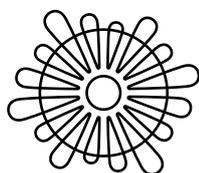


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# PODVODNO NALAZIŠTE SVETI JURAJ – LISAC I PROIZVODNJA SOLI KRAJEM BRONČANOG DOBA

## SVETI JURAJ – LISAC UNDERWATER SITE AND SALT PRODUCTION AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE

PIO DOMINES PETER

Ante Starčevića 31  
HR-53270 Senj  
peter.pio@hotmail.com

MATE PARICA

Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za arheologiju  
University of Zadar, Department of Archaeology  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV., 2  
HR-23000 Zadar  
mateparica@gmail.com

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### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

podvelebitsko primorje,  
Lisac, briketaž, produkcija soli, maritimne konstrukcije, brončano doba, starije željezno doba

*U vizuri mjesta Svetog Jurja smještenog u podvelebitskom primorju oko sedam kilometara južno od Senja dominira manji otočić Lisac. Blizina kopna i relativno plitka dubina tjesnaca privukla je pozornost istraživača i trasirala put pretpostavkama o povezanosti otoka s kopnom tijekom prošlosti. U radu se predstavljaju rezultati pregleda podmorja kojima je potvrđeno postojanje arheoloških potencijala. Lokalitet uključuje tragove maritimnih konstrukcija u obliku komunikacijskog nasipa i umjetno stvorenog platoa, a analiza keramičke građe pokazuje da su se znatne prostorne aktivnosti u maritimnom krajoliku Lisca vjerojatno dogodile tijekom kasnog brončanog doba. U obradi prikupljenog materijala najveća pozornost pridana je nalazima briketaža. Pod tim pojmom podrazumijeva se repertoar izrađevina od pečene zemlje – potpornih stupića i recipijenata koji su služili u prapovijesnoj produkciji soli prisilnim isušivanjem morske vode, a brojnost ulomaka takvih specifičnih predmeta na lokalitetu snažna je potvrda ubikacije proizvodne lokacije. U kontekstu toga raspravlja se o karakteru lokaliteta, korelaciji između prostornih karakteristika položaja te zahtjeva, potreba i tehnoloških aspekata produkcije soli briketažom, s osvrtom na implikacije koje je ta djelatnost mogla imati unutar socioekonomskih okvira na mikroregionalnoj razini.*

### KEY WORDS:

sub-Velebit coast, Lisac, briquetage, salt production, maritime constructions, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age

*The seaward view from above Sveti Juraj, which is located on the Velebit coast, about seven kilometres south of Senj, is dominated by the small island of Lisac. The proximity of the mainland and relatively shallow depth of the strait have attracted the attention of researchers and led to assumptions about the island's connection to the mainland in the past. The paper presents the results of an underwater survey, which confirm the existence of archaeological potential under. The site includes traces of maritime structures in the form of a communication embankment and an artificially created plateau.*

*An analysis of ceramic artefacts suggests that significant spatial activities in the Lisac maritime landscape probably occurred during the Late Bronze Age. In processing the collected artefacts, the greatest attention was paid to briquetage finds. The term refers to a repertoire of products made of fired earth — supporting pillars and vessels — used in prehistoric salt production through forced seawater evaporation. The large quantity of fragments of these items strongly suggests a production site. In this context, the character of the site, the correlation between spatial characteristics of the location, as well as the requirements, needs and technological aspects of salt production through briquetage are discussed, with reference to the possible implications of this activity on contemporary social and economic frameworks at the microregional level.*

## UVOD

Naselje Sveti Juraj smješteno je na podvelebitskoj obali, oko sedam kilometara južno od Senja, na samom začetku duge zaravni zvane Podgorje koja se uzduž velebitske primorske padine pruža prema jugu (Karta 1). Područje sjevernog Velebita obilježava slika surova i često teško prohodna krškog krajolika sa svojim klimatskim obilježjima i oskudnim prirodnim resursima. Takve specifične geomorfološke i klimatske karakteristike prostora, koje su tijekom prošlosti u velikoj mjeri oblikovali život ljudi i utjecali na dinamiku kulturnih procesa, nametnule su poseban izazov arheološkoj struci na koji donedavno nije bilo pravog odgovora. Izostanak većeg interesa arheologa odrazio se na slabo stanje istraženosti velebitskog prostora, a u takvu sliku uklapa se i Sveti Juraj, usprkos činjenici da je još od kraja 19. stoljeća u arheološkoj literaturi poznat po slučajnim nalazima predmeta iz kasnog brončanog doba, želznog doba i rimskog razdoblja.<sup>1</sup> Skromno stanje istraženosti i nedostatak ozbiljnijih istraživačkih aktivnosti djelomično je premostio suvremeni znanstveni fokus usmjeren na intenzivno istraživanje krajolika. Spoznaje iz dosadašnjih objava pokazuju da je u mlađim prapovijesnim razdobljima došlo do prvog intenzivnijeg naseljavanja praćenog konkretnim intervencijama u prostoru u smislu formiranja niza gradina koje predstavljaju najreprezentativnije i najbrojnije prapovijesne strukture u krajoliku.<sup>2</sup> S druge strane, brojnost i karakter nalaza rimskog perioda omogućili

<sup>1</sup> Za stanje poznavanja arheološke baštine Svetog Jurja usp. M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 45–70; A. FABER, 2003, 629–647; A. FABER, 2013, 513–536; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 118–136 i ondje navedenu literaturu. Uz druge slučajno pronađene prapovijesne predmete (T. TEŽAK-GREGL, 1984, 6–11) osobito se ističe nalaz brončanog noža sa zakrivljenom oštricom ukrašenom geometrijskim motivima na osnovi kojeg je, zajedno s nizom srodnih primjeraka koji se pojavljuju na liburnskom i japodskom prostoru u kasno brončano doba, Dunja Glogović izvodila skupinu noževa i po eponimnom lokalitetu ih odredila kao tip Sveti Juraj (D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1992, 23–27).

<sup>2</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 70–142; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2017, 119–120.

## INTRODUCTION

The settlement of Sveti Juraj is located in the sub-Velebit littoral, about seven kilometres south of Senj, at the very beginning of a long plateau called Podgorje, which stretches south along the Velebit coastal slope (Map 1). The area of northern Velebit is marked by a rugged and often arduous karst landscape with characteristic climatic features and scarce natural resources. Such specific geomorphological and climatic characteristics of the area, which throughout the past have significantly shaped people's lives and influenced the dynamics of cultural processes, posed a particular challenge to the archaeological profession, to which until recently there was no real answer. Lack of interest among archaeologists has resulted in a poor state of research into the Velebit area, and Sveti Juraj fits into such a picture, despite the fact that in archaeological literature it has been known for accidental finds of artefacts from the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman period since the end of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> The modest state of research and a lack of more serious investigative activities have recently been partially bridged by scientific focus on intensive landscape surveying. Findings from previous publications indicate that in late prehistoric periods the first intensive settlement occurred along with specific spatial interventions in the form of a series of hillforts that are the most representative and numerous prehistoric structures in the landscape.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the large quantity and the character of Roman pe-

<sup>1</sup> On the archaeological heritage of Sveti Juraj, cf. M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 45–70; A. FABER, 2003, 629–647; A. FABER, 2013, 513–536; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 118–136 and the literature cited therein. Among other prehistoric chance finds (T. TEŽAK-GREGL, 1984, 6–11), particularly noteworthy is a bronze knife with a curved blade decorated with geometric motifs, on the basis of which, along with a series of related specimens appearing in Late Bronze Age Liburnian and Iapodian territories, Dunja Glogović classified a group of knives as the Sveti Juraj type, after the eponymous site (D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1992, 23–27).

<sup>2</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 70–142; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2017, 119–120.

su znatno veći iskorak u poznavanju prošlosti ovog prostora u antici. Istraživači su suglasni u mišljenju da se na mjesto Svetog Jurja može ubicirati rimsko naselje čije je ime *Lopsica* zabilježeno u povijesnim izvorima. Pretpostavlja se da je ono u procesu poleogeneze uslijed romanizacije ovih prostora nastavilo životni kontinuitet starijeg središta prapovijesne zajednice i nastavljaajući iskorištavanje svih povoljnih preduvjeta prosperiteta – izvrsnog prometnog položaja podno velebitskog prijevoja Oltara preko kojeg prolazi prirodna komunikacija između priobalja i prostranog planinskog zaleđa i prekovelebitske unutrašnjosti, eksploatacije gospodarskih resursa, ponajprije šumskog bogatstva, te zaštićene luke, već u ranocarsko doba steklo municipalni status.<sup>3</sup>

## PROSTORNI POLOŽAJ I PRETHODNI PODATCI O LOKALITETU

Današnje mjesto Sveti Juraj razvilo se oko zaštićene uvale pred kojom dominira manji otočić Lisac kojeg od kopna dijeli tjesnac širok oko 80 metara (Sl. 1). Otočić je srcolika oblika, dug je 185 metara i širine oko 150 metara, stjenovite je i dinamične vapnenačke morfologije sa stožastom glavicom koja se uzdiže na 30 metara nadmorske visine. Područje istraživanja ovog rada jest podmorje tjesnaca između otočića Lisca i kopna koji je u dosadašnjoj arheološkoj literaturi interpretiran na različite načine. Položaj u blizini obale i relativno mala dubina tjesnaca privukli su pozornost arheologa i poslužili kao smjernice koje su navele istraživače na pretpostavku da je Lisac nekoć bio povezan s kopnom. Tomu je djelomično pogodovala i usmena tradicija lokalnih stanovnika koja prenosi predaju o postojanju potonulog grada i prevlake između otočića i kopna „koja se za bistrih dana može vidjeti na dnu“.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 522.

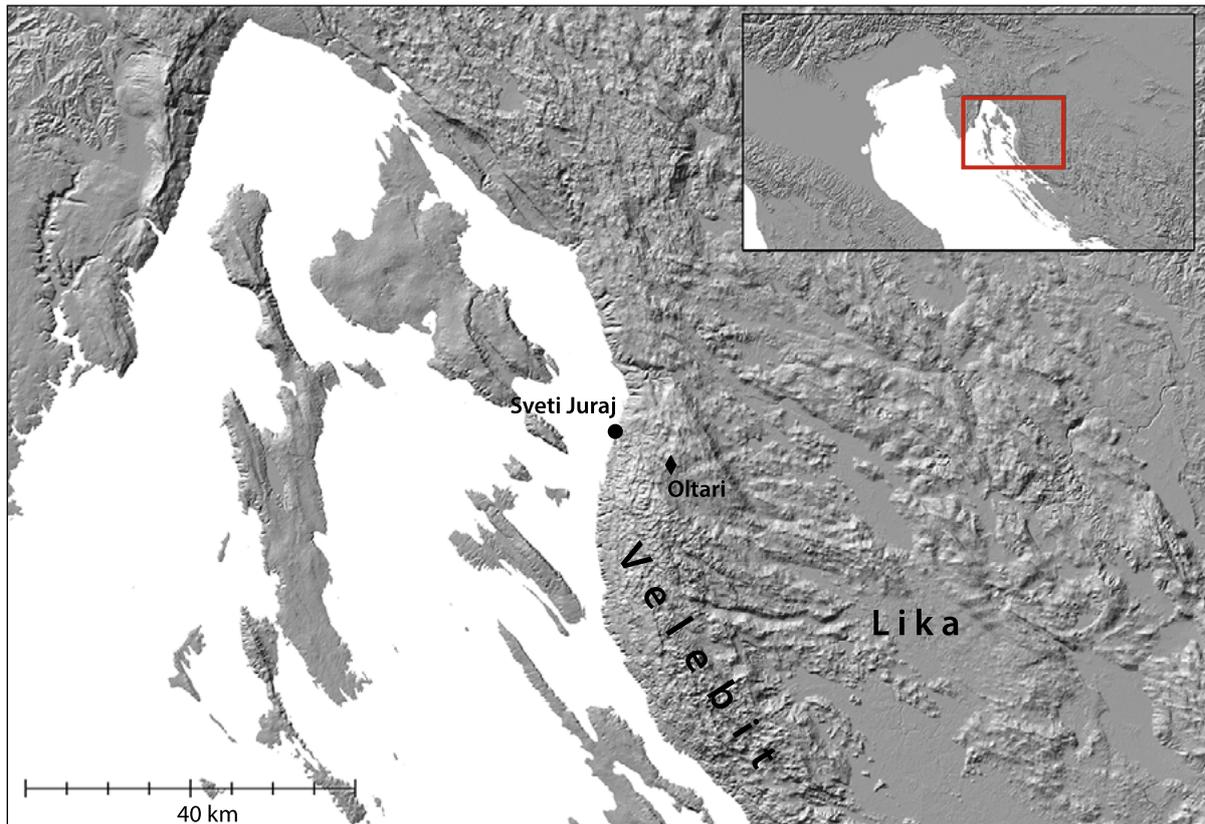
<sup>4</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; A. FABER, 2003, 631.

riod finds enabled a much greater advance in understanding the past of this area in Classical Antiquity. Researchers agree that a Roman settlement recorded in historical sources under the name of *Lopsica* was located in present-day Sveti Juraj. Presumably, in the process of poleogenesis due to the Romanisation of the area, *Lopsica* was the continuation of the previous centre of a prehistoric community, which kept on exploiting the many conditions favouring its prosperity: its excellent transport location at the foot of the Oltari pass enabling natural communication between the coast and the vast Velebit hinterland; the harnessing of economic, primarily forest, resources; and a protected port. Thus, the settlement had already acquired municipal status in the early imperial period.<sup>3</sup>

## SPATIAL LOCATION AND PRELIMINARY DATA ON THE SITE

The present-day settlement of Sveti Juraj has developed around a sheltered bay opposite the small island of Lisac, which is separated from the mainland by a strait, approximately 80 metres wide (Fig. 1). The islet is heart-shaped, 185 metres long and about 150 metres wide, and has a rocky and dynamic limestone morphology with a truncated conical summit that rises to 30 metres above sea level. The area studied in this paper is the seabed of the strait between the Lisac islet and the mainland, which has been interpreted in different ways in archaeological literature. The location near the coast and the relatively shallow depth of the strait have attracted the attention of archaeologists and led researchers to assume that Lisac was once connected to the mainland. This was partly due to local oral tradition, which has handed down the legend of the existence of a sunken city and an isthmus between the little island and the

<sup>3</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 522.



**KARTA 1.** Geografski položaj Svetog Jurja u odnosu na planinski prijevoj Oltare i kontinentalno zaleđe (izradio P. Domines Peter)

**MAP 1** The geographical location of Sveti Juraj in relation to the Oltari mountain pass and the continental hinterland (by P. Domines Peter)

U objavama koje razmatraju tu problematiku prevladalo je mišljenje da je umjetna prevlaka nastala u rimsko doba, prije svega kao dio operativne obale ili lukobrana koji je štitio luku rimske Lopsike od udara jugoistočnih vjetrova.<sup>5</sup> Bazirajući svoja promišljanja na proučavanju promjena morske razine, S. Forenbaher iznosi mišljenje da je Lisac već za brončanog doba bio najvjerojatnije povezan s kopnom, a da se dio tjesnaca za željeznog doba i rimskog razdoblja vjerojatno nalazio neposredno iznad razine mora. Revizija starijih nalaza ti-

mainland, “seen at the bottom on clear days.”<sup>4</sup> In publications dealing with this issue, the prevailing opinion was that the artificial isthmus was created in Roman times, primarily as part of an operational quay or breakwater that protected the port of Roman *Lopsica* from the impact of southeast winds.<sup>5</sup> Basing his thinking on the study of sea level change, S. Forenbaher is of the opinion that Lisac was most probably connected to the mainland as early as in the

<sup>5</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1980, 191; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 522, bilj. 7; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 129. Pri pregledu podmorja pod vodstvom Marija Jurišića 1985. u podmorju između otočića i obale utvrđeni su ostatci zidova za koje je pretpostavljeno da bi mogli biti ostatci antičkih lukobrana (A. FABER, 2003, 631, bilj. 3). U suradnji Gradskog muzeja Senj i Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru 1995. godine provedena su podvodna istraživanja u podmorju Svetog Jurja pod vodstvom Smiljana Gluščevića. Međutim, rezultati istraživanja dosad nisu objavljeni (M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 47).

<sup>4</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; A. FABER, 2003, 631.

<sup>5</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1980, 191; M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2013, 522, n. 7; V. GLAVAŠ, M. GLAVIČIĆ, 2019, 129. In a survey led by Mario Jurišić in 1985, the remains of walls were identified in the seabed between the islet and the coast, which were assumed to be the “remains of ancient breakwaters” (A. FABER, 2003, 631, n. 3). In cooperation with the City Museum of Senj and the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, in 1995, underwater research was conducted in the seabed of Sveti Juraj under the leadership of Smiljan Gluščević. However, the results of the research have not been published so far (M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 47).

pičnih keramičkih „tronožaca“ iz podmorja otočića Lisca koji su prvotno tumačeni kao kulturni predmeti iznijela je izvanrednu potvrdu o postojanju prapovijesnog solarstva jer su trorogi stupići slijedom analogija određeni kao sastavni dijelovi briketaza za produkciju soli prisilnim isparavanjem. Uvažavajući tu spoznaju i mikrotopografska obilježja same lokacije, Forenbaher prvi razmišlja u smjeru pretpostavke da se na tom prostoru možda odvijala upravo takva vrsta aktivnosti.<sup>6</sup> Ulomke keramičkih posuda i „tronošce“ u podmorju na istočnoj strani Lisca spominje i I. Mihajlović u rezultatima podmorskog rekognosciranja koje je provedeno 2012. godine.<sup>7</sup> Dopunjujući dosadašnja promišljanja, ovaj rad predstavlja rezultate podmorskog arheološkog pregleda koji otvaraju novi pogled na nalaze i strukture u podmorju između otočića Lisca i kopna te omogućuju donošenje drukčijih pretpostavki o funkciji i kronološkom određenju lokaliteta.

## REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prethodno iznesena problematika o karakteru i dataciji lokaliteta bila je poticaj za provedbu terenskih istraživanja. Pregled podmorja koji je obuhvatio područje tjesnaca između otočića Lisca i obale proveden je u srpnju 2019. godine, pri čemu su zamijećeni arheološki nalazi i strukture opisani, skicirani, fotografski dokumentirani i georeferencirani.<sup>8</sup> K tomu, izuzeti su organski uzorci za <sup>14</sup>C analizu, a prikupljen je pokretni materijal koji je nakon desalinizacije podvrgnut obradi u svrhu stjecanja uvida u vremensko određenje te intenzitet i karakter ljudskih aktivnosti na lokalitetu. Pri provedbi terenskog pregleda posebna je pozornost pridana praćenju promjena u izgledu i konfiguraciji morskog dna, a također je, osim podmorskog istraživanja, proveden obilazak

Bronze Age, and that during the Iron Age and the Roman period part of the strait was probably located just above sea level. A revision of older finds of typical ceramic “tripods” from the seabed off the Lisac islet, which were originally interpreted as cult objects, provided extraordinary confirmation of prehistoric salt making; hence, three-horned pillars were by analogy identified as components of briquetage for salt production by forced evaporation. Taking into account also the site’s microtopographic features, the first to assume salt making in the area was Forenbaher.<sup>6</sup> Ceramic vessel fragments and “tripods” in the seabed on the eastern side of Lisac are also mentioned by I. Mihajlović in his paper on the results of underwater prospecting conducted in 2012.<sup>7</sup> Complementing previous considerations, this paper presents the results of an underwater archaeological survey that opens a new view of the finds and structures in the seabed between the Lisac islet and the mainland, and permits different assumptions about the site’s function and chronological determination.

## RESEARCH RESULTS

The previously presented problems regarding the character and dating of the site led to field surveys. In July 2019, a survey of the seabed was conducted that encompassed the area of the strait between the Lisac islet and the coastline, and the detected archaeological finds and structures were described, sketched, photographically documented and georeferenced.<sup>8</sup> In addition, organic samples were isolated for <sup>14</sup>C analysis, and movable material was collected, which after desalination was subject to analysis in order to gain insight into the chronology, as well as the intensity and character, of human activities at the site. During the field survey, special at-

<sup>6</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 188–189.

<sup>7</sup> I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2012, 559–562.

<sup>8</sup> M. PARICA, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 188–189.

<sup>7</sup> I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2012, 559–562.

<sup>8</sup> M. PARICA, 2019.



SLIKA 1. Pogled iz zraka na današnje mjesto Sveti Juraj s otočićem Lisacem (foto: B. Kačan)  
 FIGURE 1 Aerial view of present-day Sveti Juraj with the Lisac islet (photo: B. Kačan)

pojasa obale i priobalja kao zone plime i oseke te profila obale, na kojoj abrazija često može otkriti arheološke nalaze.

Pregledom podmorja između otočića Lisca i obale potvrđeno je postojanje podvodnih arheoloških nalaza koji se odnose na maritimne konstrukcije i površinske ostatke materijalne kulture. Artificijelno formirane prapovijesne konstrukcije očituju se u obliku dviju formacija: komunikacijskog nasipa koji je izvorno povezivao otočić Lisac s kopnom te umjetno stvorenog platoa u podmorju sjeveroistočno od spojnog nasipa (Karta 2). Od okolnog pjeskovitog dna plato se izdvaja s manjim rubnim nasipom čiji je vrh na prosječnim 2,8 metara ispod današnje morske razine te se blago uzdiže prema obali otočića Lisca do dubine od 1,6 metara, na kojoj prelazi u geološku vapnenačku formaciju. Plato se prostire u dužini oko 50 metara od spojnog nasipa u pravcu sjeveroistoka, odnosno prema krajnjem istočnom rtu Lisca.

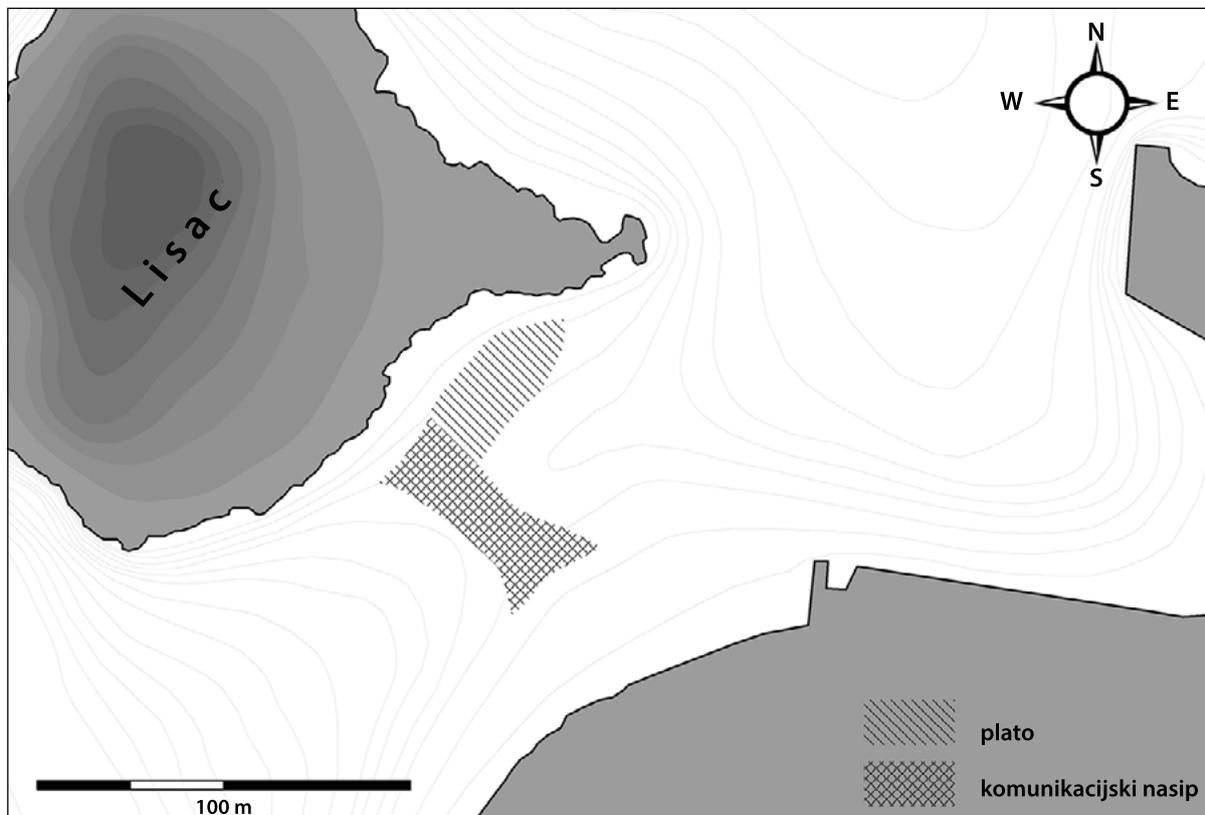
Druga dokumentirana struktura jest komu-

ention was paid to monitoring changes in the appearance and configuration of the seabed. Alongside underwater inspection, the coastline was surveyed and inspected in terms of the change of tides and of coastal profile, where abrasion often suggests archaeological finds.

A survey of the seabed between the Lisac islet and the coastline confirmed the existence of underwater archaeological finds related to maritime structures and surface remains of a material culture. Artificially formed prehistoric structures are manifest in the form of two formations: a communication embankment that originally connected the Lisac islet with the mainland and an artificially created plateau in the seabed northeast of the connecting embankment (Map 2). The plateau stands out from the surrounding sandy bottom with a small edge embankment whose peak is at an average of 2.8 metres below present-day sea level and rises slightly towards the coast of the Lisac islet to a depth of 1.6 metres, at which point it turns into a geological limestone formation.



**SLIKA 2.** Zračna fotografija otočića Lisca s naznačenim položajima komunikacijskog nasipa i platoa (foto: B. Kačan)  
**FIGURE 2** Aerial photograph of the Lisac islet with indicated positions of the communication embankment and plateau (photo: B. Kačan)



**KARTA 2.** Situacijski plan lokaliteta i dispozicija struktura (izradio: P. Domines Peter)  
**MAP 2** Situational plan of the site and the disposition of structures (by: P. Domines Peter)



SLIKA 3. Pogled na ostatke komunikacijskog nasipa (foto: P. Domines Peter)

FIGURE 3 View of the remains of the communication embankment (photo: P. Domines Peter)

nikacijski nasip koji je relativno razvučen na dnu (Sl. 2, Sl. 3). Iako uvučenost uvale današnjeg Svetog Jurja, potpomognuta položajem otočića Lisca, donekle pruža zaštitu od juga i bure, sam prostor tjesnaca otvoren je direktnim i otvorenim udarima južnog vjetrova i valova koji su dugotrajnim djelovanjem utjecali na izgled morskog dna. Stoga se također može pretpostaviti da su intenzivni maritimni procesi razvukli kamenu strukturu koja je u izvornom stanju možda bila i viša, dislocirali neke njezine kamene elemente, a vjerojatno i djelomično destruirali gornje slojeve kulturnog depozita. Vidljiva širina nasipa je oko 9 metara, a gledajući iz smjera obale Lisca, primjećuje se već na 2 metra dubine te postupno pada do dubine od 2,9 metara koliko iznosi na središnjem, najdubljem dijelu tjesnaca. Postupno uzdizanje nasipa slijedi približavanjem kopnu, no sam je kontakt s kopnenom obalom nejasan s obzirom na to da se na mjestu spoja nazire kameni nasip antičke strukture. Pregledom zračnih fotografija lokaliteta primijećen je i

The plateau stretches for about 50 metres from the connecting embankment in the direction of the northeast, that is towards the easternmost cape of Lisac.

The other documented structure is a communication embankment that is relatively wide at the bottom (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). Although the indentation of present-day Sveti Juraj Bay, aided by the position of the Lisac islet, provides some protection from the jugo and bora winds, the strait area itself is exposed to direct and open gusts of the south wind and waves that have had long-term effects on the seabed. Therefore, it can also be assumed that the stone structure, which in its original state may have been higher, has been widened due to intensive maritime processes, with some of its stone elements dislocated, and the upper layers of the cultural deposit probably partially destroyed. The visible width of the embankment is about 9 metres, and viewed from Lisac, it can be seen at a depth of 2 metres, while in the central, deepest part of the strait it

prekid na sredini komunikacijskog nasipa, na njegovu najdubljem segmentu. Kako ta pojava nije uočena na samom morskom dnu, postojanje prekida u nasipu zasad ostaje dvojbeno jer je upravo središnji dio najviše oštećen djelovanjem postdepozicijskih procesa.

U cjelini gledajući, lokalitet u podmorju otočića Lisca donekle je očuvan, premda morske struje i valovi postupno ispiru arheološki materijal prema središnjem, najdubljem dijelu morskog dna između Lisca i kopna – s jedne strane prapovijesni materijal koji se nalazi u podmorju na strani Lisca, dok s druge strane ispiru antički materijal iz podmorja na strani kopna. Rezultat toga jest velika količina izmiješanog prapovijesnog i antičkog arheološkog materijala na najdubljem zoni morskog dna između otoka i kopna. Ova površina pruža se od sredine komunikacijskog nasipa u pravcu sjeveroistoka, dužine je oko 50 metara, široka je oko 8 metara i nalazi se na dubini od 3 do 4 metra. Podmorje uz jugoistočnu stranu Lisca nema prisutnog rimskog materijala, već je zastupljen isključivo prapovijesni materijal.

Morsko dno u podmorju jugoistočne obale otoka Lisca ima nešto blaži pad od oko 20 do 25 stupnjeva, te je kao takvo pogodno za izvlačenje brodova ili za proširenje obale nasipanjem. Suprotna obala u podnožju brda Gradine nešto je strmijeg pada te su vidljive različite antičke strukture, od nasipa za proširivanje obale, do temelja pravokutnih objekata od velikih kamenih blokova u plićem moru s kojim je povezana koncentracija rimskodobnog materijala, većinom ulomaka amfora i građevinske keramike, tegula i imbreksa.

## POKRETNi MATERIJAL

Na platou uz obalu otočića Lisca vidljiv je površinski sloj s obiljem prapovijesnih kulturnih ostataka među kojima je primijećen veliki broj fragmentiranih keramičkih „tronožaca“ i poluloptastih keramičkih recipijenata tankih stijenki, ulomaka keramike grublje fature de-

gradually falls to a depth of 2.9 metres. Closer to the mainland, the embankment gradually ascends, but the contact with the mainland shore is unclear, since the stone embankment of the antique structure can be seen at the junction. A review of aerial photographs of the site revealed a break in the middle of the communication embankment, at its deepest segment. As in the seabed no such phenomenon has been observed, for the time being, the existence of an interruption in the embankment remains doubtful, because the central part has been the most damaged as a result of post-deposition processes.

Generally, the submarine site of the Lisac islet has been somewhat preserved, despite sea currents and waves gradually washing away archaeological material towards the central, deepest part of the seabed between Lisac and the mainland — on the one hand prehistoric artefacts located seabed off Lisac, and on the other hand Roman antiquity artefacts from the seabed off the mainland. The result is a large amount of mixed prehistoric and Roman antiquity archaeological material in the deepest zone of the seabed between the islet and the mainland. This area extends from the middle of the communication embankment in a northeast direction, is about 50 metres long, about 8 metres wide, and is located at a depth of 3 to 4 metres. In the seabed along the south-eastern side of Lisac, no Roman artefacts have been recovered — only prehistoric material is represented.

The underwater area off the south-eastern coast of Lisac has a slightly gentler inclination of approximately 20 to 25 degrees, and as such is suitable for hauling out ships or for extending the shore with embankments. The opposite shore, at the foot of the Gradina hill, has a slightly steeper slope, and various ancient structures are visible, from embankments that served to extend the shore, to foundations of rectangular structures made of large stone blocks in the shallower sea, with a concentration of Roman material, mostly fragments of amphorae and ceramics used in building construction — tegulae

bljih stijenki te bioarheološki materijal. Prikupljena je određena količina dijagnostičkih ulomaka za daljnju obradu, a treba napomenuti da materijal isključivo potječe iz površinskog konteksta s obzirom na to da većina ulomaka ima zaobljene stijenske oko mjesta loma, dok procesi kalcifikacije morskih organizama koji su utjecali na vanjski izgled onemogućuju konkretnije razmatranje boje i fakture keramičkih nalaza.

Posebnu pozornost pri prospekcijskom području privukla je veća količina keramičkih „tronožaca“ koji su uglavnom koncentrirani s drugim prapovijesnim materijalom. Iako je primijećeno da je veliki broj tronožaca fragmentiran, izvorni oblik može se rekonstruirati na osnovi prikupljenih ulomaka koji se mogu podijeliti u dvije skupine: gornji dijelovi stupića koji se lagano šire i račvaju u tri približno jednaka roščića (T. I, 1–9; T. II, 1–6) te donji dijelovi koničnih krajeva koji su zadebljani i konkavno oblikovani (T. III, 1–6). Stupići su kružnog presjeka, rađeni od pečene zemlje s ponešto primjesa usitnjenog vapnenca, a njihova je površina grubo zaglađena i neukrašena. Dimenzije stupića većinom su ujednačene, a manje razlike postoje u veličini i obliku trorogih završetaka koji mogu biti veći ili manji, razgrnutiji ili zbijeniji. Ni jedan primjerak nije cjelovito sačuvan, no njihova visina morala je okvirno biti barem 15 centimetara, dok debljina u presjeku varira između 34 i 47 milimetara. Na uzorku iz Svetog Jurja ujednačenost mjera može upućivati na standardiziranost oblika i specijaliziranu proizvodnju, kako je to već zaključio S. Forenbaher.<sup>9</sup>

Ulomci keramičkih tronožaca već su otprije poznati kao slučajni nalazi iz podmorja otočića Lisca. Premda je u prvoj objavi tih predmeta A. Glavičić na osnovi specifičnog oblika i nedostatka pravih analogija pretpostavio da je riječ o kulturnim predmetima, u nedavno objavljenom radu Forenbaher je rasvijetlio njihovu stvarnu funkciju i utvrdio da je riječ o dijelo-

and imbrices.

## MOVABLE ARTEFACTS

On the plateau along the coast of the Lisac islet, a surface layer is visible with an abundance of prehistoric cultural remains, among which a large number of fragmented ceramic “tripods” and thin-walled hemispherical ceramic containers, sherds of pottery of a coarser texture and with thicker walls, as well as bioarchaeological material have been observed. A limited quantity of diagnostic fragments was collected for further processing, and it should be noted that the material originates exclusively from the surface context, given that most fragments have rounded walls around their fracture sites, while the calcification processes of marine organisms that have affected their appearance preclude a more specific analysis of ceramic finds.

