

NOVA BIZANTSKA UTVRDA NA OTOČIĆU VELIKI SIKAVAC KOD OTOKA PAGA*

A NEW BYZANTINE FORTIFICATION ON VELIKI SIKAVAC ISLET OFF THE ISLAND OF PAG*

Tijekom dvije kratke istraživačke kampanje 2013. i 2014. godine, u kojima su sudjelovali djelatnici Arheološkog muzeja Zadar i Odjela za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Ljubljani, otkriveni su dijelovi velike utvrde na otočiću Veliki Sikavac kod Vlašića na otoku Pagu. Radi se o pravokutnoj građevini položenoj na strmoj padini otočića i definiranoj zidovima širokim 1,80 metara. Na kutovima utvrde te na sredini sjeveroistočnog i jugozapadnog perimetralnog zida smješteno je šest istaknutih kula. Istraživanjem unutrašnjeg platoa ustanovljeno je pedesetak prostora namijenjenih smještaju posade, skladištima i radionicama. Na temelju građevinskih karakteristika i na osnovi keramičkog materijala potvrdilo se da čitav sklop pripada bizantskoj utvrdi kao jednoj u nizu sličnih utvrda izgrađenih na našem priobalju i otocima tijekom Justinijanove rekonkviste u 6. stoljeću.

Ispod utvrde smješteni su ostaci manje jednobrodne crkvice, loše sačuvane, koja se, za sada, stavlja u okvire srednjeg vijeka. Sudeći po minimalnom ostacima iza apside crkvice vjeruje se da je naslijedila neki raniji objekt koji se nalazio na istom mjestu. Nalaza manjih ulomaka glazirane keramike iz druge pol 15. i prve polovice 16. st. upućuju na zaključak da se život na otočiću odvijao sve do ranih stoljeća novog vijeka.

Za petnaestak izduženih i udubljenih nakupina kamena na padini ispod utvrde pretpostavlja se da pripadaju nekim manjim stambenim objektima.

Donose se i zračni snimci ostalih bizantskih utvrda s otoka Paga kao i utvrda u velebitskom Podgorju.

Ključne riječi: Veliki Sikavac, otok Pag, bizantska utvrda

During two short excavation campaigns in 2013 and 2014, carried out by the employees of Archaeological Museum Zadar and Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Arts of the University in Ljubljana, parts of a large fortification were discovered on the islet of Veliki Sikavac off Vlašić on the island of Pag. It is a square structure located on the islet's steep slope and defined by walls 1.80m wide. Six prominent towers can be seen in the fortification's corners and in the middle sections of the northeastern and southwestern perimeter walls. The excavations on the inner plateau resulted in the discovery of approx. fifty spatial units that had been used as garrison quarters, warehouses and workshops. Based on the architectural features and pottery found, it was confirmed that the complex was a Byzantine fortification – one of numerous similar fortifications built on Croatian coast and islands during Justinian's reconquest in the 6th century.

Remains of a small single-naved church, poorly preserved, can be found underneath the fortification. For the time being, the church is dated to Middle Ages. The scarce remains found behind its apse make us believe it was built on the site of an earlier structure. The finds of small fragments of glazed pottery from the second half of the 15th century and first half of the 16th century indicate that the islet was inhabited until the early Modern Age.

As for the fifteen or so elongated and recessed stone piles found on the slope underneath the fortification, it is believed they are the remnants of small dwellings.

The paper also includes aerial photographs of other Byzantine fortifications on the island of Pag and of those in Podgorje – the region at the foot of Velebit Mountain opposite the island.

Keywords: Veliki Sikavac, island of Pag, Byzantine fortification

* O ovom je nalazu prvi put izviješteno na kongresu *Territorio e insediamenti fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, održanom u Napulju 2013. godine, gdje je S. Gluščević održao predavanje "Le indagini preliminari della neoscoperta fortezza bizantina sull'isolotto Veliki Sikavac presso l'isola di Pago", a članak pod istim naslovom nalazi se u tisku. Ovdje se donosi prošireni i dopunjeni tekst.

* This finding was first reported at the congress *Territorio e insediamenti fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo* organized in Naples in 2013, when S. Gluščević held the lecture "Le indagini preliminari della neoscoperta fortezza bizantina sull'isolotto Veliki Sikavac presso l'isola di Pago"; the article of the same title is to be published soon. This paper contains an enlarged and complemented version of the text.

U arheološkoj literaturi podatak o ostatcima na otočiću Velikom Sikavcu¹ u blizini Vlašića na otoku Pagu prvi je put spomenut u novoj publikaciji autora I. Oštarića i A. Kurilić, koja se bavi arheološkim lokalitetima na otoku Pagu.² Ostatci su predstavljeni kao moguća utvrda s vanjskim kulama uz opservaciju da je utvrda možda iz bizantskoga doba, a priložena je i njezina skica.

S obzirom na to da se u podnožju utvrde nalaze i ostatci manje crkvice, u njezinoj blizini kamene nakupine još uvijek nepoznatoga postanja, a nedaleko i manje jezerce, problematika lokaliteta višestruko se multiplicira. Kako su istraživanja praktično tek započela, za sada se mogu dati samo generalne opservacije,³ koje će, nadamo se, u budućnosti, nakon daljnjih istraživanja dobiti i svoje konkretnije odgovore.

Mjesto na kojem je utvrda nastala svakako je povezano s općom slikom istočne jadranske obale, kojom su odvijek od Otranta prema sjeveru išli glavni plovidbeni pravci. Razlog je svakako razvedena obala povoljnija za sigurnu plovidbu od zapadne.⁴ Taj se promet u prvom redu odvijao zbog trgovine odnosno robne razmjene,⁵ a to je svakako tijekom tisućljeća bitno utjecalo na različite vidove života na toj obali, posebice na razvoj naselja.

Još od prapovijesti vodilo se računa o kontroli plovidbe, pa su na podesnim mjestima, ponajviše uzvisinama, osnivane osmatračnice s kojih se mogla kontrolirati plovidba kako na priobalnom području tako i na otvorenom moru. Literatura o naseljenim uzvisinama tog vremena na ovom dijelu naših otoka prilično je obimna,⁶ a u novije vrijeme, osobito za našu temu, važni su brojni novi podatci upravo za otok Pag.⁷

Kasnije, u vrijeme rimske prevlasti na Jadranu, nije bilo potrebe za izgradnjom obrambenih sustava pa se mnogo više pozornosti posvećivalo izgradnji trgovačkih luka, a manje sigurnosti odnosno osiguranju od prepada.

Kasna antika i rani srednji vijek vremena su burnih previranja na ukupnom europskom prostoru. U segmentu koji nas zanima, a riječ je o 6. stoljeću, zbog vrlo otežanih komunikacija kopnom, neprekidnih sukoba s Istočnim

In archaeological literature, the first mention of the remains on Veliki (Veli) Sikavac islet¹ near Vlašić on the island of Pag can be found in the latest publication by I. Oštarić and A. Kurilić, dealing with archaeological sites on Pag.² The remains are presented in it as a possible Byzantine-period fortification with outer towers. It also contains a sketch of the fortification.

Since remnants of a small church and the small stone piles of still unknown origin can be found at the foot of the fortification, as well as a pond in its vicinity, the site arises numerous questions. As the excavations have merely just begun,³ only general observations can be made for now. Concrete answers to the questions will hopefully be given after further excavations.

The location of the fortification can certainly be observed in the context of the general picture of the eastern Adriatic coast along which the main sailing routes from Strait of Otranto to the north have always extended due to the coast's well-indented nature that makes it more suitable for safe sailing than its western counterpart.⁴ The primary reasons for this maritime traffic were trade and commodity exchange,⁵ which have certainly influenced various aspects of life on the coast – particularly the development of settlements – over the millennia.

Ever since prehistoric times, in order to control the sailing routes, observation posts had been built on suitable places – primarily on elevated points – from which such routes in coastal areas and on the high seas could be controlled. The literature on the inhabited elevated points of those days in this group of Croatia's islands is abundant,⁶ and new information, recently obtained for the very island of Pag, is relevant for this subject.⁷

Later, at the time of Roman dominance in the Adriatic, there was no need for construction of defense systems any more, so the focus shifted from defense and prevention of raids to construction of trade ports.

Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages were troubled times in the whole Europe. In the segment of our interest

1 D. Brozović Rončević – A. Čilaš Šimpraga – D. Vidović, 2011, 646 kažu sljedeće: "Sikavac Mali i Veli odnosno su toponimi u čijim se imenima krije apelativ sika 'greben' romanskog podrijetla (usp. mletački *seca* < lat. *siccus* 'suh')."

2 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 270-271. Kolega i prijatelj Ivo Oštarić upozorio me na te ostatke 2012. godine, a nedugo nakon toga uz pomoć prijatelja Dejana Bačića iz Poveljane i Biserka Radana iz Vlašića prvi sam put posjetio V. Sikavac.

3 Prvi su put istraživanja obavljena u ožujku 2013. godine, a nastavak je uslijedio tijekom desetak dana listopada i studenog 2014. godine. Istraživanja su obavljena u organizaciji Arheološkoga muzeja Zadar pod rukovodstvom S. Gluščevića, a uz pomoć i suradnju profesora i studenata Oddelka za arheologiju Filozofske fakultete Sveučilišta u Ljubljani, koje su vodili prof. Darja Grosman, a uz nju 2014. g. i docentica dr. sc. Tina Milavec.

4 O konfiguraciji naše obale i njezinoj važnosti za plovidbu u različitim vremenskim razdobljima dosta se pisalo. Vidi: M. Kozličić – M. Bratanić, 2006, 107-124; M. Kozličić, 2011, 13-20; E. Marin, 2011, 123-128. U sklopu podmorških nalaza o tome i S. Gluščević, 1993-1994, 13-25; 1994, 25-60.

5 M. Suić, 1956, 71-97.

6 Š. Batović, 1973, 5-152.

7 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013.

1 D. Brozović Rončević – A. Čilaš Šimpraga – D. Vidović, 2011, 646 say the following: "Sikavac Mali and [Sikavac] Veli are related place names sharing the common noun *sika* (a reef), of Romanic origin (Cfr. Venetian *secca* < Latin *siccus* for 'dry').".

2 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 270-271. My colleague and friend Ivo Oštarić drew my attention to these remains in 2012. Soon after that, with a help from my friend Dejan Bačić from Poveljana and Biserko Radan from Vlašić, I visited V. Sikavac for the first time.

3 The results of the excavations were first published in March 2013. More excavations were carried out over a period of ten days in October and November 2014. They were organized by Archaeological Museum Zadar and led by S. Gluščević, with the assistance of and in cooperation with the professors and students of the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Arts of the University in Ljubljana. They were led by Prof. Darja Grosman and, in 2014, by Assistant Professor Tina Milavec.

4 There is abundant literature on the configuration of our coast and its importance for navigation in various historical periods. See: M. Kozličić – M. Bratanić, 2006, 107-124; M. Kozličić, 2011, 13-20; E. Marin, 2011, 123-128. Also, in the context of underwater finds: S. Gluščević, 1993-1994, 13-25; 1994, 25-60.

5 M. Suić, 1956, 71-97.

6 Š. Batović, 1973, 5-152.

7 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013.

Gotima⁸ i opće nesigurnosti pomorske rute Jadranom postaju još značajniji. Međutim, ni taj promet nije više bio siguran pa se na starim, ali i na novim lokacijama, počinju graditi objekti fortifikacijskoga karaktera, pa i veća naselja, kako bi se kontrolirala i osigurala plovidba.

Za našu je temu od osobitoga značenja istočnogotsko-bizantski rat (535. – 552.), koji je završio porazom Istočnih Gota kod Senigallie (*Sena Gallica*) 551. g., a zatim porazom i smrću njihova kralja Totile kod Busta Gallorum 552. g.

Prokopije je naš najbolji i gotovo jedini izvor koji govori o događajima na Jadranu tijekom gotsko-bizantskoga rata. O sukobima Gota i Bizanta u zaleđu hrvatske obale, ali i na njoj, postoji relativno obimna literatura, u kojoj se kritički analiziraju sva događanja tijekom toga rata.⁹ Tijekom njega nesmetane komunikacije Jadranom bile su od nemaloga značenja za ukupne operacije bizantske vojske u Dalmaciji i na Apeninskom poluotoku s obzirom na to da se "s istočne obale Jadrana mogla vrlo lako dosegnuti svaka točka na talijanskoj obali".¹⁰ Prema tome, u smislu promatranja sveukupnih ratnih operacija transjadranska komunikacija zbog mnogo bržega transfera vojske bila je od iznimnoga značenja.

Jadranom je gospodario isključivo Bizant, a kako navodi Prokopije, "barbarima su nedostajale potrepštine. Nisu mogli ništa dovoziti Jonskim zaljevom (tako se nazivao Jadran, op. S. G.), jer je njihov neprijatelj posvuda gospodario morem".¹¹ Istovremeno, gotovo da i nema podataka o načinu funkcioniranja bizantskih posjeda na hrvatskome dijelu Jadrana.¹²

Premda se ovdje radi o arheološkom aspektu, valja napomenuti da se, razumljivo, ne radi samo o ratovanju Bizanta protiv barbara, nego je to bilo značajno i u psihološkom smislu, jer se radilo o ratu i pobjedi pravovjerne kršćanske dogme protiv arijanskih Gota.¹³ Istovremeno, još jedan važan element – radi se o kugi koja se prvi put, a javljala se i kasnije, pojavila 543. godine – neizostavan je kod pokušaja rekonstrukcije bizantskoga djelovanja na Jadranu tijekom 6., ali i 7. st.

Tijekom toga razdoblja imamo intenzivnu djelatnost cara Justinijana, koji radi na obnovi nekadašnjega gotskog obrambenog sustava na prostoru Kvarnera na sjevernom Jadranu,¹⁴ ali i na izgradnji sustava koji je trebao štiti vitalno važni pomorski pravac duž Jadrana od metropole Konstantinopola prema Saloni, Raveni i Akvileji na sjeveru. Justinijan je, prema Prokopiju (*De aedificiis IV*), obnavljao

– the 6th century – the increasingly difficult road travels, constant conflicts with Ostrogoths⁸ and general insecurity, the sea routes in the Adriatic gained importance. However, since even maritime traffic was not safe any more, the construction of fortified structures began on both old and new locations in order to secure and control navigation and major settlements.

