

## Kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik iznad Jelse\*

*Kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik nalazi se na otoku Hvaru, na brdu južno od Jelse. Uz nju je prolazila rimska cesta koja je spajala istočni i zapadni dio otoka. Utvrda je izgrađena na mjestu kasnobrončanodobne gradine. U istraživanjima provedenim 2021. godine iskopana je jedna manja arheološka sonda (S. I), u kojoj je nađen prehistorijski i kasnoantički materijal, uglavnom ulomci brončanodobnih posuda grublje fature, zatim kasnoantičkih amfora, kuhinjskih lonaca, tegula i podnih opeka. Tragovi gorenja bili su vidljivi u stratigrafskoj slici S. I. Radiokarbonska analiza uzorka uzetog iz sloja gorenja ukazuje da je paljevina nastala u 8. st. Autor destrukciju na Galešniku uspoređuje s tragovima gorenja u ranokršćanskom kompleksu crkve sv. Ivana u Starom Gradu na Hvaru (Faros) i sličnim slojem (sloj B) nađenim tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 1994./1996. godine u gradu Hvaru (Lisina). U 8. st. na otoku Hvaru dogodilo se razaranje u kojem su nastradali kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik te gradovi Faros i Lisina. Nakon toga, kako navodi bizantski car Konstantin Porfirogenet, otokom je dominirao ruralni pejzaž i ruševine gradova. Do 11. st. na Hvaru nije bilo ozbiljnije obnove.*

*Ključne riječi: kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik, Jelsa, Tor, Lisina, Faros, 8. stoljeće, Konstantin Porfirogenet.*

## Late antique fortification of Galešnik above Jelsa\*

*The late antique fortification of Galešnik is located on the island of Hvar, on a hill south of Jelsa. A Roman road that connected the eastern and western parts of the island used to run next to it. The fortification was built on the site of a late Bronze Age hill-fort. During the 2021 research, prehistoric and late antique material was found in a small archaeological test pit (S. I), mostly fragments of Bronze Age vessels of coarser fabric, as well as late antique amphorae, cooking pots, tegulae and floor tiles. Traces of burning were visible in the stratigraphic image of S. I. Radiocarbon analysis of a sample taken from the layer of burning indicates that it originates from the eighth century. The author compares the destruction at Galešnik with the traces of burning in the early Christian complex of*

*the church of St. John in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (Pharos) and a similar layer (layer B) discovered during the 1994/1996 archaeological excavations in the town of Hvar (Lisina). In the eighth century, there occurred destruction on the island of Hvar, in which the late antique fortification of Galešnik was shattered, as well as the towns of Pharia and Lisina. According to the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus states, the island was subsequently dominated by the rural landscape and the ruins of towns. There was no major reconstruction on the island of Hvar until the 11th century.*

*Keywords: late antique fortification of Galešnik, Jelsa, Tor, Lisina, Pharos, eighth century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus.*

\* Ovaj članak posvećujem prijatelju i kolegi Tonču Buriću, u povodu sedamdesete godine njegova života.  
*I dedicate this article to my friend and colleague Tonči Burić, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.*

Antički *Faros* (Stari Grad) i *Lisina* (grad Hvar) dva su važna urbana središta otoka Hvara. Prvi je u temeljima antičkog, a drugi kasnoantičkog i srednjovjekovnog urbanizma na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana. Faros je imao prostranu luku koju su prije osnivanja grčke kolonije 385./384. g. pr. Kr. koristili lokalni Iliri. Farska hora pružala se preko Starogradskog i Jelšanskog polja. U antičko vrijeme na mjestu grada Hvara nije postojalo urbano središte. U okolišu su se nalazila rimska gospodarska imanja koja su koristila uvalu za svoje potrebe. Tek je u kasnoj antici nastalo utvrđeno naselje, tj. grad *Lisina*. Nju je naslijedio srednjovjekovni Hvar. Razvoj kasnoantičkoga grada potaknut je povoljnim smještajem na istočnojadranskom pomorskom putu. Hvar je u srednjem vijeku postao jadransko središte za remont brodova s izgrađenim arsenalom u kojem su brodovi mogli biti sklonjeni pod krov.<sup>1</sup> Dok je zapadna strana otoka bila otvorena prema morskom putu koji je preko Splitskih vrata, Hvara i Visa vodio prema Italiji, istočnim se krajem otok, kod mjesta Sućuraj, kopnu približio na nepunih 5 km. Dostupnost kopna u mirnodopsko vrijeme imala je svoje prednosti. U nemirnim vremenima s istočne strane otoka neprijatelj se mogao bez većih ometanja iskrcati u nekoj od brojnih uvala. Zato se obrana zapadnoga dijela otoka formirala iznad današnje Jelse na izohipsi oko 245 m nadmorske visine. Povijesno obrambeno značenje ovog strateškog položaja najbolje pokazuju dva arheološka lokaliteta: kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik i grčka kula Tor. Udaljeni su jedan od drugoga oko 500 m zračne linije i vizualno komuniciraju. Galešnik<sup>2</sup> se nalazi na jezičcu istaknute uzvisine. S jugo-jugoistočne strane zatvara ga duboki klanac, dok je sa sjeverne i zapadne strane terasasta padina. Najlakše mu se pristupalo s jugozapadne strane, gdje se greben na kojem se nalazila utvrda spaja s okolnim prostorom. Utvrda je u cijelosti kontrolirala morski kanal između Brača i Hvara te dio obale južnog Podbiokovlja. Njezino je ime sačuvano u pisanim povijesnim izvorima.

U najstarijoj sačuvanoj redakciji hvarskoga općinskog statuta iz 1331. godine spominje se *Castrum*

Ancient *Pharos* (Stari Grad) and *Lisina* (the town of Hvar) are two important urban centres of the island of Hvar. The first is built on the foundations of Antique, and the latter of late antique and medieval urbanism on the Croatian Adriatic coast. Pharos used to have a spacious port, which had been used by local Illyrians before the founding of the Greek colony in 385/4 BC. The chora of Pharos stretched across the Stari Grad and Jelsa poljes. There was no urban centre on the site of the town of Hvar in antique times. There were Roman farm estates in the vicinity that used the cove for their own purposes. It was only in Late Antiquity that a fortified settlement was formed, i.e. the town of *Lisina*. It was superseded by medieval Hvar. The development of the late antique town was fostered by its favourable location on the eastern Adriatic maritime route. In the Middle Ages, Hvar became the Adriatic centre for the repair of ships, with a built arsenal in which ships could be sheltered under the roof.<sup>1</sup> While the western side of the island was open to the sea route that led to Italy via the Strait of Split, Hvar and Vis, the eastern end of the island, near the town of Sućuraj, was less than five kilometres away from the mainland. Access to the mainland had its advantages in times of peace. In times of turbulence, an enemy could land on the east side of the island in one of the many coves without major disturbances. That is why the defence of the western part of the island was formed above modern-day Jelsa on an elevation of about 245 m above sea level. The historical defensive significance of this strategic position is best illustrated by two archaeological sites: the late antique fortification of Galešnik and the Greek tower of Tor. They are located about 500 m from one another as the crow flies and can communicate visually. Galešnik<sup>2</sup> is situated on a spur of a prominent rise. It is enclosed by a deep gorge in the south-southeast, while a terraced slope surrounds it in the north and west. It was most easily accessed from the south-west, where the ridge on which the fortification was located is connected with the surrounding area. The fortification offered complete

<sup>1</sup> Novak 1924, str. 178-179.

<sup>2</sup> Utvrda se danas naziva Galešnik ili Gród (grad). Još ga Jakov Boglić u 19. stoljeću naziva Galičnik (Boglić 1873, 126-127), što je prihvatio i Joško Kovačić, smatrajući da je Gališnik iskrivljen naziv (Kovačić 2002, str. 81). U ovome ću se radu držati današnjega lokalnog izgovora i koristiti naziv Galešnik.

<sup>1</sup> Novak 1924, pp. 178-179.

<sup>2</sup> The fortification is today called Galešnik or Gród (town). Jakov Boglić had called it Galičnik as early as the 19th century (Boglić 1873, pp. 126-127), which was accepted by Joško Kovačić, who believed that Gališnik was a distorted name (Kovačić 2002, p. 81). This paper will be in line with modern-day local pronunciation, and thus use the name Galešnik.



Sl. 1. Pogled na utvrdu Galešnik s istočne strane  
 Fig. 1 Galešnik fortification, view from the east

*Vetus, quod vocatur Galicnich.*<sup>3</sup> Galešnik spominje dominikanac Vinko Pribojević u svom dijelu *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena*, odnosno govoru održanom u gradu Hvaru 1525. godine. Prepoznavamo ga u navodu: „Još i danas postoji među brdima gotovo neoštećena gradina dižući se nad gradom koji je zapremao istočni dio polja.“<sup>4</sup> Spomenuo ga je i Jakov Boglić u svojoj *Povijesti otoka Hvara* nazivajući ga „Galičnik“. Ime podsjeća na Galešu Slavogosta, koji je 1310. godine predvodio ustanak protiv Venecije i hvarske komune. Moguće je da je utvrda u to vrijeme bila uporište ustanika pa je u puku ostala predaja o povijesnim događajima.<sup>5</sup> Zabilježene su i druge predaje o Galešniku.

control of the sea channel between the islands of Brač and Hvar, and a part of the coast at the southern foot of Mt Biokovo. Its name is preserved in written historical sources.

The oldest surviving version of the Hvar Municipal Statute from 1331 mentions *Castrum Vetus, quod vocatur Galicnich.*<sup>3</sup> Galešnik is mentioned by the Dominican Vinko Pribojević in his work *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* [On the Origin and Feats of the Slavs], i.e. the speech given in the town of Hvar in 1525. It is obviously referred to in the following quote: “Even today there is an almost intact hill-fort among the hills, rising above the town which occupied the eastern part of the polje.”<sup>4</sup> In his history of the island of Hvar, Jakov Boglić also

<sup>3</sup> Statut 1882/3, str. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Pribojević 1991, str. 83. „Kiteći“ povijest rodnoga otoka, Vinko Pribojević nadodao je na istočnu stranu polja još jedan grad iznad kojega se nalazila gradina, odnosno Galešnik.

<sup>5</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, str. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Statuta 1882/3, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Pribojević 1991, p. 83. Vinko Pribojević “adorned” the history of his native island by adding yet another town in the eastern part of the polje, with a hill-fort, i.e. Galešnik, above.



Sl. 2. Karta kasnoantičkih naselja i utvrda kojima je gravitirao Galešnik  
 Fig. 2 Map of late antique settlements and fortifications towards which Galešnik gravitated

Boglić navodi legendu koju je 1723. godine zabilježio mletački dužnosnik Giovanni Bragadin. Legenda govori o dvojici vladara, od kojih je jedan vladao Galešnikom, a drugi Gradinom u Jelsi. Stalno su bili u sukobu.<sup>6</sup> Iako Bragadin cijelu priču naziva „idiotskom“, u njoj se krije prostorna i povijesna veza između kasnoantičkih utvrda: Galešnika i Gradine. Potonja je zapravo bila utvrđeni poluotok odijeljen od kopna visokim zidom. Gradina je štitila poluotok i luku u uvali Mina. Na Jadranu su kasnoantička pristaništa i luke bili usko vezani uz utvrde, često određujući smještaj pojedinih fortifikacija. Sličan odnos luke i utvrde nalazimo kod Korintije na otoku Krku i Gradine na otoku Zlarinu. Kasnoantička Makarska (*Muccurum*) imala je prostranu luku zaštićenu poluotokom Sveti Petar. Dubrovnik (*Ragusium*) imao je u podnožju luku - temelj njegova gospodarskog razvoja u srednjem vijeku.

Galešnik izravno gleda na *Muccurum*, tj. na poluotok Sveti Petar, gdje se nalazila kasnoantička utvrda. Iz prostornog položaja iščitava se nastojanje njegovih graditelja da uspostave tu vizualnu vezu. Galešnik je također baštiniio stratešku ulogu helenističke kule Tor u kontroli kopnenog puta. Nastanak utvrde mogao je biti raniji od Justinijanove rekonkviste. Važnost kontrole Jadrana raste u vrijeme bizantsko-ostrogotskog rata 535. - 555. godine.<sup>7</sup> U ta dva desetljeća bizantska je mornarica dobila neke ključne bitke, bilo da se radi o pomorskom desantu

mentioned the fortification, calling it “Galičnik”. The name is reminiscent of Galeša Slavogost, one of the leaders of the 1310 uprising against Venice. It is possible that the fortification was the rebels’ stronghold, and the historical events became part of the folklore.<sup>5</sup> Other legends about Galešnik have also been recorded.

Boglić cites a legend recorded in 1723 by the Venetian official Giovanni Bragadin. It is a tale of two rulers, one in control of Galešnik and the other of Gradina in Jelsa. They were constantly in conflict.<sup>6</sup> Although Bragadin deemed the whole story “idiotic”, it does comprise the spatial and historical connection between the late antique fortifications of Galešnik and Gradina. The latter was actually a fortified peninsula, separated from the mainland by a high wall. Gradina protected the peninsula and the port in the cove of Mina. The Adriatic late antique ports and quays were tightly connected with fortifications, often being key in their siting. A similar relationship between the port and the fortification can be seen in Korintija on the island of Krk and Gradina on the island of Zlarin. Late antique Makarska (*Muccurum*) had a spacious port sheltered by the peninsula of St. Peter. Dubrovnik (*Ragusium*) had a port at its foot, which was fundamental in its economic development during the Middle Ages.

Galešnik directly faces *Muccurum*, i.e. the peninsula of St. Peter, the site of the late antique forti-

<sup>6</sup> Boglić 1873, str. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Tomičić 1996, str. 113–114.

