

# **GRADINA GRAČIŠĆE IZNAD STAROGRADSKOG POLJA NA OTOKU HVARU**

## **THE GRAČIŠĆE HILLFORT ABOVE THE STARI GRAD PLAIN ON THE ISLAND OF HVAR**

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U radu su predstavljena prva arheološka istraživanja na gradini Gračišće u centralnom dijelu otoka Hvara, koja su provedena u sklopu uspostavnog istraživačkog projekta Instituta za arheologiju, Transformiranje jadranskog kozmosa: otočnost, povezanost i glocalni identiteti predrimskog Dalmacije (AdriaCos, HRZZ UIP 2020-02-2419), a u suradnji s Muzejom Staroga Grada i Javnom

The paper presents the first archaeological excavations at the Gračišće hillfort in the central part of the island of Hvar, carried out within the Institute of Archaeology's installation research project, Transforming the Adriatic cosmos: insularity, connectivity and glocal identities of pre-Roman Dalmatia (AdriaCos, CSF UIP 2020-02-2419), in cooperation with the Stari Grad Museum

ustanovom Agencijom za upravljanje Starogradskim poljem. Pri-likom istraživanja dokumentirani su ostaci prapovijesnog bema te su u dvije sonde prikupljeni ulomci lončarije, kamenih izrađevina i životinjskih kosti. Iako malobrojni, pokretni nalazi pružaju vrijedan uvid u malo poznatu brončanodobnu fazu života na otoku Hvaru, koja je radiokarbonskim datumom precizirana na srednje brončano doba i početak kasnoga brončanog doba.

**Ključne riječi:**  
otok Hvar, Starogradsko polje, gradina Gračišće, brončano doba, lončarija, životinjski ostaci

## Uvod

Otok Hvar pripada makrogeomorfološkoj regiji Srednje Dalmacije, zajedno sa susjednim otocima Šoltom, Bračom i Visom.<sup>2</sup> Hvar sa svojim arhipelagom čini posebnu subgeomorfološku regiju, a sam otok dijeli se u 3 reljefne cjeline: hrbat otoka, Starogradsko polje i pobrđe Rudine – Kabal.<sup>3</sup>

Na otoku Hvaru zabilježeno je sveukupno 18 gradina koje su zbog izostanka preliminarnih i sustavnih istraživačkih aktivnostivećim dijelom neodređenoga užeg kronološkog okvira (izvan uopćene brončano- ili željeznodobne datacije), a često i nesigurne funkcije (naseobinski lokalitet ili neka druga strateška, gospodarska ili kulturna funkcija).<sup>4</sup> Uz nalazište Glavica, u neposrednoj blizini Staroga Grada, koje zbog svoje male površine vjerojatno nije moglo biti naseobinskog karaktera, kao i Lompić, smješten na ulazu u Starogradski zaljev, gradina Gračišće najznačajniji je i najveći pretpovijesni lokalitet u Starogradskom polju (sl. 1, 2). Nalazi se na 154 m/nv, na brijegu između naselja Vrbanj na sjeveru i Svirče na jugu. Sjeverno ispod gradine proteže se plodno poljoprivredno zemljишte Starogradskog polja, kulturni krajolik upisan na Listu svjetske baštine UNESCO-a, a istočno od Gračišća započinje i Jelšansko polje. Na sjeverozapadnom kraju Starogradskog polja smjestio se Stari Grad, nekoć antički Faros, jedna od prvih urbanih naseobina u Dalmaciji koju su 385./384. pr. n. e. osnovali Grci s otoka Parosa.<sup>5</sup>

Upravo zbog svoje pozicije, Gračišće se spominje u relevantnoj literaturi, koja se bavi prapovijesnim naseljavanjem otoka Hvara, kao gradinsko naselje koje je kontroliralo Starogradsko polje, najveće plodno polje na jadranskim otocima, do dolaska Grka.<sup>6</sup> Uz to, predlagalo se da je upravo Gračišće moglo biti „dobro utvrđeno mjesto“ na koje se domorodačko stanovništvo povuklo nakon bitke s grčkim doseljenicima, o čemu izvješćuje Diodor Sicilski, grčki povjesničar iz 1. st. pr. n. e.<sup>7</sup> Usprkos potpunom nedostatku istraživanja, Gračišće se oduvijek nametalo kao poten-

and the Stari Grad Plain Management Agency, a public institution. The excavations identified the remains of a prehistoric rampart; two trenches revealed potsherds, stone products and animal bones. The few finds nevertheless provide valuable insights into the little-known Bronze Age phase of the island of Hvar, narrowed down by radiocarbon dating to the Middle Bronze Age and the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

**Key words:**  
island of Hvar, Stari Grad Plain, Gračišće hillfort, Bronze Age, pottery, animal remains

## Introduction

The island of Hvar, together with the neighbouring islands of Šolta, Brač and Vis, belongs to the macrogeomorphological region of Central Dalmatia.<sup>2</sup> The Hvar archipelago forms a distinct subgeomorphological region; the island itself is divided into 3 relief units: the island ridge, the Stari Grad Plain, and the Rudine-Kabal foothills.<sup>3</sup>

The island of Hvar has a total of 18 known hillforts, mostly with vague dating (Bronze Age and/or Iron Age) due to absence of preliminary and systematic investigation, and often with an unclear function (a settlement or some other strategic, economic and/or cult function).<sup>4</sup> Along with the site of Glavica, in the immediate vicinity of Stari Grad, which is so small that it was probably not a settlement, and Lompić, standing at the entrance to Stari Grad Bay, the Gračišće hillfort is the largest and most significant prehistoric site in the Stari Grad Plain (Figs 1, 2). It stands at 154 m above sea level, on a hill between the villages of Vrbanj, to the north, and Svirče, to the south. Below the hillfort, to its north, there is the fertile agricultural land of the Stari Grad Plain, a cultural landscape included in the UNESCO World Heritage List; to its east, there is the Jelsa Plain. At the northwestern edge of the Stari Grad Plain, there stands the town of Stari Grad, the ancient Pharos. It was one of the first urban settlements in Dalmatia, founded in 385/384 BC by Greeks from the island of Paros.<sup>5</sup>

Precisely because of its location, the relevant papers about the settling of the island of Hvar in prehistory mention Gračišće as a hillfort settlement commanding the Stari Grad Plain, the largest fertile plain on the Adriatic islands, until the arrival of the Greeks.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Gračišće has been tentatively identified as the potential location of “well-fortified place” to which the native population retreated after their battle with the Greek settlers, as reported by Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>7</sup> Even though there had been no excavations at

1 Ovaj je rad sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost pod projektom AdriaCos (UIP-2020-02-2419).

2 Bognar 2001, 25.

3 Bognar 1990.

4 Gaffney et al. 1997; Miletić 2014; Katić 2021. Za nova promišljanja o Toru, Kirigin 2022.

5 Kirigin 2004; 2006 s relevantnom bibliografijom; Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015.

6 Gaffney et al. 2002, 39; Kirigin 2004, 30, 85.

7 Gaffney, Stančić 1991, 61–62; 1992, 123.

1 This paper was co-financed by the Croatian Science Foundation within the AdriaCos project (UIP-2020-02-2419).

2 Bognar 2001, 25.

3 Bognar 1990.

4 Gaffney et al. 1997; Miletić 2014; Katić 2021. For new considerations on Tor, see Kirigin 2022.

5 Kirigin 2004; 2006 with relevant bibliography; Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015.

6 Gaffney et al. 2002, 39; Kirigin 2004, 30, 85.

7 Gaffney, Stančić 1991, 61–62; 1992, 123.



**SLIKA 1.** Položaj gradine Gračišće u odnosu na Far (podloga: Geoportal, ucrtala: S. Popović).

**FIGURE 1.** Position of the Gračišće hillfort in relation to Pharos (background: Geoportal, plotting: S. Popović).

cijalno značajni lokalitet u kontekstu dinamike otočnog razvoja kroz odnos lokalnog stanovništva i grčkih došljaka, ali i perioda koje je prethodilo dolasku Grka.

## Povijest istraživanja

Gradina Gračišće je prvi put dokumentirana 1984. godine u sklopu projekta Jadranski otoci, zahvaljujući pregledu starih avio-snimaka. Ruševina bedema ovalnog oblika mogla se uočiti na aviosnimkama do 1960-ih godina jer vegetacija na ovom dijelu otoka još nije bila posve neprohodna (sl. 3a).<sup>8</sup> Nakon toga prostor je zarastao u gustu šumu. Tijekom obilaska gradine 80-ih godina, prikupljeni su ulomci nedijagnostičke prapovijesne keramike, ali nije bilo moguće točnije kronološki odrediti njihovu pripadnost.<sup>9</sup> Kasnijih godina, gradina je zarasla u gustu borovu šumu, što je otežalo vidljivost iz zraka, no na terenu su se ostaci bedema mogli pratiti u gotovo čitavoj dužini.<sup>10</sup> Nakon požara na tom području 2017. godine, koji je obuhvatio padinu brda prema Vrbanju, kao i većinu površine gradine, zbog izgorjelih i srušenih stabala, teren je postao gotovo potpuno neprohodan (sl. 3b).

all, Gračišće was always considered a potentially significant site, not only in the context of the development of the island from the aspect of the relationship between the local population and the Greek immigrants, but also in the period that preceded the arrival of the Greeks.

## History of research

The ruins of the oval hillfort rampart were clearly visible until the 1960s, when the vegetation in this part of the island was not yet completely impassable (Fig. 3a). For the next 50 years, dense woods made it almost impossible to spot the hillfort from the air. The Gračišće hillfort was first documented within the *Adriatic Islands* project in 1984, as it was easily visible on aerial photographs because of low vegetation.<sup>8</sup> Those surveying the hillfort at the time collected fragments of non-diagnostic prehistoric pottery, but a precise dating was not possible.<sup>9</sup> In the intervening years, the hillfort was overgrown with dense pinewood, making it difficult to see it from the air, but the remains of the rampart could be followed on the ground over almost their entire length.<sup>10</sup> After a fire swept over the slope towards Vrbanj and engulfed most of the hillfort in 2017, the terrain became almost completely impassable, because of burnt and fallen trees (Fig. 3b).

<sup>8</sup> Gradina je dokumentirana i objavljena pod oznakom „JE0099.00“ u Gaffney et al. 1997, 139; Kirigin 1993, 193; 2004, 29–30.

<sup>9</sup> Kirigin 2004, 30.

<sup>10</sup> Popović 2020, 22, sl. 4.

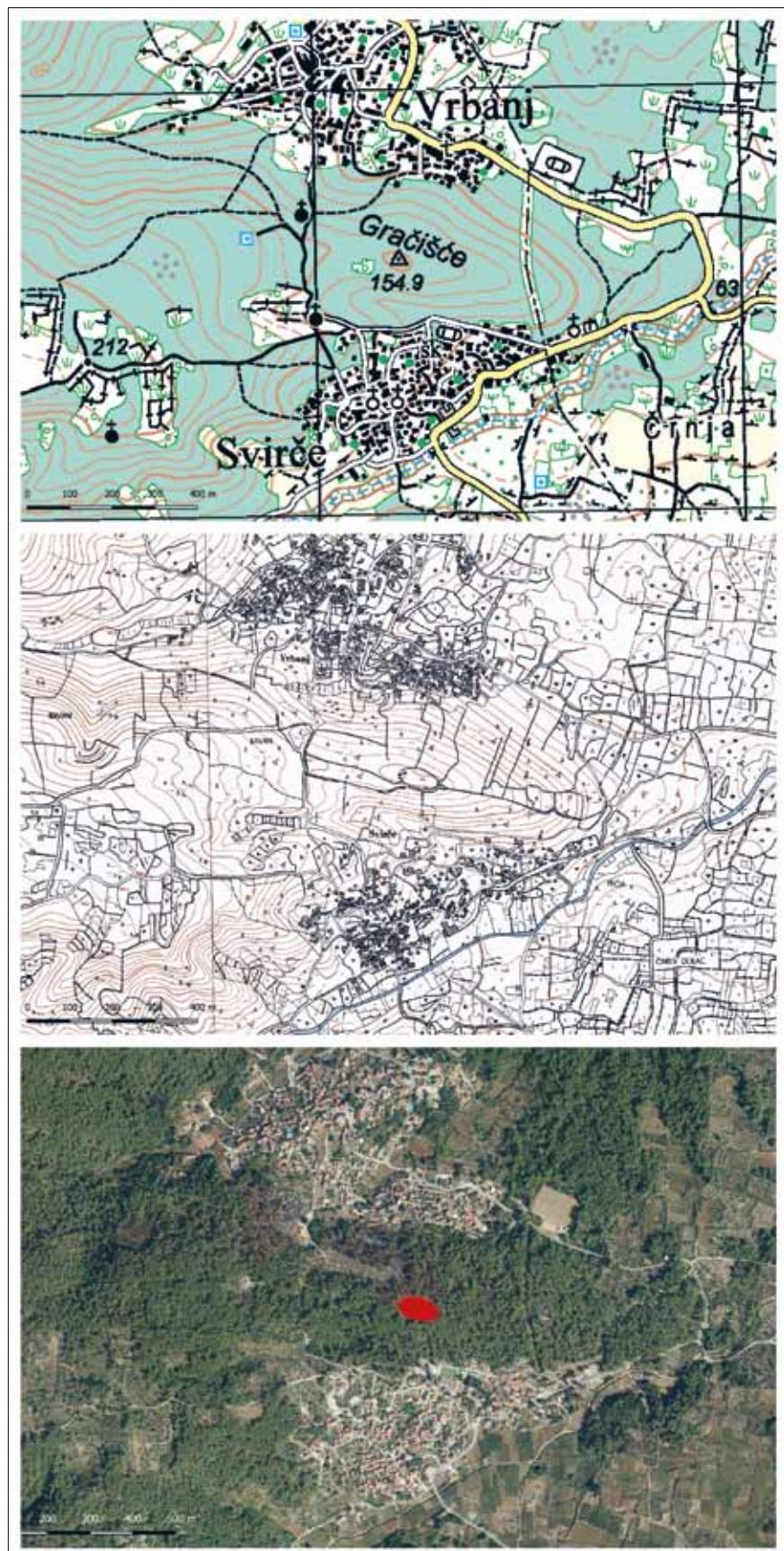
<sup>8</sup> The hillfort was documented and published under the tag ‘JE0099.00’ in Gaffney et al. 1997, 139; Kirigin 1993, 193; 2004, 29–30.