Of particular importance for our subject is the war between the Ostrogoths and Byzantium (535 – 552 AD) that ended with the Ostrogoths' defeat at Senigallia (*Sena Gallica*) in 551 AD, followed by the defeat and death of their King Totila at Busta Gallorum in 552 AD.

Procopius is our best and almost single source of information about the events in the Adriatic during the Gothic-Byzantine war. There is a relatively large body of literature on the conflicts of Goths and Byzantium in Croatian Adriatic hinterland and on the coast, critically analyzing all the events of that war.⁹ During the war, unhindered navigation in the Adriatic was of great importance for the overall operations of the Byzantine army in Dalmatia and on the Apenine Peninsula since "every place on the Italian coast could very easily be accessed from the eastern Adriatic coast".¹⁰ Thus, in the context of the overall war operations, trans-Adriatic communication was of an exceptional importance because it enabled a much faster transfer of troops.

The Adriatic was controlled by Byzantium alone and, according to Procopius, "the barbarians lacked supplies. They could not transport anything via Ionian Bay (as the Adriatic Sea was called at the time – comment by S. G.) because their enemy rules the sea everywhere".¹¹ At the same time, we almost have no information about the functioning of Byzantine territories in Croatian Adriatic.¹²

Although the object of interest here is the archaeological aspect, we should note that – understandingly – it is not just about the Byzantium's war against barbarians. It was important psychologically, too, because it was about the orthodox Christian dogma vs. Aryan Goths.¹³ Another important element – the plague that first came to these parts in 543 AD (and that was to return a number of times) – must be taken into account when reconstructing Byzantium's activities in the Adriatic in the 6th century and into the 7th century.

This period was marked by intensive activities of Emperor Justinian, who was trying to restore the onetime Gothic defense system in the northern Adriatic region of Kvarner,¹⁴ as well to build a system supposed to protect the

8 I. Goldstein, 1992.

9 I. Goldstein, 1992.

10 I. Goldstein, 1992, 21; 2005, 23-34.

11 Procopius of Caesarea, 1968-1978, II, 28, 6. Svi navodi Prokopija prema I. Goldstein, 1992.

12 I. Goldstein, 1992, 21.

13 A. Žderić, 2003, 121-182.

14 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 296.

8 I. Goldstein, 1992.

9 I. Goldstein, 1992.

10 I. Goldstein, 1992, 21; 2005, 23-34.

11 Procopius of Caesarea, 1968-1978, II, 28,6. All Procopius' quotes are from I. Goldstein, 1992.

12 I. Goldstein, 1992, 21.

13 A. Žderić, 2003, 121-182.

14 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 296.

gradove i utvrde, ali i gradio nove.¹⁵ Čitav taj splet događanja i gradnji za vrijeme barbarskih upada tijekom 6. st. opisuje se terminima koje Suić naziva "kastriacija",¹⁶ a Dunn "prijelaz od polisa do kastrona".¹⁷ I prema nekim novijim autorima termin kastriacija¹⁸ ne označava izgradnju potpuno novoga, nego samo učvršćivanje postojećega sustava kako bi se osigurala magistralna komunikacija kao jedina moguća između carske prijestolnice i Ravene. Isti autor smatra da zbog toga "Justinijanove utvrde treba konačno početi razlikovati od ranije nastalih, osobito od urbanih središta".¹⁹

Prije negoli prijedemo na stanje istraživanja tih fortifikacija, valja kazati da je zapravo sve još u povelju te da i dalje ostaju otvorena brojna pitanja poput onoga kakav je bio karakter tih utvrda (stalne ili povremene), kakva je bila njihova međusobna komunikacija, kako je funkcionirala opskrba, kakav je bio odnos s preživjelim antičkim gradovima, zašto su te fortifikacije ponekad građene na mjestima s kojih je teško bilo djelovati na moru (kada je o otočnim utverdama riječ) itd.²⁰ Tijekom gotsko-bizantskih ratova utvrđuje se npr. Salona²¹, kao i antička naseobina Varvarija na Bribirskoj glavici,²² a utvrđuju se i bedemi Aserije.²³ Ciglencečki smatra da je istovremeno s dodavanjem kule i kontrafora starom antičkom bedemu Aserije od mase antičkih spolija izgrađena i proteihizma (*protheizma*).²⁴ Isti na temelju radova Ovčarova i Lawrencea navodi da se proteihizma, s obzirom na to da se pokazala kao "značajan model uspješne obrane u Konstantinopolu... brzo širio po Bizantskom Carstvu".²⁵ Istovremeno dvoji, s obzirom na nedovoljnu istraženost, je li takav obrambeni element u zapadnom Iliriku postojao i prije toga.²⁶

Prvi je na kasnoantička utvrđenja na Jadranu, osobito na otocima, upozorio Suić,²⁷ da bi u kasnijem radu te utvrde nazvao "bizantskim limesom",²⁸ što su prihvatili i neki drugi,²⁹ ali se danas to smatra neutemeljenim.³⁰

Proteihizmu u obliku niskoga suhozida Ciglencečki prepoznaje i na Gradini na Žirju, ali i na Gustijerni, također na Žirju, na Vrgadi i Svetojanju na Pagu³¹, a kako kaže, "može se očekivati i drugdje".³²

vital sea route connecting the capital Constantinople with Salona, Ravenna and Aquileia on the north. According to Procopius (*De aedificiis IV*), Justinian was reconstructing the then existing towns and fortifications and building new ones.¹⁵ This combination of events and construction activities during barbarians' raids in the 6th century is described with what Suić calls "castrization"¹⁶ and what Dunn calls the "transition from polis to castron".¹⁷ Some recent authors also interpret castrization¹⁸ not just as building of a new system, but rather strengthening of the existing one in order to ensure a trunk route as the only possible route between the imperial capital and Ravenna. In the opinion of the same author, "we should finally start distinguishing Justinian's fortifications from the earlier ones, particularly from urban centers"¹⁹.

Before we analyze the extent to which these fortifications have been researched, we should note that this research is still in its infancy and that numerous questions, including the following ones, remain open: What was the nature of the fortifications (were they used permanently or occasionally)? How did they communicate between themselves? How were their supplies organized? What was the nature of their relationship with the then still surviving ancient cities? Why were they sometimes built on locations inconvenient for undertaking seaborne actions (when it comes to island fortifications)?²⁰ During the wars between Ostrogoths and Byzantium, fortification works were carried out in places like Salona²¹ and the ancient settlement of Varvaria on Bribirska glavica²²; the ramparts of Asseria were also fortified.²³ In Ciglencečki's opinion, the addition of a tower and buttresses to Asseria's old rampart coincided with the construction of a proteichisma²⁴ using the material of the ancient spolia. Drawing upon the works of Ovčarov and Lawrence, the same author mentions that proteichismas – having proven itself as an "important model of successful defense in Constantinople – soon spread throughout the Byzantine Empire".²⁵ At the same time, due to insufficient explorations carried out so far, he has doubts if such a defensive element had existed in Western Illyricum before that.²⁶

The first one to draw attention to the Late Antiquity fortifications in the Adriatic was Suić.²⁷ In his later work he

15 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 205. Usp. I. A. Dunn, 1994, 60-81.

16 M. Suić, 1976, 235-238.

17 I. A. Dunn, 1994; M. Lončar, T. Serreqi, 2008, 111-117.

18 M. Katić, 2003, 525.

19 M. Katić, 2003, 525.

20 Pregled ove problematike na istočnoj obali Jadrana vidi u S. Ciglencečki, 2009.

21 J. Jeličić Radonić, 1997-1998, 30-32.

22 M. Suić, 1980, 40.

23 I. Fadić, 2011, 78-79.

24 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 209.

25 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 210. Usp. D. Ovčarov, 1973, 11-23; A. W. Lawrence, 1983, 185-186.

26 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 210.

27 M. Suić, 1976, 38.

28 M. Suić, 1995, 133-145.

29 I. Goldstein, 2005, 27.

30 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 213.

31 Ž. Tomićić, 1996, 296.

32 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 215.

15 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 205. Cfr. I. A. Dunn, 1994, 60-81.

16 M. Suić, 1976, 235-238.

17 I. A. Dunn, 1994; M. Lončar, T. Serreqi, 2008, 111-117.

18 M. Katić, 2003, 525.

19 M. Katić, 2003, 525.

20 For the overview of this subject on the eastern Adriatic coast, see S. Ciglencečki, 2009.

21 J. Jeličić Radonić, 1997-1998, 30-32.

22 M. Suić, 1980, 40.

23 I. Fadić, 2011, 78-79.

24 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 209.

25 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 210. Cfr. D. Ovčarov, 1973, 11-23; A. W. Lawrence, 1983, 185-186.

26 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 210.

27 M. Suić, 1976, 38.

Kao i u vrijeme antike, kada je plovidba istočnom obalom Jadrana bila moguća u zavisnosti od cilja plovidbe, ali i vjetrova³³ u različitim pravcima, tako se nastavilo i u ovom vremenu. Generalno se radilo o unutrašnjem pravcu koji je, kada se o srednjem i sjevernom Jadranu radi, od Zadra vodio preko Paga, Raba i Krka do Cresa i Pule. Onaj vanjski išao je od Žirja preko Kornata, Silbe i Ilovika do Pule. Taj put, kao i utvrde i naseobine s njim povezane, uvjetno je nazvan "limes maritimus".³⁴

Pozornost tim fortifikacijama, kako je već navedeno, u hrvatskoj arheologiji posvećena je tek sredinom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Do tada je interes bio usmjeren gotovo isključivo prema sakralnoj arhitekturi. Tako su do naših istraživanja bila u potpunosti ili većim dijelom istražena samo tri objekta: jedan na Brijunima³⁵ i dva na Žirju.³⁶

I unatoč brojnim ranije postavljenim pitanjima, na koja nije niti lako, a u ovom trenutku niti moguće jednostavno odgovoriti, ipak se moramo bazirati na same utvrde, čiji je karakter i način funkcioniranja temelj rješavanja ovih pitanja.

S obzirom na to da je dio tih objekata sagrađen na nenaseljenim otocima ili na položajima koji su udaljeni od naseljenih mjesta, moglo se zaključiti da su svi oni u određenom vremenu predstavljali dobro proučen i siguran sistem, koji je Bizantu trebao osigurati potpunu kontrolu plovidbe uz istočnu obalu Jadrana.

Tijekom proteklih četrdesetak godina napisan je niz radova o tim fortifikacijama, ali, bez iznimke, samo na temelju dokumentacije ostataka na terenu.

Već sredinom 80-ih godina 20. st. napravljeno je i prvo kartiranje kasnoantičkih utvrda i predložena je njihova podjela u nekoliko skupina: one koje se sigurno mogu determinirati, one kojima atribuciju još treba provjeriti i na kraju na objekte čije je postojanje samo hipotetično.³⁷ Idući od juga hrvatske strane Jadrana, moguće je pratiti raspored tih objekata.³⁸ Posljednjih dvadesetak godina stručnjaci su se osobito bavili čitavim nizom objekata smještenih posebice na sjevernojadranskim otocima, ali i priobalju.³⁹

Zanimljivo je da je do sada uz obalu nasuprot otoka Paga i na samome otoku Pagu registrirano nekoliko utvrda (Sl. 1).⁴⁰

called them the "Byzantine limes"²⁸. While it was accepted by some²⁹, today it is considered unfounded.³⁰

Ciglencečki also identified drywall proteichismas on Gradina on the island of Žirje, on Gustijerna on Žirje and on Vrgada and Svetojan locations on the island of Pag³¹, claiming they "could also be expected elsewhere".³²

Same as in Antiquity, navigation along eastern Adriatic coast was possible along various routes in that period but it depended on destination and winds.³³ Generally, it was the inland water route. In central and northern Adriatic, it led from Zadar via Pag, Rab and Krk to Cres and Pula. The outer route went from Žirje via Kornati Archipelago, Silba and Ilovik to Pula. The latter route and the appertaining fortifications and settlements are tentatively called *limes maritimus*.³⁴

As mentioned above, Croatian archaeologists paid attention to these fortifications only in the mid-1970s. Until then, archaeologists were almost exclusively focused on sacral architecture. This is why, until our research only three structures were fully or partially explored: one on Brijuni Islands³⁵ and two on Žirje Island.³⁶

Despite the above questions which are not easy – at the moment even possible – to answer, we still have to focus on the fortifications themselves, because their nature and way of functioning are the basis for the solution.

The fact that some of these structures were built on uninhabited islands or on positions far away from settlements leads to the conclusion that, at a certain point in time, all of them were part of a well studied and safe system supposed to ensure Byzantium's total control of the navigation along Adriatic's eastern coast.

A number of works on these fortifications has been written in the past forty years, but all of them, without exception, are based on the documents on the remains found on locations.

The Late Antiquity fortifications were first mapped in the mid 1980s, when their classification in several groups was proposed: those allowing positive determination, those the attribution of which still needs verification and, lastly, the structures that still exist only hypothetically.³⁷ Starting from the southern part of the Croatian side of Adriatic, it is possible to follow the distribution of these

33 Konstantin Porfirogenet (O upravljanju carstvom, c. 29) navodi da su dalmatinski otoci gusti i mnogobrojni "tako da se brodovima nije nigda bojat valova".

34 Ž. Rapanić, 1983, 838.

35 Š. Mlakar, 1975-1976, 5-49.

36 Č. Iveković, 1927, 45-59; Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124-136; 1986b, 158.

37 Gunjača zapravo formira i četvrtu grupu, u koju je, kako kaže, svrstao "one položaje na kojima su, prema nekoj logici, kasnoantičke utvrde trebale svakako postojati, ali im se do danas nije ušlo u trag". Vidi Z. Gunjača 1986a, 125.

38 Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124, T.XXII.; A. Badurina, 1992, 7-9 osvrnuo se i na mnogobrojne toponime tipa "straža" smatrajući da su u svrhu motrenja i javljanja bile uklopljene u bizantski fortifikacijski sustav.

39 Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 29-53; 1993, 103-116; M. Domijan, 1992, 325-344; Z. Brusić, 1989, 111-119; A. Badurina, 1982, 171-177.

40 Na karti su donesena i dva lokaliteta koja su još uvijek *sub iudice* (Sv. Juraj u Caski i rt Ljubljana na Ljubačkoj kosi).

28 M. Suić, 1995, 133-145.

29 I. Goldstein, 2005, 27.

30 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 213.

31 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 296.