<sup>5</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Boglić 1873, p. 126.

na Salonu ili vojnim operacijama na zapadnoj obali Jadrana. Spasonosna pomoć Anconi i opsjednutom Riminiju stiže s mora.<sup>8</sup> Bez kontrole istočne obale Jadrana Bizant nije mogao uspješno voditi ratne operacije na suprotnoj obali. Pomoću utvrda podignutih duž obale i otoka, zajedno s lukama i pristaništima koji su im pripadali, Bizant je čvrsto držao kontrolu nad morskim putovima, olakšavajući akcije mornarice prema obali. Napad iz Lisine (grada Hvara), gdje se flota okupila prije desanta na Salonu, potvrđuje važnost kasnoantičkog Hvara.<sup>9</sup> Cijeli je otok bio sigurno bizantsko uporište. Slabije nam je poznata njegova istočna strana. Topografska istraživanja Nikše Vujnovića otkrila su u Portu današnjeg Sućurja brojne ulomke keramike od helenističkog do srednjovjekovnog doba. Kasnoantička keramika pokazuje da je u Portu bilo pristanište, a najvjerojatnije i naselje koje mu je pripadalo. Moguće da se u slučaju opasnosti dio stanovništva s istočne strane otoka povlačio prema Galešniku i Farosu. Vujnović navodi rimske *villae rusticae* i njihova pristaništa u uvalama.<sup>10</sup> U rimsko doba otok je bio integriran trasom ceste. Niko Duboković Nadalini davno je pretpostavio da je cesta koja je prolazila pokraj Galešnika rimska (sl. 3).<sup>11</sup>

Naime, tu je još u prehistoriji postojala staza koja je spajala istočnu i zapadnu stranu otoka Hvara. Nju otkriva brončanodobna gomila podignuta na samom rubu visokog grebena kod kaldrmanog puta. Stajala je iznad same staze kao vidljiv znak u prostoru kojim se potvrđivalo vlasništvo i pravo na kontrolu komunikacije. Marin Zaninović je upozorio da su Tor i Galešnik bili čuvari prastare prometnice prema istočnom, pastirskom dijelu otoka.<sup>12</sup> Kao vrstan poznavatelj prošlosti i arheološke topografije otoka Hvara, pretpostavio je postojanje gradinskog naselja na Galešniku, što su naša istraživanja potvrdila. Tor je također prvotno bio prethistorijska gradina,<sup>13</sup> a kasnije je zbog istih strateških razloga izgrađena i grčka kula. Gradina na Galešniku bila je većih dimenzija. Velika gradinska naselja uobičajena su za kasno brončano i željezno doba u Dalmaciji. Nasuprot Galešniku, Tor je manja gradina s važnim strateškim značajem. Gradinsku fazu

Its location reveals the effort of its builders to establish this visual connection. Galešnik also inherited the strategic role of the Hellenistic tower of Tor in controlling the land route. The origin of the fortification could have preceded Justinian's reconquest. The importance of controlling the Adriatic grew during the Gothic War from 535 until 555.<sup>7</sup> The Byzantine navy won some key battles in those two decades, e.g. during the naval landing at Salona or their military operations on the west coast of the Adriatic. Ancona and besieged Rimini were relieved by forces that arrived by sea.<sup>8</sup> With no control over the eastern Adriatic coast, Byzantium was unable to successfully conduct warfare on the opposite coast. Fortifications built along the coast and on islands, together with their ports and quays, allowed Byzantium tight control over the sea routes, facilitating naval land attack operations. The assault from Lisina (the town of Hvar), where the fleet assembled before the landing at Salona, confirms the significance of late antique Hvar.<sup>9</sup> The whole island was a secure Byzantine stronghold. Its eastern side is less known about. Nikša Vujnović's topography research uncovered a number of pottery fragments from the Hellenistic period to the Middle Ages in the port of modern-day Sućuraj. Late antique pottery indicates that there was a quay in today's port, and most likely a pertinent settlement. It is possible that a part of the population from the east of the island would have retreated towards Galešnik and Pharos in times of danger. Vujnović mentions Roman *villae rusticae* and their quays in coves.<sup>10</sup> In Roman times, the island was integrated by a road route. Niko Duboković Nadalini long ago assumed that the road that passed by Galešnik was Roman (fig. 3).<sup>11</sup>

In point of fact, there existed a path that connected the eastern and western parts of the island of Hvar as early as prehistory. It is revealed by a Bronze Age barrow located on the very edge of a high ridge by the cobbled pathway. It was erected above the trail as a visible indicator confirming ownership and the right to control the communication. Marin Zaninović pointed out that Tor and Galešnik had been the guardians of the ancient track to the eastern pas-

<sup>8</sup> Goldstein 2005, str. 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> Goldstein 1992, str. 21-22.

<sup>10</sup> Vujnović 2002, str. 60-71

<sup>11</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, str. 80; Duboković 2001a, str. 460.

<sup>12</sup> Zaninović 1978, str. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Zaninović 1996, str. 73-74.

<sup>7</sup> Tomičić 1996, pp. 113-114.

<sup>8</sup> Goldstein 2005, pp. 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> Goldstein 1992, pp. 21-22.

<sup>10</sup> Vujnović 2002, pp. 60-71

<sup>11</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, p. 80; Duboković 2001a, p. 460.

Tora treba promatrati u prostornom i vojno-strateškom kontekstu s gradinom Galešnik. Smještaj dviju prethistorijskih utvrda na uskom potezu od 500 m zračne linije jasno pokazuje težnju za potpunom kontrolom otočne kopnene komunikacije.

U rimsko doba, kada su se *villae rusticae* „rasule“ po farskom ageru i ostalim dijelovima otoka, povećala se potreba njihova povezivanja. Također je trebalo kvalitetnije povezati dijelove otoka cestom. O vezi Farosa s područjem današnjega grada Hvara, u čijem su zaleđu postojali rimski gospodarski objekti, pisao je Marin Zaninović. On opravdano smatra kako je cesta Hvar - Stari Grad starija od srednjega vijeka.<sup>14</sup> U dokumentima iz početka 13. stoljeća ta se cesta nazivala *via comunis*, dok je lokalno stanovništvo zadržalo naziv Općeni put.<sup>15</sup>

Grci su izgradili osnovne pravce u Starogradskom i Jelšanskom polju kojima su dolazili do svojih zemljišnih posjeda. Rimljani su uredili i poboljšali kvalitetu postojećih putova te su gradili nove. Cesta koja je prolazila između Tora i Galešnika izvorno je bila rimska, ali je stoljećima poslije toga uređivana i popravljana. Obnova je očito rađena i u novom vijeku, mjestimice se promijenio pravac ili popravio podzid i rubnjak ceste. U gornjem dijelu trase, u dijelu iznad utvrde, erozija je odnijela dobar dio kaldrme.<sup>16</sup> Ostale su samo poprečne „pregrade“ koje su je štitile od rasipanja. Erozija je otkrila dijelove nasute podloge, vrlo slične podlozi rimske ceste.

Ova je trasa u kasnoj antici bitno olakšala izgradnju utvrde jer je omogućila jednostavniju dostavu građevinskog materijala. Galešnik je jednim cestovnim odvojkom bio povezan s uvalom Mina i utvrđenim poluotokom Gradina.

### Gradina u Jelsi i uvala Mina

Poluotok Gradina u Jelsi pregrađen je u kasnoj antici i odijeljen od ostatka kopna. Na južnom kraju

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Zaninović 1958, str. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Joško Kovačić navodi da iza Galešnika cesta postaje samo kozja staza, što nije točno (Kovačić 2002, str. 84). Kovačića je prevarila lošija očuvanost ovog dijela ceste te mjestimične kraće promjene pravca. I dalje je to bila za svoje vrijeme kvalitetna „inkunjana“ cesta. Također, „kasnoantički natpis“ AJNC koji je stavio u naslov članka nema nikakve veze s kasnom antikom. Novijeg je datuma, bez povijesne i arheološke važnosti. Ako zanemarimo taj previd, Kovačićev tekst je u ostalim dijelovima koristan.



Sl. 3. Segment trase rimske ceste ispod Galešnika  
Fig. 3 Segment of the Roman road route near Galešnik

toral part of the island.<sup>12</sup> As a connoisseur of the history and archaeological topography of the island of Hvar, he assumed that there had existed a hill-fort settlement at Galešnik, which was confirmed by our research. Tor was also originally a prehistoric hill-fort.<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, the Greek tower was built for the same strategic reasons. The hill-fort at Galešnik was larger. Large hill-fort settlements were common during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in Dalmatia. In contrast to Galešnik, Tor is a small strategically important hill-fort. The hill-fort phase of Tor should be viewed in a spatial and military-strategic context together with the Galešnik hill-fort. The locations of the two prehistoric fortifications on a short stretch of 500 m as the crow flies clearly show the intention for complete control over the island's land communication.

In Roman times, when *villae rusticae* were “scattered” over the Pharian ager and other parts of the island, the need to connect them intensified. It was also necessary to facilitate better road connections on the whole island. Marin Zaninović wrote about the connection of Pharos with the area of modern-day Hvar, in the hinterland of which there had been Roman farm buildings. He reasonably believes that the road from Hvar to Stari Grad precedes the Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> This road was referred to as *via comunis* in documents from the early 13th

<sup>12</sup> Zaninović 1978, p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Zaninović 1996, pp. 73–74.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



Sl. 4. Bedem kasnoantičke i srednjovjekovne  
Gradine u Jelsi

Fig. 4 Rampart of the late antique and medieval  
Gradina in Jelsa

132 |

bedema vidi se nastavak zida prema istoku. On je u cijelosti devastiran i gubi se u jednom od podzida zemljišnih terasa. Nije se radilo samo o zidu koji je pregradio poluotok, nego je dijelom zatvarao prostor prema luci, tj. uvali Mina (sl. 4). Na samoj Gradini ne primjećuju se tragovi naseljavanja. Zid koji je pregradio poluotok štiti je prostor površine oko 6 ha. Vjerojatno se koristio kasnije, u srednjem vijeku, ali osnove zida su kasnoantičke. Niko Duboković je smatrao da se naziv *Civitas Vetus Ielsae* iz Hvarskog statuta odnosi na Gradinu u Jelsi.<sup>17</sup> Dugi bedem Gradine poticao je lokalno stanovništvo na stvaranje legende o nekakvom starijem gradu koji je prethodio Jelsi. Nikša Petrić u svojim studijima o otoku Hvaru kasnoantički Galešnik i Gradinu uklapa u širu sliku kasnoantičkog, tj. ranokršćanskoga otoka Hvara.<sup>18</sup>

Sustav zaštite Jelškanskog i Starogradskog polja uspostavljen je tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr. Tada su izgrađene kule izvidnice, od kojih je Tor nadgledao jugoistočnu stranu polja.<sup>19</sup> Kula Tor također je kontrolirala pomorski pravac od ušća rijeke Neretve prema otocima Braču i Hvaru. Njegovu funkciju naslijedila je kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik. Ona je kontrolirala isti pomorski put. Njezin smještaj uz staru rimsku cestu jasno upućuje i na kontrolu lokalnog otočnog puta. U odnosu na Tor Galešnik je

century, and the local population still call it Općeni put (the Communal Road).<sup>15</sup>

The Greeks built the rudimentary routes in Stari Grad and Jelsa poljes, which they used to access their land estates. The Romans repaired and improved the existing roads and also built new ones. The road that passed between Tor and Galešnik was originally Roman, still restored and repaired in subsequent centuries. It was obviously reconstructed in the modern period as well, with its route modified in some places or some retaining walls and curbs repaired. In the upper section of the route, above the fortification, erosion washed away a good part of its cobbles.<sup>16</sup> All that remained were the transverse “barriers” that protected it from scattering. Erosion revealed parts of backfilled bedding, very similar to the Roman road base.

This route significantly facilitated the construction of the fortification in late antiquity because it enabled easier transport of building materials. Galešnik was connected with the cove of Mina and the fortified peninsula of Gradina by a spur route.

#### Gradina in Jelsa and the cove of Mina

The Gradina peninsula in Jelsa was partitioned in Late Antiquity and thus separated from the mainland. The eastward extension of the wall can be seen at the southern end of the rampart. It is completely ruined and disappears in one of the retaining walls of land terraces. The wall not only separated the peninsula, but it also partially fenced the area in the direction of the port, i.e. the cove of Mina (fig. 4). No traces of settlement can be discerned at Gradina itself. The wall that separated the peninsula protected an area of about six hectares. It was probably used later, during the Middle Ages, but the foundations of the wall are late-antique. Niko Duboković believed that the name *Civitas Vetus Ielsae* from the Statute of Hvar referred to Gradi-

<sup>15</sup> Zaninović 1958, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Joško Kovačić claims that the road behind Galešnik turns into a goat-path, which is not correct (Kovačić 2002, p. 84). Kovačić was deceived because of poorer preservation of this section of the road and sporadic short route changes. It was still a well-made cobblestone road in its time. In addition, the “late antique inscription” AJNC in the title of his article has nothing to do with late antiquity. It is of a later date, and has no historical and archaeological significance. Leaving aside this oversight, Kovačić’s text is beneficial in its other parts.

<sup>17</sup> Duboković Nadalini 2001, str. 351.

<sup>18</sup> Petrić 2015, str. 188-190.

<sup>19</sup> Kirigin 2004, str. 109-114.



svojim položajem bio okrenut prema moru i pristaništu Mina, a njegov jugozapadni dio bio je stazom dugom nekoliko stotina metara spojen s rimskom cestom.

Tijekom veljače i ožujka 2021. godine Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika izveo je na Galešniku rekognosciranje okolnog prostora, a na utvrdi je iskopana manja arheološka sonda.<sup>20</sup>

#### Arheološka istraživanja na Galešniku

Uz sjeverni bedem utvrde iskopana je sonda dimenzija 2,7 x 2,1 m. Smještena je unutar kasnoantičke prostorije naslonjene na bedem i označena kao Sonda I (dalje: *S. I*). Uz bedem se nalazio jedinstven niz prostorija odvojenih pregradnim zidovima širine oko 55 cm. Prostorije su pratile pravac pružanja sjeverozapadnog poteza bedema, blago se penjući od središnjeg dijela utvrde prema jugozapadu (sl. 4). Zid pročelja ovog dugog objekta mjestimice je sačuvan do visine od 1,5 m. Prostorije su bile široke od 2,7 m do 3 m. Spomenuti zidovi široki oko pola metra mogli su nositi još jednu konstrukciju. Samo desetak centimetara uži od bedema, nedvojbeno su imali važnu nosivu ulogu. Osim funkcije pregrađivanja, statički su ojačavali bedem na strani pristupačnijoj neprijateljskom napadu. Također su mogli nositi grede kata. Naime, opeke koje smo našli u *S. I* bile su sastavni dio poda gornjeg kata. Jugoistočni potez bedema na Galešniku sačuvan je do visine 6 m (sl. 5). Kasnoantičke utvrde imale su visoke bedeme, što najbolje pokazuju oni na otoku Žirju. Izvorne su visine 10 m, sa sačuvanim kruništem.<sup>21</sup>

Krunište je najvjerojatnije postojalo i na Galešniku. Bolje očuvani potez sjevernog bedema, blizu *S. I*, ima utore za grede na unutrašnjem licu.<sup>22</sup> Oni su mogli poslužiti za fiksiranje krovnih ili podnih greda. Uz bedem je bilo mjesta za izgradnju jednokatnice. To je radna hipoteza koju će daljnja istraživanja potvrditi ili opovrgnuti.

Na postojanje kata iznad prostorije u kojoj smo istraživali u prvom redu upućuju nađeni ulomci vapnenoga morta, od kojih neki imaju otiske prilju-

na in Jelsa.<sup>17</sup> The long rampart of Gradina inspired a local legend about an earlier town that preceded Jelsa. In his studies on the island of Hvar, Nikša Petrić integrates late antique Galešnik and Gradina into a broader picture of the late antique and early Christian island of Hvar.<sup>18</sup>

The protection system of the Jelsa and Stari Grad poljes was established during the fourth century BC, when lookout towers were built, from which Tor watched over the south-east side of the poljes.<sup>19</sup> The tower at Tor also controlled the sea lane from the estuary of the river Neretva to the islands of Brač and Hvar. Its task was taken over by the late antique fortification of Galešnik. It kept watch over the same sea route. Its location by the old Roman road clearly indicates that it also controlled the local island road. In contrast to Tor, Galešnik faced the sea and the harbour of Mina, while its south-western part was connected to the Roman road by a path several hundred meters long.

