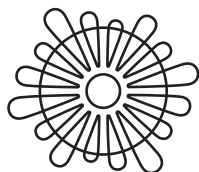


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# THE ROMAN PORT OF ANCONA DURING THE TRAJANIC ERA: SCALE, CAPACITY AND URBAN SETTING

## RIMSKA LUKA ANCONA U TRAJANOVO DOBA: VELIČINA, KAPACITET I URBANO PODRUČJE

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### KEY WORDS:

*Adriatic, Ancona, harbour, Trajan*

*During the Trajanic era, Ancona was one of the greatest ports of the Western Adriatic. Scholars have so far considered its remains from a limited historical and topographic perspective. This paper explores the Roman port of Ancona during the Imperial period, through a multidisciplinary examination of literary, archaeological and epigraphic sources. This paper investigates the scale, capacity and urban setting of Ancona's port. Using topographic observations and excavation data, the first section summarises the form and development of the port and identifies its recurring elements, including the quay, mole(s), lighthouse, horrea, etc. The second section investigates the agents and sponsorships responsible for the construction of Ancona's port. The third section examines the capacity of the port. Using epigraphic, statistical and shipwreck data, it assesses the capacity of the port, by analysing berth widths and the mooring and manoeuvring of ships. The fourth section explores its urban setting and makes a case for the practical and monumental characters of the port. Supporting information on the port topography and epigraphic and archaeological data are presented in the Table.*

### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*Jadran, Ancona, luka, Trajan*

*U doba Trajana, Ancona je bila jedna od najvećih luka na zapadnom Jadranu. U prošlosti su znanstvenici sagledavali njezine ostatke s ograničenog povijesnog i topografskog motrišta. U ovome radu razmatra se rimska luka Ancona u carskom razdoblju kroz multidisciplinarnu analizu književnih, arheoloških i epigrafskih izvora. Rad preispituje veličinu, kapacitet i urbano okruženje luke Ancone. U prvome djelu, kroz topografska razmatranja i podatke o iskapanjima donosi se pregled oblika i razvitka luke i prepoznaju elementi koji se ponavljaju, među ostalima gat, mol(ovi), svjetionik, horrea itd. Drugi dio bavi se izvođačima i investitorima zaslužnima za izgradnju luke Ancone. U trećem dijelu preispituje se kapacitet luke. Epigrafski i statistički podatci te podatci prikupljeni u istraživanjima olupina potopljenih brodova omogućili su procjenu kapaciteta luke kroz analizu širine vezova, načina vezivanja brodova i brodskih manevara. Četvrti dio istražuje njezino urbano okruženje i iznosi zaključke u pogledu praktičnih i spomeničkih obilježja luke. Informacije koje idu u prilog topografiji luke te epigrafski i arheološki podaci prikazani su u tablici.*

## ANCONA

Ancona is one of the main harbour cities of the Central Adriatic. It is situated on the northern side of the Conero promontory. Ancona lies in a natural bay, and the site is on a coastal plain consisting of consolidated sands and clay, which are exposed to the action of erosion. To the north of Ancona, the Esino River flows into the Adriatic. Ancona's bay is framed by hills that surround the city centre. The hills are Colle Guasco (N) and Posatore – Astagno (S), which form a natural barrier that encloses the urban centre within a bay.<sup>1</sup> On the southern side, the bay formed an enclosed basin, passing by the Scogli di Santa Lucia, an extension of the ridge which was formed by a series of hills including Col Pelago, Marino, Santo Stefano and Astagno.<sup>2</sup> The northern side of the bay was formed by the Scogli San Clemente, San Clementino and Volpe, which constituted the natural continuation of the NE ridge formed by the Cardeto, Cappuccini and Guasco hills (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

Ancona was perhaps founded by settlers from Syracuse during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and its name probably derived from its shape, which is reminiscent of an elbow.<sup>4</sup> Established as a strategic centre and node between the north and south, between Latium and the Balkans, it became a permanent naval base during the Illyrian War in 177 BC, and gained the title of *municipium* immediately after this period.<sup>5</sup> It received major improvement works under Trajan, and the port was reinforced. Ancona became one of the main harbours of the Western Adriatic owing to these improvements. Exchange to and from this port city also took place on a large scale from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when it was a pivotal destination for traders

<sup>1</sup> M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 19.

<sup>2</sup> G. ANNIBALDI, 1953, 262; M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 15.

<sup>3</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 18; A. NASO, 2000, 41; M. LUNI, 2003, 30.

<sup>4</sup> M. MORETTI, 1945, 21; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 16; F. COLIVICCHI, 2002, 112-115.

<sup>5</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 27; M. SALVINI, 2009.

## ANCONA

Ancona je jedan od najvažnijih lučkih gradova srednjeg Jadrana. Prostire se na sjevernim padinama planine Conero. Ancona je smještena u prirodnom zaljevu te leži na obalnoj ravnici sastavljenoj od konsolidiranih pijesaka i glina izloženih djelovanju erozije. Sjeverno od Ancone nalazi se ušće rijeke Esino. Zaljev Ancone okružen je brdima koja okružuju središte grada. Colle Guasco (na sjeveru) i Posatore – Astagno (na jugu) čine prirodnu barijeru koja zatvara gradsko središte unutar zaljeva.<sup>1</sup> S južne strane, zaljev zatvaraju hridi Scogli di Santa Lucia koje predstavljaju nastavak grebena kojega čini niz uzvisina među kojima su Col Pelago, Marino, Santo Stefano i Astagno.<sup>2</sup> Sjevernu stranu zaljeva tvore hridi Scogli San Clemente, San Clementino i Volpe koje su nekoć predstavljale prirodni nastavak sjeveroistočnog grebena kojega su činile uzvisine Cardeto, Cappuccini i Guasco (Sl. 1).<sup>3</sup>

Pretpostavlja se da su Anconu osnovali doseljenici iz Sirakuze u 5. stoljeću pr. Kr., a ime je vjerojatno dobila po obliku kojim podsjeća na lakat.<sup>4</sup> Uspostavljena kao strateški centar i čvorište putova između sjevera i juga, između Lacija i Balkana, Ancona je služila kao ratna luka rimske flote u ilirskom ratu 177. pr. Kr. da bi odmah po završetku tog razdoblja postala *municipium*.<sup>5</sup> Za vladavine Trajana provedeni su brojni radovi na poboljšanju strukture te je ojačana sama luka. Zahvaljujući tim radovima, Ancona je postala jedna od najvažnijih luka zapadnog Jadrana. Vrlo intenzivna trgovina u tom se lučkom gradu odvijala od 16. stoljeća kada je on postao ključno odredište trgovaca koji su poslovali s Osmanskim Carstvom i unutar njega. Ancona je bila pod kontrolom Papinske Države kao njezin najvažniji grad

<sup>1</sup> M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 19.

<sup>2</sup> G. ANNIBALDI, 1953, 262; M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 15.

<sup>3</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 18; A. NASO, 2000, 41; M. LUNI, 2003, 30.

<sup>4</sup> M. MORETTI, 1945, 21; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 16; F. COLIVICCHI, 2002, 112-115.

<sup>5</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 27; M. SALVINI, 2009.

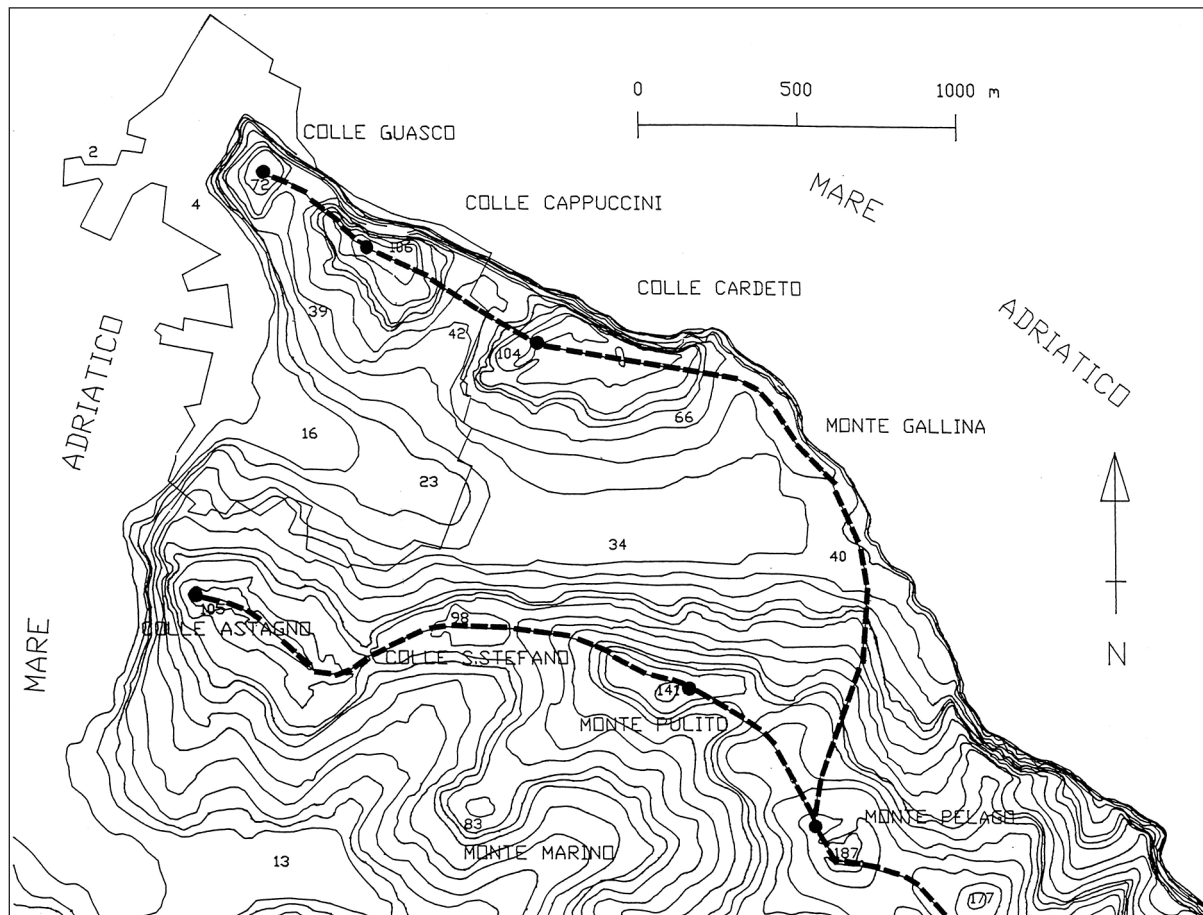


FIGURE 1 Ancona's promontory and hills (after S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 14, Fig. 13)

SLIKA 1. Poluotok i brda Ancone (prema S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 14, sl. 13)

who had business with and in the Ottoman Empire. Ancona was under the control of the Papal State, being its main city on the Adriatic coast. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the city underwent massive restoration and the ancient port was reinforced under Pope Clement VII, who commissioned the works of Luigi Vanvitelli.<sup>6</sup>

Literary accounts provide a starting point for the exploration of the port's layout and setting. The earliest mention of Ancona's harbour comes from Pseudo-Scylax, who refers to the temple of Diomedes and links it with the port, and also provides information on the existence of landing places in its bay. The author also estimates the journey and sailing times necessary to reach Ancona from an undefined region (perhaps the Aegean), quantifying it as two days and one night. He also argues that

na jadranskoj obali. Čitav je grad podvrgnut masovnoj obnovi u 18. stoljeću, dok je pod papom Klementom VII. obnovljena antička luka, za što je angažiran Luigi Vanvitelli.<sup>6</sup>

Književna djela donose prve opise koji služe kao polazište za istraživanje izgleda same luke i njezina okruženja. Prvi spomen luke Ancone nalazimo kod Pseudo Skilaka koji upućuje na Diomedov hram dovodeći ga u vezu s lukom i spominjući vezove u zaljevu. Autor također procjenjuje vrijeme potrebno da bi se stiglo i doplovilo do Ancone iz nepoznate regije (možda iz Egeje), spominjući dva dana i jednu noć. Također tvrdi da su Anconu osnovali Sirakužani oko 5. stoljeća pr. Kr., koji su izgradili njezinu luku, te navodi da je grad smješten na granici s agerom *Gallicus* (sjeverno od Ancone).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> M. NATALUCCI, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> M. NATALUCCI, 1960.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. Sc. 16; A. NASO, 2000, 22; L. ANTONELLI, 2003, 85.

Ancona was established by the Syracusans in about the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, who provided it with a port, and he refers to it as being located along the boundary with the ager Gallicus (N of Ancona).<sup>7</sup>

Strabo depicts Ancona as the main maritime city of the Picenum. He describes the site as being located upon a promontory and arranged along a curving tongue of land, oriented toward the enclosed harbour.<sup>8</sup> He also defines it as a Greek settlement, founded by colonists from Syracuse who escaped Dionysius' tyranny.<sup>9</sup> However, recent work has indicated that very little archaeological evidence confirms this point and that Ancona enjoyed frequent contact with Greece, Magna Graecia and Sicily.<sup>10</sup> This integrated system of contacts in the pre-Roman period is also confirmed by Pseudo-Scylax and Strabo.<sup>11</sup> Concerning trans-maritime contacts, Strabo follows Pseudo-Scylax's account and makes reference to the cult of Diomedes in Ancona. This cult was also identifiable at Ravenna and signals the spread of the divinity along the Northern Adriatic, probably introduced by merchants.<sup>12</sup> Other Roman authors make brief references to the mooring and its territory, including Mela and Pliny the Elder who give a clear description of the 'elbow' shape of the settlement, and they report that there was a docking place there.<sup>13</sup> This literary evidence reveals the use of the port in the late Republican and early Imperial periods when contacts between Ancona and other Mediterranean markets were growing.

Livy refers to Ancona as one of the most strategic harbours for sailing towards the Balkan Adriatic coast.<sup>14</sup> The historian states that Ancona was used as a logistic base for military operations during the Illyrian Wars. Al-

Strabon prikazuje Anconu kao glavni pomorski grad Picenuma. Opisuje lokaciju na uzvisini raspoređenu duž zakrivljenog rta okrenutog prema luci koju obuhvaća.<sup>8</sup> Osim toga, prepoznaje je kao grčku naseobinu koju su utemelji kolonisti iz Sirakuze koji su pobjegli od Dionizijeve tiranije.<sup>9</sup> Međutim, novija istraživanja pokazala su da vrlo mali broj arheoloških nalaza potvrđuje tu teoriju i da je Ancona bila često u dodiru s Grčkom, Velikom Grčkom i Sicilijom.<sup>10</sup> Taj integrirani sustav kontakata u predrimskom razdoblju potvrđuju i Pseudo Skilak i Strabon.<sup>11</sup> Što se tiče prekomorskih veza, Strabonov opis podudara se s onim Pseudo Skilaka, spominjući kult Diomeda u Anconi. Prisutnost kulta prepoznata je i u Raveni, ukazujući na rasprostranjenost kulta tog božanstva duž sjevernog Jadrana i navodeći na zaključak da su ga vjerojatno donijeli trgovci.<sup>12</sup> Drugi rimski autori spominju vezove na ovom području, među njima Mela i Plinije Stariji koji donose jasan opis naselja u obliku „lakta”, kao i mjesta za privez.<sup>13</sup> Ovi pisani izvori ukazuju na uporabu luke tijekom kasnorepublikanskog i početkom ranocarskog razdoblja, u doba kad su se intenzivirali kontakti između Ancone i ostalih sredozemnih trgovišta.

Livije navodi da je Ancona bila jedna od najvažnijih strateških luka u pomorskom prometu prema balkanskoj obali Jadranskog mora.<sup>14</sup> Povjesničar navodi da je Ancona služila kao logističko središte za vojne operacije u vrijeme ilirskih ratova. Iako ne donosi detaljan opis same luke, Livije ukazuje na postojanje dobro opremljene luke u razdoblju rimske Republike.<sup>15</sup> K tome ističe kako je Ancona odabrana kao sjedište flote kojom su zapovijedali Furije Gaj i Lucije Kornelije

<sup>7</sup> Ps. Sc. 16; A. NASO, 2000, 22; L. ANTONELLI, 2003, 85.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 5.4.2.

<sup>9</sup> Strab. 5.4.2; M. LUNI, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> F. COLIVICCHI, 2008, 31-46.

<sup>11</sup> L. ANTONELLI, L. LAZZARINI, 2013, 158.

<sup>12</sup> V. MANZELLI, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Pompon. 2.64; Plin., HN 3.12.111.

<sup>14</sup> Livy 41.1-3.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 5.4.2.

<sup>9</sup> Strab. 5.4.2; M. LUNI, 1995.

<sup>10</sup> F. COLIVICCHI, 2008, 31-46.

<sup>11</sup> L. ANTONELLI, L. LAZZARINI, 2013, 158.

<sup>12</sup> V. MANZELLI, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Pompon. 2.64; Plin., HN 3.12.111.

<sup>14</sup> Livije 41.1-3.

<sup>15</sup> Livije 35.16.3; Polyb. 12,5/1-3.

though the port itself is not described in detail, Livy's account suggests the existence of a well-equipped port in the Republican period.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, he points out that Ancona was selected as the home port of a fleet commanded by Furius Caius and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, who armed the harbour with 20 ships for protecting the Adriatic coast against Illyrian piracy.<sup>16</sup> During the Civil Wars, Aurelius Victor records the murder of Lucius Cornelius Cinna, who was killed near the harbour while he was launching a fleet against Sulla.<sup>17</sup> During the early Imperial period, Tacitus reports the landing at Ancona of a fleet led by Piso, who came from Dalmatia with the aim of reaching Rome for Germanicus' funeral.<sup>18</sup> Another source, Catullus, sailing from the Black Sea to the Northern Adriatic, lists city ports including Ancona.<sup>19</sup> He describes the port's layout as *apertus*, perhaps in order to define its crescent shape. His description of the cult of Venus, and the presence of her temple, suggests the connection between the goddess and the sea, shipping and seamanship.<sup>20</sup>

The port began a phase of significant improvement in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, thanks to the works commissioned by Trajan.<sup>21</sup> In this phase, the harbour was equipped with new walls and warehouses facing the waterfront. A new mole probably replaced the previous one, perhaps no longer adequate for landing the increasing number of ships that docked in Ancona's port. Trajan's work, which aimed to make Ancona's port a safer landing place for sailors in Eastern Italy, is primarily attested to by the evidence of the arch, which still stands on the northern mole of Ancona's port (Fig. 2).<sup>22</sup> The Attic inscription is clearly indicative of the con-

Dolabela koji su opremili luku s 20 brodova koji su imali štititi jadransku obalu od ilirskih pirata.<sup>16</sup> U razdoblju građanskih ratova, Aurelije Viktor zabilježio je pogibiju Lucija Kornelija Cine, ubijenog u blizini luke dok je vodio flotu na Sulu.<sup>17</sup> U ranocarskom razdoblju Tacit nas izvještava o tome kako je u Anconi pristala flota koju je predvodio Pizon doplovivši iz Dalmacije kako bi stigao u Rim na Germanikovu sahranu.<sup>18</sup> Nadalje, Katul ploveći od Crnog mora do sjevernog Jadrana nabraja gradove-luke uključujući Anconu.<sup>19</sup> Opisuje luku kao *apertus*, možda kako bi opisao njezin oblik polumjeseca. Njegov opis Venerina kulta, kao i postojanje njezina hrama ukazuju na povezanost božice i mora, plovidbe i pomorstva.<sup>20</sup>

Početakom 2. stoljeća po Kr. luka je ušla u fazu značajnih renovacija zahvaljujući radovima koje je naručio Trajan.<sup>21</sup> U toj je fazi luka dobila nove zidine i skladišta na samoj obali. Pretpostavlja se da je novi mol zamijenio prethodni koji više nije bio dovoljan za pristajanje sve većeg broja brodova privezanih u luci. Trajanove radove čiji je cilj bio učiniti luku Anconu sigurnijim pristaništem za mornare u istočnoj Italiji potvrđuje u prvome redu postojanje ostataka slavoluka koji se još uvijek nalazi na sjevernom molu luke Ancone (Sl. 2).<sup>22</sup> Natpis na atici kojem se jasno iščitavaju podaci o izgradnji i renovaciji luke također donosi podatke o važnim ideološkim aspektima carskog patronata. Vraćanje statusa Ancone kao najvažnijeg logističkog uporišta i pozornost koju joj je posvećivao carski patron uvjerila je čitavu generaciju znanstvenika u točnost pretpostavke da ju je Trajan koristio kao polazište za Drugi dački rat. Brojni znanstvenici još jedan dokaz ispravnosti te teorije vide u drugoj sceni

<sup>15</sup> Livy 35.16.3; Polyb. 12.5.1-3.

<sup>16</sup> Livy 41.1.2; C. DELPLACE, 1993, 29.

<sup>17</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 69.4.

<sup>18</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 3.9.

<sup>19</sup> Catull. 36.11.17.

<sup>20</sup> Catull. 36.11.17.

<sup>21</sup> K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 1963, 231; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 47.

<sup>22</sup> CIL IX, 5894; M. SALVINI, 2009, 547.

<sup>16</sup> Livije 41.1.2; C. DELPLACE, 1993, 29.

<sup>17</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 69.4.

<sup>18</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 3.9.

<sup>19</sup> Katul 36.11.17.

<sup>20</sup> Katul 36.11.17.

<sup>21</sup> K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, 1963, 231; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 47.

<sup>22</sup> CIL IX, 5894; M. SALVINI, 2009, 547.

struction and renovation of the port and also provides evidence of the important ideological aspects of imperial sponsorship. The return of the role of Ancona's port as a major logistical base, and the attention paid by the Imperial sponsor, persuaded a generation of scholars to assume that Trajan used it as a starting point for the Second Dacian War. For many scholars, further evidence of this idea comes from the second scene of the relief of Trajan's Column (see scene LXXIX).<sup>23</sup> No textual sources from that period make direct reference to the renovation of Ancona's port by the emperor. Ancona's port is also mentioned in late Antique accounts. Procopius records Genseric's plan to regain control of the port because of its central role.<sup>24</sup> He also notes that, during the Gothic Wars, Ancona was still considered by the Byzantines as an important commercial and strategic harbour.<sup>25</sup>

Literary evidence allows us partly to establish Ancona's harbour setting and its importance over time. These sources suggest that it was used originally as a commercial port in the pre-Roman and early Roman periods, and also as a military harbour from the Republican to the Augustan period. During the Trajanic period, Ancona's harbour may have increased in importance and capacity, thus allowing larger ships to be accommodated along its docks. Epigraphic and archaeological sources, however, allow us further insights into the port's topography. Although we can now draw on archival sources as well as archaeological data and over thirty years of fieldwork, our understanding of the layout, urban setting and capacity of

reljefa na Trajanovu stupu (v. scenu LXXIX).<sup>23</sup> U pisanim izvorima iz tog razdoblja nigdje se izrijeком ne spominje povezanost između obnove luke Ancone i cara. Luka Ancona spominje se i u kasnoantičkim izvorima. Prokopije spominje Gajzerikov plan da ponovno uspostavi kontrolu nad lukom zbog njezine središnje uloge.<sup>24</sup> Također ističe kako su za vrijeme gotških ratova Bizantinci Anconu još uvijek smatrali važnom trgovačkom i strateškom lukom.<sup>25</sup>



FIGURE 2 Arch of Trajan at Ancona. See also the inscription CIL IX, 5894 and mole area (after F. UGOLINI, 2017, 492, Fig. 2.50b)

SLIKA 2. Trajanov slavoluk u Anconi, v. i natpis CIL IX, 5894 i područje mola (prema F. UGOLINI, 2017, 492, sl. 2.50b)

Pisani izvori nam omogućuju djelomičan uvid u izgled luke i njezino značenje kroz različita povijesna razdoblja. Sudeći prema njima, Ancona je izvorno korištena kao trgovačka luka u predrimskom i ranorimskom razdoblju te kao vojna luka od razdoblja Republike do Augustova doba. U Trajanovo doba luka Ancona dobila je na važnosti, a povećan joj je i kapacitet kako bi se i veći brodovi mogli vezati na njezine molove. Daljnje uvide u topografiju luke omogućavaju nam epigrafski i arheološki izvori. Iako u današnje vrijeme imamo na ras-

<sup>23</sup> C. CHICORIUS, 1909; S. SETTIS, A. LA REGINA, G. AGOSTI, 1988; A. CLARIDGE, 1993, 5-22; F. COARELLI 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Procop., *Goth.* 2.13.

<sup>25</sup> Procop., *Goth.* 6.13.7; 6.17.7.

<sup>23</sup> C. CHICORIUS, 1909; S. SETTIS, A. LA REGINA, G. AGOSTI, 1988; A. CLARIDGE, 1993, 5-22; F. COARELLI, 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Prokop., *Goth.* 2.13.

<sup>25</sup> Prokop., *Goth.* 6.13.7; 6.17.7.

Ancona's harbour has not improved greatly. Research on this topic remains static because projects have been conducted in isolation and results dispersed across only a few papers; only restricted access is available to the data gathered during the *Soprintendenza* fieldwork and no major parts of this work have been published; and, finally, scholarly contributions have been published only in Italian and this has limited the audience. This neglect has discouraged scholars from studying this specific harbour site and, even taking into account the works of Alfieri, Lilli and Sebastiani, our comprehension of Ancona's harbour during the Roman era is but in its infancy.<sup>26</sup>

This paper aims to provide an entry point, in English, into this most important of topics; I aim to improve our understanding of the scale, capacity and setting of Ancona's harbour and to encourage further studies. Another aim is to encourage those who conducted major fieldwork during the 2000s that it is time for the long-awaited publication of the results.<sup>27</sup> Publication of the results will assist us in building a more nuanced understanding of the form, operation and development of Ancona; this in-depth understanding is necessary if we are to expand our knowledge of the port system and the economy of the Adriatic region in Roman times.

This paper is divided into four sections: the first section explores the port layout and its structures (quay, mole(s), lighthouse, port facilities) as well as the form of Ancona's harbour; the second section analyses the agents and sponsors responsible for the construction of the port; the third section assesses the scale and capacity of the harbour; and the fourth section examines the monumentality of the public buildings within the harbour sector, providing some considerations on the scale of the Trajanic harbour of Ancona.

<sup>26</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 151-235; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997, 49-77.

<sup>27</sup> M. SALVINI, 2001; M. SALVINI, 2009.

polaganju arhivske i arheološke podatke, iako su iza nas više od tri desetljeća terenskog rada, ne znamo mnogo više o izgledu, urbanom području i kapacitetu luke u Anconi. Istraživanja te teme ne napreduju jer se projekti provode izolirano, a rezultati istraživanja raspršeni su u svega nekoliko radova; ograničen je pristup podatcima prikupljenima u okviru terenskih istraživanja koja je predvodio nadležni Odjel, *Soprintendenza*, a k tome su ti radovi većinom neobjavljeni; naposljetku, doprinosi znanstvenika objavljuju se samo na talijanskom jeziku, čime se ograničava broj čitatelja. Takvo zaneimarivanje obeshrabruje znanstvenike u proučavanju ovog lučkog lokaliteta tako da su, čak i uzevši u obzir doprinos autora kao što su Alfieri, Lilli i Sebastiani, naše spoznaje o luci Anconi u rimsko doba tek u povojima.<sup>26</sup>

Ovim radom nastoji se pružiti uvod, na engleskom jeziku, u ovu krajnje važnu temu; želja mi je produbiti spoznaje o veličini, kapacitetu i okruženju luke Ancone i potaknuti daljnja istraživanja. Sljedeći cilj je potaknuti one koji su proveli glavninu istraživanja u prvom desetljeću 21. stoljeća da objave dugo iščekivane rezultate.<sup>27</sup> Objavljivanje rezultata pomoći će nam da izgradimo istančaniju predodžbu o obliku, funkciji i razvoju Ancone; takvo dubinsko razumijevanje nužno je ako želimo proširiti saznanja o sustavu luka i gospodarstvu Jadrana u rimsko doba.

Ovaj rad podijeljen je na četiri dijela: u prvome dijelu riječ je o izgledu luke i njezinim dijelovima (gat, mol(ovi), svjetionik, lučki objekti), kao i o obliku luke Ancone; drugi dio bavi se analizom nositelja i sponzora izgradnje luke; u trećem dijelu donosi se procjena veličine i kapaciteta luke; četvrti dio propitkuje monumentalnost javnih objekata u lučkom sektoru te donosi neka razmatranja o veličini luke u vrijeme Trajana.

<sup>26</sup> N. ALFIERI, 193., 151-235; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997, 49-77.

<sup>27</sup> M. SALVINI, 2001; M. SALVINI, 2009.

## PORT LAYOUT

Roman Ancona lies on the western slope of the northernmost projection of the Conero promontory, beside a wide bay which was a natural shelter and a favoured landing spot in the Central Adriatic. Ancona's harbour terminated at the sites of the ancient Greek and Trajanic moorings, which were close to Scoglio Volpe and San Clemente.<sup>28</sup> The bay is crescent shaped and this feature allowed scholars to hypothesise the location of some port structures, such as the quay.<sup>29</sup> Further surveys identified the bottom of the harbour and the layout of Trajan's port, and permitted scholars to argue that the port was arranged along the rocky bank facing the city since this was the only arrangement which would have allowed larger ships to anchor (Fig. 3).<sup>30</sup>

During the Imperial period, the urban centre itself was arranged in order to exploit the natural environmental conditions. This layout meant a new physiognomy for the port's features, but also for the city centre: a main quay followed the main waterfront, a large mole overlapped the natural rocky tongue that stretched out to the sea, and facilities such as warehouses meant that goods could be loaded and unloaded here. However, around the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the form of Ancona's port still largely depended on its natural environment and its seabed. The mole and the quay were arranged along the southern side of the bay which had a sea bottom that was shallower than the northern side, where the sea reached its maximum depth.<sup>31</sup> The shape of the port allowed large ships to moor along the northern side, that is, on either side of the Scogli Volpe and San Clemente, since it was deep enough for medium and large ships to dock, while the southern sector had to be used for ships with a

<sup>28</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; A. NASO, 2000, 42-43.

<sup>29</sup> A. PERUZZI, 1832, 64.

<sup>30</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 233; M. MORETTI, 1945, 10.

<sup>31</sup> G. CELLO, L. COPPOLA, 1984, 97-109; G. CELLO, L. COPPOLA, 1989, 37-47.

## IZGLED LUKE

Rimska Ancona prostirala se na zapadnim padinama najsjevernijih obronaka rta Cone-  
ra uz širok zaljev koji je predstavljao prirodni zaklon i omiljeno privezište srednjeg Jadrana. Luka Ancona sezala je do mjesta na kojima su bili vezovi u razdoblju grčke antike i u Trajanovo doba, u blizini hridi Scoglio Volpe i San Clemente.<sup>28</sup> Zaljev ima oblik polumjeseca na temelju čega su znanstvenici pretpostavili lokaciju nekih lučkih objekata, primjerice gata.<sup>29</sup> Daljnjim pregledima uočeno je dno luke i plan Trajanove luke, što je znanstvenike navelo na zaključak da je luka bila smještena uz stjenovitu obalu okrenutu gradu jer je to bio jedini mogući položaj koji bi omogućio sidrenje većim brodovima (Sl. 3).<sup>30</sup>

U carskom razdoblju projektirana je gradska jezgra kako bi se iskoristili prirodni uvjeti okoline. Taj je projekt označio novu karakterističnu fizionomiju luke, ali i gradske jezgre: glavni gat je pratio obalu, dok je uz prirodan stjenoviti rt koji se protezao daleko u more izgrađen veliki mol, a objekti poput skladišta omogućavali su utovar i istovar. Međutim, oko 1. stoljeća po Kr., oblik luke i dalje je uvelike bio uvjetovan prirodnim okruženjem i morskim dnom. Mol i gat postavljeni su duž južne strane zaljeva čije je dno bilo pliće nego na sjevernoj strani gdje je more bilo najdublje.<sup>31</sup> Takav oblik luke omogućavao je vezivanje velikih brodova na sjevernoj strani, s jedne ili druge strane stijena Scogli Volpe i San Clemente, s obzirom na to da je more bilo dovoljno duboko za pristajanje srednjih i velikih brodova, dok je južni dio bio rezerviran za brodove s plitkim gazom kao što su plovila poput onih otkrivenih na lokalitetima Palombina i Cattolica.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; A. NASO, 2000, 42-43.

<sup>29</sup> A. PERUZZI, 1832, 64.

<sup>30</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 233; M. MORETTI, 1945, 10.

<sup>31</sup> G. CELLO, L. COPPOLA, 1984, 97-109; G. CELLO, L. COPPOLA, 1989, 37-47.

<sup>32</sup> M. C. PROFUMO, 1992, 491; A. J. PARKER, 1992; M. C. PROFUMO, 2003, 390.



The city of Ancona benefits from the unique environment of its Adriatic surroundings. This hilly geographical setting acted as a natural shelter for the port and the facilities. The geographical setting also influenced the arrangement of most of the structures, which were situated along the coastline, and the disposition of the urban centre, in the narrow space between the coast and the slopes of the surrounding hills. On the southern side of the city, the Conero promontory constitutes a natural shelter that favoured urban and port development.

## QUAY

The features of the port have been more fully understood thanks to the most recent fieldwork led by the *Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Regione Marche* (between 1999 and 2002), whose excavation focused primarily on Ancona's waterfront, especially the area of modern Lungomare Vanvitelli, formerly named Via Saffi (An1–2) (Fig. 4; see Table 1).<sup>34</sup> This excavation led archaeologists to identify a section of the Roman quay and also several structures that allowed the partial reconstruction of the layout of Ancona's port.<sup>35</sup> The fieldwork, especially in the site named Casa del Capitano, brought to light evidence of the main quay, which was dated to the Trajanic period (An8) (Fig. 5).<sup>36</sup> Earlier evidence, including remains of wooden structures built on clay, indicates the continuity in use of the quay, confirming that at least part of the site as we now know it was already established in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>37</sup> Surveys

<sup>34</sup> SBAM, 1999–2002; M. SALVINI, 2001, 12; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014, 589–605; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2017, 159–187; F. UGOLINI, 2017.

<sup>35</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997; M. SALVINI, 2001, 12; M. SALVINI, 2009, 545; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014, 589–605; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2017, 159–187.

<sup>36</sup> M. LILLI, 1997, 54.

<sup>37</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 545–546.

klon za luku i lučke objekte. Geografski položaj utjecao je i na razmještaj većine objekata koji su raspoređeni duž obale, kao i na organizaciju gradske jezgre na uskom prostoru između obale i padina okolnoga gorja. Na južnoj strani grada nalazi se rt Conero kao prirodni zaklon koji je pogodovao razvoju grada i luke.

## GAT

Saznanja o karakteristikama luke produbljena su zahvaljujući recentnijim terenskim istraživanjima koja je vodio Odjel za arheološku baštinu Regije Marche (*Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Regione Marche*) od 1999. do 2002., fokusirajući se u prvome redu na obalu Ancone, osobito na područje današnjeg Lungomare Vanvitelli koji se nekoć nazivao Via Saffi (An1–2) (Sl. 4.; vidjeti Tablicu 1).<sup>34</sup> Zahvaljujući ovim iskapanjima arheolozi su otkrili dio rimskoga gata, kao i nekolicinu objekata koji su omogućili djelomičnu rekonstrukciju izgleda luke Ancone.<sup>35</sup> U iskapanjima, osobito na lokalitetu Casa del Capitano, otkriveni su dijelovi glavnoga gata datiranog u Trajanovo doba (An8) (Sl. 5).<sup>36</sup> K tome, raniji nalazi, uključujući ostatke drvenih struktura izgrađenih na ilovači, ukazuju na kontinuitet upotrebe gata, potvrđujući da je barem dio današnjeg lokaliteta izgrađen još u 2. stoljeću pr. Kr.<sup>37</sup> Pregledima je potvrđeno da su objekti izgrađeni u Trajanovo doba bili namijenjeni ojačavanju ranijih pristaništa te da njima nisu zamijenjeni objekti kao što je sam gat

<sup>34</sup> SBAM, 1999–2002; M. SALVINI, 2001, 12; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2017, 159–187; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014, 589–605; F. UGOLINI, 2017.

<sup>35</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997; M. SALVINI, 2001, 12; M. SALVINI, 2009, 545; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014, 589–605; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2017, 159–187.

<sup>36</sup> M. LILLI, 1997, 54.

<sup>37</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 545–546.



FIGURE 4 Archaeological map of the harbour sector at Ancona (F. UGOLINI, 2018)

SLIKA 4. Arheološki karta područja luke Ancone (F. UGOLINI, 2018)

have ascertained that Trajan's structures reinforced earlier docks and did not replace structures such as the quay itself and also former jetty, which was identified in proximity to the San Clemente rock.<sup>38</sup>

The ancient harbour had a quay which ran parallel to the current waterfront in Lungomare Vanvitelli, and, more precisely, from the current

ili prethodni mol otkriven u blizini stijene San Clemente.<sup>38</sup>

Antička luka imala je gat koji se prostirao paralelno s postojećom rivom koja se naziva Lungomare Vanvitelli odnosno, točnije, od današnje Casa del Capitano preko ulica Via Loggia i Via Papa Giovanni XXIII do trga Piazza Dante Alighieri, gdje je otkriveno

<sup>38</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 82; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 86.

<sup>38</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 82; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 86.



FIGURE 5 *Remains of the quay dating from the Augustan period at Lungomare Vanvitelli* (Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Marche, 1999; DIA 284525)

SLIKA 5. *Ostaci gata datirani u Augustovo doba na položaju Lungomare Vanvitelli* (Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Marche, 1999; DIA 284525)

Casa del Capitano, through via Loggia and via Papa Giovanni XXIII to Piazza Dante Alighieri, where, for 400 m, the principal, albeit irregular, quay and platform structures were identified as running approximately parallel to the current harbour front (E of the modern harbour front) (An1, An 3, An 5, An8). Structures of stone, brick and concrete found in Lungomare Vanvitelli (Casa del Capitano) illustrate the ancient port alignment and convey an overall impression of the form of the Roman port, also attesting that limited geomorphological changes, such as erosion, have affected the site which still lies in this area. The extension from the Arsenale (Banchina Nazario Sauro) area marks the continuity of the quay – mole line, which was most likely related to Trajan's reinforcement (An4, An10). Lungomare Vanvitelli has been interpreted as a central area of Ancona's port since it was the site of a quay, platform, docking points and an intersection with the jetty, as well as buildings such as warehouses.

400 m glavnih, iako nepravilnih objekata – gata i platforme – koji su se protezali otprilike paralelno s današnjom lučkom obalom (istočno od suvremene lučke obale) (An1, An3, An5, An8). Objekti od kamena, opeke i betona otkriveni na lokaciji Lungomare Vanvitelli (Casa del Capitano) ukazuju na razmještaj antičke luke i daju općenitu predodžbu o obliku rimske luke, potvrđujući i da su na lokalitet koji se još uvijek nalazi na tom području u ograničenoj mjeri utjecale geomorfološke promjene kao što je erozija. Produžetak od područja Arsenala (Banchina Nazario Sauro) čini kontinuitet gata – liniju mola koja je vjerojatno bila povezana s ojačanjima iz Trajanova doba (An4, An10). Lungomare Vanvitelli je interpretiran kao središnji dio luke s obzirom na to da su se tamo nalazili gat, platforma, privezišta i križanje s molom, kao i građevine kao što su skladišta.

## MOLE(S)

A sector of the main mole, the so-called 'Trajan's mole', which was built by exploiting part of the seafront embankment, has also been identified in the building named Casa del Capitano. The mole extended beyond the arch and was directly linked to the rocky portion of land (An7). As explored above, this sector which ran from Casa del Capitano to the Arsenale, provides evidence of the quay structures; in fact, this is also the area of the quay's terminus, and it was connected with the mole that began approximately in this sector. Along this section, towards the arch, the whole platform, now known as Banchina Nazario Sauro, contains the remains of the Trajanic mole.<sup>39</sup> Fieldwork has revealed the remains of a mole which was constructed using wooden piles (foundation, cofferdam) and an aggregate of concrete and stones. The limited archaeological evidence allows us to analyse the building techniques: the data demonstrate that these structures were assembled together, using *opus reticulatum* and *opus caementicium* techniques.<sup>40</sup> This suggests that parts of the structures date to the Imperial period (c. early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).<sup>41</sup> Here at Ancona, the adopted materials, rarely seen along the Adriatic, may be linked to the building method that used pozzolana mortar (buildings were constructed with rubble and ashlar blocks) and wood (beams) for the cofferdams, which allowed concrete to be placed underwater. Such construction can be noted in port structures facing the open sea, such as those at Anzio, Cosa, Caesarea Maritima and Leptis Magna.<sup>42</sup>

Due to limited access to the result of the Soprintendenza fieldwork, it is not possible to comment further on the mole. Further-

<sup>39</sup> CIL IX, 5894; M. LILLI, 1997, 57; M. SALVINI, 2009, 537-538.

<sup>40</sup> E. GALLI, 1936, 321-336.

<sup>41</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 544-546.

<sup>42</sup> R. BARTOCCINI, 1958, 120; A. M. McCANN, J. BOURGEOIS, 1987, 137-140; A. RABAN, 2009, 100-182; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 6-11.

## MOL(OVI)

U građevini poznatoj kao Casa del Capitano otkriven je i dio glavnoga mola, takozvani „Trajanov mol”, koji je izgrađen nastavljajući se na dio nasute obale. Mol se protezao iza slavloluka i bio je izravno povezan sa stjenovitim dijelom obale (An7). Kako je utvrđeno gore, taj dio, koji je prolazio od objekta Casa del Capitano do Arsenala, potvrđuje postojanje strukture gata; na tom je mjestu gat završavao, a na njega se nastavljao i otprilike na tom dijelu počinjao mol. Čitava obalna platforma duž tog dijela, prema slavoluku, danas poznata kao Banchina Nazario Sauro, sadržava ostatke Trajanova mola.<sup>39</sup> Iskapanjima su otkriveni i ostaci mola sagrađenog od drvenih stupova (temelji, pregrade) te kombinacije betona i kamena. Ograničen broj arheoloških nalaza omogućava nam analizu građevinskih tehnika: nalazi pokazuju da su građevine sastavljene primjenom tehnika *opus reticulatum* i *opus caementicium*.<sup>40</sup> To upućuje na dataciju dijelova objekata u carsko razdoblje (približno početkom 2. stoljeća).<sup>41</sup> Materijali korišteni ovdje u Anconi, kakvi se inače rijetko susreću na jadranskoj obali, mogli bi biti povezani s načinom gradnje pri kojem se rabi mort od pucolana (*pozzolana*) (objekti su građeni od građevinskog krša i klesanih kamenih blokova) i drvo (grede) za pregrade, zahvaljujući čemu je beton mogao biti pod vodom. Takav način gradnje zamjetan je na lučkim objektima okrenutima otvorenom moru na lokalitetima Anzio, Cosa, Caesarea Maritima i Leptis Magna.<sup>42</sup>

Zbog ograničenog pristupa rezultatima terenskih istraživanja Soprintendenze nije moguće iznositi daljnje komentare o molu. Osim toga, dio mola još nije u potpunosti

<sup>39</sup> CIL IX, 5894; M. LILLI, 1997, 57; M. SALVINI, 2009, 537-538.

<sup>40</sup> E. GALLI, 1936, 321-336.

<sup>41</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 544-546.

<sup>42</sup> R. BARTOCCINI, 1958, 120; A. M. McCANN, J. BOURGEOIS, 1987, 137-140; A. RABAN, 2009, 100-182; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 6-11.

more, part of this mole has not yet been fully investigated due to the disappearance of the remains over time and its overlapping by modern structures (An4, An7, An10). Therefore, the extent of the area of the mole has been only hypothetically identified. However, considering the presence of the arch, as well as the location and form of the rocky tongue, it might have run for roughly 300 m or so in the sector west of the arch that faces towards the open sea. Earlier fieldwork suggests that Trajan's mole is perhaps not the only one. A secondary mole might have been built on the southern side of this harbour over part of the Scogli Santa Lucia, which stretched towards the open sea for around 100 m, in the area of the Lazzaretto (An13).<sup>43</sup> However, owing to the limitations of fieldwork here and the lack of reliable archaeological evidence, little can be said with any certainty.<sup>44</sup> For Trajan's mole, and the Lazzaretto structure, an assessment of the real dimensions is challenging.

## LIGHTHOUSE

Archaeological evidence does not permit us to identify the lighthouse. Scholars argue that, around the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, the area where the Temple of Venus was located assumed this function.<sup>45</sup> A structure built along the top of Colle Guasco on the top promontory would theoretically have provided a means of signalling to sailors entering the harbour (An14). Promontories facing the sea could have hypothetically signalled the presence of the harbour, as in other similar ports in the Marche (e.g. Cupra Marittima, Santa Marina Alta at Pesaro),<sup>46</sup> or, as along the Tyrrhenian coast (e.g. the promontory of Capo Circeo), where a tower, standing upon the hill, marked

sti istražen s obzirom na to da su ostatci s vremenom nestali ili su preko njih izgrađeni novi objekti (An4, An7, An10). Stoga je područje prostiranja mola identificirano tek hipotetski. Međutim, s obzirom na postojanje slavoluka, kao i na lokaciju i oblik stjenovitoga rta, moguće da se prostirao oko 300 m u dijelu zapadno od slavoluka koji gleda na otvoreno more. Na temelju ranijih iskapanja može se pretpostaviti da Trajanov mol nije bio jedini. Sekundarni mol vjerojatno je bio izgrađen u južnom području luke, djelomično preko stijena Scogli Santa Lucia koje su se protezale prema otvorenom moru, dužinom od oko 100 m, na mjestu Lazareta (An13).<sup>43</sup> No, uslijed ograničenosti iskapanja u tom području, kao i nedostatka pouzdanih arheoloških dokaza, nije moguće iznositi pouzdane tvrdnje.<sup>44</sup> Što se tiče Trajanova mola i strukture Lazareta, teško je procijeniti stvarne dimenzije.

## SVJETIONIK

Nema arheoloških dokaza koji bi omogućili identifikaciju svjetionika. Znanstvenici navode da se krajem 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. objekt takve funkcije mogao nalaziti na području na kojem se nalazio Venerin hram.<sup>45</sup> Objekt izgrađen na samom vrhu uzvisine Colle Guasco teoretski je mogao poslužiti kao signalizacija pomorcima na ulasku u luku (An14). Brda okrenuta prema moru hipotetski su mogla poslužiti za označavanje postojanja luke, kao što je slučaj s drugim sličnim lukama u regiji Marche (primjerice Cupra Marittima, Santa Marina Alta u Pesaru)<sup>46</sup> ili na obali Tirenskog mora (primjerice rt Capo Circeo) gdje toranj na brijegu obilježava ulaz

<sup>43</sup> ASR, 100, 1; M. LILLI, 1997, 55.

<sup>44</sup> M. LILLI, 1997, 56.

<sup>45</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1986, 251; M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 25; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 30; L. PANI ERMINE, 2003, 94-115.

<sup>46</sup> L. QUILICI, 1992, 410; M. LILLI, 1995, 39-41.

<sup>43</sup> ASR, 100, 1; M. LILLI, 1997, 55.

<sup>44</sup> M. LILLI, 1997, 56.

<sup>45</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1986, 251; M. LANDOLFI, 1992, 25; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 30; L. PANI ERMINE, 2003, 94-115.

<sup>46</sup> L. QUILICI, 1992, 410; M. LILLI, 1995, 39-41.

the entrance into the port.<sup>47</sup> If this hypothesis is valid, the site of Colle dei Cappuccini may have hosted such a structure, since it was the location where the lighthouse was rebuilt by Pope Pius IX in 1859,<sup>48</sup> even though no evidence from this area reveals the presence of an ancient building.

## URBAN SETTING: PORT BUILDINGS

Roman Ancona was planned differently from many other Roman Adriatic cities, such as Aquileia, Ravenna, Rimini, because it had a hilly landscape that impeded its arrangement following the *cardo – decumanus* scheme. The Guasco, Cappuccini and Cardeto hills enclose the urban centre and its port in a narrow space. Here, the main *decumanus* extends from the waterfront towards the hinterland: the modern Corso Matteotti, which lies above via Amendola, marks the development of the *decumanus* road, and several small *cardi* partially exploited the hill space and traversed the main *decumanus*. The port occupies a small sector of the city: the waterfront is taken up by the quay, mole and warehouse buildings, and in the area between the seafront and urban centre, *domus* and storage buildings attest to the close connections between the port and city. These structures further support our interpretation of the presence of a well-established port which reached its zenith in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. During this period, the restoration of the port affected the wider urban landscape of Ancona, making the port and city a continuous complex of structures.<sup>49</sup> In order to understand more fully this context, it is necessary to explore the buildings and analyse their connections with the port.

As established by the *Soprintendenza* field-

u luku.<sup>47</sup> Ako je ta hipoteza točna, moguće da se takav objekt nalazio na lokalitetu Colle dei Cappuccini s obzirom na to je na tom mjestu papa Pio IX. dao ponovno izgraditi svjetionik 1859.,<sup>48</sup> iako nema dokaza s tog područja koji bi ukazivali na postojanje antičkog zdanja.

## URBANO PODRUČJE: LUČKE GRAĐEVINE

Plan rimske Ancone razlikovao se od plana mnogih drugih rimskih gradova na Jadranskom kao što su Akvileja, Ravenna ili Rimini s obzirom na brdoviti reljef koji je onemogućio razmještaj u odnosu na kardo i dekuman. Brda Guasco, Cappuccini i Cardeto ograničavaju uzani prostor urbane jezgre i pripadajuće luke. Ovdje se glavni dekuman prostire od obale prema unutrašnjosti: ulica Corso Matteotti, koja prolazi iznad ulice Via Amendola, prikazuje razvoj dekumana, dok se nekolicina manjih karda dijelom proteže obroncima križajući se s glavnim dekumanom. Luka zauzima manju površinu grada: na obali su se smjestili gat, mol i skladišni objekti, dok *domus* i spremišta, raspoređeni u dijelu između obale i urbane jezgre, svjedoče o tijesnoj povezanosti luke i grada. Te strukture idu u prilog našem tumačenju postojanja već uhodane luke koja je svoj vrhunac doživjela u 2. stoljeću po Kr. Obnavljanje luke tijekom tog razdoblja utjecalo je na širi urbani krajobraz Ancone, preobrazivši luku i grad u povezani kompleks građevina.<sup>49</sup> Radi boljeg razumijevanja konteksta potrebno je istražiti građevine i raščlaniti njihove veze s lukom.

Kako je utvrđeno u iskapanjima koja je predvodila *Soprintendenza*, razmještaj skladišta i trgovina usko je povezan s lučkim objek-

<sup>47</sup> B. GIARDINA, 2010, 91.

<sup>48</sup> A. ATTI, 1864.

<sup>49</sup> E. GALLI, 1936, 321-336; N. ALFIERI, 1983, 9-34.

<sup>47</sup> B. GIARDINA 2010, 91.

<sup>48</sup> A. ATTI, 1864.

<sup>49</sup> E. GALLI, 1936, 321-336; N. ALFIERI, 1983, 9-34.



FIGURE 6 *Remains of port buildings, e.g. storage spaces, Piazza Dante Alighieri* (Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Marche, 1999; DIA 293678)

SLIKA 6. *Ostaci lučkih građevina, primjerice spremišta, Piazza Dante Alighieri* (Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Marche, 1999; DIA 293678)

work, the arrangement of warehouses and stores is closely connected with the port structures. From the time Trajan's jetty was rebuilt to guarantee better shelter for the ships docking in the port, the overall plan was adjusted to provide for the construction of warehouses and other facilities that improved the commercial capacity of the harbour and supplied the needs of the larger city. Moreover, the cisterns and dry docks in proximity to the waterfront (dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) suggest that quasi-industrial, e.g. ship-repairing, watering, and commercial activities were carried out in and around the port area.<sup>50</sup>

Port structures (oriented N–S) dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, and thus perhaps related to Trajan's restoration, were identified as warehouses, stores and commercial buildings, in an area running from the current Istituto Nautico

tima. Od vremena rekonstrukcije Trajanova mola koji je osigurao bolji zaklon za brodove privezane u luci, cjelokupni projekt prilagođen je kako bi se omogućila izgradnja skladišta i drugih građevina kojima se poboljšao trgovački kapacitet luke, istodobno zadovoljavajući potrebe većega grada. Osim toga, cisterne i suhi vezovi u blizini obale (datirani u početak 2. stoljeća po Kr.) upućuju na to da su se u samoj luci, kao i u okolnom području, obavljale kvaziindustrijske djelatnosti kao što su popravci brodova, opskrba vodom i trgovačke aktivnosti.<sup>50</sup>

Lučki objekti (orijentirani S–J) datirani na početak 2. stoljeća po Kr. te stoga vjerojatno povezani s Trajanovom obnovom prepoznati su kao skladišta, trgovine i trgovačke građevine smještene u području od današnjeg Istituto Nautico na Lungomare Vanvitelli, preko ulice

<sup>50</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 38.

<sup>50</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 38.

at Lungomare Vanvitelli, passing via Giovanni XXIII, Piazza Dante Alighieri and Arco Rusi towards via Santa Maria della Piazza (N–S) (Fig. 6).<sup>51</sup>

Moving from N to S, these port buildings may be identified as follows (An2–12):

– (An8) Five rectangular and vaulted warehouses at Casa del Capitano (Lungomare Vanvitelli), arranged on two floors and following the vaulted structures of the main quay, were built with brickwork and *opus reticulatum* walls and extended towards the seafront.<sup>52</sup> The building techniques adopted and the presence of *opus mixtum* indicate that these structures should probably be interpreted as part of the port renovation during the Imperial period (early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). In some of these warehouses, evidence of the addition of clay pipes for drainage (for the regulation of the hydraulic system which was probably planned to limit the slope's erosion in proximity to the port area) can be noted;

– (An6, An 11) Five rooms were observed between Lungomare Vanvitelli and via Giovanni XXIII. These structures, which are rectangular in shape and arranged perpendicular to the coastline, contain the remains of brick walls, and walls built in *opus quadratum* (limestone blocks). The structure, which also shows evidence of a portico, has been dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD through stratigraphic analysis and has been identified as a warehouse for the storage of goods.<sup>53</sup> However, due to their location and size (each room is 16.50 x 5.25 m), the rooms may have been built for other purposes. This site has assumed particular value in the research of the port because similar buildings have been found at Palazzo Angeli (N of the Piazza Dante Alighieri), which contain not only the remains of the quay but also brick structures that should be interpreted as ware-

Via Giovanni XXIII, trga Piazza Dante Alighieri i luka Arco Rusi prema ulici Via Santa Maria della Piazza (S–J) (Sl. 6.).<sup>51</sup> Od sjevera prema jugu moguće je identificirati sljedeće lučke objekte (An2–12):

– (An8) pet pravokutnih i presvođenih skladišta kod lokaliteta Casa del Capitano (Lungomare Vanvitelli), koji su raspoređeni na dva kata i prate presvođene građevine glavnoga gata. Izgrađene su od opeke, sa zidovima u tehnici *opus reticulatum*, proširujući se prema obali.<sup>52</sup> Primijenjene tehnike građenja i upotreba tehnike *opus mixtum* upućuju na to da bi ove objekte vjerojatno trebalo interpretirati kao dio obnove luke u carskom razdoblju (početkom 2. stoljeća). U jednom dijelu tih skladišta uočljivi su tragovi dodatnih terakotnih drenažnih cijevi (za regulaciju hidrauličkog sustava čija je namjena vjerojatno bila ublažiti eroziju na obroncima u blizini područja luke);

– (An6, An 11) zamijećeno je pet prostorija između Lungomare Vanvitelli i ulice Via Giovanni XXIII. Te strukture pravokutnog oblika, raspoređene okomito na obalu, sadržavaju ostatke zidova od opeke i zidova građenih tehnikom *opus quadratum* (od vapnenačkih blokova). Građevina na kojoj su vidljivi i tragovi portika stratigrafskom analizom datirana je na početak 2. stoljeća po Kr. te je prepoznata kao skladište za čuvanje dobara.<sup>53</sup> Međutim, sudeći po njihovoj lokaciji i veličini (površina svake prostorije je 16,50 x 5,25 m) moguće je da su prostorije imale neku drugu namjenu. Lokalitet se smatra osobito vrijednim u okviru istraživanja luke s obzirom na to da su u Palazzo Angeli (sjeverno od trga Piazza Dante Alighieri) otkrivene slične građevine koje sadržavaju ne samo ostatke gata, nego i objekte od opeke koje bi trebalo interpretirati kao skladišta, a datirane su u Trajanovo doba te obnovljene u

<sup>51</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 42-47; SBAM, 2000; M. SALVINI, 2009, 532-545.

<sup>52</sup> SBAM, 1984, n. 03/59.

<sup>53</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 47; M. LILLI, 1997, 63-74; M. SALVINI, 2009, 548.

<sup>51</sup> SBAM, 2000; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 42-47; M. SALVINI, 2009, 532-545.

<sup>52</sup> SBAM, 1984, br. 03/59.

<sup>53</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 47; M. LILLI, 1997, 63-74; M. SALVINI, 2009, 548.

houses: these are dated to the Trajanic period and were restored during the Antonine period (An9);

– (An3) Further buildings (stores?) were identified during the 1950s, when several remains of Roman structures came to light directly in front of the headquarters of the Guardia di Finanza (close to Casa del Capitano) and near Arco Russi.<sup>54</sup> Later on, in the area along the current quay (Banchina Nazario Sauro), the remains of walls that formed square and rectangular rooms were identified (An2).

– (An12) Further undefined buildings along the waterfront (again Lungomare Vanvitelli at Santa Maria della Piazza) provide archaeological evidence for two rooms that contained the remains of a colonnade and also mosaics and frescos, which may be datable to the Trajanic period.<sup>55</sup> However, doubts still exist about the correct chronology of these buildings. They might have functioned as reception spaces, hypothetically as part of a wider group of administrative offices near the port area;

– (An5) A Roman building that contained remains of rooms and their foundations, and also part of a columned peristyle, was discovered along the Lungomare Vanvitelli (in the 1960s) during the restoration of the church of Santa Maria della Piazza, where other walls were also found. The building stretched towards the sea.<sup>56</sup> The presence of masonry structures (brick and stone blocks) along via della Loggia, very close to Santa Maria, was also noted. These two sites probably mark the southern end of the quay line, as well as the port facilities.

Evidence of the structures here is particularly rich compared to other Adriatic sites, including Aquileia, Ravenna and Rimini; however, our understanding of the buildings is still fragmentary because, together with the lack of

doba Antonina (An9);

– (An3) daljnje građevine (spremišta?) identificirane su 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća kad je neposredno ispred zgrade u kojoj se nalazi sjedište današnje financijske inspekcije, Guardia di Finanza (pored lokaliteta Casa del Capitano) i u blizini Arco Russi otkriveno nekoliko ostataka rimskih objekata.<sup>54</sup> Kasnije su u području uz današnji gat (Banchina Nazario Sauro) otkriveni ostaci zidova koji su tvorili kvadratične i pravokutne prostorije (An2);

– (An12) ostale nedefinirane građevine uz obalu (opet uz Lungomare Vanvitelli kod crkve Santa Maria della Piazza) arheološka su potvrda postojanja dviju prostorija koje su sadržavale ostatke kolonade, kao i mozaika i fresaka, koje bi se moglo datirati u Trajanovo doba.<sup>55</sup> Međutim, još je upitna točna kronologija tih građevina. Moguće je da su služile kao prostorije za prihvata, hipotetski kao dio šire skupine administrativnih prostorija u blizini područja luke;

– (An5), u sklopu radova na restauraciji crkve Santa Maria della Piazza, lokaliteta na kojem su pronađeni i drugi zidovi, 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća otkrivena je uz Lungomare Vanvitelli rimska građevina koja je sadržavala ostatke prostorija i njihovih temelja te dio peristila. Građevina se prostirala prema moru.<sup>56</sup> Zabilježeno je i postojanje kamenih struktura (blokova od opeke i kamena) uz ulicu Via della Loggia, veoma blizu crkve Santa Maria. Ta dva lokaliteta vjerojatno označavaju južni kraj linije gata, a time i lučkih objekata.

Dokazi postojanja građevinskih objekata ovdje su osobito bogati u usporedbi s drugim jadranskim lokalitetima, uključujući Akvileju, Ravenu i Rimini; međutim, naša saznanja o građevinama i dalje su fragmentarna s obzirom na to da je, osim što nalazi nisu objavljivani, bilo i puno naknadne gradnje. Trajno

<sup>54</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 549; ASAM, 1966–67, N. 02/62.

<sup>55</sup> G. ANNIBALDI, 1953, 262; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 46; ASAM, 2000; M. SALVINI, 2009, 540.

<sup>56</sup> ASAM, 1966–1967.

<sup>54</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 549; ASAM, 1966–1967, br. 02/62.

<sup>55</sup> G. ANNIBALDI, 1953, 262; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 46; ASAM, 2000; M. SALVINI, 2009, 540.

<sup>56</sup> ASAM, 1966–1967.

publications, there has been much rebuilding. Continued occupation and geomorphological processes, including coastal change, have modified the setting of these remains.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, some of the evidence is still distinguishable in Ancona. These structures were likely planned for commercial purposes, as attested by the continued use of part of these facilities at least until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> The structures, which seem to have been developed primarily for the storage of goods and materials, probably facilitated transshipment operations. They were probably completed around the Trajanic period and had their pivotal centre around the port complex, can be seen in most detail in the area known as Istituto Nautico (N side, An2) and the area around Palazzo Anziani in Piazza Stracca (S side, An9).

General insights into these structures allow us to propose that the Guardia Costiera building, on the southern side of Arco Russi, marks the continuation of the port area, as remains of brick warehouse complexes, supported with vaults and with dimensions that are common for this type of building, can be identified (An3). Moreover, these structures were developed across two floors, as visible in Casa del Capitano, and were also provided with a portico of columns, as in the structures of Palazzo degli Anziani. Casa del Capitano's structures seem to be linked with the remains under the Istituto Nautico (An2), which suggests the location of a long line of stores. In most of these structures, evidence of the building techniques used, such as *opus reticulatum* and *mixtum* that date to the Imperial period, indicate Trajanic restoration.<sup>59</sup> This suggests that the enlargement of the port facilities in Ancona reached its peak during the mid-Imperial period, although further work was undertaken in later phases.<sup>60</sup> The front line of the warehouses, as

naseljavanje u kombinaciji s geomorfološkim procesima, uključujući i izmjene obale, modificiralo je okruženje u kojem su se nalazili spomenuti ostatci,<sup>57</sup> ali unatoč tome, u Anconi se oni još uvijek razaznaju. Zgrade su vjerojatno imale trgovačku namjenu, čemu u prilog govori i činjenica da je dio objekata bio u uporabi najmanje do 17. stoljeća.<sup>58</sup> Ti objekti, koji su, po svemu sudeći, izgrađeni u prvome redu da bi se u njima čuvali roba i materijali, vjerojatno su olakšavali prekrcaj. Detalji građevina čija je izgradnja vjerojatno okončana u doba Trajana i čije je središte bilo u neposrednoj blizini lučkog kompleksa moguće je vidjeti na lokalitetu Istituto Nautico (sjeverna strana, An2) te unutar Palazzo Anziani na trgu Piazza Stracca (južna strana, An9).