32 S. Ciglencečki, 2009, 215.

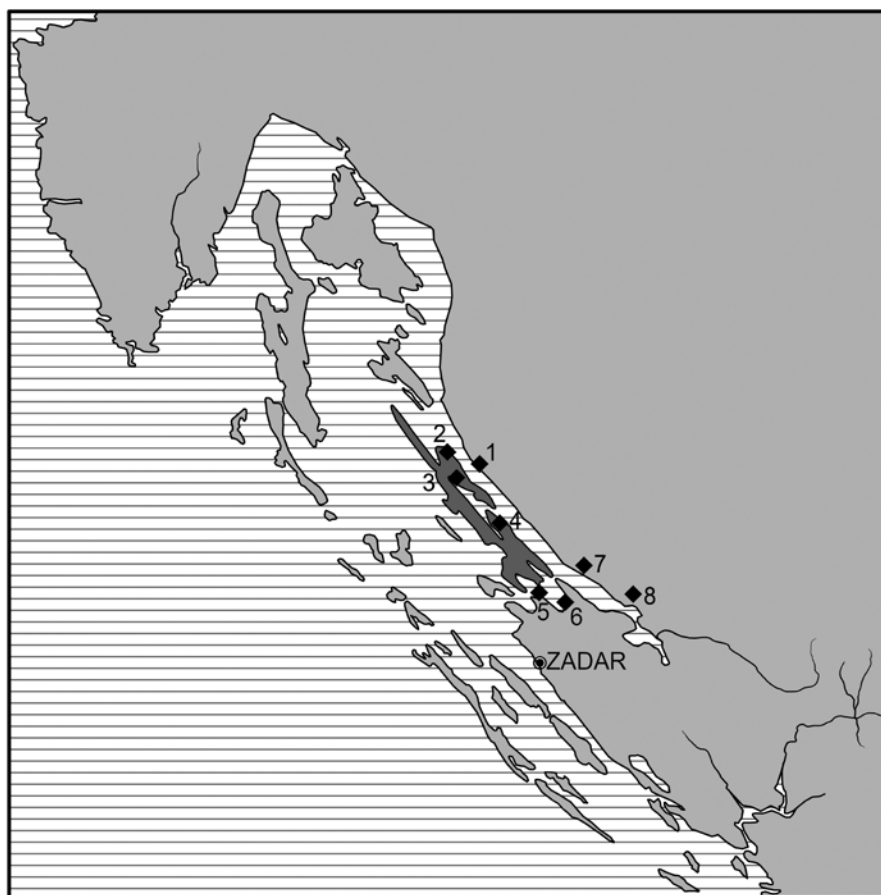
33 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c.29 mentions that Dalmatian islands are close-set and very numerous, so "that ships never fear to be overwhelmed".

34 Ž. Rapanić, 1983, 838.

35 Š. Mlakar, 1975-1976, 5-49.

36 Č. Iveković, 1927, 45-59; Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124-136; 1986b, 158.

37 Gunjača also formed a fourth group, reserved, as he says, "for the locations where Late Antiquity fortifications logically had to exist but have not been traced until the present day". See Z. Gunjača 1986a, 125.



Slika 1. Karta s prikazom bizantskih kastrona na otoku Pagu i na okolnom kopnu
Figure 1. Map showing Byzantine castrons on the island of Pag and on the adjacent mainland

crtež / drawing: I. Čondić.

Tek 2012. godine saznalo se da se u blizini Vlašića na manjem otočiću Velikom Sikavcu uz otok Pag nalaze neki građevinski ostatci. Otočić Veliki Sikavac nalazi se u Ljubačkom zaljevu, između kopna i otoka Paga, zapadno od Paškoga mosta. Na topografskoj karti M25000 (DGU) utvrđeno je upisano kao klasična suho zidana ograda, a ne kao arheološki spomenik.

Na staroj austrougarskoj karti (The Second military Survey 1806. – 1869.) otočić je označen kao *Scoglio di San Rocco* (Arcanum Adatbazis Kft. ©1989–2014), dok se na drugoj, također austrougarskoj⁴¹ karti iz 1884. godine naziva otočićem sv. Pavla (Scg. Paolo).⁴² U arheološkoj literaturi, kako je već navedeno, lokacija je prvi put spomenuta u novoj arheološkoj karti otoka Paga autora I. Oštarića i A. Kurilića.⁴³ Predstavljena je kao moguća utvrda s vanjskim

structures.³⁸ In the past twenty years experts were particularly focused on numerous structures located primarily on the islands and coast of northern Adriatic.³⁹

Interestingly, several fortifications have been identified so far on the coast opposite of Pag and on the island of Pag itself (Fig. 1).⁴⁰

Only in 2012 reports came about the remains of a structure near Vlašić, on the islet of Veliki Sikavac off the island of Pag. Veliki Sikavac is located in Ljubač Bay, between Pag and mainland and west of the Pag Bridge. On the topographic map of scale 1:25000 (State Geodetic Administration), the fortification is described as a standard boundary drywall, not as an archaeological monument.

On an old Austro-Hungarian map (The Second Military Survey 1806-1869), the islet is designated as *Scoglio di San Rocco* (Arcanum Adatbazis Kft. ©1989-2014); on another map, also Austro-Hungarian,⁴¹ from 1884, it is called St. Paul's Islet (Scg. Paolo).⁴² As we have said before, the first mention of the location in archaeological literature was on the new archaeological map of the island of Pag by I. Oštarić and A. Kurilić.⁴³ On the map it is designated as a possible fortification with outer towers, with a note

that it could be from the Byzantine period; a sketch of the fortification is also enclosed.⁴⁴

Škarnica Strait separates Veliki Sikavac from the island of Pag and, together with Mali Sikavac to the south, extends the island's axis on the southern rim of Vlašić Bay (Fig. 2). Three peaks can be recognized on the islet – the

41 Topografska karta, List Pago, Zone 28 Coll XII., M = 1:75 000, K.u.k. militär-geographisches Institut, Wien, 1884.

42 D. Magaš, 1999, 189; 2000, 23; 2011, 22. Zahvaljujemo kolegi Damiru Magašu, koji nas je upozorio na ovu kartu te nam ustupio njezin snimak.

43 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 270-271.

38 Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124, T.XXII.; A. Badurina, 1992, 7-9 also commented on numerous toponyms such as *straža* (guard/watch), believing they were part of the Byzantine fortification system for the purpose of looking out and reporting.

39 Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 29-53; 1993, 103-116; M. Domijan, 1992, 325-344; Z. Brusić, 1989, 111-119; A. Badurina, 1982, 171-177.

40 The map also includes two sites which are still sub iudice (Sv. George in Caska and Cape Ljubljana at Ljubačka kosa).

41 Topographic map, List Pago, Zone 28 Coll XII., scale 1:75.000, K.u.k. militär-geographisches Institut, Wien, 1884.

42 D. Magaš, 1999, 189; 2000, 23; 2011, 22. We are using the opportunity to express our gratitude to our colleague Damir Magaš who drew our attention to this map and provided us with its photograph.

43 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 270-271.

44 Particular credit is due to Ivo Oštarić, not only for the sketch and dimensions of the fortification, but also for the sketches and dimensions of all other sites, almost always hard to access and hard to document using a wire strain gauge only. As such a thorough documentation of archaeological remains is very unique, inaccuracies – usually minor ones – in the dimensions of individual sites should be ignored for this reason.

kulama i opservacijom da je možda iz bizantskoga doba, a priložena je skica utvrde.⁴⁴

Tjesnac Škarnica dijeli Veliki Sikavac od otoka Paga i zajedno s Malim Sikavcem, koji leži južno od njega, produljuje os otoka na južnom rubu zaljeva Vlašić (Sl. 2). Na otočiću su prepoznata tri vrha, među kojima je najviši visok 20,1 metar. Ispred njega je utvrda kojoj je na najvišoj točki visina 13,1 metar, a ispod nje je plato s crkvom. Otočić ima nekoliko izrazitih zaljeva, među kojima ni jedan nije pogodan za pristajanje bilo zbog male dubine ili zbog izloženosti vjetru. Na jugozapadnome je dijelu otočića veći plitki zaljev koji je usječen u samu obalu, premda je dno na ulazu u zaljev visoki greben koji se kod oseke nalazi iznad morske površine.

Površina je otočića 0,148 km², dok mu dužina obalne crte iznosi 1,76 km.⁴⁵ Površina je gotovo u cijelosti kamenita, premda su se na nekim dijelovima u unutrašnjosti i uokolo ostataka arhitekture u hladnijim mjesecima vidjele skromne travnate površine. Međutim, nakon prošlogodišnjega i ovogodišnjega istraživanja ispod sloja kamena pojavila se trava kojom je u prošlosti morao biti pokriven otočić. Otočić je nenaseljen, a koristi se za ispašu manjega broja ovaca.⁴⁶

Bilo je očito da se radi o velikom objektu relativno pravilnoga tlocrta površine cca 5000 m², s jedva zamjetnim ostatcima kula. Terenski pregled omogućio je ocjenu vidljivosti arheoloških struktura na površini, prije svega onih koje su u kamenom površinskom dijelu skrivale osi zidova (Sl. 3). Jasno su se mogli prepoznati kako dijelovi zidova utvrde koji su građeni s malternim vezivom tako i mlađe, suho zidane pregrade na gornjem dijelu.

Posve je drugačiji bio položaj u unutrašnjosti, gdje je prevladavala gotovo neprekinuta površina velikoga i manjega kamena bez izrazitih reljefnih ili nekih drugih znakova. Interpretacija aerofotografije koja je bila načinjena



Slika 2. Položaj utvrde na Velikom Sikavcu na topografskoj karti Državne geodetske uprave
Figure 2. Position of the fortification on Veliki Sikavac on the topographic map of State Geodetic Administration

Obrada / Prepared by: D. Grosman.

highest one being 20.1m above sea level. A fortification is located in front of it, its highest point being 13.1m. A plateau with a church extends underneath. The islet has a few visible bays, but none of them is suitable for landing, due to either shallow water or exposure to wind. A spacious shallow bay is cut into the southwestern coast of the islet. However, a reef jutting out of the water at low tide prevents access to it.

The island has 0.148km² and its coastline is 1.76km long.⁴⁵ Its surface is almost entirely rocky, although occasional patches of grass could be seen in colder months in some parts of the interior and around the architectural remains. However, after last year's and this year's excavations, a layer of grass appeared underneath the layer of rocks. The islet was probably covered with it in the past. The islet is uninhabited and a small number of sheep graze on it.⁴⁶

Clearly, it was a large structure of a relatively symmetrical layout plan of approx. 5,000m², with barely noticeable remains of towers. A field survey was carried out and the visibility of the archaeological structures on the surface

44 Ivi Oštariću svakako se mora odati posebno priznanje ne samo za skicu i mjere ove utvrde, nego i za skice i mjere svih drugih lokaliteta, gotovo u pravilu teško dostupnih i vrlo nezahvalnih za dokumentaciju samo uz pomoć mjerne trake. Ovako temeljita dokumentacija arheoloških ostataka nekoga našeg otoka sasvim je jedinstvena, pa i samo iz tog razloga moraju se zanemariti u pravilu manje mjerne netočnosti kod pojedinih lokaliteta.

45 T. Duplančić Leder – T. Ujević – M. Čala, 2004, 18.

46 Lokalni stanovnici kažu da je ne tako davno na otočiću, na kojem je bilo i makije, boravilo i više od stotinu ovaca, koje su vlasnici čuvali boraveći u priručno napravljenim suhozidnim skloništim.

45 T. Duplančić Leder – T. Ujević – M. Čala, 2004, 18.

46 According to the locals, more than one hundred sheep grazed on the islet until very recently, when it was still covered with underbrush. While shepherding them, their owners would stay in improvised drywall shelters.



Slika 3. Izgled sjeverozapadnoga bedema prije istraživanja

Figure 3. View of northwestern rampart before excavations

foto / photo: S. Glušević

prilikom arheološkoga rekognosciranja iz zraka ponudila je dodatne mogućnosti kako vrednovanja prostornoga konteksta čitave lokacije tako i pojedinih detalja (Sl. 4).

Situacija s ostacima crkvice na maloj plaži na južnom dijelu otočića nešto je drugačija (Sl. 5). Objekt je zatečen u vrlo lošem stanju. Sjeverni zid i apsida djelomično su srušeni odnosno sačuvani, dok se kod ostalih zidova radi o vrlo niskim nakupinama srušena kamena unutar kojih se zapažaju dijelovi južnoga i zapadnoga zida. Na južnom je dijelu prostor malo zaravnjen, a čitava je okolina, jednako kao i utvrda, okružena slojem površinskoga kamena različite veličine.

Zbog lakše orijentacije i potrebe dokumentiranja prepoznate prostorne jedinice posebno smo imenovali: **A.** Prostor JZ pod utvrdom kojega je glavni dio crkvena arhitektura s neposrednom okolicom; **B.** Utvrda na JI dijelu otočića; **C.** Suho zidane strukture na samom vrhu uzvišenja u sjevernom dijelu utvrde i dijelom izvan nje (Sl. 6); **D.** Terasasto oblikovana neposredna okolica zidova koja može biti istovremena s izgradnjom, ali i s vremenom eventualnoga prezidavanja, odnosno rušenja utvrde.

Čišćenje je otvorilo još jedno neizostavno pitanje. Visinu sačuvanosti zidova nije moguće točnije ocijeniti jer se naišlo na iznenađujuće kompaktan i prilično debeo

was assessed, primarily the ones hiding the axes of walls located on rocky parts of the surface (Fig. 3). Remains of the fortification walls built using mortar and younger dry-wall partitions in the upper part were clearly recognizable.