During February and March 2021, the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments conducted a field survey of the surrounding area at Galešnik, and excavated a small archaeological test pit at the fortification.<sup>20</sup>

#### Archaeological research at Galešnik

A test pit measuring 2.7 m x 2.1 m was excavated by the north rampart of the fortification. It was located inside a late antique room by the rampart and marked as Test Pit I (hereinafter: *S. I*). There was a unique series of rooms along the rampart separated by partition walls about 55 centimetres thick. The rooms were in line with the direction of the north-western section of the rampart, rising gently from the central part of the fortification towards south-west (fig. 4). The façade wall of this long structure has been preserved in some places up to a height of 1.5 metres. The rooms were 2.7 m to 3 m wide. The mentioned walls, about half a meter thick, could have supported another structure. Only ten centimetres thinner than the ramparts, they were undoubtedly important load-bearing elements. In addition to their partitioning function, they structur-

<sup>20</sup> Istraživanje je vodio Miroslav Katić, sudjelovali su Miroslav Gogala, Jelena Beželj i Sebastijan Kriletić.

<sup>21</sup> Iveković 1927, str. 49.

<sup>22</sup> Ovakvi otvori mogu se promatrati kao ostaci konstrukcije skele podignute prilikom izgradnje utvrde. Često su se četvrtasti otvori ostavljali u zidovima da bi se vapneni mort bolje sušio. Tako mu je kisik, neophodan za stezanje, bio dostupniji. Utori koji se nalaze na oko 2 m od sadašnje površine zemlje mogli su služiti za grede poda ili krova nastambe na tom dijelu utvrde.

<sup>17</sup> Duboković Nadalini 2001, p. 351.

<sup>18</sup> Petrić 2015, pp. 188–190.

<sup>19</sup> Kirigin 2004, pp. 109–114.

<sup>20</sup> The research was directed by Miroslav Katić, with the participation of Miroslav Gogala, Jelena Beželj and Sebastijan Kriletić.



Sl. 5. Jugoistočni potez bedema na Galešniku  
 Fig. 5 South-eastern section of the rampart at Galešnik

bljenih drvenih oblica širine oko 6 cm. Dakle, konstrukcija kata imala je nosive grede preko kojih su pričvršćene drvene oblice jedna do druge, a na njih se nanosio sloj vapnenog morta.<sup>23</sup> Mišljenja sam da se taj mort nivelirao tanjim slojem finije podloge na koju su konačno nalegle opeke debljine 3,5 cm, kakve smo nalazili u *S. I*. Na opekama je tanak sloj finog vapnenog morta vidljiv samo s jedne strane, što upućuje na zaključak da su bile ugrađene u pod.

Južno pročelje stambenih prostorija bilo je okrenuto prema suncu, te je objekt imao dovoljno svjetla. Natkrivao ih je jednostrešni krov od tegula, iznad kojeg je prolazila drvena šetnica za stražare. Nameće se pitanje jesu li široki pregradni zidovi prostorija na sjeverozapadnom potezu bedema nosili drvenu stražarsku šetnicu.

Galešnik je izgrađen na krškoj podlozi, a arheološki slojevi su devastirani jer je prostor utvrde u novom vijeku postao poljoprivredna površina. Gdje je bilo zemlje, uređeni su manji vrtovi. U prvom sloju *S. I*, koji je započeo od površine tla na 163 cm,<sup>24</sup> gruba ilirska keramika izmiješana je s ulomcima tegula i kostiju. Nacrtna je sjeverozapadni stratigrafski profil *S. I* (sl. 7). Na dubini od 182 do 203 cm nađeno je nekoliko ulomaka izvijenog oboda kuhinjskoga lonca. Radi se o tipičnoj kasnoantičkoj



Sl. 6. Sonda I, dio sjeverozapadnog bedema i ostatci prostorija koje su se pružale uz njega.  
 Fig. 6 Test Pit I, a part of the north-west rampart, and the remains of rooms that stretched along it.

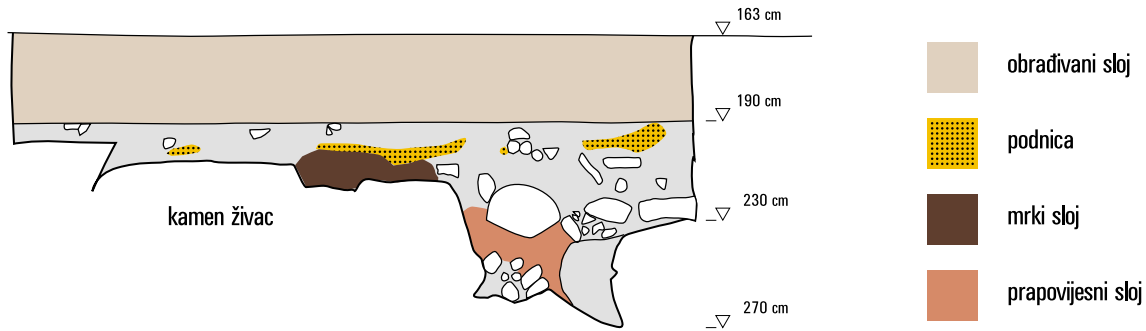
ally strengthened the rampart on the side that was more accessible to enemy attacks. They could also have supported floor joists. Namely, the tiles we discovered in *S. I* were integral parts of the upper storey floor. The south-eastern section of the rampart at Galešnik has been preserved up to a height of six metres (fig. 5). Late antique fortifications had high ramparts, best shown by those on the island of Žirje. They have survived in their original height of 10 m, complete with their battlements.<sup>21</sup>

Galešnik probably also had battlements. The better-preserved section of the northern rampart,

<sup>23</sup> Moguće je da su okrugle gredice postavljane zato što se vapnena podloga lakše fiksirala u valovitu drvenu konstrukciju.

<sup>24</sup> Relativna dubina mjerena je od željezne geodetske točke zabijene u tlo zapadnije od naše sonde.

<sup>21</sup> Iveković 1927, p. 49.



Sl. 7. Sjeverozapadni stratigrafski profil S. I  
 Fig. 7 North-western stratigraphic profile of S. I

formi lonca, no bio je izrađen od gline miješane s usitnjenim kristalnim vapnencem te je nalik ilirskoj keramici. Slične forme kuhinjskih lonaca iste grubbe fakture otkrivene su tijekom istraživanja u gradu Hvaru.<sup>25</sup> Za razliku od lonca iz grada Hvara ovaj s Galešnika nije imao utor za poklopac. Čini se da se tijekom 6. stoljeća negdje na otoku ili u širem okruženju nalazila radionica koja je proizvodila ovakve jednostavne kuhinjske lonce grublje fakture. Oni imitiraju istočnomediterranske forme, ali je faktura ipak grublja.

Potkovasta pojasna kopča pripada ranijem razdoblju; veličine 4 x 3,5 cm, pločastog je tijela, širine 0,8 cm, napravljena od brončane legure. S vanjske strane ukrašena je motivom povezanih trokuta. Na krajevima su ušice s rupom za nasad osovine koja je nosila trn (sl. 8). Analogiju za ovaj primjerak nalazimo na Sardiniji na lokalitetu Pill'e Matta, gdje je iskopana jedna vrlo slična kopča, ukrašena motivom krugova.<sup>26</sup> Nađena je u grobu, u neobičnoj kombinaciji s limenom okruglom pločom na koju je bila pričvršćena. Potkovastu pojasnu kopču možemo datirati u 4. - 5. stoljeće.

Nalaz prepečenog ulomka dvaju spojenih imbreksa, s jedne strane potpuno otopljene površine zbog visoke temperature u keramičarskoj peći (sl. 11), potvrđuje postojanje keramičarske radionice u kojoj su se proizvodile tegule i imbreksi potrebni za zakrovljavanje cisterne i stambenih objekata u utvrdi. Nema razloga da uz njih keramičari nisu proizvodili opeke i druge predmete, poput spomenutih lonaca.

Radionica je mogla biti podignuta kao dio projekta izgradnje kasnoantičke utvrde Galešnik. Njezino bi mjesto trebalo tražiti u blizini utvrde. Manji

near S. I, has beam slots on the inner face.<sup>22</sup> They could have been used to fix roof timbers or floor joists. There was space enough to build a one-storey building by the ramparts. This is a working hypothesis that will be verified or falsified by further research.

The existence of a storey above the room in which we conducted our research is primarily indicated by the discovered fragments of lime mortar, some of them with impressions made by wooden laths about six centimetres wide. Hence, the construction of the storey consisted of load-bearing beams with laths attached onto them side by side, and a layer of lime mortar applied on top.<sup>23</sup> I am of the opinion that this mortar was levelled with a thinner fine base layer, into which 3.5 centimetres thick tiles were finally placed, such as those we found in S. I. A thin layer of fine lime mortar can only be seen on one side of the tiles, indicating that they were placed into the floor.

The south façade of the living quarters was facing the sun, and the building had enough light. The living spaces were covered by a mono-pitch roof with tegulae, with a wooden walkway for guards above. One has to ask whether the thick partition walls of the rooms in the north-west section of the rampart supported the wooden wall-walk.

<sup>22</sup> Such openings can be regarded as remains of scaffolding used during the construction of the fortification. Square openings were often left in the walls to let the lime mortar cure. This allowed better flow of oxygen necessary for the mortar to set. The slots, located about two metres above the current ground level, could have been used for floor beams or the roof of a house in that part of the fortification.

<sup>23</sup> It is possible that roundwood was used because it was easier to set the lime base in the fluted wooden structure.

<sup>25</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 34, T. VI, 6.

<sup>26</sup> Salvi 2015, str. 199, sl. 10.



Sl. 8. Potkovasta kopča s Galešnika

Fig. 8 Horseshoe-shaped buckle from Galešnik

136

ulomci grumenja prepečene keramike često su završavali kao građevinski materijal u zidovima utvrde. Zanimljivo je da opeka nije ugrađivana u zidove, možda je bila ugrađivana u lukove prozora i vrata, ali nije bila u široj upotrebi. Dominantan građevinski materijal u izgradnji bedema i drugih objekata bio je kamen.

Objekt u kojem je iskopana *S. I* bio je stambeni. Nađeni ulomci kuhinjskih lonaca i amfora ostatak su svakodnevnog života u njemu. Rekonstruirani veći komad amfore nedefiniranog tipa pokazuje da se ne može raditi o keramičkom otpadu, odnosno ulomcima koji „plutaju“ uslijed stoljetne obrade zemljišta, utjecaja atmosferilija, erozije itd. Na spomenutim ulomcima žbuke i nekim ulomcima amfora jasno je vidljiv utjecaj vatre. Pri spajanju ulomaka amfora crni, tj. potpuno izgorjeli dijelovi spajali su se s komadima koji nisu bili izloženi visokoj temperaturi pa nisu mijenjali boju i fakturu. To je vidljivo kod ulomka tijela amfore LR 1, ramena amfore LR 3 i na gornjem dijelu jedne kasnoantičke amfore kojoj je teško odrediti tip. Posude su nastradale tijekom destrukcije objekta. Neki su ulomci bili izravno izloženi gorenju, neki nisu. Sloj paljevine bio je uočljiv na dubini od 207 cm. Na 215 cm iskopani su izgorjeli ulomci tegula. Na istoj razini zamjećuje se i tamnija zemlja, koja je također rezultat gorenja objekta pa su iz nje uzeti uzorci za radiokarbonsku analizu. Dobiven je širok datum od 7. st. do 9. st. (sl. 9). Međutim, prema ovoj analizi, najizgledniji datum nastanka paljevinskog sloja je 8. stoljeće. Nema arheološkog materijala koji bi upućivao na 9. stoljeće.

Galešnik was built on a karstic substrate, and the archaeological layers were destroyed because the area of the fortification was used for agriculture in the modern era. Small gardens were made wherever there was land. Coarse Illyrian pottery was mixed with fragments of tegulae and bones in the first layer of *S. I*, starting from the soil surface at 163 centimetres.<sup>24</sup> The north-western stratigraphic profile of *S. I* is presented (fig. 7). Several fragments of the curved rim of a cooking pot were discovered at a depth from 182 to 203 centimetres. The shape of the pot is typically late antique, but made of clay mixed with crushed crystalline limestone, and resembles Illyrian pottery. Cooking pots of similar shapes and the same coarse fabric were discovered during research in the town of Hvar.<sup>25</sup> In contrast to the pot from the town of Hvar, this one from Galešnik had no lid seat. It seems that there was a workshop somewhere on the island or in the wider environment, which produced such simple cooking pots of coarser fabric during the sixth century. They emulated eastern Mediterranean shapes, albeit with a coarser fabric.

A horseshoe-shaped belt-buckle originates from an earlier period. It is made of bronze alloy, measures 4 x 3.5 centimetres, has a plate body, and is 0.8 centimetres wide. On the outside, it is decorated with a motif of linked triangles. Its terminals have eyes with a hole for the bar carrying the prong (fig. 8). An analogy for this specimen can be found in a very similar buckle, decorated with a motif of circles, excavated in Sardinia at the site of Pill'e Matta.<sup>26</sup> It was discovered in a grave, in an unusual combination with a tin round plate onto which it was affixed. The horseshoe-shaped belt buckle can be dated to the fourth–fifth century.

The unearthed overfired fragment of two joined imbrices, with a completely melted surface on one side due to a high temperature in a pottery kiln (fig. 11), confirms the existence of a pottery workshop that produced tegulae and imbrices needed for roofing of the cistern and residential structures in the fortification. There is no reason to doubt that potters also made tiles and other items such as the mentioned pots.

<sup>24</sup> Relative depth was measured from a metal survey point fixed in the ground west of our test pit.

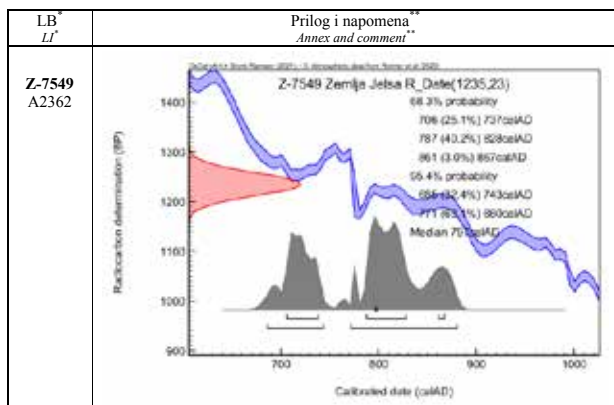
<sup>25</sup> Katić 1999–2000, p. 34, Pl. VI, 6.

<sup>26</sup> Salvi 2015, p. 199, fig. 10.

Prilog broj/Annex no.: 017-2286/2/2021

Vrsta priloga/Type of annex:

- Kalibracijska krivulja/Calibration curve  
 Fotografija, crtež ili skica/Photograph, figure or sketch  
 Drugi/Other: \_\_\_\_\_



<sup>\*</sup> LB – oznaka predmeta ispitivanja u laboratoriju na kojega se odnosi prilog / LI – laboratory identification of the tested item to which the annex refers; <sup>\*\*</sup> Napomena se upisuje ako je potrebna. / Comment is given if necessary.