During prospecting of the area, a larger quantity of ceramic “tripods”, mostly concentrated with other prehistoric material, attracted particular attention. Although a large number of tripods are fragmented, the original shape can be reconstructed on the basis of collected fragments that can be classified in two groups: the upper parts of pillars, slightly widening and branching into three approximately equal horns (T. I, 1-9; T. II, 1-6), and the lower parts with conical ends that are thickened and concavely shaped (T. III, 1-6). The pillars are circular in cross-section, they are made of fired earth with some admixture of crushed limestone, and their surface is crudely smoothed and undecorated. The dimensions of the columns are mostly uniform, with minor differences in the size and shape of the three-horned ends, which may be larger or smaller, more expanded or denser. Not a single specimen has been completely preserved, but their height must have been at least 15 centimetres or so, while the thickness of their cross-section varied between 34 and 47 millimetres. The Sveti Juraj specimens’ uniformity of measures may indicate the standardisation of forms and specialised pro-

<sup>9</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 182.

vima posebno konstruiranih peći za proizvodnju soli.<sup>10</sup> Na takav zaključak upućuje njihov karakterističan oblik, dimenzije i način izrade. Tronošci su dokumentirani i na drugim podvelebitskim lokalitetima gdje se pojavljuju u podmorskom (Sveti Juraj, Karlobag) i kopnom (gradinskom) kontekstu (Prizna – Gradina, Silna Gomila), u cjelini gledajući dijele zajedničke karakteristike (Karta 3) i mogu se prihvatiti kao potvrda proizvodnje soli na tim lokacijama.<sup>11</sup> Iako su općenito rijedak fenomen na istočnoj obali Jadrana, u velikoj količini javljaju se na prapovijesnim nalazištima od srednje do zapadne Europe te se najčešće prihvaćaju kao glavni dokaz postojanja proizvodnje soli prisilnim isparavanjem slane otopine pomoću briketaža.<sup>12</sup> Evolucija briketaža od najjednostavnijih jednodijelnih do složenih formi odrazila se i na datiranje pojedinih dijelova koji pokazuju dijakronijsku različitost. U drugim slučajevima, teško ih je datirati bez popratnih osjetljivijih nalaza ili apsolutnih datuma.<sup>13</sup> Za datiranje velebitskih primjeraka važan je podatak da je najranija pojava karakterističnih trorogih potpornih stupića povezana s drugom polovicom 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr., a jedni od najstarijih trorogih stupića potječu s nalazišta Brean Downa u jugozapadnoj Engleskoj, iz slojeva datiranih u period od ranog

duction, as already concluded by S. Forenbaher.<sup>9</sup>

Fragments of ceramic tripods had already been noted as chance finds from the seabed of the Lisac islet. Although in the first publication of these artefacts, A. Glavičić assumed that they were cult objects, on the basis of their specific shape and a lack of real analogies, in a recently published paper, Forenbaher shed light on their real function, identifying them as parts of specially designed salt production kilns.<sup>10</sup> Such a conclusion is suggested by their characteristic shape, dimensions and method of construction. Tripods have also been documented in other sub-Velebit sites where they appear in both submarine (Sveti Juraj, Karlobag) and terrestrial (hillfort) contexts (Prizna – Gradina, Silna Gomila). On the whole, they share common characteristics (Map 3) and can be accepted as a confirmation of salt production at these sites.<sup>11</sup> Although they are a relatively rare phenomenon on the eastern Adriatic coast, they occur in large quantities in prehistoric sites from Central to Western Europe, and are most often accepted as the main evidence of salt production by forced evaporation of brine through briquetage.<sup>12</sup> The evolution of briquetage from the simplest one-part to complex forms has also been reflected in the dating of individual parts that show di-

<sup>10</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 179–194.

<sup>11</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 180; I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 461–462. Dosad nepoznati lokalitet s nalazima briketaža koji se nalazi uz obalu ispod napuštene benzinske crpke nedaleko od Karlobaga otkriven je pri sustavnom podmorskom rekognosciranju Ličko-senjske županije koje je provodio Odjel za podvodnu arheologiju Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda. Probno sondiranje iznijelo je nalaze koji variraju od sitne amorfne keramike, keramičkih tronožaca te ulomaka većih posuda debljih stijenki. Na osnovi analogija lokalitet je datiran u kasno brončano doba. Uz nalaze u podmorju, tada je zamijećen i sloj keramike u profilu obale (I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 461–462). Nažalost, treba reći da daljnja iskopavanja na kopnu nisu poduzeta i time je, čini se, propuštena izvanredna prilika da se lokalitet detaljnije istraži jer zadnjim obilaskom tog položaja 2019. godine primijećena je devastacija lokaliteta probijanjem puta za gradnju obalne šetnice.

<sup>12</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 249–254. Za više o prapovijesnoj produkciji soli vidi L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 558–566; A. HARDING, 2013; A. HARDING, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 251.

<sup>9</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 182.

<sup>10</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 179–194.

<sup>11</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 180; I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 461–462. A hitherto unknown site with briquetage finds, located along the coast beneath an abandoned filling station near Karlobag, was discovered during systematic underwater prospecting conducted in the Lika-Senj County by the Department of Underwater Archaeology of the Croatian Restoration Institute. In trial-trenching, finds ranging from tiny amorphous pottery, ceramic tripods, and fragments of larger, thick-walled vessels were recovered. Based on analogies, the site is dated to the Late Bronze Age. In addition to underwater finds, a pottery layer was also observed in the coast profile (I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 461–462). Unfortunately, no further excavations on the mainland have been undertaken and thus, seemingly, an extraordinary opportunity to explore the site in more detail has been missed, given that in the last survey of the site in 2019, the devastation of the site was noted, due to excavation for a road to construct a coastal promenade.

<sup>12</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 249–254. For more on prehistoric salt production see L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 558–566; A. HARDING, 2013; A. HARDING, 2014.

do kasnog brončanog doba, u kojima je pronađena znatna količina briketaza koja se sastojala od pijedestala i posuda za isparavanje.<sup>14</sup> Također, veliki broj takvih trorogih stupića pronađen je u kontinentalnom dijelu Europe i datira u željezno doba. Vrlo bliske analogije velebitskim primjercima jesu nalazi briketaza s više lokaliteta u porječju rijeke Saale u njemačkoj saveznoj državi Sachsen-Anhaltu koji pripadaju starijem željeznom dobu.<sup>15</sup> Uz nalaze iz podvelebitskog primorja, na jadranskom području briketaz je poznat s gradine Elleri u tršćanskom Krasu gdje su među materijalom iz starih i nesustavnih iskopavanja, uz posude za isparavanje, prepoznati i ulomci trorogih stupića.<sup>16</sup> Njihova je forma u potpunosti prilagođena funkciji jer je proširena konična baza stupića omogućavala slobodno stajanje, dok se trorogi završetak ili oblik „ribljeg repa“ pokazao kao najekonomičnije rješenje jer minimizira područje dodira i omogućuje veću površinu posude koja se zagrijava. S druge strane, dvodijelni repertoar omogućavao je da se jedan stupić iskoristi kao potporanj više posuda u nekoliko navrata pečenja, a tako je moguće i objasniti njihov kvantitativni zaostatak za brojnošću ulomaka kalupa na lokalitetima.<sup>17</sup> Kalupi su rađeni za jednokratnu upotrebu za razliku od stupića koji su se mogli višestruko upotrebljavati, odnosno dok zbog konstantnog grijanja ne bi došlo do njihova puknuća i odbacivanja. Kao utilitarni predmeti kratkog vijeka trajanja, ni kalupi ni potporni stupići nisu se ukrašavali.<sup>18</sup>

Pregledom podmorja u površinskom sloju na prostoru platoa također je primijećena enormna količina visoko fragmentiranih ulomaka koji na nekim dijelovima gotovo u

achronic diversity. In other cases, they are difficult to date without the accompanying more sensitive finds or absolute dates.<sup>13</sup> For the dating of Velebit specimens, it is important to note that the earliest appearance of characteristic three-horned supporting pillars is dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, and some of the oldest three-horned pillars originate from the Brean Down site in southwest England, from strata dating from the Early to Late Bronze Age, in which a significant amount of briquetage was found, consisting of pedestals and evaporation vessels.<sup>14</sup> In addition, large quantities of such three-horned pillars have been found in continental Europe and dated to the Iron Age. Very close analogies to the Velebit specimens are briquetage finds from several sites in the Saale river basin in the German state of Saxony-Anhalt, belonging to the Early Iron Age.<sup>15</sup> In addition to finds from the sub-Velebit coast, briquetage in the Adriatic area is known from the Elleri hillfort in the Trieste Karst, where, along with evaporation vessels, fragments of three-horned pillars have been identified among artefacts from old and unsystematic excavations.<sup>16</sup> Their shape is fully adapted to their function because the extended conical base of the pillars allowed them to stand freely, while the three-horned or fish-tailed end proved to be the most economical solution, because it minimised the contact area and allowed a larger surface of the vessel to be heated. On the other hand, the two-part repertoire made it possible to use one pillar as a support for several vessels in several firings, which explains the fact that the quantity of recovered pillar fragments was smaller than that of mould fragments.<sup>17</sup> Moulds were made for single use, unlike pillars that could be used multiple times,

<sup>14</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 165–173.

<sup>15</sup> K. SIMON, 1988, 6, sl. 2, sl. 3; A. HARDING, 2000, 250; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 7, T. 17: 2; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 189. Za druge analogije vidi S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 190, Sl. 5.

<sup>16</sup> P. CASSOLA GUIDA, E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2006, 330; E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 177.

<sup>17</sup> P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164.

<sup>18</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

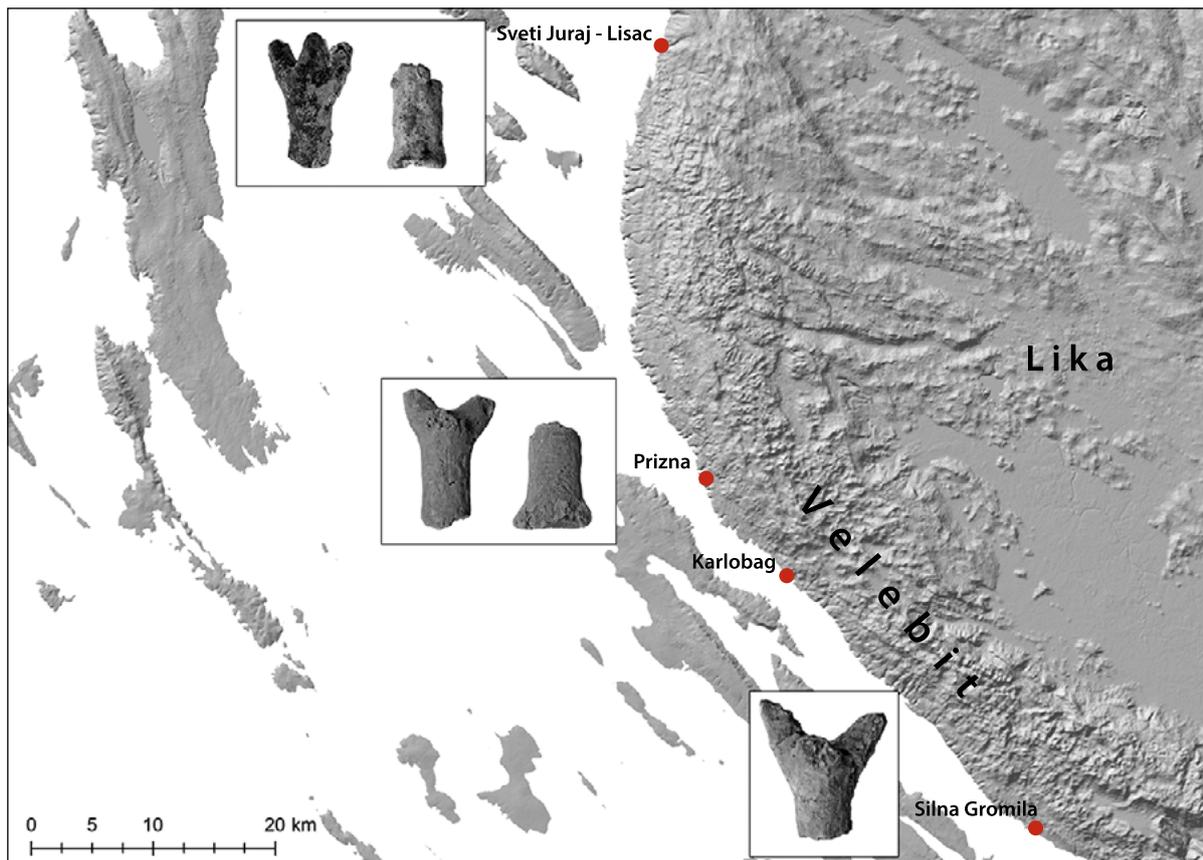
<sup>13</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 251.

<sup>14</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 165-173.

<sup>15</sup> K. SIMON, 1988, 6, sl. 2, sl. 3; A. HARDING, 2000, 250; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 7, T. 17: 2; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 189. For other analogies see S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 190, Fig. 5.

<sup>16</sup> P. CASSOLA GUIDA, E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2006, 330; E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 177.

<sup>17</sup> P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164.



KARTA 3. *Disperzija nalaza briketaza u podvelebitskom primorju* (izradio: P. Domines Peter, fotografije prema S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 181)

MAP 3 *Dispersion of briquetage finds on the sub-Velebit coast* (by P. Domines Peter, photographs after S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 181)

potpunosti prekrivaju površinski sloj (T. II, 7; T. III, 7–12). Po tipološkim karakteristikama pripadaju poluloptastim keramičkim recipientima tankih stijenki koje karakterizira fina faktura jer su izrađeni od vrlo pročišćene gline, a njihove tanke stijenke, okvirne debljine 4 do 6 milimetara, podsjećaju na antičku stolnu keramiku (Sl. 4). Duž zaglačane unutarnje strane nalazi se glatki crvenkasti premaz, dok je vanjska površina grubo oblikovana. Dno posude je ravno i izvedeno je blagim zaravnavanjem zaobljenih stijenki. Takvim zdjelama vrlo tankih stijenki i specifične fakture ne nalazimo analogije u širem susjedstvu. Velika brojnost takvih ulomaka na dnu i koncentracija uza spomenute keramičke „tronošce“ i drugu prapovijesnu keramiku upućivali su na prapovijesno podrijetlo i trasirali ideju o njihovoj mogućoj funkciji. Naime, svojim poluloptastim oblikom, a posebice tankim stijenkama, ulomci

that is until they cracked due to repeated heating, and were discarded. As short-lived utilitarian artefacts, neither moulds nor supporting pillars were decorated.<sup>18</sup>

In a survey of the plateau area of the seabed surface layer, an enormous amount of highly fragmented sherds was identified, in some parts almost completely covering the surface layer (T. II, 7; T. III, 7-12). According to their typological characteristics, they are classified as thin-walled hemispherical ceramic vessels, characterised by fine texture, being made of highly purified clay, and their thin walls, approximately 4 to 6 millimetres thick, resemble antique tableware (Fig. 4). Along the smoothed inner side there was a reddish coating, while the outer surface was coarsely shaped. The bottom of the vessel was flat and made by gently levelling the rounded

<sup>18</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

odgovaraju kalupima koji su sastavni dio briketaza za proizvodnju soli prisilnim isparavanjem.<sup>19</sup> U procesu prosušivanja koncentrirane otopine soli kalupe pridržavaju keramički tronošci, i to tako da svaka posuda stoji na jednom keramičkom tronošcu omogućujući zagrijavanje recipijenta i slane kaše optimalnom temperaturom na dovoljnoj udaljenosti od vatre. Takvi recipijenti obično su ujednačenih oblika i dimenzija, a služe za jednokratnu upotrebu jer se najčešće razbijaju pri vađenju tvrdog kolačića soli. To objašnjava i činjenicu da pri pregledu podmorja nisu pronađeni cjeloviti primjerci poluloptastih posuda, a znakovita je visoka usitnjenost koju primarno treba tumačiti kao posljedicu razbijanja posuda pri oslobađanju kolačića soli i stvaranja ogromnih količina proizvodnog otpada koji je jedan od glavnih indikatora takve produkcije.<sup>20</sup> S druge strane, kalup se nije morao nužno razbiti nakon što završi proces prosušivanja, već se mogao iskoristiti i kao ambalaža za pohranu i transport soli.<sup>21</sup> Kalupi za prosušivanje mogli su se proizvoditi u masivnom broju oblaganjem drvene matrice glinom. Specijalizirana produkcija i standardizirani oblici omogućavali su i ujednačenu veličinu kolačića soli, a na taj način veličina recipijenta – kalupa mogla je poslužiti i kao osnovna mjera u budućoj razmjeni proizvoda.<sup>22</sup>

Analize keramičkih kalupa koji se pojavljuju zajedno s potpornjima na nalazištima diljem Europe pokazuju da su oni mogli biti različitih formi, no među raznovrsnim primjercima primjetna je jedna često zajednička karakteri-

walls. No analogies to such very thin-walled bowls and specific textures have been found in the wider vicinity. The large quantity and concentration of such fragments on the seabed, along with the previously mentioned ceramic “tripods” and other prehistoric pottery, suggest their prehistoric origin and possible function. Namely, the hemispherical shape and particularly the thin walls of the fragments correspond to moulds that were part of briquetage for salt production through forced evaporation.<sup>19</sup> In the process of evaporating concentrated brine, moulds were held by ceramic tripods in such a way that each vessel stood on one ceramic tripod, allowing the vessel and the brine to be heated to an optimum temperature at a sufficient distance from the fire. Such vessels were usually of uniform shape and size, and were intended for single use because they were mostly broken when extracting the hard salt cake. This explains the fact that in underwater surveys no whole specimens of hemispherical vessels have been found, whereas high fragmentation was frequent. This should be explained primarily as a consequence of the breaking of the vessels during the release of the salt cakes and consequent generation of huge amounts of industrial waste, which is one of the main indicators of such production.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the mould did not necessarily have to be broken upon the completion of the evaporation process, but could also have been used as packaging for salt storage and transportation.<sup>21</sup> Mass production of drying moulds was made possible by coating the wooden matrices with clay. Spe-

<sup>19</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185–186.

