima (Robinson, Wilson, 2011: 1). Adam Smit u svom djelu 'Wealth of

from Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy. Pliny the Elder (1st century BC) could be named a geographic encyclopaedic, according to the data that he had left. In his work 'Natural History' gives us his vision of Eastern Adriatic coast in the general geographical, anthropological and even sociological terms. He uses a large number of old but still a large number of new data, however we are thankful for the numerical data of the utmost importance that that he has left mainly related to the distance between sites), which allow us to create a more exact picture of the eastern Adriatic (Kozličić, 1990: 288). "Geography" of Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century BC) contains significant information, which he as an exceptional astronomer, mathematician, geographer and cartographer collected. First of all, it should be noted that he was the one who developed the first simple perspective map projection. Secondly, with an intention to provide this projection with the geographical picture of ecumenism, he firstly charted the most striking geographical points (colony of Jader, Salona, Naron) and sketched the coastline. Then on this 'home' sketch he added other geographical data such as the positions of other villages, bays, rivers, the islands, etc. (Kozličić, 1990: 307-308). Its work managed to create the most realistic and accurate view of the Adriatic, its dimensions, the relationship between the individual cities, while expressed in a clear metric.

It is supposed that on the data of Claudius Ptolemy, the Map of Peutingerian - *Tabula Peutingeriana* is leaning to a large extent, originated probably in the 3-4 AD Although the map was not rich with new information, and generally combines those already known, here, for the first time we encounter cartographic highlight of the ports, and the mapping of individual places and the islands which were earlier left out. Certain discrepancies and specific cartographic language that is difficult to

Nations' po ovom pitanju daje praktično poređenje:

'Karavanu većih dimenzija kojim upravlja ju dvije osobe a koji pokreće osam konja, potrebno je osam nedelja da prenese oko osam tona robe od Londona do Edinburga i vrati se. Otprilike isti vremenski period potreban je da brod kojim upravlja šest do osam osoba, a koji plovi na ovoj relaciji, preveze oko 200 tona robe.' (Adam Smith, 1904: 25).

Razvoj pomorstva, upoznavanje mora, kroćenje jedara, išlo je postepeno. Ljudi su oduvijek bili vezani za vodu i njoj težili. Bilo da su u pitanju rijeke, jezera ili mora, blizina vode je često bila glavna odrednica prilikom biranja lokacije za duže nastanjenje. Ovo ne čudi, jer pored činjenice da je voda jedan od glavnih izvora života, ona u mnogo čemu olakšava i transport dobara. A težnja da se nešto prenese sa jedne tačke na drugu seže u početke razvoja trgovine. Kroz pisane izvore, mi danas znamo da je u antici prevesti nešto vodom, bilo značajno jeftinije nego kopnom. Iz ovog razloga su velike imperije oduvijek težile da gospodare vodenim putevima (Robinson, Wilson, 2011: 1).

interpret can be attributed to a number of tracing over the materials through the ages, and possible errors that have emerged in this (Kozličić, 1990: 321).

The possibility to make contact with a distant markets seemed worth striving to increase production at the local level, and therefore to create excess goods competitive in the market. Cater to these markets then depends on the effectiveness of the transport of goods from producers to consumers. It is here that maritime transport is dominant over the other, allowing cheaper access to large, distant markets (Robinson, Wilson, 2011: 1). Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" gives practical comparison on this issue:

'Caravan of larger dimensions managed by two people who run eight horses, eight weeks was necessary to transfer about eight tons of goods from London to Edinburgh and back. Roughly the same length of time was required for a ship managed by six to eight people, and that is sailing on this route, while transporting about 200 tons of goods.' (Adam Smith, 1904: 25).

The development of maritime affairs, exploration of the sea, taming of sails, was achieved gradually. People have always been devoted for the water and sought to it. Whether it comes to rivers, lakes or the sea, water is often a major determinant when choosing a location for a longer residence. This is not surprising, because in addition to the fact that water is one of the main sources of life, it can in many ways ease the transport goods. A tendency to transferred something from one point to another dates back to the beginnings of the development of trade. Through written sources, we are introduced that in ancient times transporting something by using waters, was significantly cheaper than using the mainland. For this reason, the great empires have always tended to dominate the waterways (Robinson, Wilson, 2011: 1).

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