Datum: Ispitivač: Voditelj Laboratorija:  
 Date: Tested by: Head of Laboratory:

18.5.2021. Dr. sc. Andreja Sironić Dr. sc. Ines Krajcar Bronić



Sl. 10. Prehistorijska gradina i kasnoantička utvrda na Galešniku

Fig. 10 Prehistoric hill-fort and late antique fortification Galešnik

Sl. 9. Radiokarbonski datum dobiven iz sloja s tragovima gorenja  
 Fig. 9 Radiocarbon date from a stratum with traces of burning

Prisutnost kasnoantičkog materijala, poput amfora LR 1 i LR 3 koje ulaze u 7. stoljeće, ukazuje na ranije datume. Kao rezidualan materijal amfore su korištene i u 8. stoljeću. Indikativan je nedostatak finijeg posuđa, što treba uzeti s oprezom jer je naša sonda mala i ograničena. Radiokarbonski datum iz sloja destrukcije na Galešniku korespondira s datumom dobivenim iz paljevinskog sloja ranokršćanske crkve sv. Ivana u Starom Gradu na Hvaru (*Faros*). Crkva je uništena u požaru. Tragovi gorenja ostali su jasno vidljivi na višebojnom mozaiku.<sup>27</sup>

Iskopavanja koja sam 1994. i 1996. godine vodio u gradu Hvaru dala su također zanimljive rezultate. Keramički materijal iz grada Hvara otkrio je snažne gospodarske veze otoka sa sjevernom Afri-

The workshop could have been built as part of the project to build the late antique fortification of Galešnik. Its location should be sought in the vicinity of the fortification. Small fragments of overfired pottery lumps were often used as building material for the fortification walls. It is interesting to note that tiles were not embedded in walls, but possibly in arches of windows and doors, and were not widely used. The predominant building material in the construction of ramparts and other structures was stone.

The structure in which S. I was excavated was a residential building. The discovered fragments of cooking pots and amphorae are remnants of everyday life inside it. The reconstructed large piece of an amphora of undefined type indicates that it cannot be pottery waste carried by erosion and the action of the elements. The clustered fragments of the amphora indicate a stable archaeological layer. The impact of fire can clearly be seen on the mentioned fragments of plaster and some amphorae

<sup>27</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, str. 75-76.

kom i istočnim Mediteranom. Slična je situacija i na Galešniku. U *S. I* iskopano je 2,7 kg keramike, odnosno oko 305 ulomaka. Tegula i opeka ima tri-desetak komada. Za objavu sam odabrao tipološki odredive i bolje očuvane primjerke. Slijedi katalog pokretnog arheološkog materijala:

### Kuhinjski lonci

Kuhinjski lonci su uz amfore najdominantniji pokretni arheološki materijal. Lonci izvijenog oboda grublje fature najvjerojatnije su bili lokalne proizvodnje.

- Izvijeni obod lonca s malo zadebljanim krajevima, zaglačane površine. Crvenosmeđe je boje, grublje fature. Glina je bogato miješana s usitnjenim kristalnim vapnencem. (T. I, 1)

- Manji ulomak izvijenog oboda sličan pret-hodnom. Obod je na kraju bio blago zadebljan. Crvenosmeđe je boje. Glina je miješana s usitnjenim kristalnim vapnencem. (T. I, 2)

- Gornji dio kuhinjskog lonca mrke boje, finije fature, oboda izvijenog prema van pod oštrim kutom. Na gornjoj strani oboda istaknuto je rebro na koje je nalijegao poklopac. Tijelo je s unutarnje i vanjske strane blago narebreno. Ulomci sličnog lonca s dvije ručke nađeni su u Starom Gradu na Hvaru i gradu Hvaru. Lonac je datiran u 5. stoljeće.<sup>28</sup> Slični lonci, široko datirani od 4. do 6. stoljeća, nađeni su u Ravenni.<sup>29</sup> (T. I, 3)

### Amfore

Amfore su u *S. I* bile najzastupljenije. Nađeni su tipovi: LR 1, LR 3, nekoliko ulomaka amfora tipa *Spatheion* i jedno tipološki neodredivo rame amfore. Mogu se široko datirati u razdoblje od 5. do 7. stoljeća. U okviru *S. I* amfore su nađene kao rezidualan materijal 8. st. Navedeni tipovi amfora nalaženi su također u gradu Hvaru.

- Dio ramena amfore spojen od 14 ulomaka. Amfora je u ramenu široka oko 24 cm. Tijelo je debljine 0,6 cm. Fine je fature, svijetlosmeđe boje, s plitko izvedenim rebrima širine oko 1 cm. Jedan ulomak na kojem je početak grla, mrke je izgorjele boje. Na ramenu je vidljiv dio otiska ručke. Ovoj amfori pripada ulomak ravnoga trbuha na kojem se naziru rebra. Spojen je od pet ulomaka. Nije moguće sa sigurnošću odrediti tip amfore. (T. III, 1)

sherds. While assembling the fragments of amphorae, the black, i.e. completely burnt parts fitted the pieces that were not exposed to high temperature and whose colour and fabric have therefore remained unchanged. This is visible on an LR 1 amphora body sherd, the shoulder of an LR 3 amphora and on the upper section of a late antique amphora whose type is difficult to determine. The vessels were damaged during the destruction of the building. Some fragments were directly exposed to fire, while others were not. A layer of burning was identified at a depth of 207 centimetres. Burnt fragments of tegulae were excavated at 215 centimetres. Darker earth was observed at the same level, which is also the result of the burning of the building. Therefore, samples were taken from it for radiocarbon analysis. A broad date range was provided, from the seventh to the ninth century (fig. 9). However, according to this analysis, the most likely date of the burning layer is the eighth century. There is no archaeological material that would suggest the ninth century.

The presence of late antique material, such as the LR 1 and LR 3 amphorae implying the seventh century, indicates earlier dates. Amphorae were still in use in the eighth century as residual material. The absence of finer ware is indicative, which should be taken with caution because our test pit was small and limited. The radiocarbon date from the destruction layer at Galešnik corresponds to the date from the burning layer of the early Christian church of St. John in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar (*Pharos*). The church was destroyed in a fire. Traces of burning have remained clearly visible on the polychrome mosaic.<sup>27</sup>

The excavations I directed in 1994 and 1996 in the town of Hvar also brought to light some interesting results. Pottery material from the town of Hvar revealed the island's strong economic ties with North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. The situation is similar at Galešnik. A total of 2.7 kilogrammes of pottery was excavated in *S. I*, i.e. about 305 fragments. Some thirty pieces of tegulae and tiles were unearthed. I have selected typologically definable and better-preserved specimens for this publication. The archaeological objects are catalogued below.

<sup>28</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 29-30, T. III, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Guarnieri, Montevecchi, Negrelli, Fabbri, Gualtieri 2019, str. 217, T. 4, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, pp. 75-76

- Ulomak amfore užeg tijela. Bila je izrađena od crvene gline, kvalitetno pečena. Vanjska površina premazana je tankim premazom razrijeđene gline oker boje. Radi se o amfori poznatoj pod nazivom *Spatheion*. U stručnoj literaturi datira se od kasnog 4. do 6. st., a manji tipovi i do 7. st.<sup>30</sup> Primjerci slični našima nađeni u ravenskoj luci Classe datirani su od 5. do 7. stoljeća.<sup>31</sup> (T. I, 4)

- Okrugli poklopac vrča ili amfore napravljen od tijela amfore iste fakture i premaza kao prethodni *Spatheion*. Promjera je 3,5 cm. Na površini vanjske stijenke vide se slabi tragovi oker premaza. (T. I, 5)

- Ulomak donjeg dijela trbuha amfore LR1. Svijetlosmeđe je boje, širokih rebara na vanjskoj strani. (T. II, 1)

- Dio tijela amfore LR 1 spojen od četiri ulomka. Vjerojatno se radi o donjem dijelu amfore, s uže raspoređenim vanjskim rebrima. Dva ulomka su mrke izgorjele boje, dok su druga dva izvorne svijetlosmeđe boje. (T. II, 2)

- Ulomak ramena amfore *Robinson M 373* ili LR 3, specifične višnja crvene boje, tanjih stijenki. Vidljiv je blagi prijelaz od ramena prema uskom grlu. Od tri spojena ulomka ramena amfore jedan je izgorjelog crnog tona, a drugi izvorne crvene boje. Jedan cijeli primjerak ovog tipa nađen je u gradu Hvaru.<sup>32</sup> (T. II, 3)

#### Vrč

- Ulomak gornjeg dijela grla i oboda vrča finije izrade. Najvjerojatnije je bio u obliku oinohoe s tro-lisnim ustima. Na grlu su sačuvana dva istaknutija rebra, a na površini vanjske stijenke vide se tragovi crvenog premaza. (T. II, 4)

#### Opeke, tegule i imbreksi

Kako je ranije navedeno, na površini utvrde Galešnik nađen je komad prepečenih, deformiranih i spojenih imbreksa s tragovima vapnenog morta na površini, što govori da je ulomak škarta naknadno negdje bio uzidan. Dva su imbreksa spojena i deformirana zbog djelovanja visoke temperature (sl. 11). Bili su debljine oko 2 cm. Jedna strana se već počela topiti i ima zeleni ton, dok je druga, bolje očuvana, crvene boje. Debljina škarta odgovara de-

#### Cooking pots

Cooking pots are the predominant archaeological objects together with amphorae. Pots with curved rims and coarser fabric were most likely local products.

– Curved rim of a pot with slightly thickened ends and a polished surface. It is reddish-brown in colour, with a coarse fabric. The clay is mixed with hefty quantities of crushed crystalline limestone. (T. I, 1)

– Small fragment of a curved rim, similar to the previous one. The rim was slightly thickened at the end. It is reddish-brown in colour. The clay is mixed with crushed crystalline limestone. (T. I, 2)

– Upper section of a cooking pot, dark in colour, with a fine fabric, and an out-turned rim at an acute angle. On the upper side of the rim, there is a prominent seat for the lid. The body is slightly ribbed on the inside and outside. Fragments of a similar two-handled pot were discovered in Stari Grad and the town of Hvar on the island of Hvar. The pot was dated to the fifth century.<sup>28</sup> Similar pots, with a wide dating range from the fourth to the sixth century, were found in Ravenna.<sup>29</sup> (T. I, 3)

#### Amphorae

Amphorae were the most common in S. I. The following types were unearthed: LR 1, LR 3, several fragments of a *spatheion*, and one typologically unidentifiable shoulder of an amphora. They can be roughly dated to the period from the fifth to the seventh century. Amphorae were found in S. I as residual material from the eighth century. The mentioned types of amphorae were also discovered in the town of Hvar.

– Part of the shoulder of an amphora consisting of 14 connected fragments. The amphora is about 24 centimetres wide in the shoulder region. The body is 0.6 centimetres thick. It is of a fine fabric, light-brown in colour, with shallow ribs about one centimetre wide. One fragment, where the neck begins, is dark and burnt. A part of the handle impression can be seen on the shoulder. A fragment of a flat belly with discernible ribs belongs to this amphora. It consists of five connected fragments. It is not possible to determine the amphora type with certainty. (T. III, 1)

<sup>30</sup> Peacock and Williams 1991, str. 202-203.

<sup>31</sup> Stoppioni Piccoli 1983, str. 133, 8.20-8.24.

<sup>32</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 40-41, T. X, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Katić 1999-2000, pp. 29-30, Pl. III, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Guarnieri, Montevicchi, Negrelli, Fabbri, Gualtieri 2019, p. 217, Pl. 4, 1.



Sl. 11 Škart imbreksa nađen na Galešniku  
Fig. 11 *Imbrex reject unearthed at Galešnik*

bljini imbreksa nađenih u *S. I*. Većina ulomaka iz *S. I* ima tragove gorenja nastalih tijekom požara koji je zahvatio objekt. Nekim imbreksima vanjska je površina finije zaglačana i premazana razrijeđenom glinom smeđeg tona. Ovom smjesom bili su premazani tragovi vapnenog morta na rubu imbreksa. Očito su premazivani nakon postavljanja na krov.

Na površini Galešnika i u *S. I* nađeno je manje grumenje prepečene keramike koje pokazuje da je negdje u blizini bila aktivna *figlina* - radionica za izradu pokrova objekata na utvrđi. Izgradnja utvrde bila je zahtjevan građevinski projekt, a potrebe za pokrovom riješene su aktiviranjem radionice. U njoj su se također proizvodile i opeke. U *S. I* nađeno je nekoliko opeka koje nisu bile uzidane u zidove ili bedem. Moguće je da su korištene pri konstrukciji lukova prozora ili vrata. S većom sigurnošću može se reći da je većina bila ugrađena u pod. Kod dva ulomka opeka debljina je na jednom kraju 4,5 cm, a dvanaestak centimetara dalje sužuje se na 3,8 cm. Ovdje se uistinu može raditi o primjercima korištenim za formiranje lukova otvora na stambenim objektima.<sup>33</sup> Druge, koje su bile ravne, služile su za izgradnju poda. Radilo se o podu koji se nalazio na katu. Zbog rušenja objekta opeke su pale u prizemlje.

### Opeke

Na prvi pogled ulomke opeka teško je razlikovati od ulomaka tegula, pogotovo ako tegule nemaju sačuvane krajeve sa specifičnim uzdignućima. Međutim, kako je podna opeka morala biti čvrsta, tj. bolje pečena, lako ju je prepoznati po težini. Ulomak opeke teži je od dvostruko većeg komada

– Fragment of a narrow amphora. It was made of red clay, and well-fired. Its outer surface is coated with a thin slip of diluted ochre clay. This type of amphora is known as the *spatheion*. In the professional literature, it is dated to the period from the late fourth to the sixth century, and smaller types even to the seventh century.<sup>30</sup> The specimens discovered in Ravenna's port of Classe, similar to ours, are dated to the period from the fifth to the seventh century.<sup>31</sup> (T. I, 4)

– Round lid of a jug or amphora, made of the body of an amphora with the same fabric and slip as the mentioned *spatheion*. It measures 3.5 centimetres in diameter. Feeble traces of ochre slip can be seen on the outer wall surface. (T. I, 5)

– A fragment of the lower part of the belly of an LR 1 amphora. It is light brown in colour, with wide ribs on the outside. (T. II, 1)

– Part of the body of an amphora consisting of four connected fragments. This is probably the lower part of an amphora with narrower outer ribs. Two fragments are dark and burnt, while the other two are in the original light-brown colour. (T. II, 2)

– Shoulder fragment of a *Robinson M 373* or LR 3 amphora, in the characteristic cherry-red colour, with a thinner wall. One can see a smooth transition from the shoulder to the narrow neck. One of the three joined amphora shoulder fragments is burnt black, while the remaining ones are in the original red colour. One complete specimen of this type was discovered in the town of Hvar.<sup>32</sup> (T. II, 3)

### Jug

– Fragment of the upper part of the neck and rim of a jug of finer workmanship. It was most likely in the form of a trefoil-mouth oenochoe. Two prominent ribs have been preserved on the neck, and traces of red slip can be seen on the outer wall surface. (T. II, 4)

### Tiles, tegulae and imbrices

As mentioned above, a piece of overfired, deformed and fused imbrices with traces of lime mortar on their exterior was found on the surface of the Galešnik fortification, which indicates that

<sup>30</sup> Peacock and Williams 1991, pp. 202–203.