<sup>9</sup> Kirigin 2004, 30.

<sup>10</sup> Popović 2020, 22, Fig. 4.

**SLIKA 2.** Prikaz položaja gradine na topografskoj karti M 1:25000, Hrvatskoj osnovnoj karti M 1:5000 i na ortofotu (podloga: Geoportal, ucrtala: S. Popović).

**FIGURE 2.** Position of the hillfort on the 1:25000 topographic map, the 1:5000 basic Croatian map, and the orthophoto (background: Geoportal, plotting: S. Popović).





**SLIKA 3.** A: Gradina Gračišće na fotografiji iz 1968. godine;  
B: Gradina nakon požara 2017. godine (A: arhiva Muzeja Staroga Grada; B: Geoportal).

**FIGURE 3.** A: The Gračišće hillfort on a photograph from 1968;  
B: The hillfort after the fire of 2017 (A: Stari Grad Museum archive;  
B: Geoportal).

## Istraživanje 2021. godine

Prva preciznija dokumentacija postojećeg stanja, kao i prva arheološka iskopavanja na Gračišću, provedena su tijekom travnja i svibnja 2021. godine, u sklopu uspostavnoga istraživačkog projekta Instituta za arheologiju, *Transformiranje jadranskog kozmosa: otočnost, povezanost i glocalni identiteti predrimskog Dalmacije (AdriaCos)*, a u suradnji s Muzejem Staroga Grada i Javnom ustanovom Agencijom za upravljanje Starogradskim poljem.<sup>11</sup>

## The excavations of 2021

The first precise documenting of the preserved situation, as well as the first archaeological excavations at Gračišće, were undertaken in April and May 2021 within the Institute of Archaeology's installation research project, *Transforming the Adriatic cosmos: insularity, connectivity and glocal identities of pre-Roman Dalmatia (AdriaCos)*, in collaboration with the Stari Grad Museum and the Stari Grad Plain Management Agency, a public institution.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Istraživanje je provedeno pod vodstvom dr. sc. Marine Ugarković, a finančirano je sredstvima Hrvatske Zaklade za znanost u okviru AdriaCos projekta te sredstvima Instituta za arheologiju. Ostatak stručne ekipe sačinjavale su arheologinje dr. sc. Sara Popović, Andrea Devlahović (Muzej Staroga Grada) i Antonela Barbir (Institut za arheologiju).

<sup>11</sup> The excavations were led by Dr Marina Ugarković and financed by the Croatian Science Foundation within the AdriaCos project and by the Institute of Archaeology. The other members of the expert team were archaeologists Dr Sara Popović, Andrea Devlahović (Stari Grad Museum) and Antonela Barbir (Institute of Archaeology).



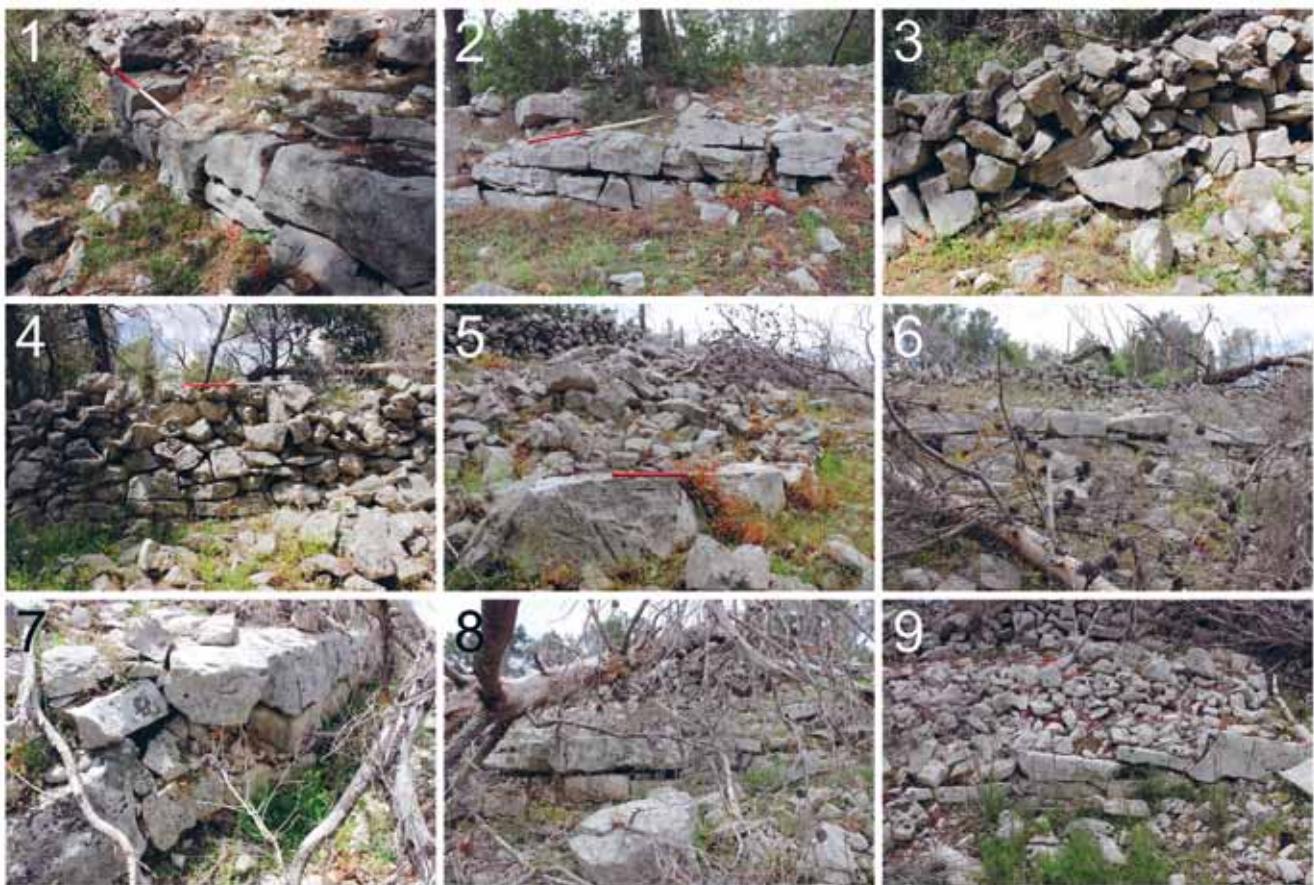
SLIKA 4. Ortofoto gradine izrađen tijekom istraživanja (foto: S. Popović).

FIGURE 4. Orthophoto of the hillfort made during excavations (photo: S. Popović).



SLIKA 5. Ucrtani blokovi bedema *in situ* i položaj fotografija bedema snimljenih na terenu (foto i obrada: S. Popović).

FIGURE 5. Rampart blocks drawn *in situ* and the position of the photographs of the rampart made on location (photo and processing: S. Popović).



**SLIKA 6.** Fotografije snimljene duž lica bedema na pozicijama prikazanim na slici 5 (foto: S. Popović).

**FIGURE 6.** Photographs taken along the rampart face at the positions shown in Figure 5 (photo: S. Popović).

Istraživanje je započelo izradom detaljne dokumentacije bedema gradine, što je uključivalo snimanje iz zraka dronom i izradu ortofotografije nalazišta (sl. 4). Na fotografijama visoke razlučivosti prepoznati su blokovi bedema *in situ*, koji su zajedno s urušenjem zidine kartirani u GIS-u i na taj je način prvi put definiran točan obuhvat gradine (sl. 5). Utvrđeno je kako su ukupne dimenzije gradine 100 x 50 metara, što čini približno 3850 m<sup>2</sup>, uključujući bedem, odnosno 3200 m<sup>2</sup> unutrašnjeg prostora. Svi prepoznati blokovi čine vanjsko lice bedema i najbolje su očuvani na sjevernom dijelu gradine. Na urušenju bedema podignut je recentni suhozid koji je vjerojatno služio za čuvanje stoke u prostoru gradine. Na katastru Franje I. iz 1834. godine vidi se da je prostor gradine u to vrijeme djelomično korišten kao pašnjak, a djelomično je zemlja na ugaru.<sup>12</sup> Na istočnom je dijelu gradine taj zid podignut direktno na vanjskom licu bedema, zbog čega blokove nije bilo moguće kartirati. Od tog recentnoga suhozida radikalno se niz padine pružaju drugi zidovi koji čine međe posjeda i svjedoče o kasnijoj uporabi prostora gradine, kao i cijelog uzvišenja na kojem se ona nalazi. Uz južni rub nalazišta pruža se stari pješački put omeđen suhozidima, koji čini administrativnu

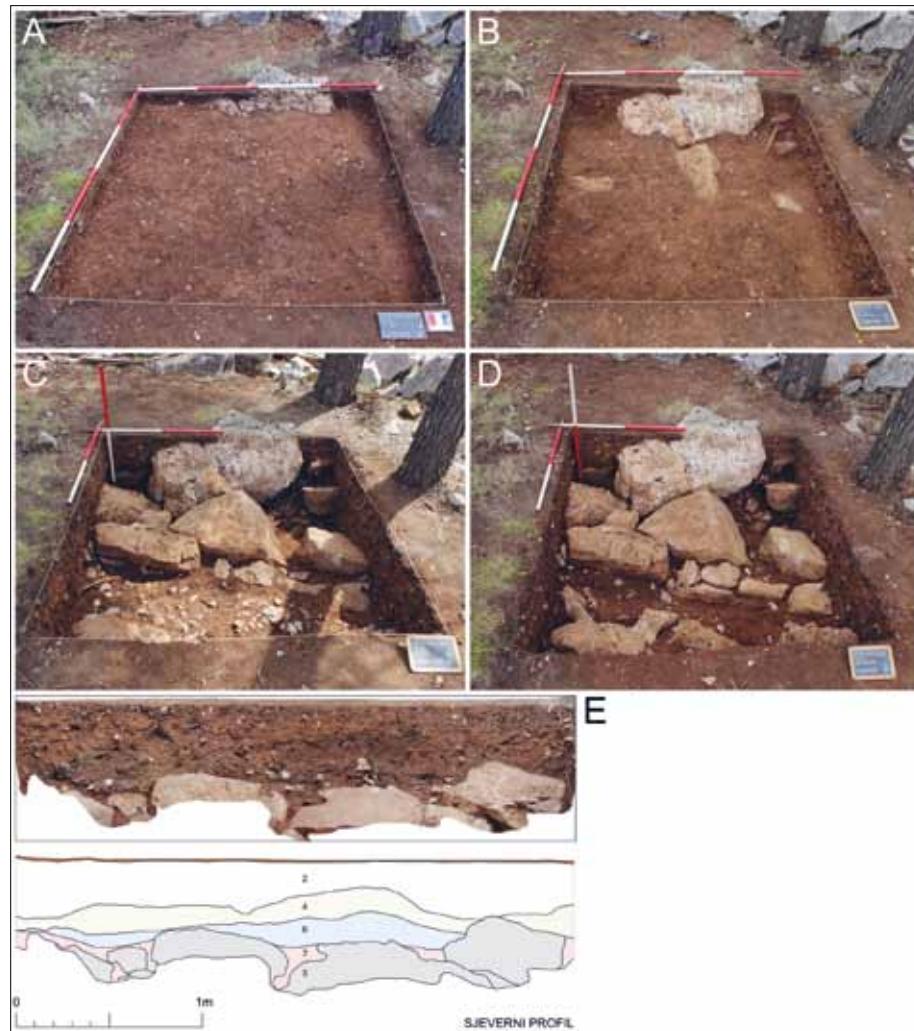
The work began with the creation of detailed documentation of the hillfort rampart, which included aerial drone photography and an orthophoto of the site (Fig. 4). High-resolution photographs revealed the rampart blocks *in situ*, which were mapped in GIS together with the collapsed wall, defining the exact extent of the hillfort for the first time (Fig. 5). It was determined that the dimensions of the entire hillfort were 100 x 50 metres, which is approximately 3850 m<sup>2</sup> including the rampart, or 3200 m<sup>2</sup> internally. All the recognized blocks form the outer face of the rampart and are best preserved on the northern part of the hillfort. A recent dry wall, erected on the collapsed rampart, was probably used to keep livestock within the hillfort. The 1834 cadastre of Francis I shows that the hillfort area was partly used as pasture and partly left fallow.<sup>12</sup> In the eastern part of the hillfort, the dry wall was built directly on the outer face of the rampart, so the blocks could not be mapped. From this recent dry wall, other walls extend radially down the slopes, forming the boundaries of properties and reflecting the later use of the hillfort area and the entire hill it stands on. Along the southern end of the site there is an old pedestrian path bordered by dry-stone walls, which forms