Na temelju općeg uvida u te građevine možemo pretpostaviti da zgrada obalne straže, Guardia Costiera, južno od Arco Russi, označava nastavak područja luke, s obzirom na to da su prepoznatljivi ostaci skladišnih kompleksa od opeke poduprtih svodovima, dimenzija uobičajenih za ovu vrstu građevina (An3). Nadalje, građevine su izgrađene na dva kata, kako vidimo na Casa del Capitano, a imale su i trijem, kao što je slučaj s Palazzo degli Anziani. Čini se da je Casa del Capitano povezana s ostacima otkrivenima ispod instituta Istituto Nautico (An2), upućujući na lokaciju dugog niza skladišta. Na temelju tehnika gradnje kao što su *opus reticulatum* i *opus mixtum* većinu objekata moguće je datirati u carsko razdoblje, ukazujući na vjerojatnu obnovu u Trajanovo doba.<sup>59</sup> To upućuje na zaključak da je proširenje lučkih objekata Ancone doseglo vrhunac u srednjem carskom razdoblju, iako su daljnji radovi izvođeni i u kasnijim fazama.<sup>60</sup> Moguće je da se prvi red

<sup>57</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 45-65; M. SALVINI, 2009, 547-550.

<sup>58</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 45-54.

<sup>59</sup> G. LUGLI, 1957, 515; F. C. GIULIANI, 1990, 181.

<sup>60</sup> Procop., *Goth.* 2.11.4; 2.13.5; 3.30.17; N. ALFIERI, 1977, 93; G. SCHMIEDT, 1978, 216; N. ALFIERI, 1983, 29.

<sup>57</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 45-65; M. SALVINI, 2009, 547-550.

<sup>58</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 45-54.

<sup>59</sup> G. LUGLI, 1957, 515; F. C. GIULIANI, 1990, 181.

<sup>60</sup> Prokop., *Goth.* 2.11.4; 2.13.5; 3.30.17; N. ALFIERI, 1977, 93; G. SCHMIEDT, 1978, 216; N. ALFIERI, 1983, 29.

also evidenced by some antiquarian evidence that confirms their continued use over time, may have extended beyond the area of Santa Maria della Piazza (An12).<sup>61</sup> The development of these buildings after the Trajanic period along the port's front line receives further support from the presence of a paved route-way which probably flanked via della Loggia, via Saffi and Lungomare Vanvitelli. This marks the space of the port site in proximity to the quay, allowing us to recognise this sector as one area where loading and unloading operations were probably carried out (An5).<sup>62</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The crescent-shaped harbour of Ancona exploited the rocky seafront, and a quay (c. 400–500 m long) was established. The structures were extended by the addition of a mole (c. 300 m long) which was used to anchor ships and allowed men to disembark and goods to be unloaded. Further docking places were probably located all along the quay to guarantee easier access to the harbour, the more efficient delivery of goods, and to facilitate the connections with the stores and the port facilities. Hypothetically, a southern mole, located along the Lazzaretto, may have served as an additional landing place (c. 100 m long), although there is little evidence of this sector. As yet, no direct evidence attests to the location of the lighthouse.

The port and city at Ancona were built following the slope of the hill. The improvements undertaken in the Trajanic period not only meant that the port was provided with buildings such as stores and warehouses, but perhaps also private *domus* located in proximity to the waterfront. The maritime façade at Ancona is a monumental work, especially the

skladištâ, potvrđen i određenim antikvarnim dokazima koji upućuju na njihovu kontinuiranu upotrebu tijekom vremena, prostirao i dalje od područja crkve Santa Maria della Piazza (An12).<sup>61</sup> Nadalje, na razvoj tih građevina uz lučku obalu nakon Trajanova doba upućuje postojanje popločenoga puta koji je vjerojatno pratio ulice Via della Loggia, Via Saffi i Lungomare Vanvitelli. Time je obilježen i prostor luke u blizini gata, omogućivši nam da taj dio prepoznamo kao područje u kojem su se vršili ukrcaj i iskrcaj (An5).<sup>62</sup>

## ZAKLJUČCI

Pri izgradnji luke Ancone koja je imala oblik polumjeseca iskorištena je stjenovita obala te je izgrađen gat dužine oko 400–500 m. Objekti su prošireni dodavanjem mola dužine oko 300 m koji je služio za privez brodova i iskrcaj putnika i dobara. Vjerojatno je duž čitavog gata bilo još pristaništa koja su omogućavala jednostavniji pristup luci, učinkovitiju isporuku dobara i bolju povezanost između spremišta i lučkih objekata. Mogući južni mol smješten uz Lazaret mogao je služiti kao dodatno pristanište (dužine oko 100 m), iako je tek mali broj nalaza iz ovog dijela luke. Zasad nema izravnih dokaza koji bi potvrdili lokaciju svjetionika.

Luka i grad Ancona izgrađeni su slijedeći reljef obronaka okolnih brda. Poboljšanja provedena u Trajanovo doba omogućila su opremanje luke građevinama poput spremišta i trgovina, a moguće da je tada u blizini obale izgrađen i *domus*. Obalno pročelje Ancone monumentalno je djelo, osobito objekti gata i mola te Trajanov slavoluk. Slavoluk je zacijelo pojačavao vizualni dojam u kombinaciji s vizurom gata i lučkih objekata. Upravne prostorije i spremišta smješteni su podalje

<sup>61</sup> A. LEONI, 1810; M. LILLI, 1997, 65; M. SALVINI, 2009, 548.

<sup>62</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 547–553.

<sup>61</sup> A. LEONI, 1810; M. LILLI, 1997, 65; M. SALVINI, 2009, 548.

<sup>62</sup> M. SALVINI, 2009, 547–553.

quay and mole structures and the Arch of Trajan. The visual impact here would have been made all the greater by the presence of the arch and the monumental quay line with the port facilities. The administrative and storage spaces are located further from the seafront;<sup>63</sup> these structures are also visible in some Tyrrhenian ports, such as Centumcellae, Ostia and Terracina, and are a sign of economic value and the cities' links with road networks, which connected the harbour, commercial centre and urban contexts.<sup>64</sup>

In part, the amphitheatre, which is also situated between Colle Guasco and Cappuccini, and above all the Temple of Venus, located at the top of Colle Guasco, would have had an impact on the visitor's view of the city, especially sailors and mariners entering the port (An15).<sup>65</sup> It should be noted that the particular difficulties posed by geomorphological conditions most likely prompted planners to adapt the buildings to the natural rocky, hilly environment. The notable number of port buildings and facilities along the seafront and the vital role they played in a narrow space between the port and its surrounding hills may have led planners to dedicate this area to warehouses, stores and facilities, and the area between the amphitheatre and along the cardus road to private accommodation, some of which would have been owned by people involved in port activities.

### ***The construction of Ancona's port: agents and sponsorships***

In terms of agents responsible for the construction of port structures, major Adriatic harbours including Aquileia, Ravenna and Ancona must have required, at least during the phases of renovation and consolidation in the early Imperial period, a large number

od obale;<sup>63</sup> te su građevine vidljive i u nekim tirenskim lukama, primjerice Centumcellae, Ostia i Terracina, te su znak gospodarske vrijednosti grada, kao i povezanosti luke, trgovačkog središta i urbane cjeline cestovnom mrežom.<sup>64</sup>

Amfiteatar koji se također nalazio između brda Colle Guasco i Cappuccini, a ponad svega Venerin hram koji se smjestio na samome vrhu brda Colle Guasco, imali su važno mjesto u vizuri grada kakva se pružala posjetiteljima, osobito mornarima i pomorcima pri ulasku u luku (An15).<sup>65</sup> Valja istaknuti kako su specifični problemi izazvani geomorfološkim datostima zacijelo ponukali projektante da građevine prilagode prirodnom stjenovitom i brdovitom okruženju. Moguće je da su značajan broj lučkih objekata i građevina uz obalu te ključna uloga koju su oni imali na uskom prostoru između luke i okolnih brda naveli projektante da ovo područje popune skladištima, spremištima i gospodarskim objektima, a područje između amfiteatra i duž karda privatnim smještajnim objektima, od kojih su neki vjerojatno bili u vlasništvu ljudi koji su sudjelovali u lučkim aktivnostima.

### ***Izgradnja luke Ancone: izvođači i ulagači***

Kad je riječ o izvođačima zaslužnima za izgradnju lučkih objekata, na radovima u najvećim jadranskim lukama, uključujući Akvileju, Ravenu i Anconu, mora da je – osobito u fazi renovacije i konsolidacije u ranocar-skom razdoblju – bio angažiran velik broj inženjera i radnika. Nisu dostupni izravni dokazi koji bi nam omogućili potpuni uvid u identitet tih ljudi i napore koje je bilo potrebno uložiti u izgradnju jadranskih luka, iako ikonografski i epigrafski podaci upućuju na to da je, barem kad je riječ o Anconi,

<sup>63</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 51-84.

<sup>64</sup> S. BASTIANELLI, 1954, 36; O. TESTAGUZZA, 1964, 54; O. TESTAGUZZA, 1970, 187; L. QUILICI, 1993, 63.

<sup>65</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 49-50; M. MORETTI, 1945, 61-70.

<sup>63</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 51-84.

<sup>64</sup> S. BASTIANELLI, 1954, 36; O. TESTAGUZZA, 1964, 54; O. TESTAGUZZA, 1970, 187; L. QUILICI, 1993, 63.

<sup>65</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938, 49-50; M. MORETTI, 1945, 61-70.

of engineers and workers. There is no direct evidence available which allows us to understand fully the identity of these people and the precise scale of effort needed to construct Adriatic harbours, although iconographic and epigraphic evidence may suggest that, at least in Ancona, the emperor directly intervened by sponsoring the building of the harbour.<sup>66</sup> It would be dangerous to propose that there was overall, direct imperial intervention related to the construction of Adriatic ports in general, though some archaeological evidence, such as at Ravenna and Ancona, is linked to the Claudian and Trajanic periods.<sup>67</sup> Apart from the evidence from Ancona, which clearly indicates the investment of the emperor in the renovation works, there are few references to sponsors, engineers, builders or customers of the facilities, though Imperial intervention seems plausible (for instance, Claudius' intervention at Ravenna).<sup>68</sup> The seat of the Roman navy at Ravenna, together with the considerable number of guilds and corporations of workers in the Northern Adriatic, implies a large imperial-sponsored workforce that may have been exploited or employed for the consolidation and renovation of the port facilities.<sup>69</sup> Only Aquileia would have had local agents, e.g. magistracies, as is partly suggested by the sparse epigraphic evidence, including that from Aquileia and Parentium, in the inscriptions of Eutyches and Abudius Verus respectively.<sup>70</sup>

The literary and historical evidence is mostly silent on those who generally played a role in planning and building the port facilities, apart from two inscriptions that mention *caementa-*

uključen bio sâm car, ulažući u izgradnju luke.<sup>66</sup> Bilo bi presmjelo tvrditi da je posrijedi bila sveobuhvatna izravna carska intervencija u izgradnju jadranskih luka općenito, iako je dio arheoloških nalaza, primjerice u Raveni i Anconi, povezan s razdobljem Klaudija i Trajana.<sup>67</sup> Osim nalaza iz Ancone koji nedvojbeno ukazuju na carevo ulaganje u radove na obnovi, tek se na nekoliko mjesta upućuje na sponzore, inženjere, graditelje ili korisnike objekata, iako se pretpostavka o carskoj intervenciji doimlje održivom (primjerice Klaudijeva intervencija u Raveni).<sup>68</sup> Stožer rimske mornarice u Raveni, kao i značajan broj cehovskih i radničkih udruženja sjevernog Jadrana, vjerojatno je činila i mnogoljudna radna snaga koju je financiralo Carstvo i koja je vjerojatno korištena ili angažirana na konsolidaciji i obnovi lučkih objekata.<sup>69</sup> Jedino je Akvileja, čini se, imala lokalne izvođače, odnosno magistrare, na što dijelom upućuju rijetki epigrafski nalazi, među kojima su oni iz Akvileje i Parentija na natpisima Eutiha, odnosno Abudija Vera.<sup>70</sup>

O onima koji su općenito bili važni u projektiranju i izgradnji lučkih objekata u književnim i povijesnim izvorima uglavnom nema spomena, uz iznimku dvaju natpisa u kojima se spominju *caementarii* mizenske flote, datiranih u 1., odnosno 2. stoljeće po Kr.<sup>71</sup> Oni vjerojatno upućuju na postojanje arhitekta/inženjera koji radi s betonom ili je specijalist za betonske strukture pod morem i sudjelovao je u izgradnji vojne luke.<sup>72</sup> Sličan podatak uočen je i kad je riječ o Mizenumu

<sup>66</sup> CIL IX, 5894; S. FRANZOT, 1999, 76-77.

<sup>67</sup> M. MAIOLI, 1990, 375-414; M. SALVINI 2009, 555-560.

<sup>68</sup> CIL IX, 10.

<sup>69</sup> P. GIACOMINI, 1990, 321-362.

<sup>70</sup> G. BRUSIN, 1934, 80; C. ZACCARIA, 2012, 49-66; AE 1934, 234 (*stationes utrasque emporii ex commodiis suis ampliavit et restituit*); CIL V, 328 (*molis extractibus*); CIL V, 1008 (about via Annia, at Aquileia: *monumentum fieri iussit ea pecunia decreto decurionum viae stratae sunt ab Annia ad murum*).

<sup>66</sup> CIL IX, 5894; S. FRANZOT, 1999, 76-77.

<sup>67</sup> M. MAIOLI, 1990, 375-414; M. SALVINI, 2009, 555-560.

<sup>68</sup> CIL IX, 10.

<sup>69</sup> P. GIACOMINI, 1990, 321-362.

<sup>70</sup> G. BRUSIN, 1934, 80; C. ZACCARIA, 2012, 49-66; AE 1934, 234 (*stationes utrasque emporii ex commodiis suis ampliavit et restituit*); CIL V, 328 (*molis extractibus*); CIL V, 1008 (o ulici Via Annia, u Akvileji: *monumentum fieri iussit ea pecunia decreto decurionum viae stratae sunt ab Annia ad murum*).

<sup>71</sup> J. P. OLESON, 2014, 34.

<sup>72</sup> CIL X, 3414, 3479; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 35-36.

rii of the fleet of Misenum, which date to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>71</sup> These may signal the existence of an architect/engineer working in concrete or specialising in maritime concrete who was involved in the construction of the military port.<sup>72</sup> A similar figure has also been identified at Misenum and in Tunisia.<sup>73</sup> The presence of the fleet at Ravenna, together with the many *opus quadratum* and *caementicium* remains identified at the sites of Aquileia and Ancona, suggests the possible presence of advisors who may or may not have been soldiers who applied their expertise to the building of structures. Perhaps, therefore, mariners and soldiers located at Aquileia, Ravenna and perhaps Ancona as well would have potentially operated as a specialist workforce.

### ***Assessing the capacity of Ancona's port: berth widths, ships' mooring and manoeuvring***

Roman ports in the Adriatic are clearly similar in terms of scale. Their geographical context probably forced the Romans to exploit the territory by building quays to reinforce the main pre-existing riverbanks and coastlines. Coastlines and river mouths were equipped with large quays and were provided with one and sometimes two moles. These, as seen in Trieste, Ancona and perhaps Rimini, improved docking for a good number of ships and also helped disembarking and loading operations. In this scenario, most of the Adriatic ports were formed by a main quay and a curving or crescent-shaped mole that stretched out from the seafront. No evidence allows us to say whether these port basins were enclosed by further moles forming inner ports, as at Carthage, Leptis Magna and Portus. Instead, in riverine and lagoon environments, as at Aquileia and Ravenna, quays reinforced the

te Tunisu.<sup>73</sup> Nazočnost flote u Raveni te brojni ostaci objekata izgrađenih tehnikom *opus quadratum* i *opus caementicium* otkrivenih na nalazištima u Akvileji i Anconi upućuju na moguću prisutnost savjetnika – vojnika ili civila – koji su u izgradnji objekata primjenjivali svoja stručna znanja. Stoga je moguć zaključak da su mornari i vojnici smješteni u Akvileji, Raveni te moguće i u Anconi djelovali kao specijalizirana radna snaga.

### ***Procjena kapaciteta luke Ancone: širina vèza, vezivanje brodova i brodski manevri***

Rimske luke na Jadranu nedvojbeno su slične veličine. Njihov geografski kontekst vjerojatno je prisilio Rimljane da iskoriste teritorij izgradnjom gatova kako bi ojačali glavne riječne i morske obale koje su postojale otprije. Morska obala i ušća rijeka opremljeni su velikim gatovima te s jednim do dva mola. Ti su objekti, kao što je slučaj u Trstu, Anconi te možda u Riminiju, osiguravali lakši pristanak brojnim brodovima te jednostavniji iskrcaj i ukrcaj. Po tom scenariju, većina jadranskih luka sastoji se od glavnog gata i zakrivljenog mola ili mola u obliku polumjeseca koji seže daleko od obale. Nema dokaza koji bi potvrdili jesu li ti lučki bazeni bili opasani dodatnim molovima čineći unutrašnje lučice kao što je bio slučaj s Kartagom, Leptis Magnom i Portusom. Umjesto toga, na ušćima rijeka te u lagunama, primjerice u Akvileji i Raveni, riva je ojačana gatovima, što je graditeljima omogućilo projektiranje dobro opremljenih unutarnjih luka. U slučaju Ancone, slična organizacija luke potiče na razmišljanje o mogućem broju brodova na vezu. U svrhu procjene kapaciteta luke Ancone potrebno je proučiti podatke o manevrima i vezivanju (bokom ili krmom), ali i vrste, dimenzije i gazove brodova.

Osobito velik izazov predstavlja istraživa-

<sup>71</sup> J. P. OLESON, 2014, 34.

<sup>72</sup> CIL X, 3414, 3479; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 35-36.

<sup>73</sup> CIL X, 3392; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 36.

<sup>73</sup> CIL X, 3392; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 36.



FIGURE 7 Harbour basin capacity, considering medium-sized ships, e.g. 150 tons (F. UGOLINI, 2018)

SLIKA 7. Kapacitet lučkog bazena na temelju brodova srednje veličine, primjerice 150 tona (F. UGOLINI, 2018)

main banks and allowed builders to plan well-equipped inner harbours. In the case of Ancona, similar port arrangements allow us to consider the potential number of ships docked. In order to assess the capacity of Ancona's port, it is worth exploring data on manoeuvring and mooring (side-on or end-on), but also the types, dimensions and draught of ships.

It is particularly challenging to explore the mooring and manoeuvring of ships. Our un-

nje vezivanja brodova i brodskih manevara. Naša saznanja o načinu vezivanja brodova krmom ili bokom ograničena su. Valja napomenuti da brodovi nisu u svim jadranskim lukama (primjerice u Akvileji) mogli pristajati krmom, iako je za vezivanje bokom na gat potrebna veća širina vèza. Ipak je vjerojatnije da su se vezivali bokom. Nalazi reljefa u Portusu, Salernu i Torloniji, ali i mozaika u Ostiji na lokalitetu Piazzale delle

derstanding of whether ships moored end-on or side-on to the quay is provisional. It should be noted that boats could not dock stern-first in all Adriatic ports (e.g. Aquileia), although mooring side-on to the quay required greater berth width. Still, it is more likely that they moored side-on. Evidence from the Portus, Salerno and Torlonia reliefs, but also from the mosaic at Ostia, Piazzale delle Corporazioni, which depict the activities of the *saccarii*, provides insights into the loading and unloading operations carried out at harbour quays (Fig. 7).<sup>74</sup> This evidence, which is mainly related to Latium and Campania, dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and clearly indicates that cargo ships were moored by adopting two methods of mooring along the quay: side-on and end-on. Iconographic evidence from the Imperial period suggests the broad adoption of these berthing techniques. Prevalently, the evidence depicts mooring end-on, although the Salerno relief and the Torlonia relief depict mooring side-on and unloading operations. In fact, such a way of mooring made the unloading of large quantities of grain sacks easier and quicker. However, the scattering of ringed bollards, as noted at ports such as Aquileia and Ravenna, may support the hypothesis that end-on mooring was prevalent across the Adriatic.

Ancona's port, for instance, which had an overall berth width of ca 600–900 m, could have accommodated ca 65–75 ships (c. 7–8 m wide) mooring end-on to the quay. However, only 25–35 ships could have anchored side-on to the quay (e.g. using ships of the size attested to in the Cervia, Comacchio and Grado shipwrecks, which are c. 25–28 x 7–8 m). The small berth width of most of the Adriatic ports and the type of products imported and exported did not necessarily result in the use of the whole quay, as end-on mooring was sufficient for unloading materials. Scholars have recently proposed that mooring-points and bollards

Corporazioni koji prikazuje nosače (*saccarii*) pri radu, omogućavaju uvid u način na koji se obavljao ukrcaj i iskrcaj na lučkim gatovima (Sl. 7).<sup>74</sup> Ti nalazi koji se pretežno odnose na Lacij i Kampaniju datiraju iz 1. i 3. stoljeća i nedvojbeno ukazuju na vezivanje teretnih brodova na gat na jedan od dva načina: bokom i krmom. Ikonografski nalazi iz carskog razdoblja svjedoče o širokoj primjeni tih tehnika vezivanja. Nalazi ukazuju pretežno na vezivanje krmom, iako je na reljefu iz Salerna, kao i na reljefu iz Torlonije, prikazano vezivanje bokom i istovar. Taj način vezivanja zapravo je omogućio jednostavniji i brži istovar velikih količina vreća žita. Osim toga, raširenost kamenih blokova s rupama za provlačenje konopa koji su služili kao alke za privez, karakterističnih za luke kao što su, na primjer, Akvileja i Ravenna, mogla bi ići u prilog hipotezi da je na čitavom Jadranu prevladavalo vezivanje krmom.

Tako je, primjerice, luka Ancona, čija je ukupna širina privezišta bila od 600 do 900 m, mogla prihvatiti približno 65 do 75 brodova (širine oko 7–8 m) privezanih krmom na gat. Međutim, bokom se na gat moglo privezati samo 25–35 brodova (primjerice veličine brodova iz brodoloma kod mjesta Cervia, Comacchio i Grado, koja iznosi približno 25–28 x 7–8 m). Mala širina privezišta većine jadranskih luka te vrsta uvoznih i izvoznih proizvoda nisu nužno rezultirali korištenjem čitavog gata s obzirom na to da je vezivanje krmom bilo dostatno za istovar materijala. U novije doba, znanstvenici su iznijeli teoriju da su se koristili vezovi i bitve kako bi se brodovima omogućilo sidrenje.<sup>75</sup> Brodovi su se privezivali krmom što je omogućavalo jednostavan istovar sirovina i manufakturnih proizvoda koji su se zatim pohranjivali u skladištima smještenima oko lučkog bazena. Prsteni za privezivanje, rampe i stepenice omo-

<sup>74</sup> O. TESTAGUZZA, 1970; G. BOETTO, 2009, 56; E. MARTELLI, 2013, 19.

<sup>74</sup> O. TESTAGUZZA, 1970; G. BOETTO, 2009, 56; E. MARTELLI, 2013, 19.

<sup>75</sup> M. REDDÉ, J. C. GOLVIN, 2005, 87.

were exploited to allow boats to anchor.<sup>75</sup> The ships were anchored from the stern, which permitted easy unloading of raw materials and manufactured objects, which were then stored in warehouses located around the port basin. The docking rings, but also ramps and steps, permitted anchoring using hawsers and long rope and allowed the ship to be moored at the stern.

Did ancient ships of any size have problems mooring at Ancona's port? Did these vessels, in light of their size, have easy access to mooring end-on to the quay? Studies on ancient ships clearly indicate that the draught was less than c. 1.5 m for small- and medium-sized galleys.<sup>76</sup> The *largae naves*, such as cargo ships, must have had a draught of up to 3.5 m.<sup>77</sup> These considerations on draughts allow us to understand which type of galleys moored here at Ancona and how they accomplished this mooring. Studies on the geomorphology of the Adriatic Sea during the early Imperial period demonstrate that the Northern Adriatic from Aquileia to Ancona had a sea bottom depth of between 6 and 10 m, which would have easily allowed medium-sized vessels and, although it was more challenging, perhaps big cargo ships such as those of the Herculaneum and Alexandria types to dock.<sup>78</sup> Our knowledge of the Adriatic Sea depths and the reading of the sizes and draughts of ships allow us to propose that mooring end-on to the quay was the most suitable technique and also provides an insight into the type of galleys that sailed along the Adriatic.

In this scenario, it is possible to provide a preliminary assessment of the capacity of Ancona's port that was planned following the quay-mole schema and built as an open basin rather than an inner one: taking as models the

gućavali su vezivanje debelom užadi i dugim konopima tako da se brod mogao privezivati krmom.

Jesu li antički brodovi bilo koje veličine imali problema pristajati u Anconi? Jesu li plovila, s obzirom na njihovu veličinu, mogla jednostavno pristati krmom na gat? Izućavanje antićkih brodova jasno ukazuje na to da su manje galijske, kao i galijske srednje veličine, imale gaz plicí od oko 1,5 m.<sup>76</sup> *Largae naves*, primjerice teretni brodovi, vjerojatno su imali gaz do 3,5 m.<sup>77</sup> Takva razmišljanja o dubini gaza omogućavaju nam da si predoćimo galijske koje su se nalazile na vćzu ovdje u Anconi i naćin njihova privezivanja. Istraćivanja geomorfologije Jadranskog mora u ranocar-skom razdoblju pokazuju da je dno sjevernog Jadrana, od Akvileje do Ancone, bilo duboko između 6 i 10 m, što je bilo dovoljno za pristajanje srednjih plovila, ali – iako teće – i za velike teretne brodove kao što su oni pronaćeni u podmorju Herkulaneja i Aleksandrije.<sup>78</sup> Naša saznanja o dubini Jadranskog mora i literatura o velićini i gazu brodova upućuju nas na zaključak da je vezivanje krmom bila najprikladnija tehnika te prućaju uvid u vrste galijske koje su plovile Jadranom.

U svjetlu tog scenarija moguće je osigurati priblićnu procjenu kapaciteta luke Ancone koja je projektirana po shemi gat – mol i izgraćena kao otvoreni, a ne unutrašnji bazen: uzmemo li kao primjer brodove poput onih otkrivenih na lokacijama Comacchio, Grado, Palombina i Kyrenia (do 150 tona) ili vćće trgovaćke brodove poput onih ćije su olupine pronaćene na lokacijama Albenga i Antikythera (300 tona) kakvi su bili uobićajeni u 1. i 2. stoljeću po Kr., luka Ancona mogla je primiti otprilike 65 do 75 brodova (oko 600 x 300 m, plus 100 m?) (Sl. 7).<sup>79</sup> Procjenu

<sup>75</sup> M. REDDÉ, J. C. GOLVIN, 2005, 87.

<sup>76</sup> M. BONINO, 2000, 463.

<sup>77</sup> A. VEGGIANI, 1991, 10; S. CREMONINI, 1993, 145-171; S. CREMONINI, 1994, 1-103; G. BOETTO, 2000, 59; S. McGRAIL, 2001, 157.

<sup>78</sup> S. McGRAIL, 2001, 156.

<sup>76</sup> M. BONINO, 2000, 463.

<sup>77</sup> A. VEGGIANI, 1991, 10; S. CREMONINI, 1993, 145-171; S. CREMONINI, 1994, 1-103; G. BOETTO, 2000, 59; S. McGRAIL, 2001, 157.

<sup>78</sup> S. McGRAIL, 2001, 156.

<sup>79</sup> L. CASSON, 1971, 157; S. McGRAIL, 2001, 156; S. McGRAIL, 2008, 610; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 606-637.

Comacchio, Grado, Palombina and Kyrenia ships (up to 150 tons capacity), or the larger merchant boats such as Albenga and Antikythera (300 tons), which were common in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, the port arrangement allowed ca 65–75 ships at Ancona (c. 600 x 300 m, plus 100 m?) (Fig. 7).<sup>79</sup> The assessment on port capacity needs further revision and would benefit from a consideration of the hypothetical docking procedure of cargo boats that carried marble and stone.<sup>80</sup> In fact, the spread of Istrian stone and marble across the Central Adriatic attests to the near certain presence of these ships in Ancona's port.

### ***The port of Ancona and its urban setting: monumental and public buildings***

In the Adriatic, among the monumental buildings situated along the waterfront, particular attention should be paid to the honorific and public structures such as arches and bridges. One of the most well-preserved monumental structures is the Arch of Trajan at Ancona.<sup>81</sup> The arch represents an important marker that attests to the setting of the mole; but this building would also have provided a monumental vista to those entering the port. This building was probably visible when approaching the port from both the south and north, since the mole stretched towards the open sea, as attested to here at Ancona; this would mean that such buildings, including the mole and related arch, constituted key elements of the marine façade. The commissioning of the building would have emphasised that the emperor was not only the main sponsor but also a patron who was dedicated to improving these infrastructures, for instance as at Portus.

Some details visible in the dedicatory in-

kapaciteta luke potrebno je dodatno revidirati te bi bilo dobro uzeti u obzir hipotetski postupak pristajanja teretnih brodova koji su nosili mramor i kamen.<sup>80</sup> Zapravo, širenje istarskog kamena i mramora diljem srednjeg Jadrana svjedoči o gotovo sigurnom pristizanju tih brodova u Anconu.

### ***Luka Ancona i njezino urbano područje: monumentalne i javne građevine***

Od monumentalnih građevina na Jadranu smještenih uz obalu osobitu pozornost valja obratiti na počasne i javne objekte kao što su slavoluci i mostovi. Jedna od najbolje očuvanih monumentalnih građevina je Trajanov slavoluk u Anconi.<sup>81</sup> Slavoluk je važan znak koji upućuje na poziciju mola, istodobno tvoreći monumentalnu vizuru svima koji ulaze u luku. Zdanje je vjerojatno bilo vidljivo pri uplovljavanju u luku s juga i sa sjevera s obzirom na to da se mol pružao prema otvorenom moru, to bi značilo da su slične građevine, uključujući mol i slavoluk, činile glavne elemente priobalnog pročelja. Car kao naručitelj gradnji mogao je biti ne samo glavni sponzor, nego i patron koji se obvezao poboljšavati cjelokupnu infrastrukturu, kao na primjer u Portusu.

Neki detalji vidljivi u posvetnom natpisu na slavoluku upućuju na važnost ove građevine, a treba istaknuti i neuobičajen način izražavanja:<sup>82</sup>

*Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi Nervae f(ilio) Nervae | Traiano optimo Aug(usto) Germanic(o) | Dacico pont(ifici) max(imo)... | ... providentissimo principi | senatus p(opuli)q(ue) R(omanus) quod accessum | Italiae hoc etiam addito ex pecunia sua | portu tutiorem navigantibus reddiderit*

Senat i narod Rima (posvećuju ovaj spo-

<sup>79</sup> L. CASSON, 1971, 157; S. McGRAIL, 2001, 156; S. McGRAIL, 2008, 610; J. P. OLESON, 2014, 606-637.

<sup>80</sup> B. RUSSELL, 2013, 209.

<sup>81</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938; M. MORETTI, 1945; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996.

<sup>80</sup> B. RUSSELL, 2013, 209.

<sup>81</sup> N. ALFIERI, 1938; M. MORETTI, 1945; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996.

<sup>82</sup> CIL IX, 5894.

scription of the arch suggest the scope of this building. The unusual language should also be noted:<sup>82</sup>

*Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi Nervae f(ilio) Nervae | Traiano optimo Aug(usto) Germanic(o) | Dacico pont(ifici) max(imo)... | ... providentissimo principi | senatus p(opuli)q(ue) R(omanus) quod accessum | Italiae hoc etiam addito ex pecunia sua | portu tutiorem navigantibus reddiderit*

To emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Best Augustus, son of the deified Nerva, Germanicus, Dacicus, pontifex maximus...most foresightful emperor, the Senate and people of Rome (have dedicated this monument), because by this additional harbour, paid from his own money, he has rendered the entrance to Italy safer for sailors.

The titlature indicates *providentissimo princeps*, which is a rarity in the early Imperial period and a *unicum* in the Adriatic; in fact, other examples appear much later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>83</sup> The use of this term is unprecedented in a monumental building and may imply that the construction of this harbour was an action of true foresight. This term, which is in the superlative ‘most foresightful’, was the best way to pay homage to the emperor, thanking him for his involvement and highlighting his qualities.<sup>84</sup>

*Accessum Italiae* should also briefly be discussed, for which no analogies have been found, especially in a marine context. This title indicates access to the peninsula, in this case for those coming from the east. Ancona was an ideal gateway to Rome from the Adriatic. In this context, it should be noted how the emperor favoured the improvement of certain cities and connections with Italy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The arch was an important

menik) imperatoru Cezaru Nervi Trajanu Najboljem Augustu, sinu deificiranog Nerve, Germaniku, Dačkom, pontifexu maximusu... najdalekovidnijem caru, jer je ovom dodatnom lukom, koju je platio svojim novcem, omogućio mornarima sigurniji ulazak u Italiju

Titlatura navodi *providentissimo princeps*, što je rijetkost u ranocarskom razdoblju te *unicum* na Jadranu, s obzirom na to da se drugi primjeri javljaju mnogo kasnije, u 3. stoljeću.<sup>83</sup> Upotreba ovog termina nema presedana u spomeničkom graditeljstvu te bi mogla značiti da je izgradnja ove luke bila istinski dalekovidno djelo. Ovim terminom u superlativu koji znači „najdalekovidniji” na najbolji se način iskazuje počast caru i zahvalnost na njegovu angažmanu, istodobno ističući njegove osobine.<sup>84</sup>

Osim toga, trebalo bi ukratko spomenuti i termin *accessum Italiae*, za čiju uporabu nema analogija, osobito ne u pomorskom kontekstu. Ovaj naslov označava pristup poluotoku, u ovom slučaju onima koji dolaze s istoka. Ancona je bila idealan pristup Rimu s Jadrana. U tom kontekstu valja napomenuti da je car bio sklon poboljšanju određenih gradova i veza s Italijom u 2. stoljeću. Slavoluk je bila važna građevina koja je obilježavala ulazak u Italiju s Jadrana, a njegova izgradnja implicira da je nakon obnove car vjerojatno davao prednost ključnoj lokaciji Ancone kao jedne od glavnih luka u regiji. Veličina slavoluka (oko 13,21 x 10 x 4,16 m) poklapa se s pojedinostima natpisa. Slavoluk je veoma sličan drugima iz istog razdoblja kao što su oni na lokalitetima Benevento, Canosa, Capua, ali i Maktar u Tunisu te Timgad u Alžiru, iako se slavoluk u Anconi ističe po rubnom položaju na području mola; njegovo postojanje baš na tom mjestu podrazumijeva da su tu bila svojevrsna „morska vrata” koja su omogućavala

<sup>82</sup> CIL IX, 5894.

<sup>83</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; C. F. NOREŃA, 2011.

<sup>84</sup> C. F. NOREŃA, 2011, 231-232.

<sup>83</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; C. F. NOREŃA, 2011.

<sup>84</sup> C. F. NOREŃA, 2011, 231-232.

building that marked the entrance to Italy via the Adriatic, and its construction implies that after the reconstruction the emperor would have privileged the key location of Ancona as one of the main ports of the region. The size of the arch (c. 13.21 x 10 x 4.16 m) fits with the details of the inscription. The arch is very similar to other arches of the same period, such as at Benevento, Canosa, Capua, but also Mactaris in Tunisia and Timgad in Algeria, although the arch at Ancona stands out for its presence in a liminal space at the edge of the mole area; its presence here implies that this was a sort of 'marine gate' providing access to Italy. It would also have emphasised the renovation of the port and the monumentality of the marine façade.

Those buildings that served as storage areas, including porticoes and horrea at Ancona, as well as the storage spaces located along the waterfront, likely had an impact on the view of sailors and traders. The adventus via the sea, rather than via land routes in a place such as Ancona, would have been striking for the people, since the works and construction commissioned during the Imperial period explicitly changed the appearance of this centre and these improvements prevalently affected the marine area.<sup>85</sup> The marine façade – that is, the line of the waterfront consisting, in sequence, of signalling buildings such as the lighthouse, public and monumental buildings, the arch, bridges, then the porticos and storage spaces – would most likely have been an appealing sight to sailors. An approach via land routes would not have been so impressive.

Other buildings including the amphitheatre and temples were situated, overlooking the coast, near the port facilities. The Temple of Venus, previously identified by fieldwork in 1948, built on the slope of Colle Guasco, looks directly towards the quay area.<sup>86</sup> Simi-

pristup Italiji. Osim toga, on je trebao istaknuti obnovu luke i monumentalnost priobalnog pročelja.

Objekti koji su služili za skladištenje u Anconi, uključujući portike i *horrea*, kao i spremišta smještena uz obalu, vjerojatno su utjecala na vizuru koja se pružala mornarima i trgovcima. U mjestima kao što je Ancona, dolazak s mora u velikoj je mjeri, puno više nego s kopna, utjecao na pogled ljudi, s obzirom na to da su radovi i objekti naručeni u carskom razdoblju izričito izmijenili izgled grada, a poboljšanja su bila pretežno usmjerena na priobalno područje.<sup>85</sup> Pogled na priobalno pročelje – odnosno na obalnu liniju u kojoj su se izmjenjivali signalni objekti kao što je svjetionik, javni i spomenički objekti, slavoluk, mostovi, pa onda portici i skladišni prostori – zacijelo bi se ucrtao duboko u pamćenje mornara. Pristup kopnenim putevima zasigurno nije bio tako dojmljiv.

Ostale građevine, uključujući amfiteatar i hramove, nalazile su se ponad obale, u blizini lučkih objekata. Venerin hram, otkriven u iskapanjima 1948., izgrađen na padini brda Colle Guasco, gledao je izravno na područje gata.<sup>86</sup> Slično tome, amfiteatar se nalazio na obroncima brda Colle Guasco na obali, u blizini Trajanova slavoluka koji je bio uz mol.<sup>87</sup> Stoga u tom kontekstu uočavamo gušći urbani uzorak nego u drugim lučkim gradovima, ne samo zbog carskog sponzorstva i podrške lokalnih uprava i trgovaca, nego i zbog dobro organiziranog plana gradnje koji je isticao monumentalnost i vizualni dojam priobalnog pročelja. Te građevine u kombinaciji sa skladištima, gatom i molovima te svjetionikom obilježavale su grad pri ulasku s morske strane. Pri ulasku s kopna posjetitelji i lokalno stanovništvo mogli su uočiti lukove, zidine i ceste, no ulazak u grad s mora izazivao je još veće divljenje. Mornari koji su plovili Jadranom zacijelo

<sup>85</sup> G. BOETTO, 2010, 112-122; H. SCHNEIDER, 2015, 21-51.

<sup>86</sup> M. MORETTI, 1945; G. TOSI, 2003, 498, 530.

<sup>85</sup> G. BOETTO, 2010, 112-122; H. SCHNEIDER, 2015, 21-51.

<sup>86</sup> M. MORETTI, 1945; G. TOSI, 2003, 498, 530.

<sup>87</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 24; G. TOSI, 2003, 323.

larly, the amphitheatre is also located on the slope of Colle Guasco on the seaside and close to Trajan's arch that stood along the mole.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, in these contexts we note an urban pattern denser than other port cities owing not only to Imperial sponsorship and the support of local magistracies and the mercantile class, but also because of the well-organised construction plan that emphasised features of monumentality and the visual impact of the marine façade. These buildings, together with the warehouses, quay and mole structures, as well as the lighthouse, characterised the entrance to the city from the sea. While approaching the city by land transport, visitors and locals would have noted the presence of arches, walls and roads, but entering the city from the sea would have been even more awe-inspiring. Sailors along the Adriatic would have noted the monumentality of the Adriatic city, the long quay facing the sea and in the background the port facilities, amphitheatre, temples, and other great public buildings. Therefore, mooring along the quay would have also allowed for a broader view of all the other key constructions.

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(for Etnotrend d.o.o.)*

su zamjećivali monumentalnost ovog jadranskog grada, dugačkoga gata okrenutoga moru, a u pozadini lučke objekte, amfiteatar, hramove i ostale javne građevine. Stoga je i vezivanje uz gat vjerojatno omogućavalo širi pogled na sve ostale ključne građevinske objekte.

*Prijevod: Nina Matetić Pelikan  
(Etnotrend d.o.o.)*

<sup>87</sup> S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 24; G. TOSI, 2003, 323.

TABLE 1 / TABELA 1.

Site ID Oznaka lokaliteta	N (dd.dd) S (dd.dd) E (dd.dd) I (dd.dd)	Site name Naziv lokaliteta	Sources Izvori	Building Građevina	Period Razdoblje	Description Opis	Material Materijal
An1	43.623272 13.509683	Lungomare Vanvitelli	S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 33-35; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014; M. SAL- VINI, L. PALERMO, 2017.	Quay Gat	AD 100 100. po. Kr.	Masonry structures, main sector of the quay, paved road <i>Zidane strukture, glavni sektor gata, popločena cesta</i>	Stone blocks, bricks <i>Kameni blokovi, opeka</i>
An2	43.62376944 13.50926111	Istituto Nautico	M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014; M. SALVINI, L. PAL- ERMO, 2017; F. UGOLINI, 2017.	Shipyard <i>Brodogradilište</i>	AD 100 100. po. Kr.	Large harbour wall, masonry structures with arch shape, rooms, columned and peristyle build- ing with 2 rooms <i>Velik lučki zid, zidane strukture u obliku luka, prostorije, građevina s kolonama i peristi- lom s 2 prostorije</i>	Brickwork, reticu- lated wall mosaics <i>Opeke, mozaici na zidu u tehnički opus reticulatum</i>
An3	43.622756 13.510061	Arco Russi - Guardia di Finanza	BEVILACQUA, 1889, 45; N. ALFIERI, 1983; M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76.	Sector of the quay, harbour wall <i>Sektor gata, lučki zid</i>	AD 50 – 120 50. – 120. po. Kr.	Masonry structures <i>Zidane strukture</i>	Concrete, stones <i>Beton, kamen</i>
An4	43.625017 13.506736	Banchina Nazario Sauro	M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560; M. SALVINI, L. PALERMO, 2014; M. SALVINI, L. PAL- ERMO, 2017.	Mole, quay <i>Mol, gat</i>	AD 100 100. po. Kr.	Masonry structures <i>Zidane strukture</i>	Concrete, brickwork <i>Beton, opeka</i>
An5	43.619786 13.509806	Via Loggia	S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 33-35; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560.	Waterfront quay line <i>Obalna linija gata</i>	AD 100 100. po. Kr.	Masonry structures <i>Zidane strukture</i>	Brickwork <i>Opeka</i>
An6	43.623872 13.5096	Via Papa Giovan- ni XXIII	S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 38; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560.	Quay Gat	AD 100 100. po. Kr.	Masonry structures <i>Zidane strukture</i>	Stone blocks, bricks <i>Kameni blokovi, opeka</i>

Site ID <i>Oznaka lokaliteta</i>	N (dd.dd) S (dd.dd) E (dd.dd) I (dd.dd)	Site name <i>Naziv lokaliteta</i>	Sources <i>Izvori</i>	Building <i>Građevina</i>	Period <i>Razdoblje</i>	Description <i>Opis</i>	Material <i>Materijal</i>
An7	43.624431 13.507781	Trajan's Arch <i>Trajanov slavoluk</i>	N. ALFIERI, 1938, 151-236; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 36; M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560.	Arch <i>Slavoluk</i>	AD 115 <i>115. po. Kr.</i>	Triumphal arch, bronze sculpture group placed along the main mole <i>Slavoluk, grupa brončanih skulptura, duž glavnog mola</i>	Bronze statue (frag- ments), marble, stones, inscription <i>Brončani kip (frag- menti), mramor, kamen, natpis</i>
An8	43.623386 13.509742	Casa del Capitano	M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560.	Warehouse, stor- age spaces <i>Skladišta, spremišta</i>	50 BC - AD 50 <i>50. pr. Kr. - 50. po. Kr.</i>	3 vaulted structures facing the seaside ar- ranged on two levels (4.5 x 3.2 m, 5.1 x 3.3 m and 5 x 3.45 m); wall (32 x 45 m) <i>Tri presvođena ob- jeka okrenuta prema obali, raspoređena na dvije razine (4,5 x 3,2 m, 5,1 x 3,3 m i 5 x 3,45 m); zid (32 x 45 m)</i>	Bricks, concrete, Conero stone, gravel, amphorae dump, reticulated wall <i>Opeka, beton, kamen s Conera, šljunak, odlagalište amfora, zid u tehnici opus reticulatum</i>
An9	43.622683 13.510725	Piazza Stracca, Palazzo degli Anziani	S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76.	Warehouses <i>Skladišta</i>	AD 115 <i>115. po. Kr.</i>	Buildings overlook- ing port quay served as stores, ware- houses <i>Građevine koje gledaju na lučki gat služile su kao spremišta, skladišta</i>	Bricks, concrete <i>Opeka, beton</i>
An10	43.624967 13.506181	Arsenale	N. ALFIERI, 1983, 9-34; M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76.	Mole <i>Mol</i>	AD 115 <i>115. po. Kr.</i>	Trajan's mole (300 m long) <i>Trajanov mol (dužina 300 m)</i>	Rocks, cliffs, stones <i>Stijene, klifovi, kamenje</i>
An11	43.622556 13.510419	Piazza Dante Alighieri	S. SEBASTIANI, 1996; M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76.	Harbour wall <i>Lučki zid</i>	AD 50 <i>50. po. Kr.</i>	Wall along the main quay <i>Zid duž glavnog gata</i>	Bricks, stones <i>Opeka, kamen</i>

Site ID Oznaka lokaliteta	N (dd.dd) S (dd.dd) E (dd.dd) I (dd.dd)	Site name Naziv lokaliteta	Sources Izvori	Building Građevina	Period Razdoblje	Description Opis	Material Materijal
An12	43.62045 13.510308	Piazza Santa Maria, Chiesa Santa Maria della Piazza	M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76.	Warehouses Skladišta	AD 50 - 115 50. - 115. po. Kr.	Warehouse Skladište	Bricks Opeka
An13	43.614389 13.503767	Banchina Giovan- na da Chio, Santa Lucia, Lazzaretto	M. LILLI, 1997, 50-76; M. SALVINI, 2009, 531-560.	S mole Južni mol	AD 50 - 115 50. - 115. po. Kr.	Small sector of mole 100 m long Manji dio mola, duljine 100 m	Stone blocks Kameni blokovi
An14	43.625081 13.5101	Piazza Duomo, Cattedrale San Ciriaco	N. ALFIERI, 1938, 151-236; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996, 29- 33; M. LILLI, 1997, 507-579; L. PANI ERMINI, 2003, 94-115.	Temple, lighthouse Hram, svjetionik	AD 50 50. po. Kr.	Foundation of a building identified as the temple of Venus Temelji građevine prepoznate kao Venerin hram	Stone blocks, columns Kameni blokovi, stupovi
An15	43.623738 13.511536	Via Giuseppe Birarelli	M. MORETTI, 1945; S. SEBASTIANI, 1996.	Amphitheatre Amfiteatar	AD 50 - 120 50. - 120. po. Kr.	Building structures Građevinski objekti	Blocks, foundations, amphora remains Blokovi, temelji, ostaci anfjora

## ABBREVIATIONS / KRATICE

- AE – Anné Epigraphique  
ASAM – Archivio Soprintendenza Archeologica Marche  
ASR – Archivio di Stato Roma  
SBAM – Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Marche

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# KERAMIČKI NALAZI IZ BIZANTSKE UTVRDE GRADINA NA OTOKU ŽIRJU<sup>1</sup>

## CERAMIC FINDS FROM THE BYZANTINE FORT OF GRADINA ON THE ISLAND OF ŽIRJE<sup>1</sup>

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### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

utvrda Gradina, Žirje,  
Bizant, keramika

*Višekratno istraživanje prostora ranobizantske utvrde na Žirju, otoku šibenskog arhipelaga, rezultiralo je nalaskom velikih količina pokretnih predmeta među kojima prevladavaju oni keramički. I dok većina predmeta pripada razdoblju funkcioniranja utvrde, dakle Justinijanovoj rekonkvisti iz sredine 6. stoljeća, manji broj njih otpada na predmete ranijih (željeznodobnih, helenističkih i ranocarskih) te kasnijih epoha (srednji i novi vijek), čije se pojavljivanje nastoji objasniti kontinuiranim strateškim značenjem pozicije na kojem utvrda nastaje. Kasnoantički materijal tipološki je detaljno obrađen te se uz određenje njegova datacijskog i ishodišnog okvira utvrdila pojava keramičkih proizvoda iz onodobno glavnih, i svojim proizvodima na istočnom Jadranu uobičajeno prisutnih, središta. To se posebno odnosi na sjevernoafrički i egejsko-istočnomediteranski areal s kojih dolaze fino stolno i kuhinjsko posuđe, svjetiljke te različiti oblici amfora. S druge strane participacija lokalnih radionica u opskrbi ovdje stacioniranih bizantskih vojnika najvjerojatnije se odnosi na prevladavajuće oblike kuhinjske keramike.*

<sup>1</sup> Ovdje obrađeni keramički materijal bio je tema istoimene diplomske radnje A. Karadole (mentor: I. Borzić), obranjen na Odjelu za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru godine 2013. Članak je, s obzirom na nove spoznaje o predmetnom materijalu, revizijskog karaktera, a autori se koriste prigodom da zahvale djelatnicima Muzeja grada Šibenika, Željku Krnčeviću, Toniju Brajkoviću i Emilu Podrugu, na ustupljenom materijalu i pomoći u njegovoj obradi.

<sup>1</sup> Ceramic finds analyzed in this paper were the theme of the homonymous diploma thesis by one of the authors (A. Karadole) defended at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar in 2013 (mentor: I. Borzić). The paper is of revisory character, considering new information about the material in question. The authors would like to thank the curators of the Šibenik City Museum, Željko Krnčević, Toni Brajković and Emil Podrug, for the permission to access the material and their help in its analysis.

**KEY WORDS:**

fort Gradina, Žirje, Byzantium, pottery

*Repeated excavations of the area of the early Byzantine fort on Žirje, an island in the Šibenik archipelago, resulted in recovery of a substantial amount of movable finds, predominantly pottery. Most finds date to the period of Justinian's reconquista in the mid-6th century when the fort was used, but there are also some artifacts of earlier or later dating (Iron Age, Hellenistic and early Imperial periods; medieval and postmedieval periods) whose presence is explained by continuous strategic importance of the fort position. Late antique material has been analyzed comprehensively in terms of typology. Dating and provenance contexts of the finds have also been determined. Presence of pottery from the main production centers that supplied the eastern Adriatic at the time has been attested. This refers in particular to the north African and Aegean-eastern Mediterranean area providing fine tableware and kitchen pottery, lamps and various forms of amphorae. On the other hand, participation of local workshops in supply of the Byzantine soldiers stationed in Gradina probably relates to prevailing forms of kitchenware.*

## UVOD

Arheološka ostavština iz razdoblja vladavine bizantskog cara Justinijana I. (527. – 565.) u velikoj se mjeri ogleda u arhitektonskim ostvarenjima nastalima iz različitih pobuda.<sup>2</sup> Među njima se ističe ona potaknuta osiguravanjem nesmetane plovidbe širom Mediterana. U tu svrhu građene utvrde i promatračnice premrežile su i obalu istočnog Jadrana kao dijela Justinijanova carstva,<sup>3</sup> a tema ovog rada u vezi je s utvrdom smještenom na lokalitetu Gradina na otoku Žirju. Strateška važnost navedenog otoka šibenskog arhipelaga, na prostoru koji je svjedočio konačnom porazu Bizantu suparničke istočnogotske vojske,<sup>4</sup> naslućuje se iz činjenice da je on mjesto gradnje još jedne utvrde, Gustijerne, smještene relativno blizu ovdje predmetne Gradine.

Obje utvrde nalaze se na jugoistočnoj strani otoka Žirja, Gradina nad uvalom Velika Stupica, a Gustijerna nad uvalama Mala Stupica i Kabal (Sl. 1). Međusobno u vizualnoj komunikaciji one su morale biti važne karike u lancu utvrda kojima se nadzirala plovidba ovim dijelom istočnojadranskog akvatorija.<sup>5</sup>

Gradina je jedna od rijetkih bizantskih utvrda na istočnom Jadranu na kojoj su obavljana arheološka istraživanja. Angažman te vrste pod vodstvom Zlatka Gunjače iz Muzeja grada Šibenika započinj 1977. godine, od kada uz

## INTRODUCTION

Archaeological remains from the period of reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565) are largely reflected in the works of architecture made for different reasons,<sup>2</sup> such as ensuring uninterrupted sailing across the Mediterranean. Therefore forts and observatories were built all over the eastern Adriatic coast as a part of Justinian's Empire,<sup>3</sup> and the theme of this paper relates to the fort situated at the site of Gradina on the island of Žirje. Strategic importance of the mentioned island of the Šibenik archipelago, in the area that testified to the final defeat of the Ostrogothic army as Byzantium's opponents,<sup>4</sup> is suggested by the fact that another fort, Gustijerna, was built relatively close to Gradina.

Both forts are located on the southeastern side of the island of Žirje, Gradina over Velika Stupica cove, and Gustijerna over Mala Stupica and Kabal coves (Fig. 1). Within sight of each other, they had to represent important links in the chain of forts used for surveillance of sailing in this part of the eastern Adriatic maritime zone.<sup>5</sup>

Gradina is one of few Byzantine forts on the eastern Adriatic that has been archaeologically excavated. Zlatko Gunjača from the Šibenik City Museum was the first to start the excavations in 1977, lasting until 1989 with few

<sup>2</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, 1984; E. ZANINI, 1995; J. D. ALCHERMES, 2005, 343-375.

<sup>3</sup> O bizantskoj vladavini na istočnom Jadranu vidjeti: I. GOLDSTEIN, 1992. O vojnoj arhitekturi na istom prostoru postoji velika količina literature, npr. Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1927, 45-59; I. PETRICIOLI, 1970, 717-725; Z. GUNJAČA, 1985, 158; Z. GUNJAČA, 1986, 124-136; A. FABER, 1986/1987, 113-140; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1988/1989, 29-53; A. BADURINA, 1992, 7-9; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1993, 91-96; M. SUIĆ, 1995, 133-144; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123-130; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2003, 263-281; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2009, 205-222; I. RADIĆ ROSSI, T. FABIJANIĆ, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> O bizantsko-gotskim sukobima vidi PROKOPIJE *De bello Gothico*. Dio o sukobima na ovom dijelu istočne obale Jadrana posebno u poglavlju IV, 26. O tome kod: A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1992, 65-78; I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 23-34.

<sup>5</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 39; Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1994, 28; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123.

<sup>2</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, 1984; E. ZANINI, 1995; J. D. ALCHERMES, 2005, 343-375.

<sup>3</sup> About the Byzantine reign in the eastern Adriatic see: I. GOLDSTEIN, 1992. There is a number of works on military architecture in the same region, e.g. Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1927, 45-59; I. PETRICIOLI, 1970, 717-725; Z. GUNJAČA, 1985, 158; Z. GUNJAČA, 1986, 124-136; A. FABER, 1986/1987, 113-140; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1988/1989, 29-53; A. BADURINA, 1992, 7-9; Ž. TOMIČIĆ, 1993, 91-96; M. SUIĆ, 1995, 133-144; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123-130; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2003, 263-281; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2009, 205-222; I. RADIĆ ROSSI, T. FABIJANIĆ, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> On the Byzantine-Gothic conflicts see PROKOPIUS *De bello Gothico*. Part on the battles in this part of the eastern Adriatic coast separately in chapter IV, 26. More on this in: A. UGLEŠIĆ, 1992, 65-78; I. GOLDSTEIN, 2005, 23-34.

<sup>5</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 39; Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1994, 28; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123.



SLIKA 1.  
FIGURE 1

nekoliko prekida traje sve do 1989. godine.<sup>6</sup> Arheološko-konzervatorski radovi, sada pod vodstvom Ivana Pedišića, također iz Muzeja grada Šibenika, nastavljeni su u razdoblju od 1996. do 2006. godine.<sup>7</sup> Rezultati njihovih istraživanja doveli su do zaključka da utvrda najvjerojatnije nastaje sredinom ili u drugoj polovici 6. stoljeća te da nakon svega 15-20 godina funkcioniranja stradava u požaru.<sup>8</sup>

Planski gledano utvrda je nepravilnog tlocrta prilagođenog konfiguraciji terena (Sl. 2). Njezina defenzivna arhitektura sastojala se od dviju različitih zidanih konstrukcija. Vanjski je zid masivan, niži te građen od velikih kamenih blokova bez upotrebe vezivnog materijala.<sup>9</sup> Unutrašnji zid s kruništem je pak bio mnogo viši i tanji te zidan manjim klesancima uz obilno korištenje žbuke. Njegov sastavni dio čini i pet istaknutih kvadratnih kula te glavni ulaz s propugnakulom kao potencijalnom šestom kulom. Potonji se nalazio na sjevernoj strani

interruptions.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological and conservation works led by Ivan Pedišić, also from the Šibenik City Museum, were continued from 1996 to 2006.<sup>7</sup> The excavation results indicated that the fort was most probably built in the middle or the second half of the 6th century and that it was destroyed in a fire after only 15-20 years.<sup>8</sup>

The fort has irregular ground plan adjusted to the field configuration (Fig. 2). Its defensive architecture consisted of two different walled constructions. Outer part of the wall is massive, low and built of big stone blocks without use of any bonding agent.<sup>9</sup> The inner wall with battlement was much higher and thinner, built with small trimmed stones and with ample use of mortar. It also comprises five protruding square towers and the main gate with a bulwark (*propugnaculum*) as a potential sixth tower which was located on the northern side of the fort. The foundation of the ramp

<sup>6</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1978, 15; Z. GUNJAČA, 1994b, 36; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40-42;

<sup>7</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 99-101; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 107-110; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123-130; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 66-71.

<sup>8</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 130.

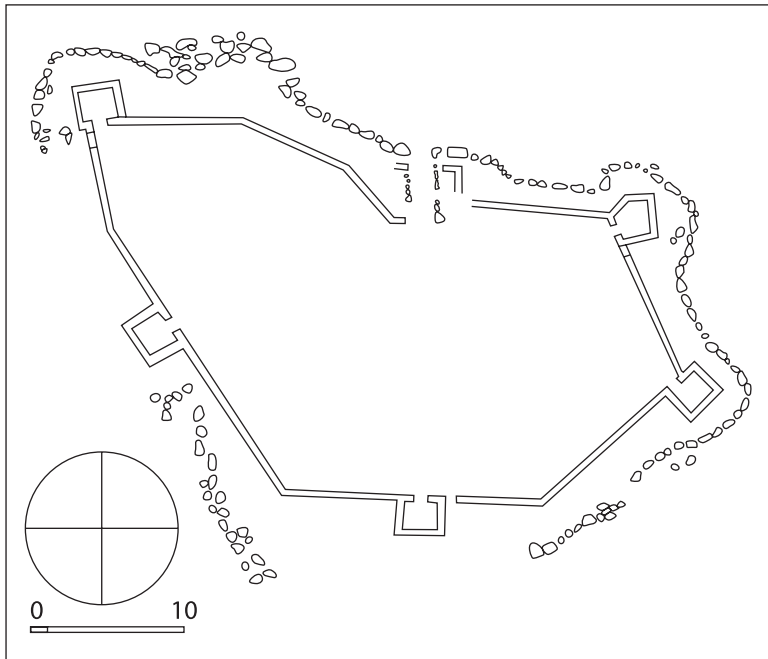
<sup>9</sup> E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRŃEVIĆ, 2016, 62-66 gdje se može pročitati dobar opis čitave utvrde te općenito o arheološkoj topografiji otoka Žirja.

<sup>6</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1978, 15; Z. GUNJAČA, 1994b, 36; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40-42;

<sup>7</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 99-101; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 107-110; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 123-130; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 66-71.

<sup>8</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 130.

<sup>9</sup> E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRŃEVIĆ, 2016, 62-66, providing a good description of the entire fort, as well as the general archaeological topography of the island of Žirje.



SLIKA 2. Tlocrt kasnoantičke utvrde Gradina na otoku Žirju (prema Z. GUNJAČA, 1986)

FIGURE 2 Ground plan of Late Antique fort Gradina on the island of Žirje (after Z. GUNJAČA, 1986)

utvrde, a temelj zidane rampe sugerira pristup drvenoj šetnici koja je najvjerojatnije obilazila čitav opseg utvrde.<sup>10</sup> U plaštu unutrašnjeg bedema, uz kule, utvrđena su i tri uska sekundarna ulaza, od kojih su dva naknadno zazidana.<sup>11</sup> U sredini dvorišta utvrde nalazi se jama s izvorom dubine 35 m. Prema I. Pedišiću ona je mogla biti korištena kao cisterna.<sup>12</sup> Usputno spominjemo kako su recentne analize tamošnje vode pokazale njezinu nepogodnost za konzumaciju.<sup>13</sup>

Na južnom dijelu utvrde Z. Gunjača je otkopao tri prostorije (Sl. 3),<sup>14</sup> lučno nadsvođeni objekt prvotno definiran kao cisterna,<sup>15</sup> a nakon proširenih istraživanja kao ostava za hranu,<sup>16</sup> uz čiju se sjevernu stranu nastavljaju prostorije, s obzirom na ostatke sustava hipokausta sa zidnim tubulima, očito grijanog

<sup>10</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 41–42.

<sup>11</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 39–40.

<sup>12</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 127.

<sup>13</sup> T. BARIŠIĆ, 1994, 186; Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1994, 31; B. JALŽIĆ, 1994, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 41–44.

<sup>15</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 43.

<sup>16</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125–127.

suggests access to wooden walkway that probably followed the entire circumference of the fort.<sup>10</sup>

Three secondary entrances have been found on the outer part of the inner wall in addition to the towers. Two of these entrances were subsequently walled up.<sup>11</sup> In the middle of the fort courtyard is a pit with a source, 35 meters deep. According to I. Pedišić it might have been used as a cistern<sup>12</sup> but it is worth mentioning that recent water analyses have shown that it was not potable.<sup>13</sup>

In the southern part of the fort Z. Gunjača excavated three rooms (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup> Arched vaulted structure was first defined as a cistern,<sup>15</sup> and after expanded excavations as a food storage room,<sup>16</sup> on whose northern side were rooms of heated residential complex, judging from the remains of the hypocaust system with tubes in the walls (*tubuli*) (Fig. 12). Z. Gunjača believed this was a residential building for the fort garrison, while I. Pedišić is more inclined to interpret this set of rooms as a residence of the fort commander on the basis of luxurious infrastructure.<sup>17</sup> According to his interpretation, the rest of the garrison resided in the fort towers.<sup>18</sup> All towers have been archaeologically explored. It is mentioned that the roof of the western tower was repaired with pieces of tubuli which might

<sup>10</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 41–42.

<sup>11</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994c, 39–40.

<sup>12</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 127.

<sup>13</sup> Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, 1994, 31; T. BARIŠIĆ, 1994, 186; B. JALŽIĆ, 1994, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 41–44.