<sup>31</sup> Stoppioni Piccoli 1983, p. 133, 8.20–8.24.

<sup>32</sup> Katić 1999–2000, pp. 40–41, Pl. X, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Brodribb 1987, str. 43–47.



tegule. Nije sačuvana ni jedna čitava opeka. Najveći ulomak (T. III, 2), dimenzija 29 x 14 x 3,8 cm, crvenosmeđe je boje i kvalitetno izrađen. S jedne strane vidi se veći otisak bijeloga vapnenog morta, s druge strane ga nema pa je očito opeka služila u izgradnji poda.

- Ugao podne opeke sačuvanih dimenzija 13 x 13 x 3,4 cm, svjetlije crvene boje. (T. III, 3)

- Ugao podne opeke dimenzija 15 cm x 11 cm x 4 cm, svijetlosmeđe boje. Na jednoj se strani vide ostatci vapnenog morta, a njegovi tragovi vidljivi su i na bočnim stranicama. Riječ je o podnoj opeci koja je bila utopljena u vapnenu podlogu poda. (T. IV, 1)

- Ugao podne opeke dimenzija 11 x 11 x 4,2 cm, svijetlocrvene boje. Na donjoj strani su ostatci bijeloga vapnenog morta, odnosno podloge u koju je opeka bila položena. Na bočnoj strani otisak morta sačuvan je gotovo do vrha. Hodna površina ovog ulomka izgorjele je mrke boje. (T. IV, 2)

### Tegule

- Ulomak tegule dimenzija 16 x 9 x 4 cm, crvene boje. Na površini ima otisak grozda s peteljkom i nekoliko manjih zrna. Očito se ova serija opeka izradivala u kasno ljeto za vrijeme jematve. (T. IV, 3)

- Ulomak ruba tegule 13 x 10 x 23 cm, svijetlocrvene boje. Uzdignuti rub koso je zasječen prema unutra zbog boljeg nalijeganja imbreksa. Na vanjskom donjem rubu, na samom kraju ulomka, vidljivo je naknadno skraćivanje i formiranje zuba zbog boljeg nalijeganja na sljedeći red tegula. Ova intervencija upućuje na popravak krova. (T. V, 1)

- Ulomak ruba tegule dimenzija 11 x 7,5 x 2,2 cm. Podignuti rub koso je zasječen. Oker je boje, s crnim tragovima gorenja na donjoj strani. (T. V, 2)

- Veći dio tegule spojene od dva dijela, sačuvanih dimenzija 30 x 20 x 3 cm. Na vrhu je sačuvan kraj tegule. U presjeku je svijetlocrvene, a površina je oker boje. (T. V, 3)

### Imbreksi

- Ulomak imbreksa dimenzija 13 x 12 x 2,5 cm. Oker je boje. Na unutarnjoj i vanjskoj strani vidljivi su crni tragovi nastali zbog izloženosti vatri. Nije polukružnog oblika u presjeku. Tjeme je imbreksa ravno, a krajevi su svijeni pod oštrim kutom. (T. VI, 1)

- Ulomak imbreksa dimenzija 14 x 13 x 2 cm. Oker je boje. Fino zaglačana gornja strana imala je

this fragment of a reject had been subsequently embedded somewhere. Two imbrices are joined and misshapen due to the action of high temperature (fig. 11). They were about two centimetres thick. One side already started melting and has a green tone, while the other is better preserved, and red in colour. The thickness of the reject corresponds to that of the imbrices discovered in S. I. Most of the fragments from S. I have traces of burning from the fire that engulfed the building. The outer surface of some imbrices is finely burnished and slipped with diluted brownish clay. The same mixture was used to slip the traces of lime mortar on the edges of the imbrices. This coat was obviously applied after their placement on a roof.

Small lumps of overfired pottery were found on the surface of Galešnik and in S. I, which indicates that a *figlina* – a workshop producing cladding for the buildings of the fortification – had been active somewhere nearby. The construction of the fortification was a demanding building project, and the roofing requirements were met by setting the workshop in motion. It also produced tiles. Several tiles were discovered in S. I, which were not embedded in walls or the rampart. They may have been used in the construction of window or door arches. It is more likely that most of them were embedded into the floor. Two tile fragments are 4.5 centimetres thick at one end, but twelve centimetres away the thickness tapers to 3.8 cm. These can indeed be specimens used to form arches of openings in residential buildings.<sup>33</sup> Others, viz. flat ones, were used to build the floor. This floor was located upstairs. When the building collapsed, the tiles simply fell onto the ground floor.

### Tiles

At first glance, it is difficult to distinguish tile fragments from tegulae sherds, especially when the characteristic flanged ends of the tegulae are not preserved. However, since floor tiles had to be solid, i.e. better fired, it is easy to identify them by their weight. A tile fragment weighs more than a tegula twice its size. Not a single complete tile has been preserved. The largest fragment (T. III, 2), measuring 29 cm x 14 cm x 3.8 cm, is reddish-brown in colour and well made. A large trace of white lime mortar can be seen on one side only, which obviously means that the tiles were used in flooring.

<sup>33</sup> Brodribb 1987, pp. 43–47.

smeđi premaz. Sačuvan je blago podignuti kraj s tragovima vapnenog morta. Bočne strane su malo svijene. (T. VI, 2)

Ulomak imbreksa dimenzija 15 x 12 x 2 cm. Gornja je strana zaglačana i premazana smeđim slojem razrijeđene gline (?). Na rubu su vidljivi ostatci vapnenog morta premazanog istim smeđim slojem nanesenim nakon što je krov bio izgrađen. Bočni krajevi imbreksa malo su zakrivljeni. (T. VI, 3)

Manji ulomak imbreksa dimenzija 12 x 8 x 1,6 cm. Oker je boje, s tragovima gorenja na površini. Jedna strana mu je više svijena od druge, čiji je rub sačuvan. (T. VI, 4)

### Cisterna

Na istočnom dijelu utvrde nalazila se veća cisterna za vodu s lučnim svodom, dimenzija 6,82 x 3,8 m. Izgrađena je na najnižoj točki utvrde kako bi se u nju lakše akumulirala kišnica s okolnih objekata. Također je sakupljala vodu s vlastitog krova. Ulaz na južnom pročelju služio je za pristup cisterni. Bio je povišen u odnosu na zemlju. Donji dio ulaznih vrata je devastiran. Na užim zidovima cisterne sačuvan je trag kamenoga polukružnog svoda, a u cisterni tragovi hidraulične žbuke (sl. 12).

Na jugozapadnom uglu cisterne nastavlja se zid iznad bačvastog svoda, moguće da je iznad cisterne postojala prostorija koja je poput kule dominirala donjim dijelom utvrde.

Slična cisterna nađena je u nedalekom Bolu na otoku Braču, na sjevernom rubu poluotočja Glavica, kod crkve sv. Ivana i Teodora.<sup>34</sup> U Bolu se nalazila kasnoantička utvrda koja je s Galešnikom nadzirala plovidbu kanalom između Hvara i Brača. Najvjerojatnije je poput Gradine u Jelsi od ostatka kopna bila odvojena obrambenim zidom.<sup>35</sup>

Još jedna kasnoantička cisterna većih dimenzija otkrivena je na utvrđi Drid u Marini.<sup>36</sup> Cisterne za vodu sastavni su dio većine kasnoantičkih utvrda na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

Ulaz u Galešnik bio je moguć jedino na jugozapadnoj strani, gdje je pristup utvrđi bio lakši. Odmah ispod ulazne strane utvrde nalazio se stari suhozidni bedem kasnobrončanodobne gradine. Gradinski je bedem u 6. st. iskorišten za formiranje proteihizme (προτείχισμα), tj. predzida izgrađenog

– Floor tile corner, preserved dimensions measuring 13 cm x 13 cm x 3.4 cm, light-red in colour. (T. III, 3)

– Floor tile corner measuring 15 cm x 11 cm x 4 cm, light-brown in colour. Remains of lime mortar can be seen on one side, and its traces are also visible on the lateral sides. This floor tile used to be placed in the floor limestone base. (T. IV, 1)

– Floor tile corner measuring 11 cm x 11 cm x 4.2 cm, light-red in colour. On the underside there are the remains of white lime mortar, i.e. the base in which the brick was laid. The trace of the mortar is preserved almost to the top of one side. The walking surface of this fragment is dark and burnt. (T. IV, 2)

### Tegulae

– Fragment of a tegula, measuring 16 cm x 9 cm x 4 cm, red in colour. There is an imprint of a bunch with a stem and a few small grapes. Remains of eaten grapes were dropped on the undried surface of the tegula and thus remained impressed on it. Evidently, this series of tegulae was made in late summer at the time of the vintage. (T. IV, 3)

– Tegula edge fragment, measuring 13 cm x 10 cm x 23 cm, light-red in colour. The flanged edge is bevelled inward to make better contact with the imbrex. At the outer lower edge, viz. the very end of the fragment, there are visible traces of a subsequent truncation and formation of a tooth to facilitate attachment to the next row of tegulae. This detail indicates the repair of the roof. (T. V, 1)

– Tegula edge fragment, measuring 11 cm x 7.5 cm x 2.2 cm. The flanged edge is bevelled. It is ochre in colour, with black traces of burning on the underside. (T. V, 2)

– The greater part of a tegula, consisting of two joined parts, with preserved dimensions of 30 cm x 20 cm x 3 cm. The end of the tegula is preserved at the top. Its cross-section is light-red, while the surface is ochre. (T. V, 3)

### Imbrices

– Imbrex fragment, measuring 13 cm x 12 cm x 2,5 cm, ochre in colour. Black marks caused by exposure to fire are visible on the inside and outside. It is not semicircular in cross-section. The top of the imbrex is flat, while the ends are bent at an acute angle. (T. VI, 1)

– Imbrex fragment, measuring 14 cm x 13 cm x 2 cm, ochre in colour. The finely polished upper surface had a brown coat. Its slightly flanged end

<sup>34</sup> Kovačić 1986, str. 23.

<sup>35</sup> Kovačić 1994, str. 84.

<sup>36</sup> Istraživanja na kojima je nađena cisterna još nisu objavljena.



Sl. 12 Cisterna na Galešniku  
Fig. 12 Cistern at Galešnik

zbog otežavanja pristupa neprijatelju na najosjetljivijoj strani Galešnika. Proteihizme su bile uobičajen način utvrđivanja u ranobizantsko doba, posebno kod utvrda u zaleđu Salone.<sup>37</sup> U Dalmaciji, na krškom prostoru, građene su u suhozidu i danas se u prostoru manifestiraju kao manje kamene gomile koje prate pravac kasnoantičkoga bedema. Za razliku od predzida u zaleđu Salone, ovaj na Galešniku imao je i obrambeni jarak između bedema utvrde i proteihizme. On je i danas dobro očuvan. Pri prodoru s jugozapadne strane napadači bi, svladavši predzid, upali u jarak, gdje su bili izloženi udaru branitelja. Promišljeno korištenje starog bedema za formiranje proteihizme bitno je ojačalo obrambenu moć Galešnika.

Otok Hvar je u kasnoantičko doba bio važna točka na istočnojadranskom pomorskom putu. Arheološka istraživanja u gradu Hvaru pokazala su da je grad Hvar nastao u kasnoantičko vrijeme.<sup>38</sup> Brojne amfore i finije posude nalaženi su i u Farosu. Ranokršćanski kompleks crkve svetog Ivana u Starom Gradu bio je bogato ukrašen mozaicima u boji, a do dvojnih crkava nalazila se križna krstionica.<sup>39</sup> Dva značajna kasnoantička urbana središta razvila su se zahvaljujući pomorstvu i trgovini. Lokalni prirodni resursi, poput stare grčke hore i brdskog područja pogodnog za razvoj stočarstva, pružali su dobre uvjete za život. Otok je imao intenzivnu vezu s kopnom, osobito s područjem Makarske, gdje je stolovao mukurski biskup. Na razvoj Galešnika

has been preserved, complete with traces of lime mortar. The sides are slightly curved. (T. VI, 2)

– Imbrex fragment, measuring 15 cm x 12 cm x 2 cm. The upper surface is polished and coated with a brown slip of diluted clay. The edge has remains of lime mortar with the same brown slip applied after the roof was built. The lateral sides of the imbrex are slightly curved. (T. VI, 3)

– Small imbrex fragment, measuring 12 cm x 8 cm x 1.6 cm. It is ochre in colour, with traces of burning on the surface. One side is more bent than the other, whose edge has been preserved. (T. VI, 4)

### Cistern

In the eastern part of the fortification, there was a large water cistern with an arched vault, measuring 6.82 m x 3.8 m. It was built at the lowest point of the fortification to facilitate rainwater accumulation from the surrounding structures. It also harvested water from its own roof. The entrance on the south façade served as access to the cistern. It was elevated relative to the ground. The lower section of the entrance door is destroyed. A trace of the stone semi-circular vault has survived on the walls of the cistern (fig. 12), and there are some sporadically well-preserved remains of hydraulic plaster in the cistern. The wall extends above the barrel vault. It is possibly a remnant of the bottom part of the upper floor that towered over the lower section of the fortification.

A similar cistern was discovered in nearby Bol on the island of Brač, on the northern edge of the small peninsula of Glavica, near the church of Sts. John and Theodore.<sup>34</sup> There used to exist a late antique fortification in Bol, which controlled navigation in the channel between Hvar and Brač together with Galešnik. Most likely, it was separated from the mainland by a defensive wall, like Gradina in Jelsa.<sup>35</sup>

Another large late antique cistern was discovered at the fortification of Drid in Marina.<sup>36</sup> Water cisterns are integral parts of most late antique fortifications on the eastern Adriatic coast.

It was possible to enter Galešnik from the southwest only, where access to the fortification was easier. Directly below the entrance side of the for-

<sup>37</sup> Katić 2018, str. 254-259.

<sup>38</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 46-48; Katić 2003, str. 525.

<sup>39</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, str. 22-25.

<sup>34</sup> Kovačić 1986, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> Kovačić 1994, p. 84.