<sup>12</sup> <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bb ox=1826107.5409906334%2C5336958.569219038%2C1855134.502481929%2C5346933.601410253>, pristupljeno: 15.5.2023.

<sup>12</sup> <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bb ox=1826107.5409906334%2C5336958.569219038%2C1855134.502481929%2C5346933.601410253>, accessed: 15 May 2023.

**SLIKA 7.** A: Sloj crvene zemlje s većom količinom sitnog kamenja i sitnim madima ugljena (SJ 2), arheološki sloj bez recentnog materijala s ulomcima keramike usitnjene uslijed obrade zemlje; B: Sloj tamnije zemlje (SJ 4) i veliki neobradeni blokovi matične stijene (SJ 3); C: Sloj zemlje s puno manjeg nepravilnog kamenja (SJ 6) i većom količinom keramičkog materijala i životinjskih kostiju; D: Konstrukcija od manjih kamenih blokova (SJ 5) i sloj crvene zemlje u škrapama između velikih neobradenih blokova matične stijene (SJ 7); E: Sjeverni profil sonde (foto i obrada: A. Devlahović).

**FIGURE 7.** A: A layer of red earth with a large quantity of small stones and tiny pieces of coal (SU 2), an archaeological layer without recent material with potsherds crushed by later tillage; B: A layer of darker earth (SU 4) and large unprocessed blocks of bedrock (SU 3); C: Soil layer with many small irregular stones (SU 6) and a larger amount of ceramic material and animal bones; D: Structure made up of small stone blocks (SU 5) and a layer of red earth in holes between large unworked blocks of bedrock (SU 7); E: North profile of the trench (photo and processing: A. Devlahović).



granicu općina Stari Grad i Jelsa, nepromijenjenu još od 14. stoljeća.<sup>13</sup> Vjerovatno je zbog izgradnje puta i kasnije aktivne uporabe prostora južni dio bedema doživio preinake pa je na tom dijelu najlošije očuvan.

Osim izrade nacrta interpretacijom zračnih snimki, izvršen je terenski, strukturni pregled bedema kako bi se detaljno dokumentirale sve dionice kojima se može prići (sl. 6). Utvrđeno je kako niti na jednom dijelu nije vidljivo unutrašnje lice bedema zbog čega nije moguće definirati izvornu širinu zidine, dok urušenje na nekim mjestima doseže širinu od 12 metara. Ako je recentni suhozid na sjevernom dijelu gradine podignut na unutrašnjem licu, bedem bi mogao biti širok oko 4,5 metara, no to za sada nije moguće potvrditi.

Na jugoistočnom dijelu gradine nalazi se manji plato (2,4 x 3 m) na kojem se jasno razaznaju blokovi koji čine lice zida, okomito postavljeni na smjer pružanja bedema. Dva su reda blokova paralelna te je moguće da čine ulaz u prostor gradine.

the administrative border of the municipalities of Stari Grad and Jelsa, unchanged since the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The southern ramparts have changed, probably because of road construction and the later use of the area, and are now the worst-preserved part.

Ground plans were created by interpreting aerial photographs; also, a structural field survey of the rampart documented in detail all the accessible sections (Fig. 6). It was established that the inner face of the wall was not visible anywhere, making it impossible to define the original rampart width, but it was established that some collapsed parts reach a width of 12 metres. If the recent dry-stone wall on the north side of the hillfort was erected on its inner face, the rampart could be about 4.5 metres wide, but this cannot be confirmed yet.

On the southeast side of the hillfort there is a small plateau (2.4 x 3 m) with clearly visible blocks making up the wall face and standing at a right angle to the direction of the rampart. The two rows of blocks are parallel, and it is possible they could be the entrance to the hillfort area.



**SLIKA 8.** Završna situacija u sondi 1  
(foto: A. Devlahović).

**FIGURE 8.** Final situation in Trench 1  
(photo: A. Devlahović).

Tijekom istraživanja 2021. godine istražene su dvije sonde na prostoru gradine, čija je lokacija uvjetovana prohodnošću terena. Sonda 1 postavljena je na jugoistočnom dijelu nalazišta, na manjoj čistini zapadno od potencijalnog ulaza u gradinu. Sonda je bila dimenzija 2 x 2 metra i nalazila se na zamišljenom pravcu pružanja bedema, na kojem se ni veći blokovi ni sitno kamenje nisu vidjeli na površini. Iskopavanjem je definirano ukupno 8 stratigrafskih jedinica (sl. 7, 8).

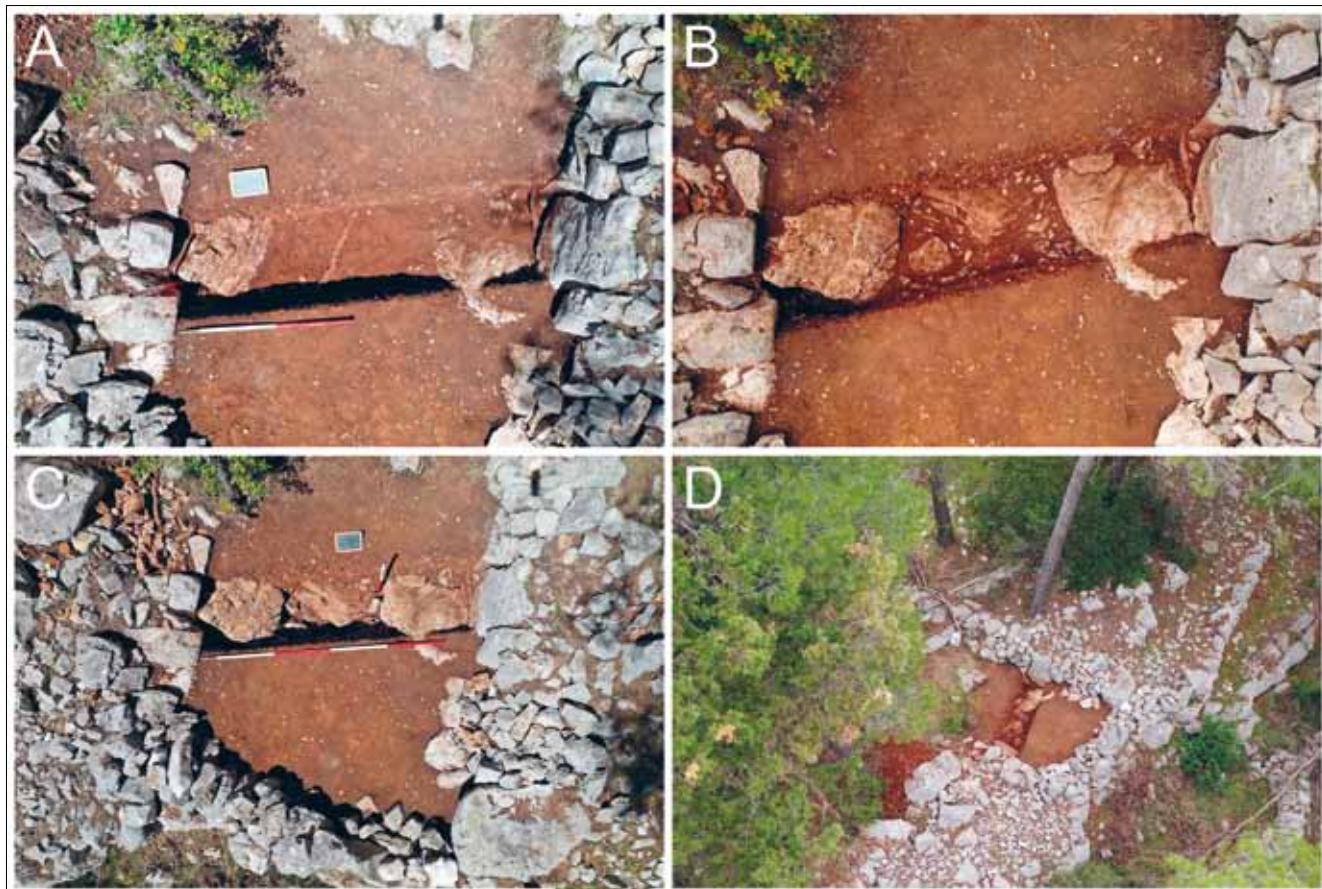
Dijagonalno po sondi, gotovo u smjeru I-Z, dokumentiran je red pravilno postavljenih manjih kamenih blokova (SJ 5). Kako bi se potvrdilo da se radi o unutrašnjem licu bedema, sonda je prošrena za 1 metar u smjeru zapada. Stratigrafska slika odgovarala je već utvrđenom slijedu, a pravilan niz blokova nastavlja se dalje prema zapadu. Utvrđeno je kako je unutrašnje lice bedema građeno znatno manjim blokovima kamena nego vanjsko lice te da je građeno na matičnoj stijeni (sl. 8). Iz slojeva vezanih uz ovu gradnju prikupljeni su ulomci prapovijesne lončarije i životinjskih kostiju.<sup>14</sup> Depoziti koji su sadržavali materijalnu građu (SJ

During the 2021 excavations, two trenches were dug in the parts of the hillfort area where the terrain was relatively clear. Trench 1 was dug in the southeastern part of the site, in a small clearing to the west of the possible entrance to the hillfort. The trench measured 2 x 2 metres and was located on the imaginary line of the rampart, where neither large blocks nor small stones were visible on the surface. The excavations defined a total of 8 stratigraphic units (Figs 7, 8).

Diagonally across the trench, almost in an E-W direction, there was a regular row of small stone blocks (SU 5). In order to confirm that it was the inner face of the rampart, the trench was extended by 1 metre to the west. The stratigraphic picture corresponded to the established sequence, and the regular series of blocks continued further west. It was established that the inner face of the rampart was built with much smaller blocks of stone than the outer face, and that it was built on the bedrock (Fig. 8). The layers related to this structure contained fragments of prehistoric pottery and animal bones.<sup>14</sup> Deposits that contained ma-

<sup>14</sup> U najnižem kulturnom sloju (SJ 7) u Sondi 1 prikupljen je uzorak životinjskog zuba koji je poslan na radiokarbonsko datiranje.

<sup>14</sup> The lowest cultural layer (SU 7) in Trench 1 included a sample of an animal tooth, which was sent for radiocarbon dating.



**SLIKA 9.** A: Ispod dva tanja sloja bez nalaza definiran je sloj tamnije sive zemlje (SJ 10), bojom i konzistencijom sličan SJ 4 iz sonde 1; B: Ispod sloja 10 nalazi se sloj tamne, rahle zemlje s većom količinom kamenja (SJ 12) i ulomcima keramike te sitno lomljениh kostiju; C: Završna faza, tijekom koje više nije bilo moguće istraživati između velikih neobrađenih blokova matične stijene; D: Pogled na sondu (total) (foto: S. Popović).