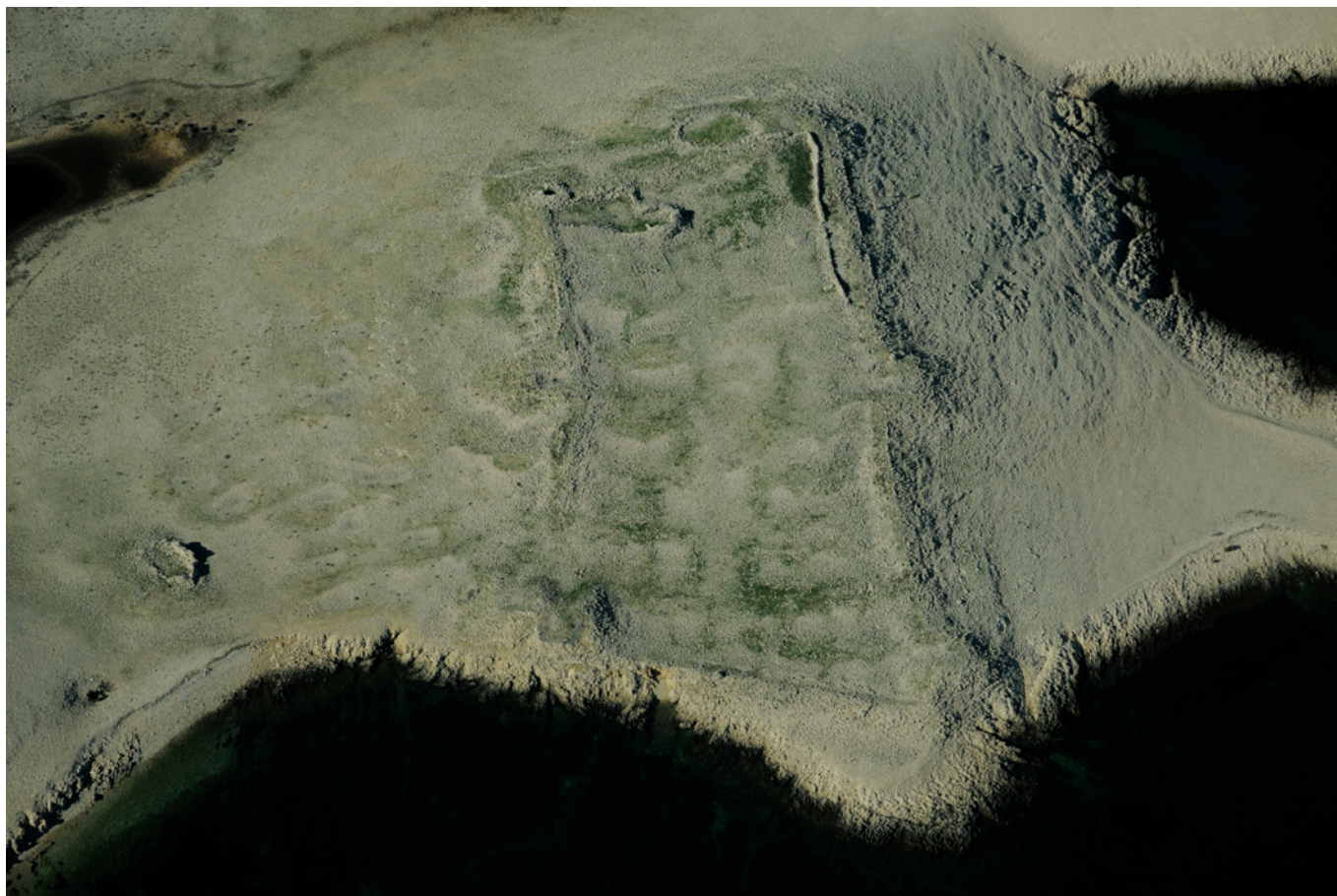
The site in the islet's interior is on a completely different location: prevailing there is an almost uninterrupted craggy surface of large and small rocks, with no visible relief or other characteristics. The interpretation of the aerial photographs taken during the aerial archaeological survey offers additional possibilities of evaluation of both the spatial context of the site and the site's details (Fig. 4).

The situation with the remains of a small church on a small beach in the southern part of the islet is somewhat different (Fig. 5). The structure was found in a very poor condition: the northern wall and apse were partially destroyed and preserved, respectively, while the other walls were reduced to very low piles of torn-down stones containing parts of the southern and western walls. The space is a bit leveled on the southern end and the whole area – like the fortification itself – is surrounded with a layer of surface rocks of various sizes.

For easier orientation and documentation purposes, we gave a particular name to each spatial unit: **A.** South-eastern space under the fortification, mostly occupied by sacral architecture with its immediate surroundings; **B.** The fortification on the southeastern end of the islet; **C.** Drywall structures on the top of the elevated point in the northern part of the fortification and – partly – outside it (Fig. 6). **D.** The cascading immediate surroundings of the walls built simultaneously either with the construction or with possible partitioning or tearing down of the fortification.

The cleanup opened another unavoidable question. The preserved height of the walls is hard to establish due to a surprisingly compact and rather thick layer of earth underneath the surface rocks that covers it. Between and above these rocks a whole humus layer had been created, most likely because sheep had been grazing and staying inside the fortification for a long period of time. This is probably one of the main reasons why surface finds in and around the fortification are so scarce. The situation is similar in the lower end of the cascading plateau around the church. Although at first sight it seems that the area is completely covered with rocks, a relatively thick layer of earth can be found underneath.

In some cases, completely dry piles of large and small crushed stones on some places inside the fortification and outside, around the church, are the main indicators of architectural remains. In the past, some of the surface rocks were removed and used for building of two shepherd shelters, as well as boundary walls in the northern part of the fortification.



Slika 4. Zračni snimak utvrde iz 2012. godine

Figure 4. Aerial photo of the fortification, taken in 2012

foto / photo: D. Grosman

sloj zemlje pod površinskim kamenom koji je prekriva. Između i nad tim depozitom kamena nastao je očito čitav humusni sloj, koji je najvjerojatnije posljedica dugotrajne ispaše odnosno zadržavanja stoke u unutrašnjosti utvrde. To je vjerojatno jedan od osnovnih razloga da je količina površinskih nalaza u samoj utvrđi, ali i u okolici, vrlo mala. Slična je situacija i u donjem dijelu terasastoga platoa uokolo crkve. Na prvi se pogled čini da je površina posve prekrivena kamenom, ali i ispod njega je relativno debeli sloj zemlje.

Glavni pokazatelj arhitektonskih ostataka u nekim je slučajevima potpuno suha nakupina velikoga i manjega



Slika 5. Pogled na crkvicu sa zapada

Figure 5. Western view of the small church

foto / photo: S. Gluščević



drobljenog kamena koji je nakupljen na površinama u unutrašnjosti utvrde i izvana u okruženju crkvice. Dio je površinskoga kamena u prošlosti bio očišćen i upotrijebljen za izgradnju dvaju pastirskih zakloništa odnosno ograda u sjevernom dijelu utvrde.

CRKVICA S OKOLINOM (A I JUŽNI DIO D)

Nisko terasirani plato pruža se na padini jugozapadnoga zida utvrde, tik pred crkvicom zaravnava se i zaprema jednaku površinu kao i manja plaža u njegovu podnožju. Crkvica je na njegovu unutrašnjem rubu. U zonu A uključili smo crkvicu (A1), njezinu neposrednu okolinu na istoku i jugu te identificirali plitke udubine u površinskom sloju kamena (A2) (Sl. 7).

CRKVICA I NJEZINA NEPOSREDNA OKOLICA (A1)

Crkvica, orijentirana u smjeru istok – zapad, jedini je objekt na otoku koji ima sačuvanih nekoliko zidova, doduše u vrlo lošem stanju (Sl. 8). Svi su rađeni od manjega i većega kamena kojemu je lice rijetko priklesano, dok je većim dijelom za lice iskorištena prirodno ravna strana. Kamen je spojen obilnom vapnenom žbukom koja je miješana s manjim

Slika 6. Grafički prikaz svih prostornih jedinica

Figure 6. All spatial units

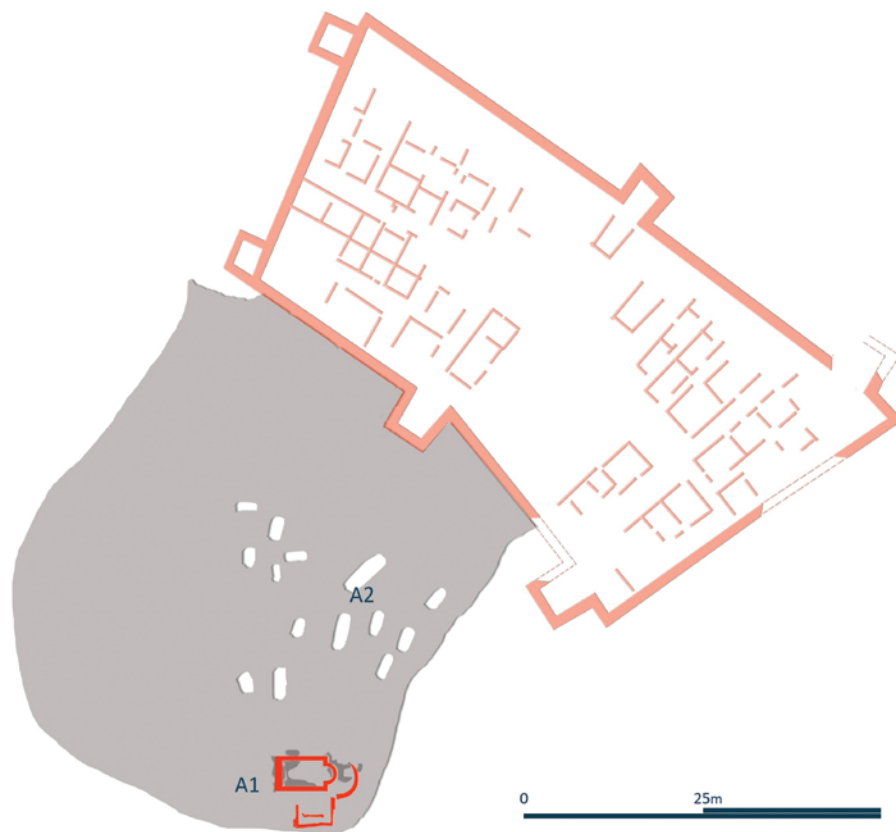
crtež / drawing: D. Grosman

THE CHURCH AND ITS SURROUNDINGS (A AND SOUTHERN PORTION OF D)

The plateau with low terraces is located on the slope of the southwestern wall of the fortification. It becomes leveled right in front of the church and it has the same area as the small beach at its foot. The small church lies on its inner edge. We included the church (A1) and the immediate surroundings east and south of it in the Zone A; also, we identified shallow recesses in the surface rock layer (A2) (Fig. 7).

A1 CHURCH AND ITS IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS

Positioned east – west, the church is the only structure on the island; a few of its walls have been preserved, albeit in poor shape (Fig. 8). They are all made of small and large stones. In most cases, their natural flat sides were used as faces; the faces are rarely chiseled. The stones are bound with abundant



Slika 7. Grafički prikaz prostornih jedinica crkvice i kamenih nakupina uz nju

Figure 7. Spatial units of the church and adjacent stone piles

crtež / drawing: D. Grosman

Slika 8. Izgled sjevernoga zida crkvice

Figure 8. Northern church wall

foto / photo: S. Glušćević



oblucima.⁴⁷ Zbog takvoga stanja nismo se odlučili za cjelovito čišćenje kako ne bismo povećali ugroženost. Radi se o jednodimenzionalnoj građevini s polukružnom apsidom i vjerojatno prerađenim⁴⁸ sjevernim zidom. Taj je zid mnogo deblji od ostalih zidova pa je dopušteno pomišljati da je zbog toga i ostao najbolje sačuvan. Apsida je sačuvana nejednoliko i u svega nekoliko redova kamena,⁴⁹ a koljenastim se proširenjem nastavlja na oba uzdužna zida. Na apsidi je ujedno najvidljivije klesanje kamena. Površinskim sklanjanjem kamena tijekom posljednje kampanje uspjelo nam je definirati južni i zapadni – začelni zid, na kojem se nalazio ulaz. U njegovu je središtu profilirani prag s utorima za vrata.⁵⁰

Koso postavljen u odnosu na zapadni zid nalazi se i širi suhozid, čija funkcija u ovoj fazi istraživanja nije jasna.

Plitkim čišćenjem površine na vanjskoj strani apside evidentiran je još jedan polukružni zid koji je odmaknut od crkvice i vezan na isti terasasti podzid usporedno s južnim (Sl. 9). I on ima veliko koljenasto proširenje prema jugu da bi zatim pod pravilnim kutom nastavio prema zapadu. Ovaj je temelj, međutim, sačuvan vrlo siromašnim nizom kamena. Lijepo izrađeni polukružni zid, koji je na istraživanom dijelu sačuvan samo u temeljnoj stopi kamena vezana žbukom, možda bi mogao pripadati kako nekom starijem sakralnom objektu tako i civilnom.

PLITKE UDUBINE U POVRŠINSKOM SLOJU KAMENA (A2)

Sjeverno od crkvice u tlu se opažaju plitke udubine u površinskom kamenu sa zaobljenim kutovima (Sl. 10). Veličina im varira, ali u prosjeku iznosi 5 – 6 metara u dužinu i oko 3 metra u širinu. U sredini je nakupljeno veće grubo kamene bez zemljanoga punila. Oblici i usmjerenosti različiti su premda se čini da su položene u nizovima, pretežito orijentacije sjever – jug. Samo na jednoj od njih može se na gornjem rubu prepoznati oskudna zidana konstrukcija. S obzirom na to da se u ovoj fazi terenskoga rada nismo mogli posvetiti široj okolici ove nakupine, za sada ih možemo označiti samo kao strukture kod kojih će u budućnosti biti potrebna temeljita obrada. Slični su oblici zapaženi i na lokaciji bizantske utvrde Sv. Juraj nad Pagom.⁵¹

lime mortar mixed with small pebbles.⁴⁷ The poor shape the structure is in deterred us from a complete cleanup that might endanger it additionally. It is a single-room structure with a semi-circular apse and a probably modified⁴⁸ northern wall. We can presume that the fact that this wall is much thicker than other walls is the reason why it is better preserved than the rest of them. Having been preserved only in the form of a few lines of stones, and not evenly,⁴⁹ the apse widens by making a knee-shaped turn and extends to both parallel walls. The apse is also where dressing marks are the most visible. Having removed the surface rocks during the last campaign, we managed to define the southern wall and the western (rear) wall. The latter wall is where the entrance once stood. A molded threshold with grooves for the door can be found in its center.⁵⁰

A wide drywall extends diagonally to the western wall, but its function is not clear in this phase of the excavations.

The shallow cleanup of the surface on the outer side of the apse revealed another semi-circular wall, detached from the church and connected with the same terrace-shaped underpinning masonry parallel with the southern wall (Fig. 9). It, too, widens substantially by making a knee-shaped turn to the south and then it turns west under a right angle. However, this foundation has been preserved only in the form of a very small line of stones. The nicely crafted semi-circular wall, preserved only in the footing of the mortar-bound stones, could perhaps belong either to some older sacral structure or to a secular one.