<sup>36</sup> The research during which the cistern was discovered has not been published yet.

nedvojbeno je utjecala Justinijanova rekonkvista, no pojedini arheološki nalazi kao i dvije faze gradnje vidljive na južnom potezu bedema, dopuštaju mogućnost razmišljanja o ranijoj izgradnji utvrde. U Hvaru najraniji kasnoantički slojevi pripadaju zadnjoj četvrtini 4. stoljeća.<sup>40</sup> Snažan razvoj novih kasnoantičkih urbanih središta poput Lisine (grada Hvara) pratilo je utvrđivanje istočnog dijela polja radi kontrole spomenutog otočnog puta prema istočnom dijelu otoka, odnosno današnjem Sućurju. Postoje arheološke indicije da se i tamo nalazila kasnoantička luka. Iz vremena kasne antike mogao bi potjecati „Teutin zid“ na lokalitetu Košćak sjeverno od Sućurja. Duboković spominje da je dug oko jednog kilometra.<sup>41</sup> Radi se o fortifikaciji na krajnjem istočnom djelu otoka koju treba bolje istražiti.<sup>42</sup> Ta strana Hvara tradicionalno je bila okrenuta prema kopnu i naseljavanju novih stanovnika iz Primorja. Pretpovijesne gradine Podbiokovlja dijelile su isti akvatorij s gradinama istočnog dijela Hvara. Blizina kopna uvjetovala je da se način života na istočnoj strani otoka razlikuje od onoga na zapadnoj strani. Grci su na Toru postavili jasnu granicu prema ostatku otoka. No ta je kontrolna crta bila postavljena još ranije, u kasnom brončanom dobu. Novi arheološki nalazi otkrili su moćnu gradinu na Galešniku. Njezina morfologija odredila je i kasnoantičku utvrdu Galešnik, posebno kada je riječ o predzidu i obrambenom jarku sa sjeverozapadne strane. Ovdje ćemo još opisati ostatke kasnobrončanodobne gradine.

#### Ostatci prehistorijske gradine na Galešniku

Arheološkim istraživanjima 2021. godine otkrivena je prehistorijska gradina s bedemom građenim od velikih poluobrađenih kamenih blokova. Najcjelovitije je očuvan na jugozapadnoj strani Galešnika, gdje se pruža u smjeru jugoistok-sjeverozapad u dužini oko 45 m. Njegov jugoistočni kraj počinje od ruba dubokog klanca i penje se padinom prema platou ispred jugozapadnog pristupa kasnoantičkoj utvrdi. Bedem gradine nastavljao se po rubu kružnoga platoa ispod akropole. Na jugoistočnoj strani nalazi se spomenuti duboki klanac nesavladiv za neprijatelja, pa s te strane bedem nije bio izgrađen.

tification there was an old dry-stone rampart of a late Bronze Age hill-fort. In the sixth century, the hill-fort rampart was used to make a proteichisma (προτειχισμα), i.e. a fore-wall built to make it difficult for the enemy to access Galešnik on its most vulnerable side. Proteichismata were common elements of fortifications in early Byzantine times, especially in the strongholds in the hinterland of Salona.<sup>37</sup> In karst areas of Dalmatia, they were made of dry-stone, and today they are manifested as small stone heaps in line with the direction of late antique ramparts. In contrast to fore-walls in the hinterland of Salona, the one at Galešnik also had a defensive ditch between the fortification rampart and the proteichisma. It is still well preserved today. An attacking force coming from the south-west, having overcome the fore-wall, would fall into the ditch, where they would be exposed to the defenders. The calculated use of the old rampart to build the proteichisma significantly increased the defensive capabilities of Galešnik.

In late antiquity, the island of Hvar was an important point on the eastern Adriatic maritime route. Archaeological excavations in the town of Hvar have shown that the town originates from Late Antiquity.<sup>38</sup> Numerous amphorae and finer ware have also been unearthed in Pharos. The early Christian complex of the church of St. John in Stari Grad was lavishly decorated with coloured mosaics. There was a cross-shaped baptistery next to the double churches.<sup>39</sup> Two significant late antique urban centres developed thanks to shipping and trade. Local natural resources, such as the ancient Greek chora and hilly areas suitable for animal husbandry, offered good living conditions. The island had intensive connections with the mainland, especially with the area of Makarska, the seat of the Mucuritan bishop. The development of Galešnik was undoubtedly influenced by Justinian's reconquest, but certain archaeological finds, as well as two construction phases discernible in the southern section of the rampart, allow speculating about a possible earlier building of the fortification. The earliest late antique strata in Hvar belong to the last quarter of the fourth century.<sup>40</sup> The formidable development of new late antique urban centres such as Lisina (the town of Hvar) was accompanied by the forti-

<sup>40</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 43.

<sup>41</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, str. 86; Vujnović 2002, str. 63-64. Vujnović ga smatra graničnim zidom posjeda augustinaca.

<sup>42</sup> Blizu Klisa nalazi se *Košćak*, gradina i vjerojatno kasnoantički refugij.

<sup>37</sup> Katić 2018, pp. 254-259.

<sup>38</sup> Katić 1999-2000, pp. 46-48; Katić 2003, p. 525.

<sup>39</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, pp. 22-25.

<sup>40</sup> Katić 1999-2000, p. 43.



Sl. 13 Veliki kameni blokovi uzidani u temelje bedema pretpovijesne gradine  
*Fig. 13 Large stone blocks embedded in the foundations of the prehistoric hill-fort rampart*

Kasnobrončanodobna gradina zauzimala je površinu od oko 8575 metara četvornih, a kasnoantička utvrda izgrađena na njezinoj „akropoli“ površine je oko 1650 metara četvornih.

Izvorna širina prethistorijskoga bedema bila je oko 4,3 m. Na njegovoj površini, na jugozapadnoj strani, još su vidljiva oba lica, zidana od velikih poluobrađenih kamenih blokova. Na sjevernoj i istočnoj strani kameni blokovi ostali su sačuvani u razini terena koji je pretvoren u poljoprivredne parcele (sl. 13). Oni danas čine podzid terase. Na sjeverozapadnoj strani ima dijelova gdje su sačuvana tri reda blokova visine 1,5 m. Bedem je zidan kombinacijom velikih (1 x 0,5 m) blokova postavljenih na nož i uzdužno (1,2 x 0,4 m). Sredina je ispunjena krupnijim lomljencem. Lice bedema na sjeverozapadnom potezu nemarnije je slagano. U okolici je vapnenac uslojen poput debljih listova knjige pa se lako vadio i koristio za izgradnju fortifikacija. Očito da je na Hvaru zidanje bedema velikim poluobrađenim blokovima postojalo prije grčke kolonizacije. Sličan način zidanja nalazimo na tzv. ilirskoj Saloni u Solinu.<sup>43</sup> Kod ovakvog načina gradnje važnu je ulogu igrao lokalni kamen, njegova kvaliteta, način uslojavanja i mogućnost lake eksploatacije na mjestu podizanja gradine. Naime, ako su u neposrednom okolišu postojali uvjeti za vađenje blokova, gradina je imala izgrađene barem temeljne dijelove u „me-

fication of the eastern part of the polje in order to control the mentioned island path to the eastern part of the island, i.e. modern-day Sućuraj. There are archaeological indications that another late antique port was located there. “Teuta’s Wall” in the locality of *Košćak*, north of Sućuraj, could also have originated in Late Antiquity. Duboković mentions that it is about one kilometre long.<sup>41</sup> This fortification is located in the easternmost part of the island, and requires additional research.<sup>42</sup> That part of Hvar has traditionally gravitated towards the mainland and the settlement of new inhabitants from the littoral. Prehistoric hill-forts at the foot of Mt Biokovo shared the same water area with the hill-forts in the eastern part of Hvar. Proximity to the mainland different ways of living in the east and west parts of the island. The Greeks set a clear dividing line at Tor to the rest of the island. However, this control line had already been laid down even earlier, in the Late Bronze Age. New archaeological finds have revealed a robust hill-fort at Galešnik. Its morphology also determined the late antique fortification of Galešnik, in particular in relation to the fore-wall and the defensive ditch on the north-western side. The remains of the Late Bronze Age hill-fort will also be discussed below.

#### Remains of the prehistoric hill-fort at Galešnik

The 2021 archaeological excavations revealed the prehistoric hill-fort with a rampart built of large semi-worked stone blocks. It is best preserved in the south-west side of Galešnik, where it extends in the southeast-northwest direction for about 45 metres. Its south-eastern end starts from the edge of the deep gorge and ascends on the slope towards a plateau in front of the south-western approach to the late antique fortification. The hill-fort rampart extended along the edge of a circular plateau below the acropolis. To the south-east, there is the mentioned deep gorge, insurmountable for the enemy, which is why the rampart was not built on that side. The Late Bronze Age hill-fort occupied an area of about 8575 m<sup>2</sup>, while the late antique fortification built on its “acropolis” covers an area of about 1650 m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, p. 86; Vujnović 2002, pp. 63–64. Vujnović believes it was the boundary wall of the Augustinian estate.

<sup>42</sup> In the vicinity of Klis there lies *Košćak*, a hill-fort and probably a late antique refuge.

<sup>43</sup> Katić 2010, str. 11-12.

galitnoj“ tehnici. Jedna od istraženih brončanodobnih gradina je Monkodonja (Makadanj) u Istri. I na njoj je očito korištenje većih kamenih blokova u konstrukciji bedema.<sup>44</sup> Zato smatram da su bedemi na Galešniku, barem u temeljnom dijelu, zidani u kasnom brončanom dobu. To će ipak trebati provjeriti arheološkim istraživanjima.

U brončanom dobu intenzivirao se pomorski promet. Nalazi keramike cetinske kulture iz ranoga brončanog doba na Palagruži ukazuju na postojanje prekojadranske trgovine.<sup>45</sup>

Galešnik je tada počeo koristiti uvale u Jelsi i oko nje kao gradinsko pristanište.

Pitanje je do kada je gradina egzistirala. Važna je činjenica da je oko 500 m sjeverozapadno od Galešnika podignuta druga, najvjerojatnije željeznodobna gradina. Od nje je sačuvan veliki kameni bedem, a kasnije je ispred njega izgrađena grčka kula. U kontekstu otoka ilirske su gradine, a poslije i grčka kula korišteni za čuvanje i kontrolu Jelšanskog i Starogradskog polja. Prostrano otočko polje bilo je važno za uzgoj raznih žitarica, kojima je krška Dalmacija oduvijek oskudijevala. Potvrđen je uzgoj vinove loze (*Vitis vinifera*) u brončanom dobu.<sup>46</sup> Proizvodnja vina s vremenom je postala važna privredna grana koja je poticala trgovinu i morski promet.

U donjim slojevima *S. I* na Galešniku nađeni su ulomci grube ilirske keramike. Za radiokarbonsku analizu iskorišten je jedan ulomak kosti nađen s ovim materijalom. Prema dobivenom rezultatu prehistorijski sloj možemo datirati u 13. st. pr. Kr., odnosno u kasno brončano doba.

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje koliko je kasnoantička izgradnja oštetila prehistorijske slojeve i je li gradina duže egzistirala. Odgovor na to pitanje može se dobiti iskopavanjem na prostoru bliže bedemima na donjem platou gradine. Keramički materijal iz *S. I* je neukrašen. Ovdje donosimo tipične ulomke iz stabilnijega, donjeg sloja prehistorijskog naselja.

- Ulomak gornjeg i donjeg dijela tunelaste drške široke 6,3 cm; gornji je dio zaravnjen u dužini od 55 mm, zatim se ručka savija prema dolje. Crvenosmeđe je boje, glina je bogato miješana s usitnjenim kristalnim vapnencem. U presjeku je crne boje. (T. VII, 1)

- Obod lonca crvenosmeđe boje, u presjeku crne boje; na obodu je kosi ukras kraćih zareza. (T. VII,

The prehistoric hill-fort rampart was originally about 4.3 metres wide. Its surface on the south-west side still shows both faces, built of large semi-worked stone blocks. In the north and east sections, the stone blocks have been preserved at the level of the land converted into agricultural plots (fig. 13). Today they form the retaining wall of a terrace. In the north-west section there are parts where three rows of 1.5 m high blocks have been preserved. The rampart was built with a combination of large (1 m x 0.5 m) blocks placed sideways and longitudinally (1.2 m x 0.4 m). The centre was filled with larger fragments. The face of the rampart in the north-western section was made with less care. The limestone in the vicinity is stratified like thick pages of a book, so it was easy to extract and use it to build fortifications. It is obvious that ramparts had been made on the island of Hvar of large semi-worked blocks even before the Greek colonization. A similar stone construction technique can be seen in the so-called Illyrian Salona in Solin.<sup>43</sup> This construction method depended on some key factors at locations where hill-forts were built, such as local stone, its quality, layering, and the possibility of easy exploitation. Namely, when it was possible to extract blocks in the immediate environment, hill-forts had at least foundational parts built in the “megalithic” technique. Monkodonja (Makadanj) in Istria is one of the researched Bronze Age hill-forts. The use of large stone blocks is also evident in the construction of its ramparts.<sup>44</sup> That is why I believe that the ramparts at Galešnik, or at least its foundational parts, were built in the Late Bronze Age. This still requires verification by archaeological research.

Maritime traffic intensified in the Bronze Age. Pottery finds of the Cetina culture from the early Bronze Age on Palagruža indicate the existence of trans-Adriatic trade.<sup>45</sup>

Galešnik then began to use the coves in Jelsa and its vicinity as hill-fort quays.

The time span of the existence of the hill-fort is an open question. It is important to note that another, most probably Iron Age, hill-fort was built about 500 metres north-west of Galešnik. Its large stone rampart has survived; a Greek tower was subsequently built in front of it. In the context of the

<sup>44</sup> Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, str. 462-464.

<sup>45</sup> Forenbaher 2018, str. 247-260.

<sup>46</sup> Kroll 2015, str. 105.

<sup>43</sup> Katić 2010, pp. 11-12.

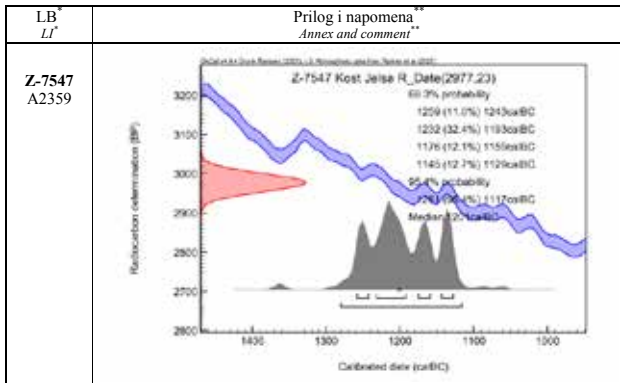
<sup>44</sup> Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, pp. 462-464.

<sup>45</sup> Forenbaher 2018, pp. 247-260.

Prilog broj/Annex no.: 017-2285/2/2021

Vrsta priloga/Type of annex:

- Kalibracijska krivulja/Calibration curve  
 Fotografija, crtež ili skica/Photograph, figure or sketch  
 Drugi/Other: \_\_\_\_\_



\* LB – oznaka predmeta ispitivanja u laboratoriju na kojega se odnosi prilog / LI – laboratory identification of the tested item to which the annex refers; \*\* Napomena se upisuje ako je potrebna. / Comment is given if necessary.