<sup>20</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 185; M. BELL, 1990, 171–172; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 559–564; O. WELLER, 2015, 72. I na drugim europskim nalazištima dijelovi briketaza najčešće se pronalaze fragmentirani, a osobito su rijetki nalazi cjelovitih posuda. Primjerice, s kasnobrončanodobnog i ranoželjeznodobnog lokaliteta u blizini Erdeborna u istočnonjemačkoj pokrajini Sachsen-Anhalt potječe čak 11 302 ulomka stupa i 829 ulomaka kalupa, no znakovito je da nije pronađen ni jedan cjeloviti primjerak (S. IPACH, D. SCHERF, K. GRÖMER, 2014, 43).

<sup>21</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 171–172; A. HARDING, 2000, 249; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186; A. YANKOWSKI, 2019, 148.

<sup>22</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 184–185; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

<sup>19</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185–186.

<sup>20</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 185; M. BELL, 1990, 171–172; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 559–564; O. WELLER, 2015, 72. At other European sites, components of briquetage are also most frequently found fragmented, and finds of complete vessels are particularly rare. For example, as many as 11,302 pillar fragments and 829 mould fragments originate from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age site near Erdeborn in the East German state of Saxony-Anhalt, but it is significant that no complete specimen has been found (S. IPACH, D. SCHERF, K. GRÖMER, 2014, 43).

<sup>21</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 171–172; A. HARDING, 2000, 249; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186; A. YANKOWSKI, 2019, 148.



**SLIKA 4.** *Presjek keramičkog recipijenta tankih stijenki – vidljiva zaglađena površina sa crvenim premazom na unutrašnjoj strani (foto: M. Parica)*

**FIGURE 4** *Cross-section of a thin-walled ceramic vessel — visible smoothed surface with red coating on the inside (photo: M. Parica)*

stika – kalupi nerijetko imaju tanke stijenke. Primjerice, na nalazištu Brean Downu pronađeni su i fragmenti recipijenata za isparavanje čije su stijenke prosječne debljine oko 4 mm.<sup>23</sup> Kako objasniti takav fenomen tankih stijenki koji je osobito rijetka značajka prapovijesne keramike? Jedno od mogućih razmišljanja jest da je pojava tankih stijenki odraz specifičnih zahtjeva u procesu proizvodnje koji će ga učiniti bržim i jednostavnijim. Naime, oblik poluloptastih recipijenata zajedno s tankim stijenkama odgovara potrebi za postizanjem optimalne temperature pri postupnom zagrijavanju i tendencije za dobivanjem što veće količine soli iz slane otopine.<sup>24</sup> No, usprkos tomu, istaknuta mana tankih stijenki jest pucanje, koje može izazvati infiltracija soli iz otopine u stijenke pri prosušivanju. Zbog toga posude za isparavanje nisu bile postavljene direktno na samu vatru već na keramičke stupiće. S druge strane, eksperimenti i etnografske studije pokazali su da se problemu pucanja moglo doskočiti postav-

cialised production and standardised forms also enabled a uniform size of salt cakes, and in this way the size of the mould could serve as a basic measure in the future exchange of products.<sup>22</sup>

Analyses of ceramic moulds that appear together with supporting pillars at sites across Europe show that they could have been of different shapes, but a frequent common feature is noticeable among the various specimens — the moulds have thin walls. For example, fragments of evaporation vessels whose walls are on average about 4 mm thick were also found at the Brean Down site.<sup>23</sup> How can such a thin-walled phenomenon, which is a particularly rare feature of prehistoric pottery, be explained? One possible explanation is that the appearance of thin walls is a reflection of specific requirements in the manufacturing process to make it faster and simpler. Namely, the hemispherical shape of the vessels combined with the thin walls was a response to the need to achieve optimal temperature during gradual heating and the propensity to obtaining as much salt as possible from the brine.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, a prominent disadvantage of thin walls is their cracking, which can be caused by the infiltration of salt from the brine into the walls during drying. Therefore, the evaporation vessels were not placed directly on the fire, but on ceramic pillars. On the other hand, experiments and ethnographic studies have shown that the cracking problem could have been solved by placing an insulating layer of salt, animal fat, cow manure or other material, such as fabric, which would increase the impermeability and non-porosity of the walls.<sup>25</sup> Although no chemical analyses have been carried out, on the basis

<sup>23</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 170; usp. K. RIEHM, 1961, 189–191; P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 161–162.

<sup>24</sup> Posude nisu bile izložene direktnoj vatri, već toplom zraku koji je cirkulirao i prosušivao slanu kašu. Kombinacija tipoloških i tehnoloških karakteristika kalupa bila je usmjerena postizanju ravnomjernog zagrijavanja čitave posude što će naposljetku jamčiti najbolje uvjete za potpunu kristalizaciju slane kaše i postizanje produkta maksimalne kvantitete.

<sup>22</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 184–185; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

<sup>23</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 170; cf. K. RIEHM, 1961, 189–191; P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 161–162.

<sup>24</sup> The pots were not exposed to direct fire, but to the warm air that circulated and dried the salt brine. A combination of typological and technological characteristics of the mould was aimed at achieving uniform heating of the entire vessel, which ultimately guaranteed the best conditions for complete crystallisation of the salt brine and achieving maximum production quantity.

<sup>25</sup> M. HEES, 2002, 27–32; S. IPACH, D. SCHERF, K. GRÖMER, 2014, 43–46.

ljanjem izolacijskog sloja od soli, životinjske masti, kravljeg gnojiva ili drugih materijala, poput tkanine, koji povećavaju svojstva nepropusnosti i neporoznosti stijenki.<sup>25</sup> Iako nisu provedene kemijske analize, na tragu prethodnih spoznaja, nije isključeno da je i glatki crvenkasti premaz na unutrašnjim stijenkama neka vrsta izolacije koja je s namjerom nanese na kako bi se spriječilo prodiranje soli u stijenske i pucanje kalupa, ali i olakšalo oslobađanje kolačića koji se u suprotnom vrlo lako mogao slijepiti s posudom što je uzrokovalo njegovo pucanje.<sup>26</sup> U razmatranju poveznice između dvaju dijelova briketaža, keramičkih tronožaca i poluloptastih recipijenata, treba naglasiti i činjenicu da poluloptasti oblik izvrsno odgovara uglavljivanju na rogove tronožaca, baš kako u rekonstrukciji donosi S. Forenbaher,<sup>27</sup> premda se u kontekstu lokaliteta s briketažima trorogih potporna diljem Europe javljaju različiti oblici kalupa, od onih s okomitim stijenkama, koničnih, do poluloptastih oblika.<sup>28</sup> Veći ulomak poluloptastog recipijenta mogao bi ukazivati da je takav bio slučaj i s briketažom s lokaliteta Lisac (Sl. 5). Slijedom toga, postoje čvrste indicije da su i keramički „tronošci“ iz Svetog Jurja u peći za produkciju soli bili fiksirani okomito s trorogima okrenutim prema gore.

Izuzev keramičkih izrađevina koje se mogu

of prior knowledge, it could be surmised that the smooth reddish coating on the inner walls was a kind of insulation that was applied with the intention of preventing salt penetration into the walls and mould cracking, but also of facilitating the release of the salt cakes, which could otherwise very easily have stuck to the container, causing the cakes to crack.<sup>26</sup> In considering the connection between the two components of briquetage — ceramic tripods and hemispherical vessels — it should be emphasised that the hemispherical shape was excellent for attaching on tripod horns, just as S. Forenbaher demonstrated in a reconstruction,<sup>27</sup> although in the context of briquetage sites with three-horned supporting pillars, different mould shapes occur throughout Europe, from those with vertical walls to conical or hemispherical shapes.<sup>28</sup> Larger fragment of hemispherical vessel could indicate that this was the case with briquetage from Lisac site (Fig. 5). Consequently, there are strong indications that the ceramic “tripods” from Sveti Juraj in the salt production kiln were actually mounted vertically with the three-horns facing upwards.

Other than pottery artefacts that can be associated with salt production, also recovered from the underwater area off Lisac was a smaller quantity of fragments of prehistoric, thick-walled pottery vessels, commonly used in everyday life for food storage, preparation and consumption. They are characterised by coarse texture and simple workmanship without the

<sup>25</sup> M. HEES, 2002, 27–32; S. IPACH, D. SCHERF, K. GRÖMER, 2014, 43–46.

<sup>26</sup> Keramički kalupi s gradine Elleri imaju hrapave vanjske površine i pažljivo zaglađene unutarnje stijenske (P. CASSOLA GUIDA, E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2006, 330; E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 177). Na lokalitetu Hullbridge u Essexu u Engleskoj, u kontekstu kasnog brončanog doba, pronađeni su visoko fragmentirani ulomci kalupa za isušivanje s ravnim dnom i tankim stijenkama zaglađanim i premazanim s unutrašnje strane (P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 161–164) Pri isušivanju slane kaše najčešće se preferiraju posude koje su s unutarnje strane zaglađane, polirane, premazane kako bi se spriječilo prodiranje soli u pore što dovodi do pucanja posude (A. YANKOWSKI, 2019, 135). Za slične primjere grube obrade vanjske te zaglađane premazane unutarnje stijenske usp. T. KAWASHIMA, 2015, 128; O. WELLER, 2015, 72; M. CARDALE SCHRIMPFF, 2015, 36–37.

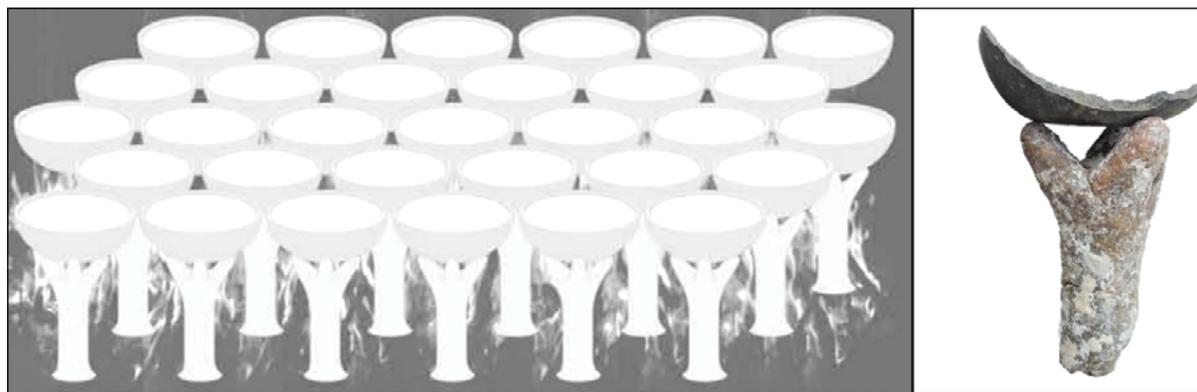
<sup>27</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 187.

<sup>28</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 172; A. HARDING, 2000, 249–251.

<sup>26</sup> Ceramic moulds from the Elleri hillfort have rough outer surfaces and carefully smoothed inner walls (P. CASSOLA GUIDA, E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2006, 330; E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 177). At the Hullbridge site in Essex, England, highly fragmented sherds of a flat-bottomed and thin-walled evaporation mould, smoothed and coated on the inside, were found in the context of the Late Bronze Age (P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 161–164). Containers that are smoothed, polished and coated on the inside are mostly considered the best option for evaporating salt brine in order to prevent the penetration of salt into the pores, which leads to cracking of the container (A. YANKOWSKI, 2019, 135). For similar examples of coarse outside texture and smoothed, coated inner walls cf. T. KAWASHIMA, 2015, 128; O. WELLER, 2015, 72; M. CARDALE SCHRIMPFF, 2015, 36–37.

<sup>27</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 187.

<sup>28</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 172; A. HARDING, 2000, 249–251.



SLIKA 5. Rekonstrukcija peći za prosušivanje (prema S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 187) i mogući izgled iz podmorja otočica Lisca (foto: P. Domines Peter)

FIGURE 5 Reconstruction of an evaporation kiln (after S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 187) and possible look of the briquetage from the seabed of the Lisac islet (photo: P. Domines Peter)

povezati s produkcijom soli, u podmorju Lisca pronađeni su u manjem broju ulomci prapovijesnih keramičkih posuda debljih stijenki, uobičajeno korištenih u svakodnevnom životu za skladištenje, pripremu i konzumaciju hrane. Obilježavaju ih svojstva grube fakture i prostoručne izrade bez korištenja lončarskog kola, s neujednačenim primjesama usitnjenog kalcita. Uglavnom su to slabo pečene i rijetko ukrašene posude, najčešće sa skromnom dekoracijom u vidu zaglačane površine. Ističu se tek jedan ulomak lonca s vertikalnom ručkom koji na središnjem dijelu trbuha nosi niz vertikalnih kanelura (T. V, 3) te reljefno rebro na okomitoj ručki bikonične šalice (T. IV, 8). Iako materijal potječe iz površinskog konteksta, prikupljeni dijagnostički ulomci omogućuju rekonstrukciju tipoloških oblika među kojima su zastupljeni lonci, zdjele, šalice i vrčevi.

Lonce obilježavaju veliki primjerci zatvorenog oblika i promjera otvora koji je ponekad znatno manji od maksimalne širine posude. Odlikuje ih niski ili visoki cilindrični vrat ili konkavni vrat s razvraćenim obodom (T. VI, 2, 3, 5). Oblik donjeg dijela posude teško je odrediti, ali vjerojatno su to bili izrazito zaobljeni oblici, globularni ili ovalni.<sup>29</sup> Slični oblici posuda s cilindričnim vratom već su po-

use of a potter's wheel, with uneven admixtures of crushed calcite. These are mostly poorly fired vessels that are rarely decorated, the only decoration being only a plain smoothed surface. Only one potsherd with a vertical handle stands out, with a series of vertical cannelures in the central part of the belly (T. V, 3) and a relief rib on the vertical handle of a biconical cup (T. IV, 8). Although the material originates from a surface context, the collected diagnostic sherds allow the reconstruction of typological forms among which are pots, bowls, cups and jugs.

Pots are represented by large specimens, of a closed shape, with a mouth diameter that is sometimes significantly smaller than the maximum width of the vessel. They are characterised by a low or high cylindrical neck or a concave neck with an everted rim (T. VI, 2, 3, 5). The shape of the lower part of the vessel is difficult to determine, but it was probably distinctly rounded, globular or oval.<sup>29</sup> Similar forms of vessels with a cylindrical neck are already known from Velebit cave sites.<sup>30</sup> They can be found in the surrounding region, in particular in the Zadar archipelago,<sup>31</sup> but also in the context of the Bronze and Iron Ages at other sites.<sup>32</sup> One fragment be-

<sup>29</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 25–26.

<sup>29</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 25–26.

<sup>30</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 11, 5; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 1, 1, T. 2, 1, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 80, 3, 5, 7, 8; T. 96, 1.

<sup>32</sup> J. KOROŠEC, P. KOROŠEC, 1980, T. 19, 3, 4; I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2011, T. 56, 4, T. 58, 1.

znati s velebitskih špiljskih nalazišta,<sup>30</sup> mogu se naći u obližnjoj regiji, posebno na zadarskim otocima,<sup>31</sup> ali i na drugim nalazištima u kontekstima brončanog i željeznog doba.<sup>32</sup> Jedan ulomak pripada kategoriji većih lonaca izdužene zaobljene forme koja se sužava prema dnu s prijelazom prema obodu koji može biti više ili manje izražen. Na ramenu takvih posuda često se mogu naći jezičaste ili horizontalne ručke, a u slučaju ulomka (T. VI, 4) skloniji smo mišljenju da je riječ o horizontalnoj ručki. Lonci su obično bili postavljeni na ravna dna, koja često imaju i izraženu peticu, poput ulomaka iz podmorja otočića Lisca za koje se može ostaviti otvorena mogućnost da pripadaju većim trbušastim loncima (T. VII, 3-5). Na unutrašnjoj strani posude može biti i naglašeniji prijelaz iz tijela u dno (T. VII, 4). Analogije za slično oblikovana dna mogu se naći među posudama iz Vaganačke pećine na južnom Velebitu i špilje Separovače kod Donje Klade.<sup>33</sup>

Jedan od dvaju ulomka koji nosi dekorativne elemente također pripada kategoriji lonaca, a riječ je o dijelu trbušastog lonca, zaglačane crne površine, s koso izvučenom horizontalnom ručkom, koji je na ramenu dekoriran nizom gusto raspoređenih vertikalnih kanelura (T. V, 3). Kaneliranje je kao tehnika ukrašavanja prisutno u široj regiji tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba. Primjerku iz podmorja Lisca analogija se može pronaći u Vaganačkoj pećini,<sup>34</sup> a ukrasom u vidu okomitih kanelura na ramenu vrlo mu je blizak i ulomak iz Nina datiran u željezno doba.<sup>35</sup>

Među zdjelama su zastupljene kalotaste ili stožaste poluloptaste zdjele s izbočenim obodom i više ili manje naglašenim prijelazom na obod,

longs to the category of larger pots with an elongated rounded shape that becomes narrower towards the bottom, with a transition towards the rim that can be more, or less, pronounced. On the shoulder of such vessels, tongue or horizontal handles are often found. In the case of sherd (T. VI, 4) we are more inclined to think that it is a horizontal handle. Pots were usually flat-bottomed, the bottoms often with a pronounced heel, as is the case with the sherds from the seabed off the Lisac islet, which may have been part of larger bellied pots (T. VII, 3-5). On the interior side of the vessel, there may be a more pronounced transition from the body to the bottom (T. VII, 4). Analogies for similarly shaped bottoms can be found among vessels from the caves Vaganačka Pećina on southern Velebit and Separovača near Donja Klada.<sup>33</sup>

One of the two sherds with decorative elements also belongs to the category of pots. It is a part of a bellied pot, with a smoothed black surface and a diagonally everted horizontal handle, its shoulder decorated with a series of densely arranged vertical cannelures (T. V, 3). Cannelure was present as a decorative technique in the wider region during the Bronze and Iron Ages. An analogy to the specimen from the Lisac underwater site can be found in the Vaganačka Pećina cave,<sup>34</sup> while the vertical grooves applied on the shoulder as a decoration seem to be closely related to a sherd from Nina dated to the Iron Age.<sup>35</sup>

Represented among the bowls are calotte-shaped or conical hemispherical bowls with a protruding rim, the transition to the rim mildly accentuated, and often thickened in the vessel interior. The bowls can have massive horizontal handles that are sometimes diagonally everted upwards, as in one of the fragments (T. V, 2; T. VII, 1). Close analogies can be found in Vaganačka Pećina among artefacts of the eighth phase, attributed to the final stage of the Late

<sup>30</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 11, 5; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 1, 1, T. 2, 1, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 80, 3, 5, 7, 8; T. 96, 1.