A2 SHALLOW RECESSES IN THE SURFACE ROCK LAYER

Shallow recesses with rounded corners can be seen in the surface rock layer north of the church (Fig. 10). Their dimensions vary, but on average they are 5-6 meters long and approx. 3 meters wide. In their centers there are piles of large, coarse stones without earth filler. Their shapes and directions also vary, although they are placed in parallel lines, mostly in north – south direction. Only one of them contains a small masonry structure on its upper edge. As we have not been able to explore the area surrounding these piles in this phase of field survey, for the time being we can only designate them as structures that

47 Mještani kažu da takvih sitnih oblutaka (žalo) ima na predjelu Kvasilo u Vlašićima.

48 Tek završenim istraživanjima iz 2014. godine izmjereni su i snimljeni svi tlocrtni elementi crkvice, ali zbog kratkoće vremena za ovaj tekst nismo ih uspjeli pretočiti u crtež odnosno fotomosaik.

49 Mještani kazuju da su do prije tridesetak godina bili sačuvani svi zidovi crkvice do visine od najmanje jednoga metra te da je gotovo u potpunosti bila sačuvana apsida, a spominje se i početak svoda. O svodu svjedoče i rijetki manji ulomci sedre.

50 Nije sasvim sigurno da je prag rađen kao originalni dio crkvice, nego postoji mogućnost da je reupotrijebljen. Na to možda upućuje abociranje niže plohe. Sudeći prema fotografiji, vrlo sličan prag, ali dislociran, našao se i na utvrdi na Sv. Jurju nad Pagom. Usp. Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 30-32, T.4, 3.

51 Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 31, T. 3, G. On na tom mjestu kaže da se radi o "desetak slobodnostojećih objekata u središtu kastrona i sugerira zgusnutu urbanu strukturu utvrđenja"; Ž. Tomičić, 1997, 99, sl. 9. O tome Tomičić i u prilogu "Kasnoantička utvrda na položaju crkvice sv. Jurja iznad Paga. Prinos

47 According to the locals, such small pebbles can be found in Kvasilo area near Vlašići.

48 During the excavations completed in 2014, all the elements of the church plan were measured and photographed but the tight deadline for this text prevented us from including their illustration or photo mosaic here.

49 The locals say that, until some thirty years ago, all the church walls were preserved not less than one meter high and that the apse was almost completely preserved, including, reportedly, the beginning of the arch. Evidence to the arch can be found in occasional small fragments of tufa.

50 It is not certain that the threshold was originally made for the church; some evidence indicates it was reused. The rough execution of the lower surface possibly suggests that. According to the photograph, a very similar threshold, albeit dislocated, was found in the fortification on St. George site above the town of Pag. Compare Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 30-32, T.4, 3.



Slika 9. Polukružni zid s istočne strane crkvice

Figure 9. Semi-circular wall east of the church

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

UTVRDA (B)

Utvrdna je najveći objekt na otočiću. Oblik i veličina prilagođeni su strukturi terena. Oba dijela utvrde trapezastoga su oblika i imaju ukupno šest kula smještenih na vanjskoj strani obzida. Gornji sjeverni dio između kula B2.1, B2.2, B2.3 i B2.6 relativno je ravan, a potom se prema jugoistoku lomi i naglo pada prema obali (Sl. 11).

Bedem u gotovo neprekinutom nizu omeđuje čitav prostor utvrde. Širok je 1,80 metara, vezan je obilnim malterom i građen s dva lica, dok je sredina ispunjena unutrašnjim kamenim punilom i malterom. Koliko je moguće ocijeniti po površinskom opažanju, na svim je dijelovima

require detailed analyses in future. Similar forms were also observed on the location of the Byzantine fortification St. George above the town of Pag.⁵¹

THE FORTIFICATION (B)

The fortification is the largest structure on the islet. Its shape and size are suited to the terrain it is on. Both parts of the fortification are trapezoidal and have a total of six towers situated on the outer side of the walls. The upper, northern part, situated between towers B2.1/B2.2/B2.3/B2.6, is relatively straight at first, and then it turns to south-east and sharply descends to the shoreline (Fig. 11).

The fortification is surrounded by an almost uninterrupted rampart line. The rampart is 1.8m wide, has two

arheološkom istraživanju geneze grada Paga" (Diadora 29) gdje kaže: "Pregledom unutar areala kastrona, koji se od istoka, tj. položaja crkve spušta postupno prema zapadu, registrirano je 11 pravokutnih, ali ponekad i kvadratnih zidanih objekata, od kojih je ostao u razu krševite podloge jasno vidljiv tloris. Svi su ti objekti ispunjeni makijom, pa na prvi pogled možda nisu uočljivi."

51 Ž. Tomičić, 1988/1989, 31, T. 3, G. In this work Tomičić describes them as "a dozen detached structures in the center of the castron, suggesting an urban fortification structure"; Ž. Tomičić, 1997, 99, sl. 9. In his work Kasnoantička utvrda na položaju crkvice sv. Jurja iznad Paga. Prinos arheološkom istraživanju geneze grada Paga, (Diadora 29), Tomičić also says: The survey of the inner area of the castron that gradually subsides from the church on its eastern end to the west has resulted in the discovery of 11 rectangular – sometimes square – masonry structures of which clearly visible layouts on the level of the rocky surface have remained. Since all these structures are filled with underbrush, they may not be spotted at first sight".



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sačuvan u približno istoj širini. Na sjevernoj strani sjeveroistočnoga zida bedem se urušio u unutrašnji prostor, što je prilično uzdignulo dio unutrašnje površine i tako dijelom prekrilo ostatke zidne strukture koja je srušena na rubu te akumulacije na kojoj je kasnije izgrađen suhozid pastirske ograde (C2). Jugozapadni bedem srušio se izvan utvrde i vjerojatno na taj način stvorio podlogu za nastanak vanjskih terasa (D južni dio) uzduž njegove linije. Dio bedema između kula B2.5 i B2.6 na površini je potpuno neprepoznatljiv. Možemo ipak pretpostaviti da se on nastavlja od kule B2.6 u ravnoj liniji do kule B2.5, premda su moguća i druga rješenja. Jedno među njima povezano je i s pitanjem gdje je bio ulaz u utvrdu, odnosno kakav je bio pristup do nje. Nekoliko dodatnih pitanja u vezi s tim nudi segment bedema južno od kule B2.6, kod koje je prepoznata cezura u gradnji. Nažalost, površinska opažanja ne dopuštaju razrješenje problema eventualno više faza gradnje utvrde, odnosno osobitosti povezanih s ulazom u utvrdu.

KULE UTVRDE (B2)

Bedeme utvrde dopunjuje šest kula koje su sve smještene na vanjskoj strani. Dvije sjeverne kule (B2.1 i B2.2) naslonjene su (zidane su na vanjskoj strani bedema), dok su ostale četiri izbačene izvan zidina bedema. Kula B2.1 jednim je od svojih zidova zapravo produženje jugozapadnoga bedema. Kula B2.2 zidana je skoro okomito na bedem, iako ne u osi sjeveroistočnoga bedema, nego nešto izmaknuto od samoga kuta bedema. Ostale četiri kule izbačene su izvan bedema, za što postoji više mogućih razloga: npr. da je utvrda bila građena u dvije faze i da je donji, južni dio nastao jedinstveno možda u drugoj fazi nakon sjevernoga dijela. Međutim, imajući u vidu

Slika 10. Plitke udubine ispunjene kamenom smještene sa sjeverne strane crkvice

Figure 10. Shallow recesses filled with stones, located north of the church

foto / photo: S. Glušević

faces and is bound with plentiful of mortar; its middle section is filled with stone filler and mortar. Based on superficial examination, it seems all of its parts have been preserved in the same width. On the northern side of the northeastern wall, the rampart had collapsed into the inside of the fortification, thus substantially elevating part of the inside area and partly covering the remains of the wall with the demolished edge and the accumulation on which a shepherds' boundary drywall was later built (C2). The southeastern rampart collapsed outward, thus probably creating a base for the buildup of outer terraces (D – southern portion) along its line. The rampart section between towers B2.5 and B2.6 is unrecognizable on the surface. Nevertheless, we can assume that it continues straight from tower B2.6 to tower B2.5, although other options are also possible. One of them concerns the former whereabouts of the entrance to the fortification and the nature of access to it. The segment of the rampart south of B2.6 tower, where a discontinuity in construction has been recognized, raises some additional related questions. Unfortunately, surface observations are not sufficient to give us clues as regards the number of phases of the construction of the fortification or details of the entrance.

Slika 11. Shema utvrde s kulama i unutrašnjim prostorima

Figure 11. Scheme of the fortification with towers and inner spaces

crtež / drawing: D. Grosman



vrlo različitu koncepciju, veličinu i smještaj kula na ostalim bizantskim utvrđama u našem priobalju i otocima, to i ne mora biti tako.⁵² Dvije srednje kule, B2.3 i B2.6, slične su veličine kao ostale, premda su građene s dijelom otvorenim prema unutrašnjosti utvrde. Od osi između dvije kule teren se lomi od relativno ravnoga u padajuću (kosu) površinu na kojoj je smješten niz uskih objekata koji obilježavaju taj prijelaz iz ravnoga u kosi dio unutrašnjosti utvrde. Kula B2.6 ima u unutrašnjosti udubljenu površinu koju zapunjuju ruševine velikoga grubog kamena (Sl. 12). U dvije manje sonde uz unutrašnji dio jugoistočnoga zida kule došlo se do temelja koji je ležao na zemlji, odnosno kojemu je u temelju bila vapnena žbuka, a ispod nje manji amorfni kamen i velika količina zemlje. U južnoj je sondi bio sačuvan i dio malterne podnice. Dobiva se dojam da je većina kamena unutrašnjega lica bila jedva priklesana, a više je korišten kamen s jednom ravnom stranom.

U istoj osi s kulom B2.6 leži i objekt koji se sastoji od dva prostora smještena u nekom međusobnom odnosu (prostori 24 i 25). Kula B2.3 nešto je drugačija premda se i tu u osi ruba nastavlja dugačak uglati objekt, koji na površini prepoznamo kao jednodimenzionalan neposredno vezan uz samu konstrukciju kule (prostor 34).

Objekti južne kule izbačeni su sjeverno od lica bedema koji danas visi tik nad obalom i kojemu je dio vanjskoga lica urušen u more.

Kula B2.4 najlošije je sačuvana i o njoj na temelju površinskoga opažanja ne možemo gotovo ništa kazati jer bez uvida u stratigrafiju nije moguće dobiti niti njezin osnovni tlocrt.

B2 TOWERS

The ramparts of the fortification are complemented by six towers, all of them situated on the outside. Two northern towers (B2.1 and B2.2) were leant against the outer face of the rampart and the remaining ones were detached from it, on the outside. One of the walls of tower B2.1 functions as an extension of the southwestern rampart. Tower B2.2 was built almost vertically to the rampart, although not along the axis of the northeastern rampart but at an angle to it. The remaining four towers are detached outside. There can be a number of reasons for that. For instance, the fortification could have been built in two phases and the lower, southern part could have entirely been built in the second phase after the northern part. However, given the differences in the concept, size and positions of towers on other Byzantine fortifications in our coastal region and on the islands, it does not have to be so.⁵² Two central towers, B2.3 and B2.6, are of similar size as the others, although they were built in such way that they had an opening facing the interior of the fortification. The axis between the two towers is also the line along which the terrain changes from a relatively leveled plateau to a slope on which a number of narrow structures is situated. These structures mark this change from the plateau into the slope inside the fortification. Inside tower B2.6 there is a recessed area filled with debris in the form of large, coarse stones (Fig. 12). Using two small

52 Usporedi utvrde na Krku i Rabu. Vidi bilj. 38.

52 Cfr. the fortifications on the islands of Krk and Rab. See footnote 38.



Slika 12. Izgled unutrašnjeg lica kule B2.6 tijekom dokumentacije

Figure 12. Inner face of tower B2.6 as seen during documentation

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

Među svim je kulama B2.5 najproblematičnija. Na jednoj strani slabo je vidljiva neposredna povezanost s jugoistočnim bedemom, što je vjerojatno dijelom posljedica uništenoga bedema na tom dijelu, ali i nemogućnosti istraživanja i uvida u stratigrafiju. Na drugoj su strani na njemu odloženi odnosno izgrađeni dodatni dijelovi. Najveća su nepoznanica dva izrazito izdignuta dijela sastavljena od kamena i zemlje na unutrašnjem kutu kule B2.5 i jugoistočnoga bedema, koji možda ukazuju na dodatnu strukturu, na sasvim posebnu funkciju te kule ili pak u sebi kriju neko treće rješenje.

UNUTRAŠNJOST UTVRDE (B3)

Unutrašnjost utvrde možemo kako po obliku terena tako i po organizaciji prostora razdijeliti u dva približno jednaka dijela. Sjeverni je dio utvrde ravan, a zbog kasnije reupotrebe unekoliko različit od prvotnoga. U njemu su prepoznata 23 prostora, odnosno objekta prosječne veličine 4 x 5 metara. Na površini je najbolje sačuvan raster srednjega dijela.

SZ ugao u području pod suhozidom C2 bio je očišćen od površinskoga kamenja i zbog toga su odstranjeni neki gornji slojevi zidova. Pored toga je na dijelu površine još uvijek vidljiva kamenita podloga (objekti 21, 22 i rub 17). Objekti su grupirani u četiri veće skupine s jasno prepoznatljivim prolazima (Sl. 14). Glavna os među njima leži okomito na bedem. Jedan od blokova objekata (po dva povezana prostora) smješten je uzduž te osi. Na drugoj su strani blokovi poredanih prostora odnosno uređenih poput grozda s jednim prolazom do glavne osi.

Zbog kompleksnosti prostora na prijelazu obaju dijelova i vrlo slabe prepoznatljivosti zidova središnji smo dio utvrde u prvoj fazi ispustili iz promatranja i posvetili se donjem dijelu utvrde. Južni je dio unutrašnjega prostora sve do bedema tik nad obalom organiziran u usporednim terasama (Sl. 13). Do sada je registrirano šest terasa, na kojima su izgrađeni objekti koji na južnoj strani imaju uređen pristupni put. Tik uz obje kule uz povezne putove

trenches along the inward looking side of the southeastern wall of the tower, the foundation was reached. Under it were a layer of earth, lime mortar and – deeper still – small amorphous stones and a large quantity of earth. Part of the mortar base was preserved in the southern trench. The impression is that most of the stones of the inside face were hardly chiseled; in most cases, stones with one flat side were used.

