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Otok Korčula: Iliri i Grci

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The island of Korčula: Illyrians and Greeks

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Proučavanje grčkog naseljavanja istočne obale Jadrana obično započinje analiziranjem vijesti o najranijim trgovačkim doticajima koji dijelom kolidiraju s neuspješnim ili kratkotrajnim epizodama naseljavanja Korčule i nekih drugih još nedovoljno precizno određenih lokacija. Početkom 4. st. pr. Kr. dolazi do osnutka Ise i Farosa pa slijedi isejska

Research into the Greek settlement of the eastern Adriatic seaboard normally begins with an analysis of the information on the oldest trade contacts which largely collided with the unsuccessful or brief episodes of settlement on Korčula and certain other, still imprecisely specified locations. At the beginning of the 4th century BC, Issa and Pharos were established,

supkolonizacija usmjerenja prema helenizaciji uskog priobalnog prostora od Trogira do Žrnovnice. Arheološki podatci upućuju da se stanje na Korčuli razlikuje od onog na Visu ili Hvaru. Tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba na otoku egzistira nekoliko snažnih domorodačkih zajednica, očito otvorenih grčkom utjecaju, ali zasad nema materijalnih potvrda da je na tom otoku postojala uspješna helenska naseobina. Istraživanja gradine Kopila pokazuju da je između kraja 4. i sredine 1. st. pr. Kr. na brdu iznad Blatskog polja postojalo snažno gradinsko naselje čiji su članovi ukapani u monumentalne grobnice, a bogati i raznoliki prilozi sugeriraju da je lokalna kultura bila pod izraženim helenskim grčkim utjecajem. Samosvojnost se manifestira jedinstvenom arhitekturom nekropole, pogrebnim ritualom koji tek počinjemo rekonstruirati te izdvojenim ukopom djece neonatalne starosti. Radovi na istraživanju protopovijesti otoka tek su na početku pa je očekivati da ćemo u narednim desetljećima raspolagati sa znatno više činjenica.

Ključne riječi: Korčula, mlađe željezno doba, propovijesne gradine, grčka kolonizacija, gradina Kopila, gradina Stine, indigeno stanovništvo, helenizam, nekropola

followed by Issaean colonization aimed at the Hellenisation of a narrow coastal belt from Trogir to Žrnovnica. Archaeological data indicate that the situation on Korčula differed from that which appertained on Vis or Hvar. During the younger Iron Age, several powerful indigenous communities existed on the island, obviously open to Greek influence, but thus far there are no physical confirmations that a successful Hellenistic settlement had existed on that island. Research at the Kopila hillfort has shown that between the end of the 4th and the mid-1st centuries there was a strong hillfort settlement on the hill above the Blato plain, and its inhabitants were interred in monumental tombs, while the rich and diverse goods suggest that the local culture was under considerable Hellenistic Greek influence. Its specificity is reflected in the unique architecture of the necropolis, the funerary rituals which we have only begun to reconstruct and the separate burial of children of neonatal age. Research into the island's prehistory has only just begun, so it is to be expected that over the coming decades far more facts will come to light.

Key words: Korčula, later Iron Age, prehistoric hillforts, Greek colonization, Kopila hillfort, Stine hillfort, indigenous population, Hellenism, necropolis

Početak proučavanja prisutnosti Grka, njihove materijalne i duhovne kulture, na srednjojadranskim otocima i obližnjoj obali datira barem iz vremena Ivana Lucića. Do 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća pozornost znanosti bila je usmjerenja prema traženju tragova Grka u Farosu te posebno u Isi, o čemu svjedoče brojne kampanje iskopavanja isejskih nekropola te skromni pokušaji utvrđivanja razvoja i planiranja grčkih naselja, stjecanja uvida u gospodarske osnove te prikupljanja epigrafske i numizmatičke građe. O spomenutoj problematici napisan je niz radova, a neki od njih su i sintetskog karaktera.¹ U tim se radovima u pravilu osjeća snažan utjecaj povijesti i lingvistike, što u vremenu kad su napisani nije bilo moguće izbjegći. Slučajni nalazi značajnih epigrafske spomenika u Visu, Starome Gradu i Lumbardi te u Solinu i Trogiru samo su dopunjivali sliku o naizgled razvijenoj helenkoj kulturi ograničenoj gotovo isključivo na Manijski zaljev i okolne otoke.

Početkom 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća dolazi do određenih promjena potaknutih razvojem arheološke znanosti u Hrvatskoj,² odnosno inkorporiranjem brojnih segmenata prirodnih znanosti iskoristivih za rješavanje arheoloških pitanja, npr. zooarheologije, paleobotanike, radiokarbonskog datiranja, stratigrafije i drugih.³ Pitanja nekoć usmjerenja prema definiranju uloga pojedinih osoba, poznatih uglavnom iz izvora, ubicanja naseobina, poznatih također iz izvora, te općenito potvrda svega onoga o čemu su pisali autori od Pseudoskilaka do Plinija Starijeg i onih još mlađih gube na važnosti, a umjesto toga proučavaju se raspored i karakter lokaliteta, njihova gospodarska osnova, paleo-okoliš, utjecaj transgresije, paleo-klima, struktura materijala, odnosno sve ono što može objasniti ljudsku prilagodbu pojedinom prostoru i njegovo modificiranje našim potrebama. Naravno, protopovijesna arheologija nije se odrekla i ne smije se odreći pogodnosti koje pružaju povijesni izvori, ali oni postaju samo jedan od elemenata neophodnih u stvaranju cjelovite slike.

I to je trenutak da se prisjetimo našeg obljetničara, Branka Kirigina, u čijem se radnom vijeku ogleda gotovo cjelokupna novija prošlost srednjodalmatinske arheologije, posebno istraživanja vezanih uz proučavanje grčke kolonizacije Jadrana. Branko Kirigin je Hvaranin, samim time svojevrstan nastavljač rada

The beginnings of study of the presence of the Greeks and their physical and spiritual culture on the central Adriatic islands and the nearby mainland shore dates to the time of Ivan Lucić at the very least. Until the 1980s, scholarly attention was directed at seeking traces of the Greeks in Pharos and especially in Issa, which was reflected in the numerous campaigns to excavate the Issaean necropolises and the modest attempts to ascertain the development and planning of Greek settlements and gain insight into the basis of their economy, and also gather epigraphic and numismatic materials. A series of works have been written on this thematic area, some of which have a synthetic character.¹ The influence of history and linguistics can be strongly felt in these works, which could not be avoided given the time in which they were written. Chance finds of significant epigraphic monuments in the towns of Vis, Stari Grad and Lumbarda, and in Solin and Trogir, only supplemented the picture of an apparently developed Hellenistic culture limited almost exclusively to the Manii Gulf and the surrounding islands.

Some changes prompted by developments in the archaeological sciences in Croatia occurred at the beginning of the 1980s,² i.e., numerous segments of the natural sciences applicable to resolve archaeological problems were incorporated, e.g., zooarchaeology, palaeobotany, radiocarbon dating, stratigraphy, etc.³ Queries oriented toward defining the role of individual persons, generally known from the sources, the pinpointing of settlements, also known from the sources, and the general confirmation of everything about which writers from Pseudo-Scylax to Pliny the Elder and even later began to lose importance, and instead the focus of study became the layout and character of settlements, their economic basis, the palaeoenvironment, the impact of transgression, the palaeoclimate, the structure of materials – in other words, everything that could explain the human adaptation to an individual area and its modification to human needs. To be sure, proto-historic archaeology did not, nor should not, forsake the advantages offered by historical sources, but they only become one of the elements essential to the creation of a comprehensive picture.

1 Samo neki od značajnijih radova su: Brunšmid 1898; Beaumont 1936; Lisičar 1951; Suić 1955, str. 121-185; Novak 1961, str. 145-204; Rendić-Miočević 1970, str. 347-372; Nikolanci 1973, str. 80-118; Čače 1994, str. 33-54; Katičić 1995; Kirigin 1990, str. 291-321; Kirigin 2003, str. 9-301.

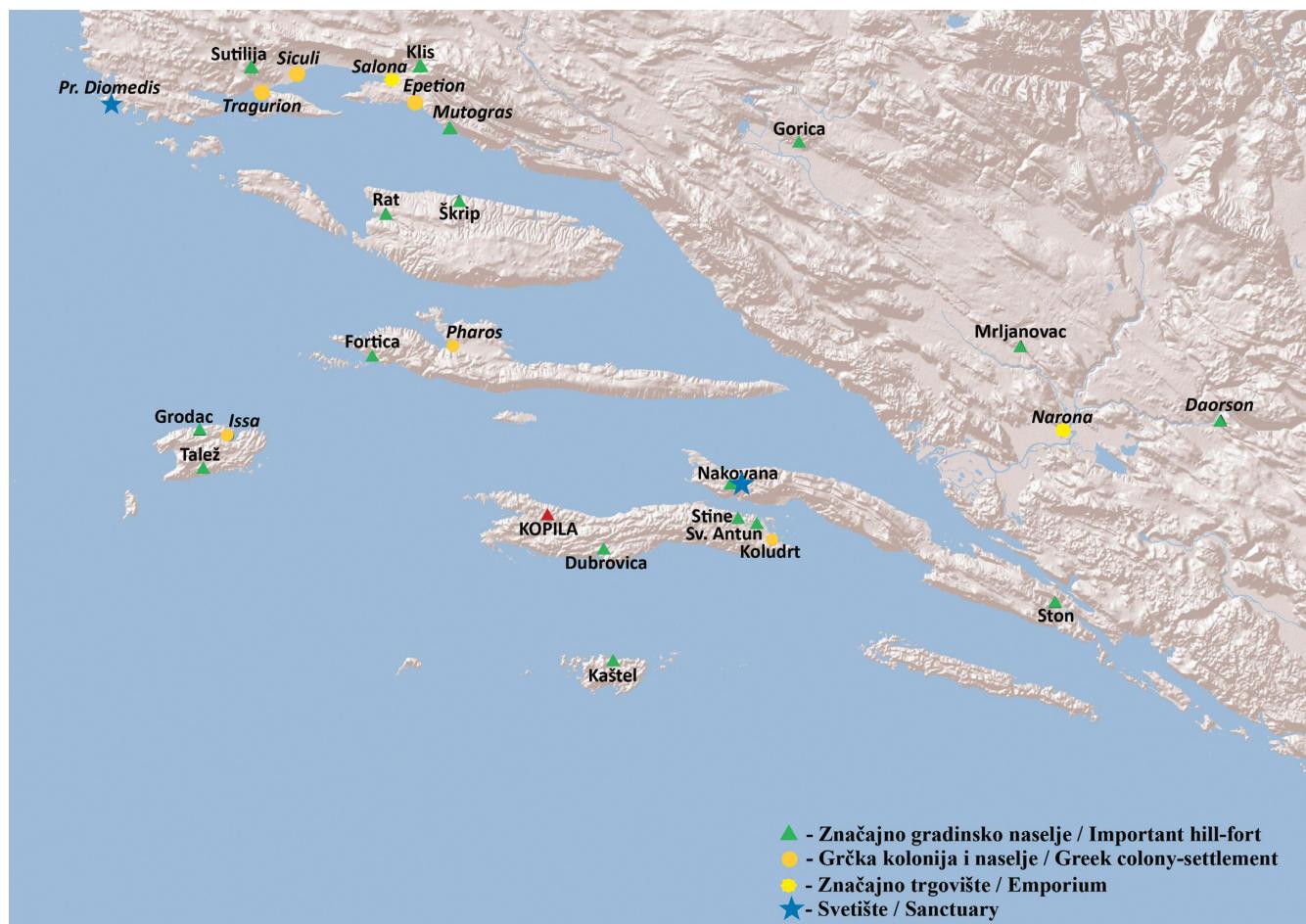
2 Kirigin 2003, str. 10, 100; Težak-Gregl 2011.