<sup>32</sup> J. KOROŠEC, P. KOROŠEC, 1980, T. 19, 3, 4; I. RADIĆ ROSSI, 2011, T. 56, 4, T. 58, 1.

<sup>33</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 8, 8; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 2, 3.

<sup>34</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 10, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, T. XXXV, 6.

<sup>33</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 8, 8; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 2, 3.

<sup>34</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 10, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, T. XXXV, 6.

često zadebljanim na unutarnjoj strani posude. Na vanjskoj strani mogu se nalaziti masivne horizontalne ručke, ponekad izvučene koso prema gore, kao na jednom od ulomaka (T. V, 2; T. VII, 1). Bliske analogije mogu se pronaći u Vaganačkoj pećini među materijalom 8. faze koji se pripisuje završnoj fazi kasnog brončanog doba i starijoj fazi željeznog doba.<sup>36</sup> Također, slični oblici posuda pronađeni su i na gradini Vrčveo, u slojevima srednjeg i kasnog brončanog doba te u Kaštelu kod Benkovca, kao i na gradinama na Dugom otoku, uglavnom datiranim u brončano i željezno doba.<sup>37</sup> Poznati su i oblici takvih zdjela koji nemaju izražen prijelaz tijela prema obodu (T. VII, 2). Jedan fragment svojom veličinom odudara od drugih, a vjerojatno pripada velikoj zdjeli koničnog oblika s ravnim stijenkama koje završavaju manjim, blago razvrćenim obodom, a analogije mu pronalazimo među nalazima sa Sestrinja i Ričula.<sup>38</sup>

Šalice i vrčevi također predstavljaju dobro zastupljenu kategoriju nalaza, no već spomenuti problem fragmentiranosti onemogućuje da se ulomci sa sigurnošću atribuiraju jednoj ili drugoj keramičkoj vrsti. Karakteriziraju ih tanke stijenke i bikonični, čunjasti ili zaobljeni oblici. Vrčevi i šalice obilježeni su prisutnošću jedne ručke, uglavnom trokutaste ili uže ili šire trakaste ručke koja povezuje obod i rame posude, ali postoje i primjeri ispod oboda (T. IV, 5). Dekoracija je oskudna – tek je na jednom ulomku ručka ukrašena okomitim plastičnim rebrom (T. IV, 8). Slični oblici šalica već su zabilježeni u velebitskim špiljskim lokalitetima, u Separovači i Vaganačkoj pećini,<sup>39</sup> a pojavljuju se i u Bezdanjači tijekom srednjeg i kasnog brončanog doba,<sup>40</sup> dok nalazi iz Radovina i Trogira upućuju na trajanje takvih oblika i ti-

Bronze Age and the early stage of the Iron Age.<sup>36</sup> In addition, similar vessel forms were also found in the Middle and Late Bronze Age layers at the Gradina Vrčveo hillfort, as well as in Kaštel near Benkovac, and at hillforts on the island of Dugi Otok, dated predominantly to the Bronze and Iron Ages.<sup>37</sup> Also present are bowl shapes with a non-accentuated transition of the body to the rim (T. VII, 2). One fragment differs from the others in size, probably belonging to a large conical bowl with flat walls ending in a smaller, slightly everted rim, for which analogies have been found among the finds from Sestrinj and Ričul islands.<sup>38</sup>

Cups and jugs are also well-represented, but due to the already mentioned problem of their fragmentation it is impossible to classify them with certainty as belonging to a specific category of pottery finds. They are characterised by thin walls and biconical, conical or rounded shapes. Jugs and cups mostly have a single handle which is generally triangular or wider- or narrower-ribbed, connecting the vessel's rim and shoulder; however, there are also specimens of handles applied below the rim (T. IV, 5). The decoration is sparse — there is only one fragment of a handle decorated with a vertical plastic rib (T. IV, 8). Similar cup shapes have already been recorded in the Velebit cave sites of Separovača and Vaganačka Pećina,<sup>39</sup> but they also occur among finds from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages at the Bezdanjača cave site,<sup>40</sup> while finds from Radovin and Trogir suggest the duration of such forms also throughout the Iron Age.<sup>41</sup>

The form of the handles suggests both their functionality and decorativeness. Thus, in addition to being used for holding and carrying

<sup>36</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 11, 2-4.

<sup>37</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 80, 4, 6; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 85, 2; T. ZOJČESKI, 2013, T. 8, 1-2, 4; A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, kat. br. 100, 113.

<sup>38</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. LXXXV, 2, 7, T. LXXXVIII, 1; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1977, T. 3, 3, T. 6.

<sup>39</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 7, 12, T. 9, 12; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 1, 4.

<sup>40</sup> R. DRECHSLER BIŽIĆ, 1980, T. X, 1, 6, T. XXVI, 6.

<sup>36</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 11, 2-4.

<sup>37</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 80, 4, 6; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. 85, 2; T. ZOJČESKI, 2013, T. 8, 1-2, 4; A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, kat. br. 100, 113.

<sup>38</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, T. LXXXV, 2, 7, T. LXXXVIII, 1; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1977, T. 3, 3, T. 6.

<sup>39</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 7, 12, T. 9, 12; S. FORENBAHER, 1991, T. 1, 4.

<sup>40</sup> R. DRECHSLER BIŽIĆ, 1980, T. X, 1, 6, T. XXVI, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1968, T. XXVIII, 1, T. XXV, 2; N. PETRIĆ, 1992, Figs. 3, 5.

jekom željeznog doba.<sup>41</sup>

Funkcionalnost i dekorativnost dvije su značajke koje su objedinjene u formi i obliku ručaka, koje osim što služe za držanje i nošenje posuda, mogu biti različitih oblika, veličina i ukrasa, kronološki manje ili više indikativnih. Iako su ručke uglavnom cjelovito očuvane, u pojedinim slučajevima, kada nije očuvan veći ostatak posude, teško ih je pouzdano tipološki determinirati. Među materijalom dominiraju široke ili uske trakaste ručke (T. IV, 1-6; T. V, 1) kakve se često pronalaze na brončano-dobnim lokalitetima na istočnom Jadranu.<sup>42</sup> Za masivne trakaste (tunelaste) ručke (T. IV, 1-2), kakve se javljaju kod većih trbušastih lonaca, bliže analogije mogu se naći na lokalitetima kao što su Vela peć kod Vranje (Istra)<sup>43</sup> u kontekstu srednjeg brončanog doba, Krajicina spilja na Visu,<sup>44</sup> tumuli u Ličkom Osiku<sup>45</sup> i drugdje. U građi iz podmorja Lisca može se prepoznati više trokutastih ručki (T. IV, 7-10) koje su jedna od najistaknutijih karakteristika brončanog doba na istočnoj obali Jadrana. To osobito zorno ilustrira činjenica da su trokutaste ručke daleko najbrojnija kategorija ručki na gradini Monkodonja.<sup>46</sup> Osim u Istri i tršćanskom Krasu, dobro su dokumentirane i na kvarnerskim otocima, dok rezultati recentnih istraživanja na dalmatinskim lokalitetima pokazuju da je dosadašnja manja zastupljenost ipak bila odraz slabe istraženosti i objave materijala.<sup>47</sup> Trokutaste ručke uglavnom se javljaju na manjim posudama s tankim stijenkama – šalicama i vrčićima, gdje povezuju rame i obod posude, koji često i nadvisuju.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Š. BATOVIĆ, 1968, T. XXVIII, 1, T. XXV, 2; N. PETRIĆ, 1992, sl. 3, 5.

<sup>42</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, 10; T. KAISER, S. FORENBAHER, 2002, 105; T. ZOJČEVSKI, 2013, 46; A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, 44; A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 243-244.

<sup>43</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, T. MIRACLE, 2006, 27.

<sup>44</sup> T. KAISER, S. FORENBAHER, 2002, 105.

<sup>45</sup> R. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ, 1975, 16.

<sup>46</sup> A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 245.

<sup>47</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 29-30.

<sup>48</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 29-30.

vessels, handles can be of different shapes, sizes and decorations that are more or less indicative in terms of chronology. Although the handles are mostly completely preserved, in some cases, where no larger vessel fragments have been preserved, it is difficult to make a reliable typological classification of them. The most numerous artefacts are handles in the shape of wide or narrow ribbons (T. IV, 1-6; T. V, 1), often found at Bronze Age sites in the eastern Adriatic.<sup>42</sup> Closer analogies for massive ribboned (tunnel-shaped) handles (T. IV, 1-2) such as those found in larger bellied pots can be found at sites such as Vela Peć near Vranja (Istria)<sup>43</sup> in the context of the Middle Bronze Age, Krajicina Spilja cave on the island of Vis<sup>44</sup>, as well as in tumuli in Lički Osik<sup>45</sup> and elsewhere. Identified among artefacts from the underwater area off Lisac were several triangular handles (T. IV, 7-10), which are among the most prominent characteristics of the Bronze Age on the eastern Adriatic coast. This is particularly vividly illustrated by the fact that triangular handles are by far the most numerous category of handles on the Monkodonja hillfort.<sup>46</sup> Apart from Istria and the Trieste Karst Plateau, they are well documented on the Kvarner islands, while the results of recent investigations at Dalmatian sites show that the hitherto scanty representation was a reflection of poor research and publication of materials.<sup>47</sup> Triangular handles usually occur on smaller vessels with thin walls — cups and small jugs — connecting the shoulder and the rim of the vessel, often overhanging the rim.<sup>48</sup>

Among handles, a special category is made up of those that are horizontal, which include ring handles with a circular or an approximate-

<sup>42</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, 10; T. KAISER, S. FORENBAHER, 2002, 105; T. ZOJČEVSKI, 2013, 46; A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, 44; A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 243-244.

<sup>43</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. RAJIĆ ŠIKANJIĆ, T. MIRACLE, 2006, 27.

<sup>44</sup> T. KAISER, S. FORENBAHER, 2002, 105.

<sup>45</sup> R. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ, 1975, 16.

<sup>46</sup> A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 245.

<sup>47</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 29-30.

<sup>48</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 29-30.

Među ručkama posebnu kategoriju zauzimaju horizontalne ručke koje su prezentirane s prstenastim ručkama koje imaju kružni ili približno kružni presjek (T. V, 2–5) te mogu biti ravno položene ili koso izvučene. Imajući u vidu izgled i formu, jedan se ulomak može pripisati poluloptastoj zdjeli (T. V, 2), a drugi trbušastom loncu (T. V, 3), dok se za druga dva ulomka (T. V, 4–5) ne može odrediti vrsta posude kojoj su pripadali. No, moguće je da su oni stajali na loncima, i to na najširem dijelu posude, ponekad u paru na suprotnim stranama.<sup>49</sup> Obično se smatra da su prstenaste ručke karakteristika ranog željeznog doba, iako su u pećini Bezdanjači poznate u kontekstu kasnog brončanog doba,<sup>50</sup> dok nalazi iz slojeva Vaganačke pećine datirani u srednje brončano doba upućuju i na raniju pojavu.<sup>51</sup> Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je analiza materijala s gradine Vrčevo pokazala da se ondje javljaju u kasnom brončanom dobu te traju sve do kraja starijeg željeznog doba.<sup>52</sup> Jedan ulomak lonca izdužene zaobljene forme čini se da je također imao prstenastu horizontalnu ručku (T. VI, 4).

U cjelini gledajući, keramička građa Lisca odgovara standardima kasnih prapovijesnih razdoblja istočnog Jadrana. Iako se većini oblika pronalaze sličnosti među materijalom brončanog doba, treba naglasiti da dataciju građenu na analogijama treba ipak prihvatiti s nužnim oprezom jer se pojedini oblici u kontinuitetu nastavljaju upotrebljavati u željezno doba. Najraniji obrađeni keramički oblici pojavljuju se još u ranom i srednjem brončanom dobu, no osobito su važne usporedbe s građom iz Vaganačke pećine na južnom Velebitu, višeslojnog lokaliteta s jasno definiranim stratigrafskim odnosima, koje otkrivaju izražene analogije s oblicima iz završne faze kasnog brončanog i ranog željeznog doba.

ly circular cross-section (T. V, 2-5) that can be straight or diagonally everted. Taking into account their appearance and shape, one fragment can be attributed to a hemispherical bowl (T. V, 2) and another to a bellied pot (T. V, 3), while the type of the vessel to which another two fragments (T. V, 4-5) used to belong cannot be determined. However, it is possible that they were positioned on pots, and this at their widest part, sometimes in pairs on opposite sides.<sup>49</sup> Ring handles are generally considered a characteristic of the Early Iron Age, although in the Bezdanjača Cave they have been known in the context of the Late Bronze Age,<sup>50</sup> while finds from the Vaganačka Cave layers dating to the Middle Bronze Age indicate an even earlier appearance.<sup>51</sup> It is interesting to note that the analysis of materials from the Vrčevo hillfort suggests that there they appear among finds dated from the Late Bronze Age until the end of the Early Iron Age.<sup>52</sup> A fragment of an elongated, round pot also appears to have had a horizontal ring handle (T. VI, 4).

On the whole, ceramic finds from the Lisac site correspond to the norms of the late prehistoric periods of the eastern Adriatic. Although for most forms there are similarities among Bronze Age finds, it should be pointed out that any dating based on analogies should, nevertheless, be taken with due caution, given that individual forms continued to be used in the Iron Age. The earliest processed pottery forms had already appeared in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, but of particular significance are analogies with finds from Vaganačka Pećina on southern Velebit, a multi-layered site with clearly defined stratigraphic relationships, which reveal pronounced analogies with forms from the final stages of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age.

<sup>49</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 30.

<sup>50</sup> R. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ, 1980, 40.

<sup>51</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 7, 10.

<sup>52</sup> A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, 49.

<sup>49</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 30.

<sup>50</sup> R. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ, 1980, 40.

<sup>51</sup> S. FORENBAHER, P. VRANJICAN, 1985, T. 7, 10.

<sup>52</sup> A. ŠOKČEVIĆ, 2016, 49.

## DATACIJA

S donekle suženim databilnim okvirom keramičkog materijala djelomično koreliraju i rezultati  $^{14}\text{C}$  analize jednog uzorka kosti kopnene životinja izuzete iz sloja umjetno stvorenog platoa koja je pokazala kalibrirani datum od 992. do 830. godine prije Krista (Sl. 6).<sup>53</sup> Na osnovi tog podatka, može se zaključiti da su se intenzivne aktivnosti na području Lisca, koje su posvjedočene konstruktivnim zahvatima i obiljem materijalne kulture, odvijale tijekom 10. i 9. st. pr. Kr., tj. u periodu potkraj kasnog brončanog doba i na samom početku željeznog doba.

Prilog prapovijesnoj dataciji lokaliteta je i položaj potopljenih struktura u odnosu na današnju morsku razinu. Najveća dubina na kojoj se nalazi komunikacijski nasip između otočića Lisca i obale je 2,9 metara koliko iznosi na središnjem, najdubljem dijelu. S druge strane, plato kod otočića Lisca izdvaja se od okolnog dna s manjim rubnim nasipom čiji je vrh na prosječnim 2,8 metara ispod današnje morske razine. Uzimajući u obzir rekonstrukcije temeljene na geološkim istraživanjima, procjenjuje se da je u ovom dijelu Jadrana razina mora tijekom posljednje četiri tisuće godina porasla u odnosu na kopno za oko 2,5 metara.<sup>54</sup> S druge strane, za prostor sjeveroistočnog Jadrana u antici generalno se može računati s prosječnim vrijednostima razine mora za otprilike -160 do -180 centimetara ispod današnje razine.<sup>55</sup> Stoga, spomenuti odnos najdubljeg dijela lokaliteta na današnju morsku razinu svakako negira antički nastanak struktura, a odnosi između rekonstruirane paleorazine i dubine na kojoj se nalaze kamene konstrukcije potiču na zaključak da je u brončano doba Lisac od kopna dijelila pličina. Naravno, u obzir treba

<sup>53</sup> Analizu pomoću izotopa radioaktivnog ugljika  $^{14}\text{C}$  napravio je *Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory* iz Floride (Beta-542017,  $2760 \pm 30$  BP, kalibrirani datum 2929 - 2779 cal BP 95 % vjerojatnosti).

<sup>54</sup> K. LAMBECK et al., 2004, sl. 12.

<sup>55</sup> F. ANTONIOLI et al., 2007, 2480–2483.