Datum: Date:	Ispitivač: Tested by:	Voditelj Laboratorija: Head of Laboratory:
18.5.2021.	Dr. sc. Andreja Sironić	Dr. sc. Ines Krajcar Bronić

## Sl. 14. Rezultati radiokarbonske analize životinjske kosti iz prehistorijskog sloja

Fig. 14 Radiocarbon analysis results for an animal bone from the prehistoric layer

2)

- Korijen ručke i manja ručka koja bi mu mogla pripadati. U presjeku je crne boje, vanjske stijenke su tamnosmeđe i crvene boje. Glina je bogato miješana s usitnjenim vapnencem. Ručka je široka petnaestak milimetara. (T. VII, 3)

- Manji ulomak oboda gornjeg dijela otvorene posude zaravnjenog tjemena i oboda blago izvučenog prema van. Površina je sive boje, dok je u presjeku crne boje. (T. VII, 4)

island, Illyrian hill-forts and the later Greek tower were used to guard and control the Jelsa and Stari Grad poljes. The extensive island poljes were important for the cultivation of various crops, which karstic Dalmatia always lacked. The cultivation of vines (*Vitis vinifera*) in the Bronze Age has been confirmed.<sup>46</sup> Over time, the manufacture of wine became an important industry that stimulated trade and maritime transport.

Fragments of coarse Illyrian pottery were discovered in the lower layers of S. I at Galešnik. One bone fragment found with this material was used for radiocarbon analysis. According to the obtained result, the prehistoric layer can be dated to the 13th century BC, or the late Bronze Age.

The question remains as to how much the late antique construction damaged the prehistoric strata and whether the hill-fort existed for a longer period of time. The answer to this question can be obtained by excavating an area closer to the ramparts on the lower plateau of the hill-fort. The pottery material from S. I is undecorated. Some typical fragments from the more stable lower layer of the prehistoric settlement are presented below.

– Fragment of the upper and lower parts of a tunnel handle, 6.3 cm wide; the upper part is flat for 55 millimetres, and then the handle is curved downwards. It is reddish-brown in colour, and the clay is mixed with substantial quantities of crushed crystalline limestone. It is black in cross-section. (T. VII, 1)

– Pot rim, reddish-brown in colour, black in the cross-section, with an oblique decoration consisting of short notches. (T. VII, 2)

– Handle root and a small handle that might belong to it. It is black in cross-section, while the outer walls are dark brown and red in colour. The clay is mixed with copious quantities of crushed limestone. The handle is about fifteen millimetres wide. (T. VII, 3)

– Small fragment of the slightly out-turned rim of an open vessel with a flattened tip. The surface is grey in colour, while the cross-section is black. (T. VII, 4)

### Concluding remarks

Late antique Galešnik cannot be understood without a broader historical and topographical pic-

<sup>46</sup> Kroll 2015, p. 105.

### Zaključna razmatranja

Kasnoantički Galešnik nije moguće razumjeti bez šire povijesne i topografske slike. Rimska cesta koja je povezala dva dijela otoka prekrila je prirodni put korišten od prethistorije. Taj je put najprije kontrolirala kasnobrončanodobna gradina na Galešniku pa željeznodobna gradina na Toru, zatim grčka kula Tor pa kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik. Može se reći da su otočani od 13. stoljeća prije Krista do 8. stoljeća nastojali čvrsto nadzirati kopneni i pomorski put, prolaz iz istočnog dijela otoka prema zapadnom, odnosno prema Jelšanskom i Starogradskom polju.

Strateški topos Galešnika iskorišten je ponovno u kasnoj antici. Gradnja utvrde bila je određena istaknutim položajem, ali i pravcem rimske ceste. Osim što je olakšala izgradnju utvrde, cesta je omogućila vezu s Gradinom u Jelsi, odnosno lukom Mina. Prostor Jelse i uvala Mina imali su vrlo važnu ulogu u pomorskoj vezi s utvrdom *Muccurum* (Makarska) i drugim kasnoantičkim utvrdama Makarskog primorja, poput one u Baškoj Vodi i Gradcu. Kasnoantički *Muccurum* bio je utvrda na poluotoku Sv. Petar. Tu se nalazilo sjedište Mukurske biskupije, osnovane na Drugom salonitanskom saboru 533. godine.<sup>47</sup> Biskupiji su pripali neki otočni posjedi koji nisu precizirani, jedino znamo da su ranije pripadali Salonitanskoj metropoliji.<sup>48</sup> Otok Hvar se s jelšanske strane otvarao prema Podbiokovlju i nedvojbeno je pripadao novoosnovanoj Mukurskoj biskupiji. Na njemu su se nalazili *Faros* i *Lisina*, dva vrlo značajna središta, uz koje možemo staviti Galešnik i Gradinu u Jelsi. Prema pisanim povijesnim izvorima *Muccurum* su godine 548. napali i porušili Ostrogoti. Novija arheološka istraživanja na poluotoku Sv. Petar pokazala su da utvrda, a time i biskupija, nisu prestali živjeti nakon napada.<sup>49</sup> Najvjerojatnije je mukurski biskup u turbulentnom vremenu 7. st. našao sigurniji smještaj na otoku Hvaru. U srednjem vijeku osnovana je Hvarska biskupija, što pokazuje koliko je Hvar bio važno crkveno središte.

Tragovi gorenja utvrde Galešnik bili su očiti, kako u arheološkom sloju, tako i na pokretnom arheološkom materijalu. Tegule, podne opeke, amfore, koje su se nalazile u prostoriji za vrijeme požara, imaju izgorjele površine zbog dugotrajne izložene

ture. The Roman road that connected the two parts of the island covered the natural path used since prehistory. This path was first controlled by the Late Bronze Age hill-fort at Galešnik, then the Iron Age hill-fort at Tor, followed by the Greek tower of Tor and the late antique fortification of Galešnik. It can be said that the islanders were trying to exercise firm control over the land and sea routes, the path from the eastern part of the island to the west, i.e. to the Jelsa and Stari Grad poljes, from the 13th century BC to the eighth century AD.

The strategic topos of Galešnik was utilised again in late antiquity. The construction of the fortification was determined by the prominent location, as well as the route of the Roman road. The road not only facilitated the building of the fortification, but also provided a link to Gradina in Jelsa, and the port of Mina. The area of Jelsa and the cove of Mina played a very important role in the maritime link with the fortification of *Muccurum* (Makarska) and other late antique fortifications in the Makarska littoral, such as those in Baška Voda and Gradac. Late antique *Muccurum* was a fortification on the peninsula of St. Peter. It was the seat of the Diocese of *Muccurum*, established at the Second Salonitan Council in AD 533.<sup>47</sup> The diocese was given some island properties. They were not specified, and the only thing we know is that they had belonged to the Salonitan metropolis.<sup>48</sup> The island of Hvar was open to the littoral at the foot of Mt Biokovo on the Jelsa side, and undoubtedly belonged to the newly established Diocese of *Muccurum*. Two very important centres were located on it, viz. *Pharos* and *Lisina*, as well as Galešnik and Gradina in Jelsa. According to written historical sources, *Muccurum* was raided and destroyed by the Ostrogoths in 548. Recent archaeological research on the peninsula of St. Peter revealed that the fortification, and hence the diocese, had not ceased to exist after the raid.<sup>49</sup> The *Muccuritan* bishop probably found safer accommodation on the island of Hvar in the turbulent times of the seventh century. The Hvar Diocese was established in the Middle Ages, which goes to show how important Hvar was as a religious centre.

Traces of burning at the Galešnik fortification were manifest both in the archaeological layer and on archaeological objects. Tegulae, floor tiles and amphorae, which were in the room devoured by

<sup>47</sup> Klaić 1967, str. 83.

<sup>48</sup> Škegro 2008, str. 20–21.

<sup>49</sup> Tomasović 2012, str. 623.

<sup>47</sup> Klaić 1967, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> Škegro 2008, pp. 20–21.

<sup>49</sup> Tomasović 2012, p. 623.



nosti vatri. Iz paljevinskih tragova u *S. I* uzeli smo uzorke za radiokarbonsku analizu. Dobiveni datum upućuje na 8. stoljeće. Osim na Galešniku, daleko jasniji sloj destrukcije otkriven je u ranokršćanskom sklopu Sv. Ivana u Starom Gradu (*Faros*). Ondje su na mozaicima ostali tragovi paljevine, koje Jasna Jeličić-Radonić opisuje u svojoj knjizi: „Na oba sačuvana segmenta ovog nekad jedinstvenog mozaičnog pavimenta očiti su tragovi gareži. Izrazit paljevinski sloj u građevini i oko nje pokazuje da je u ranom srednjem vijeku crkva bila zapaljena. Tada je propao njen drveni krov koji je poslije adaptiranjem manje ranoromaničke crkvene građevine zamijenjen bačvastim svodom.“<sup>50</sup> Autorica je također dala napraviti 1990. godine radiokarbonsku analizu uzorka ugljena iz sloja destrukcije crkve. Dobiven je datum od 600. do 776. godine. Uzorak je bio kvalitetan pa je vjerojatnost datacije bila iznad 90 %.<sup>51</sup>

Istražujući u hvarskom Arsenalu i Fontiku 1994. i 1996. godine uočio sam sloj destrukcije i datirao ga u 8. st. On je ostavio tragove na iskopanim zidovima, osobito u sondi VI, gdje su uočeni jasniji tragovi gorenja.<sup>52</sup> U članku sam naglasio problem pojave arheološkog materijala koji bi mogao ući u 8. stoljeće. Tada sam napisao: „Dakle, pojedini pokretni i nepokretni nalazi upozoravaju na mogućnost da kronološka vrijednost sloja B doseže 8. st.“<sup>53</sup> Amfora koju sam prepoznao kao tip *Keay XCI*, navela me na zaključak da sloj B iz istraživanja 1994. i 1996. godine u gradu Hvaru datiram u 8. st.<sup>54</sup> Da je ta datacija bila točna, pokazala su novija istraživanja u ravenskoj luci Classe, gdje je isti tip amfore nađen kao rezidualni materijal koji također doseže 8. stoljeće.<sup>55</sup> Kronološke podudarnosti u Classe i Lisini nisu slučajne, niti ih možemo zanemariti, pogotovo nakon <sup>14</sup>C datuma, koji nam pokazuje da se destrukcija na Galešniku također dogodila u 8. stoljeću. Stoga bih široki radiokarbonski datum 600. - 776. iz sloja destrukcije ranokršćanske dvojne crkve u Starom Gradu na Hvaru (*Faros*) suzio na 8. st. To je bilo vrijeme veće destrukcije na otoku.

flames, have burned surfaces due to prolonged exposure to fire. We sampled burnt traces from *S. I* for radiocarbon analysis. The obtained date points to the eighth century. Besides Galešnik, a far more distinct layer of destruction was discovered in the early Christian complex of St. John in Stari Grad (*Pharia*). Its mosaics have traces of burning. Jasna Jeličić-Radonić describes them in her book: “Traces of soot can be seen on both preserved segments of this once unique mosaic pavement. A distinct burning layer in and around the building indicates that the church was burnt in the early Middle Ages. Its wooden roof collapsed in the process. It was subsequently replaced by a barrel vault when the small early Romanesque church building was adapted.”<sup>50</sup> She also had a charcoal sample from the destruction layer of the church subjected to radiocarbon analysis in 1990. The date ranged from AD 600 to 776. The sample was of sufficient quality, and the dating probability was over 90%.<sup>51</sup>

During the 1994 and 1996 research in the Arsenal and Fontik in Hvar, I detected a layer of destruction and dated it to the eighth century. It left marks on the excavated walls, especially in Test Pit VI, where clearer traces of burning were perceived.<sup>52</sup> In the accompanying article, I pointed out the emergence of archaeological material that could be dated to the eighth century. I wrote the following at the time: “Therefore, certain movable and immovable finds indicate a possibility that the chronological value of layer B extends to the eighth century.”<sup>53</sup> The amphora I identified as type *Keay XCI* led me to conclude that layer B from the 1994 and 1996 research in the town of Hvar should be dated to the eighth century.<sup>54</sup> That this dating was correct was shown by recent research in Ravenna’s port of Classe, where the same type of amphora was discovered as residual material whose origin also extends to the eighth century.<sup>55</sup> Such chronological matches in Classe and Lisina are not accidental, and cannot be ignored, especially in the light of the <sup>14</sup>C

<sup>50</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, str. 75-76.

<sup>51</sup> Analiza je napravljena u Institutu Ruđer Bošković (Z-2183). Jeličić-Radonić 2021, 91-92, bilj. 48..

<sup>52</sup> Katić 1999-2000, str. 26. Tragovi gorenja bili su vidljivi i na pojedinom keramičkom materijalu.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, str. 42-43.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, str. 42, T. IX, 1-3.

<sup>55</sup> Cirelli 2009, str. 564, sl. 3 i 4,1.

<sup>50</sup> Jeličić-Radonić 1994, pp. 75–76.

<sup>51</sup> The analysis was performed at the Ruđer Bošković Institute (Z-2183). I would like to thank my colleague Jasna Jeličić-Radonić 2021, 91–92, fn. 48, for the information.

<sup>52</sup> Katić 1999–2000, p. 26. Traces of burning were also visible on some pottery material.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, pp. 42–43.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 42, Pl. IX, 1–3.

<sup>55</sup> Cirelli 2009, p. 564, Figs. 3 and 4,1.

Konstantin Porfirogenet u *De administrando imperio* piše o otocima Mljetu, Korčuli, Braču i Hvaru na kojima se nalaze opustjeli gradovi.<sup>56</sup> U srednjovjekovnom dokumentu iz godine 1278. godine spominje se grad koji je u prijašnje vrijeme bio kod Sv. Marije Hvarske: *civitas que aliis temporibus fuit sanctam Mariam de Lesna*.<sup>57</sup> Ovaj navod iz 13. stoljeća reminiscencija je na opustjelu kasnoantičku Lisinu, koja je prestala egzistirati do kraja 8. stoljeća. Do 11. stoljeća na otoku Hvaru neće biti znatnije obnove. Porfirogenetov opis vrijedi za 10. stoljeće, kada su bile vidljive ruševine gradova *Farosa* i *Lisina*. Galešnik je do našega vremena ostao vidljiva ruševina. Porfirogenet navodi da su na otocima bili maslinici, da otočani imaju svoja stada i od njih žive.<sup>58</sup> Očito je otokom u ranom srednjem vijeku dominirao ruralni pejzaž.

Galešnik je bio vojna utvrda osposobljena za nadzor prostora i dugotrajnu obranu. U ranom srednjem vijeku opasnost je prijetila s kopna, gdje je novopridošlo slavensko stanovništvo počelo formirati svoje teritorijalno–upravne jedinice. Ranosrednjovjekovni sloj destrukcije na otoku Hvaru zrcali određenu dinamiku osvajanja i koloniziranja prostora u Dalmaciji. Otoci su osvojeni s vremenskom zadržskom u odnosu na kopno. Otok Hvar doživio je veće razaranja u jednom napadu ili nekoliko njih u 8. st. Teško je baratati preciznijim datumima, ali ako uzmemo u obzir prežetak kasnoantičkih amfora iz 6. - 7. stoljeća u 8. stoljeće, skloniji sam zaključku da se destrukcija dogodila u prvoj polovini 8. stoljeća, do najdalje treće četvrtine 8. stoljeća.