Tower B2.6 lies on the same axis as a structure consisting of two juxtaposed spaces (spaces 24 and 25). Tower B2.3 is somewhat different, although here, too, a lengthy angular structure continues along the axis of the edge. On the surface, we see that the structure has a single space and is directly connected to the tower's structure (room 34).

Both southern towers are detached and situated north of the face of the rampart hanging on the very edge of a cliff today. Part of its outer face has already collapsed to the sea.

Tower B2.4 is in the poorest condition and nothing much can be said about it based on surface observation only, because not even its basic layout can be obtained without knowing the stratigraphy.

The most problematic of all these towers is B2.5. On one side, there is a hardly visible direct connection with the southeastern rampart, probably due to the fact that this section of the rampart has been destroyed and also due to the inability to carry out excavations and become acquainted with the stratigraphy. The greatest unknown are two strikingly elevated parts made up of stones and earth, located in the corner between tower B2.5 and southeastern rampart. They may be indicating an additional structure, some very special function of the tower – or they may be hiding some third answer.

B3 THE FORTIFICATION'S INTERIOR

By the shape of the terrain and by the organization of space, the fortification's interior can be divided in two approximately equal parts. Its northern part is flat and, due to a later reuse, is somewhat different from its original form. Twenty three spaces or structures have been identified there, their average size being 4x5 meters. On surface, the best preserved grid is the one of the central part.

Since surface stones were removed from the north-western corner in the area under drywall C2, some upper layers of the walls were also removed. Also, a stone base can still be seen on the surface (structures 21 and 22 and edge 17). The structures were classified in four sizable groups with clearly discernable passages between them



Slika 13. Izgled jugoistočnog bedema kojemu potpuno nedostaje vanjsko lice
 Figure 13. Southeastern rampart with its outer face completely missing

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

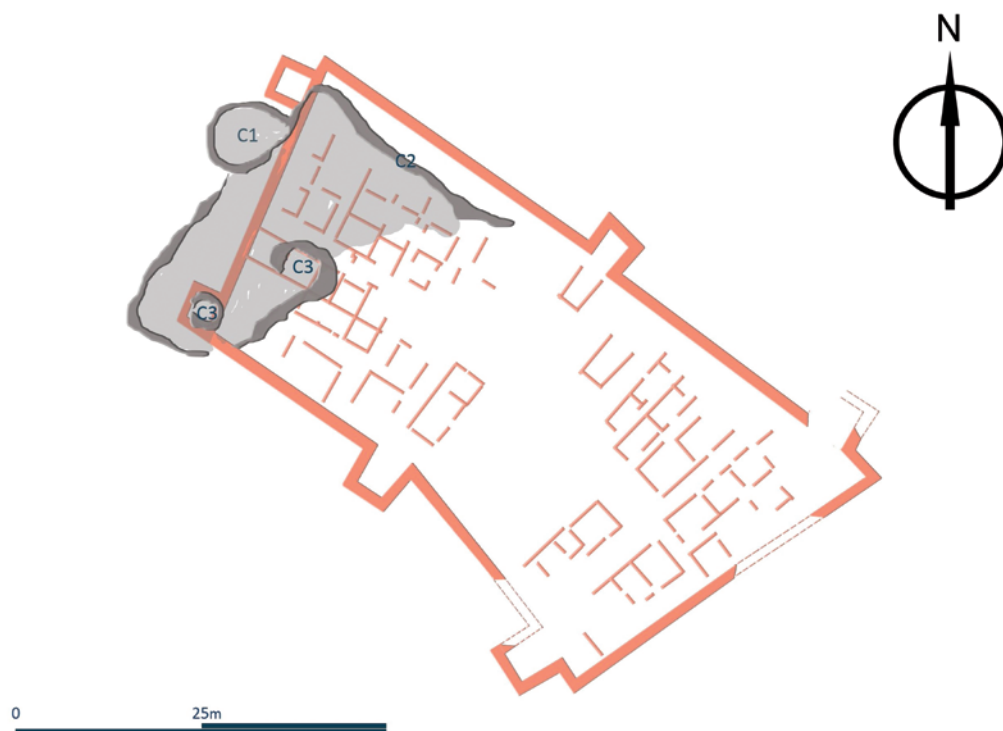
Slika 14. Pogled na sjeverni dio očišćenih prostora
 Figure 14. View of northern part of cleaned spaces

foto / photo: S. Gluščević



Slika 15. Suhozidni objekti unutar i uokolo utvrde
Figure 15. Drywall structures in and around the fortification

crtež / drawing: D. Grosman



Slika 16. Suhozidni objekt unutar kule B2.2
Figure 16. Drywall structure inside tower B2.2

foto / photo: S. Glušević

nalaze se veći rašireni prostori, koje u tom trenutku još nije bilo moguće objasniti jer se nalaze na rubu dijela koji još nije bio obrađen.⁵³

Posebno je zanimljiv objekt 34, za koji se čini da je povezan s kulom B2.3. Objekti 24 i 25 stoje na drugoj strani nešto odmaknuti i leže otprilike u osi same kule B2.6. Razlog ovih poveznica još nije moguće razlučiti.

(Fig. 14). The main axis between them extends vertically to the rampart. One of the structure blocks (pairs of connected spaces) is situated along the axis. On the other side there are blocks of arrayed spaces and clustered ones, with a passage leading to the main axis.

Due to the complexity of the area between the two parts and poor recognizability of the walls, we chose not to survey the central part of the fortification in the first phase. Instead, we focused on its lower part. All the way to the ramparts above the shoreline, the southern part of the interior is organized in parallel terraces (Fig. 13). Six terraces with structures built on them and with an access path leading to their south side have been identified so far. Close to both towers there are not just access paths, but also wide spaces the function of which could not be explained at the time because they bordered the part that was not surveyed then.⁵³

Particularly interesting is structure 34, which seems to be connected with tower B2.3. Structures 24 and 25, situated on the other side, are somewhat pulled back, approximately along the axis of tower B2.6. The reason for their interconnectedness is still unclear.

53 Godine 2014. očišćen je gotovo u potpunosti i središnji prostor. Tom su prigodom registrirane dodatne prostorije i prolazi, a definiran je i relativno veći centralni prostor, koji je moguće služio kao svojevrsan trg, odnosno prostor za okupljanje posade.

53 This year (2014), the central space was completely cleaned up. Other rooms and passages were identified at the time. Also, a relatively large central space was defined; it could have served as a square of a sort, or an area where the garrison would fall in.

Slika 17. Suhozidno sklonište uz objekt 15
Figure 17. Drywall shelter next to structure 15

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

SUHOZIDNE OGRADE (C)

Na sjevernom dijelu utvrde nalaze se neki dijelovi koji se i danas upotrebljavaju za potrebe ispaše ovaca. Među strukturama koje su nastale na tom dijelu i leže na ruševinama bedema i nekih unutrašnjih objekata suhozidne su ograde i skloništa za stoku. Sve one prekrivaju ostatke nekadašnjega bedema na vanjskoj i unutrašnjoj strani (Sl. 15).

Kompleks C čine tri dijela: veća kružna ograda na vanjskoj strani utvrde uz kulu B2.2 (C1), dugačak suhozid uspoređan s dijelom sjevernoga zida utvrde (C2) i dva suhozidna skloništa (C3) (Sl. 16, 17). Kružna ograda izvan utvrde (C1) zbog slabe sačuvanosti danas je prepoznata u obliku kamenoga nasipa, a može se zaključiti da je bila rađena u tehnici jednostrukoga ili najviše dvostrukoga suhozida ne prevelike visine. Pod njom, odnosno dijelom uz nju leži usporedno sa zapadnim dijelom utvrde, iako nešto niže, jednostavan suhozid, za koji se čini da je temeljen na glavnini urušenih ostataka sjevernog zida utvrde. Paralelno sa sjevernim bedemom na unutrašnjim je ruševinama izgrađen valovit suhozid kao zaštita za potrebe ispaše (C2). Građen je kao dvojni suhozid prosječne visine 1,60 – 1,80 m, s čije unutrašnje strane nastaje najbolji kompaktni humusni sloj na cjelokupnoj unutrašnjoj površini utvrde. Tik ispred kule B2.3 mijenja se u nisku nakupinu kamene ruševine koja završava na rubu ravnoga platoa gornjega dijela unutrašnjosti utvrde.

Većina dodatnih, odnosno posebnih ograda za ovce (C3) u upotrebi je u vrijeme odvajanja janjadi od stada ili preuzimanja ostavljene mlade janjadi, čemu je namijenjen uski, visoko obzidani prostor koji leži na ostacima kule B2.1 i drugi na vanjskom zidu objekta 15 u unutrašnjosti utvrde.



Slika 18. Ulomci grube keramike nađeni istraživanjem
Figure 18. Coarse potshards found during the excavations

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

BOUNDARY DRYWALLS (C)

Some areas in the northern part of the fortification are still used for sheep grazing. The structures erected in that part, standing atop ruined ramparts and some inside structures, include boundary drywalls and livestock shelters. They all cover the remains of the former rampart on both inner and outer side (Fig. 15).

Complex C is made up of three parts: the sizable circular boundary on the outer side of the fortification, next to tower B2.2 (C1); the long drywall parallel with part of the fortification's northern wall (C2); and two drywall shelters (C3) (Fig. 16, 17). Due to the poor condition it is in today, the circular boundary outside the fortification (C1) has been recognized today in the form of a stone dike. We can conclude it was built using a single – or perhaps double – drywall technique. The drywall(s) were not excessively high. Under it, and partly alongside it and parallel with the western wall, lies a simple drywall. It seems



Slika 19. Ulomci tijela, vrata i ručica bizantske keramike

Figure 19. Fragments of bodies, necks and handles of Byzantine pottery

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

TERASE NA BEDEMIMA (D)

Već smo ranije spomenuli južni i zapadni dio terase na vanjskom licu bedema koji možemo prepoznati kao samostalnu topografsku jedinicu. Valja spomenuti još i terasasto proširenje na vanjskome rubu sjeveroistočnoga bedema utvrde. Ono je na sjevernom dijelu izrazitije i bolje definirano negoli na južnom dijelu, ali svakako ne tako jasno prepoznato poput terasa na južnome bedemu. To bi lako mogla biti posljedica rušenja prema unutrašnjosti utvrde, što bi povećalo akumulaciju urušenoga materijala na unutrašnjem rubu bedema, a ne na vanjskom.

Istraživanjem unutar utvrde i površinskim nalazima došlo se do vrlo usitnjenih primjeraka grube keramike kojoj je teško odrediti i podrijetlo i kronologiju, a donekle i tipologiju (Sl. 18).

Ono što je instruktivno jest niz ulomaka kasnoantičkih – bizantskih amfora, koji nedvojbeno upućuju na vrijeme izgradnje utvrde tijekom Justinijanove rekonkviste (Sl. 19).

that most of the rubble of the ruined northern wall was used as its foundation. An undulating drywall was built on the rubble from the fortification's interior. Parallel with the northern wall, it served as a protection for grazing purposes (C2). It was built as a double drywall of average height of 1.60 – 1.80 meters. The best compact humus layer in the entire fortification area can be found inside it. In front of tower B2.3 it changes into a low pile of rubble that extends to the edge of the leveled plateau of the upper part of the fortification.

Most of the additional or special drywall boundaries (C3) are in use when lambs are separated from the flock or when abandoned yearlings are taken care of. This is the function of the narrow space surrounded with high walls that lies on the remains of tower B2.1 and the other one that lies on the outer wall of structure 15 inside the fortification.

TERRACES ON THE RAMPARTS (D)

We have already mentioned the southern and western parts of the terrace on the outer face of the rampart that can be recognized as a separate topographic unit. We should also mention here the terrace-shaped widening on the outer edge of the fortification's northeastern rampart. While it is pronounced and better defined in the northern part than in the southern part, it is certainly not as recognizable as the terraces on the southern rampart. This could

Slika 20. Ulomci novovjekovne glazirane keramike

Figure 20. Fragments of Modern Age glazed pottery

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

Uz keramiku našli su se i komadići troske, koji nedvojbeno ukazuju na aktivnosti unutar utvrde. Isto tako, prisutni su i ulomci stakla, od kojih neki također pripadaju vremenu 6. stoljeća. Jedini primjerak kremenja, pravilnoga četvrtastog oblika, po nekima bez sumnje spada u srednji neolitik,⁵⁴ dok drugi sumnjaju u takvu atribuciju.

Zanimljivost je i da u dosadašnjim obradama nije bio poznat ovaj objekt, a ni crkva nije spomenuta u bilo kojoj vizitaciji, pa se nije znao niti titular.⁵⁵ Već je spomenuto da se na dvije različite austrougarske karte iz 19. st. otočić Veliki Sikavac jednom imenuje kao otočić sv. Roka, a drugi put kao otočić sv. Pavla.⁵⁶ Nedavno su u zadarskom arhivu pronađeni osnovni podatci o vlasnicima otoka, vjerojatno još od kraja 12. stoljeća, u kojima se navodi da je crkva bila posvećena svetima Fabijanu i Sebastijanu.⁵⁷ Ponajviše u okolici crkvice našlo se nešto ulomaka kasnije keramike koja dokazuje da se na otočiću, možda koristeći i neke dijelove ranije utvrde, nastavilo živjeti i u ranim stoljećima novoga vijeka (Sl. 20).⁵⁸



54 Ekspertizu su obavili prof. dr. Janusz Kozłowski i dr. Malgorzata Kaczanowska s Instituta za arheologiju Jagelonskoga sveučilišta u Krakovu.

55 E. Hilje, 1997, 395-486; 2011, 93-180.

56 Vidi bilj. 40. i 41. J. Faričić, 2011 donosi mnogo kartografskih prikaza otoka Paga. Samo na nekima od njih nalazimo ucrtane Mali i Veliki Sikavac. Na karti iz prve. pol. 16. st. nalazimo i nečitljivo ime (str. 592/93). Na karti iz 1811. g. (str. 551) već nalazimo ime Sikavci (Scogli Sicavatz). S druge strane, na karti iz 1787. g. (str. 582, Sl. 38) za Veliki Sikavac nalazimo toponim S. Barb., uz objašnjenje "otočić (i crkva na njemu)", a na drugoj karti iz 1811. g. Veliki Sikavac naziva se S. Barbara uz isto objašnjenje – "otočić (i crkva na njemu)". Naziv S. Barbara nalazi se i na Grandisovoj karti iz 1781. g. (str. 582, sl. 37), ali se isto ne spominje u tekstu gdje se donose usporedbe imena na karti i suvremeni toponimski likovi (str. 543).