## CHRONOLOGICAL DATING

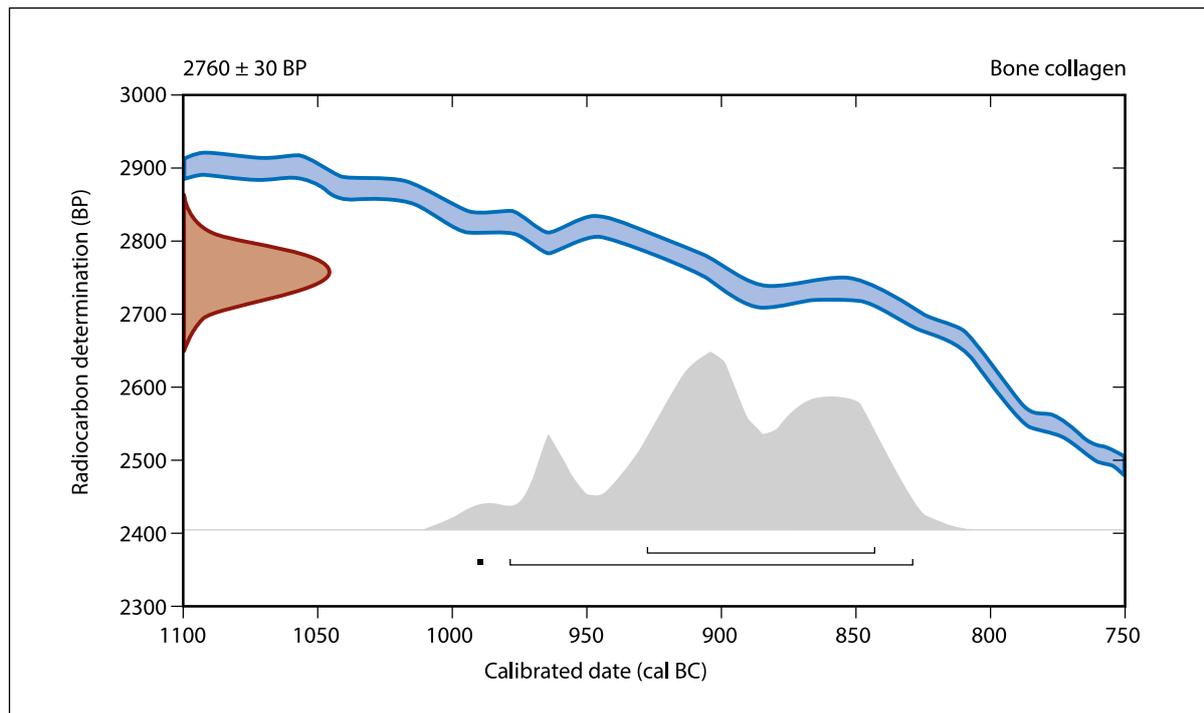
The results of a  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis of a sample of a land-animal bone taken from the artificial plateau layer, which showed a calibrated date from 992 to 830 BC, also partially correlate with the somewhat narrowed datable frame of the pottery finds (Fig. 6).<sup>53</sup> Based on this information, it can be concluded that intensive activities in the Lisac area, evidenced by constructive interventions and an abundance of material culture, took place during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, that is at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the very beginning of the Iron Age.

A prehistoric dating of the site is also suggested by the position of submerged structures in relation to present-day sea level. The greatest depth at which the communication embankment between the islet of Lisac and the coast lies is 2.9 m, in the central, deepest part. On the other hand, the plateau near Lisac islet, with a small marginal embankment whose peak is on average at 2.8 m below present-day sea level, stands out from the surrounding seabed. Taking into account reconstructions based on geological studies, it is estimated that in this part of the Adriatic, over the last four thousand years, the sea level has increased by about 2.5 m in relation to the mainland.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, average sea-level values in the north-eastern Adriatic in the Classical Antiquity period are, generally, taken to be approximately 160 to 180 centimetres below the present-day level.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the above mentioned difference between the site's deepest part and the present-day sea level certainly does not suggest an origin of the structures in the Classical Antiquity, while the difference between the reconstructed palaeo-sea-level and the depth at which the stone structures are located suggest that, during the Bronze Age, Li-

<sup>53</sup> The analysis based on the  $^{14}\text{C}$  radioactive carbon isotope was performed by the *Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory* in Florida (Beta-542017,  $2760 \pm 30$  BP, calibrated date 2929-2779 cal BP 95% probability).

<sup>54</sup> K. LAMBECK et al., 2004, Fig. 12.

<sup>55</sup> F. ANTONIOLI et al., 2007, 2480-2483.



SLIKA 6. Kalibrirani radiokarbonski datum (Beta Analytic)  
 FIGURE 6 Calibrated radiocarbon date (Beta Analytic)

uzeti i mogućnost lokalnih tektonskih pomaka koji su mogli utjecati na odnos s današnjom morskom razinom. Ako razlike u dubini držimo točnima, čini se da nije ni bilo potrebe za većim nasipavanjem kako bi se Lisac povezao s obalom. No, uz tu pretpostavku treba imati na umu da je čitavi tjesnac izložen snažnim utjecajima južnog vjetera i morskih struja zbog kojih je i tada zasigurno postojala stalna briga oko popravka nasipa, a tijekom kasnijih razdoblja postdepozicijski procesi vjerojatno su uzrokovali djelomičnu destrukciju i dislokaciju kamene strukture nasipa.

## INTERPRETACIJA

Razmatrajući prostorni položaj lokaliteta, nameće se pitanje koji se razlozi kriju iza gradnje umjetnog nasipa koji je povezao Lisac s kopnom i postoji li poveznica između tih intervencija u prostoru i organizacije produkcije soli briketažom? U zajedničkom fokusu tih dviju aktivnosti je otočić Lisac, no njegovu funkciju teško je odrediti jer na samom oto-

sac was separated from the mainland by a shoal. Certainly, the possibility of local tectonic shifts that could have affected the difference with the present-day sea level also needs to be taken into consideration. If we hold that the depth differences are accurate, obviously there was no need for a larger embankment to connect Lisac with the mainland. However, in assuming so, it should be borne in mind that the entire strait is exposed to strong impacts of the south wind and of sea currents, due to which there certainly would have been constant concern about the embankment's state of repair, while in the course of later periods post-deposition processes probably caused partial destruction and dislocation of the embankment's stone structure.

## INTERPRETATION

Considering the spatial position of the site, the question arises as to the reasons behind the construction of the artificial embankment that connected Lisac with the mainland, as well as to a possible connection between these inter-

čiću, koji je površine oko 1,6 ha, dosad nisu zabilježeni arheološki pokazatelji koji bi potkrijepili tumačenje da je riječ o naselju, iako mu A. Glavičić, a poslije i drugi određuju naseobinsku funkciju.<sup>56</sup> Kamenita i ogoljena površina otočića vrlo dinamične stjenovite konfiguracije nije privlačna za obavljanje svakodnevnih aktivnosti jer je nezaštićena i izložena udarima vjetrova, a tek jugoistočna obala, koja gleda prema kopnu, blago je položena. Na njoj je primijećena jedna duža zaravan s nešto više zemlje, no površinski pregled tog prostora neposredno uz lokalitet, nije dao arheoloških pokazatelja. Kao jedan od rijetkih takvih priobalnih otočnih položaja na strmoj podvelebitskoj obali, Lisac je imao istaknuto značenje u vizualnoj kontroli morskog prostora, a kao dominantna točka u maritimnom krajoliku mogao je služiti kao prostorni marker položaja zajednice i putokaz pomorcima pri orijentaciji u plovidbi. Također, priobalni položaj Lisca podržava mišljenje o njegovoj fortifikacijskoj ulozi jer pruža zaštićen položaj dovoljno blizu kopnu s kojim je bio povezan nasipom, a dovoljno udaljen da pruži sigurnu odstupnicu i zaštitu od opasnosti koja je prijetila s kopna.

U širem prostornom kontekstu, Lisac se uklapa u skupinu prapovijesnih nalazišta raširenih duž istočnojadranske obale, smještenih uz male otoke u neposrednoj blizini obale koji su prirodnim ili umjetnim nasipom bili povezani s kopnom, poput Garmenjaka na Pašmanu, Školja Velikog, Babuljaša kod Pakošтана ili Ričula kod Turnja.<sup>57</sup> U novijim istraživanjima pronađen je veći broj dosad nepoznatih lokaliteta fortifikacijskog karaktera, povezanih komunikacijskim nasipom s kopnom, koji pokazuju moguće širenje pomorske dominacije od juga prema sjeveru, počevši od Vranjica do Ričula radiokarbonski datumi okvirno pokazuju vrijeme 1400. godine prije Krista, preko Mišnjaka na Pagu datiranog od 1219. do 1026. godine prije Krista (95 % vjerojat-

ventions in space and the establishment of salt production by briquetage. The common focus of these two activities is the Lisac islet. However, although A. Glavičić, and later also others assumed it was settled, it is difficult to determine its function given that on the islet itself, whose surface area is about 1.6 hectares, no archaeological indicators have been recorded that would confirm its interpretation as a settlement.<sup>56</sup> The islet's denuded and barren surface has a very dynamic rocky configuration, which makes it unattractive for day-to-day activities, being unprotected and exposed to wind squalls, while only the south-eastern coast, facing the mainland, has a gentle slope. Here, a long plateau with slightly more land is to be seen, however, a surface survey of the area next to the site did not provide any archaeological evidence. As one of a few similar islands located close to the steep sub-Velebit coast, Lisac occupied a position that was significant for the visual control of the maritime area; hence, as a dominant point in the maritime landscape, it could have served as a spatial marker of a community's position and an orientation point for seafarers. What is more, the coastal location of Lisac suggests its role as a fortification, as it provides a protected position, close enough to the mainland, to which it was connected by an embankment, and far enough away from it to provide a safe retreat and protection from danger threatening from the interior.

In a broader spatial context, Lisac fits into a group of prehistoric sites spread along the eastern Adriatic coast, located off small islands near the coast that were connected to the mainland by a natural or artificial embankment, such as Garmenjaka near Pašman, Školj Veliki, Babuljaš near Pakošтана or Ričul near Turanj.<sup>57</sup> In more recent excavation campaigns, a number of hitherto unknown fortification sites connected to the mainland by embankments have been discovered, suggesting a possible expansion

<sup>56</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1980, 191.

<sup>57</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 32.

<sup>56</sup> A. GLAVIČIĆ, 1966, 394; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1980, 191.

<sup>57</sup> M. ČELHAR et al., 2017, 32.

nosti), a završavaju na najsjevernijem nalazištu Košljun na otoku Krku s radokarbonskim datumom od 731. do 399. godine prije Krista (95 % vjerojatnosti).<sup>58</sup> Nalazište u podmorju Lisca svojom datacijom idealno se prostorno i vremenski uklapa unutar navedenog sustava, a na intrigantno pitanje postoji li u tome nešto više od slučajnosti, odgovore će pokazati buduća istraživanja.

S druge strane, još jedna karakteristika tog mjesta, danas teže primjetljiva, morala je biti presudan faktor prostorne okupacije. Naime, na nekoliko mjesta duž obale Lisca nalaze se snažne vrulje, koje su se, imajući na umu podizanje razine more, nekoć mogle nalaziti na kopnu. U velebitskom krajoliku koji oskudijeva prirodnim resursima esencijalnim za život, izvori vode bili su prijeko potrebni za obavljanje svakodnevnih životnih aktivnosti, a disperzija gradina pokazuje da su odigrali i bitnu ulogu u odabiru položaja za njihovo formiranje.<sup>59</sup>

Određena problematika povezana je s karakterom samog lokaliteta i pitanje je treba li ga tumačiti kao izdvojeno mjesto na kojem su se odvijale gospodarske aktivnosti ili kao sastavni dio većeg naselja koje se nalazilo na kopnu.<sup>60</sup> U tom smislu treba razmotriti odnos s obližnjim gradinskim lokalitetom Gradina koji se možda rabio istovremeno s Liscem kao dio zajedničke naseobinske cjeline.<sup>61</sup> No, brdo Gradina svojom dinamičnom morfologijom i strmim padinama ne pruža idealne uvjete za stalni život, pa stoga treba istaknuti i vrlo prihvatljivo mišljenje da sama Gradina nije bila naseljena, već je prapovijesno naselje bilo smješteno u podnožju lokaliteta, uz obalu, na prostoru na

of maritime dominance from south to north: starting from Vranjic towards Ričul, radiocarbon dates suggest the period from 1400 BC, over Mišnjak near Pag island dated (with 95% probability) to the period between 1219 and 1026 BC, and ending at the northernmost site of Košljun near Krk island with a radiocarbon date from 731 to 399 BC (with 95% probability).<sup>58</sup> The Lisac submarine site with its dating fits the mentioned system perfectly in terms of space and time, and future campaigns will answer the intriguing question of whether there is anything more to this than mere coincidence.

On the other hand, another characteristic of the site, more difficult to notice today, could have been decisive for its occupation. Namely, at several points along the Lisac coast there are water springs, which, bearing in mind the rise in sea level, could once have been on land. In the Velebit landscape, which lacks many natural resources essential for life, water was indispensable for everyday activities, and the distribution of hillforts suggests that water springs also played a significant role in choosing the location for their foundation.<sup>59</sup>

There are specific problems related to the character of the site itself; hence, the question of whether it should be interpreted as a distinct location where economic activities took place, or rather as an integral part of a larger settlement located on the mainland.<sup>60</sup> In this sense, the relationship with the nearby Gradina hillfort site should be considered: this might have been used contemporaneously with Lisac as part of a common settlement.<sup>61</sup> However, the Gradina hill with its dynamic morphology and steep slopes does not provide ideal conditions

<sup>58</sup> M. PARICA, 2021.

<sup>59</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 87–88.

<sup>60</sup> Na francuskim nalazištima briketaža u dolini rijeke Seille usko su povezane zone produkcije, odlaganja otpada i izvora slane vode. Česti su i dokazi da su se unutar samih radionica odvijale svakodnevne životne aktivnosti što sugeriraju nalazi „obične“ keramike i ostataka faune (L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 561).

<sup>61</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 48.

<sup>58</sup> M. PARICA, 2021.

<sup>59</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 87–88.

<sup>60</sup> At French briquetage sites in the Seille River valley, zones of production, waste disposal and salt water springs were closely connected. There is also frequent evidence that everyday activities took place within the workshops themselves, as suggested by the finds of “ordinary” pottery and animal remains (L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 561).

<sup>61</sup> M. GLAVIČIĆ, 1996, 48.

kojem se poslije razvio i rimski municipij.<sup>62</sup>

Velika količina keramičkih tronožaca, tipičnih i prepoznatljivih dijelova briketaza, u podmorju otočića Lisca snažan su argument da se na tom mjestu proizvodila sol prisilnim isparavanjem. Dodatan prilog toj tezi je i veliki broj ulomaka poluloptastih recipijenata, koji svojom ujednačenom formom upućuju na standardiziranu produkciju, a visokom fragmentacijom odgovaraju analognim situacijama na drugim europskim nalazištima briketaza, na kojima se kalupi najčešće pronalaze u sitnim ulomcima kao posljedica razbijanja posuda zbog oslobađanja kolačića soli. Iako tradicija proizvodnje soli uz upotrebu jednostavnog briketaza datira još od početka šestog tisućljeća prije Krista, intenziviranje djelatnosti povezano je s brončanim dobom kada dolazi i do promjene u proizvodnom alatu jer se prvi put počinje upotrebljavati dvodijelni briketaz s recipijentima za isparavanje koji su odvojeni od potpornih stupića.<sup>63</sup> Najraniji nalazi briketaza potječu s neolitičkih lokaliteta u Rumunjskoj, dok do najveće produktivnosti dolazi u željezno i rimsko doba, osobito u sjevernoj Europi.<sup>64</sup>

Koncentracija tih nalaza na platou uz jugoistočnu obalu Lisca pokazuje da je taj prostor nekoć pružao sve prostorne predispozicije koje su potrebne za organizaciju takve produkcije. Jedan od glavnih preduvjeta jest dostupnost slatke vode koja se rabi za pročišćivanje slane kaše.<sup>65</sup> K tomu, među poželjnim karakteristikama jest i da samo mjesto bude povoljne i pristupačne konfiguracije terena, kao primjerice niska obalna ravnica smještena neposredno uz izvor soli i po mogućnosti pozicionirana uz estuarij neke rijeke.<sup>66</sup> Takve površine na kamenitoj i strmoj podvelebitskoj obali su rijetke, no moguće je takav prostor zamisliti u

for continuous settlement; therefore, it might be a reasonable assumption that Gradina itself was uninhabited, but that, at the foot of the site, along the coast, a prehistoric settlement was located, which at a later stage developed into a Roman municipality.<sup>62</sup>

The large number of ceramic tripods — typical and recognisable components of briquetage — on the Lisac islet seabed strongly suggests salt production by forced evaporation in the area. An additional argument supporting this thesis is also the large quantity of fragments of hemispherical containers, whose uniform shape suggests standardised production, while their high fragmentation corresponds to analogous situations at other European briquetage sites, where, as a consequence of their having been broken to release the salt cakes, moulds are most often recovered in small sherds. Although the tradition of salt production using simple briquetage dates back to the beginning of the sixth millennium BC, the intensification of activities is related to the Bronze Age, when the production tools changed as the employment of two-part briquetage first started, with evaporation containers separated from their supporting pillars.<sup>63</sup> The earliest briquetage finds have been recovered from Neolithic sites in Romania, while the highest productivity, particularly in northern Europe, occurred in the Iron Age and the Roman period.<sup>64</sup>

The concentration of these finds on the plateau along Lisac's southeast coast indicates that this area once provided all spatial predispositions needed to establish such production. One of the main prerequisites is the availability of fresh water used for purifying the brine.<sup>65</sup> In addition, among the desirable characteristics of a site is a favourable and accessible terrain configuration, such as a low coastal plain located

<sup>62</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 178–179.

<sup>63</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 252–254; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 5.

<sup>64</sup> L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 559; A. HARDING, 2013, 44–50.

<sup>65</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 189.

<sup>66</sup> E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 162.

<sup>62</sup> V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 178–179.

<sup>63</sup> A. HARDING, 2000, 252–254; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 5.

<sup>64</sup> L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 559; A. HARDING, 2013, 44–50.