2, 4, 6) neznatno se razlikuju bojom ili konzistencijom, ali samo se SJ 6 može interpretirati kao intaktan sloj jer sadrži isključivo prapovijesnu građu. U višim slojevima (SJ 2 i 4) ista se nalazi u kontekstu s novovjekovnom keramikom, što svjedoči o kasnijem datumu nastanka navedenih slojeva, kada je došlo do djelomičnog zadiranja u stariji sloj ili barem njegov površinski dio. Iznimno malobrojna građa pronađena je u najnižem sloju u uskim procjepima matične stijene (SJ 7).

Sonda 2 nalazila se istočno od sonde 1, na mjestu pretpostavljenog ulaza u unutrašnji prostor gradine. Kameni blokovi, koji bi mogli tvoriti ulaz, nalaze se na zaravni veličine oko  $2,4 \times 3$  m, koja je na južnoj strani omeđena recentnim suhozidom. Uža je sonda postavljena na način da obuhvati dva nasuprotna lica pretpostavljenog ulaza, međusobno udaljena 2,3 m. Iskopavanjem su definirani kulturni slojevi slični stratigrafskom nizu u sondi 1, ali s izrazito malom količinom arheološkog materijala (sl. 9).

**FIGURE 9.** A: Layer of darker grey soil (SU 10), similar in colour and consistency to SU 4 of Trench 1, defined below two thinner layers without finds; B: Layer of dark loose soil under layer 10, with a large quantity of stones (SU 12) and with potsherds and finely fragmented bones; C: Final situation when it was no longer possible to explore between the large unworked blocks of bedrock; D: View of the trench (total) (photo: S. Popović).

terial remains (SU 2, 4, 6) barely differ in colour or consistency, but only SU 6 can be interpreted as an intact layer, because it contains only prehistoric material. In the upper layers (SU 2 and 4) prehistoric pottery is found in a context with some modern finds, which testifies to the later date of creation of these layers, when there was a partial encroachment of the older layer, or at least its surface part. Extremely few pieces of material were found in the lowest layer in narrow cracks in the bedrock (SU 7).

Trench 2 was located to the east of Trench 1, at the place of the possible entrance to the interior of the hillfort. The stone blocks that could be the entrance are located on a plateau measuring about  $2.4 \times 3$  m, bounded on the south by a recent dry wall. A narrower trench was dug, to include the two opposite faces of the presumed entrance, which are 2.3 m apart. The excavation defined cultural layers similar to the stratigraphic sequence in Trench 1, but with an extremely small amount of archaeological material (Fig. 9).



**SLIKA 10.** Nacrt nalazišta (foto i obrada: S. Popović).

**FIGURE 10.** Ground plan of the site (photo and processing: S. Popović).

U iskopu je otkriveno nekoliko velikih neobrađenih blokova matične stijene zbog kojih, kao i malih dimenzija samog iskopa, nije bilo moguće dalje pratiti stratigrafski niz. Bez istraživanja većeg opsega interpretacija je znatno otežana, gotovo onemogućena.

## Analiza materijalne kulture

### Lončarija

Tijekom istraživanja prikupljeno je 1126 ulomaka keramičkih posuda, najvećim dijelom u sondi 1, iz koje potječe 1100 ulomka, odnosno 98% ukupnog broja nalaza. Radi se o ulomcima prapovijesne lončarije, uz iznimku 11 ulomaka novovjekovnog posuđa. Među ulomcima prapovijesne lončarije, dijagnostički materijal koji je detaljnije obrađen sačinjava 10%, odnosno 115 ulomaka.

Makroskopskom su inspekcijom keramičkog materijala utvrđene tri osnovne fakture. Najveća količina ulomaka prapovijesne lončarije ima izrazito poroznu strukturu. Radi se o rupičastoj strukturi koja može biti rezultat nestanka organskih primjesa prilikom pečenja posuda. Ulomci su lagani i često lomljivi na dodir, dok pojedini primjerici, koji sadrže više mineralnih primjesa, imaju i čvršću strukturu. Boje variraju od narančastih i crvenka-

The dig uncovered several large crude blocks of the bedrock, which, together with the small size of the trench itself, made it impossible to follow the stratigraphic sequence any further. Without extensive research, interpretation is much more difficult – almost impossible.

## Analysis of material culture

### Pottery

The excavations collected 1126 potsherds, mostly from Trench 1, which contained 1100 potsherds, or 98% of the total number of finds. These are prehistoric potsherds, with the exception of 11 fragments of modern vessels. Of the total number of prehistoric potsherds, 10%, or 115 potsherds, were processed in more detail as diagnostic material.

A macroscopic inspection of the ceramic material revealed three basic production types. Most of the prehistoric potsherds have an extremely porous structure. This hole-riddled structure may be the result of the disappearance of organic inclusions during the firing of the vessels. The potsherds are light and often break to the touch, but some specimens containing more mineral inclusions have a stronger structure. The colours vary from orange

stih tonova do tamnih smedjih i sivih te crne boje, što upućuje na neujeđenačeno pečenje. Manjom količinom materijala zastupljeni su ulomci koji sadrže veliku količinu mineralnih primjesa pa su kompaktne i čvrste strukture. Površina je najčešće neobrađena, ali pojedini primjeri su zaglađeni. Boje variraju kao i kod porozne keramike te se ponovno radi o neujeđenačenom pečenju. Samo nekolicinom nalaza zastupljeni su ulomci čvrste strukture s mineralnim primjesama, ujednačene crne boje strukture i glačane površine, što upućuje na kvalitetniju tehnologiju izrade.

Uломci prapovijesne keramike iz obje sonde ujednačenih su karakteristika u svim stratigrafskim jedinicama te su i obradeni kao jedna cjelina,<sup>15</sup> ali zbog velike razložljivosti ulomaka nije bilo moguće provesti detaljnu tipološku analizu. Uломci oboda najbrojniji su dijagnostički materijal i zastupljeni su sa 63,5% nalaza. Na temelju sačuvanih oboda, pojedini recipijenti su okvirno izdvojeni u dvije osnovne tipološke kategorije: lonace i zdjele.<sup>16</sup> U kategoriju su lonaca uvršteni svi rubovi posuda zatvorene forme, neovisno o veličini posude. Zbog velike fragmentiranosti materijala, nije moguće pobliže odrediti veličinu i tip posuda pa je podjela izvršena na temelju oblika ruba i vrata posude, a sami oblici posuda mogu znatno varirati. Zastupljeni su lonci različitih dimenzija s višim ili kraćim vratom i izvijenim obodom koji predstavljaju čest nalaz brončanog doba na području istočnog Jadrana.<sup>17</sup> Iako se loncima ne mogu odrediti točne dimenzije, može se pretpostaviti kako su služili u svakodnevnoj uporabi za pohranu, pripremu i/ili konzumaciju hrane i/ili pića. Navedeni rubovi lonaca pojavljuju se u nekoliko varijacija pa se može prepoznati lonac visokog vrata s blago izvijenim obodom, ujednačene debljine stijenke (T. 1: 1–2)<sup>18</sup> i lonac visokog vrata s blago izvijenim te zadebljanim obodom (T. 1: 3–6).<sup>19</sup> Posebno se izdvaja najočuvaniji ulomak, kod kojeg je moguće odrediti da se radi o trbušastom loncu s blago izvijenim obodom (T. 1: 7).<sup>20</sup> Uz to, jednim primjerom zastupljeni su lonac s višim vratom, izvijenim i trokutasto zadebljanim obodom (T. 1: 8)<sup>21</sup> te lonac s blago izvijenim vratom i zadebljanim obodom s vanjske strane (T. 2: 1).<sup>22</sup>

and reddish tones to dark browns and greys and a black colour, indicating uneven firing. A smaller number of potsherds contain a large quantity of mineral inclusions and have a compact and firm structure. The surface is usually untreated, but some specimens have been smoothed. Just like the porous potsherds, they have various colours because of uneven firing. There are only a few potsherds of a solid structure with mineral inclusions, a uniform black colour, and a polished surface, indicating a better manufacturing technology.

Prehistoric potsherds from both trenches have uniform characteristics in all stratigraphic units and were analysed as a whole<sup>15</sup>; however, they were so fragmented that a detailed typological analysis was impossible. Rim fragments are the most numerous diagnostic material, making up 63.5% of the finds. On the basis of the preserved rims, individual receptacles have tentatively been separated into two basic typological categories: individual forms of pots and bowls are recognized.<sup>16</sup> The category of pots includes all the rims of vessels of a more closed form, regardless of the size of the vessel. Since the material is so fragmented, it is impossible to determine the sizes and types of vessels in any detail; therefore, the classification was made on the basis of the shape of the rim and neck of the vessel, but the shapes of the vessels can vary considerably. There are pots of different sizes with a taller or shorter neck and an everted rim, which are frequent Bronze Age finds on the eastern Adriatic.<sup>17</sup> Even though the exact sizes of the pots cannot be determined, it can be assumed that they served for everyday storage, preparation and/or consumption of food and liquids. The pot rims have several variations: we can distinguish pots with a tall neck, a slightly everted rim, and a uniform wall thickness (Pl. 1: 1–2)<sup>18</sup> and pots with a tall neck and a slightly everted and expanded rim (Pl. 1: 3–6).<sup>19</sup> Notably, the best-preserved potsherd reveals a bellied pot with a slightly everted rim (Pl. 1: 7).<sup>20</sup> There are also single specimens of a pot with a taller neck and an everted and triangularly expanded rim (Pl. 1: 8)<sup>21</sup> and a pot with a slightly everted neck and an expanded rim on the outside (Pl. 2: 1).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Stratigrafskoj jedinici 2 pripadaju ulomci na T. 1: 1–3, 2: 1, 4, 14–15, 3: 1, 12, 4: 1–2, 5: 1; stratigrafskoj jedinici 4 ulomci na T. 1: 4, 2: 5, 8–12, 17, 3: 2, 5–7, 9–10, 4: 3, 5–6, 10, 5: 2; stratigrafskoj jedinici 6 oni na T. 1: 5–8, 2: 2–3, 6–7, 13, 16, 3: 3–4, 8, 11, 4: 4, 5: 3–4, dok ulomci prikazani na T. 4: 7–9 potječu iz SJ 7.

<sup>16</sup> Navedenu podjelu na lonece i zdjele valja uzeti s rezervom zbog izražene fragmentarnosti ulomaka koja je onemogućila preciznu podjelu te je ona izvedena isključivo na temelju osnovnih karakteristika forma (zatvoreni/otvoreni oblici) i debljine stijenki ulomaka.

<sup>17</sup> Kaiser, Forenbaher 2002, sl. 8: 4–8, sl. 9: 8; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 65–66, sl. 18, T. 21: 1–2, 4, T. 22; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, fig. 4A; Arena et al. 2020a, fig. 2–3; 2020b, fig. 6; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 2: 18.

<sup>18</sup> Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, T. 11: 1, 8; Barbarić 2011a, T. II: 9, 14, T. III: 21–25, T. IV: 26–27; Šešelj, Vuković 2013, T. 1: 9, 11, T. 3: 1; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 35–37, 47, 48, 50, 96–98, 135, 186, 208; Čelhar et al. 2017, T. 1: 4–6, T. 2: 4–8; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, T. 2: 1–4, T. 3: 1, T. 5: 8; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 2: 18.

<sup>19</sup> Barbarić 2011a, T. XI: 79; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, T. 3: 2, 11, T. 4: 7–8; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 1: 3, T. 2: 19–20; Šešelj, Vuković 2013, T. 1: 5; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 49, 110, 134, 185.

<sup>20</sup> Čače 2001, 71: 40; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, T. 3: 8; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 271.

<sup>21</sup> Barbarić 2011a, T. 2: 10; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, T. 4: 10; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 1: 15; Radić Rossi 2011, Pl. LIX: 6; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 23, 139, 209; Katić 2021, T. VII: 4.

<sup>22</sup> Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 329, 333, 389.

<sup>15</sup> Fragments on Pls 1: 1–3, 2: 1, 4, 14–15, 3: 1, 12, 4: 1–2, 5: 1 belong to stratigraphic unit 2; fragments on Pls 1: 4, 2: 5, 8–12, 17, 3: 2, 5–7, 9–10, 4: 3, 5–6, 10, 5: 2 to stratigraphic unit 4, and those on Pl. 1: 5–8, 2: 2–3, 6–7, 13, 16, 3: 3–4, 8, 11, 4: 4, 5: 3–4 to stratigraphic unit 6, while the fragments shown on Pl. 4: 7–9 come from SU 7.