3 Martinón-Torres, Killick 2015.

1 Just a few of the major works are: Brunšmid 1898; Beaumont 1936; Lisičar 1951; Suić 1955, pp. 121-185; Novak 1961, pp. 145-204; Rendić-Miočević 1970, pp. 347-372; Nikolanci 1973, pp. 80-118; Čače 1994, pp. 33-54; Katičić 1995; Kirigin 1990, pp. 291-321; Kirigin 2003, pp. 9-301.

2 Kirigin 2003, pp. 10, 100; Težak-Gregl 2011.

3 Martinón-Torres, Killick 2015.



Sl. 1. Srednji Jadran u protopovijesti/helenizmu (izradio: I. Borzić)

Fig. 1. The central Adriatic in protohistory/Hellenism (prepared: I. Borzić)

drugoga velikog Hvaranina, akademika Grge Novaka, genima duboko vezanog uz arheologiju helenskog Hvara, a ženidbom uz arheologiju helenskog Visa. U ranoj fazi rada Branko Kirigin slijedi metodologiju rada tadašnjih istraživača helenske nazočnosti na Jadranu, dok u drugoj mijenja pristup, prihvaća suvremene trendove, slikovito rečeno, izlazi iz urbane jezgre Ise i Farosa, okreće se krajobrazu, posebno pučini od Sveca do Palagruže, odnosno ruralu Hvara, Visa, Brača, Šolte. Time na našim prostorima postaje predvodnikom smjera tzv. arheologije krajolika (*landscape archaeology*), temeljene na statistici, GIS-u, pomnom bilježenju tragova nekadašnjeg postojanja čovjeka, njegovog oblikovanja okoliša, ali i snazi kojom nas okoliš neprestano oblikuje. Posljedica tog pristupa jest da nekoliko zadnjih desetljeća arheologijom vezanom uz helenski/helenistički utjecaj na istočnom Jadranu dominiraju lokaliteti poput Palagruže, Punta Planke, pelješke špilje Nakovane, korčulanske gradine Kopila, viškog Taleža, bračkog Rata iznad Viča Luke, gomile pokraj Baćinskih jezera, Viline pećina iznad ušća Omble i drugih (sl. 1).

And at this point we must recall our honouree, Branko Kirigin, whose career mirrors virtually the entire scope of the more recent history of central Dalmatian archaeology, especially research tied to the study of the Greek colonization of the Adriatic. Branko Kirigin is a native of Hvar, thereby he is something of successor to another great Hvar native, Academy-member Grga Novak, for by descent he was deeply tied to the archaeology of Hellenistic Hvar, while by marriage he also became tied to the archaeology of Hellenistic Vis. In the early phase of his career, Kirigin adhered to the methodology of then contemporary researchers into the Hellenistic presence on the Adriatic Sea, while in the second phase he altered his approach, adopting modern trends - picturesquely stated, he departed from the urban cores of Issa and Pharos, and turned to the landscape, especially the high seas from Svetac to Palagruža, and rural Hvar, Vis, Brač, and Šolta. In the local archaeological field, he thus became a trailblazer of the discipline of so-called landscape archaeology, rooted in statistics, GIS, meticulous recording of the traces of former human existence, their adaptation of the environment, as well as the forces whereby the environment constantly shapes humanity. As a result of

Korčulanski Iliri vs. korčulanski Grci - stanje na terenu

Predmet našeg rada je Korčula, danas najmnogo-ljudniji dalmatinski otok kojeg fizički oblikuju Korčulanski kanal, poveznica između srednjeg i južnog Jadrana, te Pelješki kanal, gledajući s jugoistoka najkraći i jedini siguran plovni smjer prema delti Neretve, u trgovačkom smislu prostora preko kojeg veći dio Hercegovine i dio Bosne korespondiraju s morem.

Ulogu Korčule u grčkoj kolonizaciji Jadrana najčešće se promatra kroz prizmu u izvorima spomenute ili temeljem tumačenja izvora pretpostavljene, ali još uvijek neubicirane knidske naseobine te naselja uz koje se vezuje *Lumbardska psefizma*.⁴ U nedostatku konkretnih arheoloških podataka osnova rasprave o njima logično se svodila na minuciozno tumačenje povijesnih izvora potkrjepljivano logičnim zaključcima proisteklima iz prometno-geografskih svojstava prostora, ponekad u kombinaciji s interpretiranjem nekih manje značajnih nalaza/lokaliteta. Na žalost, ne umanjujući važnost i tih rasprava, mora se ustvrditi da ni nakon gotovo 200 godina istraživanja, nakon niza stručnih i znanstvenih radova nismo nimalo bliži odgovorima na brojna davno postavljena pitanja, pa su sva saznanja o lokacijama i karakteru tih naselja i dalje na razini pretpostavka.

Zbog činjenice da historiografski pristup kombiniran s malobrojnim i kratkotrajnim iskopavanjima nije dao zadovoljavajuće odgovore, kasnih 80-ih i ranih 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća započelo se sa sustavnim rekognosciranjem otoka. Cilj je bio stjecanje uvida u prostorni raspored lokaliteta te stvaranje odgovarajuće baze podataka.⁵ Rezultat tog rada je znatno konkretniji korpus činjenica o naseljenosti otoka u predmetnoj drugoj polovini prvog milenija prije Krista, vremenu kada na Korčuli egzistira nekoliko potencijalno jakih predurbanih sjedišta indigenih zajednica. U to razdoblje mogu se datirati Gradina svetog Ivana na ulazu u zaljev Vele Luke, gradina na brežuljku Sveti Antun neposredno iznad uvala Uš na istočnom kraju otoka, gradina Dubrovica (Bunker) na strmom brdu iznad uvala Brne i Istruge, gradina Sutulija zapadno od

this approach, the past several decades of archaeology tied to Hellenic/Hellenistic influence on the eastern Adriatic seaboard has been dominated by sites such as Palagruža, Punta Planka, Nakovana Cave on the Pelješac Peninsula, the Korčula hillfort Kopila, Talež on Vis, Rat above Viča Luka on Brač, the tumulus next to the Baćina Lakes, Viline Cave above the mouth of the Ombla River, and others (Fig. 1).

Korčula Illyrians vs. Korčula Greeks - the situation on the ground

The subject of our work is Korčula, today the most populous Dalmatian island, which is physically bounded by the Korčula Channel, the link between the central and southern Adriatic, and the Pelješac Channel, the shortest and only safe navigational route from the south-east toward the Neretva Delta, an area through which, in the sense of trade, most of Herzegovina and a part of Bosnia communicate with the sea.

The role of Korčula in the Greek colonization of the Adriatic is most often considered through the prism of the Cnidian settlement mentioned in the sources or assumed according to interpretations of the sources, albeit still not located, and the settlements which are associated with the Lumbarda Psephism.⁴ In the absence of concrete archaeological data, the discussions of them have logically been restricted to meticulous interpretations of historical sources backed by logical conclusions derived from the transit and geographical qualities of the area, sometimes combined with certain small but significant finds and/or sites. Unfortunately, without downplaying the importance of these discussions, it must be stated that even after almost 200 years of research, after a series of scholarly and research papers, we are still no closer to any answers to the numerous questions posed so long ago, so all knowledge on the locations and character of these settlements remain at the level of conjecture.

Because the historiographic approach combined with the few and brief excavations did not yield satisfactory answers, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, systematic reconnaissance of the island began. The objective was to gain insight into the spatial layout of the area and create the corresponding database.⁵

4 Uz djela navedena u bilješci 1. korčulanskim se temama bave i sljedeća: Radić, Vuletić Vukasović 1887, str. 104-111; Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 229-250; Mastrocinque 1988; Nikolanci 1989, str. 81-98; Suić 2001, str. 161-168, Zaninović 2015, str. 95-117, u kojima se mogu naći izvori i starija literatura.

5 Radić 1996, str. 9-15; Radić 2000, str. 39-47; Radić 2001, str. 25-50; Radić 2003, str. 63-88; Radić 2010, str. 61-70; Radić, Bass 1998, str. 361-403; Radić, Bass 2001, str. 133-146; Radić, Bass 2002, str. 289-299; Borzić 2007a; Borzić 2010, str. 27-42.

4 Besides the works cited in note 1, Korčula themes were also covered in the following: Radić, Vuletić Vukasović 1887, pp. 104-111; Rendić-Miočević 1980, pp. 229-250; Mastrocinque 1988; Nikolanci 1989, pp. 81-98; Suić 2001, pp. 161-168; Zaninović 2015, pp. 95-117, in which sources and older literature can also be found.

5 Radić 1996, pp. 9-15; Radić 2000, pp. 39-47; Radić 2001, pp. 25-50; Radić 2003, pp. 63-88; Radić 2010,

lučice Zavalatice, Gradac u Potirni iznad uvale Grdača te gradina Kopila iznad Blatskog polja. Nije moguće zaobići ni veliku Smokvišku gradinu, ključnu točku za nadzor nad jedinom značajnom transotočnom prometnicom.⁶ Ovaj kratak odabir napravljen je samo temeljem znatnije učestalosti nalaza datacijski preciznije odredivih keramičkih ulomaka, pretežito helenističkog stolnog, odnosno transportnog posuda, zbog čega je širenje ovog popisa sigurno realna opcija.