<sup>65</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 189.

rekonstrukciji izgleda tjesnaca između Lisca i obale kada su linija morske razine i izgled obale bili znatno drukčiji. Treba napomenuti da je sličnih obilježja i drugi velebitski podmorski lokalitet u Karlobagu na kojem su potvrđeni nalazi briketaža.<sup>67</sup>

Usprkos mnogim raspravama koje su proizašle iz analiziranja briketaža, eksperimentalnih studija i etnografskih analogija, točna rekonstrukcija tehnološkog procesa produkcije soli prisilnim isparavanjem i dalje je u određenim aspektima vrlo problematična te se razlikuje ovisno o uvjetima i položaju lokalitetu i izgledu samog proizvodnog repertoara. Mnoga prapovijesna nalazišta briketaža, a osobito primjeri iz tzv. *atelier de briquetage* s bogatih i dobro proučenih francuskih lokaliteta na obali Atlantika, Manchea i u dolini rijeke Seille dala su indicije da se *chaîne opératoire* sastojao od triju glavnih faza. U prvoj fazi podizala se koncentracija soli u slanoj vodi kako bi se dobila zasićena slana kaša. Druga faza odnosi se na proces isušivanja i kristalizaciju slane kaše, dok treća podrazumijeva oslobađanje i oblikovanje soli u homogene kolačiće kojima se moglo trgovati.<sup>68</sup> Pojednost u tom postupku razlikovale su se ovisno o mjestu i vremenu.<sup>69</sup> U početnoj fazi obogaćivanje morske vode moglo se postići solarnom evaporacijom pomoću plitkih otvorenih bazena ili prirodnih škrapa u kojima se slana voda prirodno zadržavala.<sup>70</sup> S druge strane, jedna od mogućnosti podizanja koncentracije soli u slanoj vodi bilo je i iskuhavanje pomoću posuda s dovoljno debelim stijenkama otpornim na lako pucanje.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Osim nalaza u podmorju, sloj prapovijesne keramike sa sitnim ulomcima posuda tankih stijenki vidljiv je i u profilu kopna na samoj obali. Na tom položaju teren se blago spušta prema moru, a na nekim stijenama primjetan je utjecaj protoka slatke vode (I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 462).

<sup>68</sup> P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185.

<sup>69</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 183-187; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563-564; A. HARDING, 2013, 115, 121.

<sup>70</sup> L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563-564; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 188-189.

<sup>71</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 171; P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164. Poroznost stijenki potaknula je i raspravu je li se briketaž rabio isključivo za isušivanje slane kaše ili je možda služio i za iskuhavanje slane vode u prvoj fazi produkcije. (Vidi više

directly next to a salt source, and preferably a position on a river estuary.<sup>66</sup> Such areas on the rocky and steep sub-Velebit coast are rare, but it is possible to imagine such an area if we reconstruct the appearance of the strait between Lisac and the mainland at a time when the sea level and the appearance of the coast were significantly different. It should be noted that the other Velebit submarine site in Karlobag, where briquetage finds were confirmed, has similar characteristics.<sup>67</sup>

Despite numerous discussions arising from briquetage analyses, experimental studies and ethnographic analogies, an exact reconstruction of the technological process of salt production by forced evaporation is still very problematic in certain aspects and varies depending on site conditions and location, as well as the appearance of the production repertoire. Many prehistoric briquetage sites, and especially examples from the so-called *ateliers de briquetage* of the rich and well-studied French sites on the Atlantic and Channel coasts, as well as the valley of the river Seille, suggested that the *chaîne opératoire* consisted of three main phases. In the first phase, the salt concentration in salt water was raised to obtain a saturated brine. The second phase constituted the process of drying and crystallisation of the brine. The third phase involved the evaporation of the salt and its shaping into homogeneous cakes that could be traded.<sup>68</sup> The process details varied depending on place and time.<sup>69</sup> In the initial phase, seawater enrichment could be achieved by solar evaporation using shallow outdoor pools or natural cracks in which salt water was naturally retained.<sup>70</sup> On

<sup>66</sup> E. MONTAGNARI KOKELJ, 2007, 162.

<sup>67</sup> In addition to finds recovered from the seabed, a layer of prehistoric pottery with small sherds of thin-walled vessels is also visible in the profile of the mainland directly on the coast. At this point, the terrain slopes gently towards the sea, and on some rocks the impact of fresh-water flow is visible (I. MIHAJLOVIĆ, 2014, 462).

<sup>68</sup> P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185.

<sup>69</sup> K. RIEHM 1961, 183-187; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563-564; A. HARDING, 2013, 115, 121.

<sup>70</sup> L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563-564; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 188-189.

U drugoj fazi slana se kaša premješta u keramičke kalupe te se prosušuje na stupićima u posebno konstruiranim pećima dok se ne pretvori u kompaktne kolačiće soli. Podržani na postoljima poput trorogih stupića, recipijenti bi bili izloženi postupnom isušivanju i cirkulaciji toplog zraka koji bi dolazio iz izvora vatre koji se nalazio u blizini samih posuda. Nečistoće u slanoj kaši uklanjale su se dodavanjem slatke vode i ponavljanjem postupka dok se prljava vode ne raščisti.<sup>72</sup> Isparavanje je moglo potrajati i nekoliko sati, ovisno o vanjskim faktorima koji trasiraju put mišljenjima da se na pojedinim nalazištima pretpostavlja sezonski karakter produkcije, osobito tijekom ljetnih mjeseci kada je brzina prirodnog isparavanja najveća, a povoljni klimatski uvjeti omogućuju nesmetan proces isušivanja koji se događao na otvorenom. Klima i specifično podneblje velebitskog prostora podržavaju pretpostavku da je i produkcija na Lisacu imala sezonski karakter i da se odvijala za lijepih dana kakvih je najviše za ljetno doba godine.

Etnografske paralele s područja u kojima sličan način proizvodnje soli postoji i dandanas pružile su dovoljno dokaza za rekonstrukciju izgleda peći za prosušivanje. Na ravnu površinu tla slagali su se keramički potpornji od kojih je svaki podržavao po jedan zemljani kalup za prosušivanje, a takve peći mogle su imati i stotinjak potpornih stupića i biti dimenzija do nekoliko metara.<sup>73</sup> Raspoređeni jedan do drugoga, kalupi su se međusobno podupirali, a u tu svrhu mogle su poslužiti i grudice sirove gline postavljene na mjestu dodira.<sup>74</sup> Završetkom sušenja kalupi su se razbijali kako bi se dobili

the other hand, one of the methods of raising the salt concentration in salt water was also boiling by means of vessels with sufficiently thick walls, resistant to easy cracking.<sup>71</sup>

In the second stage, the brine was transferred to ceramic moulds and dried on pillars in specially designed kilns until it was turned into compact salt cakes. Supported on pedestals like three-horned pillars, the containers were exposed to gradual drying and the circulation of warm air coming from a fire source located near the vessels themselves. Impurities in the brine were removed by adding fresh water and repeating the procedure until the dirty water was purified.<sup>72</sup> Evaporation could have taken several hours, depending on external factors, which leads in turn to the assumption that, at certain sites, production was only of seasonal character, specifically during the summer months, when the rate of natural evaporation is the highest, and favourable climatic conditions allow a smooth drying process that could take place outdoors. The specific climate of the Velebit area supports the assumption that the production on Lisac also had a seasonal character and that it took place on warm sunny days during the summer season.

Ethnographic parallels from areas where a similar salt production process is still extant provide sufficient evidence to reconstruct the appearance of a drying kiln. Ceramic supports were stacked on a flat ground surface, each of them supporting an earthen drying mould. Such kilns could have had about a hundred supporting pillars and be up to several metres in size.<sup>73</sup> Arranged side by side, the moulds

u M. BELL, 1990, 171). S nužnim oprezom pri razmatranju korelacije oblika i funkcije, moguće je pomišljati da su i neke od posuda debljih stijenki koje su dokumentirane među nalazima iz podmorja Lisca služile za iskuhavanje u prvoj fazi produkcije.

<sup>72</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185.

<sup>73</sup> K. SIMON, 1988, 10, T. 4; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 5, T. 4, 2, T. 14, 2, T. 19, T. 25, 3, T. 31, 1; A. HARDING, 2013, 38.

<sup>74</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 189; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 9; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

<sup>71</sup> M. BELL, 1990, 171; P. M. BARFORD, 1995, 164. The porosity of the walls also prompted a debate as to whether briquetage was used exclusively to dry the salt brine or if possibly it also served for boiling salt water in the first phase of production. (For more details, see M. BELL, 1990, 171). With the necessary reserve when it comes to considering the correlation of shape and function, it is possible to imagine that some of the thick-walled vessels documented among the Lisac submarine finds also served for boiling in the first phase of production.

<sup>72</sup> S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 185.

<sup>73</sup> K. SIMON, 1988, 10, T. 4; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 5,

kolačići soli, izuzev onih koji će poslužiti kao ambalaža, a peć se rastavljala s izdvajanjem neoštećenih dijelova potpornih stupića koji su se mogli ponovno upotrebljavati.<sup>75</sup> Vrsta keramike pronađena na lokalitetima briketaža važan je indikator njezine tehnološke ili funkcionalne primjene u produkciji jer je produkcija soli u *cross-craft* interakciji bila suštinski povezana s proizvodnjom keramike koja je najčešće bila u blizini izvora soli, na mjestima gdje su postojala bogata ležišta dovoljno kvalitetne gline. K tomu, bilo je potrebno osigurati dovoljnu količinu drvene sirovine kao ogrjeva, ali i određen broj ljudi specijaliziranih znanja i vještina.<sup>76</sup>

U arheološkom smislu proučavanje je soli vrlo kompleksno i dugo je vremena trebalo proći da se arheologiji soli prida odgovarajuća znanstvena pozornost. Dijelom je to zanemarivanje bilo uvjetovano činjenicom da solarstvo spada među one aspekte života prapovijesnih zajednica koji se čine teško primjetnim ili gotovo nevidljivim u arheološkom zapisu. Sol je prijeko potrebna namirnica za zdravlje i ima široku primjenu u svakodnevnom životu ljudi i životinja. Služi kao aditiv u prehrani, neophodna je za konzerviranje hrane, nezaobilazna u procesu štavljenja kože ili proizvodnje sira, ima ljekovita svojstva, a zbog svih tih značajki nikada nije izgubila privilegirano značenje u prapovijesnim društvima.<sup>77</sup> Sol je posebice važna u uzgoju sitne i krupne stoke, dok se u transhumantnom stočarstvu sol može upotrebljavati i za okupljanje stada koja se slobodno kreću neograđenim pašnjacima.<sup>78</sup> Kao dragocjen resurs, sol može biti i generator društvenih promjena jer je od realne potrebe

supported each other, and for this purpose, lumps of raw clay placed at their points of contact could also have been used.<sup>74</sup> After the drying, the moulds were broken to obtain the salt cakes, except for those that would serve as packaging, and the kiln was disassembled by separating undamaged parts of supporting pillars that could be reused.<sup>75</sup> The type of pottery found at briquetage sites is an important indicator of its technological or functional application in the production because salt production in cross-craft interaction was essentially related to pottery production, which was most often near sources of salt, in places where there were rich deposits of clay of sufficient quality. In addition, it was necessary to provide a sufficient amount of raw material for firewood, but also a certain number of people with specialised knowledge and skills.<sup>76</sup>

The study of salt in terms of archaeology is very complex, and it has taken a long time for the archaeology of salt to receive appropriate scientific attention. In part, this neglect was due to the fact that salt making is one of the aspects of the life of prehistoric communities that seems to have been difficult to notice or almost invisible in archaeological records. Salt is a commodity that is indispensable for good health and that has wide application in the everyday life of humans and animals. It serves as a food additive, it is necessary for food preservation, it is indispensable in the processes of leather tanning or cheese production, it has healing properties, and because of all these features it retained the privileged significance it held for

<sup>75</sup> Iako je u podmorju otoka Lisca zabilježena velika količina fragmentiranih ulomaka kalupa, ostaje otvoreno pitanje jesu li ti kalupi služili u transportu proizvoda i u kolikoj mjeri jer se ne može odbaciti mogućnost da su gotovi kolačići dalje skladišteni i transportirani u nekoj drugoj ambalaži.

<sup>76</sup> A. HARDING, 2013, 142–143.

<sup>77</sup> A. HARDING, 2014, 591.

<sup>78</sup> M. PEARCE, 2016, 52; T. DI FRAIA, 2011, 29–31. O ulozi soli u transhumantnom stočarstvu vidi E. VANNI, F. CAMBI, 2015, 107–128. O transhumantnom stočarstvu na Velebitu vidi S. FORENBAHER, 2011, 113–121.

T. 4, 2, T. 14, 2, T. 19, T. 25, 3, T. 31, 1; A. HARDING, 2013, 38.

<sup>74</sup> K. RIEHM, 1961, 189; J. FRIES-KNOBLACH, 2001, 9; L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 563; S. FORENBAHER, 2013, 186.

<sup>75</sup> Although a large amount of mould sherds was recorded in the Lisac islet seabed, the question remains whether and to what extent these moulds were used in the transport of products because the possibility that the finished cookies were further stored and transported in other packaging cannot be excluded.

<sup>76</sup> A. HARDING, 2013, 142-143.

u konzumaciji hrane postala proizvod osobite vrijednosti u razmjeni i trgovini, a kao takva i trajno sredstvo akumuliranja bogatstva. Produkcija soli bila je integralni dio šireg procesa intenzifikacije društvenih odnosa i sustava razmjene jer se djelatnost mogla transformirati u glavnu preokupaciju i osiguravatelj prosperiteta na područjima gdje je sol bila vrlo cijenjena i tražena roba. Utjecaj soli u socioekonomskom aspektu zajednice naočitiji je u procesima društvene afirmacije u kojima je posjedovanje i kontrola resursa bila katalizator socijalne diferencijacije koja je vodila do izdvajanja elite koja monopolizacijom profitabilne aktivnosti i polaganjem prava na vlasništvo i distribuciju viškova stječe društvenu i gospodarsku moć.<sup>79</sup> Bez poznavanja samih zajednica odgovornih za proizvodnju, njihovih životnih običaja ili pogrebnih praksi na kojima se ponajbolje očituje etabliranost viših klasa i privilegirani društveni položaj teško je donositi konkretne zaključke o mogućnosti repliciranja takvog mehanizma ekonomskog prosperiteta unutar prapovijesne zajednice na području Svetog Jurja. No, nalaz brončanog noža tipa Sveti Juraj sa zakrivljenom oštricom ukrašenom šrafiranim trokutima, koji je datiran u kasno brončano doba te vjerojatno potječe iz grobne cjeline, mogao bi se tumačiti kao prilog postajanja povlaštenih skupina unutar društvene hijerarhije.<sup>80</sup>

Iz perspektive sadašnjih spoznaja i nedostataka konkretnijih nalaza teško je reći koliko se dugo lokalitet kod otočića Lisca upotrebljavao i kada je prestao funkcionirati, odnosno kada je zamrla produkcija soli i koje su ekonomske, socijalne ili druge okolnosti tomu pridonijele. No, u tom smislu, evidentan izostanak nalaza iz razdoblja mlađeg željeznog doba ocrtava gornju granicu kronološkog okvira u kojem treba razmatrati aktivnu proizvodnju. U kasnijem razdoblju i novonastalim okolnostima koje donosi uspostava rimske vlasti nema kon-

prehistoric societies.<sup>77</sup> Salt is especially important in the breeding of small and large cattle, while in transhumant animal husbandry salt can also be used to gather herds that move freely on unfenced pastures.<sup>78</sup> Being a valuable resource, salt can also be a generator of social change because from the real need for food consumption it became a product of special value in exchange and trade, and as such also a permanent means of accumulating wealth. Salt production was part of a broader process of intensifying social relations and exchange systems, as the activity could be transformed into a major occupation, providing prosperity in areas where salt was a highly valued and sought-after commodity. The influence of salt on social and economic aspects of a community is more evident in the processes of social affirmation, where the possession and control of resources was a catalyst for social differentiation that led to the separation of an elite, which gained social and economic power by monopolising profitable activities and by acquiring property rights and the distribution of excess produce.<sup>79</sup> Without understanding the communities responsible for production, their customs, or the funeral practices that best reflect the establishment of the upper classes and their privileged social status, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions about the possibility of replicating such a mechanism of economic prosperity within the prehistoric community of Sveti Juraj. However, the find of a bronze knife of the Sveti Juraj type, with a curved blade decorated with hatched triangles, which was dated to the Late Bronze Age and probably originates from a grave, could be interpreted in favour of the existence of privileged groups within the social hierarchy.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> A. HARDING, 2014, 591.

<sup>78</sup> M. PEARCE, 2016, 52; T. DI FRAIA, 2011, 29-31. On the role of salt in transhumant animal husbandry, see E. VANNI, F. CAMBI, 2015, 107-128. On transhumant animal husbandry on Velebit, see S. FORENBAHER, 2011, 113-121.

<sup>79</sup> L. OLIVIER, J. KOVACIK, 2006, 565; A. HARDING, 2014, 594-595.

<sup>80</sup> D. GLOGOVIĆ, 1992, 23-27.

kretnih dokaza o nastavku i revitalizaciji produkcije soli.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Lokalitet Lisac otvara jedno novo poglavlje u proučavanju prostorne okupacije u velebitskom prapovijesnom krajoliku u kojem su dosad bila poznata uglavnom gradinska i špiljska nalazišta. Položaj otočića Lisca upućuje na njegovu važnost u kontroli plovidbe velebitskim kanalom, koja je pod naletima bure često vrlo neizvjesna i opasna, pri čemu su i Lisac i uvala Svetog Jurja pružali sigurno utočište za privremeni ili duži boravak brodova koji su čekali povoljnije maritimne prilike. Shodno vremenskom opredjeljenju u kasno brončano doba možemo zaključiti da je zajednica koja je naseljavala područje Svetog Jurja u to doba znala iskoristiti prednosti otočića Lisca u pomorskom prometu, ali i u gospodarskom smislu kao mjestu koje nudi sve preduvjete za organizaciju produkcije soli prisilnim isparavanjem morske vode pomoću briketaža.