<sup>15</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 43.

<sup>16</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125–127.

<sup>17</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125–126.

<sup>18</sup> I. Pedišić (I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 128–129) claims that a military garrison might have been stationed in Gradina with maximum of 170 soldiers residing in multi-storey towers.



SLIKA 3. Zračna snimka utvrde Gradine (Fototeka Muzeja grada Šibenika)  
 FIGURE 3 Aerial view of fort Gradina (Photoarchive of the Šibenik City Museum)

stambenog karaktera (Sl. 12). Gunjača smatra da je ovdje riječ o smještajnom objektu posade, dok I. Pedišić zbog luksuzne infrastrukture sklop prostorija specificira sjedištem zapovjednika utvrde.<sup>17</sup> Prema njegovu tumačenju ostala posada je boravila u kulama utvrde.<sup>18</sup> Sve kule arheološki su istražene, a izdvaja se navod da je krov one zapadne krpan komadima tubula, što bi moglo upućivati na užurbanost gradnje.<sup>19</sup> Topografski je zanimljivo naglasiti kako još uvijek nije ubicirana crkva koja je obično pratila bizantske utvrde,<sup>20</sup> no kako su na otoku građene njih dvije moguće je da se nalazila negdje u međuprostoru ili pak na području žirajskog Polja.

Istraživanje svih istaknutih sastavnica utvrde na Gradini rezultiralo je nalaskom veće

suggest hastiness of building.<sup>19</sup> It is worth mentioning that church that usually accompanied Byzantine forts has not been located,<sup>20</sup> but since two forts were built on the island it is possible that it was situated somewhere between them or in the area of Polje in Žirje.

The research of all the mentioned components of the fort on Gradina resulted in recovery of a substantial amount of movable archaeological finds, mostly pottery, while glass and metal finds constitute smaller portion of the assemblage.<sup>21</sup> As expected, pottery was found in all excavated locations, but it could not be

<sup>17</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125–126.

<sup>18</sup> Ivan Pedišić (I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 128–129) smatra da je na Gradini mogla biti stacionirana vojna posada od maksimalno 170 vojnika smještenih u višekatnim kulama.

<sup>19</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40–41.

<sup>20</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1993, 223–233.

<sup>19</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40–41.

<sup>20</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1993, 223–233.

<sup>21</sup> A fragment of the so-called iron sword with a long handle is an especially interesting find (I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 107 and 110), as well as a religious medal, made of bronze, with diameter of 1.2 cm. Crucifix is depicted on one side, and St Charles Borromeo in right profile on the other, surrounded by the inscription: *San(ctus) Caro(lus) B(orromeus)*. He was a cardinal, canonized in 1610, revered especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, when the medal should probably be dated. More on the medals in: O. KRNJAK, 2010, 16, 41–43, 46–50.

količine pokretnog arheološkog materijala, među kojim dominira keramički, dok manji broj predmeta pripada staklenom i metalnom repertoaru.<sup>21</sup> Keramički je prema očekivanju nalažen na svim istraženim pozicijama, ali ga zbog izvjesnih okolnosti za ovu prigodu nije bilo moguće promatrati kroz određene stratigrafske odnose na lokalitetu. Time je analiza odabranih dijagnostičkih ulomaka svedena na klasičnu tipološko-komparativnu metodu, ništa manje vrijednu u donošenju konkretnih zaključaka o keramičkom repertoaru utvrde, ali i njezinu smještanju u tadašnje trgovačke okvire. Očekivano većina ulomaka pripada razdoblju kasne antike, no za tumačenje prostora na kojem nastaje utvrda nije zanemarivo ni bilježenje pojedinačnih keramičkih ulomaka datiranih u ranija (mlađa prapovijesna doba, helenizam i ranocarsko doba) i u kasnija razdoblja (kasni srednji i novi vijek).

Prapovijesti najvjerojatnije pripada ulomak ručno oblikovane posude ukrašene utiskivanjem (Sl. 4a), proizvodima kasnohelenističkih radionica smatra se pet ulomaka fine keramike sivkastih nijansi stijenki (Sl. 4b, 1-2), od kojih jedan nosi ruletirajući dekor,<sup>22</sup> a tu su i dva pločasta poklopca s bradavičastom drškom često vezana uz amfore tipa *Lamboglia 2* (T. IX, 1-2), kojoj bi mogao pripadati i ulomak dosta čudno oblikovanog oboda (T. IX, 6). Na gornjoj plohi prvog poklopca vidljiv je reljefno izveden motiv trokuta, a na drugom samo ostatak radijalnog rebra, što su uobičajeni „dekori“ na ovoj vrsti predmeta.<sup>23</sup> Nadalje, ranocarskom razdoblju pripada ulomak dna

interpreted in terms of stratigraphic relations at the site due to certain circumstances. In that way the analysis of selected diagnostic sherds was reduced to classic typological-comparative method, just as important in making specific conclusions about the ceramic repertory of the fort, as well as its positioning in the context of trade at the time. Majority of sherds date to Late Antiquity, expectedly again, but the interpretation of the area where the fort was built benefits from recording individual ceramic fragments dating both to earlier and later periods (earlier prehistoric ages, Hellenism and Early Imperial period; Late Middle Ages, Modern Period).

A fragment of a handbuilt vessel decorated by impressing probably dates to prehistory (Fig. 4a). Five fragments of fine pottery in greyish tones are interpreted as products of late Hellenistic workshops (Fig. 4b, 1-2), one of which bears roulette decoration.<sup>22</sup> There are also two flat lids with knob handles often associated with *Lamboglia 2* amphorae (T. IX, 1-2), and possibly also quite peculiarly shaped rim (T. IX, 6). A triangle in relief is recognizable on the upper surface of the first lid, and on the other only remains of a radial rib, as common “decorations” on this kind of objects.<sup>23</sup> A fragment of jug base with preserved red slip on the outer wall belongs to the Early Imperial period (Fig. 4c).<sup>24</sup> Late medieval and post-medieval periods are represented by fragments of *invetriata* (Fig. 4d), painted and engraved pottery with an engobe (Fig. 4e-f), and majolica, whose earliest archaic sherd dates to the 14th century (Fig. 4g), and the latest to the 17th century (Fig. 4h).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Poseban nalaz predstavlja dio tzv. željeznog mača s dugom ručkom (I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 107 i 110), ali i svetačka medaljica. Potonja je rađena od bronce, a promjera je 1,2 cm. Na jednoj strani nalazi se prikaz raspeća, a na drugoj sv. Karlo Boromejski u desnom profilu, uokolo kojega teče natpis: *San(ctus) Caro(lus) B(orromeus)*. On je bio kardinal, kanoniziran 1610. godine, a posebno se štovao tijekom 17. i 18. stoljeća, kada se vjerojatno datira i medaljica. Više o medaljicama: O. KRNJAK, 2010, 16, 41–43, 46–50.

<sup>22</sup> O sivopremazanoj keramici na istočnom Jadranu kod: M. MIŠE, 2015; M. UGARKOVIĆ, B. ŠEGVIĆ, 2017, 161–183. Za konkretan ulomak analogije vidjeti kod D. YNTEMA, 2005, 28, Form 5 iz 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.

<sup>23</sup> T. ŠALOV, 2010, 360, 373–375; I. ŠUTA, 2011, 84.

<sup>22</sup> On grey slip ware on the eastern Adriatic in: M. MIŠE, 2015; M. UGARKOVIĆ, B. ŠEGVIĆ, 2017, 161–183. For a specific analogy see D. YNTEMA, 2005, 28, Form 5 from the 1st cent. BC.

<sup>23</sup> T. ŠALOV, 2010, 360, 373–375; I. ŠUTA, 2011, 84.

<sup>24</sup> In continuation of the paper more early Imperial building material will be mentioned, but it was associated with the fort context through reuse, and it will be analyzed in the part about building ceramic material.

<sup>25</sup> About the mentioned pottery types in H. ZGLAV-MARTINAC, 2004; K. GUSAR, 2010.



**SLIKA 4.** *Ulomci prapovijesne, helenističke, rimske, te novovjekovne keramike s Gradine (foto: A. Karadžole)*  
**FIGURE 4** *Fragments of prehistoric, hellenistic, Roman and postmedieval ceramics from Gradina (photo: A. Karadžole)*

vrča sa sačuvanim crvenim premazom na vanjskoj stijenci (Sl. 4c).<sup>24</sup> Kasnosrednjovjekovnom i novovjekovnom vremenu pripadaju pak ulomci invetriate (Sl. 4d) i engobirane keramike (slikana i gravirana) (Sl. 4e-f) te majolika, čiji najraniji arhaiski ulomak datira u 14. (Sl. 4g), a najmlađi u 17. stoljeće (Sl. 4h).<sup>25</sup>

Dominantni kasnoantički materijal, koji je moguće sagledavati u konkretnom arheološkom kontekstu utvrde, prema tipološko-tehnološkom kriteriju podijeljen je na nekoliko namjenskih grupa: stolna i kuhinjska kerami-

Dominant late antique finds that can be interpreted in the specific archaeological context of the fort, are divided into several functional groups on the basis of typological-technological criterion: tableware and cookingware, vessels for storage and transport (amphorae), lamps, building ceramic material and finally remaining ceramic utilitarian objects.

## TABLEWARE

Tableware from fort Gradina is represented by scarce fragments of African Red Slip Ware and Phocaeen Red Slip Ware. The former belongs to the products of many pottery workshops that worked in the area of present-day Tunisia and Algeria from the end of the 1st to

<sup>24</sup> U daljnjem tekstu će se pojaviti još ranocarskog i to građevinskog materijala, no on je putem reupotrebe vezan uz kontekst utvrde te će biti obrađen u dijelu o građevinskoj keramici.

<sup>25</sup> O navedenim vrstama keramike kod H. ZGLAV-MARTINAC, 2004; K. GUSAR, 2010.

ka, skladišno-transportna ambalaža, odnosno amfore, svjetiljke, građevinska keramika te na posljetku ostali keramički uporabni predmeti.

## STOLNA KERAMIKA

Stolna keramika s utvrde Gradina zastupljena je malobrojnim primjercima sjevernoafričke (*African Red Slip Ware*) i fokejske crveno glačane keramike (*Phocaeian Red Slip Ware*). Prva pripada proizvodima brojnih keramičarskih radionica koje su u razdoblju od kraja 1. do 7. stoljeća djelovale na području današnjeg Tunisa i Alžira.<sup>26</sup> Nešto važniji iskorak na mediteransko tržište fine keramike ona bilježi već tijekom 2. stoljeća, a u razdoblju od sredine 3. do druge četvrtine 5. stoljeća njime u potpunosti dominira. Tijekom 5. stoljeća prodor Vandala u sjevernu Afriku dovodi do opadanja izvoza, no on se ubrzo nakon bizantskog osvajanja ponovno uspostavlja na visokom nivou te takav traje sve do arapskih osvajanja u 7. stoljeću.<sup>27</sup> Takav kronološki hodogram afričkog importa stolnog posuđa moguće je pratiti i na brojnim dalmatinskim lokalitetima,<sup>28</sup> kojima se sada pridružuje i Gradina na Žirju.

Primjećuje se da ovdje brojčano dominiraju ulomci tanjura i zdjela. Najranije primjerke predstavljaju ulomci plitkih zdjela s okomitim obodom tipa *Hayes 61B*, datirani u prvu polovicu 5. stoljeća (T. I, 1 i T. II, 3).<sup>29</sup> Popularnost tog oblika nastalog u radionicama uokolo Kartage ogleda se i u dosta čestoj zastupljenosti na lokalitetima istočnog Jadrana.<sup>30</sup> Ulomak na

the 7th century.<sup>26</sup> This kind of pottery became more prominent in the Mediterranean market of fine pottery as early as the 2nd century, to take the lead in the period from mid-3rd to the second quarter of the 5th century. Penetration of the Vandals to north Africa in the 5th century resulted in the reduction of export, but it was reestablished at a high level soon after the Byzantine conquest, lasting until the Arabian conquest in the 7th century.<sup>27</sup> Such chronological flow of African import of tableware can be monitored at a number of Dalmatian sites,<sup>28</sup> now joined by Gradina on Žirje.

Fragments of plates and bowls are most numerous. The earliest examples are fragments of shallow bowls with a vertical rim, type *Hayes 61B*, dated to the first half of the 5th century (T. I, 1 and T. II, 3).<sup>29</sup> Popularity of this type, created in the workshops near Carthage, is reflected in its frequent presence at the eastern Adriatic sites.<sup>30</sup> Fragment on T. I, 2 belongs to *Hayes 85B* cup characterized by thin walls, hard fired and well purified clay and roulette decoration under the everted rim with three grooves. It is a central Tunisian product (ARSW C), not too common, whose analogies suggest dating throughout the second half of the 5th century.<sup>31</sup> Sherd of a small bowl on

<sup>26</sup> Arheološki su potvrđene radionice u Borj el-Jerbi, El Mahrine, Oudna (Uthina) (J. W. HAYES, 1972, 296–299; M. MACKENSEN, 1998, 23–39; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 46), nekoliko njih na području središnjeg Tunisa – Oued el-Gattar i Choughafia, te Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, posebno u okolici el-Djema (M. A. CAU, P. REYNOLDS, M. BONIFAY, 2011, 4).

<sup>27</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 414, 423–424.

<sup>28</sup> O importu sjevernoafričkog materijala na istočni Jadran kroz podvodne arheološke nalaze vidjeti kod M. PEŠIĆ, 2020.

<sup>29</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 100–107; A. CARANDINI, S. TORTORELLA, 1985, 83–84; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 167–171.

<sup>30</sup> Npr. Dioklecijanova palača (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK,

<sup>26</sup> The following workshops were archaeologically attested: Borj el-Jerba, El Mahrine, Oudna (Uthina) (J. W. HAYES, 1972, 296–299; M. MACKENSEN, 1998, 23–39; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 46); several workshops in the central Tunisia – Oued el-Gattar, Choughafia, Sidi Marzouk Tounsi, especially in the vicinity of El-Djem (M. A. CAU, P. REYNOLDS, M. BONIFAY, 2011, 4).

<sup>27</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 414, 423–424.

<sup>28</sup> On the import of north African material to the eastern Adriatic in light of underwater finds see: M. PEŠIĆ, 2020.

<sup>29</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 100–107; A. CARANDINI, S. TORTORELLA, 1985, 83–84; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 167–171.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Diocletian's Palace (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 96, 98–99, Table 1:8, Table 3:5), *Ad basilicas pictas* (M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 67, 77, T.II.:6), Naronna-Erešove bare (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 124, 153), Uljeva B – cape near Ližnjan, Barbir, Žunac – cove in the port of Pula (M. PEŠIĆ, 2020), Polače (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141, Fig. 3, 4, 5) etc.

<sup>31</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 133; A. CARANDINI, L. SAGUI, 1981, 73; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 165. More analogies in: Athens, Agora (<http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/object/p%2027136,12.10.2019.>), Diocletian's Palace-Split (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 94, 98, Table 2:3).

T. I, 2 pripada zdjelici tipa *Hayes 85B*, koju odlikuju tanke stijenke, tvrdo pečena i dobro pročišćena glina te ruletirani ukras smješten podno izvijenog trostruko žlijebljenog oboda. Riječ je o srednjetojstunskom proizvodu (ARSW C), ne pretjerano česte pojave, ali čije analogije upućuju na datiranje tijekom druge polovice 5. stoljeća.<sup>31</sup> Nadalje, ulomak zdjelice s niskom prstenastom nožicom, ruletiranim ukrasom na dnu te zaobljenim rebrom podno lagano zaobljenog oboda vjerojatno pripada formi *Hayes 91D*, datiranoj tek u početak 7. stoljeća (T. I, 3). No kako je riječ o obliku koji se u različitim varijantama pojavljuje još od prve polovice 5. stoljeća moguće je da se i gradinski ulomak datira u nešto ranija vremena.<sup>32</sup> Izvjesno je da nekom od tipova *Hayes 91* ili *92* pripada i dio dna s ruletiranim dekorom (T. II, 2), kakav se dosta često javlja na dubokim zdjelama iz razdoblja od sredine 5. do 7. stoljeća.

Sjevernoafrički tanjuri s Gradine odlikuju se većim dimenzijama te masivnom prstenastom nogom često razvedenom jednostrukim (T. I, 4) ili dvostrukim žlijebom (T. I, 5). Prstenasto zadebljani obodi s T. I, 6 i 7, iako često korišteni u oblikovanju tanjura u sjevernoafričkoj produkciji, najvjerojatnije pripadaju onomu tipa *Hayes 105A* datiranom u drugu polovicu 6., odnosno 7. stoljeće.<sup>33</sup>

Druga grupa finog stolnog posuđa s Gradine pripada tzv. fokejskoj crvenoglačanoj keramici

1989, 96, 98–99, Tabla 1:8, Tabla 3:5.), *Ad basilicas pictas* (M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 67, 77, T. II: 6), Naronna – Erešove bare (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 124, 153), Uljeva B – rt kod Ližnjana, Barbir, Žunac – uvala u luci Pula (M. PEŠIĆ, 2020), Polače (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141, Sl. 3, 4, 5) i dr.

<sup>31</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 133; A. CARANDINI, L. SAGUI, 1981, 73; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 165. Analogije još kod: Atena, Agora (<http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/object/p%2027136;12.10.2019>), Dioklecijanova palača, Split (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 94, 98, Tabla 2:3).

<sup>32</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 140–143; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 179. Pojedini primjeri te forme na području istočne obale Jadrana pronađeni su u Dioklecijanovoj palači (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 93, 98, Tabla 2:4), Gatima kod Omiša (M. KATIĆ, 1994a, 200, br. 2), Saloni (J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994a, 266, 268), Hvaru (M. KATIĆ, 1999, 34, T. VI:3) te Visu, Verigama i Žuncu (v. M. PEŠIĆ, 2020).

<sup>33</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 168–169; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 183–185.

a low ring base, with roulette decoration on the base and rounded rib under the slightly rounded rim probably belongs to *Hayes 91D* form, dated to the early 7th century (T. I, 3). However, since this form appears in different variants as early as the first half of the 5th century, it is possible that the sherd from Gradina could also be dated to somewhat earlier period.<sup>32</sup> It is certain that *Hayes 91* or *92* types should be associated with a fragment of base with roulette decoration (T. II, 2), often found on deep bowls from the period from the mid-5th to the 7th century.

North African plates from Gradina are characterized by large dimensions and massive ring base often with a single (T. I, 4) or double groove (T. I, 5). Thickened rims on T. I, 6 and 7, though often used in shaping plates in north African production, most probably belong to *Hayes 105A* type, dated to the second half of the 6th, or 7th century.<sup>33</sup>

The second group of fine tableware from Gradina belongs to Phocaean Red Slip Ware (*Late Roman C*).<sup>34</sup> This group of artifacts with specific typological and technological characteristics was produced from the 4th to the 7th century in several archaeologically attested workshop centers in ancient Phocaea (e.g. Izmir region – Phocaea/Foca, Candarli, Gryneon, and workshops in Ephesus or Pergamon). These products were exported across the entire Mediterranean,<sup>35</sup> in particular its eastern part (e.g. Athens, Thessaloniki, Constantinople) where they appeared periodically from the mid-5th to the mid-6th century almost monopolistically. In the rest of the Mediterranean they are not as common, as reflected in the

<sup>32</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 140–143; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 179. Individual examples of this form on the eastern Adriatic coast have been found in Diocletian's Palace (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 93, 98, Table 2:4), Gata near Omiš (M. KATIĆ, 1994a, 200, no. 2), Salona (J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994a, 266, 268), Hvar (M. KATIĆ, 1999, 34, T. VI:3); and Vis, Verige and Žunac (see M. PEŠIĆ, 2020).

<sup>33</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 168–169; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 183–185.

<sup>34</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 323–324; D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 233–250; M. A. CAU, P. REYNOLDS, M. BONIFAY, 2011, 6.

<sup>35</sup> D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 242–246.

(*Late Roman C*).<sup>34</sup> Tako nazvana grupa proizvoda specifičnih tipoloških i tehnoloških odlika u razdoblju od 4. do 7. stoljeća nastaje u nekoliko arheološki potvrđenih radioničkih središta antičke Fokeje (npr. okolica Izmir – *Phocaeal Foca*, Candarli, Gryneon, te radionice u Efezu ili Pergamu). Distribucija tamošnjih proizvoda obuhvatila je cijeli Mediteran,<sup>35</sup> posebice njegov istočni dio na kojem se periodično, npr. u Ateni, Solunu i Konstantinopolu od sredine 5. do sredine 6. stoljeća pojavljuje u gotovo monopolnoj zastupljenosti. Na ostalim dijelovima Mediterana oni su zastupljeni u količinski nešto manjoj mjeri, što dobrim dijelom pokazuje i stanje na čitavom,<sup>36</sup> pa tako i istočnom Jadranu.<sup>37</sup>

S Gradine jedan ulomak pripada najpopularnijem obliku fokejskih zdjela, onomu tipa *Hayes 3* (T. II, 5).<sup>38</sup> Riječ je o različitim varijantama posuda niskog poluloptastog tijela na niskoj prstenastoj nozi te vertikalnim blago konkavno izvedenim visećim obodom, često ukrašenim urezima, mrežastim motivom ili valovnicom. Gradinski primjerak najvjerojatnije pripada E ili F varijanti tipa s ukrasom izvedenim nazubljenim kotačićem, datiranoj u razdoblje od kraja 5. do sredine 6. stoljeća.<sup>39</sup>

Ipak, najzanimljiviji ulomak fokejske keramike svakako je onaj na čijem je dnu otisnut prikaz ljudskog lika s desnom rukom uzdignutom u pozdravu, a lijevom presavijenom na trbuhu (Sl. 5).<sup>40</sup> Identični prikaz zabilježen je na posudama iz Tell en-Nasbeha te aten-

situation in the entire Adriatic,<sup>36</sup> including its eastern part.<sup>37</sup>

One of the sherds from Gradina belongs to the most popular form of Phocaeen bowls: *Hayes type 3* (T. II, 5)<sup>38</sup> referring to different variants of vessels with low hemispherical body on a low ring base and vertical, slightly concave hanging rim, often decorated with incisions, reticulate motif or a wavy line. The example from Gradina most likely belongs to *E* or *F* variants of the type with a decoration executed by a toothed wheel, dated to the period from the end of the 5th to the mid-6th century.<sup>39</sup>

However, the most interesting fragment of the Phocaeen pottery is definitely the one whose base bears an impressed human figure with raised right hand in greeting (Fig. 5).<sup>40</sup> Identical depiction was recorded on vessels from Tell en-Nasbeha and the Athenian acropolis,<sup>41</sup> where a sherd was found on which this motif was combined with a cross depiction.<sup>42</sup> Human figures on Phocaeen pottery are rather rare, dating to the end of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century,<sup>43</sup> which is also the range of dating the Gradina example. It is difficult to say who is represented by this figure, and uncertain interpretation of the circle around the head led I. Pedišić to see St Michael in the

<sup>34</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 323–324; D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 233–250; M. A. CAU, P. REYNOLDS, M. BONIFAY, 2011, 6.

<sup>35</sup> D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 242–246.

<sup>36</sup> O fokejskoj keramici na tlu Italije kod A. MARTIN, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> Neki od lokaliteta su *Ad basilicas pictas* (M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 68–69), Dioklecijanova palača (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 94), Salona (J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994a, 266), Gata (M. KATIĆ, 1994a, 205–206), Naron (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 114, 140), Hvar (M. KATIĆ, 2001, 29–37), Morigorjelo (I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1952, 241–271), Polače (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141) i Ošlje – Gradac (J. BARAKA PERICA, N. GRBIĆ, 2019, 161).

<sup>38</sup> Te zdjele čine 80 do 90% ukupne produkcije fokejske keramike iz druge polovine 5. i prve polovine 6. stoljeća, a na istočnom Jadranu su zabilježene na svim u prethodnoj bilješci navedenim lokalitetima.

<sup>39</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 333–338; D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 235.

<sup>40</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 100–101.

<sup>36</sup> On the Phocaeen pottery in Italy see A. MARTIN, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> Some of the sites are: *Ad basilicas pictas* (M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 68–69), Diocletian's Palace (I. DVORŽAK SCHRUNK, 1989, 94), Salona (J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994a, 266), Gata (M. KATIĆ, 1994a, 205–206), Naron (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 114, 140), Hvar (M. KATIĆ, 2001, 29–37), Morigorjelo (I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1952, 241–271), Polače (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141) and Ošlje–Gradac (J. BARAKA PERICA, N. GRBIĆ, 2019, 161).

<sup>38</sup> These bowls constitute 80–90% of the total production of the Phocaeen pottery from the second half of the 5th and first half of the 6th century, and in the eastern Adriatic they were recorded at all sites mentioned in the previous footnote.

<sup>39</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 333–338; D. GANDOLFI, 2005, 235.

<sup>40</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 100–101.

<sup>41</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362, motif n. 57; <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/card/p-2507-1?q=P%202507&t=&v=list&sort=&s=2> (10. 3. 2020).

<sup>42</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362; <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/card/p-2508-1?q=P%202508&t=&v=list&sort=&s=2> (10. 3. 2020).

<sup>43</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 348.

ske akropole,<sup>41</sup> odakle potječe i primjerak na kojem je ovaj motiv kombiniran s prikazom križa.<sup>42</sup> Općenito pojava ljudskih figura na fokejskoj keramici dosta je rijetka, a datira se kroz kraj 5. i prvu polovicu 6. stoljeća,<sup>43</sup> što je raspon datiranja i ulomka s Gradine. O tome koga predstavlja izvedeni lik teško je suditi, a upitno tumačenje kruga oko glave kao aureole navelo je I. Pedišića da u njemu vidi sv. Mihovila.<sup>44</sup> Činjenica je da se među poznatim ljudskim motivima s fokejske keramike svetcu kao takvi ne pojavljuju, a najbliže toj ulozi jesu rijetki prikazi svećenika u stavu *in orans*, dakle u halji s dvije uzdignute ruke.<sup>45</sup> Kod afričke se keramike oni pak javljaju od 530. godine do početka 7. stoljeća, ali uglavnom dodatno „obogaćeni“ prikazom križa u lijevoj ruci, s desnom položenom na prsima ili podignutom u znak pozdravljanja ili čina blagoslivljanja.<sup>46</sup>

Fokejskoj keramici s obzirom na tehničke osobine najvjerojatnije pripadaju i dva ulomka donjeg dijela posuda izrazito tankih stijenki s ravnim dnom na niskoj, gotovo nedostajućoj prstenastoj nozi (T. II, 6) te zaobljenim donjim dijelom tijela (T. II, 7). Kojem tipu ulomci pripadaju teško je reći jer navedeni morfološki detalji odgovaraju čitavom nizu mogućnosti. Ipak, njihovo je bilježenje važno radi stjecanja dojma o ukupnoj zastupljenosti fokejske keramike na lokalitetu.

Među materijalom s Gradine izdvaja se nekoliko ulomaka koje nije bilo moguće svrstati ni u jednu poznatu kategoriju kasnoantičkog stolnog posuđa. Uglavnom je riječ o ulomcima vrčeva različitih morfoloških i fabrikatnih odlika. Ulomak dna na T. III, 1 moguće nosi nečitki slikani natpis (*titulus pictus*), a u kate-

<sup>41</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362, n. 57; <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/card/p-2507-1?q=P%202507&t=&v=list&sort=&s=2> (10. 3. 2020).

<sup>42</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362; <http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/card/p-2508-1?q=P%202508&t=&v=list&sort=&s=2> (10. 3. 2020).

<sup>43</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 348.

<sup>44</sup> Izvjesnije je ipak da je krug oko glave dio ruba pečata na što može ukazivati linija istog profila koja obilazi čitav lik.

<sup>45</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362, motif 58.

<sup>46</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 222 i 227, motif 232–239.



SLIKA 5. Ulomak fokejske keramike s Gradine (foto: A. Karadole).

FIGURE 5 A fragment of Phocaean pottery from Gradina (photo: A. Karadole).

figure.<sup>44</sup> The fact is that saints are not included in the repertory of known anthropomorphic motifs on the Phocaean pottery. Closest to this role are rare depictions of priests *in orans* posture, in a robe with raised hands.<sup>45</sup> On African pottery they appear from the year 530 to the beginning of the 7th century, but usually they are “enriched” with a depiction of cross in the left hand, while the right hand is on the chest or raised in greeting or blessing.<sup>46</sup>

Two pieces of lower part of vessels with very thin walls and flat base on a low, almost missing ring base (T. II, 6) and rounded lower part of the body (T. II, 7) probably belong to Phocaean pottery judging from the technical characteristics. It is difficult to determine the type they belong to since mentioned morphological details open up a number of possibilities. However, it is important to mention them in the context of the total number of Phocaean pottery sherds at the site.

Several fragments from Gradina could not be classified into any of the known categories of late antique tableware. Mostly these are fragments of jugs with different fabric and

<sup>44</sup> It is more likely that the circle around the head is a part of the stamp edge as suggested by the line of the same profile encircling the entire figure.

<sup>45</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 362, motif 58.

<sup>46</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 222 and 227, motif 232–239.

goriju dna mogu se uvrstiti i ulomci na T. III, 4 i 5. Manjim vrčevima pripadaju i ulomci na T. II, 8 i 9. Ulomci oboda na T. II, 10 i T. III, 2 i 3 zanimljivi su po svojoj finoći izvedbe, iako svojom morfologijom odgovaraju pojedinih tipovima amfora.

Prikazani repertoar finog i ostalog stolnog posuđa iz bizantske utvrde Gradina je s obzirom na karakter lokaliteta i poznate povijesne okolnosti te njima uzrokovane trgovačke trendove realan i očekivan. Osim nekoliko posuda zatvorenih formi neodredivog podrijetla, moguće dijelom i lokalnog, vidljivo je da među finim posuđem dopremanim iz sjevernoafričkog i fokejskog proizvodnog kruga prevladavaju otvorene forme posuda, dakle zdjele i tanjuri. Afrički materijal prema tipologiji zabilježenog posuđa pokriva puno širi vremenski raspon od sredine 5. do 7. stoljeća, dok je onaj fokejski kronološki dosta usko određen u kraj 5./prvu polovicu 6. stoljeća. Pojava relativno ranog sjevernoafričkog materijala mala je enigma s obzirom na pretpostavljeni datum nastanka utvrde u vrijeme Justinijana I., o čemu će se nešto reći u zaključku članka. Generalno gledano, iako brojčani uzorak ni jedne ni druge kategorije finog stolnog posuđa nije pretjerano reprezentativan on se svojom tipologijom idealno uklapa u već prije uspostavljenu dinamiku dotoka ove vrste keramičkih proizvoda na istočni Jadran, čemu svjedoče navedene analogije s ovdašnjih lokaliteta.

## KUHINJSKA KERAMIKA

Sljedeća, ujedno i najbrojnija kategorija keramičkih predmeta s utvrde Gradina jest ona kuhinjska, tipološki predstavljena različitim oblicima lonaca, zdjela, tava i poklopaca. Tehnološki je riječ o proizvodima u čijoj se strukturi pojavljuje dosta sekundarno dodanih primjesa, posebno kvarc, kalcijev karbonat i tinjac i to radi uravnoteženja gubitka mase pri sušenju, postizanja termalne stabilnosti pri pečenju, ali i korištenja posuđa, neporoznosti

morphological characteristics. Fragment of a base on T. III, 1 possibly bears an illegible painted inscription (*titulus pictus*). Fragments on T. III, 4 and 5 also belong to the category of bases. Juglets are represented by sherds on T. II, 8 and 9. Rim fragments on T. II, 10 and T. III, 2 and 3 stand out due to their fine rendering, although their morphology corresponds to certain types of amphorae.

Presented repertory of fine and other tableware from the Byzantine fort of Gradina is expected and realistic given the site character, known historical circumstances and related trade trends. Except for several vessels of closed forms and indeterminable provenance, possibly partly local, it is evident that open forms such as plates and bowls prevail among fine tableware shipped from north African and Phocaeen production circle. Judging from typology of recovered pottery, African material covers much broader chronological span from the mid-5th to the 7th century, while the Phocaeen finds are chronologically strictly limited to the end of the 5th and first half of the 6th century. Presence of relatively early north African material represents a sort of an enigma if we have in mind the assumed date of the fort construction in the period of Justinian I, which will be further addressed in the conclusion. In general terms, although neither one nor the other sample of fine tableware category is really representative in terms of numbers, still they correspond with their typologies to earlier established dynamics of inflow of this kind of ceramic products to the eastern Adriatic, as attested by the mentioned analogies from the local sites.

## COOKINGWARE

The following, and the most numerous category of pottery objects from fort Gradina is cookingware, represented by various forms of pots, bowls, pans and lids in terms. Their structure shows a lot of secondarily added

i drugog. Obrada ove vrste keramičkih predmeta otežana je činjenicom što u domaćoj stručnoj literaturi ona nije dobila dovoljno prostora, pa izostaje konkretan komparativni materijal koji bi olakšao njezino usustavljivanje na užim i širim prostornim i vremenskim nivoima. To se posebno odnosi na dominantnu grupu ovdje zabilježene kasnoantičke kuhinjske keramike. Nju čine lonci grube sive, crvenkaste, smeđe ili crne strukture pune različitih uglatih primjesa (T. IV, 1-11; T. V, 1-6).<sup>47</sup> Morfološki se odlikuju niskim trbušastim tijelom, ravnim i širokim dnom, zaobljenim ramenom, stegnutim vratom te uglavnom širokim izvijenim ravno odrezanim obodom, u pojedinim slučajevima tek lagano naglašenim. Čini se da većina lonaca ovog tipa nije imala ručke, iako dva ulomka s Gradine pokazuju da je bilo i takvih primjeraka, jedino što nije jasno je li samo s jednom ili pak dvjema (T. V, 4 i 5). Na vanjskim stijenkama znaju se pojaviti gušće ili rjeđe te pliće ili dublje horizontalne brazde, vjerojatno trag nazubljena keramičarskog alata korištenog pri oblikovanju posude na brzrotirajućem kolu (T. IV, 5; T. V, 4; T. VI, 2).<sup>48</sup> Ovaj tip kuhinjske keramike prepoznatljiv je i po pojavi urezane dekoracije i to najčešće u vidu kontinuirane jednostruke, dvostruke ili višestruke oble ili uglate valovnice položene na rame ili trbuh posude (T. IV, 4, 6-11; T. V, 2 i 5).<sup>49</sup> Ulomak na T. V, 1 dokazuje izvedbu i nešto složenijih kombinatornih dekorativnih sistema, u ovom slučaju višestruke, gotovo arkadne valovnice s gornje i donje strane oivičene također višestruko horizontalno raščlanjenim trakama, moguće izvedenima nekom vrstom češlja. Posebnu dekoraciju nadalje prikazuje ulomak na T. V, 4 kod kojeg se na vratu posude pojavljuju kapljičasti motivi izvedeni ubadanjem.<sup>50</sup>

inclusions, in particular quartz, calcium carbonate and mica, in order to balance reduction of mass while drying, or to obtain thermal stability in firing and use of vessels, for non-porosity etc. Study of this type of pottery is complicated by the fact that it did not receive enough attention in local professional literature, so there is no specific comparative material that might facilitate its systematization at more limited or broader spatial and chronological levels. This refers in particular to the dominant group of late antique cookingware recorded here. It comprises greyish, reddish, brown or black pots with coarse structure (T. IV, 1-11; T. V, 1-6).<sup>47</sup> Their morphological characteristics include low squat body, flat and wide base, rounded shoulder, constricted neck and mostly wide, everted, flatly cut rim, occasionally only slightly emphasized. It seems that most pots of this type had no handles, though two sherds from Gradina show that there were such examples as well, but it remains unclear if they had one or two handles (T. V, 4 and 5). Horizontal grooves of varying density and depth can sometimes be found on outer walls, probably as a trace of toothed potter's tool used in modeling the vessel on fast rotating potter's wheel (T. IV, 5; T. V, 4; T. VI, 2).<sup>48</sup> This type of cooking pottery is recognizable for inscribed decoration, usually as continuous single, double or multiple rounded or angled wavy line laid on the shoulder or belly of the vessel (T. IV, 4, 6-11; T. V, 2 and 5).<sup>49</sup> Fragment on T. V, 1 testifies to modeling of somewhat more complex combinations of decorative systems, in this case multiple, almost arcade-like wavy line bordered on the upper and lower side with horizontally organized bands, possibly executed with a sort of a comb. Special decoration is illustrated by a fragment on T. V, 4 decorated

<sup>47</sup> Različite boje glinene strukture kuhinjskih lonaca rezultat su uvjeta njihova sigurno redukcijskog načina pečenja.

<sup>48</sup> Nešto slično se pojavljuje i na području Istre (B. MARUŠIĆ, 1986, 72, Sl. 9, br. 2).

<sup>49</sup> Više o razvoju valovnice na kuhinjskoj keramici na alpskom području vidjeti kod Z. MODRIJAN, 2011, 197-200.

<sup>50</sup> Sličan ukras pronađen je i na slovenskim nalazištima Ko-

<sup>47</sup> Different colors of the kitchenware pots structure resulted from firing conditions that involve reduction.

<sup>48</sup> Something similar was recorded in the Istria region (B. MARUŠIĆ, 1986, 72, Fig. 9, no. 2).

<sup>49</sup> More on the development of wavy line on kitchenware in the Alpine region in Z. MODRIJAN, 2011, 197-200.

Na nekoliko ulomaka oboda te dna primjećuje se perforiranje stijenki (T. IV, 1; T. V, 2-3, 5; T. VII, 4), koje u dvama slučajevima nije izvedeno do kraja. To se posebno dobro vidi kod ulomka kojem je u rupi ostao vrh svrdla (T. IV, 1). Potonji slučaj, ali i izgled rupa upućuju na to da su izuzev perforacije na ulomku s T. VII, 4 sve rađene na već gotovim posudama, dakle *post cocturam*. Općenito se smatra da su se rupice bušile radi spajanja stijenki oštećenih posuda, no nije isključeno da je kroz njih uglavljivana ručka radi lakše manipulacije loncem ili njegova vješanja nad vatrom.

Istoj grupi kuhinjske keramike pripadaju i četiri ulomka poklopaca (T. VII, 4-7). Čini se da u svim slučajevima govorimo o poklopcima konična tijela, s tim da ulomci na T. VII, 5 i 6 sugeriraju jednostavno oblikovan ravno odrezani obod, a onaj na T. VII, 7 diskoidnu dršku. Potonji, zajedno s ulomkom na T. VII, 4, pokazuje da su poklopci ukrašavani istim urezanim motivima kao i lonci.<sup>51</sup>

Treći zabilježeni oblik u okviru ove grupe keramike odnosi se na ulomak izljeva ili pak utora za ručku tave izvijenog oboda (T. VII, 3).

Opisana grupa kuhinjske keramike odlika je kasnoantičkog razdoblja čitavog jadranskog i perijadranskog, posebice jugoistočnoalpskog područja (Austrija, Slovenija i sjeverna Italija).<sup>52</sup> U literaturi se prema lokaciji nalaza često naziva i keramika tipa *Classe*.<sup>53</sup> Važno je napomenuti kako se slični proizvodi nalaze i na puno širem, gotovo panmediteranskom teritoriju,<sup>54</sup> što nije iznenađujuće jer se opisani oblici, ali i modeli dekoracije pojavljuju na mnogim kuhinjskim proizvodima još od ra-

by drop-shaped motifs executed by pricking on the vessel neck.<sup>50</sup>

Wall perforations can be noticed on several base sherds (T. IV, 1; T. V, 2-3, 5; T. VII, 4), that were not finished in two cases. This is easily visible on the fragment in which drill point was left in the perforation (T. IV, 1). The latter case, and the look of the perforations suggest that they were all made on finished vessels (*post cocturam*) except for perforation on T. VII, 4. It is believed that these holes were pierced to join walls of damaged vessels, but it is possible that a handle was attached through them to facilitate use of the pot or its hanging over fire.

Four lid fragments (T. VII, 4-7) belong to the same category of cookingware. It seems that we have lids with conical body in all cases, but fragments on T. VII, 5 and 6 suggest simply straightly cut rim, and the one on T. VII, 7 a discoid handle. The latter, together with fragment on T. VII, 4, shows that lids were decorated with identical inscribed motifs as the pots.<sup>51</sup>

The third form in this pottery group refers to a fragment of spout or groove for a pan handle with everted rim (T. VII, 3).

Described assemblage of cooking pottery is characteristic of Late Antiquity in the entire Adriatic and Periadriatic region, in particular southeastern Alpine region (Austria, Slovenia and northern Italy).<sup>52</sup> In the literature it is often referred to as *Classe* type pottery.<sup>53</sup> It is worth mentioning that similar products can be found in much wider, almost pan-Mediterranean area,<sup>54</sup> which is not surprising since

rinjski hrib nad Velikim Korinjem i Ajdna nad Potoki (S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 95, Sl. 102-4 i 116-14).

<sup>51</sup> Usp. V. DEGRASSI, D. GADDI, L. MANDRUZZATO, 2007, 505, fig. 2/11.

<sup>52</sup> S. PAHIČ, 1980, 89-132; V. BIERBRAUER, 1987, 187-228; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 59-145; C. CORTI, 2005, 355-356; V. DEGRASSI, D. GADDI, L. MANDRUZZATO, 2007, 505-506, fig. 2.

<sup>53</sup> S. GELICHI, 1998, 481-485; S. SANTORO, 2007, 375, fig. 6; M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 624; L. BEKIĆ, 2017, 41.

<sup>54</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 262.

<sup>50</sup> Similar decoration was found at the Slovenian sites Korinjski hrib nad Velikim Korinjem and Ajdna nad Potoki (S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 95, Fig. 102-4 and 116-14).

<sup>51</sup> Usp. V. DEGRASSI, D. GADDI, L. MANDRUZZATO, 2007, 505, fig. 2/11.

<sup>52</sup> S. PAHIČ, 1980, 89-132; V. BIERBRAUER, 1987, 187-228; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 59-145; C. CORTI 2005, 355-356; V. DEGRASSI, D. GADDI, L. MANDRUZZATO, 2007, 505-506, fig. 2.

<sup>53</sup> S. GELICHI, 1998, 481-485; S. SANTORO, 2007, 375, fig. 6; M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 624; L. BEKIĆ, 2017, 41.

<sup>54</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 262.

nocarskog razdoblja. Danas prevladava znanstveni konsenzus kako ova kategorija kasnoantičke kuhinjske keramike nije bila predmetom masovne širokoskalne trgovine proistekle iz jedne ili manjeg broja većih radionica, već da je postojao veći broj manjih koje su zadovoljavale potrebe regionalnih potrošača.<sup>55</sup> Njihov realan broj kao i odlike svake pojedine, u nedostatku konkretnih arheoloških pokazatelja, bit će moguće odrediti tek implementiranjem modernih analiza sastava gline i tehnike pečenja. Gotovo je sigurno da su neke od radionica, koje su prakticirale proizvodnju ove vrste kuhinjske keramike, djelovale i na istočnom Jadranu gdje je broj kasnoantičkih lokaliteta na kojima se ona bilježi sve veći. Analogije ulomcima sa žirajske Gradine pronalazimo na prostorno manje ili više, ali kronološki vrlo bliskim lokalitetima, npr. dvojnim crkvama u Srimi-Prižba ili npr. donjem toku rijeke Krke ispod brda Tradanj, odakle dolazi lonac s dvije ručke.<sup>56</sup> Nadalje, s njima se mogu usporediti i nalazi kod rta Pernata na otoku Cresu,<sup>57</sup> zatim oni s opet starokršćanskih lokaliteta *Ad basilicas pictas* u Splitu<sup>58</sup> i Gata kod Omiša,<sup>59</sup> urbanih Jadere<sup>60</sup> i Varvarije,<sup>61</sup> ali i ruralnih Banjača<sup>62</sup> i Hvara.<sup>63</sup> Također, brojni su istarski lokaliteti na kojima se ona bilježi, npr. sv. Cecilija kod Gurana,<sup>64</sup> Nezakcij,<sup>65</sup> te Krvavići – Boškini.<sup>66</sup> Ono što je važno naglasiti jest da se među ma-

the described forms, and models of decoration appear on a number of kitchen products back from the Early Imperial period. At present scientific consensus has been reached that this category of late antique cookingware was not a product of wide-scale trade originating from one big workshop or small number of bigger ones, but that needs of regional consumers were met by a bigger number of smaller workshops.<sup>55</sup> It will be possible to determine their actual number and characteristics of each of them only after implementing modern analyses of clay composition and firing techniques. It is almost certain that some of the workshops that produced this kind of cookingware, were active in the eastern Adriatic where the number of late antique sites with finds of this type is growing. Analogies for the fragments from Gradina in Žirje can be found at corresponding sites in terms of chronology such as double churches in Srima-Prižba or e.g. lower course of the Krka river under Tradanj hill where a pot with two handles was found.<sup>56</sup> Other analogous finds include sherds from cape Pernat on the island of Cres,<sup>57</sup> then the ones from the early Christian sites *Ad basilicas pictas* in Split<sup>58</sup> and Gata near Omiš,<sup>59</sup> urban Iadera<sup>60</sup> and Varvaria,<sup>61</sup> but also rural sites in Banjače,<sup>62</sup> and Hvar.<sup>63</sup> There is also a number of Istrian sites with this kind of finds such as Sv. Cecilija near Guran,<sup>64</sup> Nezakcij,<sup>65</sup> and Krvavići – Boš-

<sup>55</sup> V. BIERBRAUER, 1987, 190; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 60, 133; Z. MODRIJAN, 2011, 208.

<sup>56</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 263.

<sup>57</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980, 78–80.

<sup>58</sup> M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> V. KOVAČIĆ, 1994, 254–258. S ovog lokaliteta potječu i morfološki identični lonci, ali izrađeni ručno: V. KOVAČIĆ, 1994, 255.

<sup>60</sup> L. BEKIĆ, 2017, 41.

<sup>61</sup> Pri analizi ranosrednjovjekovne keramike s Bribira V. Delonga posebno naglašava izrazitu zastupljenost mlađih oblika kasnoantičke keramike: V. DELONGA, 1996, 56.

<sup>62</sup> I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ, 2018, 157–159.

<sup>63</sup> M. KATIĆ, 1999, 29, 34–35.

<sup>64</sup> P. RUFFIEUX, 2010, 266. S ovog lokaliteta <sup>14</sup>C datum povezan sa stratumima u kojima je pronađena ova vrsta keramike pokazuje razdoblje od početka 5. do sredine 7. stoljeća.

<sup>65</sup> B. MARUŠIĆ, 1986, 70–75.

<sup>66</sup> L. BEKIĆ, 2007, 138–140.

<sup>55</sup> V. BIERBRAUER, 1987, 190; S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 60,133; Z. MODRIJAN, 2011, 208.

<sup>56</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 263.

<sup>57</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980, 78–80.

<sup>58</sup> M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> V. KOVAČIĆ, 1994, 254–258. This site yielded identical pots in terms of morphology, only handbuilt: V. KOVAČIĆ, 1994, 255.

<sup>60</sup> L. BEKIĆ, 2017, 41.

<sup>61</sup> In the analysis of the early medieval pottery from Bribir, V. Delonga emphasized prominent presence of younger forms of late antique pottery: V. DELONGA, 1996, 56.

<sup>62</sup> I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ, 2018, 157–159.

<sup>63</sup> M. KATIĆ, 1999, 29, 34–35.

<sup>64</sup> P. RUFFIEUX, 2010, 266. <sup>14</sup>C date from this site, associated with the layers containing this kind of pottery indicates the period from the early 5th to the mid-7th century.

<sup>65</sup> B. MARUŠIĆ, 1986, 70–75.

terijalom s pojedinih navedenih lokaliteta uz zadržavanje osnovnih morfoloških i dekorativnih odlika ponekad primjećuju i manje razlike, što je još jedan argument spomenutoj ideji o decentralizaciji proizvodnje. Nije naodmet spomenuti kako je izvjesno da su upravo te radionice utjecale na novopridošlo hrvatsko/slavensko stanovništvo kod kojeg se u nešto rustičnijim varijantama pojavljuju elementi upravo opisane kasnoantičke keramike, posebice dekor višestruke valovnice.<sup>67</sup>

Osim opisane prevladavajuće grupe, među kuhinjskom keramikom s Gradine pojavljuju se i pojedinačni ulomci koji svojim morfološkim i fabrikatnim odlikama odudaraju i prizivaju zaključak o drukčijem podrijetlu. Prema nađenim morfo-fabrikatnim analogijama čini se da se jednoj manjoj grupi predmeta ono možda može tražiti na egejsko-istočnomediterranskom prostoru. U nju spada široko izvijeni obod lonca s rebrastom profilacijom na unutrašnjoj stijenci kao podlogom za poklopac (T. VII, 1), te gornji dio lonca s kratkim izvijenim obodom, kratkom jezičastom ručkom povezanim s trbušatim tijelom (T. VIII, 2). Osim analogija u ravenskoj luci Classe datiranima između kraja 5. i prve polovice 6. stoljeća,<sup>68</sup> za onaj prvi one su nađene i među efeškom keramikom s kraja 5. stoljeća,<sup>69</sup> ali i onom iz Olbije na Sardiniji, gdje je evidentirana u kontekstu s kraja 4. i prve polovice 5. stoljeća,<sup>70</sup> ili pak Benghazija u slojevima 6. stoljeća.<sup>71</sup> Kemijske analize potonjih utvrdile su da im se podrijetlo mora tražiti u radionicama egejskog kruga, konkretnije Kiklada i Anatolije.<sup>72</sup> Fabrikatno gledano istom bi se radioničkom krugu mogli dodati i ulomci bikonične zdjele blago narebrene površine s horizontalno položenim trakastim ručkama (T. VIII, 3). Izravne analogije njoj nisu pronađene, ali slično oblikovanje tijela s manjim

kini.<sup>66</sup> It is important to emphasize that slight differences can be noticed among the finds from certain mentioned sites but retaining basic morphological and decorative characteristics, which is another argument supporting the aforementioned idea about the decentralization of production. It is worth mentioning that exactly these workshops influenced newly arrived Croatian/Slavic population that used elements of previously described late antique pottery in somewhat more rustic variants, in particular multiple wavy line motifs.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to the described dominant group, cookingware from Gradina comprises individual finds that stand out in terms of their morphological characteristics and fabric, suggesting different provenance. Aegean / eastern Mediterranean area might be the area of origin of a small group of objects, judging from morphological and fabric analogies. These finds include widely everted rim of a pot with ribbed profilation on the inner wall as the base for the lid (T. VII, 1), and the upper part of a pot with short everted rim and short semicircular handle connected with squat body (T. VIII, 2). The former sherd has analogies in Classe, ancient port of Ravenna, dated between the end of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century;<sup>68</sup> in the pottery from Ephesus from the end of the 5th century,<sup>69</sup> and pottery from Olbia in Sardinia, where it was recorded in the context from the end of the 4th and first half of the 5th century,<sup>70</sup> or in Benghazi in the 6th-century layers.<sup>71</sup> Chemical analyses of these fragments indicated that their provenance should be looked for in the workshops of the Aegean circle, more specifically Cyclades and Anatolia.<sup>72</sup> Sherds of a biconical bowl with slightly ribbed surface and horizontal strap handles (T. VIII, 3) might be

<sup>67</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980, 78–80; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 261–263.

<sup>68</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 628, 631.

<sup>69</sup> P. TURNOVSKY, 2005, 636, 640, fig. 1, crteži 3, 6, 7, 14.

<sup>70</sup> J.-C. TRÉGLIA, 2005, 299–300, 305, fig. 1, crteži 3–6.

<sup>71</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 270–271, cat. no. 549–550.

<sup>72</sup> J.-C. TRÉGLIA, 2005, 300.

<sup>66</sup> L. BEKIĆ, 2007, 138–140.

<sup>67</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980, 78–80; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 261–263.

<sup>68</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 628, 631.

<sup>69</sup> P. TURNOVSKY, 2005, 636, 640, fig. 1, drawings 3, 6, 7, 14.

<sup>70</sup> J.-C. TRÉGLIA, 2005, 299–300, 305, fig. 1, drawings 3–6.

<sup>71</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 270–271, cat. no. 549–550.

<sup>72</sup> J.-C. TRÉGLIA, 2005, 300.

dimenzijama i bez ručki zabilježeno je na nekim posudama iz Španjolske<sup>73</sup> te Italije.<sup>74</sup> Nadalje, zanimljivi su ulomci posude jako tankih stijenki gusto prošaranih rebrima, zaobljena dna i okomita oboda (T. VIII, 5). Takve uvelike slične nekim oblicima istočnomediteranskih amfora, posebno tipu *Late Roman 5*, od kojih se ovaj ulomak razlikuje po tome što iz njegova oboda izlaze trakaste ručke. Analogni materijal iz Beiruta<sup>75</sup> i luke Classe<sup>76</sup> upućuje na njihovo istočnomediteransko podrijetlo i to povezano s razdobljem kraja 5. i prve polovice 6. stoljeća.<sup>77</sup>

Drugi kulturni krug na kojem se može tražiti podrijetlo manje količine kuhinjske keramike s Gradine jest onaj sjevernoafrički. Njemu se pak pridaje ulomak lonca visokog okomito položenog konveksno oblikovanog oboda (T. VIII, 1), za koji se analogije opet nalaze u slojevima 5. i prve polovice 6. stoljeća ravenske luke Classe.<sup>78</sup> Tu je zatim i djelomično očuvana *casserola* zaobljenog dna, trbušastog tijela i širokog oboda naglašenog prstenasto zaobljenim rebrom (T. VIII, 7). Glina je dobro pročišćena i tvrdo pečena, a s obje strane su vidljivi tanki slojevi crvenog premaza, što odgovara sjevernoafričkim odlikama fabrikata. Morfološki se analogije nalaze među tzv. Pantelleria posuđem,<sup>79</sup> a sličnost se primjećuje i s formom *Ostia I*, fig. 268 i 269,<sup>80</sup> s tim da je gradinski primjerak manji od navedenih. U ovu se kategoriju ponajviše zbog fabrikatnih odlika moraju uvrstiti i dva ulomka poklopaca. Onaj s T. II, 1 nosi premaz samo s unutrašnje strane tankih stijenki, dok drugi s T. II, 4 podsjeća na poklopce iz kategorije kuhinjske keramike tipa *Black Top Lid D*.<sup>81</sup>

Ostale ulomke kuhinjske keramike prije svega zbog specifičnog fabrikata u ovom trenutku

attributed to the same workshop circle judging from the fabric (T. VIII, 3). Direct analogies have not been found, but similar modeling of the body with smaller dimensions and without handles was recorded on some vessels from Spain,<sup>73</sup> and Italy.<sup>74</sup> Other interesting sherds include vessels with very thin walls decorated by dense ribs, with rounded base and vertical rim (T. VIII, 5), similar to certain forms of the eastern Mediterranean amphorae, in particular *Late Roman 5* type, but on this fragment strap handles come out of the rim. Analogous material from Beirut<sup>75</sup> and the port of Classe<sup>76</sup> suggests their eastern Mediterranean origin, dating to the period of the late 5th and the first half of the 6th century.<sup>77</sup>

Provenance of a smaller assemblage of cooking pottery from Gradina could be associated with north African cultural circle. One of such finds is a fragment of pot with vertical convex rim (T. VIII, 1), with analogies once more in the layers of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century in the port of Classe in Ravenna.<sup>78</sup> There is also partially preserved casserole with rounded base, squat body and wide rim emphasized with an annular rounded rib (T. VIII, 7). Clay is well purified and hard fired, and thin layers of red slip are visible on both sides corresponding to north African fabric characteristics. Morphological analogies can be found in Pantelleria ware,<sup>79</sup> and similarities are noticed with *Ostia I* form, fig. 268 and 269,<sup>80</sup> the example from Gradina being smaller than the mentioned ones. Two lid sherds need to be included in this category primarily due to fabric characteristics. The one on T. II, 1 has slip only on the inner side of thin walls, while the other on T. II, 4 resembles lids from the cat-

<sup>73</sup> A. BACARIA et al., 2005, 191; F. AMORES et al., 2007, 157.

<sup>74</sup> C. CORTI, 2005, 367.

<sup>75</sup> S. Y. WAKSMAN et al., 2005, 320.

<sup>76</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 632, fig. 6. (7).

<sup>77</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 624.

<sup>78</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, fig. 6, 1-6.

<sup>79</sup> S. SANTORO BIANCHI, 2005, 344, Tav. 1/1.

<sup>80</sup> OSTIA I, 1968.

<sup>81</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 226.

<sup>73</sup> A. BACARIA et al., 2005, 191; F. AMORES et al., 2007, 157.

<sup>74</sup> C. CORTI, 2005, 367.

<sup>75</sup> S. Y. WAKSMAN et al., 2005, 320.

<sup>76</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 632, fig. 6. (7).

<sup>77</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, 624.

<sup>78</sup> M. CAVALAZZI, E. FABBRI, 2010, fig. 6, 1-6.

<sup>79</sup> S. SANTORO BIANCHI, 2005, 344, Tav. 1/1.

<sup>80</sup> OSTIA I, 1968.

nije bilo moguće povezati s nekim konkretnijim radioničkim regijama. Među takvima je npr. lonac s izvijenim obodom te rebrom kao podlogom za poklopac (T. VII, 2),<sup>82</sup> ili pak lonac također izvijenog oboda s jako naglašenim rebrom na kontaktu s ramenom posude (T. VI, 1), te ulomak posude otvorene forme, vjerojatno zdjele s prstenastom nogom (T. VIII, 6). Ulomak lonca s izvijenim obodom raščlanjenim utiscima na T. VIII, 4 najvjerojatnije pripada kasnom srednjem vijeku,<sup>83</sup> no slični oblici posuđa ponekad se nalaze i u kasnoantičkim slojevima.<sup>84</sup>

Zaključno se može ponoviti kako kuhinjskoj keramici pripada najveći broj keramičkih ulomaka s Gradine, što je i očekivano s obzirom na naseobinski karakter lokaliteta. Logično je pretpostaviti da je njezina nabava u najvećoj mjeri bila obavljena iz nekih utvrđi najbližih proizvodnih izvora, dakle regionalnih radionica koje su očito pratile proizvodnu „modu“ forsiranja grubih i jednostavnih lonaca s karakterističnim dekorom u vidu urezanih valovnica. No isto tako ne treba zanemariti ni mogućnost dopreme iz nekih relativno udaljenijih radionica, npr. onih sjevernoitalskih i to posebice zbog vojničkog karaktera utvrde koji se odmah može povezati sa službenim kanalima nabave svih vrsta vojnih potreba, pa tako i onih povezanih s kulinarskom praksom. Čini se izvjesnim kako manja količina kuhinjskog materijala dolazi iz sjevernoafričkih i egejskoistočnomediterranskih radionica. To je i očekivano jer je riječ o regijama u kojima se nalazi podrijetlo i nekih drugih keramičkih oblika zabilježenih na Gradini. Stoga ih se može smatrati subsidijarnim teretom brodova kojima je onaj primarni ipak bio iz domene prehrambenih namirnica dijelom prevoženih u amforama, o kojima će biti riječi u sljedećim redcima.

egory of kitchenware Black Top Lid type D.<sup>81</sup>

Other fragments of cookingware could not be associated with some more specific workshop areas primarily due to specific fabric, such as a pot with everted rim and rib as lid base (T. VII, 2),<sup>82</sup> or a pot with everted rim and strongly pronounced rib at the contact with the vessel shoulder (T. VI, 1), and a fragment of an open form vessel, probably a bowl on ring base (T. VIII, 6). Fragment of a pot with everted rim decorated with impressions on T. VIII, 4 most probably belongs to the Late Middle Ages,<sup>83</sup> but similar pottery forms can occasionally be found in late antique layers.<sup>84</sup>

Finally we can conclude that cookingware constitutes the biggest number of pottery sherds from Gradina, as expected considering the settlement character of the site. It is logical to assume that it was procured from the production sources closest to the fort, meaning regional workshops that obviously supported the production “trend” of manufacturing coarse and simple pots with characteristic decoration of inscribed wavy lines. However we should also consider the possibility of shipping from some relatively distant workshops, e.g. the ones from northern Italy, in particular because of the military character of the fort that can be immediately associated with official procurement channels for all sorts of military needs, including cooking utensils. It seems certain that a small amount of kitchenware was imported from north African and Aegean / eastern Mediterranean workshops as expected since the provenance of some other pottery forms recorded in Gradina can also be found in these regions. Therefore they can be considered as a subsidiary cargo on ships whose primary load was food transported in amphorae that will be discussed in continuation.

<sup>82</sup> Slični tip oboda primjećuje se na posudama s lokaliteta Tinje nad Loko pri Žusmu, ali ne u velikom broju (S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, T. 10).

<sup>83</sup> T. TKALČEC, 2010, 66, 159, 164; K. GUSAR, M. ČURKOVIĆ, 2011, 9, 17-19.

<sup>84</sup> S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 80, 132, 135.

<sup>81</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 226.

<sup>82</sup> Similar type of rim can be noticed on the vessels from the site of Tinje nad Loko pri Žusmu, but they are rather scarce (S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, T. 10).

<sup>83</sup> T. TKALČEC, 2010, 66, 159, 164; K. GUSAR, M. ČURKOVIĆ, 2011, 9, 17-19.

<sup>84</sup> S. CIGLENEČKI, 2000, 80, 132, 135.

## AMFORE

Analiza većeg broja amfora s Gradine je dijelom otežana zbog velike fragmentiranosti materijala. Ipak, osnovne tipološke i fabrikatne odlike sugeriraju da većina njih potječe iz sjevernoafričkih i istočnomediteranskih radionica, što i nije iznenađenje s obzirom na kasnoantički vremenski kontekst kojem pripadaju.

U prvom slučaju je riječ o tipološki različitim proizvodima keramičarskih radionica aktivnih na području sjeverne Afrike u razdoblju od kraja 1. do 7. stoljeća. Tamošnje se amfore kao ambalaža za transport vina, maslinova ulja i riboprerađivačkih proizvoda u distribucijskom smislu na Mediteranu najintenzivnije pronalaze u kontekstima između 3. i 5. stoljeća, no brojni arheološki konteksti i na nama interesantnom Jadranu sugeriraju da se u nešto manjoj mjeri kao takve pojavljuju u vremenima koja prethode, ali i slijede navedeno.<sup>85</sup>

Specifična ciglasto crvena boja pečene gline i česti bijelo-žućkasti premaz na vanjskim stijenkama tijela sugeriraju da je količina sjevernoafričkih amfora na Gradini bila stabilna, dakle normalna pojava (T. IX, 5, 6; T. X, 1). Nažalost, riječ je uglavnom o ulomcima trbuha amfora i ručki koji nisu dostatni za njihovo tipološko određenje (Sl. 6).

Ipak, među takvom masom ulomaka izdvaja se i neveliki broj onih za koje je to moguće. Tako ulomak masivnog prstenastog oboda na T. IX, 5 pripada amfori tipa *Keay LXI*, koju osim navedenog odlikuje visoki konični vrat te izduženo vrečasto tijelo s profiliranim dugmetastim dnom.<sup>86</sup> Riječ je o amfori oleariji tuniškog podrijetla datiranoj tijekom 5. te posebno prve polovice 6. stoljeća. Zastupljenost ovog tipa amfore na Jadranu iznimno je rijetka te se može navesti samo jedan brodolom, onaj kod Piruza u Istri, u čijem se teretu pojavljuje.<sup>87</sup> Nadalje, tri ulomka prikazana na T. X, 1-3 naj-

<sup>85</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020.