<sup>16</sup> This classification into pots and bowls should be taken with a grain of salt, since the potsherds were so fragmented that a precise classification was impossible. They were classified solely by the basic characteristics of the forms (closed/open forms) and the thickness of the potsherd walls.

<sup>17</sup> Kaiser, Forenbaher 2002, Fig. 8: 4–8, Fig. 9: 8; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 65–66, Fig. 18, Pl. 21: 1–2, 4, Pl. 22; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, Fig. 4A; Arena et al. 2020a, Figs 2–3; 2020b, Fig. 6; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 2: 18.

<sup>18</sup> Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, Pl. 11: 1, 8; Barbarić 2011a, Pl. II: 9, 14, Pl. III: 21–25, Pl. IV: 26–27; Šešelj, Vuković 2013, Pl. 1: 9, 11, Pl. 3: 1; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 35–37, 47, 48, 50, 96–98, 135, 186, 208; Čelhar et al. 2017, Pl. 1: 4–6, Pl. 2: 4–8; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, Pl. 2: 1–4, Pl. 3: 1, Pl. 5: 8; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 2: 18.

<sup>19</sup> Barbarić 2011a, Pl. XI: 79; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, Pl. 3: 2, 11, Pl. 4: 7–8; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 1: 3, Pl. 2: 19–20; Šešelj, Vuković 2013, Pl. 1: 5; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 49, 110, 134, 185.

<sup>20</sup> Čače 2001, 71: 40; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, Pl. 3: 8; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 271.

<sup>21</sup> Barbarić 2011a, Pl. 2: 10; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, Pl. 4: 10; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 1: 15; Radić Rossi 2011, Pl. LIX: 6; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 23, 139, 209; Katić 2021, Pl. VII: 4.

<sup>22</sup> Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 329, 333, 389.

Lonci niskog vrata vrlo su brojni i prisutni su u varijanti s blago izvijenim obodom, čiji cjelokupni oblik i dimenzije također mogu znatno varirati (T. 2: 2–16).<sup>23</sup> Uz to, otkriveni su primjerici posuda s izvijenim obodom i oštrim prijelazom iz vrata u tijelo (T. 2: 17)<sup>24</sup> te posude stanjenog (T. 3: 5–6)<sup>25</sup> ili zadebljanog oboda (T. 3: 7–8).<sup>26</sup>

Idućoj kategoriji pripadaju lonci otvorene forme i nenaglašenog vrata s nekoliko varijanata oblikovanja ruba. Zastupljeni su lonci nenaglašenog vrata i koso zasječenog ruba (T. 3: 1), zaobljenog ruba (T. 3: 2), ili ravno oblikovanog ruba (T. 3: 3),<sup>27</sup> i sa zadebljnjem s vanjske strane ruba (T. 3: 4).

Kategoriji posuda otvorene forme, poput zdjela, mogu se pripisati samo dva ulomka. Radi se o ulomku zdjela zadebljanog oboda (T. 3: 9) i ulomku koji bi mogao pripadati zdjeli manjih dimenzija (T. 3: 10).

Ulomci ručaka i držaka čine 26% dijagnostičkog materijala, a među njima jasno prevladavaju vertikalne, trakaste ručke s nepravilnim, ovalnim presjekom (T. 3: 11–12, T. 4: 1–5). Osim toga, zastupljene su trakaste ručke blago sedlastog presjeka (T. 4: 7–8) i jedna koja nalikuje facetirano oblikovanim ručkama (T. 4: 6). Trakaste ručke predstavljaju čest nalaz tijekom brončanog doba, ali i kasnije, pa ne mogu pružiti preciznu vremensku odrednicu.<sup>28</sup> Ipak, statistički gledano, prisutstvo gotovo isključivo trakastih ručki, argument je koji bi išao više u prilog brončanodobnoj dataciji. Iznimku predstavlja ulomak ručke koji se izdvaja od ostalih ulomaka zbog izrazito uglačane površine i ujednačene crne boje strukture (T. 4: 9). Oblik ručke nalikuje koljenastim ručkama, kakve su, primjerice, u velikoj količini otkrivene u Vaganačkoj pećini. Na temelju konteksta zaključeno je kako su najbrojnije tijekom prijelaza iz srednjeg u kasno brončano doba<sup>29</sup> iako se pojavljuju još od ranoga brončanog doba.<sup>30</sup> U Grapčevoj špilji, u blizini Humca na otoku Hvaru, koljenaste ručke pojavljuju se isključivo u posljednjoj podfazi koja je apsolutno-kronološki određena u stariju fazu srednjega brončanog doba.<sup>31</sup>

S druge strane, drške su malobrojne pa se radi isključivo o jezičastim drškama s polukružnim jezičkom (T. 4: 10). Također, navedeni tip drški prisutan je tijekom dužeg vremenskog razdoblja te se ne može koristiti kao kronološki reper.

There is a great number of pots with low necks; their variant has a slightly everted rim, and its overall shape and dimensions can also vary considerably (Pl. 2: 2–16).<sup>23</sup> There are also specimens of vessels with an everted rim and a sharp transition from the neck to the body (Pl. 2: 17)<sup>24</sup> and vessels with a contracted rim (Pl. 3: 5–6)<sup>25</sup> or an expanded one (Pl. 3: 7–8).<sup>26</sup>

The next category includes pots with a more open form and an unpronounced neck with several variants of rim shapes. There are pots with an unpronounced neck and a rim that is obliquely cut (Pl. 3: 1), rounded (Pl. 3: 2) or flat-shaped (Pl. 3: 3),<sup>27</sup> and with an expansion on the outside of the rim (Pl. 3: 4).

The category of open-form vessels, such as bowls, contains only two potsherds. They are a fragment of a bowl with an expanded rim (Pl. 3: 9) and a fragment that could belong to a small bowl (Pl. 3: 10).

Handle fragments, making up 26% of the diagnostic material, are clearly dominated by vertical strap handles of an irregular oval cross-section (Pl. 3: 11–12, Pl. 4: 1–5). There are also strap handles with a slightly saddle-shaped cross-section (Pl. 4: 7–8) and one handle seemingly shaped with facets (Pl. 4: 6). Strap handles are very common finds from the Bronze Age and later periods, so they cannot be used for precise dating.<sup>28</sup> However, statistically speaking, the almost exclusive presence of strap handles speaks in favour of Bronze Age dating. An exception is provided by the handle fragment with an extremely polished surface and a structure that is uniformly black (Pl. 4: 9). It resembles knee-shaped handles, such as those discovered in large quantities in Vaganačka Cave. It was concluded from the context that they were most numerous during the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age,<sup>29</sup> although they first appeared in the Early Bronze Age.<sup>30</sup> In Grapčeva Cave, near Humac on the island of Hvar, knee-shaped handles appear only in the last subphase, with absolute dating to the older phase of the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, there are only a few handgrips, and all of them are linguiform (Pl. 4: 10). This type of handgrip also covers a long period of time and cannot be used for precise dating.

<sup>23</sup> Govedarica 1982, T. V: 14; 1989, T. XXXVII: 1; T. XXXVIII: 2; Čović 1983, 148, sl. 11: 4; 1989, sl. 10: 2, T. XV; Marijanović 2000, T. L: 3, T. LI: 1; Kaiser, Forenbaher 2002, sl. 8: 7; Barbarić, 2011a, T. 3: 20, T. 7: 52, T. IX: 70; Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, T. 8: 6, 7; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, T. 3: 9–10; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 2: 28–32, T. 3: 36–37; Radić Rossi 2011, T. LIX: 3; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 136, 328; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, fig. 4A; Arena et al. 2020a, fig. 2: 5–6, fig. 3: 11–15; Visković 2019, T. 4: 2; Katić 2021, T. VII: 2.

<sup>24</sup> Radić Rossi 2011, T. LIX: 5; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 141, 206, 244–247; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, fig. 5A: 3; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 2: 27.

<sup>25</sup> Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 3: 33–34.

<sup>26</sup> Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 3: 39–43.

<sup>27</sup> Čelhar et al. 2017, T. 9: 2; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, T. 1: 14; Šokčević 2016, kat. br. 386; Visković 2019, T. 1: 1.

<sup>28</sup> Šokčević 2016, 44; Paraman, Ugarković 2020, 257; Katić 2021, T. VII: 1.

<sup>29</sup> Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Govedarica 1982, T. IV: 3; Čović 1983, 150, T. XVII: 4–5, 8–9; Marović, Čović 1983, sl. 14: 11; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 66. Koljenaste ručke koje se vežu uz srednje brončano doba zastupljene su i na Velikoj Gradini u Privali (Govedarica 1982, 128, T. VI: 8).

<sup>23</sup> Govedarica 1982, Pl. V: 14; 1989, Pl. XXXVII: 1; Pl. XXXVIII: 2; Čović 1983, 148, Fig. 11: 4; 1989, Fig. 10: 2, Pl. XV; Marijanović 2000, Pl. L: 3, Pl. LI: 1; Kaiser, Forenbaher 2002, Fig. 8: 7; Barbarić, 2011a, Pl. 3: 20, Pl. 7: 52, Pl. IX: 70; Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, Pl. 8: 6, 7; Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, Pl. 3: 9–10; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 2: 28–32, Pl. 3: 36–37; Radić Rossi 2011, Pl. LIX: 3; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 136, 328; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, Fig. 4A; Arena et al. 2020a, Fig. 2: 5–6, Fig. 3: 11–15; Visković 2019, Pl. 4: 2; Katić 2021, Pl. VII: 2.

<sup>24</sup> Radić Rossi 2011, Pl. LIX: 5; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 141, 206, 244–247; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018, Fig. 5A: 3; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 2: 27.

<sup>25</sup> Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 3: 33–34.

<sup>26</sup> Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 3: 39–43.

<sup>27</sup> Čelhar et al. 2017, Pl. 9: 2; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, Pl. 1: 14; Šokčević 2016, cat. no. 386; Visković 2019, Pl. 1: 1.

<sup>28</sup> Šokčević 2016, 44; Paraman, Ugarković 2020, 257; Katić 2021, Pl. VII: 1.

<sup>29</sup> Forenbaher, Vranjican 1985, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Govedarica 1982, Pl. IV: 3; Čović 1983, 150, Pl. XVII: 4–5, 8–9; Marović, Čović 1983, Fig. 14: 11; Paraman, Ugarković 2021, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 66. Knee handles associated with the Middle Bronze Age were also found at Velika Gradina, in Privala (Govedarica 1982, 128, Pl. VI: 8).



**SLIKA 11.** Uломak kućnog lijepe s otiscima (foto: M. Korić).

**FIGURE 11.** Fragment of house daub with imprints (photo: M. Korić).



**SLIKA 12.** Litički nalaz (sječivo) (foto: H. Jambrek).

**FIGURE 12.** Lithic find (blade) (photo: H. Jambrek).

Dna su zastupljena sa samo 12 primjeraka, odnosno 10,5% dijagnostičkog materijala. Svi ulomci pripadaju ravnim dñima (T. 4: 1–4), a na pojedinim primjerima uočljiv je blago naglašeni prijelez tijela u dno posude (T. 4: 3–4). Zbog velike fragmentiranosti ulomaka, nije ih moguće povezati s određenim tipovima posuda.

Važno je napomenuti kako ukrašena prapovijesna lončarija gotovo potpuno nedostaje. Iznimku čine dva vrlo fragmentirana ulomka ukrašena tankom, urezanom linijom pa nije moguće rekonstruirati cijelokupni motiv. Slična je situacija u Grapčevoj špilji, gdje je otkriven fragmentiran keramički materijal s izrazito malim postotkom ukrašenih ulomaka.<sup>32</sup>

Uz prapovijesnu keramiku, u obje je sonde dokumentiran i manji broj ulomaka novovjekovne lončarije u površinskim slojevima.<sup>33</sup> U sondi 1 pronađeno je 6 ulomaka novovjekovnoga finog stolnog posuda, od kojih je jedan obod monokromne glazirane keramike, vjerojatno iz 17. do 18. stoljeća. Uz njega se nalazila i ovalna svetačka medaljica s prikazom Djevice Marije s djetetom, koja također pripada 17. stoljeću. U sondi 2 otkriveno je nekoliko ulomaka novovjekovne keramike, među kojima se ističu dva ulomka glazirane kuhinjske keramike (*slip ware*), vjerojatno iz 16. do 17. stoljeća te ulomak vrčića koji se pojavljuje od 16. do 19. stoljeća.<sup>34</sup>

### Kućni lijepe

Nakon ulomaka lončarije, kućni lijepe predstavljaju najbrojniju skupinu prikupljenih pokretnih nalaza. Otkriveno je ukupno 628 ulomaka kućnog lijepe, od čega njih 607 potječe iz sonde 1. Ulomci su malih dimenzija, promjera od 1 do 15 centimetara. Boje variraju od svijetlo narančastih i žutih do crvenkastih i smeđih nijansi. Zbog izrazito malih dimenzija i nedostatka tragova arhitekture,

There are only 12 instances of vessel bases, making up 10.5% of the diagnostic material. All the fragments are of flat bases (Pl. 4: 1–4); some have a slightly pronounced transition from the body to the base (Pl. 4: 3–4). Since the sherds are so fragmented, they cannot be associated with specific types of vessels.