Kontekstualnu potporu ovom popisu pruža i desetak hidroarheoloških lokaliteta s nalazima amfora datiranih od 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr.⁷ Oni, ali i lociranost gotovo svih navedenih kopnenih objekata relativno blizu mora i uvala pogodnih za sidrenje,⁸ svjedoče da je tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba porasla važnost plovnih putova i razmjene, što za sobom povlači i imperativ za kontrolom nad pomorskim prometnicama.⁹

Sažeto rečeno, dosadašnja saznanja upućuju da se na otoku Korčuli u posljednjim stoljećima pr. Kr. razvija razmjerne respektabilna indigena zajednica otvorena trgovačko-kulturnim, pretežito helensko/helenističkim, utjecajima, dok istodobno o naseobinskoj/populacijskoj prisutnosti tih vanjskih subjekata još uvijek nema konkretnijih arheoloških potvrda. Iznimku, i to još uvijek prije svega zbog nalaza nekoliko grobova "isejskog tipa", čini širi prostor poluotoka Koludrt u Lombardi, na kojem bi se trebala nalaziti isejska naseobina spomenuta na *Lumbardskoj psefizmi*, o čijem se agrarnom, odnosno trgovačkom karakteru još uvijek dvoji.¹⁰ No unatoč svim postojećim predviđanjima za njezino postojanje, činjenica je

6 Radić 2001, str. 25-50; Radić, Bass 2001, str. 133-146.

7 Vrsalović 1979; Jurišić 2001, str. 189-196; Radić Rossi 2005, str. 49-63; Borzić 2009, str. 82-97.

8 Vrlo sličan porast broja podmorskih lokaliteta datiranih u navedeno razdoblje te značajnija pojava komparativnog materijala na gradinskim naseljima zamjećuje se i na ostalim srednjodalmatinskim otocima, zbog čega se može govoriti o šire rasprostranjenom trendu. Usp. Petrić 2002, str. 471-484; Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 9-24.

9 U pravilu se gradine i promatračnice datirane u brončano doba nalaze podalje od mora, a raspoređene su tako da kontroliraju i zaprečuju put prema središtu otoka.

10 Spomenuti grobovi nađeni su u blizini recentnog groblja Sveti Ivan u zapadnom dijelu uvale Prvi žal u Lombardi, a položaj eventualnog naselja treba tražiti na suprotnoj, sjevernoj strani poluotoka Koludrt, vjerojatno od njegova vrha pa do podnožja sjeverne padine. O karakteru grobova s osrvtom na ranija istraživanja vidjeti kod Kirigin 1985, str. 98. O problematici lumbardske naseobine kod: Lisičar 1951, str. 94-108; Rendić-Miočević 1965, str. 77-80; Rendić-Miočević 1966, str. 133-141; Lombardo 2002, str. 121-140; Potrebica, Hančević 2008, str. 572-575.

The result of this work is a considerably more definite body of facts on the habitation of the island in the latter half of the first millennium BC, a time which several potentially strong pre-urban hubs of indigenous communities existed on Korčula. The Sveti Ivan (St. John's) hillfort at the entrance to the Vela Luka Harbour, the hillfort on Sveti Antun (St. Anthony's) Hill immediately above Uš Cove on the eastern side of the island, the Dubrovica (Bunker) hillfort on the steep hill above the coves of Brna and Istruga, the Sutulija hillfort west of the small harbor called Zavalatica, Gradac in Potirna, above Grdača Cove and the Kopila hillfort above the Blato plain (Blatsko polje) can all be dated to this period. The Smokvica hillfort, a key point to oversee the sole major trans-island road, cannot be neglected, either.⁶ This short selection was made only on the basis of the rather significant finds of more datable potsherds, largely Hellenistic tableware and transport vessels, which certainly make the expansion of this list a realistic option.

Contextual support to this list is also provided by roughly ten hydroarchaeological sites with finds of amphorae dated from the 4th to 1st centuries BC.⁷ These, as well as the location of all aforementioned dry-land structures relatively close to the sea and coves suitable for anchorage,⁸ testify to the growing importance of navigation routes and trade during the later Iron Age, which carried with it the imperative to control maritime routes.⁹

Stated succinctly, all previously-acquired knowledge points to the fact that a relatively respectable indigenous community was growing on the island of Korčula in the final centuries BC, one that was open to mercantile/cultural, mostly Hellenic/Hellenistic, influences, even though, at the same time, any more tangible archaeological confirmations of the

pp. 61-70; Radić, Bass 1998, pp. 361-403; Radić, Bass 2001, pp. 133-146; Radić, Bass 2002, pp. 289-299; Borzić 2007a; Borzić 2010, pp. 27-42.

6 Radić 2001, pp. 25-50; Radić, Bass 2001, pp. 133-146.

7 Vrsalović 1979; Jurišić 2001, pp. 189-196; Radić Rossi 2005, pp. 49-63; Borzić 2009, pp. 82-97.

8 A very similar growth in the number of undersea sites dated to this period and the more notable appearance of comparable materials at hillfort settlements have also been recorded on other central Dalmatian islands, so that one may speak of a more widely distributed trend. Cf. Petrić 2002, pp. 471-484; Kirigin *et al.* 2006, pp. 9-24.

9 As a rule, hillforts and observation posts dated to the Bronze Age are located farther from the sea, and positioned such that they control and impede the way toward the heart of an island.

da arheologija još uvijek na tom položaju nije ušla u trag intenzitetu naseljenosti i aktivnostima izrijekom spomenutima na psefizmi. Takva situacija poziva na oprez pri uključivanju ovog naselja u neke dugotrajne povijesne rekonstrukcije isejskog djelovanja na ovom dijelu otoka Korčule, odnosno njihovom pokušaju nadziranja jedne od vitalnih morskih komunikacija, Pelješkog kanala.

S druge strane, uzduž njegovog 20-ak km razvучenog korčulanskog dijela dosadašnjim rekognosciranjem terena lociran je niz prapovijesnih gradina i promatračnica, od kojih se neke mogu datirati i u kasno brončano, odnosno rano željezno doba.¹¹ Njihova, nažalost kronična neistraženost ne ostavlja druge mogućnosti nego da im se s obzirom na položaj u prostoru prepostavi kompleksnost pojave, u kojoj se kao primarne mogu nazrijeti defanzivne, ali dijelom, posebice u spomenutim trenutcima pojačanog intenziteta plovidbe, i nadzorno-posredničke uloge. Ipak, na ovom dijelu otoka Korčule do sada je nedostajalo još barem jedno snažno željeznodobno središte iz kojeg se moglo neposredno nadzirati plovidbu kanalom. Lokacija gradine na brdu Sv. Antuna pored luke Uš, potvrđena dijelom sačuvanim bedemima i većom količinom ulomaka prapovijesne keramike, činila se izuzetno povoljna, međutim blizina i lak pristup moru je u nekim (proto)povijesnim trenutcima mogla biti više nedostatak nego prednost.

Gradina Stine

Rekognosciranjem obavljenim u zimu 2015./16. godine nekoliko stotina metara jugozapadno od žrnovskog zaseoka Brdo otkrivena je gradina Stine.¹² Smještena je na impozantnoj uzvisini od koje se u smjeru sjevera teren spušta sve do uvala Vrbovica i Banja, a s južne strane do omanje plodne kraške zaravni (Žrnovsko polje) (sl. 2). Najistaknutiji dio gradine je dvadesetak metara visoka, okomita litica koju je priroda oblikovala u odlično zaštićenu utvrdu približno ovalnog tlocrta, s uskim ulazom u prostrani središnji dio. Gradinsko podgrade površine nekoliko hektara nalazi se južno od citadele, na padini brda koje je u prošlom stoljeću iskrčeno i pretvoreno u vinogradarske terase. Obilaskom terena s površine je prikupljeno nekoliko desetaka dijagnostičkih ulomaka amfora, među

11 Radić 1996, str. 9-16.

12 Razlog zbog kojeg gradina Stine nije ranije prepoznata pomalo je bizaran. Zbog velike količine antičke keramike i površnog rekognosciranja (događa se) prije dvadesetak godina lokalitet je svrstan među vjerojatne položaje rimske rustične vila. Godine 2016. teren su rekognoscirali Dinko Radić, Maja Šunjić, Sani Sardešić, Igor Borzić i likovni umjetnik Nikola Skokandić.

habitation/population presence are still lacking. An exception, still due above all to the find of several "Issaean type" graves, is the area of the Koludrt Peninsula in Lumbarda, which should be the location of the Issaean settlement mentioned in the Lumbarda Psephism; there are still uncertainties about the agrarian or mercantile character of the latter.¹⁰ But despite all of the existing preconditions for its existence, the fact is that archaeology has still not found any trace of the degree of settlement and activities explicitly mentioned in the psephism. Such a situation calls for caution before including this settlement into any long-term historical reconstructions of Issaean activities on this part of the island of Korčula, i.e., their attempt to oversee one of the vital maritime communication routes, the Pelješac Channel.

On the other hand, previous reconnaissance of the terrain all along the roughly 20 km extent of its Korčula section has located a series of prehistoric hillforts and observation posts, of which some may be dated to the late Bronze or early Iron Age.¹¹ The - unfortunately chronic - lack of research into them leaves no other option than to assume the complexity of the phenomenon, in which a primarily defensive role may be discerned, but also, particularly in the aforementioned times of increased intensity of maritime travel, a surveillance and mediation role. Even so, on this part of the island of Korčula, at least one powerful Iron Age centre from which navigation on the channel could be overseen has been missing thus far. The location of the hillfort on Sveti Antun Hill above the harbor of Uš, confirmed in part by preserved fortified walls and a high quantity of prehistoric potsherds, seems exceptionally favourable, although such proximity and easy access to the sea could have been more of a burden rather than a boon at certain (pre)historic junctures.

10 These graves were found near the recent Sveti Ivan (St. John's) Cemetery in the western part of the Prvi žal Cove in Lumbarda, while the location of the possible settlement should be sought on the opposite, northern side of Koludrt Peninsula, probably from its tip to the foot of the northern slopes. For more on the character of the graves with a reference to earlier research, see Kirigin 1985, p. 98. On the problems surrounding the Lumbarda settlement: Lisičar 1951, pp. 94-108; Rendić-Miočević 1965, pp. 77-80; Rendić-Miočević 1966, pp. 133-141; Lombardo 2002, pp. 121-140; Potrebica, Hančević 2008, pp. 572-575.

11 Radić 1996, pp. 9-16.



Sl. 2. Gradina Stine (foto: I. Borzić)
Fig. 2. Stine hillfort (photo: I. Borzić)

kojima se prepoznaju tipovi *Korint B*, grčko-italski i *Lamboglia 2*, a uz njih treba spomenuti i mnogobrojne ulomke usitnjениh lokalnih posuda te poneki dio slomljenog žrvnja i brusa.