<sup>86</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 303-309; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 140.

<sup>87</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 220-221.

## AMPHORAE

Analysis of a number of amphorae from Gradina is complicated by very fragmentary state of preservation. However basic typological and fabric characteristics suggest that most of them originate from north African and eastern Mediterranean workshops which is not surprising considering the late antique chronological context they belong to.

In the first case we have typologically diverse products of pottery workshops active in the north Africa region from the end of the 1st to the 7th century. Amphorae from this region were used as vessels for transport of wine, olive oil and fish products most intensively in the Mediterranean in the period from the 3rd to the 5th century, but many archaeological contexts in the Adriatic suggest that they were also present, not as frequently though, in the periods before and after the mentioned time span.<sup>85</sup>

Specific brick red color of fired clay and common white-yellowish slip on the outer walls of the body suggest that the amount of north African amphorae in Gradina was stable, meaning they were common goods (T. IX, 5, 6; T. X, 1). Unfortunately these are mostly sherds of amphora bellies and handles that are not sufficient for their typological identification (Fig. 6).

However in this bulk of fragments there are few that can be defined in terms of typology: fragment of a massive annular rim on T. IX, 5 belongs to a *Keay LXI* amphora that is characterized, in addition to the mentioned rim, by a high conical neck and elongated baggy body with profiled knob base.<sup>86</sup> This is an amphora olearia of Tunisian provenance dating to the 5th century and particularly the first half of the 6th century. This amphora is an exceptionally rare find in the Adriatic, and we can only mention one shipwreck (near Piruzi in Istria)

<sup>85</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020.

<sup>86</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 303-309; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 140.



SLIKA 6. Ulomci afričkih amfora s Gradine (foto: A. Karadole)

FIGURE 6 *Fragments of African amphorae from Gradina* (photo: A. Karadole)

vjerojatnije pripadaju tzv. spatejima (*spatheion*), također tuniškim amforama specifičnima po relativno malim dimenzijama, što se više ogleda u smislu njihova opsega nego visine. Tijekom proizvodnje od 4. do 7. stoljeća bile su korištene za transport većeg broja proizvoda, prema ranijim mišljenjima prevladavajućeg maslinova ulja,<sup>88</sup> ali danas putem najnovijih analiza i vina, konzerviranih maslina, ribljih preradevina, čak meda te leće.<sup>89</sup> Međusobne razlike u visini i oblikovanju oboda dovele su do izdvajanja triju osnovnih varijanti ovog tipa

in which it was recorded.<sup>87</sup> Three fragments on T. X, 1-3 most probably belong to the so-called *Spatheion* type, also Tunisian amphorae specific for relatively small dimensions, reflected more in their circumference than height. During their production from the 4th to the 7th century they were used for transport of a considerable number of products, mostly olive oil according to earlier hypotheses,<sup>88</sup> but more recent analyses suggest wine, preserved olives, fish products, and even honey and lentil.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 215.

<sup>89</sup> D. MANACORDA, 1977, 211-221; S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212-219; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125-129; M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216; [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amp-hora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=289](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amp-hora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=289) (8. 11. 2013).

<sup>87</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 220-221.

<sup>88</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 215.

<sup>89</sup> D. MANACORDA, 1977, 211-221; S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212-219; M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125-129; M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216; [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amp-hora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=289](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amp-hora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=289) (8. 11. 2013).

amfore ovisne o njihovoj dataciji.<sup>90</sup> Gradinski ulomak s T. X, 3 sa sigurnošću, a onaj na T. X, 1 vjerojatno, odgovara varijanti *Spatheion 2* specifičnoj po uglato oblikovanom obodu promjera do 13 cm i uskom cilindričnom tijelu visine do 85 cm.<sup>91</sup> Ova varijanta se datira u 6. stoljeće i na istočnom Jadranu se nalazi na malom broju naseobinskih i podmorskih lokaliteta.<sup>92</sup> Za razliku od navedenih, ulomak s oblo oblikovanim izvijenim obodom (T. X, 2) više odgovara varijanti *Spatheion 1* datiranoj u 4. i 5. stoljeće,<sup>93</sup> koje su dosta čest nalaz posebno u istočnojadranskom podmorju.<sup>94</sup> Izvjesno je da spatejima nepoznate varijante pripadaju ostatci donjeg dijela dviju amfora tankog cilindričnog tijela s kratkim šiljkom i bijelo-žućkastim premazom na stijenama (T. X, 5 i 6). U potonjoj su pronađena tri Justinijanov novčića (Sl. 7).<sup>95</sup>

Nadalje, ulomak s T. X, 4 pripada amfori s blago zaobljenim ramenom na kojem se nalazi motiv češljaste valovnice i horizontalne trake kakve se kao dekor nalaze na većem broju tipova sjevernoafričkih amfora, npr. *Keay LV, LVI, LIX* ili *LXII i*.<sup>96</sup> Navedeni imaju široku dataciju koja svakako ulazi u kronološki okvir 6. stoljeća koji se pokazuje najzastupljeniji na lokalitetu. Gotovo isti profil ulomka i dekoracija pronađeni su i na ulomku kasnoantičke amfore iz kretske radionice smještene u regiji Kalo Chorio, što ostavlja mogućnost i takve atribucije gradinskog ulomka.<sup>97</sup> Među ulomcima trbuha amfora s Gradine pojavljuje se

Mutual differences in height and rim modeling resulted in differentiating three basic variants of this amphora type depending on their dating.<sup>90</sup> Gradina sherd from T. X, 3 definitely, and the one on T. X, 1 probably, correspond to *Spatheion 2* variant specific for angular rim with diameter up to 13cm and narrow cylindrical body up to 85cm high.<sup>91</sup> This variant is dated to the 6th century and it is rarely found in the eastern Adriatic in settlements and underwater sites.<sup>92</sup> Unlike the mentioned sherds, an example with rounded everted rim (T. X, 2) corresponds more closely to *Spatheion 1* variant dated to the 4th and 5th centuries,<sup>93</sup> that is quite common find particularly at the eastern Adriatic underwater sites.<sup>94</sup> It is certain that the remains of the lower part of two amphorae with narrow cylindrical body, short spike and white-yellowish slip on the walls definitely belonged to *Spatheia* of unknown type (T. X, 5 and 6). Three Justinian's coins were found in the latter (Fig. 7).<sup>95</sup>

Fragment on T. X, 4 belongs to an amphora with slightly rounded shoulder decorated by a pectinate wavy line and horizontal band common on a number of north African amphora types, e.g. *Keay LV, LVI, LIX* or *LXII i*.<sup>96</sup> Mentioned types are broadly dated, definitely encompassing the 6th century that is best represented at the site. Almost identical profile and decoration of the sherd were found on a fragment of late antique amphora from a Cretan workshop situated in the Kalo Chorio region, leaving open the possibility of the same attri-

<sup>90</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125–129.

<sup>91</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125–127. Ulomak odgovara i tipu *Keay XXVII* (S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212–219).

<sup>92</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, P. CHEVALIER, 2005, 266, T. I/1 (Salona); I. VIŠNJIĆ, L. BEKIĆ, I. PLEŠTINA, 2010, 208; I. VIŠNJIĆ, 2009, 127 (Tarsatica); I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ, 2018, 156, T. 2: 20–21 (Banjače); M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216–218 (podmorje).

<sup>93</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125. Analogije u tipu *Keay XXV H* (S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212–219).

<sup>94</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216–218.

<sup>95</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2012, 171, 198.

<sup>96</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984; M. BONIFAY, 2004. Direktne analogije „dekoru“ vidjeti na primjerku amfore tipa *Keay LXIIB* s Fig. 151.

<sup>97</sup> V. KLONZA-JAKLOVA, 2014, 165–168, fig. 2.

<sup>90</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125–129.

<sup>91</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125–127. The fragment corresponds to *Keay XXVII* type (S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212–219).

<sup>92</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, P. CHEVALIER, 2005, 266, T. I/1 (Salona); I. VIŠNJIĆ, 2009, 127 (Tarsatica); I. VIŠNJIĆ, L. BEKIĆ, I. PLEŠTINA, 2010, 208; I. OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ, 2018, 156, T. 2: 20–21 (Banjače); M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216–218 (underwater).

<sup>93</sup> M. BONIFAY, 2004, 125. Analogies for *Keay XXV H* type (S. J. KEAY, 1984, 212–219).

<sup>94</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 216–218.

<sup>95</sup> T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, 2012, 171, 198.

<sup>96</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984; M. BONIFAY, 2004. Direct analogies for the “decoration” can be found on the amphora example *Keay LXIIB* on Fig. 151.



SLIKA 7. Bizantski novac pronađen u amfori (Fototeka Muzeja grada Šibenika)

FIGURE 7 Byzantine coins found in an amphora (Photoarchive of the Šibenik City Museum)

još jedan ulomak sa sličnom dekoracijom (T. XIII, 2).

Nad sjevernoafričkim amforama brojem očito dominiraju one egejsko-istočnomediterranskog podrijetla. Riječ je o ambalaži s prostora koji je tijekom čitave antike širom Mediterana izvezio znatne količine tamošnjih poljoprivrednih proizvoda. Njihova doprema do istočnog Jadrana upravo je tijekom kasne antike posebno intenzivna, što dokazuje i situacija na Gradini. Ovdje definitivno najveći broj ulomaka ručki, oboda i tijela pripada inače najpoznatijim kasnoantičkim/ranobizantskim amforama tipa *Late Roman 1* (Sl. 8; T. XI, 1-3).<sup>98</sup> One se generalno odlikuju kratkim i širokim cilindričnim tijelom narebrenih stijenki, oblim dnom, kratkim i uskim cilindričnim vratom te prstenasto naglašenim obodom podno kojeg izlaze široko postavljene izbrazdane ručke kružnog presjeka. Riječ je o amforama proizvođenima od 4. do 6. stoljeća na egejskom (Lesbos, Eubeja, Rodos, Paros) i istočnomediterranskom prostoru (Tarsos, Antiohija kao glavno središte,

<sup>98</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 212-216; S. J. KEAY, 1984, 268-269; D. PIERI, 2005, 70-75.

bution of the Gradina sherd.<sup>97</sup>

Another fragment with similar decoration is found among the fragments of amphora bellies from Gradina (T. XIII, 2).

North African amphorae are evidently outnumbered by the ones of the Aegean / eastern Mediterranean origin. This was packaging material from the area that exported substantial amounts of their agricultural products across the Mediterranean. Their shipping to the eastern Adriatic was particularly intensive exactly during Late Antiquity, as attested by the situation in

Gradina. The biggest number of fragments of handles, rims and bodies in this group definitely belong to the most famous late antique / early Byzantine amphorae, *Late Roman 1* (Fig. 8; T. XI, 1-3).<sup>98</sup> In general they are characterized by short and wide cylindrical body with ribbed walls, rounded base, short and narrow cylindrical neck and annular rim. Ribbed handles with circular cross-section start under the rim. These amphorae were produced from the 4th to the 6th century in the Aegean (Lesbos, Euboea, Rhodes, Pharos) and eastern Mediterranean region (Tarsos, Antiochia as the main center, Cyprus),<sup>99</sup> leading to emergence of a bigger number of regional variants of the type.<sup>100</sup> Examples from Gradina belong to classic amphorae of this type from the 5th and 6th centuries. Common presence of impregnation on the inner walls suggests wine as the primary content although legible painted inscriptions and residue remains in certain

<sup>97</sup> V. KLONZA-JAKLOVA, 2014, 165-168, fig. 2.

<sup>98</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 212-216; S. J. KEAY, 1984, 268-269; D. PIERI, 2005, 70-75.

<sup>99</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 164; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 565-566; D. WILLIAMS, 2005, 160-161.

<sup>100</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 271; [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=236](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=236) (1. 3. 2020).



SLIKA 8. Ručke LR1 amfora s Gradine (foto: A. Karadole)

FIGURE 8 Handles of LR1 amphorae from Gradina (photo: A. Karadole)

Cipar),<sup>99</sup> što je dovelo do pojave većeg broja regionalnih varijanti tipa.<sup>100</sup> Gradinski primjerci svojim odlikama pripadaju klasičnim amforama ovog tipa iz razdoblja 5. i 6. stoljeća. Česta pojava impregnacije na unutrašnjim stijenkama kao primarni sadržaj sugerira vino, iako pročitani slikani natpisi te ostatci rezidua u pojedinim slučajevima ne isključuju mogućnost njihova korištenja i za transport maslinova ulja.<sup>101</sup> Rasprostranjene su širom Carstva, od Crnog mora, istočnog i zapadnog Mediterana, sjeverne Afrike, Italije,

cases do not eliminate the possibility of their use for transport of olive oil.<sup>101</sup> They were widespread across the Empire, from the Black Sea, eastern and western Mediterranean, north Africa, Italy, lower Danubian region, Adriatic, all the way to Britain. The eastern Adriatic in that regard stands out as an area where these amphorae were imported in great quantities, recorded at various land and underwater sites.<sup>102</sup>

Very similar situation was recorded with *Late*

<sup>99</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 164; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 565–566; D. WILLIAMS, 2005, 160–161.

<sup>100</sup> S. J. KEAY, 1984, 271; [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=236](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=236) (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>101</sup> D. WILLIAMS, 2005, 161.

<sup>101</sup> D. WILLIAMS, 2005, 161.

<sup>102</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994c, 294 (Salona); M. KATIĆ, 1999, 26-27 (Hvar); M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 81, T. IV: 10 (Split); J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 119, cat. no. 64 (Narona); I. BORZIĆ, I. JADRIĆ, 2007, 159 (Dugopolje-Vučipolje); A. BABIĆ, 2008, 213-214 (?); K. JELINČIĆ, LJ. PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, 2010, 192 (Postira); I. OŽANIĆ ROGU-LJIĆ, 2018, 152-154; T. 1, 1-4 (Banjače) etc. (see distribution map in I. OŽANIĆ ROGU-LJIĆ, 2018, 153, Map 1).

donjeg Podunavlja, Jadrana pa sve do Britanije. Istočni Jadran se u tom pogledu ističe kao regija do koje su ove amfore stizale u znatnim količinama te ih se bilježi na kopnenim i pod-morskim lokalitetima različitih karaktera.<sup>102</sup>

Vrlo slična situacija zabilježena je i u slučaju amfora tipa *Late Roman 2*, na Gradini prepoznatih prema ulomcima masivnih ljevkastih oboda (T. XI, 4), te globularnih tijela dijelom raščlanjenih dubokim ostrim i gustim blago valovitim urezanim brazdama (T. XI, 5). Boja gradinskih ulomaka varira od oker, crvenkaste pa do sive. Ovaj je tip amfora proizvođen na otočnom i kopnenom prostoru Egeje (Chios, Kounoupi-Argolida) i Crnog mora u širokom razdoblju od 4. do 7. stoljeća, što je kao i u prethodnom slučaju rezultiralo prepoznavanjem nekoliko morfoloških varijanti.<sup>103</sup> Primjerci s Gradine u tom bi se smislu trebali datirati do sredine 6. stoljeća, nakon kojeg do tada visoki i masivni obodi postaju ravniji i kraći, a inače globularna tijela izduženija. Često zabilježeni ostatci smole na unutarnjoj strani stijenki sugeriraju vino kao primarni sadržaj ovog tipa amfore,<sup>104</sup> iako se zbog vrlo bliske morfološke sličnosti s olearijama tipa *Dressel 24*, te kod pojedinih primjeraka zabilježenih rezidua, slikanih natpisa i grafita, u posljednje vrijeme pojavljuje ideja da je riječ o amforama za prijevoz maslinova ulja.<sup>105</sup> Njihova je distribucija zabilježena širom Carstva, posebice njegova istočno egejsko-crnomoško-dunavskoga,<sup>106</sup> a s obzirom na veliki broj loka-

*Roman 2* amphorae, recognized in Gradina in sherds of massive funnel-shaped rims (T. XI, 4), and globular bodies bearing deep, sharp and dense, slightly wavy incised grooves (T. XI, 5). Color of fragments from Gradina varies from ocher, reddish to grey. This amphora type was produced in the Aegean mainland and islands (Chios, Kounoupi-Argolida) and the Black Sea in the wide chronological range from the 4th to the 7th century, resulting in recognition of several variants just like in the previous case.<sup>103</sup> In that regard examples from Gradina should be dated until the mid-6th century, when high and massive rims became flatter and shorter, and globular bodies attain more elongated contour. Resin residue that is often found on the inner side of the wall suggests wine as primary content of this amphora type,<sup>104</sup> although recently they have been associated with the olive oil transport due to morphological similarities with *Dressel 24* oleariae, and because of residue, painted inscriptions and graffiti.<sup>105</sup> Their distribution has been recorded across the Empire, in particular its eastern Aegean-Pontic-Danubian part,<sup>106</sup> and considering the big number of sites, also in the eastern Adriatic framework.<sup>107</sup> It is important to mention, in the context of Gradina as a Byzantine castrum, the existing idea that these amphorae were used for the official supply of Danubian military units (*aenonna militaris*) during the reign of Justinian I, and earlier.<sup>108</sup>

*Late Roman 4* amphorae have been recorded among the Gradina finds. Mostly these are fragments of elongated ribbed cylindrical body with conical base and short annu-

<sup>102</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994c, 294 (Salona); M. KATIĆ, 1999, 26–27 (Hvar); M. TOPIĆ, 1999, 81, T. IV: 10 (Split); J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 119, kat. br. br. 64 (Narona); I. BORZIĆ, I. JADRIĆ, 2007, 159 (Dugopolje –Vučipolje); A. BABIĆ, 2008, 213–214 (?); K. JELINČIĆ, LJ. PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, 2010, 192 (Postira); I. OŽANIĆ ROGU-LJIĆ, 2018, 152–154, T. 1, 1–4 (Banjače) i drugo (vidi kartu rasprostranjenosti kod I. OŽANIĆ ROGU-LJIĆ, 2018, 153, karta 1).

<sup>103</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 217–219; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 168–169; O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 130.

<sup>104</sup> S. J. KAEY, 1984, 354.

<sup>105</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 169; O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 146–149; A. OPAIT, 2007, 627–644.

<sup>106</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 132–145.

<sup>103</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 217–219; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 168–169; O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 130.

<sup>104</sup> S. J. KAEY, 1984, 354.

<sup>105</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 169; O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 146–149; A. OPAIT, 2007, 627–644.

<sup>106</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 132–145.

<sup>107</sup> Some of the sites are: Hvar, Gata, Novi Vinodolski, Premuda, Rogoznica, Sv. Ante Channel in Šibenik and its surroundings, Srima, Narona, Dugopolje, Split, Postira, Luke near Škrip, Dugopolje, Banjače etc. Distribution map in: I. OŽANIĆ ROGU-LJIĆ 2018, 155, Map 2.

<sup>108</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 149–156.

liteta, i istočnojadranskog okvira.<sup>107</sup> Ono što je vrijedno spomenuti u kontekstu Gradine kao bizantskog kastruma jest postojeća ideja da se upravo u ovim amforama odvijala službena opskrba podunavskih vojnih jedinica (*aenonna militaris*) u vremenima ranijima, ali i za vrijeme vladavine Justinijana I.<sup>108</sup>

Nadalje, među gradinskim amforama zabilježene su i one tipa *Late Roman 4*. Uglavnom je riječ o ulomcima mjestimično rebrastog izduženog cilindričnog tijela sa stožastim dnom te kratkog prstenastog vertikalnog oboda iz kojeg se direktno razvija rame s prstenastim vertikalno postavljenim ručicama (T. XII, 1-2). Detalj po kojem su ove amfore karakteristične je dosta grubo izvedena vanjšina, specifična po nemarnom oblikovanju vjerojatno naknadno nanošene gline. *Late Roman 4* amfore proizvod su radionica s područja Palestine (Gaza i Ashkelon), u kojima tradicija proizvodnje amfora vrlo sličnih morfoloških odlika traje još od 1. stoljeća.<sup>109</sup> One pod navedenim imenom datiraju se tek od početka 4. stoljeća, a u svojoj pojavi do čak 8. stoljeća doživljavaju manje morfološke promjene manifestirane kroz visinu, širinu i prostorni odnos oboda i ručki.<sup>110</sup> Upravo njihov bliski odnos i spomenuto glineno ogrubljanje obodnog dijela gradinske primjerke datira u razdoblje 6. i 7. stoljeća.<sup>111</sup> Općenito, amfore ovog tipa služile su primarno za transport, u povijesnim izvorima poznatog, gazanskog bijelog vina,<sup>112</sup> iako novija istraživanja dokazuju kako su pojedini primjerci bili korišteni i za transport maslinova i sezamova ulja, ali i ribljih preradevina.<sup>113</sup> Tijekom navedenog

lar vertical rim. Shoulder with annular vertical handles grows directly from the rim (T. XII, 1-2). These amphorae have characteristic coarse outer surface, specific for sloppily modeled clay that was probably applied after firing. *Late Roman 4* amphorae are products of workshops from the Palestine region (Gaza and Ashkelon), where amphorae with similar morphological characteristics had been produced back from the 1st century.<sup>109</sup> *Late Roman 4* amphorae are dated to the period from the beginning of the 4th century until the 8th century and they underwent only minor morphological changes manifested through height, width and spatial relation of the rim and handles.<sup>110</sup> Exactly their close relation and mentioned coarse clay finishing of the rim dates the Gradina examples to the 6th and 7th centuries.<sup>111</sup> Generally amphorae of this type were used primarily for transport of white wine from Gaza,<sup>112</sup> mentioned in the historical sources, though recent research has proven that certain examples were used for transport of olive and sesame oil, as well as fish products.<sup>113</sup> In the mentioned period of use they were widespread across the Empire (Mediterranean, inland of Algeria, Great Britain, Pontic area, lower course of Danube).<sup>114</sup> The eastern Adriatic does not seem to be one of these regions, although there are suggestions that more intensive work on late antique material might change these assumptions,<sup>115</sup> in particular since the situation in Italy testifies to continuous growth of their presence in the 5th and 6th centuries.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Neki od lokaliteta su: Hvar, Gata, Novi Vinodolski, Premuda, Rogoznica, kanal sv. Ante u Šibeniku i njegova okolica, Srma, Naron, Dugopolje, Split, Postira, Luke kod Škripa, Dugopolje, Banjača i drugi. Vidi kartu rasprostranjenosti kod I. OŽANIĆ ROGUJIĆ, 2018, 155, karta 2.

<sup>108</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 149-156.

<sup>109</sup> G. MAJCHEREK, 1995, 163-178; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 161; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 574-575.

<sup>110</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162; D. PIERI 2005.

<sup>111</sup> Usp. D. PIERI, 2005, tip B2.

<sup>112</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 222; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162.

<sup>113</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 222; [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=16](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=16) (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>109</sup> G. MAJCHEREK, 1995, 163-178; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 161; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 574-575.

<sup>110</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162; D. PIERI 2005.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. D. PIERI, 2005, type B2.

<sup>112</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 222; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162.

<sup>113</sup> J. A. RILEY, 1979, 222. [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=16](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=16) (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>114</sup> [https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=16](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=16) (16. 3. 2020).

<sup>115</sup> Some of the sites they were recorded at are Hvar (M. KATIĆ, 2001, 42, T. VIII:1, 2), Naron - Erešove bare (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 119, 124-125, 134-135) etc.

<sup>116</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162.

razdoblja korištenja one se pronalaze diljem Carstva (Mediteran, unutrašnjost Alžira, Velika Britanija, crnomorski teritorij, donji tok Dunava).<sup>114</sup> Istočni Jadran se za sada ne pokazuje kao regija do koje su dolazile u znatnijoj količini, iako postoje sugestije da bi se intenzivnijim radom na kasnoantičkom materijalu i to moglo dijelom promijeniti,<sup>115</sup> posebice jer situacija u Italiji svjedoči kontinuiranom rastu njihove pojave u razdoblju 5. i 6. stoljeća.<sup>116</sup>

Nekoliko ulomaka amfora sa specifičnim globularnim tijelom dijelom prekrivenim gustim širokim rebrima najvjerojatnije pripadaju amforama tipa *Late Roman 5* (T. XII, 3). Uz navedeno one se odlikuju visokim vertikalnim obodom te prstenastim ručkama na podramenom dijelu. Proizvod su radionica sjeverne Palestine (*Cesarea*), sjevernog Egipta i Jordana iz razdoblja od 5. do 7. stoljeća.<sup>117</sup> Iako su primarno služile za vino, evidentirano je da su se upotrebljavale i za maslinovo ulje, suhe smokve, ali i riblje umake.<sup>118</sup> Pronalaze se širom Mediterana, a na istočnom Jadranu ih se bilježi u podmorskim i kopnenim naseobinskim kontekstima (npr. Hvar, Postira na Braču, Polače na otoku Mljetu i dr.).<sup>119</sup>

Ulomci male ručke s jasno naznačenim žlijebom po sredini (T. XII, 4) te narebrenog trbuha (T. XII, 5) najvjerojatnije pripadaju tzv. *Samos cistern* tipu afmore. Riječ je o recipijentima relativno malih dimenzija, širokog prstenasto naglašenog oboda, kratkog cilindričnog vrata s opisanim ručkama spojenim

Some fragments of a specific globular body partly covered with dense, wide ribs most probably belong to *Late Roman 5* amphorae (T. XII, 3). In addition to the aforementioned, they are characterized by high vertical rim and annular handles under the shoulder segment. They were produced in the workshops in north Palestine (*Cesarea*), north Egypt and Jordan from the 5th to the 7th century.<sup>117</sup> Although they were primarily used for wine, it was recorded they transported olive oil, dried figs, and fish sauce.<sup>118</sup> They were found across the Mediterranean, and in the eastern Adriatic they were recorded at both underwater and land sites (e.g. Hvar, Postira on the island of Brač, Polače on the island of Mljet etc.).<sup>119</sup>

Fragments of a small handle with clearly designated groove in the middle (T. XII, 4) and ribbed belly (T. XII, 5) most likely belong to the so-called *Samos cistern* amphora type. These are relatively small vessels, with wide annular rim, short cylindrical neck with previously described handles connected with ribbed cylindrical body and short pointed base. On the typological trace of the earlier amphorae *Agora M273*, they are dated from the second half of the 6th to the second half of the 7th century, and it is assumed they originate from either the island of Samos or central western-Asia Minor coast of present-day Turkey, that is eastern Aegean region.<sup>120</sup> It remains unknown what exactly was transported in them, but Samian wine seems to be their most likely content having in mind its popularity.<sup>121</sup> Although they are recorded across the Empire, small number of examples suggests limited production and presence on the global mar-

ce.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\_ahrb\_2005/details.cfm?id=16 (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>114</sup> [https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=16](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=16) (16. 3. 2020).

<sup>115</sup> Neki od lokaliteta na kojima su zabilježene su Hvar (M. KATIĆ, 2001, 42, T. VIII:1, 2), Naron - Erešove bare (J. MARDEŠIĆ, T. ŠALOV, 2002, 119, 124-125, 134-135) i dr.

<sup>116</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 162.

<sup>117</sup> [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=267](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=267) (1. 3. 2020); J. RILEY, 1979, 223-224; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 573-574.

<sup>118</sup> [https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=267&CFID=97a8e05f54d5-4df1-8ee3-185c2d44d4fb&CFTOKEN=0](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=267&CFID=97a8e05f54d5-4df1-8ee3-185c2d44d4fb&CFTOKEN=0) (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>119</sup> K. JELINČIĆ, LJ. PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, 2010, 192.

<sup>117</sup> [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=267](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=267) (1. 3. 2020); J. RILEY, 1979, 223-224; P. REYNOLDS, 2005, 573-574.

<sup>118</sup> [https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\\_ahrb\\_2005/details.cfm?id=267&CFID=97a8e05f54d5-4df1-8ee3-185c2d44d4fb&CFTOKEN=0](https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/details.cfm?id=267&CFID=97a8e05f54d5-4df1-8ee3-185c2d44d4fb&CFTOKEN=0) (1. 3. 2020).

<sup>119</sup> K. JELINČIĆ, LJ. PERINIĆ MURATOVIĆ, 2010, 192.

<sup>120</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 283-284; 1998, 167.

<sup>121</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 284.

s narebrenim cilindričnim tijelom s kratkom šiljastom stopom. Na tipološkom tragu ranijih amfora tipa *Agora M273* one se datiraju od druge polovice 6. do druge polovice 7. stoljeća, a pretpostavka je da potječu ili s otoka Samosa ili pak središnje zapadnomaloazijske obale današnje Turske, odnosno općenito istočnoegejskog područja.<sup>120</sup> Što se točno u njima prenosilo ostaje nepoznanica, ali s obzirom na popularnost samoskog vina upravo se ono postavlja kao najvjerojatniji sadržaj.<sup>121</sup> Iako se bilježe širom Carstva, općenito mali broj primjeraka govori o limitiranoj produkciji i zastupljenosti na globalnom tržištu.<sup>122</sup> Takvom okviru odgovara i njihova pojava na istočnom Jadranu, na kojem su *Samos cistern* tip amfore osim na žirajskoj Gradini zabilježene u pojedinačnim primjercima u podmorju uvala Gradina na otoku Korčuli,<sup>123</sup> nepoznatom lokalitetu šibenskog akvatorija<sup>124</sup> te kod Kopra.<sup>125</sup> Njihova pojava ovdje nije iznenađenje jer je jedna od važnijih regija u kojoj se one pojavljuju u nešto značajnijoj količini ona sjevernoitalska, do koje je vodila upravo istočnojadranska plovna ruta.<sup>126</sup> Generalni konteksti u kojima su nađene ove amfore, čemu odgovara i onaj u Gradini, potakle su P. Arthura da pretpostavi da su one bile dio administrativne trgovine prema točno usmjerenim potrošačima – prije svega bizantskoj vojsci i gradovima.<sup>127</sup>

Među amforama s Gradine pojavljuje se nekoliko ulomaka kojima se nije mogao sa sigurnošću odrediti tip, odnosno podrijetlo i namjena. Takav je npr. ulomak kratko trokutasto oblikovanog oboda s koničnim vratom iz kojeg široko izlaze masivne ručke kružnog presjeka. On svojim morfološkim odlikama najviše podsjeća na amfore sa Sicilije (T. IX,

ket.<sup>122</sup> Their presence in the eastern Adriatic corresponds to such framework since *Samos cistern* amphorae were recorded as individual finds not only in Gradina in Žirje but also at the underwater sites of Gradina cove on the island of Korčula,<sup>123</sup> an unknown site in the Šibenik maritime zone,<sup>124</sup> and at Kopač.<sup>125</sup> Their presence in Istria is not surprising since they appear in somewhat larger amount in the north Italic region, that was reached by the eastern Adriatic maritime route.<sup>126</sup> General contexts in which these amphorae were found, including the one in Gradina, incited P. Arthur to assume that they were a part of administrative trade with strictly targeted consumers – primarily Byzantine army and cities.<sup>127</sup>

There are several amphora sherds from Gradina whose type, provenance and function could not be determined with certainty, such as a fragment of short triangularly modeled rim with conical neck and massive handles with round cross-section. Its morphological features are closest to the Sicilian amphorae (T. IX, 4).<sup>128</sup> Further on, this group also comprises a fragment of the upper part of an amphora with vertical rim. Handle with round cross-section comes out of the rim and rests on the shoulder (T. XIII, 1). This composition resembles *Late Roman 5* amphorae, but in this case the handle is positioned rather high. Another hardly determinable sherd is an almost completely preserved upper part of the amphora on T. XIII, 3 characterized by short and wide cylindrical neck, annular rim and short arched handles. Owing to its narrow neck and short arched handles, fragment on T. XIII, 4 corresponds quite closely to the Icarian wine amphorae *Adamsheck RC 22* from the end of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century, but differences in fabric

<sup>120</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 283–284; P. ARTHUR, 1998, 167.

<sup>121</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 284.

<sup>122</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 282.

<sup>123</sup> I. BORZIĆ, 2009, 90.

<sup>124</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, M. JURIŠIĆ, Ž. KRŃČEVIĆ, 2001, 69.

<sup>125</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 291.

<sup>126</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 288–290.

<sup>127</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 175.

<sup>122</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 282.

<sup>123</sup> I. BORZIĆ, 2009, 90.

<sup>124</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, M. JURIŠIĆ, Ž. KRŃČEVIĆ, 2001, 69.

<sup>125</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 291.

<sup>126</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1990, 288–290.

<sup>127</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 175.

<sup>128</sup> C. BONANNO, 2007, 362.

4).<sup>128</sup> Nadalje, u tu se grupu uključuje i ulomak gornjeg dijela amfore s okomitim obodom iz kojeg direktno izlazi ručka kružnog presjeka naslonjena na blago postavljeno rame (T. XIII, 1). Takav izgled uvelike podsjeća na amfore tipa *Late Roman 5*, no u ovom je slučaju ručka postavljeno dosta visoko. Teško je sa sigurnošću odrediti i gotovo cjelovito očuvano grlo amfore s T. XIII, 3 koje se odlikuje kratkim i širokim cilindričnim vratom i prstenastim obodom podno kojeg izlaze kratke lučne ručke. Ulomak na T. XIII, 4 svojim uskim vratom i kratkim lučnim ručkama dosta odgovara ikarskim vinskim amforama tipa *Adamsheck RC 22* s kraja 5. i prve polovice 6. stoljeća, ali takvoj atribuciji čini se smetaju fabrikatne razlike među njima.<sup>129</sup> Ulomak visokog nenačlašenog oboda na T. XIII, 5 premalen je da bi se tipološki odredio, iako dosta slični nekim varijantama afričkim amforama tipa *Keay XXV*. Naposljetku treba spomenuti i ulomak gljivastog dna amfore s T. XIII, 6, koji najvjerojatnije pripada nekim ranijim oblicima, moguće čak i helenističko-republikanskom grčko-italjskom tipu.

Poseban detalj koji vrijedi istaknuti u vezi s amforama s Gradine jest pojava dviju vrsta oznaka. Nažalost i ovdje problem predstavlja fragmentiranost predmeta zbog koje nije moguće u potpunosti rastumačiti njihovo značenje. Jednu grupu čini slikani natpis (*titulus pictus*) zabilježen na ulomku narebrenog trbuha amfore nažalost nepoznatog, vjerojatno istočnomediteranskog tipa. Spomenuti natpis izveden je crvenom bojom, a sadrži dva početna slova (*OV* ili možda grčki *ou*) neke riječi koja je mogla označavati sadržaj amfore ili nešto drugo povezano s procesom trgovine njome (Sl. 9).

Drugoj grupi oznaka na amforama pripadaju dva tipa grafita. Prvi su izvedeni *post cocturam*, dakle u vrijeme kada je amfora izvršavala ili je već izvršila svoju primarnu ulogu. Na trima



SLIKA 9. Titulus pictus na ulomku s Gradine (foto: A. Karadole)

FIGURE 9 Titulus pictus on pottery fragment from Gradina (photo: A. Karadole)

seem to contradict such attribution.<sup>129</sup> Fragment of a high, indistinct rim on T. XIII, 5 is too small to be determined typologically, although it is quite similar to some variants of the African *Keay XXV* amphorae. Finally we need to mention a fragment of a mushroom-shaped amphora base on T. XIII, 6, that probably belongs to some earlier forms, possibly even Hellenistic-Republican Greco-Italic type.

A special detail worth mentioning with regard to amphorae from Gradina is presence of two types of marks. Unfortunately fragmentary condition of the artifacts prevents adequate interpretation of their meaning. One group consists of a painted inscription (*titulus pictus*) recorded on a fragment of the ribbed belly of an amphora of unfortunately unknown, probably eastern Mediterranean type. Mentioned inscription was painted in red, and it contains two initial letters (*OV* or possibly Greek *ou*) of a certain word that might have denoted the content of the amphora or something else related to trade process (Fig. 9).

The second group of marks on amphorae comprises two types of graffiti. The first ones

<sup>128</sup> C. BONANNO, 2007, 362.

<sup>129</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 170.

<sup>129</sup> P. ARTHUR, 1998, 170.



SLIKA 10. Ulomci amfora s grafitima (foto: A. Karadole)

FIGURE 10 Sherds of amphorae with graffiti (photo: A. Karadole)

ulomcima, opet vjerojatno istočnomediterranskih amfora, tako se vide nepravilno urezane linije nejasnog značenja (Sl. 10a-c), no u obzir dolazi označavanje kapaciteta, težina same ambalaže ili nešto treće.<sup>130</sup> Nešto jasniji prikaz grafičkog karaktera jest onaj na Sl. 10c na kojem se osim kružnice nalaze i slova *MHV*. Druga vrsta grafita je ona izvedena u vrijeme izrade same amfore, dakle u mekanoj glini i takav primjerak predstavlja ulomak na Sl. 10d na kojem su urezana slova *A I*, nažalost opet necjelovitog i stoga nejasnog značenja, ali vjerojatno povezanog sa samim procesom izrade amfore, dakle moguće inicijali samog radnika ili nešto slično.

Zaključak o amforama s Gradine može se

were made *post cocturam*, when the amphora was used or when it was in the secondary use. Sloppily cut lines whose meaning is not clear (Fig. 10a-c) are found on three fragments, again probably of the eastern Mediterranean amphorae. Their capacity might have been marked, weight of the packaging or something else.<sup>130</sup> Somewhat clearer graphic representation can be found on a fragment (Fig. 10c) which bears letters *MHV* and a circle. The second type of graffiti was made in soft clay, while amphora was modeled, and it is represented by a fragment on Fig. 10d with incised letters *A I*, unfortunately again incomplete and therefore unclear, but probably related to the process of amphora production, possibly initials of the

<sup>130</sup> M. LANG, 1976, 55, 64-65.

<sup>130</sup> M. LANG, 1976, 55, 64-65.

svesti na dvije osnovne stvari, a to su njihovo podrijetlo i namjena. Kronološki kontekst lokaliteta logično je doveo do toga da većinu tipova amfora predstavljaju one sa sjevernoafričkog, ali još i više egejsko-istočno-mediteranskog proizvodnog areala. Od ovog dvojstva odudara jedino ulomak kojem se analogije pronalaze na području Sicilije, što opet ne bi trebalo iznenaditi s obzirom na povijesne okolnosti u kojima se Sicilija tijekom ranobizantskog doba pojavljuje kao jaka proizvodna, a dijelom i emisarska regija. S druge strane, pitanje što je dopremano u pronađenim amforama posebno je komplicirano jer se, unatoč klasično uvriježenom mišljenju, za neke amfore u novije vrijeme sve češće pokazuje kako su mogle biti korištene i za neke druge proizvode. Dovoljno je pogledati navedene istočnomediteranske amfore pa znati o čemu je riječ. Istina, može se pretpostaviti kako literarno i arheološki posvjedočena popularnost vina s palestinskog, samoskog i drugih područja u prvi plan postavlja vino, no u manjoj je mjeri realno očekivati i druge namirnice potrebne vojsci i tek će eventualne analize rezidua dati konačni odgovor na ovo pitanje.

## SVJETILJKE

Sljedeću kategoriju keramičkih predmeta s Gradine čine svjetiljke. Njihova tipologija je i ovdje dobrim dijelom određena kasnoantičkim karakterom lokaliteta u kojem se očekivano pojavljuju tzv. sjevernoafričke i njima srodne svjetiljke. U fabrikatnom su smislu identične afričkoj crvenoglačanoj keramici pa im se i podrijetlo najčešće povezuje s tuniškim prostorom. Izrađene su u dvodijelnom kalupu pa na ramenu i disku u pravilu nose reljefnu dekoraciju geometrijskog, vegetabilnog, zoomorfnog, antropomorfnog, ali i simboličkog, posebice kršćanskog karaktera. S Gradine potječu svega četiri dosta mala ulomka svjetiljki, što otežava njihovu pot-

worker.

Conclusion about amphorae from Gradina comes down to two basic things: their provenance and function. Most amphora types from the site are of north African or Aegean / eastern Mediterranean provenance in accordance with the chronological context of the site. Only one fragment stands out in that regard, as analogies are found in the Sicilian region, but this can be explained by historical circumstances in the early Byzantine period when Sicily emerged as a region with strong production and growing export activities. On the other hand, the question of content of the recovered amphorae is particularly complicated since recent research has repeatedly shown that, despite the mainstream opinion, they might have been used for some other products. Mentioned eastern Mediterranean amphorae are the best illustration of the statement. We might assume that wine should be considered first, judging from popularity of wine from Palestine, Samos and other regions attested in literary sources and at archaeological sites, but other foodstuffs necessary for the army should also be expected. Only possible residue analyses might offer final answer to this question.

## LAMPS

Lamps are the following category of ceramic finds from Gradina. Their typology is also determined by the late antique context of the site that is characterized by north African and related lamps. They correspond to African Red Slip Ware in terms of fabric so their provenance is usually associated with the region of Tunisia. They were made in a two-part mold so they usually bear relief decoration on the shoulder and disc featuring geometric, vegetal, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, and symbolic (Christian in particular) motifs. Only four, quite small lamp fragments were found at Gradina, making their interpretation rather difficult. However, they all belong to *type*



SLIKA 11. Keramičke svjetiljke s Gradine (foto: A. Karađole)

FIGURE 11 Ceramic lamps from Gradina (photo: A. Karađole)

punu interpretaciju. Ipak, prema Hayesovoj tipologiji svi pripadaju tipu *II*, odnosno *Forma X* prema klasifikaciji Anselmino-Pavolini, prema objema datiranim tijekom razdoblja od 5. pa sve do 8. stoljeća.<sup>131</sup> U morfološkom smislu imaju ovalno tijelo s reljefno ukrašenim širokim ramenom i kružnim diskom, dugi nos s kanalom ili bez kanala na gornjoj plohi, jezičastu okomitu ručku na zadnjem dijelu tijela te nisku prstenastu bazu.<sup>132</sup> Nažalost, gradinski ulomci su takvi da ne dopuštaju mogućnost precizne tipološke odrednice. Ulomak na Sl. 11c pripada vrhu nosa kojeg se zbog fragmentiranosti ne može pripisati nijednoj varijanti ovog tipa svjetiljke.

*II* of Hayes' typology, or *Forma X* according to Anselmino-Pavolini classification, dating to the period from the 5th to the 8th century in both cases.<sup>131</sup> In terms of morphology they have oval body with a wide shoulder decorated in relief and round disc, long nozzle with or without a channel on the upper side, semicircular vertical handle on the back part of the body and low ring base.<sup>132</sup> Unfortunately fragments from Gradina cannot be precisely typologically determined. Fragment on Fig. 11c belongs to the tip of the nozzle which cannot be attributed to any of the variants due to its fragmentation. Two fragments on Figs. 11a and 11b definitely belong to the

<sup>131</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 310–312; L. ANSELMINO, C. PAVOLINI, 1981, 200.

<sup>132</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 311; L. ANSELMINO, C. PAVOLINI, 1981, 200; V. BUBIĆ, 2012, 120–121.

<sup>131</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 310–312; L. ANSELMINO, C. PAVOLINI, 1981, 200.

<sup>132</sup> J. W. HAYES, 1972, 311; L. ANSELMINO, C. PAVOLINI, 1981, 200; V. BUBIĆ, 2012, 120–121.

Dva ulomka na Sl. 11a i b sigurno pripadaju ranijoj *Hayes IIa – Anselmino-Pavolini XA1a* kvalitetnijoj varijanti iz 5. stoljeća. U obama slučajevima sačuvan je rameni dio svjetiljke s reljefnim dekorom, u jednom slučaju s kombiniranim motivima koncentričnih kružnica i trokuta (Sl. 11a),<sup>133</sup> a u drugom opet koncentričnih kružnica s palminim granama (Sl. 11b). Ulomak svjetiljke na Sl. 11d prema fabričkim odlikama ne pripada istom radio-ničkom krugu, a odlikuje se ovalnim tijelom na čijoj je začelnoj strani trag ručke, te nejasnim reljefnim ukrasom na plitkom disku. Izvjesno je kako je riječ o proizvodu oblikovanom po uzoru na sjevernoafričke proizvode.<sup>134</sup>

Iako brojem slabo zastupljene, keramičke svjetiljke iz bizantske utvrde Gradina tipološki uglavnom odgovaraju onima koje se inače pronalaze na istovremenim lokalitetima širom Mediterana pa tako i istočnog Jadrana.<sup>135</sup>

## GRAĐEVINSKA KERAMIKA

Nadalje, veliku količinu keramičkih predmeta s Gradine čine oni namijenjeni građevinskim aktivnostima, dakle građevinska keramika. Među njom se pojavljuje ona strukturalnog (tegule, imbreksi, suspenzure i tuljci) te instalacijskog (tubuli) karaktera,<sup>136</sup> što se da naslutiti iz u uvodu članka opisanih otkrivenih prostorija, npr. na lokalitetu prezentirana grijana prostorija sa sistemom hipokausta (Sl. 12).<sup>137</sup> Također je važno istaknuti kako su pojedini važniji primjerci ove vrste nalaza već doživjeli svoju objavu.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Analogije motivu: J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 65, kat. br. 59.

<sup>134</sup> J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 77, kat. br. 95.

<sup>135</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994b, 271–277; J. VUČIĆ, K. A. GIUNIO, 2009, 9, 42–47; J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 15; V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 247–305; V. BUBIĆ, 2012, 124–176.

<sup>136</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005.

<sup>137</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 67.

<sup>138</sup> Za podne cigle vidjeti I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 66; tegula s ucrtanom „triljom” kod I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 100; tegule s pečatima kod I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 81–141.

earlier *Hayes IIa – Anselmino-Pavolini XA1a* variant exhibiting better quality, dating to the 5th century. In both cases shoulder part of the lamp with relief decoration was preserved, in one case with combined motifs of concentric circles and triangles (Fig. 11a),<sup>133</sup> and in another concentric circles again with palm fronds (Fig. 11b). Fragment of a lamp on Fig. 11d does not belong to the same workshop circle judging from the fabric characteristics, and it has an oval body with a trace of a handle on the back part, and unclear relief decoration on the shallow disc. It is certain that it is an artefact modelled on north African patterns.<sup>134</sup>

Although scarcely represented, lamps from the Byzantine fort in Gradina mostly correspond in terms of typology to the ones usually found at the synchronous sites across the Mediterranean, including the eastern Adriatic.<sup>135</sup>

## CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL

A considerable amount of ceramic objects from Gradina refers to the objects intended for building activities, i.e. ceramic building material, used as structural elements (*tegulae, imbrices*, suspending posts and tubes) or installation pieces (*tubuli*)<sup>136</sup> which can be assumed from the discovered rooms described in the paper introduction, e.g. heated room presented at site with a hypocaust system (Fig. 12).<sup>137</sup> It is also important to emphasize that certain more important finds of this type have already been published.<sup>138</sup>

The majority of ceramic building material

<sup>133</sup> Analogies for the motif: J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 65, cat. no. 59.

<sup>134</sup> J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 77, kat. br. 95.

<sup>135</sup> J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994b, 271–277; J. VUČIĆ, K. A. GIUNIO, 2009, 9, 42–47; J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 15; V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 247–305; V. BUBIĆ, 2012, 124–176.

<sup>136</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994; 1998; 2000; 2005.

<sup>137</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 67.

<sup>138</sup> For floor bricks see I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2005, 66; tegula with drawn mill (board game) in I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1998, 100; tegulae with stamps in I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 81–141.



SLIKA 12. Konzervirani ostaci hipokausta sa suzpenzurama (foto: T. Brajković)

FIGURE 12 Conserved remains of the hypocaust with suspending posts (photo: T. Brajković)

Najveći broj građevinske keramike pripada tegulama, odnosno krovnim pločama. Na Gradini je zabilježena općeprisutna pojava kasnoantičke reupotrebe tegula iz ranocarskog doba,<sup>139</sup> u ovom konkretnom slučaju onih iz radionice *Pansiana* (Sl. 13),<sup>140</sup> ali i nekih manje poznatih, npr. *[---]letus*, odnosno *Aisino[---]*.<sup>141</sup> Jedan od lokaliteta s kojih su se one mogle dopremiti nalazi se u samom podnožju Gradine u uvali Velika Stupica, gdje se na položaju Šandrikov mul nalazila rimska rustična

belongs to tegulae, or roof tiles. Widespread late antique reuse of tegulae from the early Imperial period was attested in Gradina,<sup>139</sup> in this specific case tegulae from *Pansiana* workshop (Fig. 13),<sup>140</sup> but also some less famous examples, e.g. *[---]letus*, or *Aisino[---]*.<sup>141</sup> One of the sites they might have been transported from is located at the foot of Gradina in Velika Stupica cove, where Roman *villa rustica* was situated at the position Šandrikov mul.<sup>142</sup> It is

<sup>139</sup> Usp. I. FISKOVIĆ, 1965, 144, 151, 153-154, 160, 166 (Vrhnik, Sutvara, Gubavac, Lučnjak); C. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, 18, 20 (Majsan); M. KATIĆ, 1994b, 209 (Gata); Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 261 (Srima) i dr.

<sup>140</sup> Osim ovdje prikazane tri tegule iz radionice *PANSIANA* u objavi I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 122-124, kat. br. 80-88 objavljeno je još devet primjeraka kojima se s obzirom na očuvanost pečata može odrediti datiranje tijekom čitavog perioda julijejsko-klaudijevske dinastije.

<sup>141</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 124, kat. br. 89-91.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. I. FISKOVIĆ, 1965, 144, 151, 153-154, 160, 166 (Vrhnik, Sutvara, Gubavac, Lučnjak); C. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, 18, 20 (Majsan); M. KATIĆ, 1994b, 209 (Gata); Z. BRUSIĆ, 2005, 261 (Srima) etc.

<sup>140</sup> Except for three tegulae from *PANSIANA* workshop mentioned here, in the publication I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 122-124, cat. nos. 80-88, nine more examples were published that can be dated to the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty on the basis of stamp preservation.

<sup>141</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, E. PODRUG, 2008, 124, cat. nos. 89-91.

<sup>142</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1995, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 90-91; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2003, 78; E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRNEVIĆ, 2016, 60-



SLIKA 13. *Tegule s Gradine* (foto: A. Karadole)  
 FIGURE 13 *Tegulae from Gradina* (photo: A. Karadole)

vila.<sup>142</sup> Izvjesno je da istom lokalitetu pripadaju i tegule s motivima jednoprute, dvoprute i troprute trake također pronađene u reupotrebi na Gradini (Sl. 13).

Strukturalnim građevinskim predmetima najvjerojatnije pripada i šesterokutni terakotni predmet, prema analogijama određen kao podna pločica, iako je nejasno zbog čega je pronađena samo jedna (Sl. 14).<sup>143</sup>

Unutar grijanih prostorija utvrde, mjesti-



SLIKA 14. *Šesterokuta podna obloga s Gradine* (foto: A. Karadole)

FIGURE 14 *Hexagonal floor tile from Gradina* (photo: A. Karadole)

<sup>142</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1995, 40; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2000, 90–91; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2003, 78; E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRNČEVIĆ, 2016, 60–61.

<sup>143</sup> Usp. K. DŽIN, T. ŠALOV, 2008, 42; R. ZLATUNIĆ, 2010, 29; K. DŽIN, 2011, 95 (Pula).



SLIKA 15. Tubul s Gradine (foto: A. Karađole)

FIGURE 15 Tubulus from Gradina (photo: A. Karađole)

mično čak i *in situ*,<sup>144</sup> nađen je velik broj pravokutnih tubula kojima je kroz zidove strujao topli zrak, a čini se da je njima bio popravljani i krov zapadne kule.<sup>145</sup> Radi boljeg vezivanja žbukom uz kamenu plaštu zida često na svojim vanjskim stijenama imaju žljebove (Sl. 15), a bočni otvori na pojedinim primjercima omogućavali su konkretniju cirkulaciju zraka među višerednim okomitim instalacijama unutar zida.

Terakotnom građevinskom materijalu pripadaju i cilindrični tuljci (*tubi fitilli*) korišteni najčešće u gradnji svodova ili za poboljšanje akustičnosti prostorija (T. XIV, 3).<sup>146</sup> Odlikuju se cilindričnim cjevastim narebrenim tijelom čiji je jedan kraj otvoren, a drugi sužen radi nastavljavanja na sljedeći tuljac u nizu. Na Gradini su nađeni na nekoliko pozicija povezanih s postojanjem različitih bačvastih i križnih svodova. Brojem dominiraju na prostoru pretpostavljene kupaonice,<sup>147</sup> ali ih se bilježi i u cisterni, te prostorima naslonjenima uz južnu i sjevernu kulu, uz koju su pronađeni najcjelovitiji primjerci. Prema njima se može reći da im je prosječna dužina iznosila 17, a promjer 6 cm, dok boja varira od žute do narančasto-crvenkaste. Pojedini primjerci su bili ispunjeni

certain that the same site yielded tegulae bearing motifs of a single, double or triple band also found in secondary use in Gradina (Fig. 13).

A hexagonal terracotta object, determined as a floor tile on the basis of analogies, also most likely belongs to ceramic building material, although it remains unclear why only one item of the kind was found (Fig. 14).<sup>143</sup>

Great number of rectangular tubuli were found in the heated rooms of the fort, sometimes even *in situ*.<sup>144</sup> Tubuli were used to create wall cavities through which hot air circulated, and it seems they were also used to repair roof of the western tower.<sup>145</sup> They often have grooves on the outer side to improve mortar adhesion to stone wall (Fig. 15), and lateral openings on certain examples enabled better air circulation between the vertical installations inside the wall in several layers.

Terracotta building material also includes cylindrical tubes (*tubi fitilli*) usually used in the construction of vaults or to improve room acoustics (T. XIV, 3).<sup>146</sup> They are characterized by cylindrical ribbed body with one open

61.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. K. DŽIN, T. ŠALOV, 2008, 42; R. ZLATUNIĆ, 2010, 29; K. DŽIN, 2011, 95 (Pula).<sup>144</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 44; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125.<sup>145</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40.<sup>146</sup> On this kind of object and their use in architecture see A. LEZINE, 1954, 168-181; D. P. PEACOCK, 1984, 242-246; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141; R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 97-129; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 3-18.<sup>144</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994d, 44; I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2001, 125.<sup>145</sup> I. PEDIŠIĆ, 1994, 40.<sup>146</sup> O ovoj vrsti predmeta i njihovoj upotrebi u arhitekturi vidjeti kod A. LEZINE, 1954, 168-181; D. P. PEACOCK, 1984, 242-246; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141; R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 97-129; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 3-18.<sup>147</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994, 44.

žbukom, a zanimljivo je vidjeti da se na većini njih primjećuju otisci prstiju i dlanova ostali pri njihovu oblikovanju.

Najranije korištenje tuljaka u arhitekturi zabilježeno je još u 3. stoljeću pr. Kr. u Morgantini,<sup>148</sup> dok u 2. stoljeću pr. Kr. datiraju tuljci iz Cabrere de Mar.<sup>149</sup> Njihova se uporaba širi rimskim svijetom i kao takva ostaje sve do kasne antike, moguće i poslije. Područje na kojem su bili posebno popularni bilo je ono Prokonzularne Afrike.<sup>150</sup> Konteksti uz koje ih se često pronalazi povezani su s termalnim postrojenjima, ali i keramičarskim pećima i drugim objektima koji u svojoj strukturi podrazumijevaju gradnju svodova, npr. cisterne, teatri i sl.<sup>151</sup> U vrijeme kasne antike česti su u kršćanskim kulturnim zdanjima, konkretno apsidama crkava, te krovovima ciborija, odnosno baldahina.<sup>152</sup> Na području istočne obale Jadrana tuljci se, barem za sada, ne spominju često. Veći broj tih predmeta pronađen je u Polačama na otoku Mljetu,<sup>153</sup> Puli i Vrsaru,<sup>154</sup> a što je posebno zanimljivo i unutar većeg broja brodoloma s pretežitim sjevernoafričkim materijalom, npr. onima u uvali Duboka, Babuljašu, brodolomu kod rta Zanavin, uvali Priježba, brodolomima na Velikim Piruzima, Uljeva D u Ližnjanu i u uvali Zaklopita.<sup>155</sup> Pojedini ulomci pronađeni su i na rtu Lokunji na Uni-

end, and the other is constricted for easier attaching on the following tube in the row. They were found in Gradina at several positions in contexts of various barrel- and cross vaults. They are most numerous in the area of assumed bath,<sup>147</sup> but they are also recorded in the cistern, and rooms adjoining southern and northern tower, where most complete examples were found, that were used for calculating average length of 17cm, and diameter of 6cm, while the color varies from yellow to orange-reddish. Certain examples were filled with mortar, and it is interesting to notice that finger and palm impressions can be noticed on most of them.

The earliest use of tubes for construction purposes was recorded back in the 3rd century BC in Morgantina,<sup>148</sup> while tubes from Cabrera de Mar date to the 2nd century BC.<sup>149</sup> Later their use spread across the Roman world lasting until Late Antiquity, possibly longer. They were particularly popular in Africa Proconsularis.<sup>150</sup> They are often found in the contexts related to thermal facilities, but also pottery kilns and other structures that imply vault construction such as cisterns, theaters etc.<sup>151</sup> In Late Antiquity they are common in the Christian cult structures, specifically church apses, and roofs of ciboria or baldachins.<sup>152</sup> Tubes are rarely mentioned, at least for now, in the region of the eastern Adriatic. Great number of

<sup>148</sup> Uz isticano sjevernoafričko kartaško ili pak istočnomediterransko podrijetlo ovog tipa predmeta čini se kako se prva njihova upotreba bilježi tijekom helenizma na području Sicilije i južne Italije s mogućim proizvodnim središtima u Sirakuzi ili Tarantu. R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 105–106.

<sup>149</sup> L. C. LANCASTER, 2012, 154; L. C. LANCASTER, 2015, 243.

<sup>150</sup> R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 105; L. C. LANCASTER, 2012, 151–152.

<sup>151</sup> Najraniji primjerci keramičarskih peći u kojima su korišteni tuljci potječu iz Pompeja, juga Francuske i Germanije (1. stoljeće), dok isti princip, ali ovaj puta s korištenjem lonaca umjesto tuljaka zabilježen je u dolinama rijeke Rajne i Po tijekom 3. stoljeća (R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 107; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 5–6).

<sup>152</sup> Primjeri su brojni, npr. Ravenna, Rim, Vercelli, Monza, Pavia, Grado, Dura Europos, Nazaret i dr. R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 117; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 3, 14.

<sup>153</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141.

<sup>154</sup> R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 128.

<sup>155</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 325–326.

<sup>147</sup> Z. GUNJAČA, 1994, 44.

<sup>148</sup> In addition to north African Carthaginian or eastern Mediterranean provenance of this type of objects, it seems its first use was recorded in Hellenism in the regions of Sicily and southern Italy with possible production centers in Syracuse or Taranto. R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 105–106.

<sup>149</sup> L. C. LANCASTER, 2012, 154; L. C. LANCASTER, 2015, 243.

<sup>150</sup> R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 105; L. C. LANCASTER, 2012, 151–152.

<sup>151</sup> The earliest examples of pottery kilns in which tubes were used were found in Pompeii, southern France and Germania (1st century), while the same principle only with the use of pots instead of tubes was documented in the valleys of the Po and Rhine rivers in the 3rd century (R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 107; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 5–6).

<sup>152</sup> The examples are numerous e.g. Ravenna, Rome, Vercelli, Monza, Pavia, Grado, Dura Europos, Nazareth etc. R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 117; L. C. LANCASTER, 2009, 3, 14.

jama i rtu Križ na Sestrunj. <sup>156</sup>

## OSTALI KERAMIČKI PREDMETI

Posljednju skupinu keramičkih predmeta s Gradine čine utezi i pršljen. Utezi su se izradivali od primarno odbačenog materijala, npr. opeka ili tubula (T. XIV, 2), a pretpostavka je da su služili za ribarske mreže. <sup>157</sup> Zanimljiv je očito nedovršeni ovalni predmet od keramike koji na sebi ima tragove bušenja rupice (T. IX, 3).

Konačno, za keramički predmet bikoničnog presjeka s rupom na sredini (T. XIV, 1), pronađen navodno ispred glavnog ulaza u utvrdu, <sup>158</sup> moguće je da je pršljen za tkalački stan, (vreteno), kronološki teško odrediv, <sup>159</sup> ali i nosač za fitilj kod kasnoantičkih staklenih svjetiljki. <sup>160</sup>

## ZAKLJUČAK

Keramički materijal pronađen istraživanjem prostora na kojem nastaje bizantska utvrda na Gradini na otoku Žirju raznovrstan je i pokazuje osnovne odlike naseobinskog karaktera lokaliteta. Na ovom je mjestu potrebno ponovno naglasiti kako ga u većini slučajeva, zbog određenih okolnosti nažalost nije bilo moguće povezati s konkretnim prostornim i stratigrafskim cjelinama. No, nadamo se korektno obavljena tipološka analiza, koja je dijelom riješila pitanja vremenskog i prostornog podrijetla pojedinih ulomaka i grupa, pružila je dostatnu količinu informacija za iznošenje pojedinih zaključaka o korištenim vrstama keramičkih proizvoda te procesima povezanim s njihovom nabavom. U početnoj rečenici ovog zaključnog dijela članka namjerno je iskorišten pojam „prostor na kojem nastaje bizantska

<sup>156</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 326.

<sup>157</sup> C. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, 15; R. MATIJAŠIĆ, 2009, 18.

<sup>158</sup> Podatak objavljen u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji*, 2. ožujka 2004.; a spominje se i u I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2006, 316.

<sup>159</sup> Uz njega je navodno pronađen i ulomak gradinske keramike.

<sup>160</sup> Usp. D. FOY, 2011, 207-239.

these objects was found in Polače on the island of Mljet, <sup>153</sup> Pula and Vrsar, <sup>154</sup> but also, interestingly enough, in a number of shipwrecks with dominant north African material such as the ones in Duboka cove, Babuljaš, cape Zanavin shipwreck, Priježba cove, shipwrecks in Veliki Piruzi, Uljeva D in Ližnjan and Zaklopita cove. <sup>155</sup> Certain fragments were found in Lokunja cove in Unije and cape Križ on the island of Sestrunj. <sup>156</sup>

## OTHER CERAMIC ARTEFACTS

The last group of ceramic objects from Gradina comprises weights and a whorl. Weights were usually made of discarded material, such as bricks or tubuli (T. XIV, 2), and it is assumed they were used on fishing nets. <sup>157</sup> A ceramic oval object with traces of perforating a hole is obviously unfinished (T. IX, 3).

Finally, a ceramic artefact with biconical cross-section and a hole in the middle (T. XIV, 1), allegedly found in front of the fort main entrance, <sup>158</sup> is possibly a spindle-whorl that is difficult to date. <sup>159</sup> However, it is possible that it was used to carry late Antique glass lamp fuse, also. <sup>160</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Diverse ceramic finds recovered in the excavation of the area where the Byzantine fort in Gradina on the island of Žirje was formed exhibit basic characteristics of a settlement site. It is important to emphasize once more that in

<sup>153</sup> Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988, 141.

<sup>154</sup> R. J. A. WILSON, 1992, 128.