57 Najljepše zahvaljujem kolegi Miru Graniću koji je došao do ovoga podatka.

58 Na temelju fotografija kratku je ekspertizu, bez navođenja relevantne literature, obavila jedna od naših najboljih stručnjakinja za ovu vrstu keramike – Helga Zglav Martinac iz Muzeja grada Splita. Ona kaže sljedeće: "Materijal spada u zrelu renesansu. Sve se datira od druge pol. 15. do sredine 16. st. i svi ulomci pripadaju području jadranske obale srednje Italije (Emilia-Romagna). Zeleni komadi s graffito ukrasom a nastro spezzato (izlomljene vrpca) jesu prva pol. 16. st. Tri ulomka majolike pripadaju vjerojatno istom području, moguće Faenza, ali su dosta oštećeni pa je teško reći. Ulomak s reljefnim suzama spada u majoliku Zaffera in rilievo ili reljefni kobalt. Ukras je obično formiran kao medaljon, datira se u 15. st., a ovaj je primjerak nešto kasniji pa ga datiramo u drugi dio tog stoljeća."

easily be a result of collapsing toward inside, which would increase the accumulation of rubble on the inward-facing edge of the rampart, not on the outward-facing one.

Excavations inside the fortification and exploration of surface have resulted in finding very small specimens of coarse pottery the origin, chronology and – to an extent – typology of which are hard to establish (Fig. 18).

Instructive here is a number of fragments of Late Antiquity – Byzantine amphorae which suggest beyond doubt that the fortification was built during Justinian's reconquest (Fig. 19).

Besides the pottery, pieces of dross have also been found, revealing the activities that had been taking place inside the fortification. Fragments of glass are also present: some of them also belong to a period before the 6th century. The only flint found – of a symmetrical, square shape – is dated by some to Middle Neolithic.⁵⁴ Others, however, have doubts in such an attribution.

Interestingly, neither was this structure studied in the past research nor was the church mentioned during any visit to the islet. As a result, its patron saint was not known.⁵⁵

54 The expertise was carried out by Prof. Dr. Janusz Kozłowski and Dr. Malgorzata Kaczanowska from the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

55 E. Hilje, 1997, 395-486; 2011, 93-180.



Slika 21. Duboki zaljev – jezero - na jugozapadnoj strani otočića

Figure 21. Deep bay-lake on southwestern side of the islet

foto / photo: S. Gluščević

U sklopu otočića nalazi se i plitko muljevito jezero s morskom vodom, što je razumljivo budući da se more za plime miješa s vodom iz jezera, dok za oseke voda istječe iz jezera (Sl. 21). Međutim, ispred jezera postoji oveći, najvjerojatnije umjetno napravljen prag,⁵⁹ koji je, po našem mišljenju, u prošlosti očito sprječavao da se more prelijeva u jezero. Usto, u 6. st. razina mora bila je za barem jedan metar niža od današnje.⁶⁰ Osim jezera, u blizini se crkvice nalazi i loква s boćatom vodom okolo koje raste žuka, što je još jedan indikator nezaslanjene vode. Žuke ima i okolo jezera.

U svakom slučaju, radi se zaista o samo početnim radovima na temelju kojih smo ipak dobili mnogo jasniju sliku čitavoga objekta te utvrdili i njegov nastanak. Ipak, još nije lociran niti ulaz u utvrdu, a niti cisterna za vodu, koja je, po svoj prilici, morala postojati.

U budućim radovima preostaje nam, osim istraživanja same utvrde, ustanoviti i karakter nakupine kamena između crkvice i utvrde.

U tijeku su i biološka, pedološka i geološka istraživanja, koja će, nadamo se, uz ona arheološka, pomoći da do kraja shvatimo građevinsku artikulaciju utvrde, namjenu prostora ispred bedema kao i poziciju utvrde u sistemu bizantskih utvrda na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

KRATAK OSVRT NA OSTALE UTVRDE NA OTOKU PAGU

Osim utvrde na Velikom Sikavcu, na otoku Pagu sa sigurnošću se može potvrditi postojanje još najmanje dviju

We have already mentioned that, on two different Austro-Hungarian maps from the 19th century, the islet of Veliki Sikavac is mentioned as Sv. Rok and Sv. Pavao, respectively.⁵⁶ Some basic information about the islet's owners, probably from the late 12th century, has recently been found in the Zadar City Archive, specifying that the church was dedicated to St. Fabian and St. Sebastian.⁵⁷ Some pottery fragments from a later period have been found, mostly around the

church, proving that the islet was inhabited even in the early centuries of the Modern Age⁵⁸ and that some parts of the earlier fortification could have been used (Fig. 20).

A shallow, silty lake can be found on the islet. Its water is saline because seawater mixes with fresh water at high tides. At low tides, water flows out of the lake (Fig. 21). However, a sizable threshold, probably man-made, can be found in front of the lake.⁵⁹ In our opinion, its role in the past was to prevent seawater from overflowing into the lake. Besides, the sea level in the 6th century must have been at least one

56 See footnotes 40 and 41. J. Faričić, 2011, 523-605, contains numerous maps of the island of Pag. Mali Sikavac and Veliki Sikavac are included in but a few of them. The one from the first half of the 16th century contains an illegible name (pp. 592/93). On an 1811 map (p. 551) we can find the name Sikavci (Scogli Sicavatz). On the other hand, on the 1787 map (p. 582, fig. 38), Veliki Sikavac is designated with the toponym S. Barb. and an explanation "an islet (with a church on it)". Another 1811 map has the name S. Barbara for Veliki Sikavac, using the same explanation: "an islet (with a church on it)". The same name – S. Barbara – can also be found in Grandiso's 1781 map (p. 582, fig. 37). The name, however, is not mentioned in the text where the names on the map are compared with the present-day toponyms (p. 543).

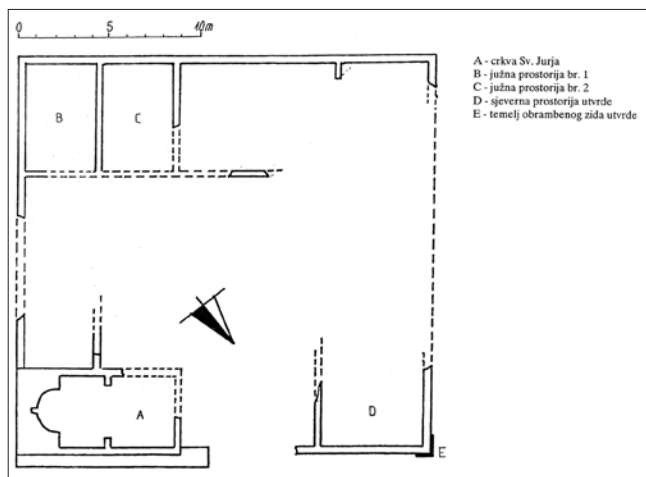
57 I am using the opportunity to express my gratitude to my colleague Miro Granić, who has discovered this information.

58 Based on photographs and without listing relevant literature, a short expertise was carried out by Helga Zglav Martinac from the Split City Museum, one of our best experts for this type of pottery. She says: "The material is from High Renaissance. All of it can be dated back to the period from the second half of the 15th century to the mid-16th century and all the fragments belong to the Adriatic coast of central Italy (Emilia-Romagna). The green fragments with a graffito decoration a nastro spezzato (broken ribbons) are from the first half of the 16th century. The three maiolica fragments probably come from the same region – Faenza, possibly – but are too damaged to be certain. The fragment with tears in relief belongs to Zaffera in rilievo maiolica, or relief cobalt. Such decoration is usually shaped as a medallion and can be dated to the 15th century; however, this specimen was made somewhat later, in the second half of that century.

59 A fragment of it has been taken for an expertise and we hope that we will be able to tell with certainty if this is a natural or artificial formation.

59 Ulomak je uzet za ekspertizu pa se nadamo da će se nakon toga sa sigurnošću moći kazati radi li se o prirodnoj ili vještačkoj formaciji.

60 S. Faivre – E. Fouache – V. Kovačić – S. Gluščević, 2010, 125-133; S. Faivre – T. Bakran-Petricioli – N. Horvatinčić – A. Sironić, 2013, 163-174.



Slika 22. Tlocrt „bizantske“ utvrde i crkvice Sv. Jurja u Caskoj

Figure 22. Layout of “Byzantine” fortification and St. George’s Church in Caska

po / according to: K. Regan

bizantskih utvrda, dok je postojanje treće u najmanju ruku upitno. Radi se o uzvisini iznad uvale Caska, na kojoj se nalazi crkva sv. Jurja i na kojoj se već nekoliko godina provode arheološka istraživanja (Sl. 22).⁶¹ Tlocrt utvrde daje Regan, ali u tekstu ne donosi nikakve čvršće dokaze koji bi ukazivali na to da je na istome mjestu postojala utvrda iz Justinijanova vremena.⁶² Zračni snimci, a i spomenuta istraživanja R. Jurića, pokazuju da se objekt širi, uz uvijek prisutno pitanje kojem razdoblju pripadaju koji zidovi (Sl. 23). Sasvim je izvjesno da se radi o pregradnjama u nekom ili nekim vremenskim razdobljima.⁶³ Ipak, da se u zidovima koji ne pripadaju samoj crkvi mogu prepoznati ostatci utvrde ili utvrđeni ostatci prostora uz crkvu, nema nikakve sumnje. No, pitanje kakav je njihov međusobni odnos i kronologija, ostaje za sada bez odgovora.

Na sjevernoj obali otoka Paga, južno od rta Glavina, na manjem poluotociću smještena je utvrda koja svoje današnje ime – Svetojanj – duguje svetoj Agnezi (Sl. 24).⁶⁴ Oblik i konfiguracija različiti su od mnogih drugih utvrda poznatih na našoj obali, a prilagođeni su strmoj uzvisini oko koje se spuštaju kružni i poprečni zidovi. Oštarić je i za ovu utvrdu napravio skicu koja svakako pomaže u dobivanju opće slike,⁶⁵ ali je na temelju autopsije Ž. Tomičić⁶⁶ vrlo detaljno obradio sve vidljive ostatke utvrde.

meter lower than the present-day one.⁶⁰ Besides the lake, a pond with brackish water can also be found near the church. Spanish broom grows around it, which is yet another indicator of non-saline water. Spanish broom can also be found around the lake.

In any case, these are only preliminary works. Still, they have helped us gain a deeper insight into the whole structure and establish its origin. However, neither the entrance to the fortification nor the water cistern that must have been here have been located yet.

Besides exploration of the fortification itself, the future works should also determine the nature of the pile of stones between the church and fortification.

We hope that the ongoing biological, paedological and geological research – together with archaeological excavations – will help us fully understand the articulation of the fortification, the purpose of the space in front of the rampart and the position the fortification had in the system of similar Byzantine structures on the eastern Adriatic coast.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF OTHER FORTIFICATIONS ON THE ISLAND OF PAG

Besides the one on Veliki Sikavac, at least two more Byzantine fortifications can be positively identified on the island of Pag. The existence of the third one is still questionable. It is an elevated point above Caska Cove, on which St. George’s Church is situated. Archaeological excavations have been taking place there for a few years now (Fig. 22).⁶¹ In his paper, Regan presents a layout of the fortification but produces no solid evidence that a Justinian-period fortification occupied the same place.⁶² Aerial photographs and the aforementioned research of R. Jurić have shown that the structure is expanding, but they have provided no answer to the question to what periods particular walls belong (Fig. 23). It is safe to say

61 R. Jurić, 2010, 103-105; R. Jurić – A. Škunca, 2010, 469-471.

62 K. Regan, 2002, 141-148. Jedini se dokaz, koliko nam je poznato, odnosi na bizantski zlatnik (ne zna se iz kojega je vremena niti gdje se nalazi – podatak preuzet iz I. Petricioli, 1952, 108), koji je tu pak mogao dospjeti i kasnije, odnosno na neki drugi način. Ono što prati sva slična nalazišta jesu ostatci keramike. Prema informaciji kolege Jurića, tijekom višegodišnjih istraživanja nađeno je dosta ulomaka keramike, ali oni još nisu obrađeni. Jurić spominje nalaze koji su kasniji od 6. st., a hoće li i analiza spomenute neobrađene keramike pokazati neke elemente tog vremena, za sada se ne može kazati.

63 Regan donosi i tlocrte koje su napravili Mijat Sabljar sredinom 19. st. i Gjuro Szabo 1929. godine (str. 144, sl. 3 i 4). Već Sabljar donosi izduženu skicu utvrde. Jedina utvrda koja bi organizacijom prostora donekle sličila na ovu na Sv. Jurju u Caskoj jest ona na Palacolu. Vidi: A. Badurina, bilj. 38.

64 J. Kunkera, 1976, 115-119; 1977, 46.

65 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 36-37.

66 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 291-305.

60 S. Faurive – E. Fouache – V. Kovačić – S. Glušćević, 2010, 125-133; S. Faurive – T. Bakran-Petricioli – N. Horvatinčić – A. Sironić, 2013, 163-174.

61 R. Jurić, 2010, 103-105; R. Jurić – A. Škunca, 2010, 469-471.

62 K. Regan, 2002, 141-148. To our best knowledge, the only piece of evidence found so far is a Byzantine gold coin (both its chronology and its whereabouts are unknown; it is mentioned in I. Petricioli, 1952, 108). However, the coin could have come here in a later period or in some other way. What characterizes all such sites are pottery fragments. According to our colleague Jurić, a rather large number of pottery fragments were found during several years of excavations, but they have not been analyzed yet. Jurić mentions finds dating from periods after the 6th century. It remains to be seen whether the analysis of the said pottery will reveal some elements from that period.