Veličina podgrađa i količina površinskih nalaza sugeriraju da je gradina Stine tijekom protopovijesti morala biti jedno od značajnijih naselja na istočnom dijelu Korčule, a njegov smještaj podalje od mora, zaklonjenost pogledima sa sjeverne strane, odlična povezanost sa zapadnim dijelom otoka i mogućnost vizualnog nadzora nad plovidbom srednjim dijelom Pelješkog kanala ukazuju na smišljeno odabran položaj.¹³ Ozbiljnija proučavanja ove gradine još nisu ni započela, a površinske nalaze treba datirati u razdoblje od polovine 4. do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr., što u grubim crtama odgovara vremenu znatnog intenziteta života i na drugim korčulanskim željeznodobnim gradinama, ali i predviđenom, odnosno prepostavljenom vremenu osnutka i života isejske naseobinu u Lumbardi.

Gradina Kopila

Spomenuti intenzitet života vidljiv je i na drugoj, zapadnoj strani otoka, koja možda nema prometno značenje onog istočnog, ali ima niz, za lokalne prilike prostranih, plodnih kraških udolina. Među njima najznačajnije je Blatsko polje, površine oko 3 km², nastalo na rasjednoj crti koja se u dužini od 20-ak kilometara proteže u smjeru istok - zapad, od Gumanca

13 U podnožju gradine, pokraj starog puta za Pupnat, g. Skokandić nam je pokazao mjesto gdje je lokalni zemljoradnik krčeći tlo prije stotinjak godina otkrio grob te njegov sadržaj uredno sačuvao u kamenoj niši. U tom svojevrsnom "grobu" još uvijek se nalazi dio lumbanje i nekoliko dijelova dugih kostiju odrasle osobe te ulomci helenističkog skifosa sive boje.

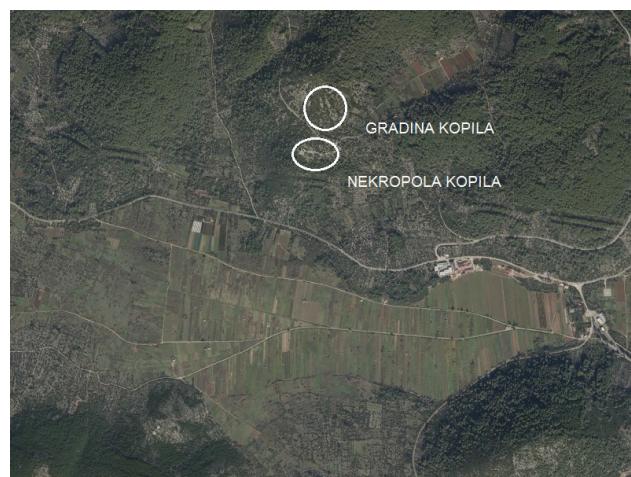
Stine hillfort

Reconnaissance conducted in the winter of 2015/16 several hundred meters south-west of the Žrnovo hamlet Brdo uncovered the Stine hillfort.¹² It is situated on an imposing height from which the terrain descends in a northward direction toward the coves of Vrbovica and Banja, while to its south there is a small fertile karst plain (Žrnovsko polje - Žrnovo field) (Fig. 2). The most prominent part of the hillfort is approximately 20 meters high, a vertical upcropping which was naturally formed into a superbly protected fortification with a roughly oval layout, with a narrow entrance into the spacious central portion. The hillfort's outlying community covering a surface of several hectares is south of the citadel, on the slope of the hill which in the past century was cleared and transformed into a vineyard terrace. During an inspection of the terrain's surface, several dozen diagnostic amphorae fragments were gathered, among which Corinth B and the Graeco-Italic Lamboglia 2 types were recognized, and besides these the numerous pieces of shattered local pottery and the occasional pieces of grindstones and whetstones should also be mentioned.

The size of the outlying community and the quantity of surface finds suggest that the Stine hillfort had to have been one of the most important settlements in the eastern part of Korčula during prehistory, and its location farther from the sea, its concealment from observation from the northern side, its excellent links to the western side of the island and the possibility of visual surveillance of navigation down the middle of the Pelješac Channel indicate a purposefully selected site.¹³ Serious study of this hillfort has still not begun, and the surface finds should be dated to the period from the mid-4th to the end of the 1st centuries BC, which roughly corresponds to the time of significant intensity of life at other Iron Age Korčula hillforts, as well as the predicted, or rather assumed, time of

12 The reason why the Stine Hillfort had not been recognized earlier is rather bizarre. Due to the high quantity of pottery from Antiquity and superficial reconnaissance (it happens) about twenty years ago, the site was classified as potential location of a Roman villa rustica. In 2016, the terrain was surveyed by Dinko Radić, Maja Šunjić, Sani Sardelić, Igor Borzić and artist Nikola Skokandić.

13 At the foot of the hillfort, next to the old trail for Pupnat, Mr. Skokandić showed us the place where a local farm labourer uncovered a grave while hoeing the soil roughly a hundred years prior; he preserved its contents in a stone niche. The "grave" still contains a part of a skull and several parts of other bones from an adult, and shards of a gray Hellenistic skyphos.



Sl. 3. Blatsko polje i položaj gradine Kopila (izradio: L. Frlan)

Fig. 3. Blato plain and the position of the Kopila hillfort (prepared: L. Frlan)

u središtu otoka pa do zaljeva Vela Luka. Osim što pruža velike mogućnosti bavljenja poljodjelstvom, visoka razina podzemnih voda omogućuje jednostavnu vodoopskrbu pa je tijekom protopovijesti na rubnim područjima Blatskog polja egzistiralo nekoliko značajnih zajednica, otvorenih prema van preko brojnih maritimno pogodnih uvala unutar zaljeva Vele Luke (sl. 3).¹⁴

Središnje naselje na tom dijelu otoka Korčule razvilo se podalje od mora, na brdu Kopila, 225 metara visokoj, strmoj, lako branjivoj uzvisini. S te dominante točke lako se nadzire Blatsko polje i zaljev Vele Luke dugačak 5 milja; za vedra vremena vidi se i ulaz u višku luku, dakle *Issa*, prolaz između Paklenih otoka i današnjega grada Hvara te čitav Korčulanski kanal i dio Pelješkoga. Takva mogućnost vizualnog nadzora važnih morskih prometnica te blizina izdašnih agrarnih površina morali su predstavljati oslonac višestoljetnog kontinuiteta života, a u pojedinim povijesnim trenutcima i snage neophodne za izdizanje u istaknuto regionalno središte, na što upućuju rezultati dosadašnjih arheoloških istraživanja lokaliteta.¹⁵

Razlog zbog kojeg se godine 2012. započelo s istraživanjem gradine Kopila jest poznati podatak da

14 Radić, Bass 2001, str. 133-145.

15 Nakon početka pisanja ovog rada u Muzeju antičkog stakla u Zadru održana je izložba pod nazivom "Grad mrtvih nad poljem života - Nekropola gradinskog naselja Kopila na otoku Korčuli". Izložba je popraćena istoimenim katalogom (ur. Ivo Fadić, Anamarija Eterović Borzić), u kojem je više autora kroz desetak priloga sustavno obradilo dosad poznate kategorije nalaza, dalo povijesni i geografski okvir lokaliteta, bibliografiju te katalog predmeta s brojnim ilustracijama.

establishment of life in the Issaean settlement in Lombarda.

Kopila hillfort

The aforementioned intensity of life was also visible on the other, western side of the island, which did not, perhaps, have the transportation significance of the eastern side, but it has many, for local circumstances spacious, fertile karst valley. Among them the most significant is the Blato plain, with a surface area of approximately 3 km², which emerged on a fissure line that extends roughly 20 kilometres in an east-west direction, from Gumance in the middle of the island up to the Vela Luka Harbour. Besides offering ample opportunities for agriculture, the high level of groundwater facilitated a simple water supply system, so that several significant communities existed during proto-history, open to the world beyond by numerous coves suitable for mooring inside the Vela Luka Harbour (Fig 3).¹⁴

The central settlement on this part of the island of Korčula developed farther away from the sea, on Kopila Hill, 225 meters high, on a steep, easily defensible height. From this dominant point, the Blato plain and the 5-mile long Vela Luka Harbour can be easily surveyed; on clear days even the entrance to the harbor at Vis, thus Issa, the passage between the Pakleni Islands and today's town of Hvar and the entire Korčula Channel as well as part of the Pelješac Channel can be seen from it. This possibility for visual observation of major maritime lanes and the proximity of productive cultivable fields had to have served as the basis for many centuries of uninterrupted life, and at individual historical moments the power essential to raise a notable regional centre, which is indicated by the results of previous archaeological research at the site.¹⁵

The reason why research into the hillfort on Kopila began in 2012 is the well-known fact that the Dubrovnik Museum holds several Corinthian vases

14 Radić, Bass 2001, pp. 133-145.

15 After the writing of this paper had already begun, an exhibition entitled "City of the Dead above the Field of Life - the Necropolis of the Kopila hillfort settlement on the island of Korčula" was held in the Museum of Antique Glass in Zadar. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue under the same title (eds. Ivo Fadić, Anamarija Eterović Borzić), in which there are a dozen contributions by several scholars that systematically analyze the thus-far categories of finds, providing a historical and geographic framework for the site, a bibliography and a listing of the items with numerous illustrations.

se u Dubrovačkom muzeju čuva nekoliko korintskih vaza datiranih u 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr.¹⁶ Te iznimno dekorativne posude u Muzej su dospjele prije više od 130 godina, a postoјi niz indicija da su nađene na Kopili. Značajan je zapis u kojem Nikola Ostojić, istraživač lokalne prošlosti iz 19. stoljeća, spominje da su na Kopili nađene "... monete romane, spille, rottami di fibbied'argento, di monilli, di vasi etruschi e la testa di ariete...".¹⁷ Te je predmete iskopao vjerojatno on osobno nekoliko godina nakon 1820., a gotovo je sigurno da se radi o fibulama, iglama, pincetama, višebojnom staklu s prikazom sirene i drugim predmetima za koje se u inventarnim knjigama Dubrovačkog muzeja kao mjesto nalaza navode Kopila ili Blato.¹⁸

Prije početka istraživanja bilo je poznato da se na vrhu brda nalazi prostrani plato branjen prirodnom strminom i sustavom suhozidnih bedema koji ishodište imaju u dvjema, danas urušenim, kulama, devedesetak metara udaljenima jedna od druge, onoj jugozapadnoj i onoj sjeveroistočnoj. Prepostavka je da je središnji prostor citadele, površine oko 2500 m², još uvijek dobro očuvan, ali njegovo iskopavanje tek predstoji. Raspored vinogradarskih terasa koje se radijalno nižu niz južnu padinu brda samo donekle otkriva obrise protopovjesnog podgrađa, čiju površinu prema rasprostiranju i većoj koncentraciji keramičkih ulomaka procjenjujemo na najmanje 3 hektara.¹⁹

Dosadašnja arheološka iskopavanja bila su usmjereni na nekropolu koja se nalazi na jedva izraženoj uzvisini, udaljenoj od citadele oko 400 metara.²⁰ Nakon pet terenskih kampanja nekropola je locirana, dijelom istražena, a počevši od 2016. godine većina je napora usmjerena prema izradi dokumentacije i pripremi za konzervaciju. Do sada je locirano dvanaestak grobnica (sl. 4), a temeljito ih je istraženo samo pet. Sve one pružile su manje-više sličnu sliku višestruko korištenih grobnica u kojima se, uz dosta slabo očuvani osteološki materijal,²¹ pronalaze znatne količine grobnihi priloga (helenističko stolno posuđe iz kategorije crnopremazanog, sivopremazanog, keramike tipa *Gnathia* i drugih te željezni dijelovi oružja) i ostalih nalaza (stakleni, jantarni, srebrni i brončani dijelovi nakita i nošnje).²²

16 Schneider 1885, str. 33; Lisičar 1949, str. 38; Lisičar 1973, str. 6-7; Nikolanci 1973, str. 111-113; Radić 2003, str. 74-77.