Notably, decorated prehistoric pottery is almost completely absent. The exceptions are two very fragmented sherds decorated with a thin incised line, part of a motif that cannot be reconstructed. There is a similar situation in Grapčeva Cave, where the fragmented ceramic material includes an extremely small percentage of decorated potsherds.<sup>32</sup>

Along with prehistoric pottery, both trenches included a few fragments of modern pottery in the surface layers.<sup>33</sup> Trench 1 contained 6 fragments of modern fine tableware, one of which is a monochrome glazed ceramic rim, probably from the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was discovered together with an oval religious medal depicting the Madonna and Child, also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Trench 2 contained a few modern potsherds, notably two fragments of kitchen slipware, probably from the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, and a fragment of a small jug from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

### House daub

After the potsherds, house daub is the largest group of collected artefacts. The excavations uncovered a total of 628 fragments of house daub, of which 607 come from Trench 1. The fragments are small, with a diameter between 1 and 15 centimetres. Colours vary from bright orange and yellow to reddish and brown shades.

<sup>32</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 66.

<sup>33</sup> Donosimo samo preliminarni spomen novovjekovne građe koja će biti naknadno detaljnije objavljena.

<sup>34</sup> Zahvaljujemo kolegici V. Supan (Muzej grada Splita) na komentarima vezanim uz ovaj materijal.

<sup>32</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 66.

<sup>33</sup> This is only a preliminary mention of the modern material, which will be published later in more detail.

<sup>34</sup> We thank our colleague V. Supan (Split City Museum) for her comments about this material.

nije im moguće odrediti preciznu funkciju, odnosno poziciju unutar arhitektonske cjeline. Iznimku predstavlja jedan ulomak kućnog lijepa većih dimenzija, na kojemu su vidljivi otisci u negativu (sl. 11). Prema dostupnim analogijama,<sup>35</sup> vjerojatno je kako se radi o otiscima pruća. Uz to, na pojedinim su primjerima vidljivi otisci pljeve i sjemenki korištenih u gradnji.

### Litički nalaz

Na cijelom je lokalitetu pronađena samo jedna kamena izrađevina, u sondi 1, u SJ 2 (sl. 12). Tehnološka i tipološka kategorizacija određena je prema relevantnoj literaturi,<sup>36</sup> kao i mjeru duljine, širine i debljine.<sup>37</sup> Za uzimanje duljine i širine, korištena je digitalna pomoćna mjerka, dok je za težinu korištena precizna vaga na dvije decimalne.

U tehnološkom smislu, riječ je o sječivu, vrsti lomljevine čija je dužina barem dvostruko veća od širine s više ili manje usporednim rubovima.<sup>38</sup> Duljina ovog sječiva iznosi 48,85 mm, širina 26,31 mm, debljina 7,51 mm, a težina 9,48 g. Distalni završetak ovog sječiva stepeničastog je tipa i formira kut od 90° s ventralnom stranom.<sup>39</sup> Tipološki gledano, ovo je oruđe komadič s obradom na dvama rubovima.<sup>40</sup>

Osim ovog nalaza, u istoj stratigrafskoj jedinici pronađena su još tri nalaza koji formom podsjećaju na oruđa. Na tim nalazima izostaju karakteristike tipične za artefakte (bulbus, ploha, kolobari), a test klorovodičnom kiselinom (HCl) u koncentraciji od 19% potvrdio kako se radi o vapnencima i geofaktima. S druge strane, isti test na sječivu potvrdio je kako je nalaz izrađen od silicijske sedimentne stijene, rožnjaka. Makroskopskim pregledom nalaz podsjeća na zamjenski rožnjak, smeđi varijetet,<sup>41</sup> ali za potvrdu je potrebno napraviti petrografsку analizu.

### Životinjski ostaci

Životinjski su ostaci prikupljeni iz dvije sonde, odnosno iz četiri stratigrafske jedinice u sondi 1, te iz jedne stratigrafske jedinice u sondi 2. Dvije stratigrafske jedinice (sonda 1 – SJ 2 i 4) imaju nesigurne kontekste,<sup>42</sup> zbog čega je u obzir uzet samo materijal iz stratigrafskih jedinica 6 i 7 iz sonde 1, te SJ 12 iz sonde 2. Ukupno su prikupljena 72 fragmenta životinjskih ostataka, ali anatomski i taksonomski određivo je njih 19 (26,3%).

Because of the extremely small dimensions and the lack of traces of architecture, it is impossible to determine their precise function or their position within the architectural complex. One exception is a larger fragment of house daub with visible negative imprints (Fig. 11). Judging from the available analogies,<sup>35</sup> it is likely that they are wicker imprints. In addition, some fragments show traces of chaff and seeds used in their construction.

### Lithic find

Only one lithic artefact was found on the entire site – in SU 2 in Trench 1 (Fig. 12). On the basis of relevant literature, the technological and typological categorization was determined,<sup>36</sup> and length, width and thickness were measured.<sup>37</sup> The length and width were measured with a digital auxiliary calliper, while the weight was measured with precision scales to two decimal places.

From the aspect of technology, it is a blade, a type of debitage whose length is at least twice its width, and with more or less parallel edges.<sup>38</sup> The blade is 48.85 mm long, 26.31 mm wide, and 7.51 mm thick; it weighs 9.48 g. The distal end of the blade is of the stepped type, forming an angle of 90° with the ventral face.<sup>39</sup> Typologically, this tool is a retouched piece, with retouch on two edges.<sup>40</sup>

Aside from this find, the same stratigraphic unit included three other finds with shapes resembling tools. These finds lack the typical characteristics of artefacts (bulb, butt, ripples); the 19% hydrochloric acid (HCl) test confirmed they were limestone and geofacts. On the other hand, the same test confirmed that the blade was made of chert, a siliceous sedimentary rock. The macroscopic examination concluded that the find resembled replacement chert, brown variety,<sup>41</sup> but this should be confirmed by petrographic analysis.

### Animal remains

Animal remains were collected from the two trenches: from four stratigraphic units in Trench 1 and from one stratigraphic unit in Trench 2. Two stratigraphic units (Trench 1, SU 2 and 4) have uncertain contexts,<sup>42</sup> so only the material from stratigraphic units 6 and 7 of Trench 1 and SU 12 of Trench 2 was considered. A total of 72 fragments of animal remains were collected, but only 19 of them (26.3%) could be determined anatomically and taxonomically.

35 Otisci pruća i oblika česta su pojava na ulomcima kućnog lijepa (usp. npr.: Čelhar 2014, sl. 17; Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 132); Opširnije o drvenoj arhitekturi brončanog i željeznog doba kod: Dular 2008.

36 Andrefsky 2005; Inizan *et al.* 1999.

37 Andrefsky 2005.

38 Karavanić 2015b, 162.

39 Andrefsky 2005, 87.

40 Karavanić 2015a, 95.

41 Forenbaher, Perhoč 2015, 15, sl. 4; 2017, 194, fig. 2A.

42 Istraživanjem stratigrafskih jedinica 2 i 4 iz sonde 1 prikupljeno je 12 fragmenta životinjskih ostataka koji taksonomski odgovaraju onima iz SJ 6 i 7 iz iste sonde. Dakle, prikupljeni ostaci pripadaju domaćem govedu (*Bos taurus*), ovikapridima (*Ovis/Capra*) i taksonomski neodredivim životinjskim ostacima koji veličinom odgovaraju manjim zvijerima.

35 Wicker and log imprints are often found on fragments of house daub (cf. e.g. Čelhar 2014, Fig. 17; Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 132); for more details on the wooden architecture of the Bronze and Iron Ages, see Dular 2008.

36 Andrefsky 2005; Inizan *et al.* 1999.

37 Andrefsky 2005.

38 Karavanić 2015b, 162.

39 Andrefsky 2005, 87.

40 Karavanić 2015a, 95.

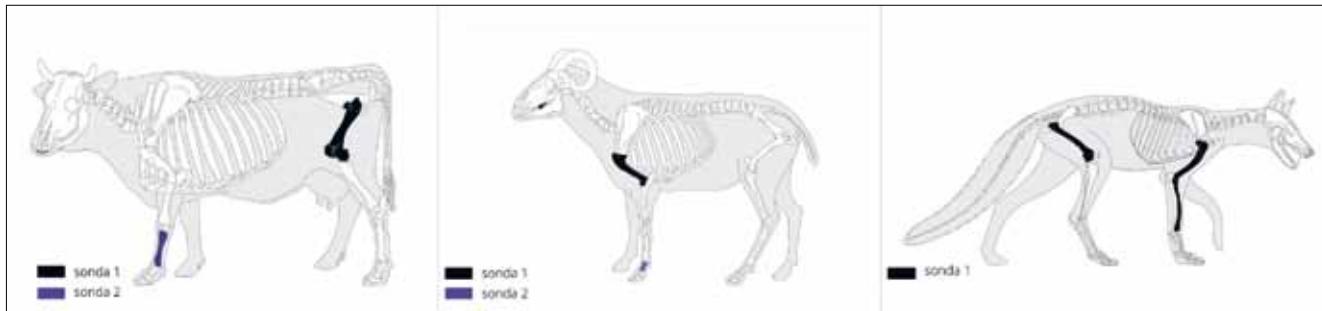
41 Forenbaher, Perhoč 2015, 15, Fig. 4; 2017, 194, Fig. 2A.

42 The exploration of stratigraphic units 2 and 4 of Trench 1 collected 12 fragments of animal remains that correspond taxonomically to those from SU 6 and 7 of the same trench. Therefore, the collected remains belong to domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*), ovicaprids (*Ovis/Capra*), and taxonomically indeterminate animal remains that correspond in size to small carnivores.

|  | SONDA 1 / TRENCH 1 |        |       |     | SONDA 2 / TRENCH 2 |     |     |       | UKUPNO / TOTAL |        |        |       |
|--|--------------------|--------|-------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|-------|----------------|--------|--------|-------|
| Vrsta / Species  | NISP               | %      | MNE   | %   | NISP               | %   | MNE | %     | NISP           | %      | MNE    | %     |
| Bos taurus   | 1                  | Aug-33 | 1     | 10  | 3                  | 75  | 2   | 66.67 | 2              | Dec-50 | 3      | 30    |
| Ovis / Capra   | 8                  | 66.67  | 6     | 60  | 1                  | 25  | 1   | 33.33 | 11             | 68.75  | 4      | 40    |
| Vulpes vulpes  | 3                  | 25.00  | 3     | 30  | -                  | 0   | -   | 0.00  | 3              | 18.75  | 3      | 30    |
| Ukupno / Total   | 12                 | 100    | 10    | 100 | 4                  | 100 | 3   | 100   | 16             | 100    | 10     | 100   |
| KATEGORIJA PREMA VELIČINI TIJELA / CATEGORY BY BODY SIZE |                    |        |       |     |                    |     |     |       |                |        |        |       |
| Odredivo / Determinable                                  | 12                 |        | 85.72 |     | 10                 | 100 | 4   | 80    | 3              | 100    | 16     | 84.21 |
| Manja zvijer / Small carnivore                           | 2                  |        | 14.28 |     | -                  | -   | -   | -     | -              | 2      | Oct-53 | -     |
| Manji preživač / Small ruminant                          | -                  |        | -     |     | -                  | -   | 1   | 20    | -              | 1      | May-26 | -     |
| Ukupno / Total   | 14                 |        | 100   |     | 10                 | 100 | 5   | 100   | 3              | 100    | 19     | 100   |

**TABLICA 1.** Odredivi ostaci (NISP) i najmanji broj elemenata (MNE) faunalnog skupa nalaza iz Gračića (izradila: A. Barbir, 2022.).

**TABLE 1.** Number of identified specimens (NISP) and the minimum number of elements (MNE) of the faunal assemblage of finds from Gračiće (made by: A. Barbir, 2022.).