<sup>155</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 325-326.

<sup>156</sup> M. PEŠIĆ, 2020, 326.

<sup>157</sup> C. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, 15; R. MATIJAŠIĆ, 2009, 18.

<sup>158</sup> Information published in the *Slobodna Dalmacija* newspaper, March 2, 2004; mentioned also in I. PEDIŠIĆ, 2006, 316.

<sup>159</sup> Fragment of hillfort pottery was allegedly found next to it.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. D. FOY, 2011, 207-239.

utvrda“ jer se analizom keramičkih predmeta utvrdilo da manji broj njih kronološki ne pripada kontekstu trajanja Justinijanove utvrde te ih svakako treba pokušati razjasniti. Prije svega to se odnosi na onih nekoliko prapovijesnih i helenističkih ulomaka, koje bi se trebalo gledati u zajedničkom kontekstu svojevrsnoga,<sup>161</sup> s obzirom na iznimno malu količinu nalaza te vrste, teško definirajućeg korištenja pozicije tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba.<sup>162</sup>

Sljedeći keramički materijal koji odudara od ranobizantskog odnosi se na onaj ranocarški. Njega u najvećoj mjeri čini reupotrebljeni građevinski materijal s prostora obližnjeg rustičnog imanja u uvali Velika Stupica pa ga se stoga i mora gledati u okvirima utvrde. Time se došlo do prevladavajućih kasnoantičkih predmeta, no i kod njih se pojavljuju određeni problemi. Naime, većina takvih nalaza dosta je široko datirana, često u stoljeće-dva, u slučaju amfora čak i tri. Time su oni praktički neupotrebljivi u pokušaju potvrđivanja ideje o svega dva desetljeća funkcioniranja utvrde koju su predložili njezini istraživači, dakle u razdoblju Justinijanove vladavine oko sredine 6. stoljeća. No to nije jedini problem s kasnoantičkim materijalom. Jedan leži i u činjenici što se među njim pojavljuje mali, ali opet znakoviti broj predmeta koji za čitavo stoljeće prethode predloženom datumu. Riječ je o sjevernoafričkim sigilatnim oblicima tipa *Hayes 61B* i *85B*, u čiju dataciju tijekom 5. stoljeća ne bi trebalo sumnjati s obzirom na dobro usustavljenu periodizaciju čitave keramičke grupe. Razloge njihove pojave na prostoru utvrde iluzorno je povezati sa samo jednom opcijom. S jedne

most cases it cannot be associated with specific spatial and stratigraphic wholes. However we hope that a thorough typological analysis that answered some questions of chronological and spatial provenance of certain fragments and groups, provided a sufficient amount of information to offer certain conclusions about the types of ceramic products used, as well as the processes associated with their procurement. In the initial sentence of this final part of the paper we used the syntagm “area where the Byzantine fort was formed” intentionally since the analysis of ceramic objects indicated that few finds do not belong to the context of the Justinian’s fort and that they definitely need further clarification. This primarily refers to several prehistoric and Hellenistic fragments that should be observed in the joint context of use of this position in the Late Iron Age<sup>161</sup> that is difficult to define having in mind exceptionally small amount of these finds.<sup>162</sup>

Other group of pottery finds that differs from the early Byzantine material refers to the early Imperial finds that mostly comprise re-used building material from the area of *villa rustica* in Velika Stupica cove which is why it should be interpreted in the fort context.

Late antique objects are dominant but there are certain problems related to their interpretation. Namely most of these objects have been dated broadly, often over a century or two, and in case of amphorae as long as three centuries. Therefore they cannot be used in an attempt of verifying the idea about only two decades of life on the fort proposed by its researchers, in the period of Justinian’s reign

<sup>161</sup> Pojava helenističke keramike u željeznodobnim indigenim kontekstima sasvim je uobičajena pojava na istočnoj obali Jadrana. O tome kod: A. BATOVIĆ, Š. BATOVIĆ, 2013 (Nadin); M. MIŠE, 2017, 92–93 (Gradina u Dragišićima); I. BORZIĆ, 2017, 76–79 (Kopila) i dr.

<sup>162</sup> Za sada nema dovoljno elemenata da se na ovoj poziciji smjesti jedno prapovijesno gradinsko naselje, kakvo je primjerice na otoku Žirju postojalo na poziciji Kapić (E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRNČEVIĆ, 2016, 53). No nedostatak takvih konkretnijih naseobinskih pokazatelja ne isključuje povremeno posjećivanje i ove, strateški dobro pozicionirane točke u prostoru.

<sup>161</sup> For now there are not enough elements to locate a prehistoric hillfort settlement on this position, such as the one on the position Kapić on the island of Žirje (E. PODRUG, J. JOVIĆ, Ž. KRNČEVIĆ, 2016, 53). However lack of such specific settlement indicators does not exclude occasional and intentional visiting of this, strategically well-situated point.

<sup>162</sup> Presence of Hellenistic pottery in the indigenous Iron Age contexts is quite common on the eastern Adriatic coast, more on this in A. BATOVIĆ, Š. BATOVIĆ, 2013 (Nadin); M. MIŠE, 2017, 92–93 (Gradina in Dragišić); I. BORZIĆ, 2017, 76–79 (Kopila) etc.

strane se može razmišljati o tome da njihova doprema do Gradine kronološki odgovara 5. stoljeću i to kao rezultat nekog slučajnog posjeta poziciji ili čak njezinu korištenju u obrambeno-nadzorne svrhe. Na kraju krajeva i to su vremena koja svjedoče latentnim previranjima na prostoru Jadrana potaknutima prvo pretenzijama istočnog i zapadnog dijela Carstva, a zatim i onim istočnogotskim. No, ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da je riječ o posudama koje su do utvrde dospjele zajedno s tegulama s obližnje vile i ovdje produžile svoj životni ciklus i izvan onih granica određenih tipskom kronologijom, što je možda slučaj o kojem se ne govori puno, ali je itekako moguć. Upravo se na ovom primjeru vidi šteta izostanka detaljnijih stratigrafskih i pozicijskih podataka s istraživanja.

Naposljetku se došlo do onog keramičkog materijala kojeg se bez ikakvih zadržaka može povezati s vremenom funkcioniranja Justinijanove utvrde. Odlikuje ga raznovrsnost koja uključuje pojavu svih onih kategorija keramičkih predmeta neophodnih za odvijanje svakodnevnog života ovdje naseljene vojne zajednice. U pogledu na njihova izvorišta odmah upada u oko ono što je i inače karakteristika keramičkog materijala istočne obale Jadrana tijekom čitave antike, a to je prevladavanje importa u svim kategorijama osim kuhinjske keramike. Specifičnosti vremena o kojem se govori logično su dovele do izdvajanja dviju glavnih opskrbnih regija, one sjevernoafričke i istočnomediteranske, koje još uvijek djeluju na valu svojeg rimskodobnog razvoja i posredstvom Justinijanove rekonkviste zadovoljavaju tržišne potrebe na prostorima ponovno uklopljenima u okvire njegova Carstva. Iako ne možemo govoriti o konkretnim brojkama zbog nepotpuno istraženog lokaliteta te spomenutih nedostataka dokumentacije stječe se dojam kako je ona prva sjevernoafrička roba slabije zastupljena i to preko male količine finog stolnog posuđa (ARSW) i svjetiljki te nešto veće zastupljenosti amfora. S druge strane činjenica da istočni Mediteran u navedeno,

around the mid-6th century, but that is not the only problem with the late antique material. There is a small but significant group of finds that precede the proposed date for an entire century. These are north African sigillata forms *Hayes 61B* and *85B*, whose dating to the 5th century should not be doubted having in mind well systematized periodization of the entire pottery group. The reasons of their presence in the fort should not be associated with one option only. On the one hand we might consider their presence in Gradina in the 5th century as a result of some accidental visit to this position or even its use for defensive and surveillance purposes. After all, this period witnessed latent turmoil in the Adriatic region, incited at first by pretensions of both eastern and western parts of the Empire, and then also the Ostrogothic claims. We should not eliminate the possibility that these were vessels that reached the fort together with tegulae from the nearby villa and continued their life cycle outside the borders set by chronology of the type, which might be poorly discussed case, but still possible. This is the best illustration of harmful lack of more detailed stratigraphic and positional data from the excavation.

Finally, the material was reached that can be associated with the period of functioning of the Justinian's fort without any doubt. It is characterized by diversity that includes presence of all those categories of ceramic objects necessary in everyday life of the military community settled in the fort. The first thing to notice with regard to their provenance is dominance of import in all categories except for cookingware, which is a characteristic of pottery from the eastern Adriatic coast throughout antiquity. Particularities of the period discussed logically led to differentiating two main supply regions, the north African and eastern Mediterranean, that were still active riding the wave of their Roman-era development and through mediation of Justinian's reconquista, satisfying the market needs in the areas reintegrated in the framework of his Empire.

ali i nešto ranije vrijeme evidentno doživljava svojevrsni gospodarski razvoj potaknut kontinuitetom i snagom Konstantinopola kao nove metropole, objašnjava prevladavanje tamošnjih proizvoda svih kategorija, posebice na Jadrani kao moru koje je tijekom čitave antike otvoreno istočnjačkim trgovačkim utjecajima. Među gradinskim materijalom tom arealu pripada fino stolno posuđe iz Fokeje (LR C), određeni oblici egejskog kuhinjskog posuđa, ali ipak u najvećoj mjeri prehrambeni proizvodi dopremani u različitim oblicima kasnoantičkih amfora iz egejskih (*Late Roman 1* i *2* te *Samos cistern type*) te sirijsko-palestinskih regija (*Late Roman 1, 4* i *5*). Cjelokupni importirani repertoar uobičajena je slika keramičkih predmeta na čitavom Jadrani na civilnim, sakralnim i na lokalitetima vojnog karaktera, što dokazuju brojne analogije navedene pri obradi pojedinih keramičkih kategorija. Njima se na vrlo ilustrativan način prikazuju glavne proizvodne zone, najfrekventniji trgovački putovi, kao i ciljane konzumentske regije, odnosno subjekti. S obzirom na to da je ovdje u fokusu interesa lokalitet vojnog karaktera potrebno je još jednom istaknuti mogućnost da barem dio keramičkih proizvoda, poglavito češće zabilježeni tipovi amfora, do utvrde stižu službenim opskrbnim linijama, a ne njihovim povlačenjem sa slobodnog tržišta.<sup>163</sup>

Je li u istu kategoriju službeno nabavljenih keramičkih potrepština moguće staviti i dominirajuću kategoriju kuhinjske keramike teško je reći. Činjenica je da su kulinarske aktivnosti unutar utvrde uglavnom bile obavljane uz korištenje jednog tipa kuhinjskog lonca specifičnih odlika, što svakako otvara mogućnost jednokratnog procesa njihove nabave. Neka vrsta službene nabave svakako je opcionalna u smislu zadovoljavanja osnovnih potreba vojne posade. No, kako je riječ o tipu posuđa koji je svojim tehnološkim, morfološkim i dekorativnim odlikama svojstven čitavom jadranskom i perijadranskom prostoru, u ovom je trenutku

Although we cannot provide specific figures since the site has not been excavated completely, and because of the lack of documentation, one gets the impression that first north African pottery is poorly represented by a small amount of fine tableware (ARSW) and lamps and somewhat bigger number of amphorae. On the other hand the fact that the eastern Mediterranean evidently saw a kind of economic development incited by continuity and strength of Constantinople as a new metropolis explains dominance of all categories of their products, in particular in the Adriatic as the sea open to eastern trade influences throughout antiquity. Among the Gradina finds, fine tableware from Phocaea (LR C) belongs to this area, certain forms of the Aegean cooking-ware, but still mostly foodstuffs transported in various forms of late antique amphorae from the Aegean (*Late Roman 1* and *2* and *Samos cistern type*) and Syro-Palestinian regions (*Late Roman 1, 4* and *5*). The entire imported repertory offers a usual image of pottery objects in the entire Adriatic, in profane, sacral and military structures as attested by many analogies mentioned in the analysis of certain ceramic categories. They are used in an illustrative way to represent main production zones, the most frequented trade routes, as well as the targeted consumer regions, or subjects. Since a military site is in question here, we need to mention once more the possibility that at least some ceramic products, especially more numerous amphora types, reached the fort through the official supply lines, and not by their withdrawal from the free market.<sup>163</sup>

It is difficult to say if the dominant category of cookingware can be classified into the same category of officially procured ceramic ware. The fact is that culinary activities inside the fort were mostly performed by using one type of cooking pot with specific characteristics, definitely opening up a possibility of one-time process of their acquisition. Some sort of offi-

<sup>163</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 149–156.

<sup>163</sup> O. KARAGIORGOU, 2001, 149–156.

dosta teško raspravljati o ishodištu konkretnih posuda na Gradini, iako nije isključeno ni prostorno blisko područje koje je svoju djelatnost, odnosno proizvodni repertoar razvilo prema modi svojeg vremena.

Zaključno se može reći da keramički materijal nađen istraživanjem prostora bizantske utvrde Gradina na otoku Žirju dokazuje do sada poznate i utvrđene konzumentske principe kasnoantičko-ranobizantskog doba na čitavom, napose istočnom Jadranu. Naravno, otvoren je još čitav niz pitanja čiji odgovori u ovom trenutku izmiču, a rezultat su necjelovito istraženog lokaliteta i općenito slabog objavljivanja keramičkog materijala s ovodobnih lokaliteta. Neki od njih idu u smjeru intenziteta importa i količinskih odnosa pojedinih grupa proizvoda tijekom vremena, utvrđivanje participacije lokalnih proizvoda u zadovoljavanju tržišnih potreba, eventualnog primjećivanja razlika između lokaliteta civilnih i vojnih karaktera i drugog.

cial procurement is definitely possible in terms of satisfying the basic needs of the garrison. However since this is a vessel type that is characteristic of the entire Adriatic and Periadriatic area on the basis of its technological, morphological and decorative traits, it is difficult to discuss the provenance of specific vessels in Gradina, although we should not eliminate the surrounding region that developed its activity in accordance with the trends of the time.

Finally we can say that the ceramic material found in the excavation of the area of the Byzantine fort Gradina on the island of Žirje testifies to previously known consumer principles of the late antique – early Byzantine period in the entire, and in particular eastern Adriatic. A number of questions has been tackled without providing satisfying answers, as a result of incomplete excavation of the site, as well as generally poor publishing of pottery finds from synchronous sites. Some of these questions relate to the intensity of import and quantity relations of certain groups of products over time, determining participation of local products in satisfying the market needs, recognizing possible differences between the civilian and military sites etc.

*Translation: Marija Kostić*

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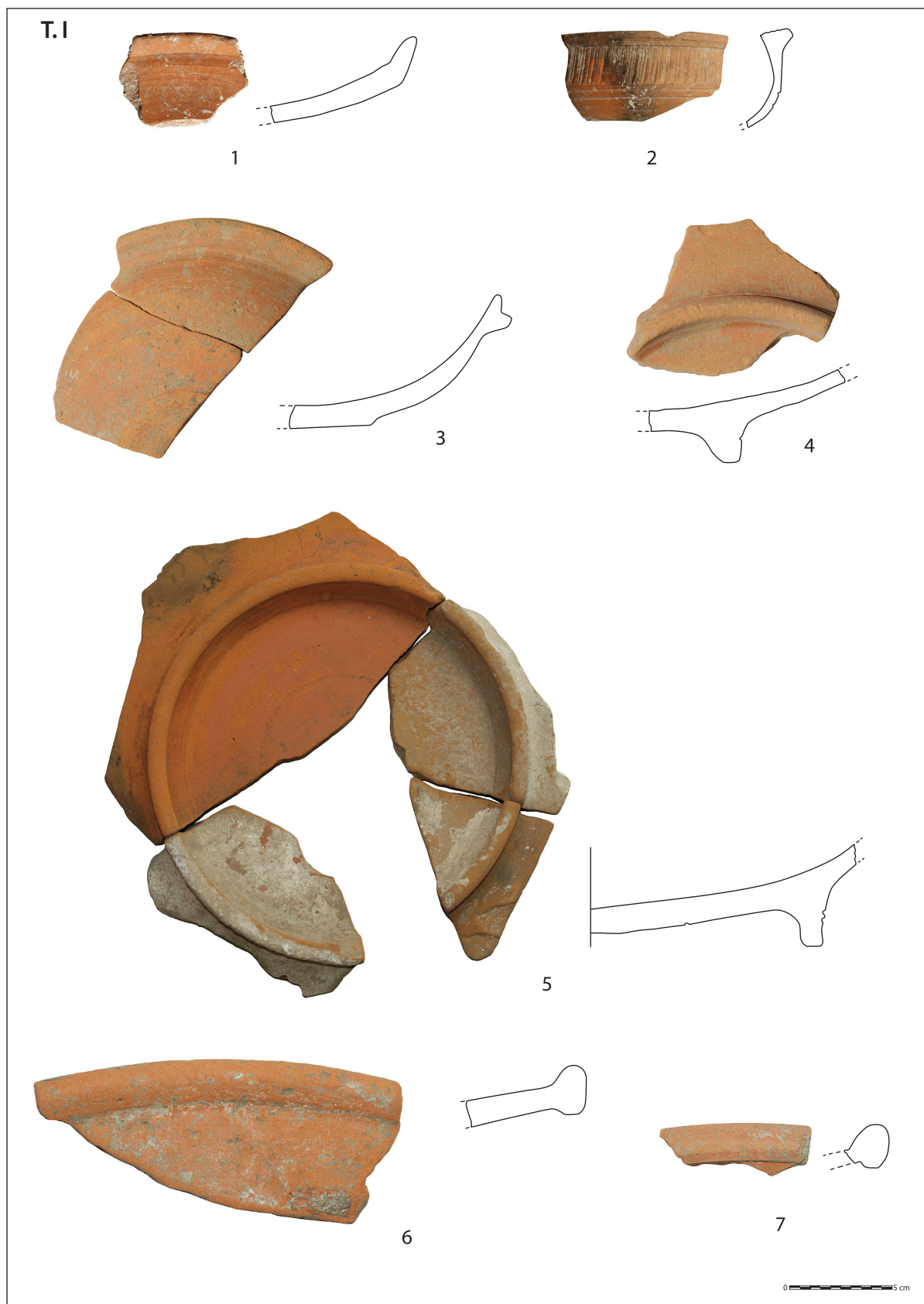
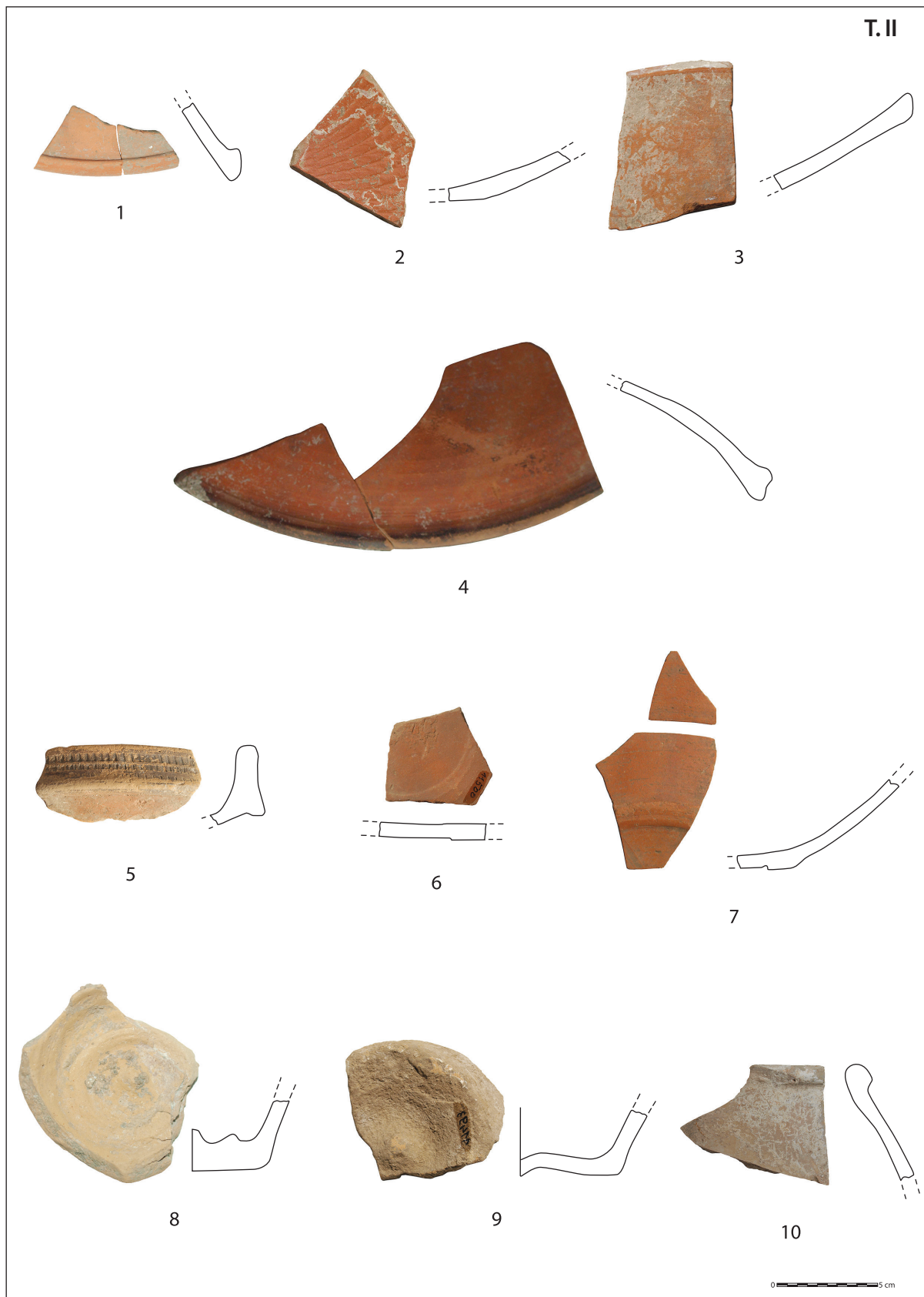
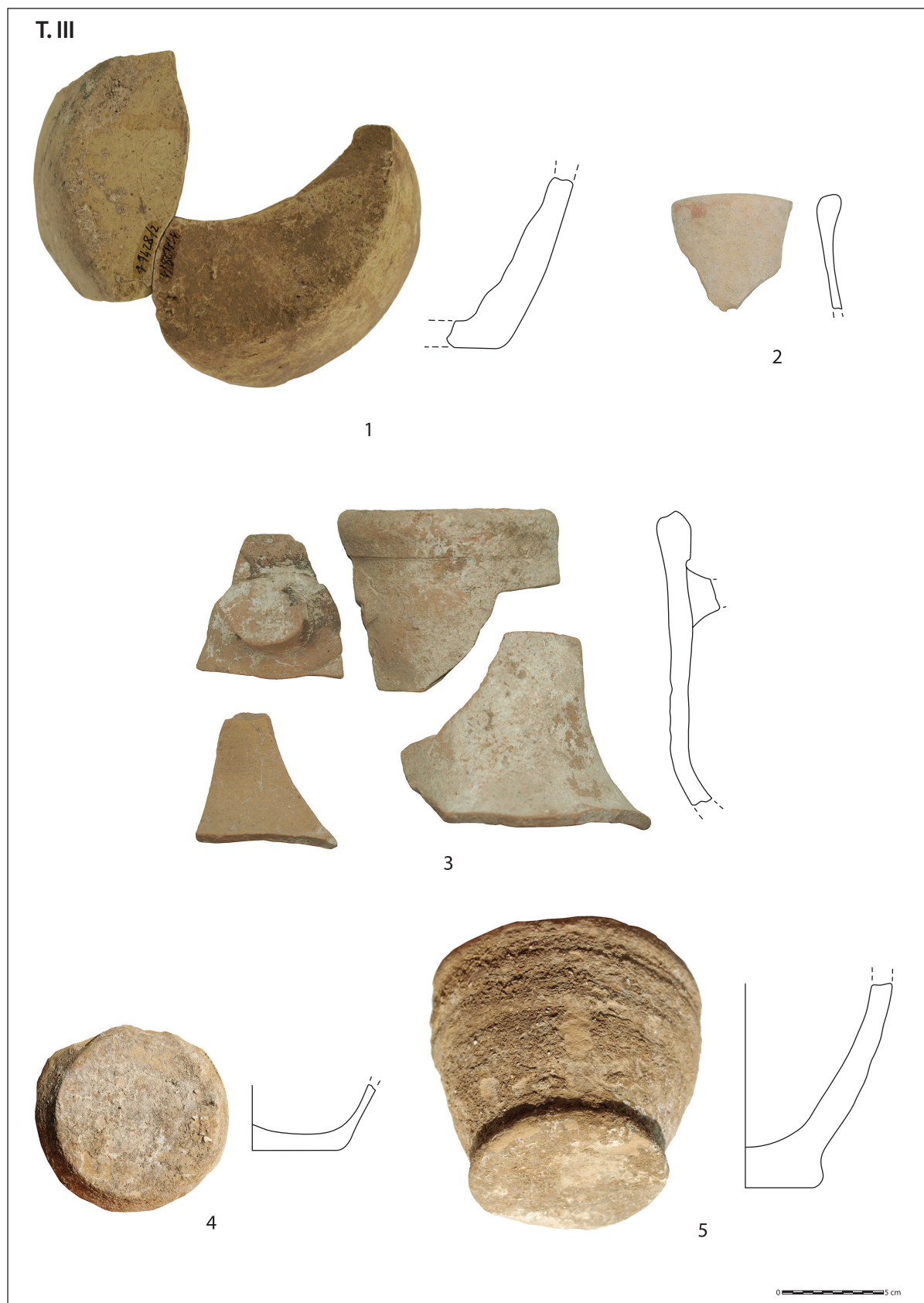
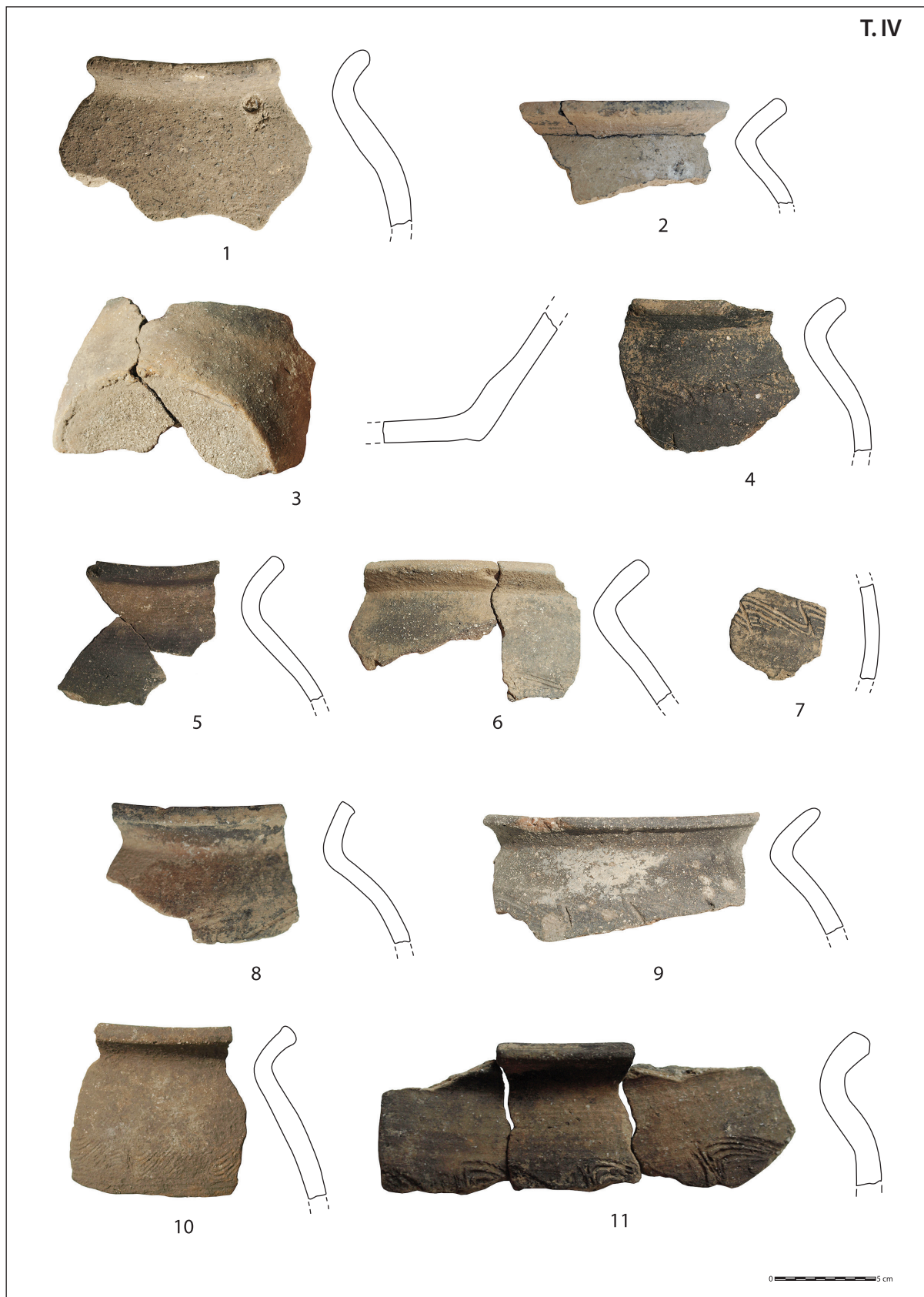
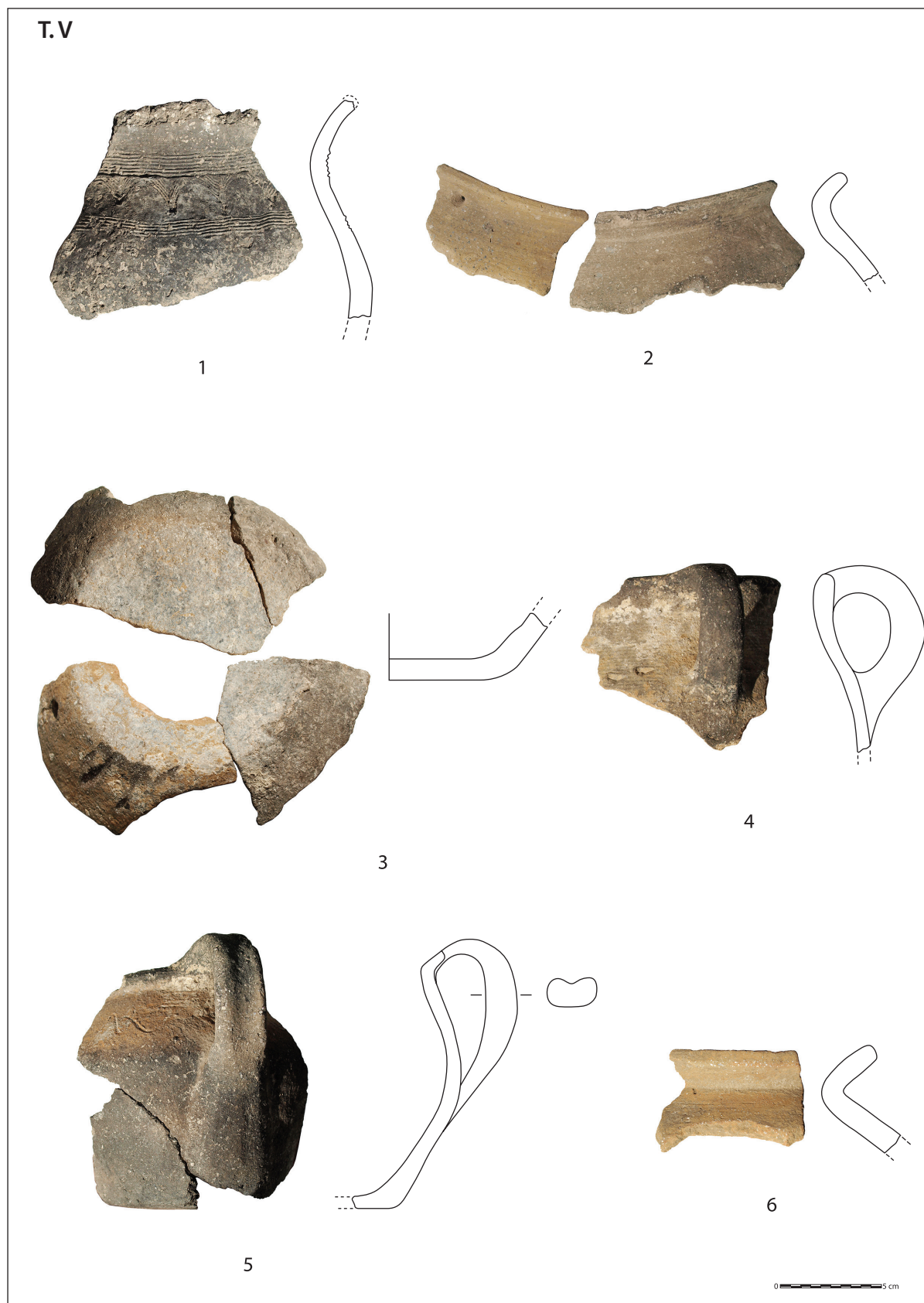


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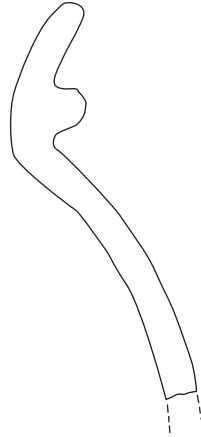








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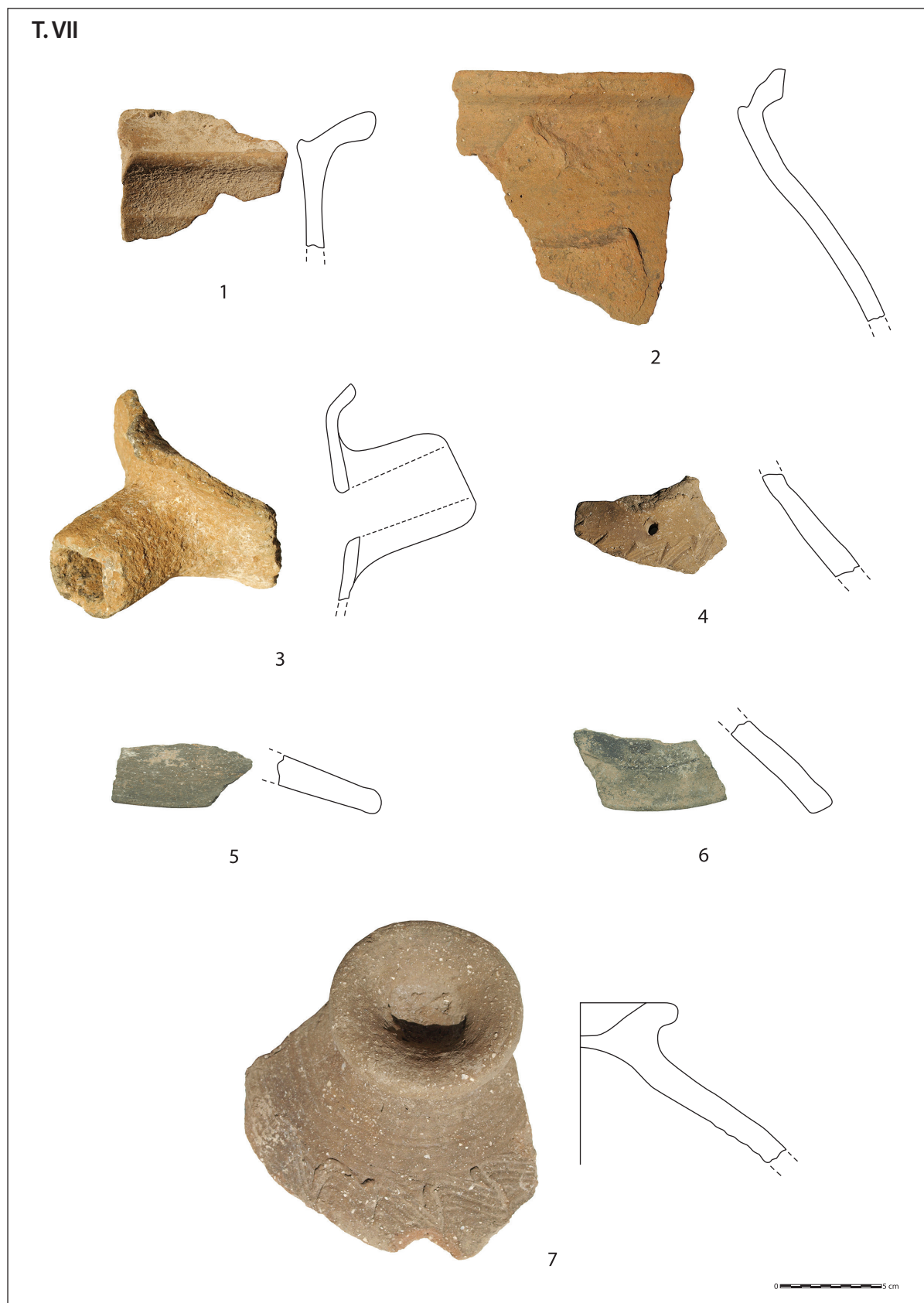


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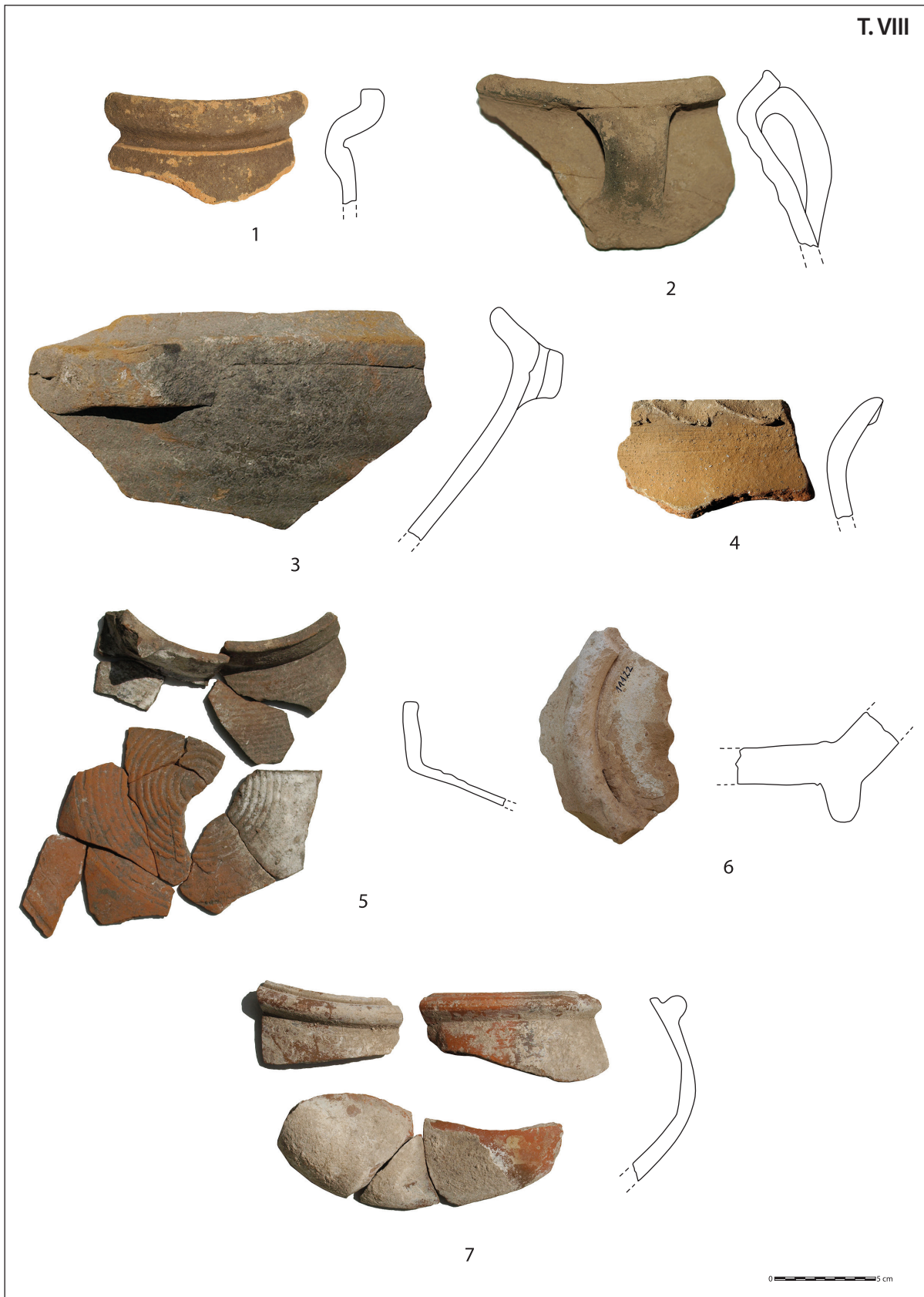


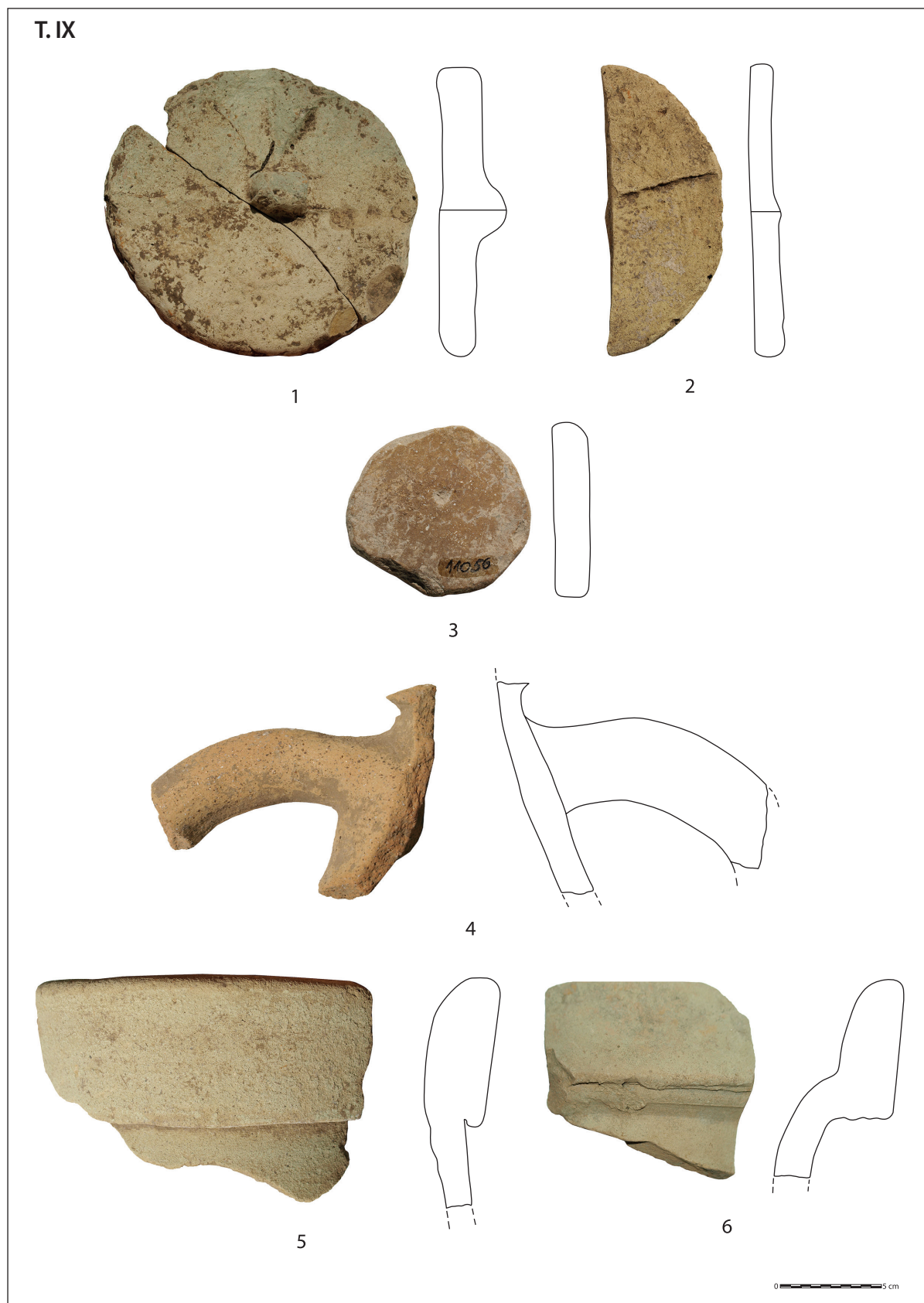
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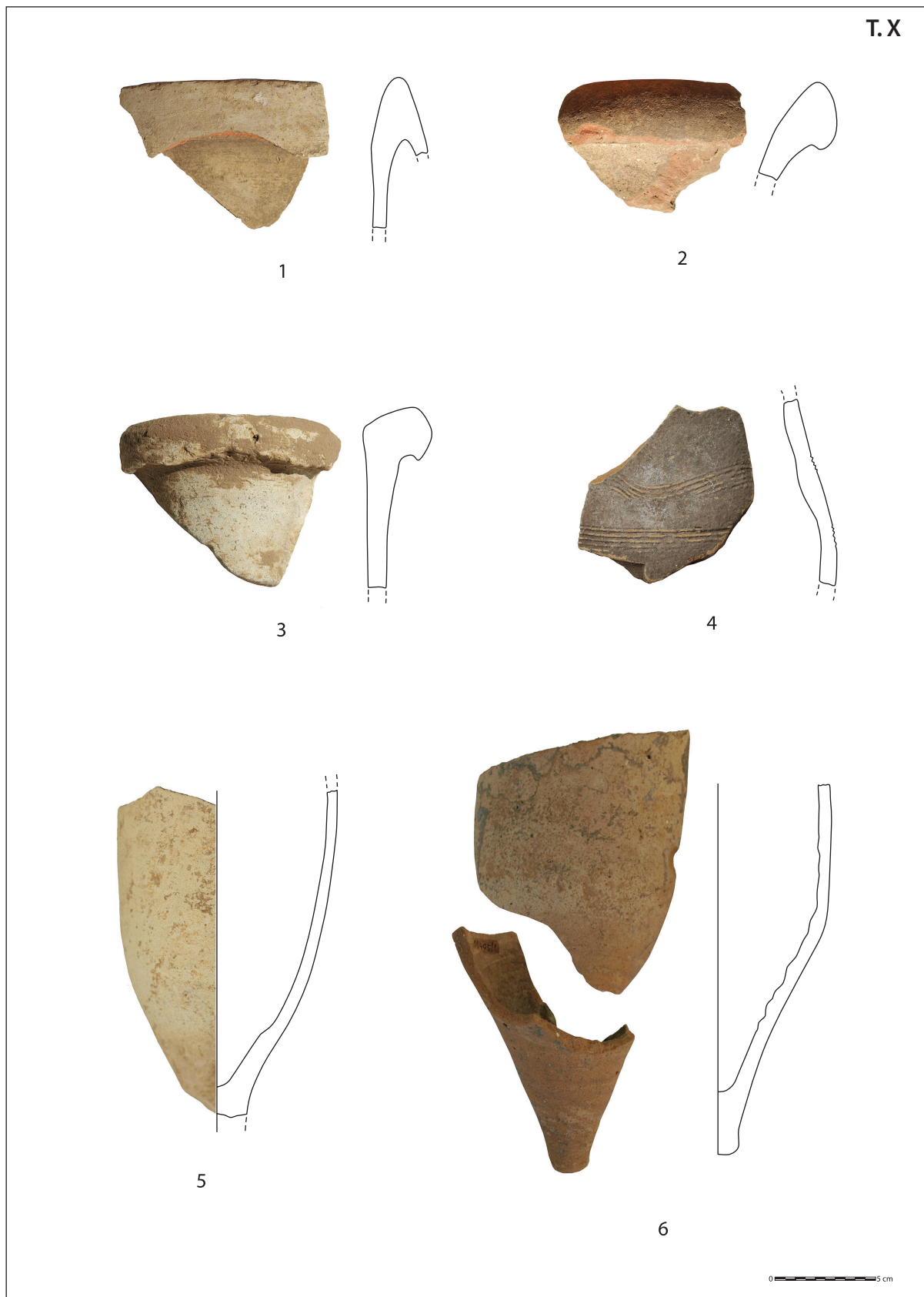
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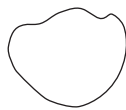
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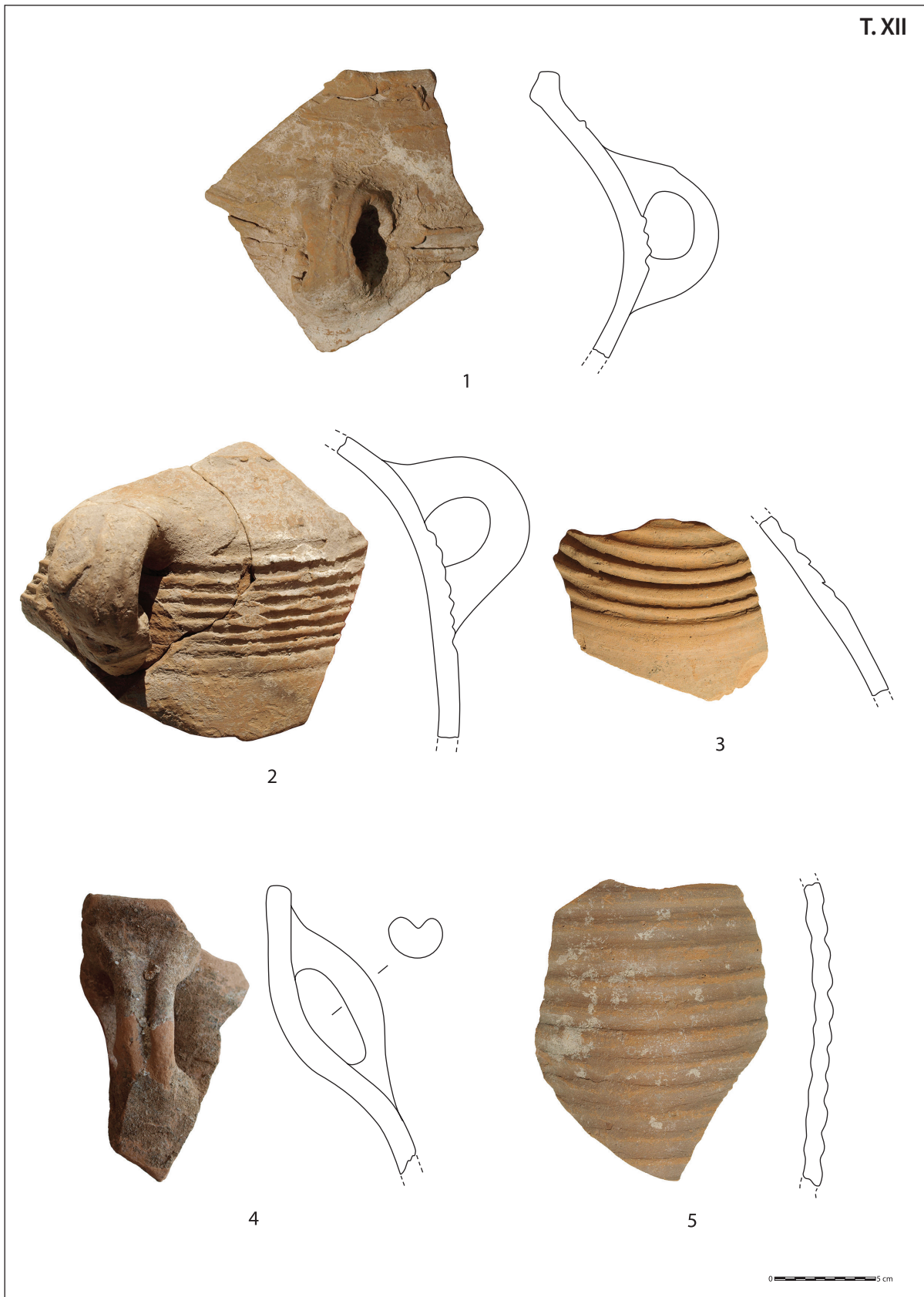
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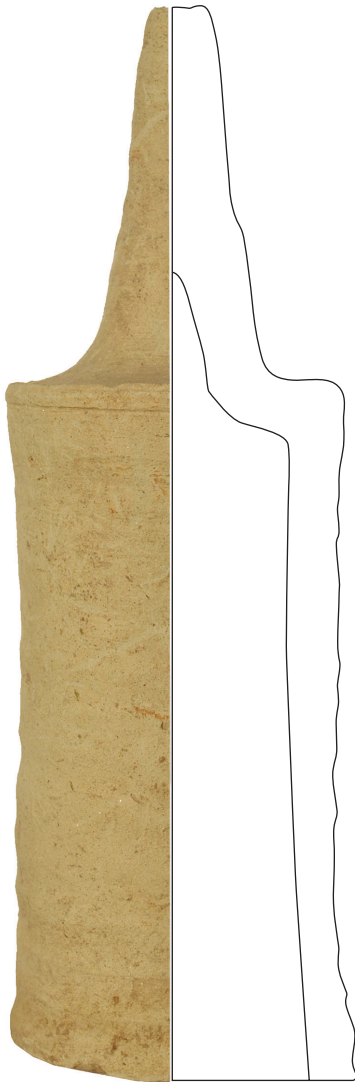
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# DARDANIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY: AN OVERVIEW OF 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> CENTURY FORTIFICATIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF KOSOVO

## DARDANIJA U KASNOJ ANTICI: PREGLED UTVRDA OD 4. DO 6. STOLJEĆA NA PODRUČJU KOSOVA

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**KEY WORDS:**

*Dardania, Late  
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*Late Antiquity, known as a transitory phase between Antiquity and the Middle Ages that encompasses the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, was characterized by major historical events that led not only to political and administrative changes, but also social, cultural and religious changes. This paper will elaborate the impact of these changes in the province of Dardania, of which the central territory corresponds to today's Kosovo, with a specific focus on the spread of Christianity and Christian architecture and changes in settlement patterns, as people moved from field settlements to hillforts. Moreover, it will present architectural features and the role of fortifications in Late Antiquity.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:**

*Dardanija, kasna  
antika, utvrde,  
kršćanstvo*

*Kasna antika, prijelazno razdoblje iz antike u srednji vijek, odnosno period od 4. do 6. stoljeća, obilježena je važnim povijesnim događanjima koja su rezultirala promjenama ne samo u političkom i administrativnom smislu, već i u društvenim, kulturnim i religijskim aspektima. Ovaj rad bavi se utjecajem tih promjena u provinciji Dardaniji, čije je središnje područje smješteno na današnjem Kosovu. Posebna pažnja bit će posvećena širenju kršćanstva i kršćanske arhitekture, promjenama u naseljima, te premještanjima stanovništva iz nizinskih naselja na gradine. U radu se donose i karakteristike arhitekture i uloga fortifikacija u kasnoj antici.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Kosovo lies in the territory known in ancient times as Dardania. It is located in south-eastern Europe, in the central Balkan Peninsula, bordered by Albania in the south-west, North Macedonia in the south-east, Montenegro in the northwest and Serbia in northeast (Fig. 1).

## UVOD

Republika Kosovo smještena je na području u antici znanom kao Dardanija. Nalazi se u jugoistočnoj Europi, u središnjem dijelu Balkanskog poluotoka, okružena današnjom Albanijom na jugozapadu, Sjevernom Makedonijom na jugoistoku, Crnom Gorom na sjeverozapadu i Srbijom na sjeveroistoku (Sl. 1).



FIGURE 1 *Map of Europe* (from: <https://mapchart.net>)  
 SLIKA 1. *Karta Europe* (izvor: <https://mapchart.net>)

Geographically, Kosovo has a diverse relief, combining plains and valleys with hills and mountains. It is divided into two main regional units: the Kosovo Field in the northeast and the Dukagjini Plain in the southwest, and it is surrounded by several mountain ranges, such as the Kopaonik Mountains (elevation exceeding 2.000 m) in the north, the Sharr Mountains (over 2.500 m) in the south and southwest at the border North Macedonia, the

Što se tiče geografskih karakteristika, reljef Kosova je raznolik, pa se polja i doline smjenjuju s brdima i planinama. Dijeli se u dvije regionalne cjeline: Kosovsko polje (sjeveroistočni dio) i Dukadžinska ravnica (jugozapadni dio). Kosovo je okruženo sljedećim planinskim masivima: Kopaonik (preko 2000 mnv) na sjevernom djelu, Šar planina (preko 2500 mnv) s južne i jugozapadne strane na granici sa Sjevernom Makedonijom, Albanske Alpe (Bjeshkët e Ne-

Albanian Alps (Bjeshkët e Nemuna) in west at the border with Albania and the Mokra Mountains at the border with Montenegro.<sup>1</sup> The border between the two plains defines the division between the Adriatic Sea basin on the one side, and on the other, the basin of the Black and Aegean Seas, which are divided by mountain ranges in the areas of Drenica and Llapusha.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Kosovo's geographical position is enhanced by the wider regional links via the White Drin River, which flows to the Adriatic Sea, the Lepenci River, which flows to the Vardar River in the direction of the Aegean Sea, the Ibri River tributary of the Danube, and the Binça tributary of the South Morava to the Black Sea.

Its advantageous geographic position, climatic conditions and natural resources created suitable conditions for the development of life from prehistory to the present. Archaeological excavations and research have ascertained human activity since Neolithic, although this does not exclude the possibility of human habitation even earlier, in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, based on indications in Radavc Cave in Peja, which still requires further research for definitive verification.<sup>3</sup>

## KOSOVO IN ANTIQUITY

The history of Kosovo in Antiquity begins with the establishment of the Dardanian Kingdom, which grew during the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. The preceding proto-urban Dardanian development (6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) played a key role in the history of ancient Dardania.<sup>4</sup> The Dardanian Kingdom had a compact and defined territory, a population known as Dardanians, organized armies, the institution

munna) na zapadnom dijelu Kosova na granici s Albanijom i Mokra Gora na granici s Crnom Gorom.<sup>1</sup> Granica između dviju ravnica označava i razdjelnicu između slijeva Jadranskog mora s jedne strane, i slijeva Crnog i Egejskog mora s druge, koji su razdijeljeni planinskim masivima u području Drenice i Llapushe.<sup>2</sup>

Važnost geografskog položaja Kosova dodatno je naglašena zbog povezanosti ove regije s Jadranskim morem preko doline Bijelog Drima; rijekom Lepenac preko Vardara ostvaruje se povezanost u pravcu Egejskog mora; Ibar je pritoka Dunava, a Binačka Morava utječe u Južnu Moravu prema Crnom moru.

Povoljan geografski položaj, klimatski uvjeti i prirodni resursi osiguravali su povoljne uvjete za razvoj života od prapovijesnih razdoblja do danas. Prema dosadašnjim arheološkim iskopavanjima i istraživanjima, potvrđena je naseljenost od neolitka, ali nije isključena mogućnost ljudske prisutnosti već u paleolitiku i mezolitiku, sudeći prema pokazateljima iz pećine Radavc u Peći, što treba potvrditi budućim istraživanjima.<sup>3</sup>

## KOSOVO U ANTICI

Antička povijest Kosova počinje uspostavom Dardanskog kraljevstva koje se razvilo u periodu od 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr. Prijašnji protourbani razvoj Dardanije (6. – 4. st. pr. Kr.) imao je ključnu ulogu u povijesnom razvoju antičke Dardanije.<sup>4</sup> Dardansko kraljevstvo se prostiralo na kompaktnom i definiranom području. Stanovništvo, znano kao Dardanci, organiziralo je vojske, poznavalo instituciju kralja i razvijenu privredu utemeljenu na poljoprivredi, stočarstvu, rudarstvu i metalurgiji.<sup>5</sup>

Antički pisci npr. Herodot u šestoj knjizi *Po-*

<sup>1</sup> Independent Commission on Mines and Minerals (<https://www.kosovo-mining.org/kosova/gjeografia/>).

<sup>2</sup> M. KRASNIQI, 1963, 4.

<sup>3</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 38.

<sup>4</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 11.

<sup>1</sup> The Independent commission for mines and minerals (<https://www.kosovo-mining.org/kosova/gjeografia/>).

<sup>2</sup> M. KRASNIQI, 1963, 4.

<sup>3</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 38.

<sup>4</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 11.

<sup>5</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 18.

of a king, and a developed economy based in agriculture, farming, mining and metallurgy.<sup>5</sup>

Classical authors such as Herodotus, in Book IV of *The Histories*<sup>6</sup> and Strabo<sup>7</sup> describe the expansion of Dardania and the Dardanian population. The Dardanians were an Illyrian tribe, and the majority of Dardania's territory lay in what is today Kosovo, a part in southern Serbia up to Niš (*Naissus*) and Novi Pazar, a part in North Macedonia including Skopje (*Scupi*, which was the central hub of Dardania) and the region of Kukës in the north-eastern Albania.<sup>8</sup>

Major administrative and legal changes occurred after the fall of Dardania under the Roman Empire. Dardania became part of the province of Moesia between 2 and 6 AD,<sup>9</sup> and 86 AD it became part of Moesia Superior.<sup>10</sup> Following administrative reforms that were implemented by Emperor Diocletian, in 297 AD Dardania was separated from Moesia Superior and became an independent administrative and political province in the Roman Empire (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup>

Changes occurred not only in administration and politics, but also in urban planning, in the growth of the economy and trade, and in everyday life. The Roman era saw the development of vital urbanized centres with all of the features of Roman cities and a dense road network. Urban centres were built in flat areas close to natural resources and major roads.

The Romans were particularly focused on the exploitation of ores, this is also one of the reasons why the main centres in Dardania, *Municipium Ulpiana*, was built close to the mining areas of Janjeva and Novobërda, and *Municipium Dardanorum* was close to the ore complex of Ibri.<sup>12</sup>

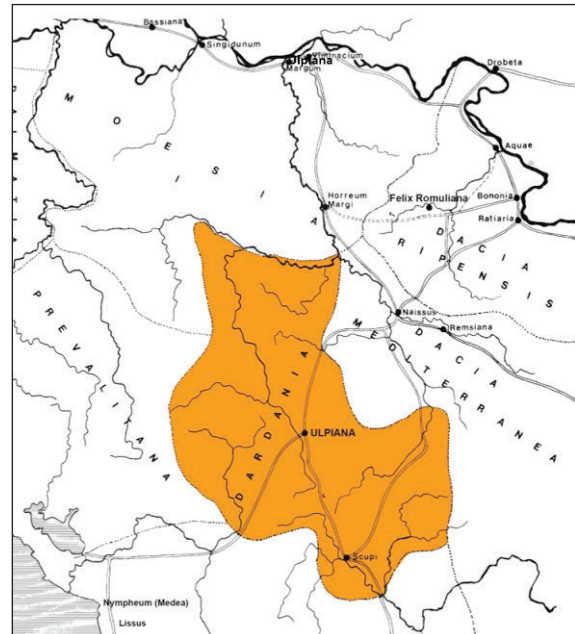


FIGURE 2 Province of Dardania in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ulpiana Archaeological Park, 2016, MCYS/ Archaeological Institute of Kosovo)

SLIKA 2. Provincija Dardanija u 3. i 4. stoljeću (Arheološki park Ulpiana, 2016, MCYS/ Arheološki institut Kosova)

*vijesti*<sup>6</sup> i Strabon<sup>7</sup> opisuju širenje Dardanije i dardanskog stanovništva. Dardanci su bili ilirsko pleme i većina teritorija Dardanije nalazi se na Kosovu. Preostali dijelovi obuhvaćaju područje juga Srbije do Niša (*Naissus*) i Novog Pazara, zatim prostor Sjeverne Makedonije uključujući Skoplje (*Scupi*, kao glavni grad Dardanije) i područje Kukës u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Albanije.<sup>8</sup>

Glavne administrativne i pravne promjene dogodile su se nakon rimskog osvajanja. Dardanija je ušla u sastav provincije Mezije između 2. i 6. godine,<sup>9</sup> a 86. je inkorporirana u Gornju Meziju (*Moesia Superior*).<sup>10</sup> Nakon administrativnih reformi koje je poduzeo car Dioklecijan godine 297. Dardanija je preustrojena u samostalnu provinciju Rimskog Carstva u administrativnom i političkom smi-

<sup>5</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 18.