17 Ostojić 1878, str. 111-112.

18 Radić 2003, str. 82-84; Radić 2010, str. 69.

19 Radić, Borzić 2017a, str. 107-110.

20 Radić, Borzić 2017, str. 49-60.

21 Radovčić 2017, str. 125-138.

22 Borzić 2017, str. 61-84; Eterović Borzić 2017/2017a, str. 99-116, 117-124; Radić 2017, str. 85-98. Tijekom iskopavanja nekropole istraživači se konstantno suo-



Sl. 4. Zračna fotografija nekropole (foto: M. Vuković)
Fig. 4. Aerial photograph of the necropolis (photo: M. Vuković)

dated to the 7th and 6th centuries BC.¹⁶ These exceptionally decorative vessels came to the Museum over 130 years ago, and there are a series of indications that they were found at Kopila. An important notation was written by Nikola Ostojić, a 19th-century researcher into local history, who mentioned that "... monete romane, spille, rottami di fibbied'argento, di monilli, di vasi etruschi e la testa di ariete..." had been found at Kopila.¹⁷ He had probably excavated these items himself several years after 1820, and it is almost entirely certain that they consisted of fibulae, pins, pincers, a multi-coloured glass with an image of a mermaid and other items for which the find site is specified as Kopila or Blato in the Dubrovnik Museum's inventory logs.¹⁸

Prior to the commencement of research, it was known that there was a spacious plateau atop the hill, guarded by steep slopes and a system of stacked stone walls which have their source in two, today collapsed, towers roughly twenty meters apart, in the south-west and north-east. The assumption is that the central area of the citadel, with a surface of approximately 2,500 m², is still well preserved, but its excavation still lies ahead. The arrangement of vineyard terraces which lie radially down the southern slope only partially reveal the contours of the proto-historical outlying community, which, based on the extent and high concentration of potsherds, has been estimated to cover a minimum of 3 hectares.¹⁹

16 Schneider 1885, p. 33; Lisičar 1949, p. 38; Lisičar 1973, pp. 6-7; Nikolanci 1973, pp. 111-113; Radić 2003, pp. 74-77.

17 Ostojić 1878, pp. 111-112.

18 Radić 2003, pp. 82-84; 2010, p. 69.

19 Radić, Borzić 2017a, pp. 107-110.

Dosadašnjim najznačajnijim nalazom smatra se jedinstvena prostorna i arhitektonska organizacija nekropole, kojoj se za sada ne nalaze analogije na ovom dijelu Jadrana i obližnjem zaleđu (sl. 8).²³ Nekropola se sastoji od međusobno povezanih objekata nepravilnog, ovalno-kružnog tlocrta promjera 6-12 metara, odnosno od grobnica obrubljenih do 1,5 metara visokim zidom građenim od megalita dužine do 1,7 metara pomiješanih s manjim pa i sitnim kamenjem (sl. 7). Dosadašnja saznanja sugeriraju ideju o postojanju neke, još uvijek nelocirane, inicijalne grobnice smještene na zapadnom dijelu kompleksa te njezinom oblikovnom repliciranju i postupnom horizontalnom širenju nekropole prema istoku. Taj model širenja korišten je sve dok nekropola nije dobila složenu "grozdoliku" formu čiju je horizontalnu stratigrafiju relativno lako pratiti.

Kvalitetom gradnje i oblikom ističe se grobniča br. 6. Sastoji se od ovalnog središnjeg ukopnog prostora obzidanog pravilnim suhozidom s dva lica visokim gotovo 2 metra. Idući koncentrično raspoređen suhozid je 1-2 metra udaljen od središta i nešto je niži, a na njega se nastavlja treći vanjski, najniži prsten od velikih vapnenačkih blokova, a svi skupa objektu daju izgled svojevrsne stepenaste građevine. Ostale grobnice manje su monumentalne, oblik im je ovisio o tome koliko je i kakvih okolnih zidova iskoristeno za njihovu gradnju, ali je središnji dio uvijek izduženo pravokutnog oblika i obzidan s barem nekoliko pravilnih, neobrađenih vapnenačkih blokova. Oko tog prostora uočavaju se segmenti jednostavnog suhozida građenog bez posebne pažnje,²⁴ a cjelokupni objekt redovito je definiran vanjskim zidom

Previous archaeological excavations were oriented toward the necropolis that was situated on a barely prominent height, approximately 400 meters from the citadel.²⁰ After five field research seasons, the necropolis was located and partially explored, and, beginning in 2016, most of the efforts have been focused on the drafting of documentation and preparations for preservation. Thus far, approximately twenty graves (Fig. 4) have been located, but only five have undergone thorough examination. All of these painted a more or less similar picture of multiply used graves in which, accompanying the rather poorly preserved osteological material,²¹ there were considerable quantities of grave goods (Hellenistic tableware from the Black-glazed, Gray ware, Gnathian and other categories and the iron components of weapons) and other finds (glass, amber, silver and bronze parts of jewelry and attire).²²

The find considered the most significant so far is the unique spatial and architectural organization of the necropolis, for which no analogies in this part of the Adriatic nor in the nearby hinterland can be found (Fig. 8).²³ The necropolis consists of mutually connected structures in an irregular oval-circular layout with a diameter of 6-12 meters, i.e., graves bordered by a wall, up to 1.5 m high, made of up to 1.7 m long megaliths mixed with smaller and tiny stones (Fig. 7). Previous findings suggest the possible existence of some as yet unlocated initial graves situated on the western part of the complex and their formational replication, and the gradual horizontal expansion of the necropolis, toward the east. This expansion model was used until the necropolis acquired a complex

čavaju sa činjenicom da je lokalitet u 19. st. temeljito devastiran. Vjerojatno je prvo "istraživanje" obavio spomenuti Ostojić, jer samo tako možemo objasniti činjenicu da je svaka dosad istraživana grobniča u središnjem dijelu nekropole otvarana, a broj "friških" lomova na helenističkom posudu znatno je veći od onih starijih. Rubni dijelovi nekropole su na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. st. iskrčeni i pretvoreni u vinograde, odnosno u potpunosti su uništeni. Sretna okolnost je što su "istraživači" posude i ostale predmete razbijali i razbacivali, a nisu ih uzimali. Jesu li neke predmete (poput onih iz Dubrovačkog muzeja) ipak uzimali, o kakvom se materijalu radi i gdje se oni danas nalaze - za sada ostaje nepoznанica.

23 Radić, Borzić 2017, str. 49-55.

24 Prilikom svakog novog ukopa bilo je potrebno otvarati grobnicu, pri čemu se stvarao kameni lijevak koji je prijetio urušavanjem. Smatramo da su suhozidni prsteni (osim onog središnjeg) samo način na koji se je sprječavalo to urušavanje, a segmentiranost prstena posljedica je višestrukih ukapa i devastacije raznih "istraživača".

20 Radić, Borzić 2017, pp. 49-60.

21 Radovčić 2017, pp. 125-138.

22 Borzić 2017, pp. 61-84; Eterović Borzić 2017/2017a, pp. 99-116, 117-124; Radić 2017, pp. 85-98. During excavations at the necropolis, researchers had to constantly deal with the fact that the site had been thoroughly devastated in the 19th century. The first "research" was probably conducted by the aforementioned Ostojić, because that was the only way we could explain the fact that every thus far examined grave in the central section of the necropolis had been opened, and the number of "fresh" fissures on the Hellenistic pottery is considerably higher than the older ones. The peripheries of the necropolis were dug up at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century and transformed into vineyards, i.e., they were entirely destroyed. A fortunate circumstance is that the "researchers" shattered and discarded the pottery, but did not take it away. If they had indeed took certain items (like those in the Dubrovnik Museum), the type of material and where it is today located remains unknown for now.

23 Radić, Borzić 2017, pp. 49-55.



Sl. 5. Guttus (foto: P. Iglić)
Fig. 5. Guttus (photo: P. Iglić)

građenim, posebno u donjem dijelu, od velikih blokova neobrađenog vapnenca. Dno ukopnih prostora u pravilu se je prekrivalo morskim žalom, a sudeći prema grobnici br. 1 moguće je i višekratno nanošenje šljunčane podloge, povezane naravno uz višekratno korištenje grobnica. Pokojnici su bili polagani u ispruženom položaju²⁵ u smjeru istok - zapad i zapad - istok.²⁶ Bez obzira na slabu sačuvanost ljudskih kostiju, a dijelom i priloga, može se zaključiti kako je prilikom svakog novog ukopa onaj prethodni zajedno s prilozima dislociran u istočni ili zapadni dio, a situacija u kronološki do sada najmlađoj grobnici br. 4 svjedoči o polaganju pokojnika i jednih pokraj drugih i jednih iznad drugih.

Uočena posebnost su i zajednički ukopi djece neonatalne starosti.²⁷ Međuprostor (na slici 4 označen kao grobnica br. 1) nalazi se između nekoliko standardnih grobnica nepravilnog ovalno-kružnog tlocrta i prilagođen je potrebama ukapanja, prema novijim podatcima, oko 108 djece.²⁸ Dječji ostatci nalaženi su i u drugim grobnicama zajedno s odraslim osobama, ali se u tim slučajevima ne radi o djeci neonatalne

“grape-bunch” form with a horizontal stratigraphy that is relatively easy to follow.