Slika 23. Zračni snimak utvrde i crkvice Sv. Jurja u Caskoj

Figure 23. Aerial photograph of fortification and St. George's Church in Caska

foto / photo: D. Grosman

I na ovoj utvrđi, jednako kao i na onoj na Sv. Jurju iznad grada Paga, nalaze se minimalni ostatci crkvice smještene na samome vrhu najvišega zaravnjenog grebena. Čitava je utvrda inače koncipirana u najmanje tri razine. Sa sjeverne je strane obranu činila sama strma litica, dok je zapadnu stranu štitio veliki visoko sačuvani zid. On se prema jugu nastavlja u blagom poluluku da bi se na istočnoj strani pod kutom u relativno ravnom pravcu nastavio prema sjeveru. S unutrašnje strane istočnoga i južnoga bedema može se, osobito na zračnom snimku, prepoznati niz prostora. Ono što je bitno za funkcioniranje svih, pa tako i ove utvrde jest cisterna koja je na Svetojanju identificirana, jednako kao i neki drugi dijelovi obrambenih zidina i prostora. Osim načina zidanja nalik ribljoj kosti, koji se posebno zapaža na spomenutoj cisterni, koja je pak svojstvena kasnoj antici,⁶⁷ položaj i cjelokupna koncepcija utvrde dopuštaju da se kao vrijeme gradnje odredi sredina 6. stoljeća.

67 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 297.

that partitioning took place during one or more periods.⁶³ However, there is no doubt that remains of a fortification or of the area around the church can be recognized in the walls which do not belong to the church itself. However, their interrelation and chronology still remain unexplained.

A fortification that owes its present-day name – Svetojanj – to St. Agnes, is located on a small peninsula on the northern coast of the northern part of Pag (Fig. 24).⁶⁴ Its shape and configuration differ from those of many other fortifications on our coast. It is suited to the steep slope around which circular and transversal walls descend. Oštarić made a sketch for this fortification, too, thus adding a piece to the general picture.⁶⁵ Based on the autopsy carried out by Ž. Tomičić,⁶⁶ he made a very detailed analysis of all the visible remains of the fortification.

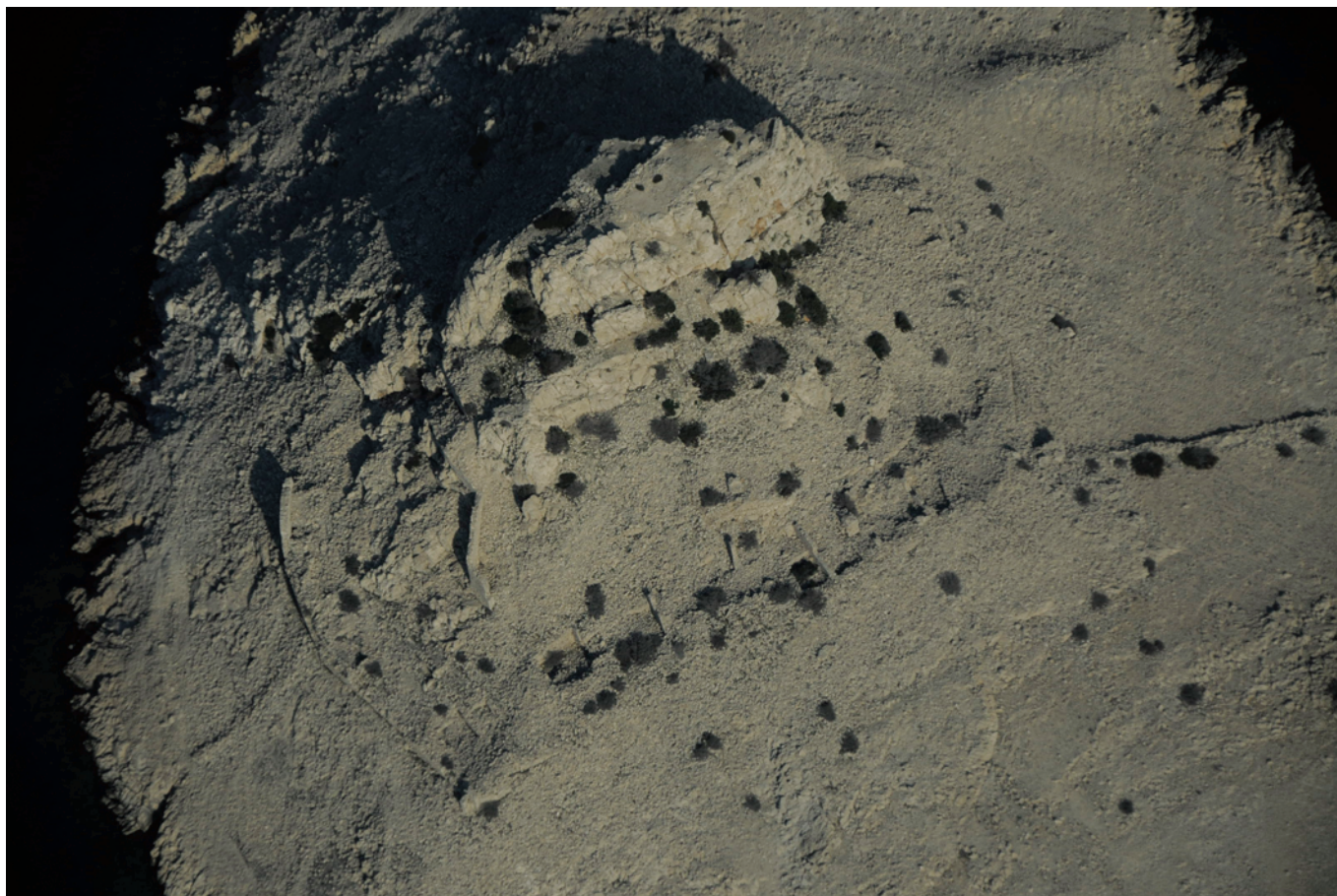
Just like inside the one on St. George location above the town of Pag, minimal remains of a small church located atop the highest leveled ridge can be found inside this fortification.

63 Regan also presents the layouts made by Mijat Sabljari in the mid-19th century and Gjuro Szabo in 1929 (p. 144, fig. 3 and 4). Sabljari included in his work an elongated sketch of the fortification. The only fortification that could resemble this one on St. George location in Caska in terms of organization of its space is the one on Palacol. See A. Badurina, footnote 38.

64 J. Kunkera, 1976, 115-119; 1977, 46.

65 I. Oštarić – A. Kurilić, 2013, 36-37.

66 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 291-305.



Slika 24. Zračni snimak utvrde na poluotoku Svetojanj

Figure 24. Aerial photograph of fortification on Svetojanj Peninsula

foto / photo: D. Grosman

Druga utvrda nad otokom, ona sv. Jurja, nije nam poznata iz autopsije, ali na temelju zračnih snimaka moguće je utvrditi da su ostatci zaista minimalni (Sl. 25). Zapaža se tek veća kula (C, kako je imenuje Tomičić), koju uz kontrafor Tomičić smatra reperom.⁶⁸ Unutar tih zidina jedva se zapažaju nakupine kamena koje autor identificira kao ostatke “slobodnostojećih objekata u središtu kastrona”.⁶⁹ Kao i kod ovoga kastrona, pitanja koje se nameću kod građevinske koncepcije i sadržaja bizantskih utvrda jesu sljedeća: Zašto se unutar većine nalaze sakralni objekti? Jesu li oni nastali ranije, istovremeno ili nakon izgradnje utvrda?⁷⁰

Važno pitanje funkcioniranja ovoga dijela plovnog puta bizantske pomorske magistrale jesu i utvrde u podvelebitskom prostoru, odnosno Podgorju nasuprot otoka

The fortification has three levels at least. A steep cliff protected it in the north and a large wall (with much of its height preserved) did the same on the western side. The wall continues southward in a gentle semi-arch and then turns to the east at an angle and goes on to the north as a relatively straight line. A series of spaces can be discerned inside the eastern and southern ramparts, particularly on an aerial photograph. Vital for functioning of all fortifications, including this one, is water cistern. It has been identified on Svetojanj location, same as some other parts of defense walls and spaces. Besides the fishbone-pattern masonry used in building of this cistern – typical for Late Antiquity⁶⁷ – the position and overall concept of the fortification lead us to conclude that it was built in the mid-6th century.

As for the second fortification above the island, the one on St. George, no autopsy has been carried out but the aerial photographs show that the remains are indeed minimal (Fig. 25). Only a sizeable tower (classified by Tomičić as C) can be seen. Together with the buttress, Tomičić considers it a landmark.⁶⁸ Inside the walls there are piles of stones – hardly visible – identified by the author as the remains of “detached structures in the

68 Ž. Tomičić, 1998-1989, 30-32.

69 Ž. Tomičić, 1998-1989, 31. Usp. bilj. 51. Sličnost ovih nakupina i nakupina na Velikom Sikavcu tek valja provjeriti.

70 S. Ciglencićki, 2009-2011, 673-688.

67 Ž. Tomičić, 1996, 297.

68 Ž. Tomičić, 1998-1989, 30-32.



Slika 25. Zračni snimak utvrde na Sv. Jurju iznad grada Paga
Figure 25. Aerial photograph of fortification on St. George location above the town of Pag

foto / photo: D. Grosman

Paga. Takve su najmanje tri: na Prizni (Sl. 26), na Sv. Trojici kod Starigrada (Sl. 27)⁷¹ i još jedna vrlo blizu moru, ona u Modriču (Sl. 28).⁷² Konceptija svih triju, kao što je to i inače slučaj, ovisi o karakteristikama terena, pa je tako Prizna donekle slična gotovo nasuprot smještenomu Svetojanju. Četvrta utvrda trebala bi biti smještena na vrhu Ljubačke kose, na mjestu gdje nalazimo ostatke utvrde i crkve iz kasnijega razdoblja.⁷³

Imajući u vidu gustoću utvrda na samome otoku Pagu, ali i na susjednom kopnu, bez obzira na to možemo li tu pribrojiti i moguću utvrdu na Sv. Jurju iznad Caske, odnosno arheološkim podacima nepotkrijepljeno mišljenje o utvrđi na rtu Ljubljanića, očito je da je njihov smještaj i raspored uvjetovan potrebom koja je vladala u vrijeme Justinijanova

castron's center".⁶⁹ Same as with this castron, a question comes to mind as regards the building concept and contents of Byzantine fortifications: why there are sacral structures inside most of them? Were they built before, during or after the construction of the fortifications?⁷⁰

Another important aspect of the functioning of this part of the sea route – Byzantine trunk route – are the fortifications in the region at the foot of Velebit Mountain and in Podgorje opposite the island of Pag. There are at least three such fortifications: one on Prizna (Fig. 26), one on St. Trinity near Starigrad (Fig. 27)⁷¹ and one in Modrič, also very close to the sea (Fig. 28).⁷² The concepts of these three fortifications, as is usually the case, depend on terrain features: Prizna is thus somewhat similar to Svetojanj, located almost exactly opposite to it. The fourth fortification should be situated atop Ljubačka kosa, on the site where remains of a later-period fortification and church can be found.⁷³

Given the concentration of fortifications on the island of Pag and the neighboring mainland – regardless of

71 M. Dubolnić, 2007, 39-40, sl. 19.

72 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 139-162; M. Dubolnić, 2007, 38-39, sl. 18.

73 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 154, T. I, G. O utvrđi na toj gradini vidi I. Petricioli, 1983, 117-122. Utvrda se na ovome mjestu prvi put spominje 1205. godine, što naravno *a priori* ne isključuje mogućnosti postojanje i neke ranije.

69 Ž. Tomičić, 1998-1989, 31. Cfr. footnote 51. The similarity between these piles and those on Veliki Sikavac has to be verified yet.

70 S. Ciglencečki, 2009-2011, 673-688.

71 M. Dubolnić, 2007, 39-40, fig. 19.

72 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 139-162; M. Dubolnić, 2007, 38-39, fig. 18.

73 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 154, T. I, G.; For the fortification on this hill-fort see I. Petricioli, 1983, 117-122. A fortification on this place is first mentioned in 1205; of course, the possibility of an even earlier fortification is not a priori excluded.



Slika 26. Zračni snimak utvrde na Prizni

Figure 26. Aerial photograph of fortification on Prizna

foto / photo: D. Grosman

građevinskog zamaha na jadranskim otocima i u priobalju. Koji su bili definitivni razlozi koji su doveli do njihove gradnje, možemo samo nagađati. Ipak, čini mi se da je srž ove problematike najbolje sažeo Z. Gunjača, koji kaže: "S obzirom da je dio tih objekata sagrađen na nenapućenim otocima ili na položajima udaljenim od naseljenih mjesta, bilo je osnovano zaključiti da oni nisu podignuti radi obrane takve lokacije, nego da su, u datom vremenu i okolnostima, svi objekti zajedno predstavljali siguran, dobro proučen sistem, koji je graditelju trebao osigurati punu kontrolu plovidbe istočnom obalom Jadrana."⁷⁴

Na kraju, moguće je tvrditi da su paški i podvelebitski kastroni, između kojih se komunikacija najvjerojatnije odvijala znakovima uz pomoć vatre i dima, kako se sve donekadavno i radilo na otoku Pagu,⁷⁵ nastali kao čvrst i siguran sistem kojemu je zadaća bila osiguranje plovidbe ovim dijelom Podvelebitskoga kanala.

whether we count in or our the possible fortification on St. George location above Caska and the archaeologically unsubstantiated theory about the fortification on Cape Ljubljanića – it is obvious that their locations and arrangement depended on the requirements existing in the days of Justinian's building impetus on Adriatic islands and in the coastal region. We can only speculate about the definitive reasons for their construction. In my opinion, Z. Gunjača gave the best summary of the essence of the problem: "Since some of these structures were built on uninhabited islands or on positions far from settlements, it was rational to conclude that they had not been erected to defend such locations; rather, in given time and circumstances, all of them together formed a safe, well-studied system supposed to ensure their builders a full control of the sailing routes along the east coast of Adriatic."⁷⁴

Finally, we can safely claim that the castrons on Pag and in the region at the foot of Velebit Mountain – most likely communicating between themselves with fire and smoke signals (as has been the practice on the island of Pag until recently⁷⁵) – were part of a solid and safe system intended to ensure safe navigation in this part of Velebit Channel.

74 Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124.
75 V. Prpić, 2014, 283-284.

74 Z. Gunjača, 1986a, 124.
75 V. Prpić, 2014, 283-284.



Slika 27. Zračni snimak utvrde na na Sv. Trojici kod Starigrada
Figure 27. Aerial photograph of fortification on
St. Trinity near Starigrad

foto / photo: D. Grosman

Slika 28. Zračni snimak utvrde kod Modriča
Figure 28. Aerial photograph of fortification at Modrič

foto / photo: D. Grosman



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