**SLIKA 13.** Taksonomski sastav u sondi 1 i sondi 2 (oznake u zagradama označavaju broj sonde) (izradila: A. Barbir).

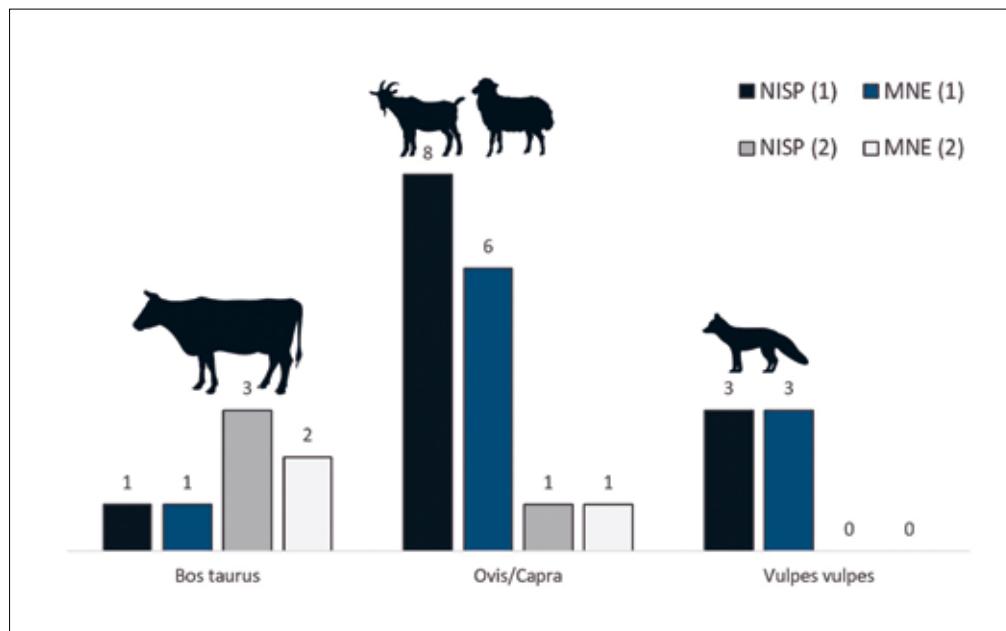
**FIGURE 13.** Taxonomic composition in Trench 1 and Trench 2 (marks in parentheses indicate trench number) (made by: A. Barbir).

U sondi 1 prikupljeno je 14 odredivih fragmenata, od kojih deset dolazi iz SJ 6, a četiri iz SJ 7. Determinirane su tri vrste: domaći govedo (*Bos taurus*), ovikapridi (*Ovis/Capra*) i lisica (*Vulpes vulpes*; tab. 1, sl. 13). Prilikom istraživanja stratigrafske jedinice 6 pronađen je jedan ulomak dijafize bedrene kosti domaćeg goveda (NISP: 1). U istom je kontekstu pronađen ulomak dijafize nadlaktične kosti ovikaprida,<sup>43</sup> kao i pet nalaza zuba ovikaprida (jedan kutnjak gornje čeljusti i četiri kutnjaka donje čeljusti; NISP: 6). Tragovi okluzalnog trošenja na Zubima indiciraju kako je riječ o odraslim jedinkama. U SJ 6 pronađena je i jedina divlja vrsta determinirana na lokalitetu, lisica (*Vulpes vulpes*), o čemu svjedoči ulomak dijafize nadlaktične kosti (NISP: 1). Nalaz ulomka rebra i podlaktične kosti, zbog visoke fragmentiranosti, nije mogao biti taksonomski preciznije određen, osim na veličinu manje zvijeri

Trench 1 was the source of 14 determinable fragments: ten from SU 6 and four from SU 7. Three species were determined: domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*), ovicaprids (*Ovis/Capra*), and a fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) (Tab. 1, Fig. 13). The excavations of stratigraphic unit 6 uncovered one fragment of the femur diaphysis of domestic cattle (NISP: 1). The same context included a fragment of the humerus diaphysis of an ovicaprid<sup>43</sup> and five fragments of ovicaprid teeth (one upper-jaw molar and four lower-jaw molars) (NISP: 6). Traces of occlusal toothwear indicate that they are adult individuals. SU 6 contained the only carnivore determined on the site – a fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) – as evidenced by a fragment of the humerus diaphysis (NISP: 1). Because of their high fragmentation, the finds of a fragment of a rib and of a radius could not be taxonomically determined with more precision, except for the size of the

43 Nedostatak dijagnostičkih elemenata ograničava preciznu determinaciju (vidi Zeder, Lapham 2010).

43 The lack of diagnostic elements limits precise determination (see Zeder, Lapham 2010).



**SLIKA 14.** Shematski prikaz prisutnosti anatomskih elemenata (s lijeva na desno) goveda, ovce (kao primjer iz skupine ovicaprida) i lisice u sondama 1 i 2 (predložak: <http://photos.archaeozoo.org/>; obrada: A. Barbir).

**FIGURE 14.** Schematic representation of the presence of anatomical elements (from left to right) of cattle, sheep (as an example from the ovicaprid group) and the fox, in Trenches 1 and 2 (template: <http://photos.archaeozoo.org/>; processed by: A. Barbir).

(NISP: 2). U stratigrafskoj jedinici 7 sonde 1 pronađeni su ulomci dijafize bedrene kosti i kutnjaka iz gornje čeljusti ovicaprida (NISP: 2) i ulomci dugih kostiju podlaktične i bedrene kosti lisice (*V. vulpes*; NISP: 2).

U sondi 2 najbrojniji su ulomci domaćega goveda (NISP: 3) od kojeg su ostali sačuvani ulomci dijafize kostiju pesti i distalni članak prsta. Od ovicaprida (NISP: 1) je ostao sačuvan ulomak proksimalnog članka prsta. Prikupljen je i ulomak duge kosti koja pripada sitnim preživačima (NISP: 1; sl. 14).

Tragovi goreњa zabilježeni su na dva odrediva ulomka, odnosno na palčanoj kosti životinje veličine manje zvijeri (sonda 1) te na distalnom članku prsta goveda (sonda 2). Ovi ulomci okarakterizirani su površinskim oštećenjima i tragovima termalne modifikacije prikazane kroz tamnosmeđe i crne nijanse, što ukazuje na njihovu izloženost temperaturama oko 300°C.<sup>44</sup>

Najviše kostiju ima oštećenja uzrokovana djelovanjem korijenja biljaka. Kosti, koje su najpodložnije ovom biogenom faktoru, pronađene su u slojevima blizu površine, što je slučaj sa svim stratigrafskim jedinicama na Gračiću. Korijenje vaskularnih biljaka izlučuje huminsku kiselinu koja, u simbiozi s gljivama (mikoriza) ili bakterijama (rizobij), razgrađuje organske tvari i na površini kosti formira plitke udubine u obliku slova „U“.<sup>45</sup> Ako su modifikacije vrlo gusto raspoređene po površini kosti, ona može izgledati korodirano i vrlo oštećeno,<sup>46</sup> što je bio slučaj na većini fragmenata s ovom vrstom modifikacije.

small carnivore (NISP: 2). Stratigraphic unit 7 of Trench 1 included fragments of the femur diaphysis and an upper-jaw molar of an ovicaprid (NISP: 2) and fragments of long bones of the radius and femur of a fox (*V. vulpes*) (NISP: 2).

The most numerous fragments in Trench 2 are those of domestic cattle (NISP: 3): preserved fragments of the diaphysis of the metacarpal bones and the distal phalanx. The preserved fragment of the ovicaprid (NISP: 1) belonged to the proximal phalanx. There was also a fragment of a long bone of a small ruminant (NISP: 1) (Fig. 14).

Traces of burning were recorded on two determinable fragments: on the radius of an animal the size of a small carnivore (Trench 1) and on the distal phalanx of a bovine (Trench 2). These fragments are characterized by surface damage and traces of thermal modification visible as dark-brown and black shades, indicating their exposure to temperatures around 300°C.<sup>44</sup>

The damage on most of the bones was caused by plant roots. The bones most susceptible to this biogenic factor are those found in layers close to the surface, which is the case with all the stratigraphic units at Gračiće. The roots of vascular plants secrete humic acid, which, in symbiosis with fungi (mycorrhiza) or bacteria (rhizobia), breaks down organic substances and forms shallow U-shaped depressions on the surface of the bone.<sup>45</sup> When the modifications are very densely distributed on the bone's surface, the bone can look corroded and very damaged,<sup>46</sup> which was the case with most fragments modified in this way.

44 Walker, Miller, Richman 2008, 132.

45 Fernández-Jalvo, Andrews 2016, 33.

46 Fernández-Jalvo, Andrews 2016, 33.

44 Walker, Miller, Richman 2008, 132.

45 Fernández-Jalvo, Andrews 2016, 33.

46 Fernández-Jalvo, Andrews 2016, 33.

|                    | MODIFIKACIJA KOSTI (NISP) |                       |  |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|
|                    | Gorenje / Burning         | Mesarenje / Cut marks | Mehaničko-kemijska oštećenja / Mechanical- chemical damage |
| SONDA 1 / TRENCH 1 | 1                         | 3                     | 7  |
| SONDA 2 / TRENCH 2 | 1                         | 3                     | 2  |
| Ukupno / Total     | 2                         | 6                     | 9  |

**TABLICA 2.** Modifikacije na kostima izražene u NISP vrijednostima (izradila: A. Barbir, 2022.).

Tragovi mesarenja utvrđeni su na samo 6 fragmenata, po tri iz svake sonde (tab. 2). U sondi 1 tragovi rezanja zabilježeni su na fragmentima bedrenih kostiju domaćih životinja (ovicaprid i domaće govedo) te na fragmentu palčane kosti životinje veličine manje zvijeri. U sondi 2 svi tragovi zabilježeni su na domaćim životnjama, na kosti pesti (govedo), fragmentu duge kosti (manji preživač) i proksimalnom članku prsta (ovicapridi). Dok urezi na dugim kostima upućuju na mesarske aktivnosti skidanja mesa s kostiju, tragovi na kosti pesti i članku prsta upućuju na deranje kože ili komadanje trupla.<sup>47</sup>

Pronađeni skup nalaza faune izrazito je skroman i nije pogodan za stvaranje zaključaka o zastupljenosti i važnosti pojedinih vrsta u prehrani i ekonomiji Gračišća. Ipak, moguće je pretpostaviti kako su stanovnici ove gradine, u zasad nepoznatoj mjeri, iskoristavali domaće životinje poput ovce, koze i goveda. Premda su objavljeni podaci o ulozi životinja u ekonomiji naselja brončanog doba u Dalmaciji rijetki, pružaju osnovu za razumijevanje ekonomije brončanodobnih gradina. Na gradini Vrčevo,<sup>48</sup> smještenoj u središnjim Ravnim kotarima, pronađena je veća količina životinjskih ostataka iz brončanog i željeznog doba.<sup>49</sup> Prema zastupljenosti, slično kao i na Gračišću, ističu se ovicapridi i domaće govedo, a, za razliku od Gračišća, slijede svinja i pas, kao i nekoliko fragmenata zeca.<sup>50</sup> Analiza je pokazala mješovito gospodarstvo čiji je naglasak bio na proizvodnji vune, uz iskorištavanje mesa i moguću proizvodnju mlijecnih proizvoda.<sup>51</sup> Sličan taksonomski sastav kao na Vrčevo, objavljen je i za gradinu Rat.<sup>52</sup> U brončanodobnim slojevima najviše je ovicaprida, slijede svinja i govedo, a pronađen je i pas. Također, fauna s gradine Rat upućuje na pomak prema uzgoju ovaca zbog vune u srednjem brončanome dobu, ali stočarska strategija u kasnom brončanome dobu ipak naginje proizvodnji mesa, mlijeka i mlijecnih proizvoda.<sup>53</sup> Osim domaćih, pronađeno je i nekoliko divljih vrsta poput jelena, srne, divlje mačke, europskog dabra i riba.<sup>54</sup> S druge strane, jedini primjer divlje životinje na Gračišću je lisica. Malobrojan uzorak i nedostatak antropogenih modifikacija na kostima upućuju na slučajan nalaz, primjerice, plijen druge životinje, uginulu životinju ili slično.

47 Seetah 2006.

48 Čelhar 2013.

49 Grgurić Srzentić 2021.

50 Grgurić Srzentić 2021, 119.

51 Grgurić Srzentić 2021, 128.

52 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014.

53 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 21.

54 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 17.