Grave no. 6 stands out in terms of the quality of its construction and shape. It consists of an oval central burial space lined with regular stacked stone walls with two faces almost 2 meters high. The next concentrically laid out stacked stone wall is 1-2 meters from the centre and somewhat lower, and the third external lowest ring made of large limestone blocks extends from it, all together giving the structure a stair-like appearance. The remaining graves are less monumental, their shape depended on how and how much the surrounding walls were used for their construction, but the central section always has an oblong rectangular shape and is lined with a minimum of several regular, undressed limestone blocks. Segments of a simple stacked stone wall constructed without particular care can be observed around this space,²⁴ and the entire structure is regularly defined by the external wall built, particularly at its lower section, from large blocks of undressed limestone. The bottom of the burial space was, as a rule, covered by smooth beach stones, and judging by grave no. 1, the multiple application of a gravel base was possible, naturally tied to the multiple uses of the grave. The deceased were laid with bodies extended²⁵ in an east-west or west-east orientation.²⁶ Regardless of the poor state of preservation of the human bones, and partially also the goods, it may be concluded that during each new burial the preceding one with goods was shifted either eastward or westward, and the situation in the thus far chronologically most recent grave, no. 4, testifies to the laying of the deceased next to each other or on top of each other.

The joint burials of neonatal babies are a notable peculiarity.²⁷ The intervening space (designated as grave no. 1 on Fig. 4) is situated between several standard graves of irregular oval-circular layout and was adapted to the needs of the burial of, according to more recent data, approximately 108 children.²⁸

25 Podatci nisu konačni, ali prema sadašnjoj istraženosti u grobnici br. 1 ukopano je 108 djece, u grobnici br. 4 najmanje 19 odraslih pokojnika, u grobnici br. 6 četvero.

26 Radovčić 2017, str. 125-138.

27 Mitchell *et al.* 2016; Radovčić 2017, str. 127-128.

28 Radovčić 2017, str. 125-137.

24 During each new burial, it was necessary to open the grave, which then created a stone funnel that threatened to collapse. We believe that the stacked stone ring (beside the central one) was simply a way to prevent that collapse, and the segmented nature of the ring was the result of multiple burials and the devastation done by various “researchers.”

25 The data are not final, but according to the current level of research, 108 children were buried in grave no. 1, a minimum of 19 adults were buried in grave no. 4, and four in grave no. 6.

26 Radovčić 2017, pp. 125-138.

27 Mitchell *et al.* 2016; Radovčić 2017, pp. 127-128.

28 Radovčić 2017, pp. 125-137.



Sl. 6. Skifos, druga polovica 4. st. pr. Kr. (foto: P. Iglić)

Fig. 6. Skyphos, latter half of 4th cent. BC (photo: P. Iglić)

starosti, što otvara brojna pitanja vezana uz specifičnosti funeralnih običaja lokalnog stanovništva.

U svim grobnicama su kao sigurni prilozi prisutne brojne helenističke stolne posude, najčešće čaše (uglavnom skifosi, a rjeđe kantarosi), dok su drugi oblici posuda (soljenke, enohoje, olpe, lončići, lekiti i balzamariji) slabije zastupljeni.²⁹ Zanimljivo je istaknuti da se u kronološki mlađim grobnicama, posebno grobnici br. 4, često nalaze gutusi, posude s jednom ručicom, dugačkim izljevom i perforacijama na kontaktu vrata s trbuhom posude (sl. 5). O značenju ove posude u pogrebnom ritualu lokalne indigene zajednice bez analize sadržaja nije moguće ni nagadati. Također se u svim grobnicama, osim u spomenutoj dječjoj grobnici, kao prilog pojavljuje i oružje, mahom predstavljeno željeznim ostacima kopalja.³⁰ Ostali grobni nalazi, dijelovi nakita i nošnje ukazuju da su lokalni stanovnici cijenili importirane predmete (srebrne i brončane fibule, naušnice, narukvice, ogrlice, ukrasne igle, prstenje, ogrlice od staklenih i jantarnih perla, perforirani helenistički i rimski novčići iskorišteni kao nakit).³¹ Ulomke lokalne keramike ne nalazimo u grobnicama, nego samo u njihovoј najbližoj okolini, što upućuje na moguću ulogu u pogrebnom ritualu.³²

Dosadašnje analize ukazuju na različito porijeklo raznih kategorija pronađenih nalaza, odnosno na čijeniku da je Kopila bila odlično uklopljena u tokove

Children's remains were also found in other graves together with adults, but in these cases they are not the remains of neonatal children, which raises numerous questions tied to the specific aspects of the local population's funerary customs.

In all graves, a high quantity of Hellenistic tableware was present as goods, most often cup (mainly skyphoi, and more rarely kantharoi), while other forms of pottery (salt-cellars, oenochoai, olpai, small pots, lekythoi and balsamaria) were less represented.²⁹ It is noteworthy that the chronologically more recent graves, particularly grave no. 4, often contained gutti, vessels with a single handle, a long spout and perforations at the contact between the vessel's neck and belly (Fig. 5). The significance of these vessels in the local indigenous community's funerary rituals cannot even be speculated upon without an analysis of their content. Additionally, all graves, with the exception of the aforementioned child's grave, contained weapons as goods, mainly the iron remains of spears.³⁰ The remaining grave goods, such as components of jewellery and attire, indicate that the local inhabitants valued imported articles (silver and bronze fibulae, earrings, bracelets, necklaces, decorative pins, finger rings, pearl and bead necklaces, perforated Hellenistic and Roman coins used as jewellery).³¹ Pieces of local pottery were not found in the graves, rather only in their immediate vicinity, which indicates a possible role in funerary rituals.³²

Previous analyses have shown differing origins for various finds, i.e., the fact that Kopila was quite well encompassed in the currents of the Mediterranean trade in glass, amber, metal, ceramics, and agricultural products of the time.³³ Their analysis has shown that the examined graves may be dated within a range from the end of the 4th century BC to the mid-1st century BC, and the oldest thus far are those under the working designation "meja" (Grave 0) and Grave 6 (Fig. 6). The six coins that were found, which all functioned as jewellery, covered the period from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, and the youngest among them was the Athenian tetradrachma from the first half of the 1st century BC.³⁴

29 Borzić 2017, pp. 61-84.

30 Radić 2017, pp. 85-98.

31 Eterović Borzić 2017, pp. 99-124.

32 Radić, Borzić 2017a, pp. 110-111; Borzić 2017, p. 65, Fig. 36.

33 Eterović Borzić 2017, pp. 99-124; Borzić 2017, pp. 61-84.

34 Radić 2017, p. 94. We would like to thank our colleague Maja Bonačić Mandinić, the head of the Coin Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Split, for her assistance in the attribution of these coins.

29 Borzić 2017, str. 61-84.

30 Radić 2017, str. 85-98.

31 Eterović Borzić 2017, str. 99-124.

32 Radić, Borzić 2017a, str. 110-111; Borzić 2017, str. 65, sl. 36.



Sl. 7. Nekropola Kopila, detalj (foto: I. Borzić)
Fig. 7. Kopila necropolis, detail (photo: I. Borzić)

tadašnje mediteranske trgovine stakлом, jantarom, metalom, keramičkim predmetima i poljodjelskim proizvodima.³³ Njihova analiza pokazala je da se istražene grobnice datiraju u rasponu od kraja 4. st. pr. Kr. pa do sredine 1. st. pr. Kr., s tim da se kao najstarije za sada pokazuju one radnog naziva "meja" (Grobnica 0) i Grobnica 6 (sl. 6). Šest nađenih novčića, svi u funkciji nakita, pokrivaju razdoblje od 3. do 1. st. pr. Kr., a najmlađi među njima je atenska tetradrahma iz prve polovice 1. st. pr. Kr.³⁴

Istraživanje nekropole pokazalo je da ona nastaje na položaju koji je i ranije bio u nekakvoj funkciji, čemu svjedoči mjestimično izoliran tanak sloj položen izravno na pločastu matičnu stijenu u kojem se pojavljuje većinom keramika lokalne izrade, ali i pojedinačni ulomci apulske geometrijske keramike datirane u 6. i 5. st. pr. Kr.³⁵

Vrlo značajan detalj u prostornoj analizi čitavog promatranog areala Kopile jest činjenica da se pedesetak metara istočnije od opisanog dijela nekropole, među suhoziđem i makijom, jasno nazire još jedna skupina, očito istovjetno organiziranoga grobnog areala kojem tek predstoji istraživanje i dovođenje u vezu s onim djelomično već istraženim.

Research into the necropolis has shown that it emerged at a site which had already had some earlier function, to which the occasional, isolated thin layer resting directly on the plate-like bedrock testifies; mostly locally-made pottery appears in it, as well as shards of Apulian geometric ware dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC.³⁵

A very significant detail in the spatial analysis of the entire examined area of Kopila is the fact that roughly fifty meters from the described portion of the necropolis, among stacked stone walls and macchia, another group can be discerned, obviously an identically organized cemeterial area, which has yet to be researched and linked to that which has already been partially examined.

An attempt at historical interpretation of the island of Korčula within central Dalmatia and its hinterland

Thanks to the increasing quantity of data on the Kopila hillfort and the determination of the Stine hillfort's location, we are able to say something more about the spatial distribution of island communities during the later Iron Age. Both of these settlements were oriented toward supervision over the key geographic areas which were the reason for their emergence in the first place: Kopila oversees the Blato plain, while Stine has a similar vantage point over the Pelješac Channel. Both sites are situated rather far from the sea, while the hillforts of Sveti Ivan and Sveti Antun are located alongside the sea, at points most suitable for anchoring and goods exchanges. It could almost be said that the first of these was the port for Kopila, and the second for Stine. The Dubrovica (Bunker) hillfort is situated high on a hill in the central, agriculturally very productive section of the island (the area of today's villages of Čara and Smokvica), above the sole safe harbor, Brna. Even though it is still impossible to confirm this assertion, the division of the island into three larger communities would entirely correspond to the elongated relief and natural predisposition of Korčula.

At this point, virtually nothing is known about the structure and organization of the indigenous societies, but there is justifiable speculation that by the end of the 4th century BC at the latest some manner of military/political alliance was formed between the communities, certainly prompted by the centre of the Illyrian state, which would have been well-served by having the peripheral area to which it aspired be well

33 Eterović Borzić 2017, str. 99-124; Borzić 2017, str. 61-84.

34 Radić 2017, str. 94. Na pomoći pri atribuiranju novca zahvaljujemo kolegici Maji Bonačić Mandinić, voditeljici Numizmatičke zbirke u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.