<sup>6</sup> N. CEKA, 2014, 263.

<sup>7</sup> STRABONIS, 1979, 155.

<sup>8</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 70-71.

<sup>9</sup> E. ČERŠKOV, 1969, 24.

<sup>10</sup> N. FERRI, 2001, 55.

<sup>11</sup> Z. MIRDITA, 1987, 221; M. BERISHA, 2012, 57.

<sup>12</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 18.

<sup>6</sup> N. CEKA, 2014, 263.

<sup>7</sup> STRABONIS, 1979, 155.

<sup>8</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 70-71.

<sup>9</sup> E. ČERŠKOV, 1969, 24.

<sup>10</sup> N. FERRI, 2001, 55.

The main road that traversed today's territory of Kosovo, *Via Lissus-Naissus*, is the most important road that linked the central Balkans and the Adriatic coast. It started in *Lissus* (Lezhë), ran through the valley of the White Drin to *Naissus* (Niš). At the *Vicianum* station, located very close to *Municipium Ulpiana*, the *Lissus-Naissus* road was intersected by the road that led to *Scupi* (Skopje) and Thessaloniki.<sup>13</sup>

## LATE ANTIQUITY

The time frame of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries brought new changes not only to the Empire's administration and politics, such as centralization of power into the emperors' hands and the division of military from civil governance,<sup>14</sup> but also to the population's beliefs and lifestyles; the state was also rocked by economic crises and external attacks. All these changes were consequently reflected in the province of Dardania, which with the Empire's division into two halves, remained in the Eastern Empire.

The decisions made by emperors such as Constantine the Great (Edict of Milan, 313) and then Theodosius I, who in 391 prohibited pagan temples and rites in the Empire,<sup>15</sup> eventually established Christianity as the only legal belief system in the entire Empire, including Dardania. These changes also led to the massive apostasy of polytheism in Dardania, which was an intertwining of indigenous Dardanian beliefs with those of the Romans, resulting in the embrace and acceptance of monotheism.

Changes in religious belief were also reflected in architecture and administration. Christian architecture began to spread throughout the Roman Empire, and the church became a public institution under the imperial patronage.<sup>16</sup> During Late Antiquity, Ulpiana became a very important episcopal centre, a part of

slu (Sl. 2).<sup>11</sup>

Promjene su se dogodile ne samo na administrativnom i političkom planu, nego i u urbanizmu, razvoju privrede i trgovine, ali i u svakodnevnom životu. U rimskom razdoblju razvijaju se važni urbani centri sa svim značajkama rimskog grada, kao i gusta cestovna mreža. Urbani centri su nastajali u nizinama u blizini važnih cesta i prirodnih resursa.

Rimljani su prepoznali važnost eksploatacije ruda ovog područja, što je jedan od razloga da su glavna središta Dardanije nastajala u blizini rudonosnih područja: *Municipium Ulpiana* u blizini Janjeva i Novobërda, a *Municipium Dardanorum* blizu Ibra.<sup>12</sup>

Glavna cesta koja je prolazila područjem današnjeg Kosova potezom *Lissus – Naissus* najvažnija je komunikacija koja je povezivala središnji Balkan s jadranskom obalom. Počinjala je od Lješa (*Lissus*, Lezhë), vodila je kroz dolinu Bijelog Drima sve do Niša (*Naissus*). Na postaji *Vicinium*, u neposrednoj blizini municipija Ulpiana, cesta *Lissus – Naissus* križala se s cestom koja je vodila prema Skoplju (*Scupi*) i Solunu.<sup>13</sup>

## KASNA ANTIKA

Nove promjene u administraciji i politici Carstva događaju se u vremenu od 4. do 6. stoljeća, što se očituje centralizacijom vlasti u osobi vladara i razdiobi vojne i civilne administracije,<sup>14</sup> ali i u vjerovanjima i životnom stilu stanovništva, kao i u ekonomskim krizama i napadima izvana. Sve su se te promjene osjetile i u provinciji Dardaniji koja je nakon podjele Carstva pripala njegovom istočnom dijelu.

I u provinciji Dardaniji su poštovane odluke careva Konstantina Velikog (Milanski edikt iz 313.) i Teodozija I. iz 391. koji su zabrani-

<sup>13</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 101.

<sup>14</sup> M. BERISHA, 2012, 77.

<sup>15</sup> CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY 13, 2008, 108.

<sup>16</sup> CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY 13, 2008, XV.

<sup>11</sup> Z. MIRDITA, 1987, 221; M. BERISHA, 2012, 57.

<sup>12</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2008, 18.

<sup>13</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2018, 101.

<sup>14</sup> M. BERISHA, 2012, 77.

the metropolis of Scupi until the establishment of the archdiocese of Justiniana Prima. Based on historical and theological data and also archaeological and epigraphic finds, *Ulpiana-Justiniana Secunda* became the primary administrative, political, religious and cultural centre of the Province of Dardania (Fig. 3).<sup>17</sup>

However, evidence of Christianity in Dardania dates back even further, as indicated by the case of the two martyrs, *Florus* and *Laurus*, who were the first known Christian martyrs in Dardania. They allegedly lived in the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The *Roman Martyrology*<sup>18</sup> provides information on the two brothers *Florus* and *Laurus*. Stonemasons by trade, they were students of *Maximus* and *Proculus*, who were persecuted in the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138)<sup>19</sup> and who probably converted *Florus* and *Laurus* to Christianity. According to hagiographic records, *Florus* and *Laurus* travelled from Byzantium to Ulpiana to build a temple. After accomplishing that task, together with the impoverished local inhabitants, they destroyed pagan symbols inside the temple and replaced them with Christian symbols.<sup>20</sup> Due to their inappropriate behaviour, all perpetrators of this act were put to death, while the authorities sent the two brothers to Licinius. After being interrogated, they were also executed: they were thrown into a well somewhere in the vicinity of Ulpiana.<sup>21</sup> This is also illustrated on an icon in the Patriarchate of Peja (Fig. 4).

With regard to the story of the two martyrs and archaeological data, there are some hypotheses. An empty tomb was discovered (Fig. 5) in the apse of an Early Christian basilica



FIGURE 3 Episcopal basilica and baptistery, 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century, Ulpiana (Ulpiana Archaeological Park, 2016, MCYS/ Archaeological Institute of Kosovo)

SLIKA 3. Episkopalna bazilika i baptisterij, 5. i 6. stoljeće, Ulpiana (Arheološki park Ulpiana, 2016, MCYS/ Arheološki institut Kosova)

li poganske hramove i običaje u Carstvu,<sup>15</sup> te ozakonili kršćanstvo kao jedinu vjeru u cijelom Carstvu. Te promjene dovele su do masovnog odbacivanja politeizma u Dardaniji očitovanog kroz preplitanje autohtonih dardanskih i rimskih vjerovanja, te do prihvaćanja monoteizma.

Promjene u religijskim vjerovanjima očitovale su se u upravljanju Carstvom, kao i u arhitekturi. Kršćanska arhitektura počela se širiti Rimskim Carstvom, a crkva je postala javna ustanova pod carskom zaštitom.<sup>16</sup> U kasnoj antici Ulpiana postaje važan episkopalni centar pod metropolijom *Scupi*, do osnivanja nadbiskupije *Justiniana Prima*. Prema povijesnim i teološkim podacima, Ulpiana / Justiniana Secunda postala je glavni administrativni, politički, religiozni i kulturni centar provincije Dardanije, što je potvrđeno arheološkim i epigrafičkim nalazima (Sl. 3).<sup>17</sup>

Prvi spomen kršćanstva u Dardaniji je čak i

<sup>17</sup> M. BERISHA, 2015, 80.

<sup>18</sup> MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM, 1940, 345.

<sup>19</sup> G. GJINI, 1986, 25.

<sup>20</sup> E. HOXHAI, 2006, 104.

<sup>21</sup> G. GJINI, 1986, 59-60.

<sup>15</sup> CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY 13, 2008, 108.

<sup>16</sup> CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY 13, 2008, XV.

<sup>17</sup> M. BERISHA, 2015, 80.

dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century during archaeological excavations conducted in 1954-1956. Fine and clear sand was found in the lowest layer. According to one hypothesis, the relics of Flori and Lauri were interred in this tomb after their removal from the well. However, due to the threat of barbarian attacks, the relics were later taken and sent elsewhere for safekeeping, probably to Constantinople or some other place close to Ulpiana.<sup>22</sup>

The story of Florus and Laurus is not only linked to Municipium Ulpiana, but also to one of the most significant castles of Late Antiquity, Harilaq, which can be defined as more than just a settlement, but rather a pilgrimage site.<sup>23</sup> It reflects specific construction traits and architecturally unique structures, not only in Kosovo, but in the Central Balkans in general.<sup>24</sup> Built on the remains of successive Eneolithic, Bronze and Iron Age settlements, it reached its peak as a settlement during Late Antiquity, primarily during the reign of Justinian I. During systematic archaeological excavations, the entire perimeter wall with four gates and four towers, sacral and secular structures, built using the *opus incertum* and *opus mixtum* techniques, were discovered (Fig. 6).<sup>25</sup> But what makes this site unique are the two symmetrical “ring-shaped” buildings, linked to the apses of the triple-nave church. According to one hypothesis, these two structures, built in alignment with the church, are supposed to be martyria built in the honour of Sts. Florus and Laurus.<sup>26</sup> The decision to construct the two martyria in the castle of Harilaq was a consequence of events in the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries that were weakening Ulpiana,<sup>27</sup> such as the Ostrogothic attacks led by Theodoric in 471, which marked the first ravaging of the Municipium.<sup>28</sup> These events



FIGURE 4 Icon of Flori and Lauri in the Patriarchate of Peja (E. HOXHAI, 2006, 114)

SLIKA 4. Ikona s prikazom Flora i Laura u Pečkoj patrijaršiji (E. HOXHAI, 2006, 114)

raniji, a odnosi se na dvojicu mučenika Flora i Laura (*Florus* i *Laurus*) koji su prvi poznati kršćanski mučenici u Dardaniji, a za koje se pretpostavlja da su živjeli u drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća. *Martyrologium Romanum*<sup>18</sup> sadrži podatke o dvojici braće Floru i Lauru. Zidari po struci, učenici Maksima i Prokula koji su ih vjerojatno obratili na kršćanstvo, progonjeni su u doba Hadrijana (117. – 138.).<sup>19</sup> Prema hagiografskim zapisima, Flor i Laur došli su iz Bizanta u Ulpianu kako bi izgradili hram. Nakon što su izgradili hram zajedno sa siromašnim stanovništvom, uništili su poganske simbole u hramu i zamijenili ih kršćanskima.<sup>20</sup> Zbog neprihvatljivog ponašanja, svi sudionici su kažnjeni smrću, a braću su vlasti poslale Liciniju. Nakon ispitivanja, kažnjeni su smrću bacanjem u bunar, negdje blizu Ulpijane.<sup>21</sup> Ovaj događaj je ilustriran na ikoni u Pečkoj patrijaršiji (Sl. 4).

Postavlja se pitanje nalazi li priča o dvojici mučenika arheološko utemeljenje? U arheološkim iskopavanjima od 1954. do 1956., u

<sup>22</sup> P. MIJOVIĆ, 1964, 343-344.

<sup>23</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 691.

<sup>24</sup> F. PEJA, B. RRACI, A. HAJDARI, 2012, 17.

<sup>25</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 685-686.

<sup>26</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 688-689.

<sup>27</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 689.

<sup>28</sup> P. PETROVIĆ, 1975, 42; M. BERISHA, 2015, 78.

<sup>18</sup> MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM, 1940, 345.

<sup>19</sup> G. GJINI, 1986, 25.

<sup>20</sup> E. HOXHAI, 2006, 104.

<sup>21</sup> G. GJINI, 1986, 59-60.



FIGURE 5 Early Christian Basilica with a crypt, Ulpiana (photo by: A. Llapashtica, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/Justinianasecunda7/>)

SLIKA 5. Starokršćanska bazilika s grobom u kripti, Ulpiana (foto: A. Llapashtica, preuzeto s <https://www.facebook.com/Justinianasecunda7/>)

led to turbulence in Ulpiana which may have forced its residents to remove and preserve the relics of Sts. Florus and Laurus in a highland settlement.<sup>29</sup>

Late Antiquity was marked by the incursions of different tribes, such as the Goths, Huns, Avars and Slavs, which deepened the crisis in the Empire. They destroyed and looted everything they found in the new territories they invaded. This brought about a new situation in the Empire, which brought an end to what was known in the Roman Empire as the *Pax Romana*.

Classical writers such as Eusebius Hieronymus, in his work *Epistolae*, provided informa-

apsidi starokršćanske bazilike iz 6. stoljeća, otkriven je prazan grob (Sl. 5). Fini, čisti pijesak nađen je u najnižem sloju. Pretpostavlja se da su posmrtni ostaci Flora i Laura položeni u ovaj grob nakon što su izvađeni iz bunara. Ipak, kasnije su ti ostaci premješteni iz groba i poslani na sigurnije mjesto, vjerojatno u Konstantinopol ili neko mjesto blizu Ulpiane, zbog prijetnje upada barbarskih plemena.<sup>22</sup>

Priča o Floru i Lauru nije povezana samo s municipijem Ulpiana, već i s jednom od najvažnijih kasnoantičkih utvrda – utvrdom Harilaq, koja je bila više od naselja, tj. bila

<sup>29</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 690-691.

<sup>22</sup> P. MIJOVIĆ, 1964, 343-344.

tion on the invasions of Goths, Huns, Vandals, Sarmatians etc., in the Balkans, including Dardania, at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> Procopius of Caesarea, in his work *De Aedificiis*, described the necessity and maximum dedication of Justinian in reinforcing and fortifying the defences system on vital roads, as well as the construction of fortresses inside the Empire.<sup>31</sup> Such a construction system was present in Dardania as well. Procopius noted that while Byzantine troops were preoccupied fighting the Ostrogoths in Italy, a Slav incursion had crossed the Danube River in 548 and penetrated through Illyricum, reaching *Dyrrachium*.<sup>32</sup>

In 559, there were more barbarian invasions on the Illyrian peninsula, amongst which the hordes of the Kutigurs, led by their khan, Zabergan, crossed the Danube and swept through the Balkans.<sup>33</sup> The invasions created new circumstances in Dardania. Following the Avar and Slav incursions and devastation, centres like Ulpiana/Justiniana Secunda were entirely abandoned by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

The new situation had an impact on the construction of a new system of fortifications for the needs of immediate safety. This began with the construction of *castra* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, and reached its peak in the 6<sup>th</sup> century with the completion of a dense fortification network during the reign of the Emperor Justinian I.<sup>35</sup>

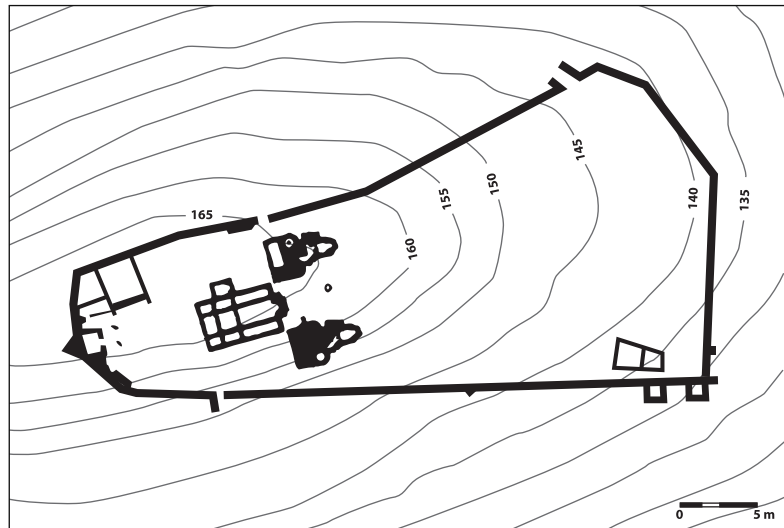


FIGURE 6 General layout of the fortress of Harilaq (A. HAJDARI, 2017, 690)  
SLIKA 6. Tlocrt utvrde Harilaq, (A. HAJDARI, 2017, 690)

je i mjesto hodočašća.<sup>23</sup> Na ovom lokalitetu nalazimo posebna građevinska rješenja i jedinstvene arhitektonske sklopove ne samo na Kosovu, nego i na cijelom srednjem Balkanu.<sup>24</sup> S tragovima života iz eneolitika, brončanog i željeznog doba, dostiže vrhunac kao naselje u doba vladavine Justinijana I., slijedom razvoja iz starokršćanskog razdoblja. Tijekom sustavnih arheoloških iskopavanja, otkriven je cijeli bedem utvrde s četiri ulaza i četiri tornja, sakralnim i profanim objektima, izgrađenima u tehnikama *opus incertum* i *opus mixtum* (Sl. 6).<sup>25</sup> Posebnost ovog lokaliteta su dvije simetrične „prstenaste“ građevine povezane s apsidadama trobrodne crkve. Pretpostavlja se da su ta dva objekta, koja skladno nadopunjuju crkvu, trebala biti martiriji u čast Sv. Flora i Sv. Laura.<sup>26</sup> Odluka o podizanju dva martirija u utvrdi Harilaq bila je rezultat događanja u periodu kada je Ulpiana slabila (4. do 6. stoljeće),<sup>27</sup> kao što su bili napadi Ostrogota pod vodstvom Teodorika 471. godine što je dovelo do prvog razaranja municipija.<sup>28</sup> Ovi događaji su uzrokovali nemire u Ulpijani što je moglo natjerati

<sup>30</sup> EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS, 1979, 354.

<sup>31</sup> PROCOPI CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 438-439.

<sup>32</sup> A. MEKSI, 1989, 112.

<sup>33</sup> J. A. EVANS, 2005, xxxv.

<sup>34</sup> M. BERISHA, 2015, 80.

<sup>35</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.

<sup>23</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 691.

<sup>24</sup> F. PEJA et al. 2012, 17.

<sup>25</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 685-686.

<sup>26</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 688-689.

<sup>27</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 689.

<sup>28</sup> P. PETROVIĆ, 1975, 42; M. BERISHA, 2015, 78.

## THE ROLE OF FORTRESSES IN DARDANIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Accounts by travellers, writers, and researchers such as A. Boue, A. Gilfierding, G. Hahn, A. J. Evens, A. von Domashevski and Á. Buday who conducted digs in the Peja region in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, indicated the discovery of many archaeological sites in Kosovo. Nevertheless, descriptions of fortifications dated to Late Antiquity are very rare.<sup>36</sup> With the establishment of the Museum of Kosovo in 1949, archaeological research was institutionalized.<sup>37</sup> The period between 1950 and 1999, when Kosovo was part of the former Yugoslavia, is characterized by the exclusion of archaeological excavations at archaeological sites from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which are of a significant importance to prove the continuity of human habitation from prehistory and Antiquity.<sup>38</sup> Between 1974 and 1977, a few field surveys were conducted by the Museum of Kosovo, several papers were published in the subsequent years, mainly containing descriptions of the walls of a hill-fort (*gradina*), but proper documentation is lacking.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the 1980s, a few archaeological excavations were conducted at the fortresses of Veletin and Kastërc. After the war in Kosovo in 1999, and with the establishment of the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo in 2003, archaeological excavations have increased at a higher intensity. Systematic archaeological excavations and conservation works are being conducted at different fortresses, as is the case of Harilaq, Korisha, Kastërc, Dardana, Keqekolla, Marec, Prizren, etc (Fig. 9).

Also noteworthy are the archaeological surveys. So far three-quarters of the territory has been surveyed and three archaeological maps

<sup>36</sup> G. HOXHA, 2014, 207.

<sup>37</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2014, 18.

<sup>38</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2014, 19.

<sup>39</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 67-68.

stanovnike da ostatke mučenika prenesu u naselje na uzvisini.<sup>29</sup>

Kasna antika obilježena je upadima raznih naroda kao što su Goti, Huni, Avari i Slaveni koji su produbili krizu Carstva. Uništali su i opljačkali sve čega su se domogli u područjima gdje su se širili što je rezultiralo novom situacijom u Carstvu koja je označila kraj onoga što je bilo poznato kao *Pax Romana*.

Antički pisci, poput Euzebija Hijeronima (Sveti Jeronim) u djelu *Pisma (Epistolae)*, pišu o invazijama na Balkan Gota, Huna, Vandala, Sarmata i drugih krajem 4. stoljeća, uključujući Dardaniju.<sup>30</sup> Prokopije iz Cezareje u djelu *O građevinama (De Aedificiis)* opisuje nužnost osnaživanja i izgradnje obrambenog sustava uz važne ceste, gradnju utvrda unutar Carstva, kao i maksimalno zalaganje Justinijana u tom smislu.<sup>31</sup> Takav sustav gradnje bio je zastupljen i u Dardaniji. Prokopije piše da dok su se bizantske jedinice borile s Gotima u Italiji, grupa Slavena prešla je Dunav godine 548., probila se kroz Ilirik, i stigla sve do Drača (*Dyrrachium*).<sup>32</sup> Godine 559. druga su barbarska plemena nadirala preko ilirskog poluotoka, uključujući horde Kutrigura pod vodstvom kana Zabergana, prelazila su Dunav i pomela Balkan.<sup>33</sup> Sve je to utjecalo na prilike u Dardaniji. Zbog avarskih i slavenskih provala i uništavanja, središta poput Ulpijane / Justinijane Secunde bila su napuštena sredinom 6. stoljeća.<sup>34</sup>

Novonastala situacija rezultirala je izgradnjom novog sustava utvrda radi potrebe neposredne zaštite što je započelo gradnjom *castra* u 3. i 4. stoljeću, a doseglo vrhunac u 6. stoljeću dovršenjem guste fortifikacijske mreže u doba cara Justinijana I.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 690-691.

<sup>30</sup> EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS, 1979, 354.

<sup>31</sup> PROCOPI CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 438-439.

<sup>32</sup> A. MEKSI, 1989, 112.

<sup>33</sup> J. A. EVANS, 2005, xxxv.

<sup>34</sup> M. BERISHA, 2015, 80.

<sup>35</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.

with marked archaeological sites have been published. So far, only the northern and north-eastern part of Kosovo has not been surveyed, but in the coming years, research will be conducted in that area too, thus completing the archaeological map (Fig. 7).

The remains of more than one hundred fortresses from Late Antiquity are known in Kosovo thus far, and most have traces dating to prehistory (Fig. 8). The toponyms are known by the local inhabitants as *gjytet*, *gradinë*, *gradishtë*, *kalaja e Lekës*, *kala*, etc.<sup>40</sup>

The survey expedition in 2000-2005 by archaeologists from the Museum of Kosovo, in collaboration with the Archaeological Institute of Albania, during 2000-2005 to identify archaeological sites in the south-western part of the territory was particularly important.<sup>41</sup> Considerable focus was placed on the identification and documentation of fortifications from Late Antiquity. They classified the fortifications into three categories:

1. Fortresses of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries, castra with oval, trapezoidal or rectangular planimetry and round, square or U-shaped towers. Such fortifications are present in Peja and Gegja. Their size is roughly 0.7-1.3 hectares;
2. Fortresses of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, which have the characteristics of small towns, with two or more outer walls and an Early Christian church in the citadel;
3. Fortresses of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, mountain type, which were built quickly as a form of defense against immediate threats.<sup>42</sup>

However, this is more of a general classification and includes only one part of the country, so we cannot speak of a clear typology of fortifications all over Kosovo. Further study in this field is required.

<sup>40</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 67.

<sup>41</sup> L. PËRZHITA et al., 2006.

<sup>42</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 122-123.

## ULOGA UTVRDA U KASNOJ ANTICI DARDANIJE

Opisi putnika, pisaca i istraživača kao što su A. Boue, A. Gilfirding, G. Hahn, A. J. Evans, A. von Domashevski te Á. Buday koji je vršio iskopavanja u području Peći sredinom 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, sadrže spomen otkrića mnogih arheoloških nalazišta na Kosovu, ali usprkos tomu opisi kasnoantičkih utvrda vrlo su rijetki.<sup>36</sup> Arheološka istraživanja su usustavljena 1949. godine osnivanjem Muzeja Kosova.<sup>37</sup> U razdoblju između 1950. i 1999. dok je Kosovo bilo dio bivše Jugoslavije, nisu se istraživali kasnoantički i srednjovjekovni lokaliteti koji su iznimno važni za dokazivanje kontinuiteta prapovijesnog i antičkog stanovništva.<sup>38</sup> Između 1974. i 1977. Muzej Kosova proveo je nekoliko rekognosciranja, objavljeno je i nekoliko članaka u narednim godinama, uglavnom s opisima zidina poneke gradine, ali nedostaje valjana dokumentacija.<sup>39</sup> Krajem osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća poduzeto je nekoliko kampanji iskopavanja na utverdama Veletin i Kastërc. Nakon rata na Kosovu 1999., te nakon uspostave Arheološkog instituta Kosova 2003. godine, arheološka istraživanja su se nastavila pojačanim intenzitetom. Sustavna arheološka istraživanja, uz konzervatorske radove, poduzimaju se na raznim utverdama kao što su Harilaq, Korisha, Kastërc, Dardana, Keqekolla, Marec, Prizren i dr. (Sl. 9).

Arheološka rekognosciranja su također vrijedna spomena. Dosad je pregledano tri četvrtine terena Kosova te su objavljene tri arheološke karte na kojima su prikazana uočena arheološka nalazišta. Zasad jedino sjever i sjeveroistok Kosova nisu rekognoscirani, ali u budućnosti će i taj dio biti pregledan da bi se upotpunila arheološka karta (Sl. 7).

Za sada je poznato više od 100 kasnoantičkih utvrda na Kosovu, većina i s prapovijesnim

<sup>36</sup> G. HOXHA, 2014, 207.

<sup>37</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2014, 18.

<sup>38</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 2014, 19.

<sup>39</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 67-68.

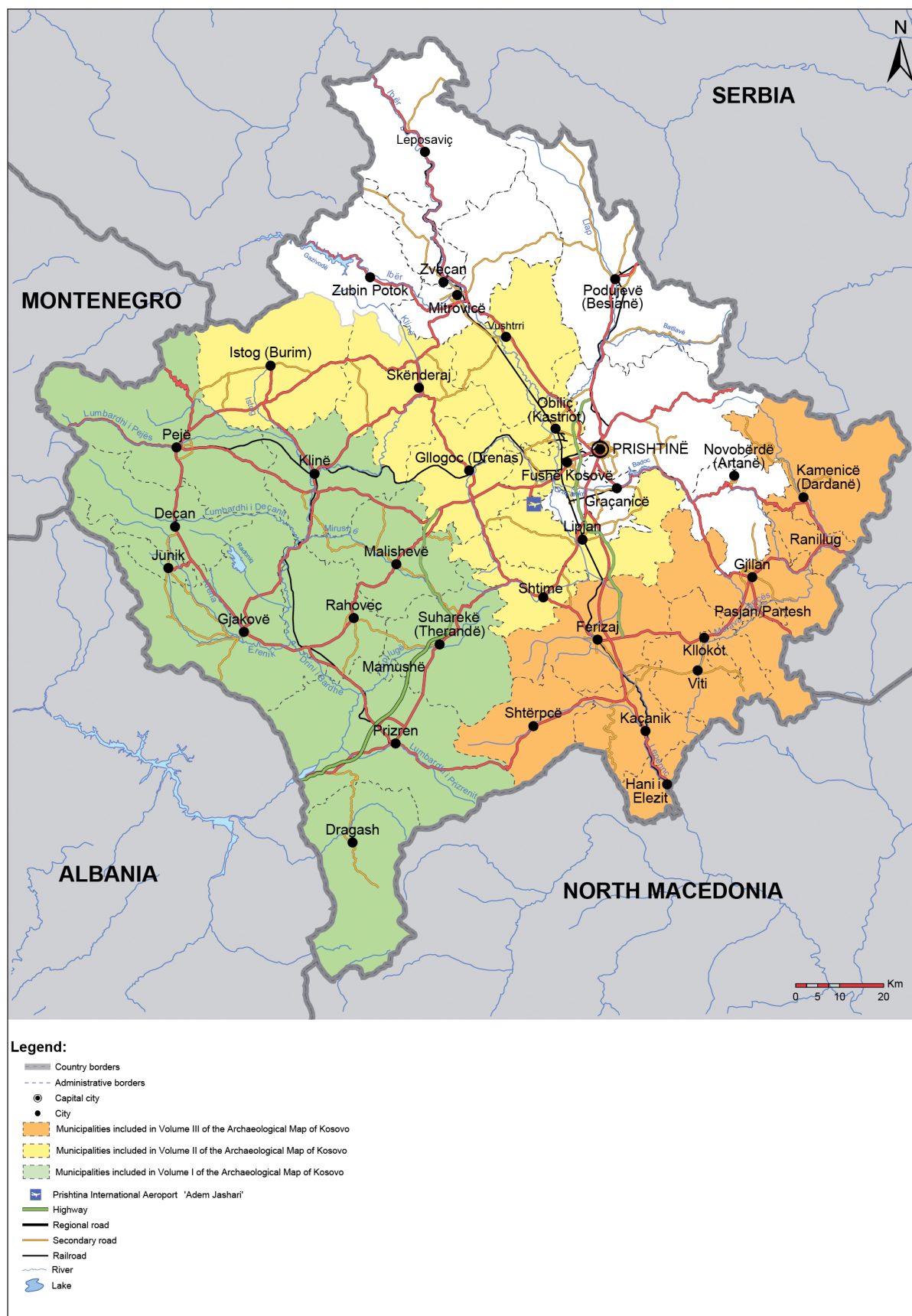


FIGURE 7 Map of the surveys conducted in Kosovo (Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës, III, 2017, 23)

SLIKA 7. Karta područja rekognosciranja na Kosovu (Harta Arkeologjike e Kosovës, III, 2017, 23)

The research conducted so far in the territory of Dardania proves that fortresses played a key role in safeguarding the population, controlling territory, communicating with different areas and conveying early warnings of threats. Fortresses were constructed in strategic locations, along vital roads as like the *Lissus-Naissus* route, close to important towns and mining zones, as in the case of the fortresses of Veletin and Harilaq near Ulpiana.

In Late Antiquity, the *Lissus-Naissus* road had approximately 36 fortified centres, roadside stations and checkpoints. The construction of these fortifications followed the strategic points of fortifications built in prehistory and Antiquity. Moreover, their number increased with the construction of new fortifications, which were mainly built during the reigns of Constantine the Great, Valentinian I and Justinian I.<sup>43</sup>

A protection and surveillance system was also built on secondary roads. The fortifications had a dominant position and sound communications with one other. As to their architecture, these forts had a simpler structure, with a simple perimeter wall and a smaller size. These types of forts were identified during the documentation of fortifications in the White Drin region.<sup>44</sup>

The highest number of fortifications in Dardania was built during the rule of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565), who was Dardanian by origin. Procopius stated that his birth place was very close to the city built by the emperor, Justiniana Pri-

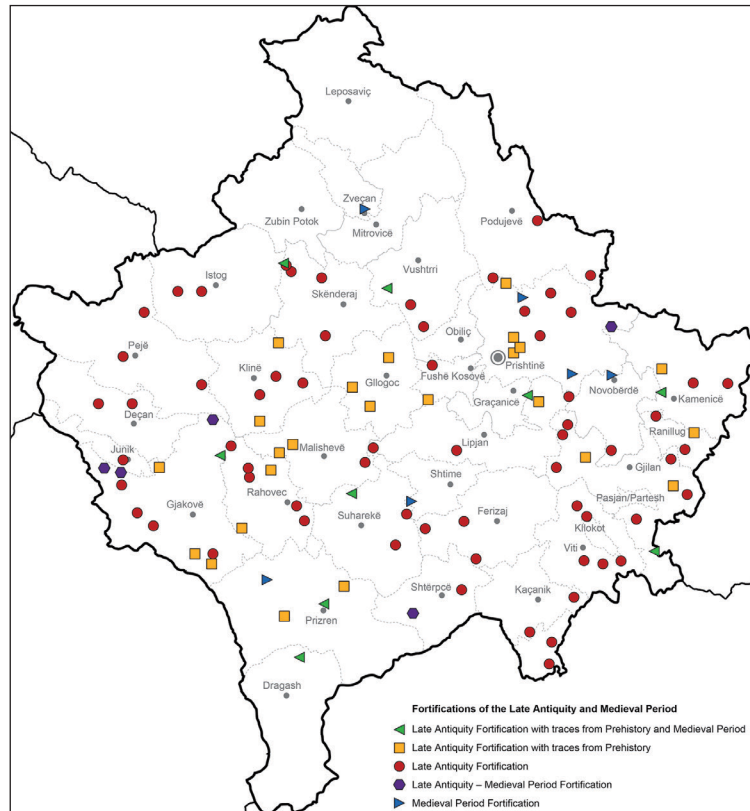


FIGURE 8 Map of fortifications from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (made by: Z. Rama and M. Godanca, 2020)

SLIKA 8. Karta kasnoantičkih i srednjovjekovnih utvrda (izradili: Z. Rama i M. Godanca, 2020)

slojevima (Sl. 8). U narodu su ovakvi lokaliteti poznati pod nazivima *gijtet*, *gradinë*, *gradishte*, *kalaja e Lekës*, *kala* itd.<sup>40</sup>

Osobito je važno rekognosciranje koje su poduzeli arheolozi Muzeja Kosova u suradnji s Arheološkim institutom Albanije od 2000. do 2005. radi prepoznavanja arheoloških nalazišta u jugozapadnom dijelu teritorija Kosova.<sup>41</sup> Naglasak je bio na prepoznavanju i dokumentiranju kasnoantičkih utvrda koje su podijeljene u tri kategorije:

1. utvrde 3. i 4. stoljeća, *castra*, ovalne, trapezoidne ili kvadratne planimetrije s kulama koje mogu biti zaobljene, četvrtaste ili u obliku slova U. Primjer za ovaj tip su utvrde u Peçi i Geđe (Gegja). Veličine su približno 0,7 – 1,3 hektara;

<sup>43</sup> L. PËRZHITA, 2008, 286.

<sup>44</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197-198.

<sup>40</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 67.

<sup>41</sup> L. PËRZHITA et al., 2006.

ma.<sup>45</sup>

These construction works were conducted after a powerful earthquake that hit the region in 518 and destroyed twenty-four fortifications in Dardania alone.<sup>46</sup> Based on the descriptions by the scholar Procopius of Caesarea, who provided the best information on the time in his *De Aedificiis* (On Buildings), Justinian the Great built eight fortifications and rebuilt sixty-one more.<sup>47</sup> One of these was the Municipium of Ulpiana, which after reconstruction was renamed Justiniana Secunda.<sup>48</sup> The fortress *Aria*, mentioned by Procopius, may be identified as the Hariliaq Fortress,<sup>49</sup> while Kekola may be identified as Keqekolla (Fig. 11).<sup>50</sup>

The fortress of Kekola (Fig. 10), located in the village Keqekolla, Prishtina Municipality, was built on the highest crest of a hill in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It has a surface area of 0.6 hectares. It is surrounded on four sides with 1.8-2 meter thick walls, built in the *opus incertum* technique.

In its southern section, the fortress has a rectangular tower, built in two phases. The first tower is connected to the surrounding wall, and in the second phase, for a better protection, it was reinforced from the inside with another stone layer in rectangular form and on the outside with two walls which are connected to the tower's front wall, creating a triangulated structure. Something like that had not been seen thus far in the fortresses of Dardania. Inside the walls, besides hous-

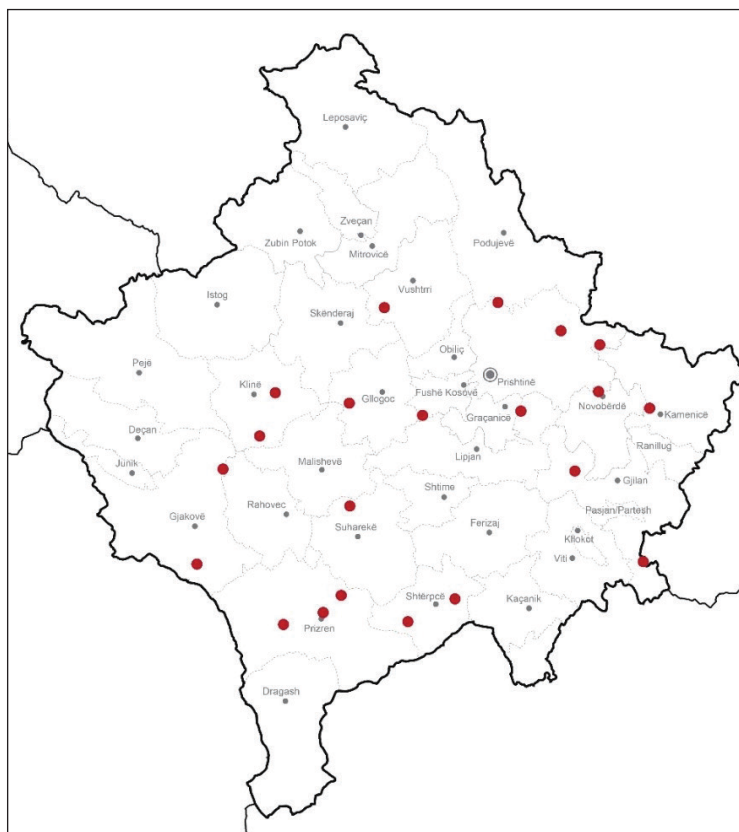


FIGURE 9 Map of archaeological excavations at fortifications from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in Kosovo (made by: Z. Rama and M. Godanca, 2020)

SLIKA 9. Karta arheoloških iskopavanja kasnoantičkih i srednjovjekovnih utvrda na Kosovu (izradili: Z. Rama i M. Godanca, 2020)

2. utvrde od 4. do 6. stoljeća, s karakteristikama gradića, zaštićene s dva ili više redova zidina, sa starokršćanskom crkvom u citadeli;
3. utvrde iz 6. stoljeća, planinskog tipa, koje su izgrađene brzo zbog obrane od neposredne opasnosti.<sup>42</sup>

Ovo je nešto uopćenija klasifikacija koja uključuje samo jedan dio države, pa se ne može govoriti o jasnoj tipologiji utvrda na cijelom Kosovu za što su potrebna daljnja istraživanja.

Dosadašnja istraživanja na području Dardanije potvrđuju da su utvrde imale ključnu ulogu u zaštiti stanovništva, kontroli teritorija, komunikaciji s različitim područjima i upozoravanju u slučaju nadolazećih opasnosti. Utvrde su podizane na strateškim položajima, uz važne ceste kao što je ona *Lissus – Naissus*, u

<sup>45</sup> L. PËRZHITA, 2014, 191.

<sup>46</sup> MARCELLINUS COMES, 1979, 451.

<sup>47</sup> PROCOPII CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 441.

<sup>48</sup> PROCOPII CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 438-439.

<sup>49</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 686.

<sup>50</sup> H. MEHMETAJ, 2020 at: <https://www.botasot.info/historia-lajme/1342458/keshtjella-e-antikitetit-kekola/>

<sup>42</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2003, 122-123.



FIGURE 10 *Fortress of Kekola* (<https://www.facebook.com/haxhi.mehmetaj>, photo by: M. Godanca)

SLIKA 10. *Utvrda Kekola* (<https://www.facebook.com/haxhi.mehmetaj>, foto: M. Godanca)

es, a single-nave basilica was also discovered. The main entrance was found in the western section, consisting of one portal for carriages and one for pedestrians.<sup>51</sup>

The remains of the fortress of Marec stand on a hill 915 meters above the sea level, rather close to the fortress of Keqekolla, 45 km east of the capital city of Prishtina. It covers a surface of roughly 1 hectare, with natural protection on the three sides. It is built on top of the natural stone base, adhering to the terrain configuration by following the isohyet of the hill on four sides. The first archaeological excavations undertaken in 2017 brought to light a part of the remains of the surrounding wall. The walls have a maximum width of 1.8 meters, which based on the construction technique, was built in two phases. In the first phase, the wall was built using differently sized stones, combined with lime mortar, whereas in the second phase, there was no use of mortar; the stones are

blizini važnih gradova i rudarskih područja, kao u slučaju izgradnje utvrda Veletin i Hari-laq kod Ulpijane.

U kasnoj antici na cesti *Lissus – Naissus* bilo je oko 36 utvrđenih centara, putnih stanica i kontrolnih točaka. Ove utvrde su građene na istim strateškim točkama kao i prapovijesne i antičke utvrde. Štoviše, njihov broj se povećao zbog izgradnje novih utvrda koje su uglavnom podizane u doba Konstantina Velikog, Valentinijana I. i Justinijana I.<sup>43</sup>

Sustav zaštite i promatranja podignut je i na sporednim cestama. Utvrde su bile na dominantnim položajima i imale su dobar sustav međusobne komunikacije. Što se tiče arhitekture, ove utvrde odlikovale su se skromnom veličinom i dosta jednostavnom strukturom, s jednostavnim fortifikacijskim zidom. Ovaj tip utvrda je potvrđen tijekom dokumentacije utvrda u području Bijelog Drima.<sup>44</sup>

Većina utvrda u Dardaniji je izgrađena za vrijeme vladavine bizantskog cara Justinijana

<sup>51</sup> H. MEHMETAJ, 2020 at: <https://www.botasot.info/historia-lajme/1342458/keshtjella-e-antikitetit-kekola/>

<sup>43</sup> L. PËRZHITA, 2008, 286.

<sup>44</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197–198.



FIGURE 11 Map of fortifications in the eastern part of Kosovo (made by: Z. Rama, 2019)

SLIKA 11. Karta utvrda u istočnom dijelu Kosova (izradila: Z. Rama, 2019)

bound by soil. Nonetheless, archaeological excavations and analysis of the finds are still ongoing, but so far based on the wall structure, archaeological material, and a bronze coin of Justinian I (Fig. 12-17), we presume that the fortress was built during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, without excluding its use during the mediaeval period.<sup>52</sup>

The fortifications of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, built mainly on the remains of earlier settlements, have the features of towns divided mainly into the upper and lower sections, with two or more perimeter walls. They are generally situated on the highest local points, with steep grades on three sides which provided natural protection and they were accessible only from one side. A type of citadel may be distinguished at the core of such fortifications. They were built close to rivers, arable land, and mines. The fortresses have no regular floor plan because construction of their walls followed the configuration of the terrain.

<sup>52</sup> Z. RAMA, 2018.

I. (527. – 565.), koji je prema Prokopiju porijeklom bio iz Dardanije. On njegovo rodno mjesto smješta blizu Justiniane Prime, grada kojega je podigao.<sup>45</sup>

Te su građevine podignute nakon jakog potresa koji je pogodio ovo područje 518. godine uništivši pritom 24 utvrde samo u Dardaniji.<sup>46</sup> Prema Prokopiju iz Cezareje, koji nam je ostavio najpouzdanije opise tog vremena u djelu *O građevinama*, car Justinijan I. izradio je osam utvrda i obnovio njih još 61,<sup>47</sup> od kojih je jedna bila Municipium Ulpiana koja je nakon rekonstrukcije nazvana Justiniana Secunda.<sup>48</sup> Utvrda *Aria* koju spominje Prokopije mogla bi biti utvrda Harilaq,<sup>49</sup> a utvrda *Kekola* je vjerojatno Keqekolla (Sl. 11).<sup>50</sup>

Utvrda Kekola (Sl. 10), smještena u selu Keqekolla, u općini Priština, izgrađena je u 6. stoljeću, na najvišem vrhu brda. Pruža se na

<sup>45</sup> L. PËRZHITA, 2014, 191.

<sup>46</sup> MARCELLINUS COMES, 1979, 451.

<sup>47</sup> PROCOPII CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 441.

<sup>48</sup> PROCOPII CAESARIENSIS, 1979, 438–439.

<sup>49</sup> A. HAJDARI, 2017, 686.

<sup>50</sup> H. MEHMETAJ, 2020, <https://www.botasot.info/historia-lajme/1342458/keshtjella-e-antikitetit-kekola/>

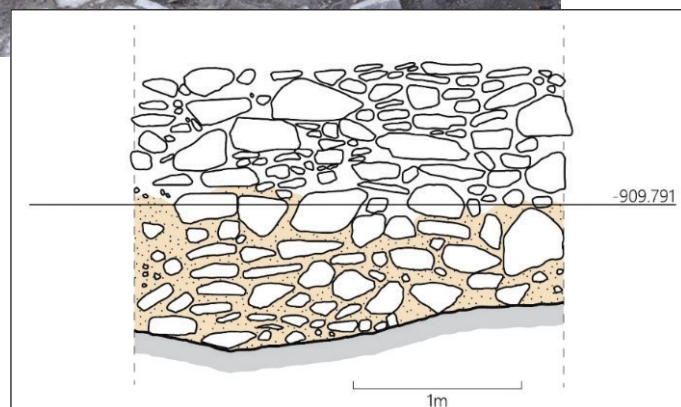


FIGURES 12 AND 13 Northern perimeter wall of the fortress of Marec (Z. RAMA, 2018)  
 SLIKE 12. I 13. Sjeverni zid utvrde Marec (Z. RAMA, 2018.)



**FIGURES 14, 15 AND 16** Trench 5. Perimeter wall on the south-eastern side of the fortress of Marec. Two construction phases (Z. RAMA, 2018; drawing by: L. Rexhepi)

**SLIKE 14., 15. I 16.** Sonda 5. Ogradni zid na jugoistočnoj strani utvrde Marec. Dvije faze gradnje (Z. RAMA, 2018; crtež: L. Rexhepi)



The fortress of Veletin is a typical example (Fig. 18-20). Built atop Veletin Hill, close to mining zones in use during Antiquity, its geostrategic location was outstanding, as it commanded a wide view of the Kosovo Plain, with Municipium Ulpiana to the west and mining zone to the east, facilitating control of the surrounding territory and important roads. During the archaeological excavations carried out in the 1980s,

it was concluded that the settlement was inhabited in the Eneolithic period and remain so into the Iron Age, when more dynamic growth occurred. This growth peaked during Late Antiquity when the fortress was built. It was made using stones combined with mortar (*opus incertum*), which was the primary technique used to construct fortifications in Late Antiquity. The settlement was divided into three terraces, fortified with outer walls. An external semi-circular tower was also discovered at the northern part of the third wall. Besides perimeter walls, architectural material was found, and a structure was discovered in a flat section, where there may have also been a fourth perimeter wall. Based on the archaeological finds, the settlement was also used during the medieval period.<sup>53</sup>

The presence of Early Christian churches was typical for that time, reflecting for the first time the organization of a type of proto-Byzantine town in this territory.<sup>54</sup> This is the case of the fortress of Kastërc, where, besides a residential structure, a sacral building, apparently a triconch basilica, was discovered inside the fortified walls.<sup>55</sup> Another example is the fortress of Korisha, where an Early Christian church as well as the remains of a house, were similarly discovered inside the castle's defensive walls<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 21-23).

The third type of fortification that has



FIGURE 17 Justinian I, AE Follis, 527-565 (Z. RAMA, 2018)

SLIKA 17. Justinijan I., AE Follis, 527. – 565. (Z. RAMA, 2018)

površini od 0,6 hektara. S četiri strane je okružena zidinama širine od 1,80 do 2 metra, u tehnici *opus incertum*.

S južne strane utvrda ima pravokutnu kulu izgrađenu u dvije faze. Prvotna kula povezana je sa zidom utvrde, a u drugoj fazi, zbog bolje zaštite, ojačana je s unutarnje strane još jednim slojem kamenja pravokutne forme, a s vanjske strane s dva zida koja su povezana s frontalnim zidom kule pomoću trokutaste konstrukcije. Ništa slično nije pronađeno u ostalim utvrda-ma u Dardaniji. Unutar bedema, osim kuća otkrivena je i jednobrodna bazilika. U zapadnom dijelu otkriven je glavni ulaz koji se sastojao od dva zasebna prolaza: za kola i za pješake.<sup>51</sup>

Ostaci utvrde Marec nalaze se u neposrednoj blizini glavnog grada Kosova Prištine, na brdu nadmorske visine 915 metara. Pruža se na površini od otprilike jednog hektara, prirodno zaštićena s tri strane. Izgrađena je na kamenu, prateći konfiguraciju terena i izohipse brda na četiri strane. Prva arheološka iskopavanja poduzeta 2017. otkrila su ostatke ogradnog zida čija je maksimalna širina 1,80 m, a prema tehnici gradnje, izgrađen je u dvije faze. U prvoj fazi koristilo se kamenje nejednake veličine u kombinaciji s vapnenom žbukom, dok u drugoj fazi nema žbuke, već se kamenje povezuje zemljom. Arheološka iskopavanja i analiza nalaza još traju, ali na osnovi strukture zidova, arheološkog materijala, i brončanog novčića Justinijana I. (Sl. 12-17), može se pretpostaviti

<sup>53</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 1990, 104-106.

<sup>54</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.

<sup>55</sup> F. PEJA, A. HAJDARI, 2014, 343.

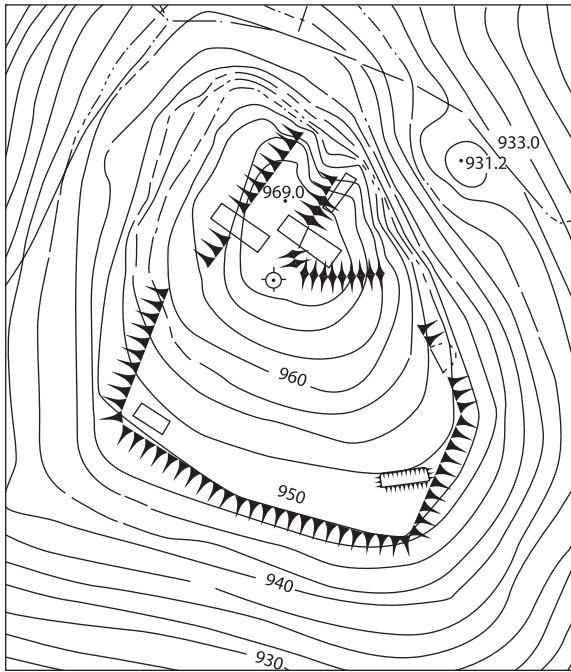
<sup>56</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2006, 233.

<sup>51</sup> H. MEHMETAJ, 2020, <https://www.botasot.info/historialajme/1342458/keshtjella-e-antikitetit-kekola/>



FIGURES 18 AND 19 *The fortress of Veletin* (MCYS/Database of Cultural Heritage of Kosovo, at: [https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk\\_objekti\\_en.aspx?id=8786](https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8786))

SLIKE 18. I 19. *Utvrdra Veletin* (MCYS/ Database of Cultural Heritage of Kosovo: [https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk\\_objekti\\_en.aspx?id=8786](https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8786))



**FIGURE 20** Foundations of the fortress of Veletin (E. SHUKRIU, 1988; V. JOVANOVIĆ, 2003-2004, 150)  
**SLIKA 20.** Temelji utvrde Veletin (E. SHUKRIU, 1988; V. JOVANOVIĆ, 2003-2004, 150)

been identified during the survey in western Dardania consists of late 6<sup>th</sup>-century fortifications which are mainly found on mountains, built rapidly for the protection of the population in cases of danger due to unexpected attacks.<sup>57</sup> Construction and reconstruction at strategic points not exceeding 0.6 hectares were typical of this period. Based on an analysis at the western part of Dardania, some fortresses have the same floor plan, such as Ujemiri, Jabllanica, Pogradja (Fig. 24 and 25), etc. This phenomenon is known from the Danube Limes, which indicates that the construction of the fortresses was based on the Empire-oriented program.<sup>58</sup> In some particular areas, administrative-economic and religious units were formed in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which belonged to the new administrative organization between these territories and the provincial capitals.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 198.

<sup>58</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

<sup>59</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

da je utvrda izgrađena u 6. stoljeću, a moguće da je korištena i u srednjem vijeku.<sup>52</sup>

Utvrdne od 4. do 6. stoljeća, građene uglavnom na ostacima ranijih naselja, imaju karakteristike gradova, podijeljene obično na gornji i donji dio, s dva ili više ogradnih zidova, smještene na najvišim vrhovima, strminama s tri strane koje su osiguravale prirodnu zaštitu, pristupačne samo s jedne strane, a u središtu utvrde se izdvaja jedna vrsta citadele. Građe se blizu rijeka, obradivih zemljišta i ruda. Tlocrti gradina nisu pravilni jer konstrukcija zidova prati konfiguraciju terena.

Utvrda Veletin je tipičan primjer (Sl. 18-20). Izgrađena na vrhu brda Veletin, blizu antičkih rudarskih područja, na iznimnom geostrateškom položaju koji osigurava nesmetan pogled na Kosovsko polje te na zapad, iznad municipija Ulpiane, kontrolira teritorij i važne ceste, a prema istoku ima pogled ka rudarskim područjima. Tijekom arheoloških iskopavanja provedenih osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, zaključeno je da je lokalitet najranije naseljen u eneolitiku, s kontinuitetom u željezno doba, kada je razvoj bio nešto dinamičniji. Vrhunac razvoja dosegnut je u kasnoj antici kada je podignuta i utvrda. Izgrađena je od kamena u kombinaciji sa žbukom (*opus incertum*) što je glavna tehnika primjenjivana u gradnji fortifikacija u kasnoj antici. Naselje je bilo podijeljeno u tri terase, utvrđeno zidinama. Sa sjeverne strane trećeg zida nalazi se vanjska polukružna kula. Osim ogradnih zidova, nađeni su i ostaci arhitekture, kao i objekt u ravnom dijelu gdje je mogao biti i četvrti ogradni zid. Arheološki nalazi ukazuju da je naselje korišteno i u srednjovjekovnom razdoblju.<sup>53</sup>

Pojava starokršćanskih crkava karakteristična je za to vrijeme, što po prvi put ukazuje na organizaciju grada protobizantskog tipa na ovom području.<sup>54</sup> Primjer za to je utvrda Kastërc, gdje su unutar zidina, osim ostataka stambenih objekata, otkriveni ostatci sakralne građevine, vjero-

<sup>52</sup> Z. RAMA, 2018.

<sup>53</sup> E. SHUKRIU, 1990, 104–106.

<sup>54</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.



**FIGURES 21 AND 22** *The fortress of Korisha and the Early Christian basilica* (MCYS/Database of Cultural Heritage of Kosovo, at: [https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk\\_objekti\\_en.aspx?id=8802](https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8802))

**SLIKE 21. I 22.** *Utvrdra Korisha i starokršćanska bazilika* (MCYS/ Database of Cultural Heritage of Kosovo, at: [https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk\\_objekti\\_en.aspx?id=8802](https://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8802))

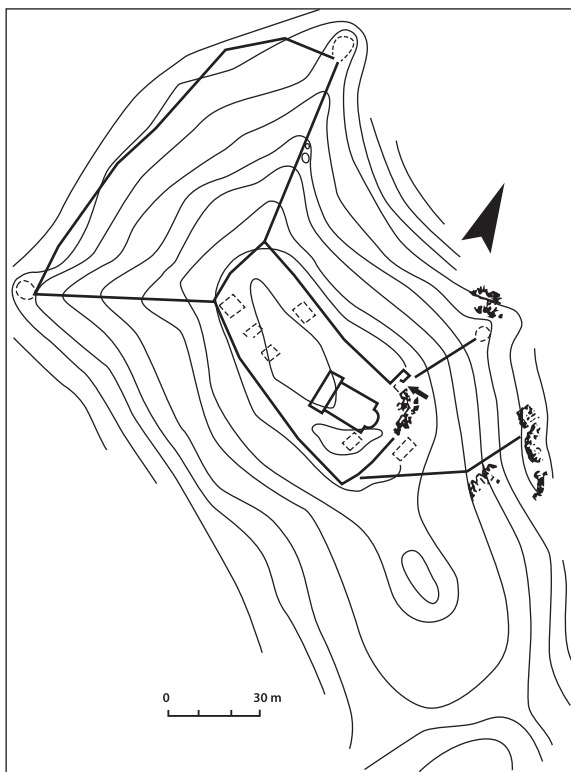


FIGURE 23 Ground plan of the fortress of Korisha (L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2006, 233)

SLIKA 23. Tlocrt utvrde Korisha, (L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2006, 233)

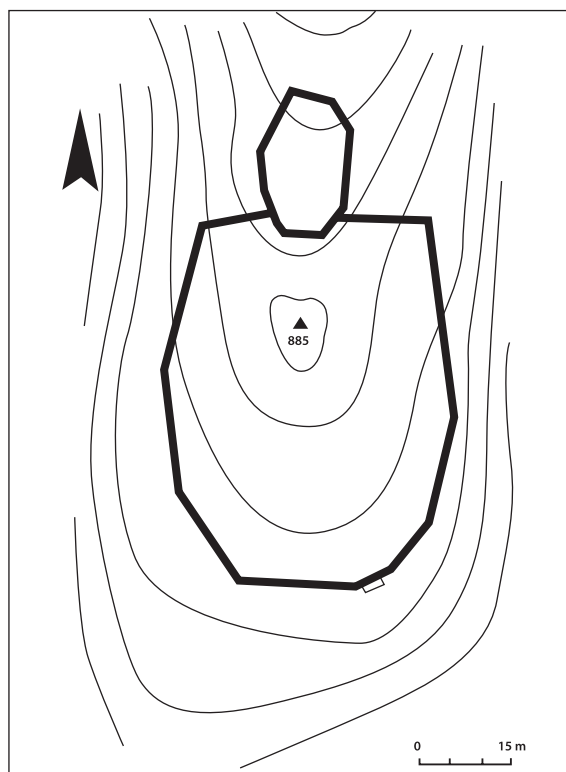


FIGURE 24 Sketch of the foundations of the Jabllanica Fortress (L. PËRZHITA et al., 2006, 241)

SLIKA 24. Crtež temelja utvrde Jabllanica (L. PËRZHITA et al., 2006, 241)

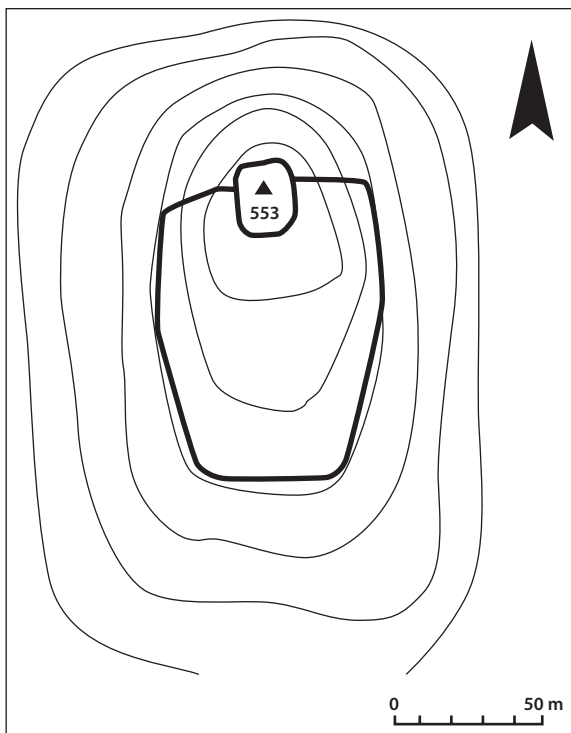


FIGURE 25 Sketch of the foundation of Pogragje Fortress (PËRZHITA, L. et al., 2006, 242)

SLIKA 25. Crtež temelja utvrde Pogragje (PËRZHITA, L. et al., 2006, 242)

jatno trikonhalne bazilike.<sup>55</sup> Utvrda Korisha još je jedan primjer gdje je uz ostatke kuća nađena i starokršćanska crkva unutar obrambenih zidina utvrde<sup>56</sup> (Sl. 21-23).

Treći tip utvrda koji je prepoznat u terenskom pregledu zapadnog dijela Dardanije odnosi se na utvrde s kraja 6. stoljeća koje se uglavnom nalaze u planinama, izgrađene žurno za zaštitu stanovništva u slučaju neočekivanih napada.<sup>57</sup> Za ovo je razdoblje karakteristična gradnja i rekonstrukcija na strateškim položajima koji površinom ne prelaze 0,6 hektara. Na osnovi analize zapadnog dijela Dardanije, neke utvrde imaju isti tlocrt, kao Ujemiri, Jabllanica, Pogragja (Sl. 24 i 25) i dr. Ovaj fenomen poznat je i na dunavskom limesu, što ukazuje da su se utvrde gradile prema planu koji se primjenjivao u cijelom Carstvu.<sup>58</sup> U određenim

<sup>55</sup> F. PEJA, A. HAJDARI, 2014, 343.

<sup>56</sup> L. PËRZHITA, G. HOXHA, 2006, 233.

<sup>57</sup> G. HOXHA 2006, 198.

<sup>58</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

## CONCLUSIONS

The research conducted thus far in Kosovo shows that Late Antiquity may be identified by two primary characteristics: the spread of Christianity and Christian architecture in the province of Dardania, and the return of the population from lowland settlements to hilly settlements, which came as a result of the various barbarian invasions that occurred during this period. The fortresses of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries had the features of towns, mainly built on the remains of prehistoric settlements from the Bronze and Iron Ages, while some of them were *ex novo*. Situated atop hills, they provided better geostrategic and dominant positions, natural protection, control of territory and better communication with the other fortresses.

The reign of Justinian I alone saw the reconstruction of 61 and construction of 8 fortifications. These fortifications have been consistently linked to a system aimed at safeguarding settlements and the adjacent roads. The fortification network was intended to protect the primary and secondary roads that linked it.<sup>60</sup> The Justinian restoration was aimed more at achieving military sustainability rather than securing renewed economic prosperity. Construction and reconstruction works in the province were a component Justinian's revitalization program for the Byzantine Empire's fortifications.<sup>61</sup> Archaeological and architectural analyses conducted thus far have proven that the fortifications and other centres of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the province of Dardania reflected a unified culture. The administrative centres and the fortifications that reached deep into rural areas were also an indicator of the Byzantine Empire's penetration and presence in this region.<sup>62</sup>

*Proof-reading: Mark Davies  
(for Etnotrend. d. o. o.)*

<sup>60</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.