Tijekom 9. i 10. st. na Hvaru se i dalje uzgajaju masline i goji stoka, kako piše car Konstantin Porfirogenet. Želimo li otkriti ranosrednjovjekovna naselja toga vremena, morat ćemo ih potražiti bliže polju.

date which indicates that the destruction at Galešnik also occurred in the eighth century. Therefore, I would narrow down the broad radiocarbon date from 600 to 776 AD from the destruction layer of the early Christian double church in Stari Grad on Hvar (*Pharos*) to the eighth century. It was a time of large-scale destruction on the island.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote in “*De Administrando Imperio*” about desolate towns on the islands of Mljet, Korčula, Brač and Hvar.<sup>56</sup> A medieval document from 1278 mentions a town that used to be near St. Mary of Hvar: *civitas que aliis temporibus fuit sanctam Mariam de Lesna*.<sup>57</sup> This 13th-century reference is a reminiscence of vacated late antique Lisina, which ceased to exist by the end of the eighth century. There was no significant rebuilding on the island of Hvar until the 11th century. Porphyrogenitus’ description is valid for the tenth century, when the ruins of the towns of *Pharos* and *Lisina* were visible. The ruins of Galešnik have remained visible to this day. Porphyrogenitus noted that there were olive groves on the islands, and that the islanders had their own herds they lived from.<sup>58</sup> Apparently, the island was dominated by a rural landscape in the early Middle Ages.

Galešnik was a military fortification capable of observation and prolonged defence. In the early Middle Ages, danger threatened from the mainland, where the newly-arrived Slavic population began to form its own territorial-administrative units. The early medieval layer of destruction on the island of Hvar reflects the dynamics of conquest and colonisation of space in Dalmatia. The islands were conquered later than the mainland. The island of Hvar was greatly destroyed in one or more raids in the eighth century. It is difficult to offer more precise dates, but in the light of the survival of late antique amphorae from the sixth–seventh century in the eighth century, I am more inclined to conclude that the destruction occurred in the first half of the eighth century, no later than its third quarter.

According to the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, olives were still cultivated and livestock reared on Hvar during the ninth and tenth centuries. If we want to discover early medieval settlements from that period, we will have to look for them closer to the polje. **(D.G.)**

<sup>56</sup> Vizantijski izvori 2007, str. 35

<sup>57</sup> Bučić 1935–1949, str. 118.

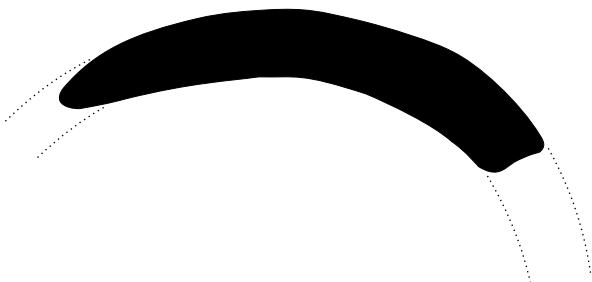
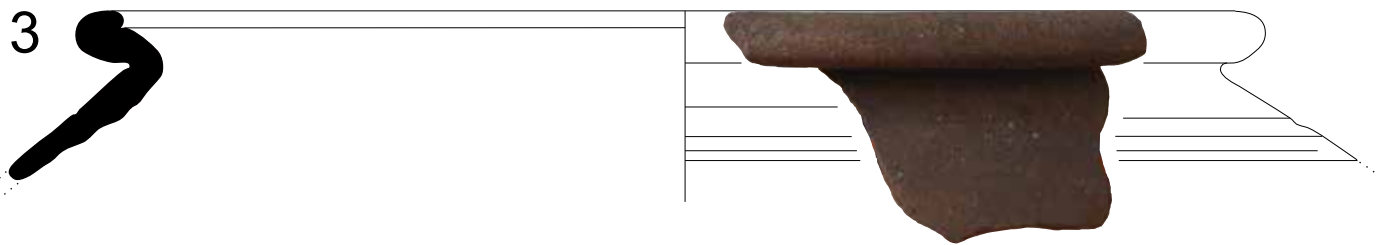
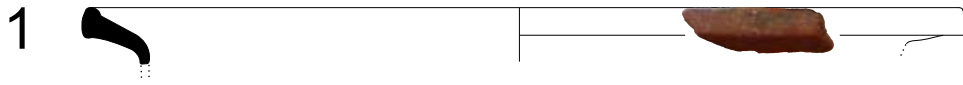
<sup>58</sup> Vizantijski izvori 2007, str. 35.

<sup>56</sup> Vizantijski izvori 2007, p. 35

<sup>57</sup> Bučić 1935–1949, p. 118.

<sup>58</sup> Vizantijski izvori 2007, p. 35.

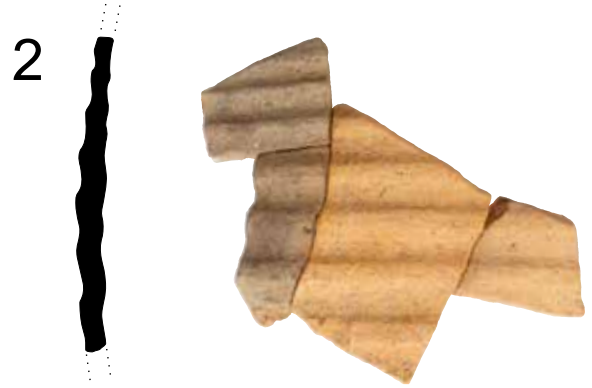
# T I.



0 10 20 30 40 50cm

M-1:2

# T II.



T III.



0 10 20 30 40 50cm

M-1:2

# T IV.

1



2



3



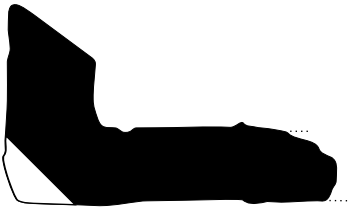
154 |

0 10 20 30 40 50cm

M-1:2

T V.

1



2



3



0 10 20 30 40 50cm

M-1:2

# T VI.

1



2



3



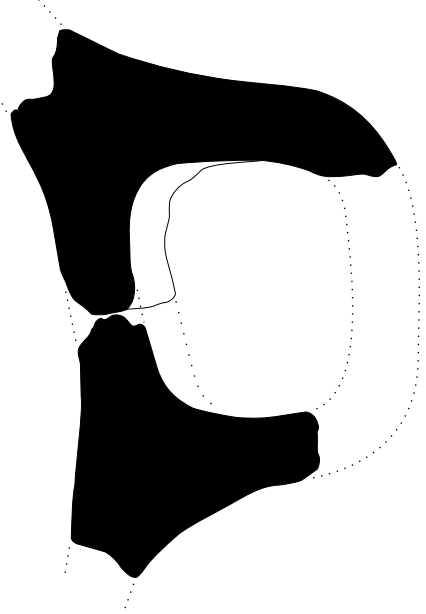
4





# T VII.

1

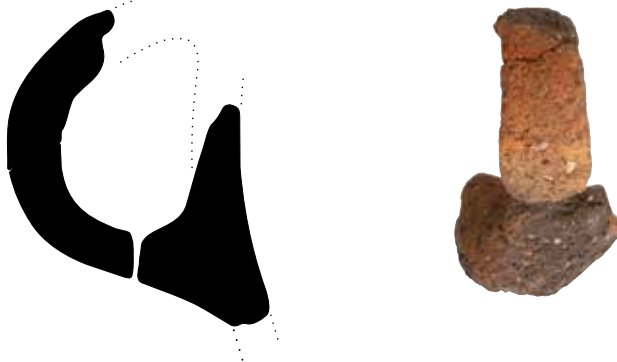


157

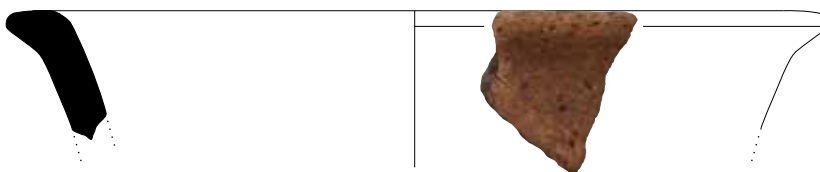
2



3



4



0 10 20 30 40 50cm

M-1:2

Popis kratica / *List of abbreviations*

HAG – Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak  
 OA – Opuscula archaeologica  
 PPOH – Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara  
 PPUD – Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji  
 SADJ – Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije  
 SHP – Starohrvatska prosvjeta  
 VAHD – Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

Literatura / *Bibliography*

Boglić 1873

G. Boglić, *Studi storici sull' isola di Lesina*, Zara 1873.

Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958

D. BeriĆ, N. Duboković Nadalini, M. Nikolanci, *Popis spomenika otoka Hvara*, Split 1958.

Brodribb 1987

G. Brodribb, *Roman brick and tile, an analytical survey*, Gloucester 1987.

Bučić 1935-1949

R. Bučić, *Civitas Nova i civitas quae aliis temporibus fuit*, VAHD, LII, Split 1935-1949, 114 -121.

Cirelli 2009

E. Cirelli, *Anfore globulari a Classe nell'alto Medioevo*, u: *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, ed. G. Volpe, P. Favia, Firenze 2009, 563-568.

Duboković Nadalini 2001

N. Duboković Nadalini, *Gdje je bila „Civitas Vetus Ielsae“ na otoku Hvaru*, *Odabrani radovi*, Split 2001, 347-351.

Duboković Nadalini 2001a

N. Duboković Nadalini, *Postanak i razvoj naselja na Hvaru te faktori koji su na taj razvoj djelovali*, *Odabrani radovi*, Split 2001, 443-460.

S. Forenbaher 2018

S. Forenbaher, *Palagruža i jadranski moreplovci trećeg tisućljeća prije Krista*, OA, vol. 39/40, (2015/2016), Zagreb 2018, 247-260.

Goldstein 1992

I. Goldstein, *Bizant na Jadranu*, Zagreb 1992.

Goldstein 2005

I. Goldstein, *Funkcija Jadrana u ratu Bizantskog carstva protiv Ostrogota 535.-555. godine*, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, vol. 37, Zagreb 2005, 23- 34.

Guarnieri, Montevecchi, Negrelli, Fabbri, Gualtieri 2019

C. Guarnieri, G. Montevecchi, C. Negrelli, B. Fabbri, S. Gualtieri, *Complessi di scavo di età tardoantica provenienti da contesti abitativi urbani ed extraurbani della Romagna*, *Economia e Territorio, BAR International Series 2926*, 216-223.

Gunjača 1986

Z. Gunjača 1986, *Kasnoantička fortifikacijska arhitektura na istočnojadranskom priobalju i otocima*, u: *Obrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije*, *Materijali*, XXII, SADJ, Novi sad 1986, 124-136.

Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015,

B. Hänsel, K. Mihovilić, B. Teržan 2015, *Monkodonja I, Monografije i katalogi 25 - Arheološki muzej Istre*, Pula 2015.

Iveković 1927

Ć. M. Iveković, *Otok Žirje*, SHP, N. S. I, sv. 1-2, Zagreb – Knin 1927, 45-59.

Jeličić-Radonić 1994

J. Jeličić Radonić, *Ranokršćanske dvojne crkve u Starom Gradu na Hvaru*, Split 1994.

Jeličić-Radonić 2021, *Faros-Rimski grad*, Split 2021.

Katić 1999-2000

M. Katić, *Kasnoantički grad na Jadranu - primjer grada Hvara*, PPUD, 38, Split 1999 - 2000, 19-49.

M. Katić 2003

M. Katić, *Nova razmatranja o kasnoantičkom gradu na Jadranu*, OA, 27, Zagreb 2003, 523-528.

Katić 2010

M. Katić, *Prehistorijske gradine solinskoga i kliškoga područja*, *Tusculum*, 3, Solin 2010, 7-19.

Katić 2018

M. Katić, *Castella qui sunt super civitatem Salonitanam*, VAHD, 111, Split 2018, 245-279.

Kirigin 2004

B. Kirigin, *Faros, Parska naseobina*, VAHD, sv. 96, Split 2004, 9-301.

Klaić 1967

N. Klaić, *Historia Salonitana Maior*, *Srpska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, Posebna izdanja*, knj. CCCXCIX, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, knj. 55, Beograd 1967.

Kovačić 2002

J. Kovačić, *Kasnoantički natpis s Galičnika kod Jelse*, PPOH, Vol. XI, No. 1, 2002, 81-90.

- Kovačić 1986  
V. Kovačić, Kasnoantička cisterna u Bolu na Braču, *PPUD*, vol. 26, br. 1, Split 1986, 23-32.
- Kovačić 1994  
V. Kovačić, Bol, *Ranokršćanski spomenici otoka Brača*, Split 1994, 84-90.
- Kroll 2015  
H. Kroll, Tragovi prapovijesnih korištenih biljaka iz Monkodonje – Biljni nalazi, *Monkodonja 1, Monografije i katalogi 25 - Arheološki muzej Istre*, Pula 2015.
- Novak 1924  
G. Novak, *Hvar*, Beograd 1924.
- Peacock and Williams 1991  
D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*, London and New York 1991.
- Petrić 2015,  
Nikša Petrić, O ranokršćanskim nalazima i spomenicima na otoku Hvaru, *Zavičajju Hvaru, sabrane studije i članci*, Matica hrvatska Hvar i Književni krug Split, 2015, 169-192.
- Pribojević 1991  
V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena*, Književni krug Split, Split 1991.
- Salvi 2015  
D. Salvi, La tomba 100 di Pill'e Matta e altri militaria nella necropoli tardoantica di Quartucciu (CA), *Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia*, XXV, 2015, 195 - 206.
- Statuta 1882/3  
Statuta et leges ... civitatis et insulae Lesinae, *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium*, I., III., Zagrabiae 1882-3 (ed. Šime Ljubić).
- Stoppioni Piccoli 1983  
M. L. Stoppioni Piccoli, Le anfore, *Ravenna e ili porto di Classe*, 1983, 130-146.
- Tomasović 2012  
M. Tomasović, Makarska – Sv. Petar, *HAG*, 8 (2011), Zagreb 2012, 620-624.
- Škegro 2008  
A. Škegro, Mukurska biskupija (Ecclesia Muccuriana), *Povijesni prilozi*, 34, Zagreb 2008, 9-26.
- Vizantijski izvori 2007  
*Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, Tom II, Beograd 1959.
- Vujnović 2002  
N. Vujnović, Prehistorijsko i antičko razdoblje na području naselja Sućuraj, *PPOH*, vol. XI, 2002, 45-79.
- Zaninović 1958  
M. Zaninović, O pitanju kopnene veze između dva antičkih naselja otoka Hvara, *Opvsacula archaeologica*, III, Zagreb 1958, 5-12.
- Zaninović 1978  
Marin Zaninović, Gradina u Danilu i Tor nad Jelsom, u: Naseljavanje i naselja u antici, *Materijali*, XV, SADI, Prilep (1978), Beograd 1978, 17-30.
- Zaninović 1996  
Marin Zaninović, Nalazi s Tora kod Jelse kao prilog njegovoj kronologiji, *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb 1996, 73-92.