35 Radić, Borzić 2017a, str. 109, 111; Borzić 2017, str. 63-64.

35 Radić, Borzić 2017a, pp. 109, 111; Borzić 2017, pp. 63-64.



Sl. 8. Tlocrt nekropole (crtež: A. Eterović Borzić)
Fig. 8. Ground-plan of necropolis (sketch: A. Eterović Borzić)

Pokušaj povijesne interpretacije otoka Korčule unutar srednjodalmatinskog prostora i njegovog zaleđa

Rastućim podatcima o gradini Kopili te lociranjem gradine Stine u mogućnosti smo nešto više reći o prostonom rasporedu otočnih zajednica mlađega željenzog doba. Oba ova naselja bila su usmjerenja prema nadzoru nad ključnim geografskim prostorima zbog kojih su i nastala: Kopila nadzire Blatsko polje, a Stine Pelješki kanal. Oba lokaliteta nalaze se podalje od mora, a uz more, na točkama koje su najpovoljnije za sidrenje i razmjenu, smještene su gradine Sveti Ivan i Sveti Antun. Gotovo bismo mogli reći da je prva od njih luka Kopile, a druga luka Stine. U središnjem, agrarno vrlo zanimljivom dijelu otoka (prostor današnjih naselja Čare i Smokvice), visoko na brdu iznad jedine sigurne luke Brne nalazi se gradina Dubrovica (Bunker). Iako takvu konstataciju još uvijek nije moguće potvrditi, podjela otoka na tri veće zajednice u

organized (and subordinate). If we had to speculate as to which of these points rose up and became the central military and political authority on the island, then this would certainly be Kopila. The power of the local population on Korčula is best reflected by the fact their control over the island and piracy did not stop until Octavian's very certain depopulation of Korčula in 35-33 BC (*App. Illyr. 16*).

However, the beginnings of this sequence of events in which the aforementioned two settlements rose up during the late Iron Age certainly ran deeper. During the time of the exceptionally poorly researched late Bronze and virtually unknown earlier Iron Age,³⁶ Korčula stood at the periphery of the Illyrian world, which had its centre deep in the Adriatic hinterland during and after the Pannonian-Balkan migrations. The cultural influences that made their way to the island and impacted the local population came from the

36 Radić 2010, pp. 62-63.

potpunosti bi odgovarala izduženom reljefu i prirodnim predispozicijama Korčule.

O strukturi i ustroju domorodačkog društva za sada ne znamo gotovo ništa, ali opravdano je pretpostaviti da je najkasnije od kraja 4. st. pr. Kr. došlo do određenog vojno-političkog povezivanja zajednica, zasigurno poticanog i iz središta ilirske države kojoj je odgovaralo da je periferija prostora na koji aspirira dobro organizirana (i podložna). Ako bismo trebali ukazati na točku koja se uzdigla i postala središtem vojne i političke vlasti na otoku, onda bi to u svakom slučaju bila Kopila. O snazi korčulanskoga lokalnog stanovništva najbolje govori podatak o njihovu nadzoru nad otokom i gusarskim aktivnostima koje nisu prestajale sve do vrlo izvjesne Oktavijanove depopulacije Korčule 35.-33. g. pr. Kr. (*App. Illyr. 16.*).

No, začetci takvog slijeda dogadaja u kojima su se spomenuta dva naselja tijekom kasnog željeznog doba izdigla, sigurno su puno dublji. U vrijeme na ovom prostoru iznimno slabo istraženog kasnog brončanog i gotovo nepoznatog starijeg željeznog doba,³⁶ Korčula je rubna zona ilirskog svijeta, čija su središta tijekom i u razdoblju nakon panonsko - balkanskih seoba smještena duboko u jadranskom zaleđu. Kulturni utjecaji koji dopiru do otoka i utječu na život lokalnog stanovništva dopiru s liburnskog, ali i glasinačkog prostora, vjerojatno su uglavnom trgovačke prirode, a vidljivi su ponajprije u oblicima nakita.³⁷

Promjene do kojih postupno dolazi tijekom procesa post-ranoželjeznodobnog integriranja srednjega i južnodalmatinskog dijela istočnog Jadrana u svijet mediteranske pomorske trgovine te nešto kasnije i ulaska u sferu grčkoga kolonizatorskog interesa, vidljive su i u rastućoj pojavi proizvoda dopremanih morskim putem na točke ili u regije koje su se ili našle na magistralnim trgovačkim pravcima i predstavljale nezane-mariniv čimbenik u njihovom nadzoru ili pak imale svoj adut u razmjeni robe. Otok Korčula, odnosno njegove zajednice među navedenim se primjedbama može prepoznati barem u prvim dvjema, ako ni zbog čega drugog onda zbog mogućnosti kontrole Pelješkog kanala i trgovačkog puta prema ušću Neretve, te putova prema ostalim atraktivnim točkama srednjeg Jadrana, prije svega Visa i Hvara, a onda u konačnici i čitavog Manijskog zaljeva.

Argument su pritom svakako primjeri korintskega i apulskoga geometrijskog posuđa 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr. pronađeni na Kopili, odnosno Veloj spilji. Njihova malobrojnost na ovom stupnju istraženosti domorodačkih gradinskih naselja sugerirala bi rijetke i neintenzivne trgovačke kontakte korčulanskih indigenih i

Liburnian, but also Glasinac area, and were probably mainly mercantile in nature, and visible first and foremost in the forms of jewellery.³⁷

The changes that gradually came during the mid-Bronze Age process of integration of the central and southern Dalmatian parts of the eastern Adriatic seaboard into Mediterranean maritime trade and their somewhat later incorporation into the sphere of Greek colonizing interest were also visible in the increasing appearance of products delivered by sea to points or in regions that were situated along major trade routes and constituted a not insignificant factor in their supervision, or even had their own specific competitive edge in trade. The island of Korčula, or rather its communities, can be recognized in at least the first two of these aspects, if for no other reasons than their ability to control the Pelješac Channel and trade toward the mouth of the Neretva River, as well as routes toward the remaining attractive points in the central Adriatic, above all Vis and Hvar, and then, finally, the Manii Gulf.

An argument backing this are certainly the examples of Corinthian and Apulian Geometric pottery from the 7th and 6th centuries BC found at Kopila, and in Vela Spilja Cave. Their small number at this level of research into indigenous hillfort settlements would suggest rare and non-intensive trade contacts between Korčula's natives and Greek and southern Italic merchants, but for an overall picture, it should be known that very similar imported materials, in considerably higher quantities at places, were also found at other frequented points, e.g., on the islands of Vis and Hvar, in Salona, in the territory of Liburnia and farther up the northern Adriatic.³⁸

Written sources, in this case also confirmed by archaeological data, testify to great, new changes in the central Dalmatian area prompted by the expansionist activities of Dionysius of Syracuse at the turn of the 5th into the 4th century BC, i.e., the establishment of the Greek colonies of Issa and Pharos.³⁹ It is apparent that the military strength of Dionysius on the Adriatic paved the way for the development of Hellenic settlements, because without this assistance the regionally well-connected local population would not have permitted the establishment of Pharos. We are at liberty

37 Čović 1987; Marijan 2001, pp. 56.

38 Lisičar 1949, pp. 35-49; Lisičar 1973, pp. 3-27; Nikolanci 1973, pp. 98-118; Batović 1984, pp. 37-62; Teržan 1995, pp. 130-131; Čelhar, Borzić 2016, pp. 72-78.

39 Novak 1940, pp. 111-128; Čaće 1994, pp. 33-54; Kirigin 1996; Kirigin 2003; Kirigin 2006; Dukat, Jeličić-Radonić 2009, pp. 325-329; Zaninović 2015, pp. 119-189; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015.

36 Radić 2010, str. 62-63.

37 Čović 1987; Marijan 2001, str. 56.

grčkih, odnosno južnoitalskih trgovaca, no za ukupnu sliku treba znati da je vrlo sličan importirani materijal, mjestimice u dosta većim količinama, pronalažen i na drugim frekventnim točkama, npr. na Visu i Hvaru, u Saloni, na prostoru Liburnije i dalje prema sjeveru Jadranu.³⁸

Pisani izvori, u ovom slučaju dijelom i potvrđeni arheološkim podatcima, svjedoče o novim velikim promjenama na srednjodalmatinskom prostoru potaknutima ekspanzionističkim aktivnostima Dionizija Sirakuškog na prijelazu iz 5. u 4. st. pr. Kr., odnosno osnutkom grčkih kolonija Ise i Farosa.³⁹ Očito da je snažna Dionizijeva vojna nazočnost na Jadranu omogućila razvoj helenskih naselja, jer bez te pomoći dobro regionalno povezano lokalno stanovništvo ne bi dopustilo osnivanje Farosa. Možemo slobodno pretpostaviti da je priča o osnivanju Farosa u mnogočemu podudarna s pričom o osnivanju spomenute knidske naseobine na otoku Korčuli. Velika i bitna razlika je samo u tome što Kniđanima, kako nam se čini, nitko nije pritekao u pomoć. Ako se izuzmu prva desetljeća 4. st. pr. Kr., koja bi se mogla nazvati vremenom prilagodbe i učvršćivanja, od sredine stoljeća prati se vrlo intenzivan razvoj helenskih naseobina. O stupnju gospodarskoga, genetskoga i vojnog prožimanja lokalne domorodačke zajednice i grčkih došljaka arheološkim istraživanjima i obradom pretežito pokretnih nalaza s gradinskih naselja i njegovih nekropola stjeće se sve više podataka,⁴⁰ a čini se izvjesnim kako početak pomalo zakasnjelog zamaha jadranskih Grka, koji se vremenski preklapa s uzdizanjem lokalnog dinasta Jonija, ne bi bio ni moguć bez postojanja dobrih odnosa s domorodačkim stanovništvom naseljenim na srednjodalmatinskim otocima i kopnu, odnosno tržištem otvorenim za plasiranje proizvoda. Osim korčulanske Kopile, čija se najranija faza nekropole upravo tada prepoznaje, lokaliteti na okolnim otocima i kopnu pokazuju sličnu dinamiku, npr. svetište u špilji Nakovani i ono na Punta Planki, moguće u špilji Rači na Lastovu i ono nad izvorom Omble, ali i nekih naseobinskih lokaliteta, npr. Ošanića, Mrljanovca i Crvenog Grma

to assume that the story about the establishment of Pharos corresponds in many ways with the story about the establishment of the Cnidian settlement on the island of Korčula. The major and essential difference is only that, it would appear to us, nobody came to render assistance to the Cnidians. With the exception of the first decades of the 4th century BC, which may be called a time of adaptation and reinforcement, as of the middle of that century one may follow the very intense development of the Hellenic settlements. Increasing amounts of data on the degree of economic, genetic and military intermingling between the local, indigenous communities and Greek settlers are being obtained on the basis of archaeological research and analysis of the primarily mobile finds from hillfort settlements and their necropolises,⁴⁰ and it would appear likely that the beginning of the somewhat delayed ascent of the Adriatic Greeks, which chronologically corresponds to the rise of the local dynast Ionios, would not have been possible without the existence of sound relations with the indigenous population that had settled on the central Dalmatian islands and mainland, as well as the corresponding markets to offer their products. Besides Korčula's Kopila, at which the earliest phase of its necropolis was recognized at precisely that time, sites on the surrounding islands and mainland reflect a similar trend, e.g., the shrine in Nakovana Cave and the one at Punta Planka, possible in Rača Cave on the island of Lastovo and the one at the source of the Ombla River, as well as certain settlement sites, e.g. Ošanići, Mrljanovac and Crveni Grm at Ljubuški,⁴¹ Gorica at Sovići, Mutogras at Podstrana, the Rat Hillfort at Bobovišće on the island of Brač, numerous hillforts in the Salona bay area and others.⁴²

The role of the island of Korčula in the further progress of historical events during the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries BC must be viewed, as stated earlier, through the context of its position on the boundary between the Issaean/Roman and Illyrian spheres of interest, although it is certain that it was traditionally associated more with the latter, i.e., it was a part thereof, until it finally came under Roman authority in 35-33 BC. Judging by the quantity and diversity of the materials at the Kopila necropolis and the

38 Lisičar 1949, str. 35-49; Lisičar 1973, str. 3-27; Nikolanci 1973, str. 98-118; Batović 1984, str. 37-62; Teržan 1995, str. 130-131; Čelhar, Borzić 2016, str. 72-78.