<sup>61</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 198.

<sup>62</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

područjima, u 6. stoljeću nastaju administrativno-ekonomske i religijske cjeline koje su pripadale novoj administrativnoj organizaciji ovih teritorija i glavnih gradova provincija.<sup>59</sup>

## ZAKLJUČAK

Dosadašnja istraživanja na Kosovu pokazuju da kasnu antiku obilježavaju dvije osnovne značajke: širenje kršćanstva i kršćanske arhitekture u provinciji Dardaniji, te vraćanje stanovništva iz nizinskih naselja u naselja u brdovitim krajevima zbog upada raznih plemena u ovom periodu. Utvrde koje datiraju od 4. do 6. stoljeća imaju obilježja grada, a uglavnom su izgrađene na prapovijesnim osnovama iz brončanog i željeznog doba, a neke i sasvim iznova. Građene na vrhovima brda, osiguravale se dominantni, bolji geostrateški položaj, prirodnu zaštitu, kontrolu teritorija i bolju komunikaciju s drugim utverdama.

Samo u razdoblju Justinijana I. gradi se osam utvrda i obnavlja 61 postojeća. Ove utvrde su bile dosljedno povezivane u sustav koji je štitio naselja i ceste u tom području. Mreža utvrda je štitila glavne i sporedne ceste koje su se na njih spajale.<sup>60</sup> Justinijanova rekonkvista težila je održivijoj vojnoj situaciji više nego vraćanju ekonomskog prosperiteta. Gradnje i obnove u provinciji bile su dio bizantskog programa gradnje Justinijana I.<sup>61</sup> Na osnovi dosadašnje arheološke i arhitektonske analize, dokazano je da usprkos činjenici što se utvrde i drugi centri 6. stoljeća nalaze u provinciji Dardaniji, oni odražavaju jedinstvenu kulturu. Administrativni centri i utvrde nalaze se i u zabačenim ruralnim područjima kao pokazatelj prodiranja i prisutnosti Bizantskog Carstva na ovom području.<sup>62</sup>

*Prijevod: Marija Kostić*

<sup>59</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

<sup>60</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 197.

<sup>61</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 198.

<sup>62</sup> G. HOXHA, 2006, 200.

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# NUMERICAL SIMULATION OF A SINKING SHIP SCENARIO BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS

## NUMERIČKA SIMULACIJA POTONUĆA BRODA NA TEMELJU ARHEOLOŠKIH ZAPISA

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**KEY WORDS:**

*ship, shipwreck scenario,  
numerical modelling,  
simulation, amphorae,  
virtual reconstruction*

*Over the past decade, photogrammetric recording and virtual 3D modelling have evolved as a standard practice in documenting shipwreck sites. Exploiting the same methods, we can attempt to virtually reconstruct the dynamics of an accident leading to the creation of an archaeological site. By applying modern engineering tools capable of deploying multi-body system dynamics to simulate the damaging, capsizing and/or sinking of a ship, we can model and analyse the various possible scenarios of an incident occurring to an ancient merchantman. Subsequently, we can establish the correlation between the characteristics of the actual shipwreck site, and the outcome of the numerical simulation of the assumed scenario.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:**

*brod, tijek brodoloma,  
numeričko modeliranje,  
amfore, virtualna  
rekonstrukcija*

*Proteklog desetljeća uvriježila se praksa fotogrametrijskog snimanja i izrade virtualnih 3D modela pri dokumentiranju nalazišta brodoloma. Tim tehnikama moguće je prikupiti podatke koji omogućuju rekonstrukciju dinamike havarije koja je dovela do nastanka arheološkog nalazišta. Primjenjujući suvremene tehničke alate, moguće je analizirati ponašanje plovila na moru, pojavu oštećenja na trupu broda ili prodora vode u brod, njegovo prevrtanja i/ili potonuće, te analizirati različite pretpostavljene tijekom nesreće koja je snašla drevne trgovce. U konačnici, moguće je utvrditi suodnos i podudaranje karakteristika postojećeg nalazišta brodoloma i ishoda numeričke simulacije pretpostavljenog tijeka nesreće.*

## INTRODUCTION

Shipwreck sites are among the most frequent underwater discoveries and are found in various states of preservation. The term *shipwreck*, as applied by maritime archaeologists, often encompasses any incident which brought to the seabed part or the whole of a ship's cargo. On the other hand, in maritime legislation, *naufragium* or *navis fractio* indicates the loss of a ship<sup>1</sup>, i.e. an incident that caused the ship to cease its navigation and lose its function. Such a definition is still used in Croatian maritime law<sup>2</sup> and is applied in this meaning in the following text.

Considering just wooden ships, the great majority of sites in the Eastern Adriatic belong to Classical Antiquity, and more specifically to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In many cases, they are easily identified by the presence of amphorae, common ancient non-perishable transport containers.<sup>3</sup>

Since the appearance of heavy diving gear at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and even more since the development of autonomous diving in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of the ancient shipwreck sites accessible to sports divers have suffered from intense looting.<sup>4</sup> This fact in most cases has reduced the possibility of satisfactorily explaining how the unfortunate events occurred.

During the past two decades, non-looted sites, dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, have been discovered in Croatian waters,<sup>5</sup> increasing the amount and accuracy of the input data for the attempted reconstruction of sinking scenarios. Such reconstruction usually relies on subjective interpretation provided by the researcher. It is mostly based on direct observations of the archaeological record, an analysis of the site formation process,

<sup>1</sup> A. M. BURRIL, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> I. GRABOVAC, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> M. JURIŠIĆ, 2000; M. JURIŠIĆ, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2014.

## UVOD

Nalazišta brodoloma predstavljaju jedna od najčešćih podmorskih otkrića, a njihovo stanje očuvanosti varira. Izraz *brodolom* u kontekstu podmorske arheologije najčešće podrazumijeva bilo koji događaj uslijed kojeg je cjelokupni brodski teret ili dio njega dospio na morsko dno. S druge strane, u pomorskom pravu, *naufragium* ili *navis fractio* ukazuje na gubitak broda<sup>1</sup>, odnosno na događaj uslijed kojeg je brod prestao ploviti i izgubio funkciju. Takva se definicija još uvijek primjenjuje u hrvatskoj pomorskom pravu<sup>2</sup> te se u tom značenju koristi i u ostatku ovog članka.

Uzmu li se u obzir samo drveni brodovi, velika većina nalazišta na istočnom Jadranu datira se u razdoblje antike, konkretno u helenističko i rimsko doba. U mnogim slučajevima lako ih je prepoznati po prisustvu amfora koje su bile uobičajena i postojana transportna ambalaža.<sup>3</sup>

Od pojave teške ronilačke opreme krajem 19. stoljeća, a još više od razvoja autonomnog ronjenja drugom polovicom 20. stoljeća, većina antičkih nalazišta brodoloma kojima su mogli pristupiti sportski ronionci bila je izložena intenzivnom pljačkanju.<sup>4</sup> Ta činjenica u većini slučajeva smanjila je mogućnost izvođenja zadovoljavajućeg zaključka o načinu na koji je došlo do nesretnog događaja.

U protekla dva desetljeća u hrvatskom su akvatoriju otkrivena neopljačkana nalazišta koja se datiraju od 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. do 4. stoljeća po Kr.<sup>5</sup> čime je povećana količina i točnost ulaznih podataka na temelju kojih se nastoji rekonstruirati načine na koje je došlo do potonuća. Takva rekonstrukcija obično počiva na subjektivnoj interpretaciji znanstvenika. Najčešće se temelji na izravnim zapažanjima na arheološkom nalazištu, analizi procesa njegovog nastanka, proučavanju geografskog

<sup>1</sup> A. M. BURRIL, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> I. GRABOVAC, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> M. JURIŠIĆ, 2000; M. JURIŠIĆ, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2014.

an examination of the geographical context, and research experience. Although in many cases it could correspond to what happened in the past, the testing of the hypothesis that would firmly confirm or revise the suggested scenario is usually missing. The danger of superficiality and unrealistic interpretations has already been pointed out by Keith Muckelroy.<sup>6</sup>

In the framework of the Archaeology of Adriatic Shipbuilding and Seafaring (AdriaS) Project, supported by the Croatian Science Foundation, interdisciplinary collaboration has led to experiments with numerical modelling to find out how to apply naval engineering methods and tools in the field of nautical archaeology. This paper aims to present the first steps towards the possible solution of simulating the sinking of an ancient ship and testing the various assumptions regarding the sinking event.

## PREMISES

The constant development of software solutions and, at the same time, the increase in computational speed have resulted in the availability of very sophisticated numerical tools for the analysis of various engineering problems.<sup>7</sup> In state-of-the-art software packages, a large number of material models has been defined and many algorithms encoded. Material models are essentially equations describing the physical behaviour of certain materials, like wood, steel, water, etc. Encoded algorithms consider the interaction between different structures or materials, such as their contact, heat transfer, the buoyancy of floating objects, and so on.<sup>8</sup>

When the simulation of a real-world event is to be performed, careful preparation of such a numerical experiment is required.

<sup>6</sup> K. MUCKELROY, 1978, 157.

<sup>7</sup> E. g. S. RUDAN, K. TABRI, I. KLARIĆ, 2010; S. RUDAN, D. VOLARIĆ, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> S. G. LEE, T. ZHAO, J. H. NAM, 2013.

konteksta i istraživačkom iskustvu. Iako je u brojnim slučajevima moguće podudaranje sa stvarnim događajima iz prošlosti, obično izostaje provjera hipoteze kojom bi se potvrdio ili revidirao pretpostavljeni tijek događanja. Na opasnosti koje sa sobom nosi površno i nerealistično tumačenje već je ukazao Keith Muckelroy.<sup>6</sup>

U okviru projekta Arheologija jadranske plovidbe i brodogradnje (AdriaS), uz financijsku potporu Hrvatske zaklade za znanost, interdisciplinarna suradnja rezultirala je numeričkim modeliranjem kako bi se utvrdili mogući načini primjene metodologije i alata iz područja konstrukcijske analize i hidromehanike broda u području arheologije broda. Ovim se radom nastoji prikazati prve korake ka iznalaženju metodologije za simulaciju potonuća antičkog broda, koja bi zatim omogućila preispitivanja raznih pretpostavki povezanih s događajem potonuća.

## PRETPOSTAVKE

Konstantni razvoj softverskih rješenja i istodobno povećanje proračunskih kapaciteta računala omogućili su dostupnost veoma sofisticiranih numeričkih alata za analizu različitih tehničkih problema.<sup>7</sup> Suvremeni softverski paketi sadrže velik broj materijalnih modela i brojne algoritme. U osnovi, materijalni modeli predstavljaju dijelove softverskog koda koji opisuju fizikalno ponašanje materijala na osnovi teorijskih jednadžbi. Istodobno, takvi softverski paketi ujedno sadrže i brojne algoritme koji omogućuju analizu međusobnog kontakta različitih tijela, pojavu i razvoj oštećenja, prijenos topline i tlakova, npr. uzgona, i slično.<sup>8</sup>

Kako bi se provela smislena numerička analiza stvarnih događaja potrebno je pažljivo pripremiti numerički eksperiment. Postupak za-

<sup>6</sup> K. MUCKELROY, 1978, 157.

<sup>7</sup> Npr. S. RUDAN, K. TABRI, I. KLARIĆ, 2010; S. RUDAN, D. VOLARIĆ, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> S. G. LEE, T. ZHAO, J. H. NAM, 2013.

The process needs to start with a good understanding of the problem and the physics involved in the event. If, for example, a sinking event is studied, then all the available information about the ship structure, its cargo and seafaring capabilities, environmental conditions (waves, wind, sea current) and so on must be known or assumed. Following this path, a proper material model must be considered: wood for modelling the ship structure, ceramics for the amphorae, water and air material models for the sea and air modelling, etc. Of course, certain simplifications are introduced during the numerical simulation setup. Once this is done, the calculation may start, but not before all the calculation control parameters are properly set.

Although setting up the entire simulation is not a straightforward task and requires certain skills and experience, the analyst is rewarded by the possibility of numerically studying a number of scenarios that include non-linear multi-physics problems of great complexity. Depending on the time available and access to other resources, several possible solutions may be examined in the virtual environment with great confidence.

To test the possibility of studying the mechanics and reasons for the sinking of an ancient ship by applying numerical tools, an ancient ship loaded with cargo (amphorae) and exposed to lateral waves is considered. Then, by varying the environmental parameters and cargo weight, an attempt is made to obtain the realistic behaviour of the ship, leading either to floating or capsizing.

### *Ship stability in waves*

Ship stability in waves, along with ship strength, is the most important property of any ship, either ancient or modern. Ship stability is determined mainly by the equilibrium of two simultaneously acting forces: the ship weight and ship buoyancy. Ship weight is the total weight of the ship structure, cargo,

počinje temeljitim razumijevanjem problema, kao i fizike povezane sa samim događajem. Ako se, na primjer, proučava događaj potonuća, potrebno je poznavati ili pretpostaviti sve dostupne podatke o strukturi broda i njegovim plovnim karakteristikama, sadržaju i rasporedu tereta, uvjetima u okolišu (valovi, vjetar, morska struja) i dr. U tom kontekstu potrebno je razmotriti prikladne materijalne modele te njihove mogućnosti, prednosti i nedostatke: materijalni model koji opisuje ponašanje drva za izradu modela strukture broda, odgovarajući materijalni model za keramiku od koje su izrađene amfore, materijalne modele vode i zraka za izradu okolišnih uvjeta itd. Često se prilikom postavljanja parametara numeričke simulacije uvode određena pojednostavljenja. Nakon toga može započeti izračun, ali tek nakon što su ispravno namješteni i provjereni svi kontrolni parametri proračuna.

Iako postavljanje cjelokupne simulacije nije jednostavan zadatak te ono iziskuje određene vještine i iskustvo, analitičar ima mogućnost numeričkog izučavanja čitavog niza mogućih scenarija od kojih svaki uključuje numerički izračun vrlo složenih nelinearnih višefizikalnih problema. Ovisno o raspoloživom vremenu, kao i o dostupnosti svih potrebnih resursa, u virtualnom je okruženju moguće s velikom pouzdanošću preispitati nekoliko mogućih scenarija.

Kako bi se numeričkim alatima ispitali mogući razlozi i načini potonuća antičkog broda, u razmatranje se uzima antički brod natovaren teretom (amfore) te izložen bočnim valovima. Zatim se, mijenjajući parametre okoliša i težine tereta nastoji postići realistično ponašanje broda koje će dovesti do njegovog plutanja ili potonuća.

### *Stabilnost broda na valovima*

Pored čvrstoće brodske konstrukcije, najvažnija karakteristika svakog – i antičkog i suvremenog – broda njegova je stabilnost na valovima. Stabilitet broda određuje u prvom

equipment, crew and any other weight that results in ship displacement. Ship buoyancy is determined by the shape of the hull, displacement and the wetted surface. The total of the weight forces acts at the location of the ship's centre of gravity, while the total of the buoyancy forces acts at the centre of the immersed volume, or immersed cross section, as in the case of the presented 2D floating model. When the ship is exposed to the action of waves, it moves with six degree of freedom, three translations and three rotations regarding to defined coordinate system. One of the rotation displacements is rotation about z axis, i.e. rolling where resulting rolling angle determines the restoring moment which is a consequence of the two forces (weight,  $W$  and buoyancy,  $B$ ), acting simultaneously (Fig. 1).

Three points may be distinguished:  $K$  is the point on the keel defined as intersection of baseline ( $BL$ ) and centreline ( $CL$ ) and is conveniently used as the origin of the coordinating system;  $G$  is the centre of the ship's gravity; and  $Bo$  is the centre of its buoyancy, which is determined by the immersion of the ship below the waterline ( $WL$ ). Two forces acting at any time are the ship weight or displacement ( $W$ ) and the ship buoyancy ( $B$ ). Clearly, when the ship is in calm water,

redu ravnoteža dviju sila koje djeluju istodobno, a to su: težina i uzgon broda. Težina broda ukupna je težina brodske konstrukcije, tereta, opreme, posade i bilo koje druge težine koja daje istisninu broda. Uzgon broda određen je oblikom trupa, istisninom i oplakanom površinom. Ukupan zbroj težina rezultira centrom gravitacije, a ukupan zbroj sila uzgona rezultira centrom volumena ili uronjenog presjeka kao u slučaju 2D plutajućeg modela. Kad je brod izložen djelovanju valova, ostvaruje šest stupnjeva slobode gibanja: tri translacije i tri rotacije u odnosu na definirani koordinatni sustav. Jedan od tih stupnjeva slobode jest rotacija oko uzdužne osi broda, tj. ljuljanje, pri čemu rezultirajući kut ljuljanja određuje moment uspravljanja (povratni moment) koji je posljedica spomenutih dviju sila (težine,  $W$  i uzgona,  $B$ ), koje djeluju istovremeno (Sl. 1).

Na karakterističnom presjeku broda moguće je razlikovati tri točke:  $K$  je točka na kobilici definirana kroz presjek osnovne ( $BL$ ) i središnje crte ( $CL$ ) i prikladno se koristi kao ishodište koordinatnog sustava;  $G$  je centar gravitacije; a  $Bo$  je centar uzgona broda koji je određen uranjanjem broda ispod vodne linije ( $WL$ ). Dvije sile koje djeluju čitavo vrijeme jesu težina broda odnosno njegova istisnina ( $W$ ) i uzgon broda ( $B$ ). Naravno, kad se brod

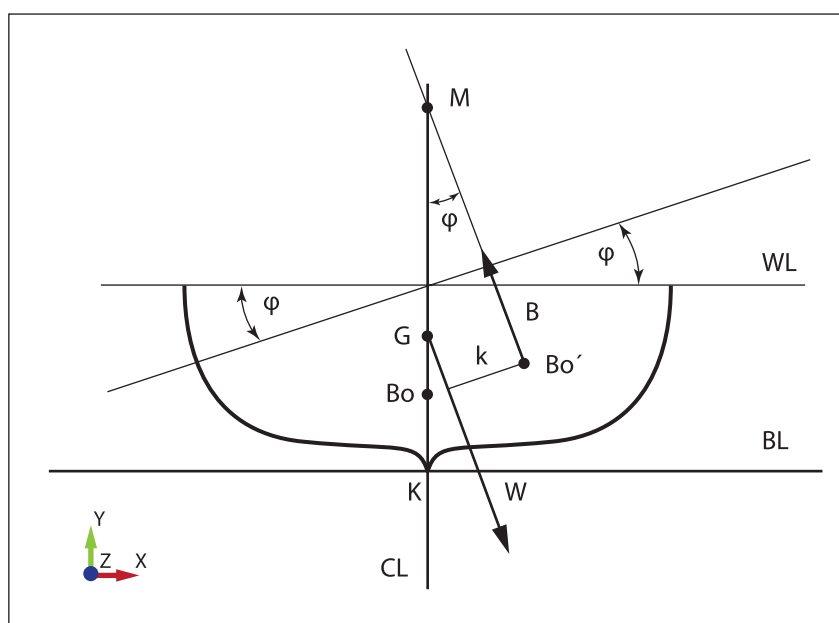


FIGURE 1 *Principle of the restoring moment*  
SLIKA 1. *Princip djelovanja momenta uspravljanja*

both forces act in the vertical direction and the restoring moment is zero. When the ship rolls due to the action of the waves by angle  $\rho$ , the buoyancy changes and the new centre of buoyancy moves to point  $Bo'$ . Again, the ship weight acts through point  $G$ , while the ship buoyancy forces act through point  $Bo'$ . These two forces are parallel but no longer collinear, and the restoring moment  $M_{sr} = Wk$  is generated. In normal circumstances, the restoring moment always acts in such a way that the ship tends to return to the original undisturbed position. During the numerical simulation of the ship rolling on the sea surface, the equilibrium of all the forces acting on the model, including weight and buoyancy, needs to be constantly maintained.

## NUMERICAL MODEL

Since the purpose of this article is to explore the capability of modern engineering tools in simulating an ancient marine accident, a simplified numerical model is applied. Therefore, the modelling and calculation efforts are reduced, while all the relevant physical components of the event are considered, allowing a realistic simulation.

The presumed scenario considers an ancient ship loaded with cargo, deprived of manoeuvring capacity and drifting helplessly in rough sea. As time passes, seawater penetrates the hull, slowly reducing the buoyancy of the ship. Finally, the ship sinks to the seabed, assuming a final resting position.

Modelling such an event presumes considering as much physics as possible. In other words, a model of the environment must be established, a model of the ship and its cargo produced, interaction between all the structural parts and interaction between the fluid and structure defined, and the friction and contact forces controlled, etc. Obtaining the

nalazi u mirnoj vodi, obje sile djeluju u okomitom smjeru pa je moment uspravljanja jednak nuli. Kad se brod ljulja uslijed djelovanja valova i naginje pod nekim kutom  $\rho$ , uzgon se mijenja, a novi centar uzgona premješta se u točku  $Bo'$ . Težina broda opet djeluje u točki  $G$ , dok sila uzgona broda djeluju u točki  $Bo'$ . Te su dvije sile paralelne, ali više nisu kolinearne, te se stvara moment uspravljanja  $M_{sr} = Wk$ . U normalnim okolnostima, moment uspravljanja uvijek djeluje tako da brod vraća u ravnotežni položaj. Prilikom numeričke simulacije ljuljanja broda na moru ravnoteža svih sila na modelu, uključujući težinu i uzgon, mora biti zadovoljena u svakom proračunskom koraku.

## NUMERIČKI MODEL

S obzirom da je osnovni cilj ovog članka istražiti mogućnosti suvremenih tehničkih alata u simulaciji antičkih pomorskih nesreća, primjenjuje se pojednostavljeni numerički model. Na taj način smanjen je obim izrade svih modela i trajanje izračuna, a istodobno su uzete u obzir sve mjerodavne fizikalne značajke događaja, koje omogućuju realističnu simulaciju.

Prema pretpostavljenom tijeku događaja u scenariju na osnovi kojega će se izraditi proračunski numerički model, polazi se od antičkog broda natovarenog teretom, smanjene ili onemogućene upravljivosti, koji bespomoćno pluta uzburkanim morem. Kako vrijeme prolazi, tako morska voda prodire u trup, postupno smanjujući uzgon broda. Naposljetku brod tone i zauzima konačan položaj mirovanja na morskom dnu.

Pri izradi numeričkog modela takvog događaja važno je uzeti u obzir što više fizikalnih činjenica. Drugim riječima, potrebno je izraditi realističan model okoliša, dovoljno detaljan model broda i tereta koji je prevezio, definirati međudjelovanje svih dijelova njegove konstrukcije, uključujući pomicanje tereta, kao i interakciju između tekućine i konstrukcije, za-

optimum between the modelling effort and the quality of the results is an important first step, which, as already anticipated, requires certain simplifications.

To obtain the desired result, a combination of two different models is proposed: the floating model and the sinking model. The first one is the model of a fluid-structure analysis of a ship drifting in rough sea, while the second one is a structural model of a ship sinking to the seabed. The LS-Dyna software package was used to perform the analysis.

### *Floating model*

The floating model consists of three main parts: water, air and a ship loaded with cargo (Fig. 2). The most important simplification is the restriction of the floating model to only two dimensions, one extending along the ship width and the other extending along the ship height. Since the ship length is not relevant, there is no bow or stern included in the model. Only the main section frame is considered, as presented in Fig. 2. The entire numerical model, i.e. each of the three parts within (air, water and ship with cargo), is restricted to moving in the direction normal to the presented plane.

The finite element mesh consists of shell elements, used to model the ship hull and each of 18 amphorae, and solid elements used to

tim kontrolirati silu trenja, kontaktne sile koje nastaju dodirivanjem različitih objekata i dr. Pri tome je važno postići optimalnu ravnotežu između truda uloženog u izradu samog modela i kvalitete rezultata, što sukladno očekivanju zahtjeva određena pojednostavljena.

Na osnovi dosadašnjeg iskustva, predlaže se kombinacija dvaju različitih i nezavisnih računskih modela: plutajućeg i tonućeg modela. Prvi je model namijenjen analizi međudjelovanja tekućine i konstrukcije broda koji pluta uzburkanim morem, a drugi je model namijenjen analizi ponašanja konstrukcije broda koji tone na morsko dno. Pri tome se rezultat analize plutajućeg modela koristi u analizi tonućeg modela, čime se ostvaruje cjelina simuliranog događaja. Za provedbu analize korišten je računalni program LS-Dyna.

### *Plutajući model*

Plutajući model sastoji se od tri glavna dijela, a to su voda, zrak i natovareni brod (Sl. 2). Najvažnije pojednostavljenje je ograničenje plutajućeg modela na samo dvije dimenzije, one u kojima je moguće definirati širinu i visinu broda. Budući da dužina broda nije od presudnog značaja pri analizi ljuljanja broda, u model nisu uključeni njegovi pramčani i krmeni dijelovi. Uzet je u obzir samo okvir glavnog dijela kao što je prikazano na Sl. 2. Čitav numerički model odnosno svaki pojedini od triju njegovih sastavnih dijelova (zrak, voda

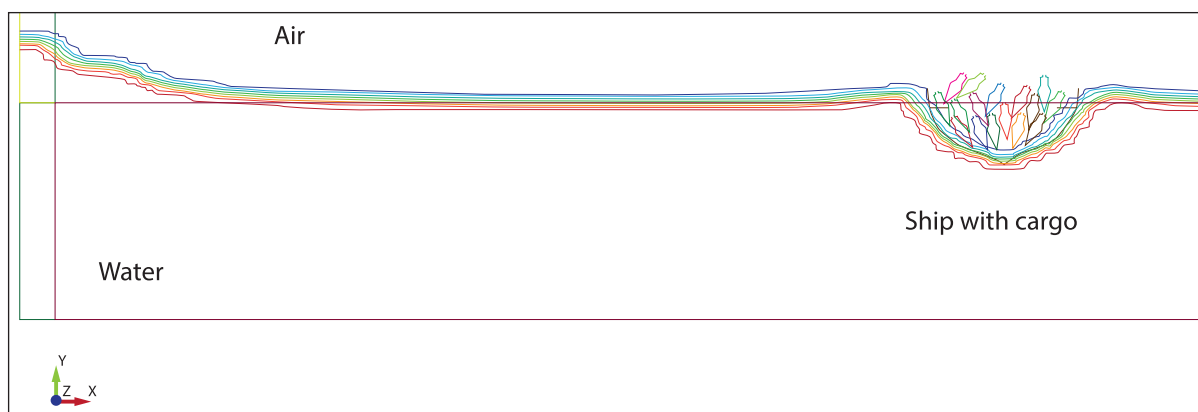


FIGURE 2 Floating model: fluid domain (air, water) and structural model (ship, cargo)

SLIKA 2. Model za analizu plutanja: fluid (zrak, voda) i konstrukcija (brod, teret)

model the water and air domain. A total of 404 shell and 12,804 solid finite elements are used.

The ship hull cross section is generic and is supposed to be similar to the Kyrenia class of ancient ships.<sup>9</sup> The beam of the ship is 4.45 metres, and each amphora is 1.13 metres high. The mass of the ship is 14 tons and the total mass of the amphorae is 20 tons, corresponding again to the Kyrenia ship and cargo weight estimation.

The initial position of the amphorae within the ship hull at the beginning of the simulation is presented in Fig. 3A. As soon as the simulation started, gravity was applied to the entire model and the amphorae assumed their natural position in the ship (Fig. 3B), which resembles the placement of amphorae in a ship hull as found at a common wreck site. It should be noted that the cargo is free to move within the ship hull due to the action of the waves, as each amphora is in contact with surrounding amphorae and the ship hull.

The size of the fluid domain (both water and air) is 194 x 9.5 metres, of which the water depth is 6.5 metres. At the ends of the fluid domain, there are ambient parts of the domain, i.e. a numerical representation of the infinite fluid domain, used for wave generation on the left and wave absorption on the right of the fluid domain. In this way, waves are generated, they travel from the left to the right (along the x axis) and when they reach the right-most edge of the domain, they are not reflected back but are absorbed by the ambient parts.

Arbitrary Lagrangian-Eulerian (ALE) and Constrained-Lagrange-in-Solid algorithms encoded in LS-Dyna were used to set up the physical behaviour of the structural model within the fluid domain. An ALE algorithm is a two-step algorithm. The first step is the Lagrangian step where deformations

i brod s teretom) ograničen je na kretanje u prikazanoj ravnini. Mreža konačnih elemenata plutajućeg modela sastoji se od ljuskastih konačnih elemenata korištenih za izradu modela trupa broda i modela amfora, njih ukupno 18, te od volumnih elemenata korištenih za izradu modela vode i zraka. Model sadrži 404 ljuskasta konačna elementa i 12.804 volumna konačna elementa.

Presjek trupa broda je generički te je izrađen po uzoru na antičke brodove klase onoga čija je olupina pronađena u blizini grada Kyrenije na današnjem Cipru.<sup>9</sup> Širina broda je 4,45 metara, a amfore su visoke 1,13 metara. Masa broda iznosi 14 tona, a ukupna masa amfora 20 tona, što opet odgovara procijenjenoj težini broda pronađenog kraj Kyrenije i pripadajućeg mu tereta.

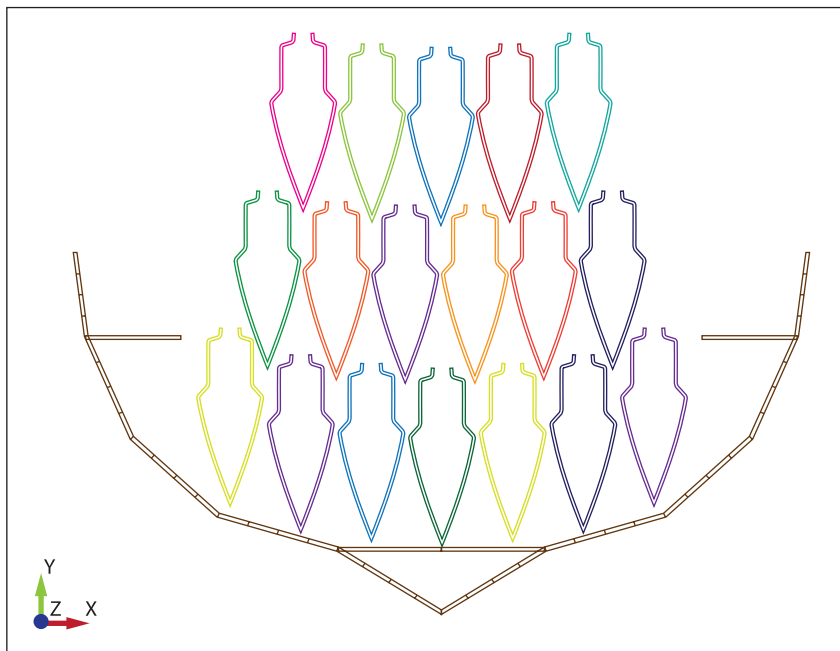
Početni položaj amfora u trupu broda na početku simulacije prikazan je na Sl. 3A. Zatim, kada je simulacija pokrenuta, na čitav je model primijenjena sila teže te su amfore nakon vrlo kratkog vremena zauzele rezultirajući prirodan položaj u brodu (Sl. 3B), podsjećajući na položaj amfora u trupu broda zatečen na uobičajenom nalazištu brodoloma. Treba napomenuti da se teret može slobodno kretati u trupu broda uslijed djelovanja valova s obzirom da su sve amfore u dodiru s okolnim amforama i trupom broda.

Veličina područja tekućine (i vode i zraka) je 194 x 9,5 metara, od čega je dubina vode 6,5 metara. Na krajevima područja tekućine nalaze se dijelovi područja tzv. numeričkog ambijenta, odnosno numerička reprezentacija beskonačnog područja tekućine, korišteni za stvaranje dolaznih valova u lijevom dijelu područja tekućine te za apsorpciju odlaznih valova u njegovu desnom dijelu. Na taj se način proizvode valovi, a zatim oni putuju s lijeva udesno (duž osi x) i kad stignu do krajnjeg desnog ruba područja ne odbijaju se natrag, već ih apsorbira numerički ambijent na tome mjestu.

Za uspostavu fizikalnog ponašanja konstruk-

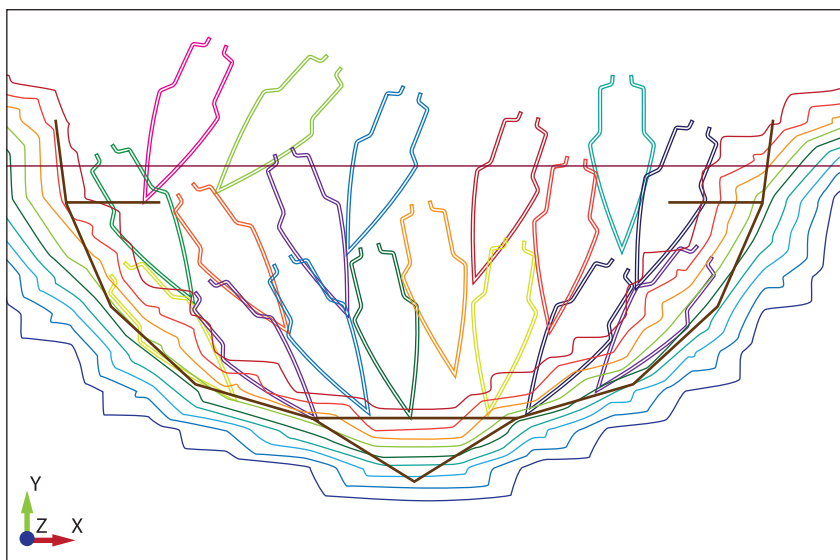
<sup>9</sup> J. R. STEFFY, 1994, 42-59.

<sup>9</sup> J. R. STEFFY, 1994, 42-59.



**FIGURE 3A** Ship and cargo arrangement in initial position and before the gravity is applied

**SLIKA 3A.** Brod i raspored tereta u početnom položaju, prije početka djelovanja gravitacije



**FIGURE 3B** Ship and cargo arrangement in natural position due to action of gravity and mutual contact

**SLIKA 3B.** Brod i raspored tereta u prirodnom položaju uslijed djelovanja gravitacije te međusobnog kontakta

and displacements of the structure are determined. The second step is the advection step, where the deformed material configuration is mapped back onto the reference mesh. Conservation of the mass, momentum and energy is used to solve the problem, along with the constitutive equations of the material. Multimaterial ALE elements were defined so that each element may contain a certain percentage of both water and air. Material model 9, i.e. NULL, is used to define the properties of the water and air.

The *Constrained\_Lagrange\_in\_Solid* is a coupling algorithm that looks for intersec-

cijskog modela u području tekućine korišteni su algoritmi ALE (proizvoljna Lagrangeova-Eulerova formulacija) i *Constrained\_Lagrange\_in\_Solid* (interakcija konstrukcije i tekućine) kodirani u sustav LS-Dyna. Algoritam ALE uključuje dva koraka. U prvom, Lagrangeovom koraku utvrđuju se deformacije i pomaci konstrukcije. Drugi korak je korak advekcije, pri kojem se konfiguracija deformiranog materijala mapira natrag na referentnu mrežu. Problem se rješava uz uvjet očuvanja mase, momenta i energije, uz konstitutivne jednadžbe materijala. Definirani su multimaterijalni ALE elementi kako bi svaki element

tions between the Lagrangian parts (structure) and ALE parts (fluid) in each time step of the simulation. When intersections are detected, coupling forces are calculated and re-distributed back on both parts, resulting in their interaction. The penalty method is used to generate coupling forces in the present analysis.

Simulation started with the initialisation of the hydrostatic pressure and gravity. Then the waves were generated and ALE and FSI coupling algorithms determined the floating of the ship with cargo. As the purpose of this article was to evaluate the possibility of numerical modelling of shipwreck conditions, in this analysis, no wind or sea currents were considered. Only the waves were modelled, and the rough sea was simulated by the generation of irregular, breaking waves. Harmonic oscillation of the ambient seawater level was imposed, with a period of 4 seconds and an amplitude of 2 metres. Short and steep waves like those used in numerical analysis occur due to strong winds such as hurricane-force bora (north-east), rising and breaking waves around shallow seas (shallows) or in channels when the slope of the wave is amplified by sea currents from the opposite direction. Such waves are not described by a simple linear theory but are the subject of nonlinear analysis not performed in the paper. The wave characteristics in the simulation were chosen arbitrarily, but in a way to achieve wave refraction that would lead to numerical flooding of the ship. Due to the steepness of the waves, they break while travelling and

mogao sadržavati određeni postotak i vode i zraka. Za definiranje svojstava vode i zraka koristi se Materijalni model 9, tj. NULL.

Constrained\_Lagrange\_in\_Solid algoritam pretražuje sjecišta Lagrangeovskih dijelova (konstrukcije) i Eulerovih dijelova (tekućine, odnosno fluida) u svakom pojedinom koraku simulacije. Kad se sjecišta otkriju, izračunavaju se sile na mjestu interakcije te ih se redistribuira natrag na oba dijela, uslijed čega nastaje njihovo međudjelovanje. U ovoj analizi, za izračun sila na mjestu interakcije primjenjuje se tzv. penalty metoda.

Simulacija započinje iniciranjem hidrostatskog tlaka i sile teže (gravitacije). Zatim se generiraju valovi, a algoritmi ALE i Constrained\_Lagrange\_in\_Solid određuju pomicanje broda s njegovim teretom na valovima. Kako je svrha ovog članka procijeniti mogućnost numeričkog modeliranja ovakvih složenih događaja, u ovoj analizi nisu uzeti u obzir ni vjetar ni morske struje. Simulacija uzburkanog mora postignuta je generiranjem nepravilnih valova koji se lome. Simulirana je harmonijska uzbuđena morska površina u periodu od 4 sekunde i s amplitudom od 2 metra. Kratki i strmi valovi poput ovih korištenih u numeričkoj analizi pojavljuju se uslijed djelovanja snažnog vjetra poput orkanske bure, rastom i lomom valova u okolici plitkog mora (plićina) ili u kanalima kada strminu vala pojačava morska struja iz suprotnog smjera. Takvi valovi ne opisuju se jednostavnom linearnom teorijom, već su predmet nelinearne analize koja u članku nije provedena. Značajke valova u simulaciji odabrane su proizvoljno, ali na način da se posti-

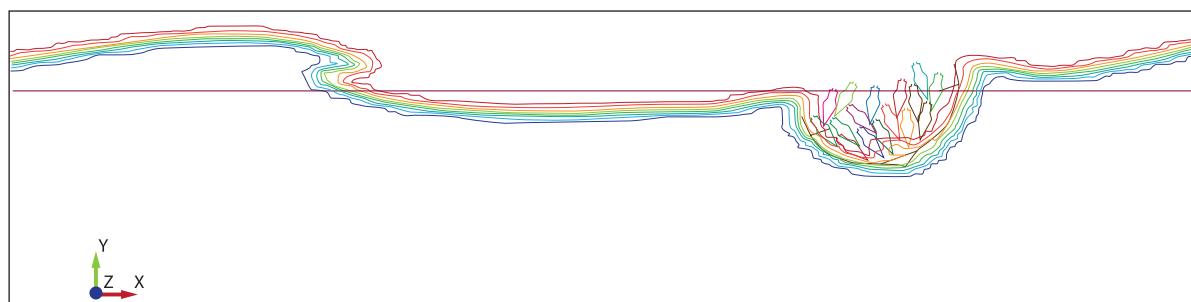


FIGURE 4 Typical simulation instance: ship with cargo is floating due to the action of the waves coming from the left side  
SLIKA 4. Tipičan trenutak simulacije: brod s teretom pluta uslijed djelovanja valova koji dolaze s lijeve strane

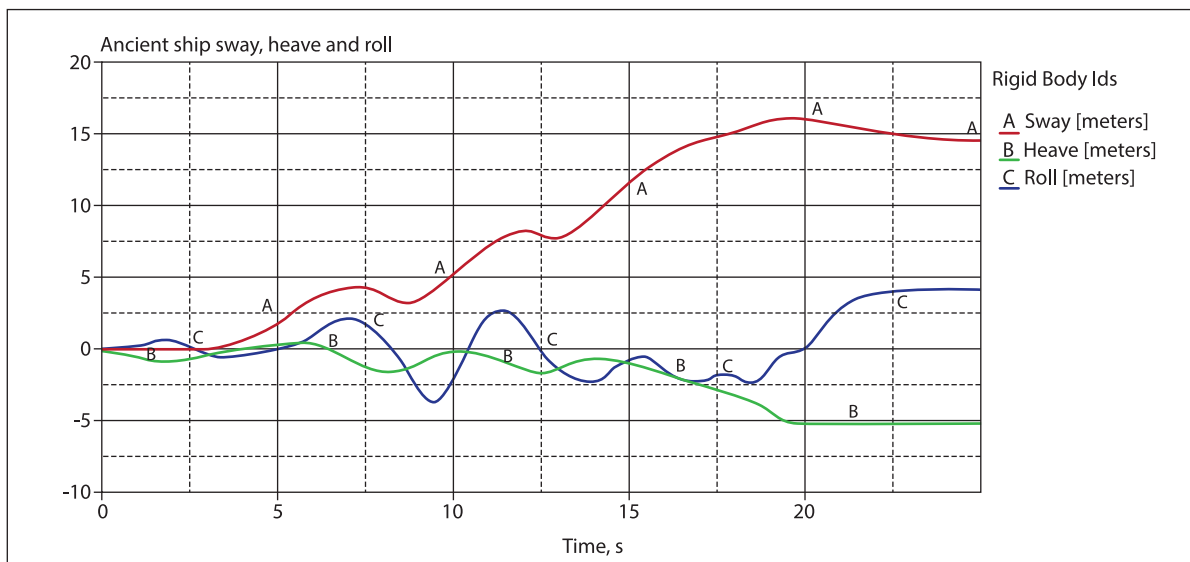


FIGURE 5 Ship floating motions in time: sway, heave and roll

SLIKA 5. Gibanje plutajućeg broda u vremenu: zanošenje, poniranje i ljuljanje

a typical situation is presented in Fig. 4. at time  $t=12$  seconds from the beginning of the simulation.

Flooding of the model is simulated by imposing a force acting in the negative  $y$ -direction (toward the bottom), which gradually increases and therefore reduces the ship buoyancy. This corresponds to the situation where there is an inflow of water in the hull, due to some kind of hull damage. Once buoyancy was lost due to the action of the flooding force and the force of the breaking wave mass that entered into the hull, the ship laden with cargo started to sink due to gravity. At this moment, the 2D simulation of the floating ship in waves stops.

Fig. 5 presents the motions of the ship as a rigid body, that is sway (translation in  $x$  direction) and heave (translation in  $y$  direction) as well as roll, as previously explained. It should be noted that the roll angles in Fig. 5 are scaled by a factor of 10 so that all the results can be displayed in the same Figure. The simulation lasted 25 seconds and, in that time, the ship drifted by the action of the waves by approximately 15 metres to the right.

From Fig. 5 it is clear that the ship loses its buoyancy as it constantly loses its freeboard. Eventually, at approximately  $t=15$  seconds,

gne lom valova koji će dovesti do numeričkog naplavlivanja broda. Uslijed strmosti valova oni se lome dok se gibaju te je tipična situacija prikazana na Sl. 4. u vremenu  $t = 12$  sekundi od početka simulacije.

Simulacija poplavlivanja modela izvedena je izazivanjem sile koja je djelovala u smjeru negativne osi  $y$  (prema dnu) i koja se postupno povećavala, uslijed čega je smanjen uzgon broda. To je usporedivo sa situacijom u kojoj voda prodire u trup zbog oštećenja koja su nastala na njemu. Nakon što je uslijed djelovanja sile poplavlivanja i sile izazvane valovima koji su prodrli u trup prestao djelovati uzgon, brod natovaren teretom počeo je tonuti uslijed djelovanja gravitacije. U tom trenutku 2D simulacija plutajućeg broda na valovima se prekida.

Sl. 5. prikazuje kretanje broda kao krutog tijela, koje se ljuđa (roll), ponire (heave) i zanosi (sway) u vremenu, kako je prethodno objašnjeno. Treba napomenuti da su kutovi ljuđanja na Sl. 5. uvećani za faktor od 10 kako bi se svi rezultati mogli pregledno prikazati na istoj slici. Simulacija je obuhvatila 25 sekundi plovidbe broda i u to je vrijeme došlo do njegovog zanošenja uslijed djelovanja valova za približno 15 metara udesno.

Poniranje je gibanje u smjeru osi  $y$ ; Sl. 5. prikazuje kako brod gubi uzgon paralelno s kon-

it starts to sink and at approximately  $t=20$  seconds it hits the bottom of the 2D fluid domain, where it resides for the rest of the simulation. Finally, significant roll motions can be observed at approx.  $t=10$  seconds. The analysis of the rest of the sinking process is described in the next section.

### *Sinking model*

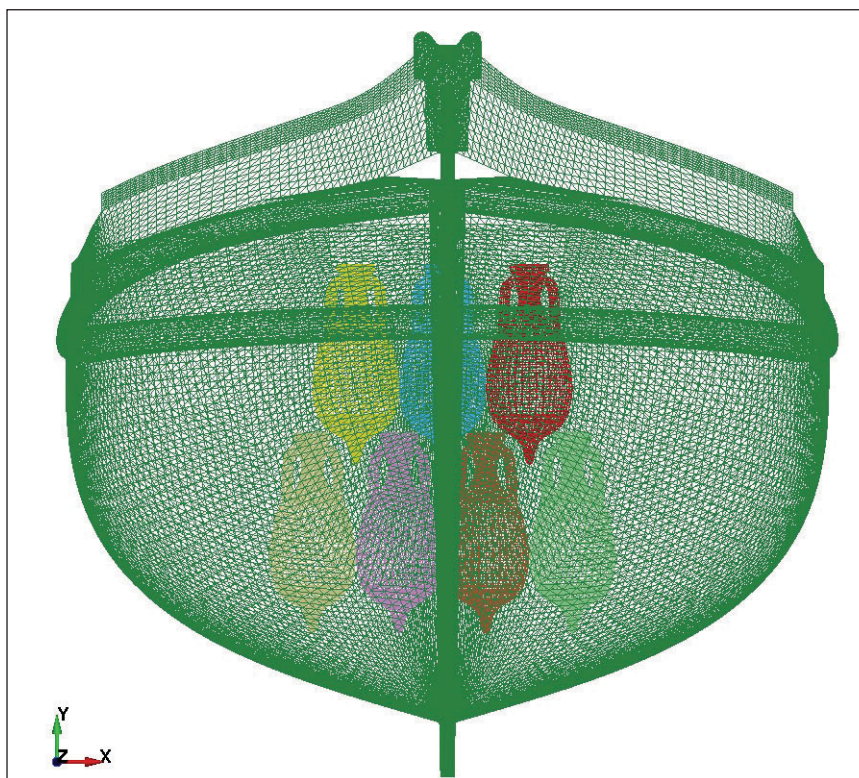
An analysis of the ship sinking was performed in LS-Dyna with the ship and cargo, as well as the seabed, represented with 3D models. Here, 48 amphorae of the height of 90 cm are modelled as a cargo so that the motion of the cargo can be monitored throughout the analysis and particularly during contact with the seabed. The front view of the ship with cargo used in the sinking simulation is presented in Fig. 6. The 3D model consists of 73,695 shell finite elements, used to model the ship hull and the seabed, and 163,392 solid finite elements used to model the amphorae.

Only a small number of amphorae is intro-

tinuiranim povećavanjem gaza. Naposljetku, približno u vrijeme  $t = 15$  sekundi, brod počinje tonuti, a približno u vremenu  $t = 20$  sekundi pada na dno područja tekućine 2D, gdje ostaje do kraja simulacije. Na kraju, približno u vremenu  $t = 10$  sekundi, vidljivo je značajno ljuljanje broda. Analiza ostatka procesa potonuća iznesena je u sljedećem odlomku.

### *Model potonuća*

Analiza broda koji tone provedena je pomoću programa LS-Dyna. Izrađen je 3D model broda s teretom te model nepravilnog morskog dna. Model tereta uključuje 48 amfora visine 90 cm, pri čemu je za cjelokupnog trajanja analize, a osobito za vrijeme kontakta s morskim dnom, omogućeno praćenje gibanja tereta. Na Sl. 6. prikazan je pogled sprijeda na brod s teretom upotrijebljen u simulaciji potonuća. 3D model uključuje 73.695 ljuskastih konačnih elemenata upotrijebljenih za izradu modela trupa broda i morskog dna te 163.392 volumna konačna elementa upotrijebljena za izradu modela amfora.



**FIGURE 6** *Sinking model: rigid ship shell loaded with 48 amphorae*

**SLIKA 6.** *Model za analizu potonuća: kruta oplata broda nakrcana s 48 amfora*

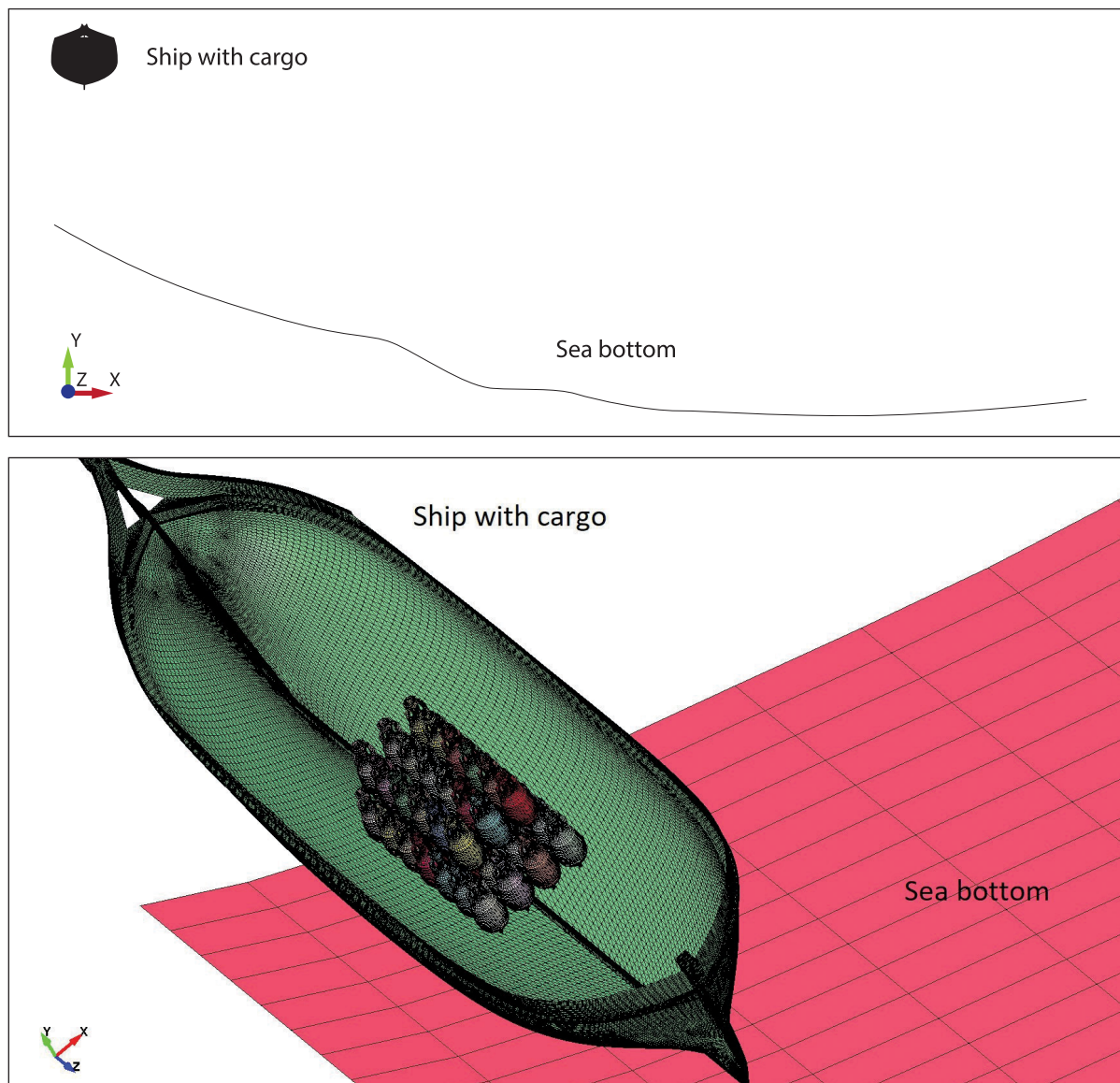


FIGURE 7 Sinking model; ship with cargo and sea bottom: side view (up) and isometric view (down)  
 SLIKA 7. Model za analizu potonuća; brod s teretom: pogled sa strane (gore) i izometrijski pogled (dolje)

duced into the ship's hold. Although the hull is therefore mostly empty, the movement of the amphorae is therefore less restricted. Another simplification is that only the hull shell is considered, with no bulkheads, deck, mast, or any other structural element, which can be easily added. A front view of the model (top) and isometric view of the sinking model (below) are presented in Fig. 7.

The fluid is not modelled directly in the sinking simulation. Therefore, the effect of the fluid was considered indirectly in the following manner. The buoyancy of the ship and amphorae is estimated by measuring

U spremište modela broda unesen je tek mali broj amfora. Iako je trup zbog toga uglavnom prazan, uslijed toga je i gibanje amfora manje ograničeno. Još jedno pojednostavljenje je i to što je razmotrena samo ljuska trupa, bez pregrada, palube, jarbola ili bilo kojeg drugog elementa konstrukcije koji je moguće jednostavno dodati. Na Sl. 7. prikazan je pogled sprijeda na model (gore) i izometrijski pogled modela potonuća (dolje).

Tekućina nije izravno modelirana u simulaciji potonuća. Stoga je učinak tekućine razmotren neizravno na sljedeći način. Na temelju stvarnog volumena i pripadnih specifičnih te-

their volume. Then, the total weight of the ship and cargo was reduced by the amount of buoyancy. Finally, the ratio of the two weights was applied to the earth's gravity, resulting in a net vertical body acceleration of  $6.8 \text{ metres/second}^2$ . While much more detailed modelling of underwater structural behaviour is possible, the accent in this paper is on the overall methodology and contact problem, both for the ship and cargo and interaction with the seabed.

In addition, a light horizontal sea current was introduced in the simulation by the application of a body load in the x-direction, acting on every object in the simulation. Penalty-based automatic contact was defined between each object and the static and dynamic friction coefficients in contact were both 0.6. As in the case of the floating simulation, all structural elements like the hull and amphorae were considered rigid. In addition, the seabed is modeled as rigid and immobile.

Sinking simulation starts when the ship sinks below the water level surface in the 2D simulation. The motions obtained for the

žina, procijenjen je ukupan uzgon broda s teretom. Zatim je cjelokupna težina broda i tereta smanjena za vrijednost uzgona. Naposljetku je omjer dviju težina, smanjene i cjelokupne, primijenjen na Zemljinu silu težu te je na taj način izračunata vrijednost neto vertikalne akceleracije tijela  $6,8 \text{ m/s}^2$ . Iako je moguća izrada mnogo detaljnijih modela ponašanja konstrukcije pod morem, u ovom je radu naglasak na razradi općenite metode simulacije brodoloma, te razmatranju problema kontakta između konstrukcije broda i tereta, kao i njihovo međudjelovanje s morskim dnom na kraju simulacije.

Dodatno, u simulaciju potonuća uvedena je horizontalna morska struja male brzine, primjenom sila u smjeru osi x koje djeluju na svaki objekt u simulaciji. Između pojedinih objekata, uključujući i morsko dno, definiran je automatski kontakt te su i koeficijent statičkog trenja i koeficijent dinamičkog trenja u kontaktu iznosili 0,6. Kao i u slučaju plutajuće simulacije, svi elementi brodske konstrukcije i sve amfore modelirane su kao kruta tijela. Dodatno, morsko dno modelirano je kao kruto i nepomično.

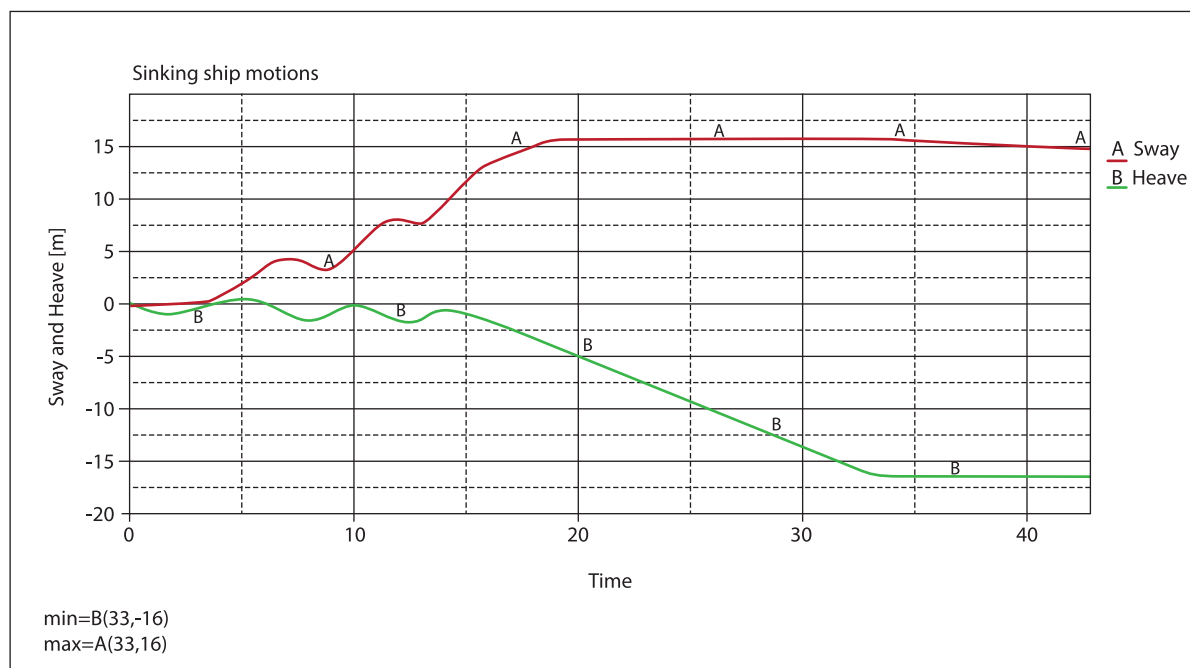


FIGURE 8 Ship sinking motion in time: sway and heave

SLIKA 8. Gibanje tonućeg broda u vremenu: zanošenje i poniranje

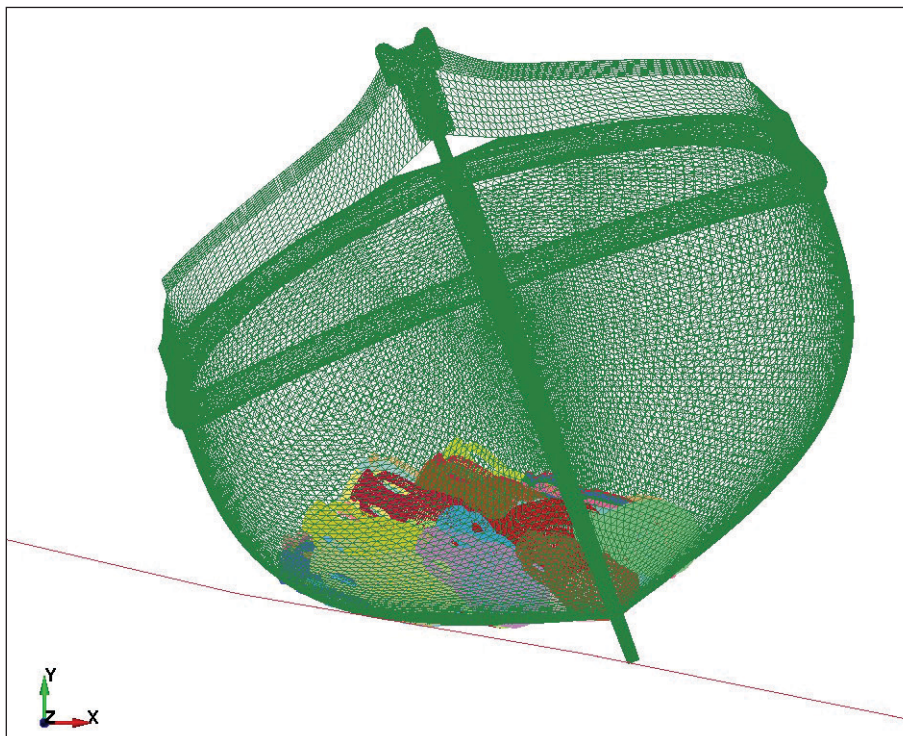
ship with cargo on the waves, presented in Fig. 5, were applied to the 3D ship and cargo model. In other words, the 3D ship and cargo model in the sinking simulation is constrained first to execute the motions from the 2D analysis. The reason for this was to study the more complex behaviour of the cargo, no longer restricted to just 3 degrees of freedom.

The constraints on the 3D model, i.e. the motions from the 2D model, were removed at  $t=18.8$  seconds, after which the ship was left to freely sink to the seabed. The time history of the ship sinking, i.e. the sway and heave motions, is presented in Fig. 8. Up to  $t=18.8$  seconds, the motions of the 3D sinking model are equal to the motions of the 2D floating model. However, after that time, sway due to the action of the waves is not possible as the ship is underwater, and the ship remains at approx. 15 metres from the initial position. At the same time, the ship sinks at a constant speed, as seen in Fig. 8 as straight line heave from approximately  $t=16$ s to  $t=33$ s, until it reaches the seabed at a depth of approx. 16 metres.

The resting position of the ship on the sea-

Potonuće započinje kad brod potone ispod površine vode u simulaciji. No prije toga, na 3D model broda i tereta primijenjena su gibanja određena za brod s teretom na valovima iz simulacije plutanja, prikazana na Sl. 5. Drugim riječima, 3D model broda i tereta u simulaciji potonuća prvotno je prisiljen izvesti gibanja iz analize plutanja na površini mora. Time se nastojalo proučiti složenije ponašanje tereta koji više nije ograničen na samo tri stupnja slobode gibanja.