Sol je prapovijesnim zajednicama jedan od najvažnijih resursa, a njezina važnost osobito dolazi do izražaja u društvima u kojima je stočarstvo bilo jedna od glavnih gospodarskih djelatnosti. Posjedovanje i kontroliranje takvih izvora soli moglo je omogućiti akumulaciju bogatstva lokalnoj eliti koja monopolizacijom u distribuciji viškova ostvaruje vlastitu korist. Velike količine ulomaka briketaža u podmorju Lisca, koji u oblicima posuda pokazuju ujednačenost, a u formi stupića konvergentnu pojavu na razini podvelebitskih nalaza, pokazuju da je produkcija proizvodnog alata bila serijska i specijalizirana. Otvoreno je pitanje koliki su bili razmjeri proizvodnje soli briketažom, no ako kao glavni argument prihvatimo ogromnu količinu proizvodnog otpada u komparaciji s realnim potrebama te pretpostavku o sezonskom karakteru rada, ne može se isključiti mogućnost da je, uz produkciju koja je bila usmjerena zadovoljavanju lokalnih potražnji,

From the perspective of current knowledge and the lack of more concrete finds, it is difficult to say for how long the Lisac islet site was used and when it stopped functioning, that is, when the salt production stopped, and what economic, social or other circumstances contributed to this. But, in that sense, the evident absence of finds from the Late Iron Age outlines the upper limit of the chronological framework in which active production should be considered. In the later period and the new circumstances brought about by the establishment of Roman rule, there is no concrete evidence of the continuation and revitalisation of salt production.

## CONCLUSION

The Lisac site opens a new chapter in the study of spatial occupation in the Velebit prehistoric landscape, in which, so far, mostly hillfort and cave sites have been noted. The position of the Lisac islet indicates its importance in controlling navigation in the Velebit Channel, often very uncertain and dangerous under bora wind gusts, with Lisac and Sveti Juraj Bay providing a safe haven for temporary or longer stays of ships waiting for more favourable maritime conditions. Based on its dating to the Late Bronze Age, we can conclude that the community then settled in the area of Sveti Juraj knew how to take advantage of the Lisac islet in maritime traffic, and in economic terms as a place that offered all the prerequisites necessary for setting up salt production by forced evaporation of sea water using briquetage.

For prehistoric communities, salt was one of the most important resources, and its importance was especially evident in societies in which animal husbandry was one of the main economic activities. Possession of and control over salt resources could have enabled the accumulation of wealth by the local elite, which monopolised the distribution of excess produce for its own benefit. Large quantities of briquetage sherds in the sea off Lisac, with uni-

u prvom redu konzervacije hrane i ispunjenja potreba transhumantnog stočarstva, ostalo dovoljno prostora za razvoj profitabilne djelatnosti temeljene na stvaranju viškova koji su se izvozili u susjedna prekomorska ili kontinentalna područja, osobito u prekovelebitsko zaleđe gdje je stočarskim japodskim zajednicama ta dragocjena sirovina bila također prijeko potrebna. *Cum grano salis* može se pomišljati da je na tom organiziranom sustavu razmjene dobara kojima su jedni raspolagali, a drugi oskudijevali, svoj prosperitet barem dijelom, ako ne i u znatnijoj mjeri, izgradila i prapovijesna zajednica na području Svetog Jurja, smještenog na strateškom geografskom i prometnom položaju, uz zaštićenu luku na podvelebitskoj obali, podno prijevoja Oltara kojim je prolazila prirodna komunikacija prema unutrašnjosti. Značenje ovog lokaliteta koji pruža konkretan uvid u prostorne i gospodarske aktivnosti te zajednice, ali i doprinosi općenito skromnom poznavanju uloge soli u prapovijesnim kulturama istočnog Jadrana argumenti su koji nameću potrebu za opsežnijim arheološkim istraživanjima u podmorju otočića Lisca te razvoju holističkog i analitičkog pristupa istraživanju ovog specifičnog fenomena u podvelebitskom primorju.

form shape of vessels, and a convergent phenomenon regarding the form of pillars among finds recovered from sub-Velebit sites, suggest that the manufacturing of production tools was serial and specialised. The question of the scale of briquetage salt production remains open. However, if we accept as principal evidence the huge quantity of production waste compared to real needs, and the assumption of the seasonal nature of work, it cannot be discounted that, with production aimed at meeting local demand (primarily food preservation and meeting the needs of transhumant animal husbandry), enough room was left for the development of profitable activities based on the creation of surpluses that were exported to neighbouring overseas or continental areas, especially in the trans-Velebit hinterland, where this commodity was necessary to the Iapodian herding communities. *Cum grano salis*, it can be presumed that the prehistoric community settled in the area of Sveti Juraj, located in a strategic geographical and traffic position, built its prosperity on this organised system of exchange of goods that some had at their disposal and others lacked, at least in part, next to a protected port on the sub-Velebit coast, at the foot of the Oltari Pass, across which a natural road to the continental region passed. The importance of this site, which provides a concrete insight into the spatial and economic activities of the community, and also the fact that it contributes to our on the whole modest knowledge of the role of salt in the prehistoric cultures of the eastern Adriatic, are arguments that impress the need for more comprehensive archaeological campaigns in the submarine area of the Lisac islet, and the development of a holistic and analytical approach to the study of this specific phenomenon of the sub-Velebit littoral.

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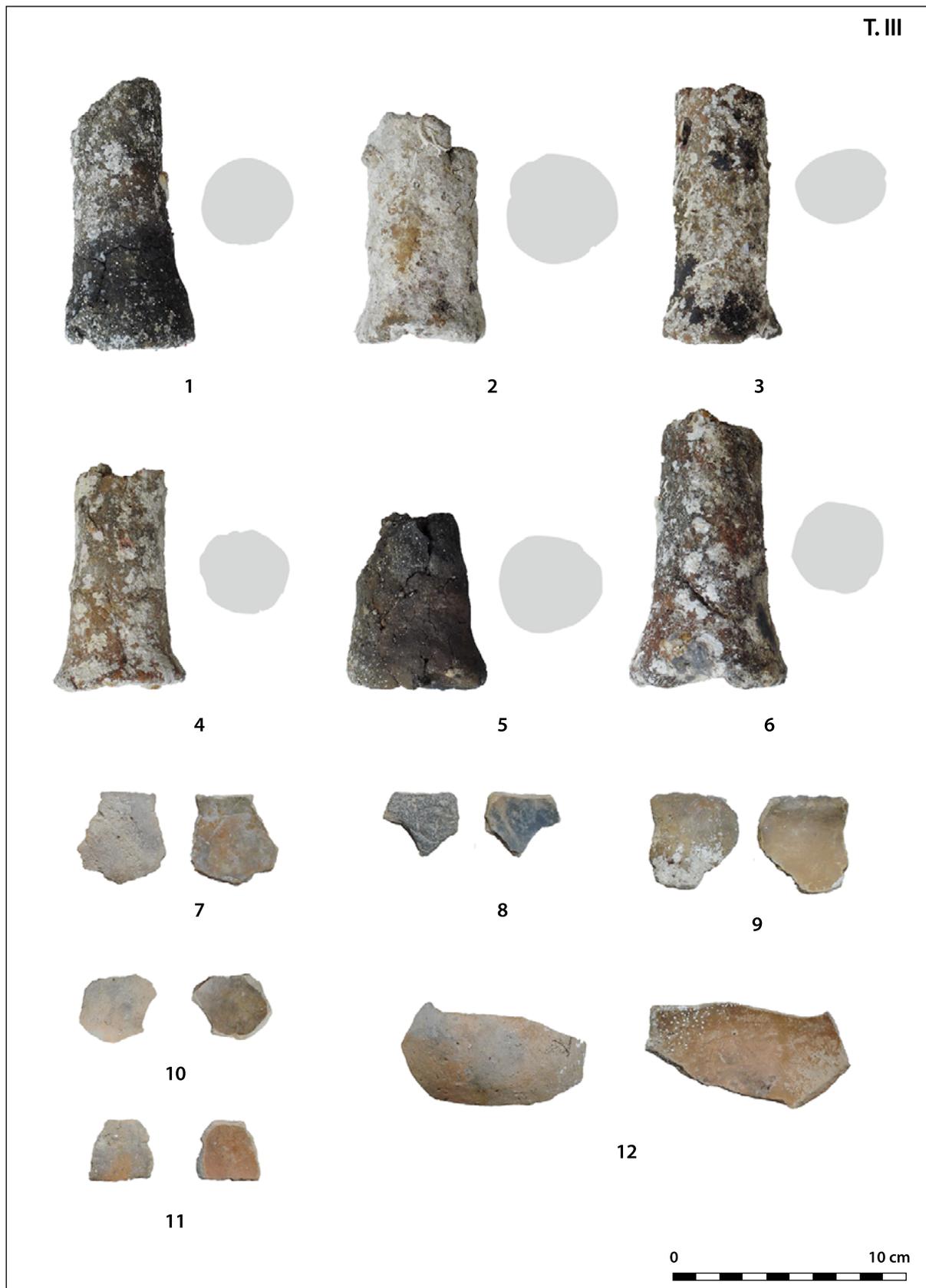
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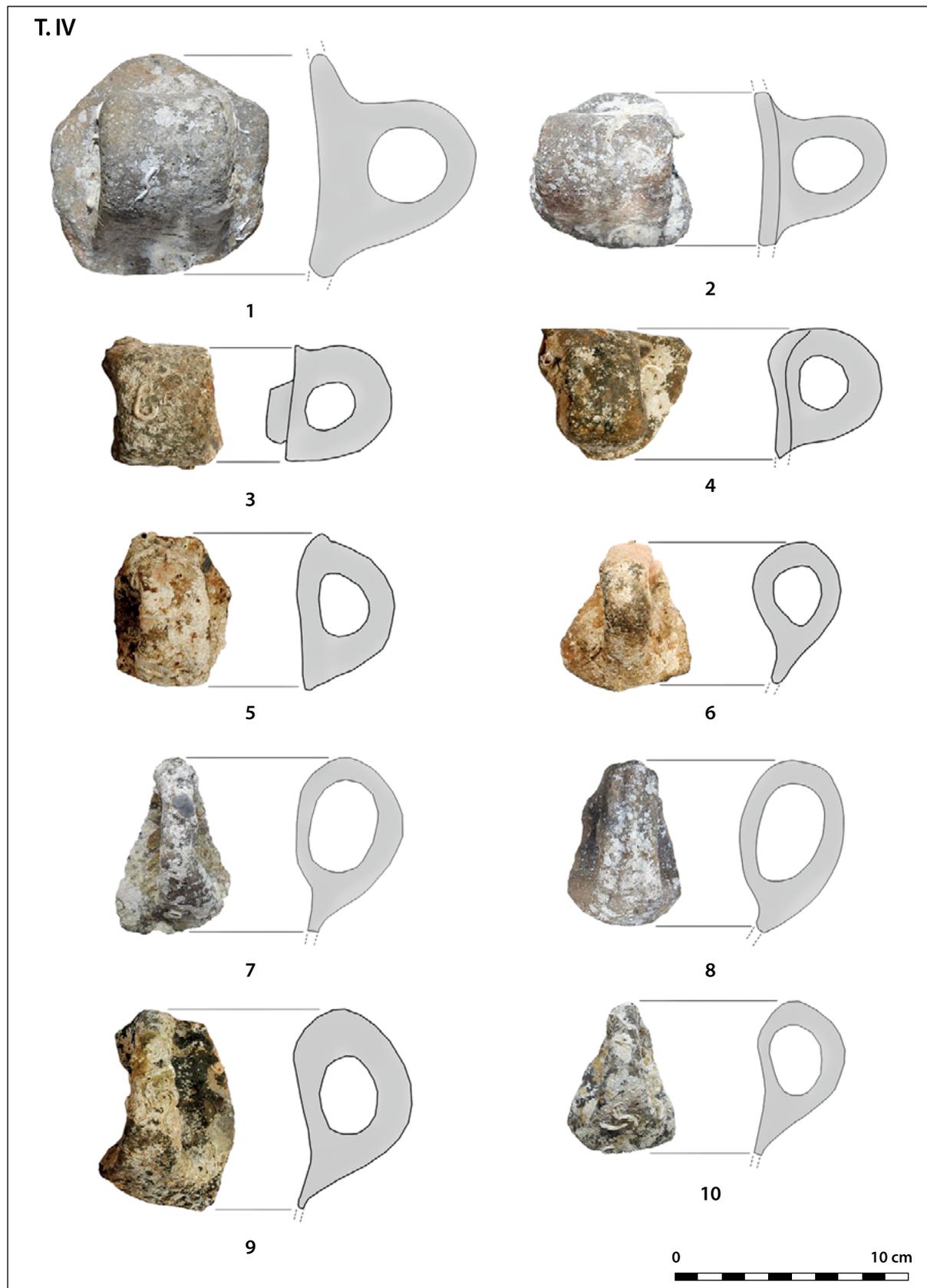
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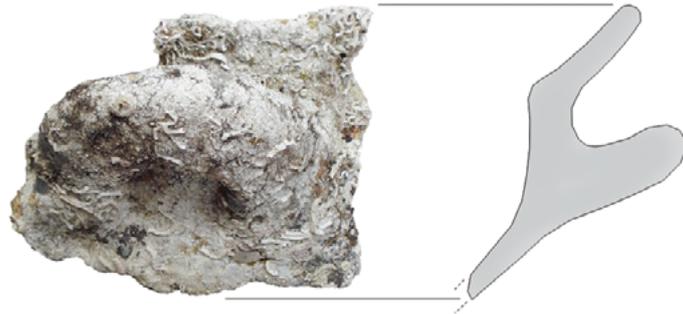




T.V



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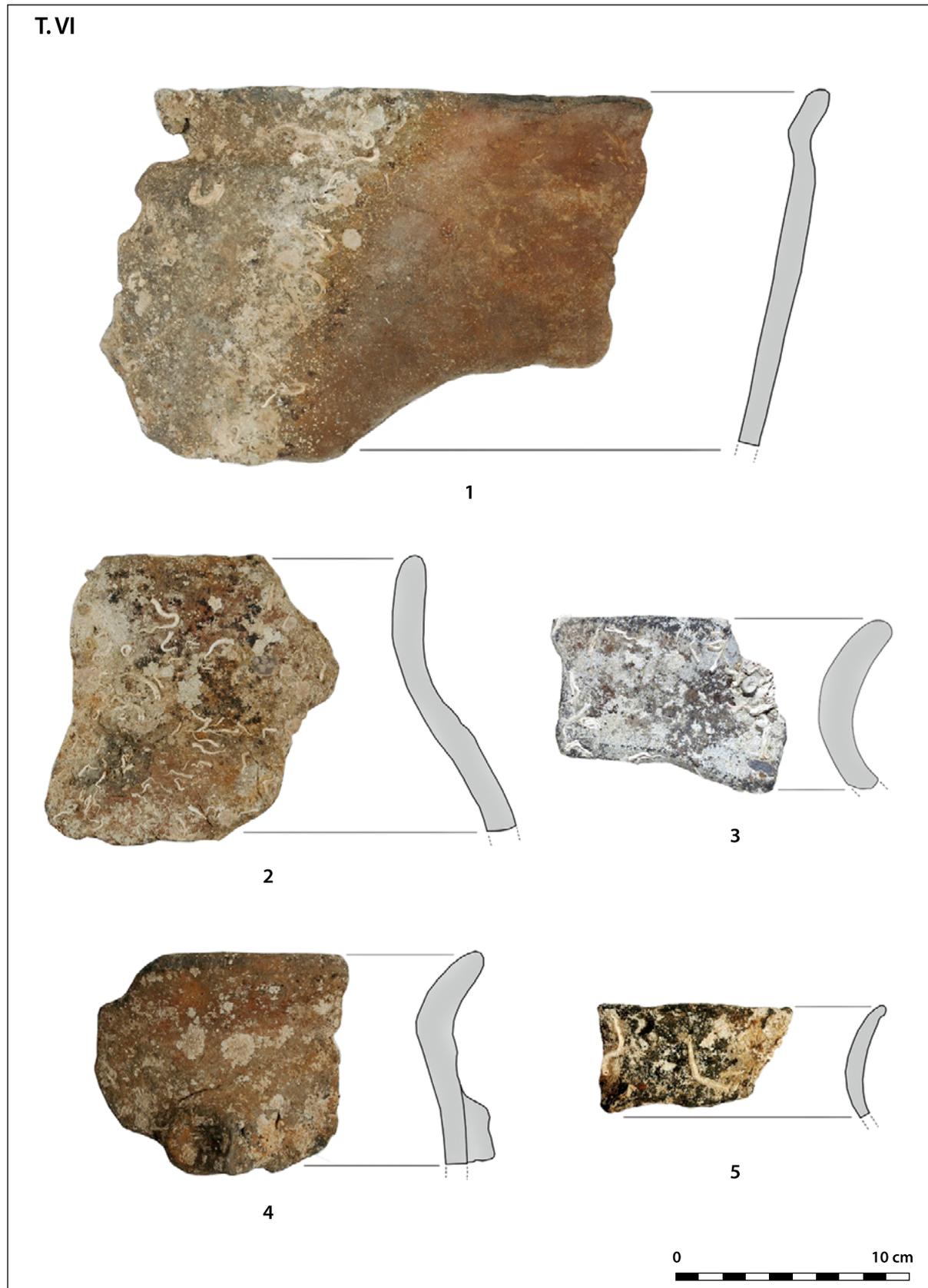


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T.VII