39 Novak 1940, str. 111-128; Čaće 1994, str. 33-54; Kirigin 1996; Kirigin 2003; Kirigin 2006; Dukat, Jeličić-Radonić 2009, str. 325-329; Zaninović 2015, str. 119-189; Jeličić-Radonić, Katić 2015.

40 Marijan 2001; Katić 2002, str. 51-59; Barbarić 2006, str. 43-62; Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 9-24; Šešelj 2009; Čargo, Miše 2010, str. 7-40; Miše 2013, str. 99-130; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 237-256.

40 Marijan 2001; Katić 2002, pp. 51-59; Barbarić 2006, pp. 43-62; Kirigin *et al.* 2006, pp. 9-24; Šešelj 2009; Čargo, Miše 2010, pp. 7-40; Miše 2013, pp. 99-130; Blečić Kavur, Kavur 2016, pp. 237-256.

41 We would like to thank our colleague Mariko Rašica for the preliminary data from these sites.

42 Forenbacher, Kaiser 2003; Bilić-Dujmušić 2002, pp. 485-498; Šešelj 2009; Marijan 2010; Barbarić 2010, pp. 157-173.

kod Ljubuškog,⁴¹ Gorice kod Sovića, Mutograsa kod Podstrane, gradine Rat kod Bobivišća na otoku Braču, brojnih gradina u arealu salonitanskog zaljeva i drugih.⁴²

Uloga otoka Korčule u dalnjim dinamičnim povijesnim događanjima tijekom 3., 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr. mora se sagledati, kako je ranije rečeno, kroz granični položaj između isejsko/rimskog i ilirskog interesnog područja, s time da je izvjesno kako je tradicijski više bila vezana uz ovo potonje, odnosno da je bila njezin dio, i to sve do konačnog potpadanja pod rimsku vlast 35.-33. g. pr. Kr. Ako je suditi prema količini i raznovrsnosti materijala na kopilskoj nekropoli i po-kretnim nalazima sakupljenim na ostalim gradinskim naseljima, korčulanske se zajednice u tom razdoblju kontinuirano razvijaju te su vrlo aktivnan sudionik u grčko/rimsko - ilirskom suživotu.

Zaključak

Podatci dobiveni rekognosciranjem terena ukazuju da je na Korčuli u mlađem željeznom dobu istodobno egzistiralo nekoliko gradinskih naselja. Na tim je lokalitetima nađena velika količina ulomaka helenističkih posuda, tisuće krohotina grčko-italskih amfora i onih tipa *Lamboglia 2*, pomiješanih sa znatno većom količinom grube lokalne keramike.

Čini se da su ta naselja bila okupljena oko gradića Kopile na zapadnom dijelu otoka, gradine Stine u zoni Pelješkog kanala i Dubrovice u središnjem dijelu otoka. Dosadašnja istraživanja ukazuju da je gradina Kopila središte najistaknutije otočne zajednice, vjerojatno s mogućnošću utjecaja ne samo na Korčuli nego i na okolnom prostoru.

S druge strane, za sada nije sa sigurnošću utvrđen položaj nijednoga grčkog naselja koje spominju historiografski ili epigrafski izvori. Vrlo je izgledno, ali još uvijek ne i potpuno dokazivo da je postojanje snažnih, međusobno povezanih domorodačkih zajednica isključivalo mogućnost lokalnoga teritorijalnog suživota i da su te zajednice brojnošću te posebno vojnom snagom predstavljale branu nadirućem grčkom elementu, ne ostavljajući prostor za (dugotrajnije) egzistiranje samostalnih helenističkih naseobina.

Bez obzira na rečeno, rezultati istraživanja nekropole gradinskog naselja na Kopili nedvosmisleno upućuju na jak helenistički utjecaj na ovdašnje stanovništvo, koje istodobno zadržava svoja lokalna

movable finds gathered at other hillfort settlements, the Korčula communities continually developed during this period and were very active participants in the common Graeco-Roman/Ilyrian life.

Conclusion

The data obtained by field reconnaissance show that several hillfort settlements had existed on the island of Korčula at the same time. A high quantity of Hellenistic potsherds, thousands of fragments of Graeco-Italian amphorae of Lamboglia 2 type, mixed with a considerable quantity of coarse local pottery, were found at these sites.

It would appear that these settlements were gathered around the Kopila Hillfort on the western side of the island, the Stine Hillfort on the Pelješac Channel zone and Dubrovica in the centre of the island. Previous research has shown that the Kopila hillfort was the centre of the most prominent island community, probably with the capability of influencing not only Korčula but also the larger surrounding area.

On the other hand, the location of any Greek settlements mentioned in historiographic or epigraphic sources has not yet been determined. It is very likely, but still not entirely provable, that the existence of powerful, mutually linked indigenous communities excluded the possibility of local territorial coexistence and that these communities, given their number and particularly their military strength, constituted a barrier to the burgeoning Greek element, not leaving any space for (longer-term) survival by independent Hellenistic settlements.

Regardless of the aforementioned, the results of research into the necropolis of the hillfort settlement on Kopila unambiguously point to a strong Hellenistic influence on the local population, which simultaneously retained its local traditional features.⁴³ The mixture of Hellenistic and indigenous elements has been documented in the organization and functioning of the actual necropolis, built and organized according to a specific, certainly local model with burial rituals also unique to the local community, but with an evident Hellenistic influence. All of the deposited pottery was Hellenistic, although, by contrast to the Issaean custom, mostly wine-drinking vessels (skyphoi and kantharoi) predominated, while the role of the considerable number of gutti has yet to be explained. On the other hand, the obligatory depositing of weapons next to the deceased certainly constituted the local component of ritual practices, which altogether opens the

41 Na preliminarnim podatcima s navedenih lokaliteta zahvaljujemo kolegi Mirku Rašiću.

42 Forenbacher, Kaiser 2003; Bilić-Dujmušić 2002, str. 485-498; Šešelj 2009; Marijan 2010; Barbarić 2010, str. 157-173.

43 Radić, Borzić 2017b, pp. 139-145.

tradicija obilježja.⁴³ Miješanje helenističkih i domorodačkih elemenata dokumentirano je na izvedbi i funkcionaliranju same nekropole građene i organizirane po specifičnom, svakako lokalnom modelu s grobnim ritualom svojstvenim također lokalnoj zajednici, ali s evidentnim helenskim utjecajem. Sve prilagano posude je helenističko, s time da, za razliku od isejskih navada, prevladavaju uglavnom posude za ispijanje vina (skifosi i kantarosi), a ulogu većeg broja gutusa tek treba objasniti. S druge strane, svakako lokalni dio ritualne prakse predstavlja obvezno prilaganje oružja uz pokojnike, što sve skupa otvara i mogućnost ozbiljnijeg pristupa proučavanju duhovne kulture lokalne zajednice.

Nekropola gradine Kopila formira se krajem 4. st. pr. Kr, a traje sve do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. Grobni prilozi i ostali nalazi količinom i kvalitetom izrade svjedoče o znatnoj gospodarskoj moći lokalnog stanovništva, ali i njihovoј uključenosti u tadašnje trgovачke tokove. Smjerovi trgovine mogu se naslutiti iz podatka da je među ranijom keramikom iz nekropole u početku češća ona helenistička iz apulskog areala, a kasnije prevladavaju posude isejskih, možda i drugih srednjodalmatinskih helenističkih radionica. No osim tih, na prvu sliku vidljivih elemenata gospodarstva ove, ali i drugih indigenih zajednica, jasno je kako istraživanja gospodarske osnove i korištenja lokalnih resursa još nisu ni započela. Zasad se sve svodi tek na niz pitanja, npr. jesu li korčulanske indigene zajednice uzgajale lozu i maslinu, koje su žitarice i u kojoj mjeri sijali, koje su domaće životinje prevladavale, kolika je bila zastupljenost ribe u prehrani, jesu li aktivno sudjelovali u pomorskoj trgovini, jesu li kovali željezne predmete, kakve su bile tadašnje klimatske prilike, koliko se biljni svijet razlikovao od današnjeg, je li Blatsko polje već tada periodično jezero i tako dalje. No to su pitanja na koja tek treba odgovoriti, a zapravo predstavljaju samu suštinu bitka ovdašnjeg stanovništva.

possibility of a more serious approach to the study of the spiritual culture of the local community.

The necropolis of the Kopila hillfort was formed at the end of the 4th century BC, and it lasted until the end of the 1st century BC. In terms of their quantity and the quality of their craftsmanship, the grave goods and other finds testify to the considerable economic power of the local population, but also their involvement in trade flows of the time. The directions of this trade can be discerned on the basis of the fact that among the earlier pottery from the necropolis, the Hellenistic variety from the Apulian area dominated, while later Issaeian, and perhaps also pottery from other central Dalmatian Hellenistic workshops, predominated. But besides these at first glance visible elements of the economy of this and other indigenous communities, it is clear that research into the economic base and use of local resources still has not commenced. Thus far it is limited solely to a series of questions, e.g., did the Korčula indigenous communities cultivate grapes and olives, which grains they sowed and to what extent, which domesticated animals predominated, to what extent were fish present in their diet, did they actively participate in maritime trade, did they forge iron products, what the climatic conditions were at the time, how much did local plant life differ from that of today, was the Blato plain already a seasonal lake even then, and so forth. These are questions pertaining to the very essence of the local population's struggles that have yet to be answered.

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