Prisilna gibanja 3D modela, odnosno gibanja iz 2D modela, uklonjena su u vremenu  $t = 18,8$  sekundi, nakon čega je brod prepušten slobodnom potonuću na dno mora. Grafički prikaz promjene zanašanja i poniranja 3D modela vidljiv je na Sl. 8. Do vremena  $t = 18,8$  sekundi, gibanja 3D modela potonuća jednaka su gibanjima plutajućeg 2D modela. Međutim, nakon tog vremena, zanašanje uslijed djelovanja valova nije moguće jer je brod pod vodom te stoga do kraja simulacije ostaje na udaljenosti približno 15 metara od početnog položaja. Istodobno brod tone nepromjenjivom brzinom, vidljivo na Sl. 8. kao pravocrtno poniranje od približno  $t=16$  s do  $t=33$  s, dok ne



**FIGURE 9** *Sunken ship in resting position on the sloped sea bottom*  
**SLIKA 9.** *Potonuli brod u konačnom položaju na nagnutom morskom dnu*

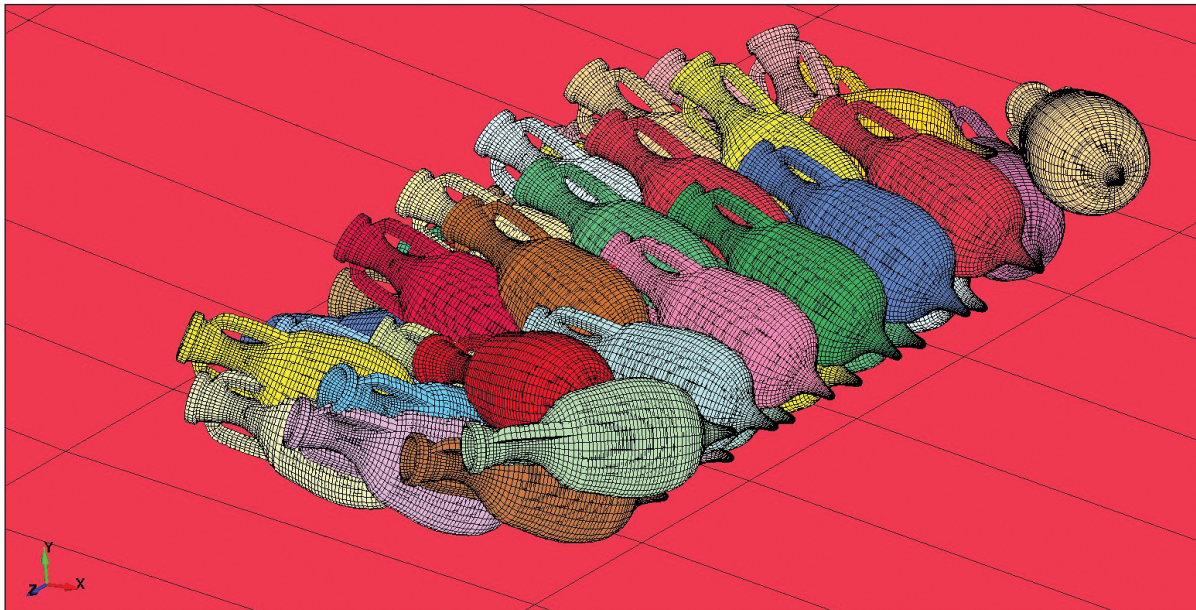


FIGURE 10 Final position of the ship's cargo – hull is removed from presentation

SLIKA 10. Konačan položaj brodskog tereta – brodski trup je uklonjen iz prikaza

bed is presented in Fig. 9. It can be noted that the amphorae are lying toward the port side of the ship. Such a position of the amphorae in the (mostly empty) cargo space is the result of the action of the wave-induced motions. Once the ship touched the seabed, although the slope goes downward to the right, the equilibrium of the forces resulted in the ship rolling to the left. If the seabed or cargo hold and the cargo itself were more complex, the end result would be calculated accordingly. The ship does not slip further down the slope due to the rather large friction expected in the contact between the wooden hull and the rocky seabed typical along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea.

Cargo is commonly found on a wreck site and its quantity and layout on the seabed provides a source of valuable information about the ship and the shipwreck. Fig. 10 presents the layout of the amphorae when the ship hull is removed from the display. Due to the action of aging, most of the hull would eventually disappear. The situation in Fig. 10 presents the outcome of the analysed scenario. Note that the red background indicates the mesh of the seabed finite elements.

dosegne dno na dubini od približno 16 metara.

Položaj mirovanja broda na dnu mora prikazan je na Sl. 9. Zamjetno je da su amfore okrenute prema lijevom boku broda. Takav položaj amfora u (većinom praznom) prostoru za teret rezultat je gibanja brodskog trupa izloženog djelovanju valova. Nakon što je brod dosegaio morsko dno, unatoč silaznom nagibu dna udesno, ravnoteža prisutnih sila uzrokovala je naginjanje broda ulijevo. Da su morsko dno ili brodsko skladište i sam teret bili složeniji, konačan bi se rezultat računao u skladu s tim. Brod ne klizi dublje po nagibu zahvaljujući prilično velikom trenju koje se očekuje u kontaktu drvenoga trupa i stjenovitoga morskog dna, tipičnog za istočnu obalu Jadranskog mora.

Teret je uobičajen nalaz na nalazištima brodoloma, a njegova količina i raspored na morskom dnu predstavljaju vrijedan izvor podataka o brodu i brodolomu. Na Sl. 10. prikazan je razmještaj amfora kad se ukloni prikaz trupa broda. Zbog starenja i erozije drvenih dijelova konstrukcije, najveći dio trupa naposljetku nestaje te situacija prikazana na Sl. 10. predstavlja ishod analiziranog tijeka događanja. Pritom valja istaknuti kako crvena pozadina prikazuje mrežu konačnih elemenata na morskom dnu.

## CONCLUSION

In the two-stage simulation of a ship capsizing and sinking, state-of-the-art engineering tools were applied. LS-Dyna software was used to perform a highly non-linear, fluid-structure interaction and contact problem analysis.

In the first part, a floating numerical model was created, enabling the simulation of sea surface events. In this case, numerous parameters may be varied: wave height, wave period, wave induced current, sea current, various cargo combinations, various dynamics of seawater penetration in the hull, etc. The result of the performed analysis is the realistic simulation of ship motions induced by the waves and the loss of ship stability in rough sea.

In the second part, a sinking numerical model was created in an attempt to explore the effects of the underwater environment, including sea currents, the buoyancy of the cargo, the slope and the composition of the seabed, etc., and to examine one of the possible situations in which the ship assumes final resting position.

The presented work has proven that complex events can be successfully modelled to provide a useful tool for exploring various floating, capsizing and sinking situations. In this way, through the comparison of simulation results with the traditional interpretation of archaeological evidence, the cause and dynamics of a specific shipwreck may be identified with high probability.

The described modelling process could be applied to test a working hypothesis formulated in accordance with the results of archaeological research, or to experiment with various factors until a result is obtained which corresponds to the archaeological record. As anticipated, this should be considered as the first step towards the more sophisticated modelling of shipwreck events, which could be subsequently extended to other interesting issues in nautical archaeology.

Four decades ago, Keith Muckelroy stated:

## ZAKLJUČAK

U simulaciji plutanja i potonuća broda izvedenoj u dvije faze primijenjene su najsvremenije tehnike modeliranja složenih fizikalnih problema. Softverski paket LS-Dyna omogućio je simulaciju visoko nelinearnog međudjelovanja tekućine i konstrukcije te analizu problema kontakta.

U prvom je dijelu izveden plutajući numerički model koji je omogućio simulaciju događaja na površini mora. U ovom dijelu moguće je odrediti brojne parametre kao što su: visina vala, period vala, jačina površinske morske struje izazvane valovima, jačina morske struje, različite kombinacije tereta, različita dinamika prodiranja morske vode u trup itd. Rezultat provedene analize realistična je simulacija gibanja broda izazvanih valovima i gubitak stabilnosti broda na uzburkanom moru.

U drugom dijelu izrađen je numerički model potonuća kako bi se istražilo učinke podvodnog okruženja uključujući morske struje, uzgon tereta, nagib i sastav morskoga dna i dr. te ispitao njihov utjecaj na moguće ishode u kojima brod zauzima svoj konačni položaj mirovanja.

Predstavljeni rad dokazuje kako je moguće uspješno izraditi modele složenih događaja koji tada mogu poslužiti kao koristan alat za istraživanje različitih situacija plutanja, prevrtanja i potonuća. Na taj način, korištenjem rezultata simulacije i tradicionalnog tumačenja arheoloških dokaza moguće je s velikom pouzdanošću razumjeti uzrok i dinamiku određenog brodoloma.

Opisani postupak izrade modela te opisana metodologija proračuna mogu se primijeniti za ispitivanje radne hipoteze formulirane u skladu s rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja ili za parametarsko numeričko istraživanje koje će u konačnici dati rezultat koji će biti u skladu s arheološkim dokazima. Opisani rad predstavlja prvi korak prema izradi sofisticiranijih modela brodoloma, a stečena saznanja mogu se proširiti i na ostale zanimljive teme iz područja arhe-

“The shipwreck is the event by which a highly organised and dynamic assemblage of artefacts are transformed into a static and disorganised state with long-term stability . . . If the various processes which have intervened between the two states can be identified and described, the researcher can begin to disentangle the evidence he has uncovered”.<sup>10</sup> Today, with the virtual modelling tools available, researchers can also test the physical requirements for the sustainability of their assumptions.

*Proof-reading: Mark Davies  
(for Etnotrend d. o. o.)*

ologije broda.

Pred četiri desetljeća, Keith Muckelroy je utvrdio: „Brodolom je događaj kojim se visoko organiziran i dinamičan sklop artefakata pretvara u statično i neorganizirano stanje dugoročne stabilnosti... Ako je moguće prepoznati i opisati različite procese koji su djelovali u vremenu između tih dvaju stanja, znanstvenik može početi nazrijevati koje je otkrio”<sup>10</sup>. Danas dostupni inženjerski alati omogućuju znanstvenicima ispitivanje fizikalnih uvjeta koji moraju biti ispunjeni za održivost njihovih pretpostavki.

*Prijevod: Nina Matetić Pelikan  
(Etnotrend d. o. o.)*

<sup>10</sup> K. MUCKELROY, 1978, 157.

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# PROVEDBA PROJEKTA PROHERITAGE TIJEKOM 2018. I 2019. GODINE

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROHERITAGE PROJECT IN 2018 AND 2019

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**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:**

*Jasenice, Obrovac,  
kulturni krajolik,  
terenski pregled, zračno  
snimanje, ProHeritage,  
dinarski krš*

*U radu se iznose podatci o provedbi projekta Kulturni krajolik – model valorizacije, zaštite, upravljanja i korištenja kulturne baštine – ProHeritage (UIP-2017-05-2152) tijekom 2018. i 2019. godine. Projekt se provodi na području Općine Jasenice i grada Obrovca. Obuhvaća segment južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita te zapadni dio Bukovice. Cilj je projekta vrednovanje kulturne i arheološke baštine na razini krajolika, a za razliku od spomeničkog modela koji je dominantan pristup prisutan u Hrvatskoj. Područje istraživanja testno je područje na kojem se razvijaju modeli rada za vrednovanje krajolika kao baštinskog resursa.*

**KEY WORDS:**

*Jasenice, Obrovac,  
cultural landscape,  
field survey, aerial  
reconnaissance,  
ProHeritage,  
Dinaric karst*

*The paper presents information on the implementation of the project Cultural Landscape – a Model of Valorisation, Protection, Management and Use of Cultural Heritage - ProHeritage (UIP-2017-05-2152) in 2018 and 2019. The project is carried out in the area of the municipality of Jasenice and the town of Obrovac. It encompasses a segment of southern and southeastern Velebit and western part of Bukovica. The aim of the project is valorisation of cultural and archaeological heritage at the landscape level, in contrast to the model focused on monuments as a dominant approach in Croatia. Research area represents a test area for developing models of work for valorisation of landscape as a heritage resource.*

## UVOD

Povijesna karakterizacija krajolika je metoda kartiranja čitavog krajolika s obzirom na njegov povijesni razvoj. Ta platforma temelji se na valorizaciji ukupnog antropogeniziranog prostora s ciljem uopćenog prikazivanja karaktera krajolika. Korištenje geoprostornih alata kao što je GIS te dostupnih rasterskih podataka kao što su satelitske i zračne snimke omogućuju primjenu koncepta krajolika kao baštine. Takav je pristup baštini u skladu s preventivnim, a ne spasilačkim karakterom očuvanja kulturne baštine. Upravo holistički pristup baštini uz korištenje suvremenih alata i podataka omogućuje razvijanje učinkovitih sustava valorizacije, zaštite, upravljanja i korištenja baštine.

Cilj je projekta razviti hrvatski model valorizacije, zaštite, upravljanja i korištenja kulturne baštine, a temeljen na krajoliku i platformi *Povijesne karakterizacije krajolika* (HLC).<sup>1</sup> Takav način rada još nije primijenjen u Hrvatskoj, stoga je ovaj projekt pilot ili model projekt (druga platforma, *Landscape Character Assessment* ili LCA, različita od HLC-a primijenjena je u Hrvatskoj<sup>2</sup>). Metodologija za provođenje projekta je metodologija arheologije krajolika (daljinska istraživanja, terenski pregledi). Većina geoprostornih podataka koji se rabe javno su dostupni podatci kao što su zračne i satelitske snimke, povijesne zračne snimke, katastri i karte. Ovi mediji će se na taj način sustavno staviti u funkciju za valorizaciju baštine pri čemu će se razraditi procedure rada koje će biti moguće primijeniti na području cijele Hrvatske. Studija slučaja koja je izabrana za izradu modela jest područje današnje Općine Jasenice i grada Obrovca. Područje studije slučaja dovoljno je velik prostorni uzorak za primjenu temeljnih principa povijesne karakterizacije krajolika.

<sup>1</sup> J. CLARK, J. DARLINGTON, G. FAIRCLOUGH, 2004; G. FAIRCLOUGH, 2006; J. CROW, S. TURNER, A. K. VIONIS, 2011; G. LAMBRICK, J. HIND, I. WAIN, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> B. DUMBOVIĆ BILUŠIĆ, 2015.

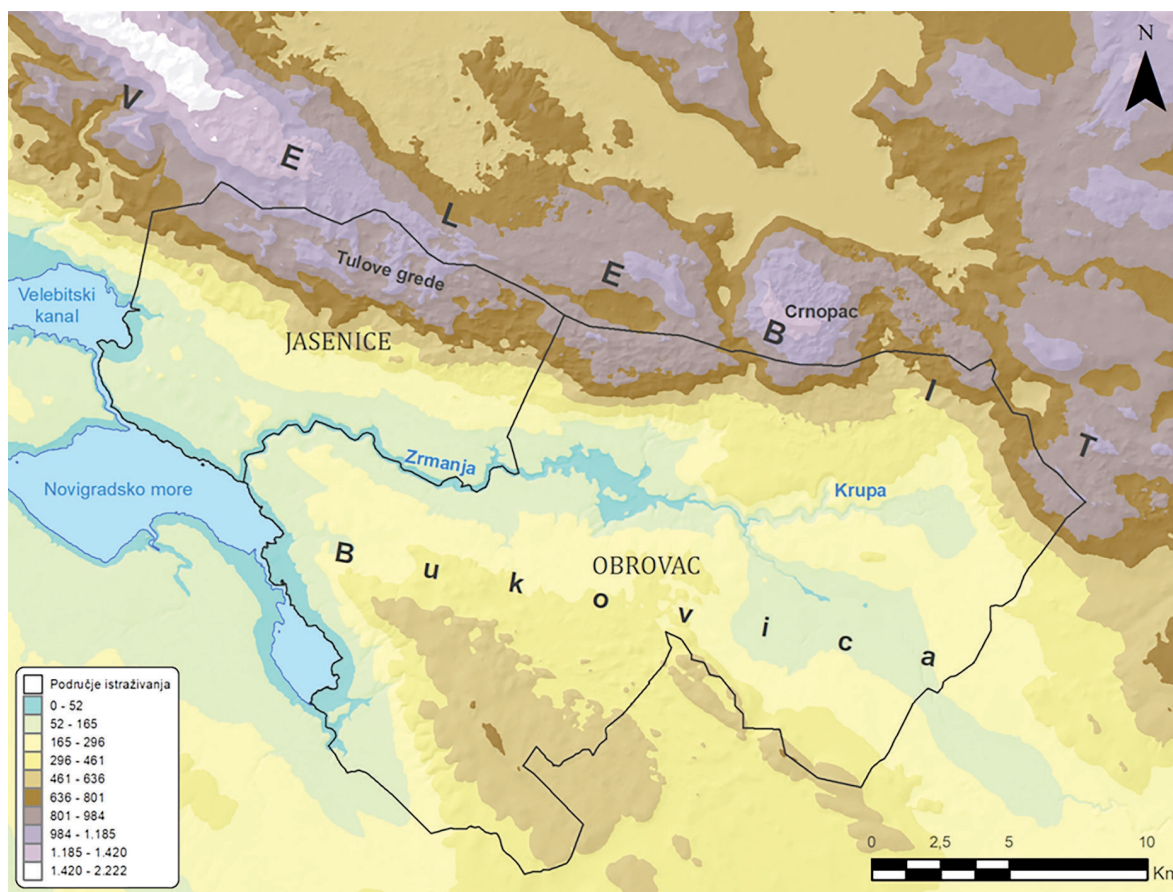
## INTRODUCTION

Historic landscape characterisation is a method of mapping an entire landscape with regard to its historic development. This platform is based on valorisation of total anthropogenized space with the aim of generalized presentation of the landscape character. Use of geospatial tools such as GIS and available raster data such as aerial and satellite imagery enable use of the concept of landscape as heritage. Such approach to heritage is in accordance with the preventive instead of rescue character of cultural heritage preservation. Exactly holistic approach to heritage with the use of modern tools and data enables development of efficient systems of valorisation, protection, management and use of heritage.

The aim of the project is to develop a Croatian model of valorisation, protection, management and use of cultural heritage, based on landscape and platform of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC)<sup>1</sup>. This work methodology has not been applied in Croatia so far, therefore this project presents a pilot or model project (other platform Landscape Character Assessment or LCA, different from HLC has been applied in Croatia<sup>2</sup>). Methodology for project implementation is the methodology of the landscape archaeology (remote sensing, field surveys). Most geospatial data that are used are publicly available such as aerial and satellite images, historical aerial photos, cadastres and maps. These media will thus be systematically employed for valorisation of heritage. In the process, work procedures will be developed that will be applicable in the entire territory of Croatia. The case study that was chosen for model making is the area of the current municipality of Jasenice and the town of Obrovac. The area of the case study is a spatial sample that is large enough for the use

<sup>1</sup> J. CLARK, J. DARLINGTON, G. FAIRCLOUGH, 2004; G. FAIRCLOUGH, 2006; J. CROW, S. TURNER, A. K. VIONIS, 2011; G. LAMBRICK, J. HIND, I. WAIN, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> B. DUMBOVIĆ BILUŠIĆ, 2015.



KARTA 1. Područje istraživanja projekta ProHeritage  
 MAP 1 Research area of the ProHeritage project

Cilj je ovog projekta i razvijanje primijenjene arheologije kao svojevrsne ekstenzije primarne struke, a kroz sinergiju s društvenim i biotehničkim znanostima. Naime, u većem dijelu Hrvatske, posebice u Dalmaciji postoji iznimno visok pritisak na prostor, a ne postoje metode, procedure i alati, odnosno sustav vrednovanja koji će omogućiti razvoj po principu održivosti, primjeren suvremenom dobu, a ujedno usmjeren na očuvanje prostora, krajolika i baštine te korištenje baštine za razvoj. Interdisciplinarnost projekta očituje se u sinergiji sa stručnjacima iz područja sociologije, turizma, agronomije i geografije.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Suradnici na projektu su: prof. dr. sc. Uroš Stepišnik (Oddelek za geografiju, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani), izv. prof. dr. sc. Miro Stošić (Poljoprivredni fakultet u Osijeku, Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku), doc. dr. sc. Denis Radoš (Odjel za geografiju, Sveučilište u Zadru), dr. sc. Martina Dubolnić Glavan (Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru), doc. dr. sc. Vedrana Glavaš (Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru), dr. sc.

of basic principles of historic landscape characterisation.

One of the aims of this project is development of applied archaeology as a sort of extension of the primary profession, through synergy with social and biotechnical sciences. Namely, bigger part of Croatia, in particular Dalmatia, is characterised by high pressure on space, and there are no methods, procedures and tools, in other words a system of valorisation, that might enable development in accordance with principles of sustainability, in line with contemporary era, and at the same time focused on preservation of space, landscape and heritage as well as the use of heritage for development. Interdisciplinarity of the project is reflected in synergy with experts from the fields of sociology, tourism, agronomy and geography.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Project associates are: Uroš Stepišnik, PhD, full professor

Integralni dio prethodnog cilja jest detektiranje elemenata i modaliteta promjena i stabilnosti povijesnih karaktera krajolika. Upravo arheološka metodologija i perspektiva omogućuju detektiranje i vrednovanje povijesne slojevitosti u krajoliku jednako kao i analizu stabilnih i promjenjivih elemenata krajolika. Dijelovi krajolika nastali i oblikovani u starijim razdobljima u jednakom su obliku korišteni u modernom dobu. Identificiranje povijesne slojevitosti ili kronološkog nastajanja krajolika dodatna je vrijednost baštine prostora.

## PODRUČJE ISTRAŽIVANJA

Područje istraživanja obuhvaća administrativno područje današnje Općine Jasenice i grada Obrovca, ukupne površine 474 km<sup>2</sup> (Karta 1). Riječ je u reljefnom smislu o razvijenom dinarskom kršu koji možemo podijeliti na dvije cjeline: plitki i duboki krš. Plitki krš obuhvaća segment sjeverno-dalmatinske zaravni u koju su usječeni kanjoni rijeka Zrmanje i Krupe, a duboki krš dio južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita. Nadalje, područje istraživanja pripada potpuno razvijenom kršu na kojem su prisutni svi endogeni i egzogeni krški oblici na makrorazini (vrtače, brda, brežuljci, jaruge, polja itd.) i mikrorazini (kamenice, škrape itd.). Karakteristika područja je i nedostatak pokrova površinskog sedimenta, odnosno, riječ je o izrazito okršenim površinama kamenjara.<sup>4</sup>

Primjena HLC platforme na području dinarskog krša prilika je za razvoj metoda i procedura koje će moći biti primijenjene na drugim krškim područjima Hrvatske s obzirom na to da krški teren zauzima 50,5 % teri-

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<sup>4</sup> M. MATAS, 2009.

Integral part of the previous aim is detecting elements and modalities of changes and stabilities of historic landscape characters. It is exactly archaeological methodology and perspective that enables detecting and valorising historical complexity in a landscape as well as analysis of stable and changeable landscape elements. Parts of landscape formed and modelled in earlier periods were used in modern era in identical form. Identifying historic complexity or chronological formation of a landscape represents an additional value of heritage of a certain region.

## RESEARCH AREA

Research area encompasses the administrative region of present-day municipality of Jasenice and the town of Obrovac, covering the total area of 474km<sup>2</sup> (Map 1). In the terms of relief Dinaric karst that can be divided into two wholes: shallow and deep karst. Shallow karst refers to a segment of North Dalmatian plateau furrowed by canyons of the Zrmanja and Krupa rivers, and deep karst relates to a part of southern and southeastern Velebit. The research area encompasses fully developed karst which includes all endogenous and exogenous karst forms at macrolevel (karst valleys, hills, elevations, ditches, fields etc.) and microlevel (solution pans, karrens, etc.). Another

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SLIKA 1. Rimski međašni zid u Golubiću – pogled s tla (sve fotografije u članku: I. Kulenović)

FIGURE 1 Roman boundary wall in Golubić – view from the ground (all photos in the article: I. Kulenović)

torija Republike Hrvatske.<sup>5</sup> Nadalje, područje istraživanja zaštićeno je kao prirodna cjelina u sklopu mreže Natura 2000 i Parka prirode Velebit, a kanjon rijeke Zrmanje zaštićen je kao značajni krajobraz u Zadarskoj županiji.

<sup>5</sup> M. MATAS, 2009.

characteristic of the region is lack of surface sediment cover, in other words this is extremely karstified rocky ground.<sup>4</sup>

The use of HLC platform in the area of Dinaric karst offers an opportunity to develop

<sup>4</sup> M. MATAS, 2009.

Područje istraživanja je slabo naseljeno, a dijelovi terena su teško dostupni što se prije svega odnosi na planinsko područje. Na terenu prevladava vegetacija šikara kao degradirani oblik vegetacije.<sup>6</sup> Dio terena je slabije preglednosti zbog guste vegetacije (Sl. 1). Važno je naglasiti negativan utjecaj iseljavanja stanovništva i deruralizacije koja je svoj najveći zamah imala u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća. Iseljavanje stanovništva i napuštanje zemljišta rezultiralo je povećanjem gustoće niske i visoke vegetacije, a koja ili otežava ili u potpunosti onemogućava prohodnost barem pojedinih dijelova terena i primjenu metode terenskog pregleda.

## ARHIVSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Terenskim istraživanjima prethodila je analiza javno dostupnih zračnih i satelitskih snimaka područja istraživanja (Općina Jasenice, grad Obrovac) putem internet servisa Google Earth, [ispu.mgipu.hr](http://ispu.mgipu.hr), [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr) i [preglednik.arkod.hr](http://preglednik.arkod.hr). Također su provedena arhivska istraživanja, koja su uključivala proučavanje mletačkih katastarskih karata iz 1709. godine, koje se čuvaju u Državnom arhivu u Zadru i austrijskih katastarskih karata iz 1826. i 1827. godine, koje su osim u navedenom arhivu dostupne i na internet servisu [mapire.eu](http://mapire.eu). Rukopisne karte mletačkog katastra su jedan od najvažnijih povijesnih kartografskih izvora za područje istraživanja projekta ProHeritage.<sup>7</sup> Listovi katastarskih karata koje prikazuju područje istraživanja (današnja Općina Jasenice i grad Obrovac) popisani su te digitalizirani u prostorijama Državnog arhiva u Zadru. Listovi su spojeni u računalnim programima za obradu rasterskih

methods and procedures that will be applicable in other karst regions in Croatia since karst terrain occupies 50.5% of the territory of the Republic of Croatia.<sup>5</sup> Further on, the research area has been protected as a nature protection area within Natura 2000 network, Velebit Nature Park and canyon of the Zrmanja river as a significant landscape in the Zadar County. The research area is sparsely populated, and some parts are hardly accessible, primarily the mountain region. Underbrush as a degraded vegetation form is dominant in the terrain.<sup>6</sup> Dense vegetation obstructed survey in a part of the terrain (Fig. 1). It is important to emphasize the negative influence of depopulation and deruralization that was in full swing in the second half of the 20th century. Depopulation and land abandonment resulted in higher density of low and high vegetation, that aggravates or completely prevents approach to certain parts of the terrain and the use of the field survey method.

## ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Field research was preceded by an analysis of publicly available aerial and satellite imagery of the research area (municipality of Jasenice, town of Obrovac) using geobrowser Google Earth, and the internet sites [ispu.mgipu.hr](http://ispu.mgipu.hr), [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr) and [preglednik.arkod.hr](http://preglednik.arkod.hr). Archival research was also carried out, including the study of the Venetian cadastral maps dating to the year 1709, that are kept in the State Archives in Zadar and Austrian cadastral maps of 1826 and 1827, available on the internet site [mapire.eu](http://mapire.eu). Manuscript maps of the Venetian cadastre are one of the most important historic cartographic sources for the research area of the ProHeritage project.<sup>7</sup> Pages of ca-

<sup>6</sup> J. VUKELIĆ, 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Katastar za istraživano područje izrađen je početkom 1709. godine u sklopu sustavne katastarske izmjere teritorija koji je Mletačka Republika stekla tijekom Morejskog rata. Na istraživano se područje odnosi sedam katastarskih mapa koje sadrže više od 40 listova. O povijesti mletačkog katastra u Dalmaciji vidi u: M. SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2000, 171-198.

<sup>5</sup> M. MATAS, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> J. VUKELIĆ, 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Cadastre for the research area was made at the beginning of the year 1709 within systematic cadastral measurement of the territory won by the Venetian Republic in the Morean

podataka nakon čega su okvirno georeferencirani. „Okvirno georeferencirani” odnosi se na razlike u geodeziji, geodetskim mjerenjima i tehnologiji koja je korištena sredinom 18. stoljeća za izradu katastarskih karata, a koja je rezultirala s većim prostornim odstupanjima u odnosu na stvaran prostor i današnje kartografske podloge. Iako nije bilo moguće uspostaviti potpuno prostorno preklapanje, prostorni podatci prikazani u katastru uglavnom su se mogli identificirati u današnjem prostoru. U reljefnom smislu područje istraživanja pripada dinarskom kršu koji karakterizira vrlo mali postotak obradivih površina – vrtača koje su ujedno i vrsta krške geološke tvorevine čija je prostorna lokacija fiksna (Sl. 2). Upravo su vrtače, odnosno obradive površine u vrtačama i vlasništvo zemljišta predmet katastra. Kako je većina naselja smještena uz veću obradivu površinu (makar matična domaćinstva jer je na području istraživanja prevladavalo transhumantno i polutranshumantno stočarstvo) i kako se stanovništvo zaseoka i naselja uglavnom nije promijenilo, lako je identificirati katastarske podatke u današnjem prostoru.

Katastarski podatci rabe se kao relativno-kronološki podatci, kao svojevrsni vremenski graničnik i prostorni reper za starije i mlađe prostorne entitete, makar one koji su prikazani u mletačkom katastru. Naime, ni jedan katastar (ni moderni) ne prikazuje sve stočarske ograde, sezonske stanove i sjenice ili sinice (kao najučestalije objekte u prostoru privrede bazirane na transhumantnom stočarstvu), stoga će se za okvirnu dataciju takvih objekata morati razraditi druge metode i modeli njihova nastanka. Nakon digitalizacije katastarski podatci su integrirani u GIS na način da su u atributnoj tablici evidentirani prostorni entiteti kao prisutni u mletačkom katastru. Ono što je već evidentno jest da postoje trajne strukture organizacije prostora u posljednjih najmanje nekoliko stoljeća, čije je vremensko porijeklo vjerojatno starije. Prilog takvoj interpretaciji jest minimalna promjena u podjeli

dastral maps depicting the research area (present-day municipality of Jasenice and the town of Obrovac) are recorded and digitalized in the rooms of the State Archives in Zadar. The pages were connected in computer programs for processing raster data and finally they were generally georeferenced which relates to differences in geodesy, geodetic measurements and technology that was used in the mid-18th century for making cadastral maps, and that resulted in larger spatial deviations in relation to actual area and current cartographic bases. Although complete spatial overlapping could not be achieved, spatial data depicted in the cadastre could be identified, for the most part, in present-day terrain. In terms of relief, the research area belongs to the Dinaric karst that is characterised by a small percentage of arable plots – karst valleys that are at the same time a kind of karst geological formation whose spatial location is fixed (Fig. 2). Exactly karst valleys, or arable land in karst valleys and their ownership are the subject of the cadastre. It is easy to identify cadastral data in the present-day area since most settlements were located next to bigger arable plots (at least permanent households since transhumance and semi-transhumance were dominant in the research area) and as population in hamlets and settlements mostly did not change.

Cadastral data are used as relative-chronological information, as a sort of chronological boundary and spatial reference point for earlier and later spatial entities, at least the ones present in the Venetian cadastre. Namely, cadastres (even the modern ones) cannot record all livestock fences, seasonal shelters and haybarns (as most common structures in the regions where economy is based on transhumant livestock farming). Therefore, other methods and models of their formation will have to be developed for broad dating of such objects.

War. Seven cadastral maps with over 40 pages refer to the research area. About the history of the Venetian cadastre in Dalmatia see in: M. SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 2000, 171-198.



SLIKA 2. Sridnji dolac i Anzulovac u Jasenicama na katastarskim kartama od početka 18. do 20. stoljeća (izvori: Državni arhiv u Zadru i arkod.hr)

FIGURE 2 Sridnji dolac and Anzulovac in Jasenice on cadastral maps dating to the period from the beginning of the 18th to the 20th century (sources: State Archives in Zadar and arkod.hr)

zemljišta koja je evidentirana od sredine 18. stoljeća do danas (Sl. 2).

## TERENSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Terenska istraživanja provedena su tijekom proljeća i jeseni 2018. i 2019. godine na području krške zaravni i kanjona rijeka Zrmanje i Krupa te velebitskog Podgorja na području Općine Jasenice. Cilj je terenskih istraživanja prikupljanje kontrolnih podataka i rabi se kao kontrolna mjera u kartiranju antropogenih promjena daljinskim istraživanjima i u svrhu datacije lokaliteta. Proveden je nesustavni, ciljani i tematski terenski pregled koji je u osnovi kompromisna prilagodba metode istraživanja terenskim uvjetima koji nisu prikladni za sustavni terenski pregled visokog intenziteta. Terenski pregled se ujedno može okarakterizirati kao strukturni što odgovara prirodi vrsta i sačuvanosti arheoloških lokaliteta na kršu kao površinskih struktura.<sup>8</sup> Terenski pregled pratila je detaljna dokumentacija. Tragovi kretanja svakog sudionika terenske ekipe zabilježeni su ručnim GPS uređajem. Otkrivene strukture i nalazi kartirani su ručnim GPS uređajem (pozicije struktura, tragovi struktura, pozicije nalaza). Dokumentacija otkrivenih struktura i nalaza uključuje sljedeće elemente: vođenje terenskog dnevnika, standardizirano dokumentiranje arheoloških lokaliteta i struktura kroz formulare (formular AB izrađen za potrebe provođenja terenskih aktivnosti projekta), fotodokumentaciju nalazišta fotoaparatom i bespilotnom letjelicom, izradu 3D fotogrametrijskih modela (bespilotna letjelica), izradu ortofotosnimke visoke prostorne rezolucije (bespilotna letjelica), izradu tlocrta – skice objekata (AutoCAD 2017), izradu fotoarhiva istraživanja, izradu GIS baze prostornih podataka. Podloga za kartiranje lokaliteta jesu službene držav-

<sup>8</sup> N. KULENOVIĆ OCELIĆ, 2019; N. KULENOVIĆ, 2019.

After digitalization, cadastre data were integrated into GIS so that spatial entities were recorded in the attribute table as present in the Venetian cadastre. It is obvious that there are permanent structures of spatial organization in the last few centuries, if not longer, whose chronological origin is probably even older. Such interpretation is supported by minimal change in land division that has been recorded from the mid-18th century to the present. (Fig. 2).

## FIELD RESEARCH

Field research was conducted in spring and autumn in 2018 and 2019 in the area of the karst plateau and canyon of the Zrmanja and Krupa rivers and Podgorje of Velebit in the area of the municipality of Jasenice. The aim of the field research is collecting control data and it is used as a control measure in mapping anthropogenous changes by remote sensing with the aim of dating the site. Unsystematic, targeted and thematic field survey was carried out that basically represents a compromise adjustment of the research method to the field conditions that were not suitable for high intensity field survey. The field survey can also be characterised as structural which corresponds to the character of types and preservation of archaeological sites as surface structures in karst.<sup>8</sup> Field survey was accompanied by a detailed documentation. Traces of movements of each research team member were recorded by GPS tracking device. Discovered structures and finds were mapped by GPS tracking device (positions of structures, traces of structures, find positions). Documentation of discovered structures and finds includes following elements: keeping field journal, standardized documenting of archaeological sites and structures by using forms (form AB made for conducting field activities within the

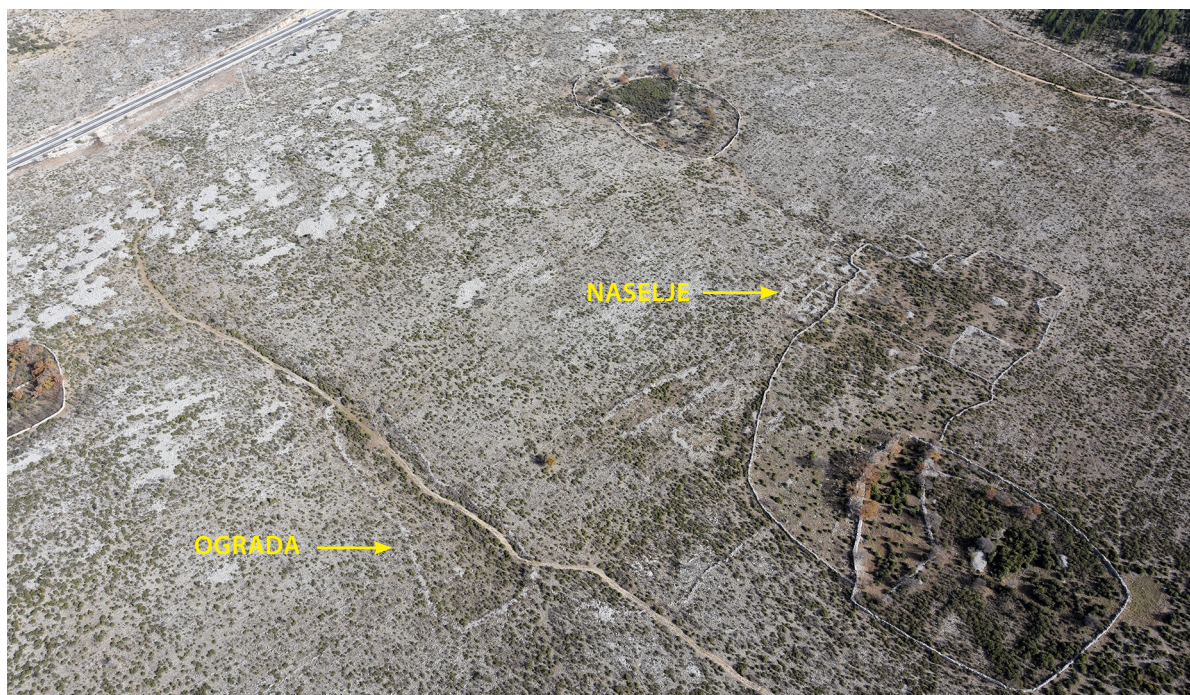
<sup>8</sup> N. KULENOVIĆ OCELIĆ, 2019; N. KULENOVIĆ, 2019.

ne karte i podatci topografske izmjere TK 1 : 25 000, HOK 1 : 5 000 i vertikalne satelitske snimke koji se rabe putem WMS servisa (geoportal.dgu.hr). Lokaliteti su kartirani u službenom koordinatnom sustavu Republike Hrvatske HTRS96/TM. Pri terenskom pregledu korištena je sljedeća oprema: GPS uređaji: 1 x Garmin eTrex 10, 4 x Garmin eTrex 20, fotoaparati: Canon EOS 1200 D, Nikon D 3300 i bespilotna letjelica DJI Mavic Pro M1P. Terenska dokumentacija izrađena je u računalnim programima: AgiSoft Metashape Proffesional, QGis 3.4.3., ArcMap 10.3.1., AutoCAD 2017, CataThumb.

Pri terenskom su pregledu kartirani i prikupljeni površinski arheološki nalazi. Većinom je riječ o keramičkim nalazima dok manji dio pripada kamenim i metalnim nalazima. Manji broj nalaza pripada ulomcima kamenih alata kao što su ulomci žrvnja i brusa. Potkove i čavli su dominantni metalni nalazi, a koji se datiraju u novi vijek. Pri terenskom pregledu prikupljena je veća količina ulomaka keramičkih posuda koje se mogu datirati u razdoblje

project), photodocumentation of sites with a camera and a drone, making 3D photogrammetric models (drone), high spatial resolution orthophotos (drone), ground plans – sketches of objects (AutoCAD 2017), photo archive of the research, GIS spatial database. Bases for mapping sites are official state maps and data of topographic measurements TK 1:25 000, HOK 1:5 000 as well as vertical satellite images used on Web Map Service (WMS) (geoportal.dgu.hr). The sites are mapped in the official coordinate system of the Republic of Croatia HTRS96/TM. In the field survey the following equipment was used: GPS trackers: 1 x Garmin eTrex 10, 4 x Garmin eTrex 20; cameras: Canon EOS 1200 D, Nikon D 3300; and drone DJI Mavic Pro M1P. Field documentation was made in computer programs: AgiSoft Metashape Proffesional, QGis 3.4.3., ArcMap 10.3.1., AutoCAD 2017, CataThumb.

Surface archaeological finds were mapped and collected in the field survey. Mostly these are pottery sherds while only smaller part be-



**SLIKA 3.** *Kosa zračna fotografija lokaliteta Rupine u Jasenicama s vidljivim ostacima starijeg naselja i ograde preslojenih novijom suhozidnom ogradom i makadamskim putom*

**FIGURE 3** *Oblique aerial photograph of the site of Rupine in Jasenica with visible remains of the older settlement and enclosure wall superposed by a more recent drystone enclosure wall and gravel road*

prapovijesti i u novi vijek (19. i 20. stoljeće). Novovjekovni nalazi dominantno potječu sa struktura nastalih čišćenjem tla u vrtačama ili drugim suhozidnim ogradama. Nalazi iz tog tipa arheološkog konteksta i vremena zajedno sa svojim lokacijama integrirani su u GIS i služe za okvirnu dataciju suhozidnih struktura u krajoliku.

Aeroarheološko istraživanje kao pomoćna metoda istraživanja provedeno je tijekom prosinca 2018. godine u svrhu detektiranja i dokumentiranja antropogenih struktura i arheoloških lokaliteta te definiranja prospekcijskih potencijala za daljinska istraživanja u krškom krajoliku (Sl. 3). Zračno snimanje kao metoda daljinskog istraživanja i prikupljanja podataka jest nužnost na dijelu područja istraživanja koje je još uvijek minski sumnjivo, i kao takvo nedostupno za istraživanje, te na području koje je prekriveno gustom vegetacijom. Nakon zračnog snimanja provedeno je indeksiranje svih fotografija u CataThumb softveru kojim se generira Excel dokument te se izrađuje fotoarhiv. Sve snimljene fotografije su arhivirane s osnovnim podacima: model fotoaparata, ID dokumenta, koordinate, projekt, toponim, datum i opis. Nakon izrade fotoarhiva pogodne zračne fotografije su georeferencirane i rektificirane u Geografskom informacijskom sustavu.

## PRELIMINARNI REZULTATI: DEFINIRANJE KARAKTERNIH TIPOVA KRAJOLIKA

Prostornost je svakako jedan od najvažnijih aspekata života ljudi. Sve što ljudi rade, čime se koriste ili što oblikuju nužno se nalazi u prostoru, što prostor čini konstitutivnim elementom uspostavljanja društvenosti. Pitanje koje se postavlja u projektu jest kako prakticiranje društvenosti u prostoru pretočiti u nekakav klasifikacijski okvir koji će omogućiti alate za analizu, praćenje i vrednovanje različitih aktivnosti u prostoru. Perspektiva

longs to stone and metal finds. Fragments of stone tools such as querns and whetstones are scarce. Horseshoes and nails are dominant metal finds dating to the Modern Period. In the field survey, a large amount of pottery fragments was collected dating to prehistory and the Modern Period (19th and 20th century). The Modern Period finds were mostly recovered from structures resulting from land clearance in karst valleys or other drystone wall enclosures. Finds from this type of archaeological context and time were integrated in GIS together with their locations and they are used for broad dating of the drystone wall structures in landscape.

Aeroarchaeological survey as an auxiliary research method was conducted in December 2018 in order to detect and document anthropogenous structures and archaeological sites and to define prospection potentials for remote sensing in karst landscape (Fig. 3). Aerial photography as a method of remote sensing and data collecting is a necessity in the part of the research area that is a suspected minefield and as such inaccessible for research, as well as in the area covered by dense vegetation. After aerial photographing, all photographs were indexed in CataThumb software which generates an Excel document, and a photo archive is made. All photographs taken are archived with basic information: camera model, document ID, coordinates, project, toponym, date and description. After the photo archive is created, suitable aerial photographs are georeferenced and rectified in the Geographic Information System.

## PRELIMINARY RESULTS: DEFINING THE LANDSCAPE CHARACTER TYPES

Spatiality is definitely one of the most important aspects of human life. Everything that people do, use or make is necessarily located in space making it a constitutive element of es-



**SLIKA 4.** *Gradina Veselinovića u Golubiću i napušteni zaseok u jugozapadnom podnožju*  
**FIGURE 4** *Gradina Veselinovića (hillfort) in Golubić and deserted hamlet at its southwestern foot*

kroz koju se promatraju navedeni problemi polazi od činjenice da je krajolik prije svega življeni prostor, a ne romantična projekcija u prošlost. Stoga je i polazna točka za definiranje tipova aktivnosti odnosno povijesnih karakternih tipova upravo to kako se krajolik rabi danas te koje su sve prostorne prakse u prošlosti imale utjecaja na njegovu današnju upotrebu. Kriterij definiranja karakternih tipova je analiza materijalnih praksi koje se odvijaju danas i integracija povijesnih materijalnih praksi u suvremene krajolike. Budući da je projekt još uvijek uvelike u svojim začetcima, na ovom mjestu moguće je definirati neke osnovne obrasce korištenja krajolika na području istraživanja tijekom povijesti. Na području istraživanja se jasno ističe pet povijesnih karakternih tipova: ograđeni krajolik, industrijsko-rudarski krajolik, naselja, prapovijesni krajolik i vojni krajolik.

Najstarije strukture koje su vidljive u krajoliku na istraživanom području nastaju tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba. To su u prvom redu gradinski lokaliteti koje karakteriziraju ostaci masivnih suhozidnih bedema (Sl. 4). U većini su slučajeva smješteni na

tablishing sociality. The question posed in the project is how to present practicing sociality in space in a certain classification framework that will enable tools for analysis, monitoring and valorising various activities in space. Perspective of observing mentioned problems starts from the fact that landscape is first and foremost a space of living and not a romantic projection into the past. Therefore the starting point for defining activity types i.e. historic character types is analysis of material practices happening today and integration of historic material practices into contemporary landscapes. Since the project has only started, some basic patterns of the landscape use can be defined in the research area through history. In the research area, five historic character types are clearly recognizable: enclosed landscape, industrial-mining landscape, settlements, pre-historic landscape and military landscape.

The earliest structures visible in landscape in the surveyed area date to the Bronze and Iron Ages. These are primarily hillfort sites characterised by the remains of massive dry-stone walls (Fig. 4). For the most part they are located on hilltops or next to river canyons.



SLIKA 5. Suhozidne ograde kod zaseoka Zelenikovac u Jasenicama

FIGURE 5 Drystone enclosure walls near the Zelenikovac hamlet in Jasenice

vrhovima brežuljaka ili uz rub riječnih kanjona. Druga skupina prapovijesnih objekata su kamene gomile – grobni humci ili tumuli. Oni su brojniji od gradina, ali su manjih dimenzija i često nisu izgrađeni na istaknutim i lako vidljivim mjestima. Gradine i tumuli su i u današnje vrijeme jedni od najvidljivijih markera u prostoru. Povijest tog krajolika ne zaustavlja se u prapovijesti već je na različite načine integriran u krajolike suvremenog razdoblja. Primjerice, na takvim strukturama često se grade vojni objekti. Rjeđi su slučajevi integracije gradina u sustave ograđivanja parcela u modernom periodu. Neki od ovih spomenika integrirani su u suvremeni krajolik kao nematerijalna baština gdje oko njih nastaju različiti mitovi i legende. Velik je broj takvih lokaliteta i imenovan čime su uključeni u društveni svijet ljudi koji danas žive na tom području. Doduše, pojedini spomenici, poput tumula, korišteni su i kao izvor materijala za izgradnju suhozidnih ograda ili drobljenje za građevinski materijal, što su pojave karakteristične za novije razdoblje.

Najbrojnije strukture na krškoj površini područja istraživanja jesu različite suhozidne

The second group of prehistoric structures are stone cairns – grave mounds or tumuli. They exceed hillforts in number, but they are smaller and often located at less prominent and less conspicuous positions. Hillforts and tumuli are still one of the most distinct landmarks. History of this region does not end with prehistory, but it is integrated in different ways into contemporary landscapes. For instance, military objects were often built on these positions. Cases of integration of hillforts into systems of plot enclosures in contemporary period are less common. Some of these monuments are integrated into modern landscape as intangible heritage since they are mentioned in various myths and legends. A number of such sites were named, thus being included in social life of people who presently inhabit this region. However certain monuments, such as tumuli, were used as sources of material for building drystone walls or their stones were crushed for building material which is characteristic of a more recent period.

The most common structures on the karst plateau of the research area are various drystone enclosure walls. Most of them were built in the



SLIKA 6. Zaselak Dramotić u Bilišanima  
 FIGURE 6 Dramotić hamlet in Bilišane

ograda. Većina ih je izgrađena tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća, što je potvrđeno proučavanjem arhivske kartografske građe, posebno usporedbom mletačkih katastarskih karata iz 1709. godine i austrijskih katastarskih karata iz 20-ih godina 19. stoljeća (Sl. 2). Iz srednjovjekovnih dokumenata doznajemo da su neke poljoprivredne parcele na području sjeverne Dalmacije već u tom razdoblju bile ograđene suhozidima, dok popisi iz osmanskog razdoblja spominju i ograđena šumska područja.<sup>9</sup> Empirijski podatci prikupljeni terenskim istraživanjima provedenim u sklopu projekta također podupiru tezu da većina suhozidnih ograda potječe iz novovjekovnog razdoblja, što se odnosi na danas vidljive suhozidne konstrukcije. Proces čišćenja zemljišta započeo je već u prapovijesti. Slučajeve kontinuiranog čišćenja i ograđivanja istog zemljišta od prapovijesti do modernog doba nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi jer se u takvim slučajevima kamen sukcesivno slagao na ista mjesta.

Ograde su najčešće nastajale usporedno s procesom krčenja manjih poljoprivrednih

18th and 19th centuries, which was confirmed by the study of the archival cartographic material, in particular by comparing Venetian cadastral maps dating to 1709 and Austrian cadastre maps from the 1820s (Fig. 2). Medieval documents suggest that some agricultural plots in the northern Dalmatia region were enclosed by drystone walls as early as in the medieval period, while records from the Ottoman period mention enclosed woodland.<sup>9</sup> Empirical data collected in the field research conducted within the project also support the thesis that most drystone walls were built in postmedieval period relating to presently visible drystone wall structures. The process of land clearance started as early as in prehistory. Cases of continuous clearing and enclosing of the same plot of land from prehistory to the Modern Period cannot be reliably determined since in these cases stones were built up successively on the same spot.

Enclosures were usually formed along with the process of land clearance in smaller agricultural plots enclosed by a drystone wall that

<sup>9</sup> F. DŽ. SPAHO, 1989, 93

<sup>9</sup> F. DŽ. SPAHO, 1989, 93.



SLIKA 7. Ostatci vojne infrastrukture iz Domovinskog rata (Jasenice)

FIGURE 7 Remains of military infrastructure from the Homeland War (Jasenice)

površina koje su zaštićivane suhozidom koji je služio kao zaštita od domaćih i divljih životinja. Osim toga, u određeno doba godine ograde su korištene upravo za čuvanje stoke. Većina ograda sadrži obradivu parcelu i manji šumski dio koji se obično nalazi uz rubove njiva (Sl. 5). U pojedinim slučajevima unutar većih ograda sa šumskom površinom, sazidane su manje ograde koje su štitile poljoprivrednu površinu od stoke koja je mogla boraviti u većoj ogradi. Povećanjem broja stanovništva i broja stoke, došlo je do ubrzane degradacije šumskih površina, tako da su brojne ograde imale isključivo svrhu zaštititi i održati šumske površine.

Naselja se na istraživanom području mogu podijeliti na nekoliko općenitih skupina, kao što su gradovi, sela, zaseoci i turistička naselja. Obrovac je jedino naselje koje ima status grada. Nastao je u srednjem vijeku na istaknutom položaju uz rijeku Zrmanju. U podnožju utvrde razvilo se malo naselje opasano obrambenim zidom koje je imalo veliku važnost i za vrijeme vlasti Osmanskog Carstva u 16. i 17. stoljeću. Nakon protjerivanja Osmanlija, Obrovac je dospio pod mletačku

was used as a protection from both domestic and wild animals. Furthermore, at a certain time of year the enclosures were used for livestock keeping. Most enclosures consist of an arable plot and a smaller woodland usually located on the edge of a field (Fig. 5). In certain cases smaller enclosures were built within bigger ones with woodland, in order to protect the arable land from livestock that was kept in the bigger enclosure. Population growth and increase in livestock numbers led to rapid degradation of woodland, so that the only function of many enclosures was to protect and maintain woodland.

The settlements in the surveyed area can be divided into several general groups, such as towns, villages, hamlets and tourist settlements. Obrovac is the only settlement with the town status. A town of medieval provenance, was founded on a prominent position along the Zrmanja river. A small settlement, enclosed by a defensive wall that developed at the foot of fort. Obrovac, played an important role during the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries. After the Ottomans were expelled, Obrovac developed into

upravu. Od početka 19. stoljeća, nalazi se pod austrijskom upravom tijekom koje se razvio u administrativni i politički centar šireg okolnog područja. Posebnu je važnost imao tijekom 19. i 20. stoljeća jer se nalazio na važnom cestovnom pravcu koji je povezivao Dalmaciju s ostatkom Hrvatske. Osim toga, bio je povezan i plovnim putem s mnogim mjestima na obalnom području.

Druga skupina naselja su sela koja nastaju nakon razdoblja vlasti Osmanskog Carstva. Mnoga su sačuvala srednjovjekovne nazive, ali sada su pod istim imenima obuhvaćene mnogo veće površine. Sva se sela sastoje od brojnih zaselaka koji su međusobno često udaljeni kilometrima jedni od drugih. Pojedina sela imala središnji dio koji se sastojao od većeg broja kuća ili zaseoka, a to je ovisilo o prirodnim i geografskim uvjetima. Tako je selo Jasenice imalo svoj središnji dio s crkvom, smješten uz najveći dolac i izvor vode – veliku lokvu i bunare. Izgradnjom škola i drugih javnih sadržaja tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća, u mnogim su se selima počeli formirati centri naselja, ali je njihov razvoj zaustavljen tijekom Domovinskog rata kada su uništena sva sela na području istraživanja.

Većina je zaselaka formirana tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća, i to najčešće na način da je od jednog obiteljskog gospodarstva, kroz nekoliko generacija nastalo manje naselje. Obično je zaselak dobio ime po prezimenu obitelji koja ga je naseljavala. Zaseoci su se sastojali od prosječno desetak kuća, a rijetki su bili veći od toga. Uglavnom su smješteni uz manje poljoprivredne površine u dolcima, te bi se širili na kršku površinu, uglavnom uza sjevernu stranu (Sl. 6). Zaseoci koji ne bi imali osnovu za razvoj jer nisu imali mogućnost krčenja novih poljoprivrednih površina ili povećanja broja stoke, zbog izoliranosti i udaljenosti od putova, prvi bi bili napušteni (Sl. 4). Taj je proces povijesno zabilježen od 19. stoljeća, a nastavio se tijekom 20. stoljeća. Terenskim pregledima dokumentirani su brojni napušteni zaseoci koje je iznimno

an administrative and political center of the wider surrounding region. It was particularly important in the 19th and 20th centuries as it was situated on an important road that connected Dalmatia with the rest of Croatia. Furthermore, it was also connected with a number of coastal places via fairway.

The second group of settlements was formed after the period of the Ottoman rule. Many of them kept their medieval names, only now much bigger areas are included in these toponyms. All villages consist of a number of hamlets that are often quite distant from one another. Some villages had central part that consisted of a bigger number of houses or hamlets, which depended on natural or geographic conditions. Thus the village of Jasenice had the central part with a church, located next to the biggest valley and a water source – big pond and wells. After schools and other public facilities had been built in the second half of the 20th century, settlement centers were formed in many villages, but their development was interrupted in the Homeland War when all villages in the research area were destroyed.

Most hamlets were formed in the 18th and 19th centuries, usually from one family farm, that developed into a smaller settlement over several generations. Usually a hamlet was named after the surnames of the families living in it. Hamlets consisted of about ten houses on average, rarely more. Usually they were located next to smaller agricultural plots in the valleys, spreading to the karst area, mostly along the northern side (Fig. 6). Hamlets that did not have a base for development because of limited land clearance possibilities or increase in livestock numbers, were first deserted due to isolated position, remote from the main roads (Fig. 4). This process has been historically recorded from the 19th century, continuing in the 20th century. The field surveys documented a number of abandoned hamlets that are difficult to date as they seldom yield more important surface finds.



SLIKA 8. Središte sela Jasenice devastirano rudokopima boksita iz 20. stoljeća

FIGURE 8 Center of the village of Jasenice devastated by the 20th century bauxite mining

teško datirati jer vrlo rijetko sadrže površinske nalaze, posebno one koje je moguće preciznije datirati.

Razvojem turizma u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća uz Karinsko i Novigradsko more te Velebitki kanal nastaje novi tip naselja – tu-

Development of tourism in the areas of the Karin and Novigrad Seas and the Velebit Channel in the second half of the 20th century brought a new type of settlement – tourist villages inhabited only in summer months. Several such settlements were built in the regions



SLIKA 9. Recentni kamenolom na Velebitu

FIGURE 9 Recent quarry on Velebit

ristička naselja nastanjena samo tijekom nekoliko ljetnih mjeseci. Više je takvih naselja izgrađeno na području Karina, Kruševa, Jasenica i drugdje. Posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća pojedini objekti iz turističkih naselja nastanjeni su tijekom cijele godine. Posljednjih nekoliko godina intenzivirala se gradnja turističkih objekata uz rijeku Zrmanju. Upravo će izgradnja potaknuta tom ekonomskom aktivnošću biti poseban problem koji će se obrađivati u projektu.

Na području istraživanja sačuvan je relativno velik broj fortifikacijskih objekata koji svojom monumentalnošću ostvaruju znatnu prisutnost u prostoru i predstavljaju vojni dio krajolika. Takvi su objekti raspoređeni u prostoru prema jasno razlučivom, pravilnom obrascu koji im omogućuje efikasnu kontrolu prostora u okviru modernih država. Nadalje, takvi kompleksi u pravilu su višeslojni, gdje je moguće utvrditi slojeve gradnje iz više povijesnih razdoblja. Posljednji povijesni tip i ujedno vojni tip krajolika jest materijalizacija aktivnosti tijekom Domovinskog rata, koji je ostavio brojne materijalne ostatke na području istraživanja. Riječ je o brojnim strukturama poput topničkih položaja, bunkera, grudobrana itd. Te strukture čine pomno osmišljeni sustav uspostavljanja linija te su kao takve prisutne na čitavom području istraživanja što svakako ima znatan utjecaj na izgled krajolika danas. Posebnu kategoriju čine razne ceste i putovi koji su izgrađeni u svrhu provođenja vojnih operacija. Neke od tih cesta upotrebljavaju se i danas čime je uspostavljen još jedan sloj korištenja krajolika.

Na području istraživanja karakteristični su ostaci iskorištavanja rude koje se provodi još od druge polovice 19. stoljeća metodom površinskog kopa. Rudarski iskopi i okna nisu sanirani tako da je na više predjela došlo do potpune degradacije krajolika. To je posebno izraženo na području Kruševa, najviše na predjelu uz kanjon Zrmanje i na više mjesta u Jasenicama, gdje je posebno uništen središnji dio sela koji je imao najveću povijesnu

of Karin, Kruševo, Jasenice and elsewhere. In the last few decades certain structures from the tourist settlements have been occupied all year long. Building of tourist structures along the Zrmanja river has been intensified in the last few decades. Building incited by this economic activity will represent a separate problem that will be dealt with in the project.

In the research area a relatively high number of fortification structures were preserved that constitute a significant presence in space due to their monumentality and represent military part of landscape. These objects were distributed in space in accordance with regular, clearly recognizable pattern enabling them an efficient spatial control within modern states. Furthermore, these complexes are mostly multilayered containing layers from several historic periods. The last historic type, and at the same time military landscape type, is found in materialization of activities in the Homeland War, that left a number of material traces in the research area. We refer to structures such as artillery positions, bunkers, breastworks etc. These structures constitute a carefully designed system of line formation and they are present as such in the entire research area which definitely affects present-day appearance of the landscape. Various roads and paths belong to a special category built for military operations. Some of these roads are still used, thus establishing another layer of landscape usage.

The research area is characterised by the remains of ore mining carried out back from the mid-19th century by using the method of surface mining. Mining pits and shafts have not been reclaimed so that several areas were affected by full degradation of the landscape. This is particularly distinct in the Kruševo region, mostly in the area along the Zrmanja canyon and at several spots in Jasenice, where the central part of the village, that is most valuable in terms of historic and culturological importance, is most severely destroyed (Fig. 8). In addition to the mines, quarries are also

i kulturnu vrijednost (Sl. 8). Uz rudnike su česti i kamenolomi čijim je radom krajolik manje uništen jer su takve intervencije zahvatile mnogo manju površinu prostora (Sl. 9). Mnogi su kamenolomi ujedno i napušteni tijekom 20. stoljeća. Od industrijskih pogona posebno se ističe bivša tvornica glinice Jadral, smještena na zaravni iznad Obrovca. Izuzev degradacije krajolika tvornica glinice rezultirala je velikim ekološkim problemom jer su nakon prestanka rada ostali nesanirani veliki bazeni s lužinom, a mazut i druge štetne tvari ispušteni su u okoliš.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U ovoj fazi istraživanja preliminarno je definirano pet karakternih tipova sa šest podtipova koji na općenitoj razini opisuju različite aktivnosti koje su se provodile u krajoliku. Ograđeni krajolik je najprisutnija karakterna grupa. Povezan je s naseljima, ali i sa širim prostorima u samom krajoliku. Slijedeća važna karakterna grupa jesu naselja koja su tradicionalno povezana s raznim oblicima poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Međutim, utvrđeni su i tipovi naselja koja su vezana isključivo uz suvremene oblike ekonomskih aktivnosti poput turističkih naselja. Rudarsko–industrijske aktivnosti ostavile su znatan trag na području istraživanja. Riječ je uglavnom o aktivnostima koje su povezane s ekstrakcijom i eksploatacijom boksitne rudače. Često je ovaj tip aktivnosti u potpunosti poništio aktivnosti koje su se na tom prostoru odvijale u prošlosti. Definirane su i dvije povijesne karakterne grupe krajolika. Riječ je o prapovijesnom krajoliku gradina i tumula te novovjekovnih fortifikacijskih objekata.

Karakterne grupe krajolika definirane u ovom radu tek su preliminarna zapažanja iznesena na osnovi dosadašnjeg tijeka provedbe projekta. U daljnjem radu na projektu ove grupe bit će jasnije argumentirane, a slojevitost krajolika definirana u većem detalju i na nižim razinama tipova krajolika.

common. Their influence on landscape was less damaging as such interventions encompassed much smaller area (Fig. 9). Many quarries were deserted in the 20th century. The most interesting industrial facility is the former Jadral Alumina Plant, situated on the plateau above Obrovac. Except for landscape degradation, alumina plant also resulted in a major ecological problem as after its production ceased, big alkali basins were not reclaimed, and mazut and other harmful substances were released into the environment.

## CONCLUSION

In this phase, five character types have been preliminary defined with six subtypes that describe various activities conducted in the landscape at a general level. Enclosed landscape is the best represented character group. It is related to settlements, but also to wider areas in the landscape. The following important character group are settlements traditionally associated with different forms of agricultural production. However, there are also settlement types related exclusively to contemporary forms of economic activities such as tourist villages. Mining and industrial activities left an important trace in the research area. These are mostly activities related to extraction and exploitation of bauxite ore. This type of activities often completely obliterated activities that happened in this area in the past. Two historic character groups of landscapes have been defined: prehistoric landscape of hillforts and tumuli, and postmedieval fortification structures.

Landscape character groups defined in this paper represent only preliminary observations presented on the basis of previous course of the project implementation. In further work on the project, these groups will be determined more clearly, and landscape complexity will be defined in greater detail and at lower levels of landscape types.

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