**TABLE 2.** Modifications on bones expressed as NISP values (made by: A. Barbir, 2022).

Cut marks were found on only 6 fragments, three from each trench (Tab. 2). In Trench 1, there were cut marks on fragments of femurs of domestic animals (ovicaprids and domestic cattle), and on a fragment of the radius of an animal the size of a small carnivore. In Trench 2, all the traces recorded were on domestic animals: on a metacarpal bone (bovine), a fragment of a long bone (small ruminant), and the proximal phalanx (ovicaprids). While the cutmarks on the long bones could indicate the butchery activities of removing meat from the bones, the marks on the metacarpal bone and the toe joint indicate the skinning or dismemberment of the body.<sup>47</sup>

The set of fauna finds is very modest and unsuitable for drawing conclusions about the representation and importance of individual species in the diet and economy of Gračišće. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the inhabitants of this hillfort made use of domestic animals such as sheep, goats and cattle, to an extent that is yet unknown. There is not much published data on the role of animals in the economy of Bronze Age settlements in Dalmatia, but it provides an initial basis for understanding the economy of Bronze Age hillforts. The hillfort of Vrčevo,<sup>48</sup> located in the middle part of Ravní Kotari, contained a large quantity of animal remains from the Bronze and Iron Ages.<sup>49</sup> Ovicaprids and domestic cattle predominate here as they do in Gračišće, but in contrast to Gračišće they are followed by pigs and dogs and by several fragments of hare.<sup>50</sup> The analysis showed a mixed economy emphasizing the production of wool along with the exploitation of meat and possible dairy production.<sup>51</sup> A taxonomic structure similar to that of Vrčevo has been published for the Rat hillfort.<sup>52</sup> In the Bronze Age strata, ovicaprids are the most numerous, followed by pigs and cattle, and there was one dog. The fauna from the Rat hillfort also points to a shift towards sheep-breeding for wool in the Middle Bronze Age, but the livestock strategy in the Late Bronze Age still leans towards the production of meat, milk and dairy products.<sup>53</sup> In addition to domestic animals, the finds included several wild species, such as a red deer, a roe deer, a wild cat, a European beaver, and fish.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the fox was the only wild animal in Gračišće. The small sample and the absence of anthropogenic modifications on the bones indicate a chance find – for example, the prey of another animal, a dead animal, or the like.

47 Seetah 2006.

48 Čelhar 2013.

49 Grgurić Srzentić 2021.

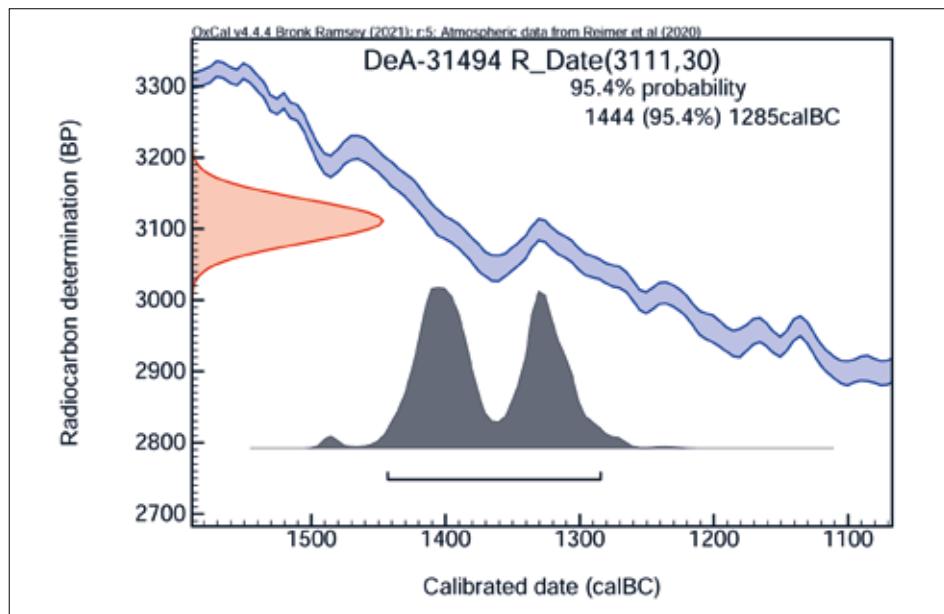
50 Grgurić Srzentić 2021, 119.

51 Grgurić Srzentić 2021, 128.

52 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014.

53 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 21.

54 Sanford Gaastra, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 17.



**SLIKA 15.** Kalibrirana krivulja rezultata AMS  $^{14}\text{C}$  analize (prema izvještaju laboratorija ISOTOPTECH ZRT. u Debrecenu, Mađarskoj, obradio: D. Vujević).

**FIGURE 15.** Calibrated result curve of the AMS  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis (after the laboratory report of ISOTOPTECH ZRT., in Debrecen, Hungary; processed by: D. Vujević).

## Rasprava

Makroskopske odlike keramičke građe, izrazita dominacija vertikalnih trakastih ručki i gotovo potpuno odsustvo ukrasa na lončariji snažni su indikatori brončanodobne datacije materijala dokumentiranog na gradini Gračišće,<sup>55</sup> što je u konačnici potvrđeno i radiokarbonskim datumom. Apsolutnokronološki okvir, koji obuhvaća vrijeme od sredine 15. pa do prvih desetljeća 13. st. pr. Kr.<sup>56</sup> (sl. 15) odgovara srednjem brončanom i početku kasnog brončanoga doba.<sup>57</sup> U kulturnoškom pogledu, otok Hvar, kao integralni dio srednjojadranskog prostora sa širim zaleđem, pripada dinarskoj kulturi koja je definirana na navedenom prostoru u vremenu kasnog ranog i srednjeg brončanoga doba.<sup>58</sup> Iako prilikom interpretacije svakako treba uzeti u obzir ograničenja prouzročena limitiranim opsegom istraživanja, dostupni stratigrafski pokazatelji i prateća materijalna građa upućuju na to da je riječ o naselju relativno kratkog vijeka i bez izraženijeg kontinuiteta, kakav je npr. vidljiv na gradini Rat i u Škipru na susjednom otoku Braču, ili pak u Vranjicu,<sup>59</sup> Birnju<sup>60</sup> ili Putalju,<sup>61</sup> na obalnom dijelu srednje Dalmacije, koji svi redom imaju i srednjebrončanodobnu fazu naseljavanja.

## Discussion

The macroscopic features of ceramic structure, the marked dominance of vertical strap handles, and the almost complete absence of decoration on the pottery – all these are strong indicators of the Bronze Age dating of the material documented at the Gračišće hillfort,<sup>55</sup> which was ultimately confirmed by radiocarbon dating. The absolute chronological range, covering the period from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the early decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 15) corresponds to the Middle Bronze Age and the very beginning of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>57</sup> From a cultural point of view, the island of Hvar, as an integral part of the central Adriatic area with a wider hinterland, belongs to the Dinaric culture, which was defined in this area during the late Early and Middle Bronze Age.<sup>58</sup> Even though the interpretation should take into account the limitations caused by the scope of the research, the available stratigraphic indicators and the accompanying material indicate that it was a relatively short-lived settlement without such a pronounced continuity as in the Rat hillfort and Škip on the nearby island of Brač, or in Vranjic,<sup>59</sup> Biranj<sup>60</sup> or Putalj,<sup>61</sup> on the coast of central Dalmatia, all of which have a Middle Bronze Age settlement phase.

55 Slične opće karakteristike, uz znatno manju zastupljenost glaćanja na gračiškom materijalu, uočljive su i na nešto starijem (rano brončano i starija faza srednjeg brončanoga doba) materijalu iz Grapčeve spilje s Hvara. Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 64–66.

56 DeA-3149: 3111±30 BP; 1450–1280 g. pr. n. e. (2σ); 1424–1382, 1341–1310 g. pr. n. e. (1σ).

57 Za kronologiju srednjeg brončanog doba, vidjeti: Arena 2020, 29 (središnji Jadran); Jung 2017 (za južnu Italiju); Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 337–391 (za Istru i susjedne regije).

58 Govedarica 1989, 145–172.

59 Usp. Arena 2020, 32, fig. 2, s popisom relevantne bibliografije; Arena et al. 2020b, 247.

60 Šuta 2021a. Iako Biranj ima već i kasnoneolitičku (i eneolitičku) fazu, pretpostavljeno je da je suhzodni bedem u obliku kakav je danas očuvan na terenu podignut u kasnijem razdoblju (brončano doba?). Šuta 2021a, 26.

61 Čače 2001.

55 Except for significantly fewer cases of polishing, the material from Gračišće has similar general characteristics to the older material (from the Early Bronze Age and the older phase of the Middle Bronze Age) from Grapčeva Cave on Hvar. Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 64–66.

56 DeA-3149: 3111±30 BP; 1450–1280 BC (2σ); 1424–1382, 1341–1310 BC (1σ).

57 For the chronology of the Middle Bronze Age see: Arena 2020, 29 (central Adriatic); Jung 2017 (for southern Italy); Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 337–391 (for Istria and the neighbouring regions).

58 Govedarica 1989, 145–172.

59 Cf. Arena 2020, 32, Fig. 2, with a list of relevant bibliography; Arena et al. 2020b, 247.

60 Šuta 2021a. Even though Biranj already had a Late Neolithic (and Eneolithic) phase, it was assumed that the dry-wall rampart standing at the site today was built in a later period (the Bronze Age?). Šuta 2021a, 26.

61 Čače 2001.

Na istočnom Jadranu gradine se pojavljuju već od razvijenog dijela ranog ili srednjeg brončanog doba.<sup>62</sup> Štoviš, Govedarica ističe kao jednu od najbitnijih karakteristika i novina dinarske kulture „masovno“ naseljavanje gradina.<sup>63</sup> Istraživanje brončanoga doba i danas je otežano mnogobrojnim poteškoćama među kojima svakako valja istaknuti značajan nedostatak sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja, stratificiranih nalaza, C14 datuma, veće količine metalnih nalaza (posebno u srednjem brončanom dobu), kao i precizne keramičke tipologije. Ipak, zahvaljujući snažnijoj istraživačkoj aktivnosti, ponajprije u zaledu, u Hercegovini, počevši od 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća, zajedno s nešto kasnije provedenim istraživanjima manjeg obujma ili zaštitnog karaktera unutar dalmatinskog obalnog pojasa, uključujući pripadajuće otoče, počela se oblikovati jasnija predodžba načina života prapovijesnih zajednica u navedenom periodu.<sup>64</sup> Sve intenzivniji fokus znanstvene zajednice prema problematiki srednjodalmatinskog obalnog i otočnog prostora, primjetan u posljednjim desetljećima, doveo je do boljeg razumijevanja dinamične transjadranske komunikacijske mreže unutar koje se srednjodalmatinski prostor profilirao kao ključan u povezivanju dviju obala i zaleđa.<sup>65</sup> Relativno uniformirana i fragmentirana keramička grada s Gračića ne pruža za sada nedvosmislene dokaze o intenzivnijoj i direktnoj uključenosti zajednice koja je tu obitavala u aktivni tijek spomenutih razmjenskih procesa koji su, kako je navedeno, nedvojbeno potvrđeni na nizu više ili manje suvremenih lokaliteta srednjodalmatinskog ambijenta. Posljedica je to vjerojatno male istražene površine, smještaja u unutrašnjosti otoka i/ili manje uloge zaštićenih luka na sjevernoj strani otoka u transjadranskoj komunikaciji<sup>66</sup> kojima je ova gradina potencijalno gravitirala.

Kakvu je ulogu Gračiće imalo u naseobinskom sustavu srednjeg brončanoga doba na otoku Hvaru teško je reći. Niz je dokumentiranih gradina na otoku,<sup>67</sup> ali bez provedenih sustavnih istraživanja koja bi omogućila njihovu precizniju kronološku korelaciju. I one gradine koje su određene kao brončanodobne, kao što su Fortica/Hvar,<sup>68</sup> Vela Moščevica,<sup>69</sup> Grčka gomila,<sup>70</sup> Likova glava,<sup>71</sup> Vela Glava<sup>72</sup> i Vela Glava kod Zastržića,<sup>73</sup> nisu uže datirane pa

On the eastern Adriatic, hillforts appeared not later than the developed Early or Middle Bronze Age.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Govedarica points out that one of the most important characteristics and novelties of Dinaric culture is the “massive” settlement of hillforts.<sup>63</sup> Bronze Age research is still hampered by numerous difficulties, such as a significant lack of systematic archaeological research, of stratified finds, of C14 dating, of large amounts of metal finds (especially from the Middle Bronze Age), and of precise ceramic typologies. Nevertheless, stronger research activity in the 1960s, primarily in the hinterland, in Herzegovina, followed by smaller-volume or rescue excavations in the Dalmatian coastal belt and on the islands, has shed more light on the life of prehistoric communities of the period.<sup>64</sup> As the scientific community has intensified its focus on the central Dalmatian coast and islands in recent decades, this has brought a better understanding of a lively trans-Adriatic communication network including central Dalmatia as a key area connecting the two coasts and the hinterland.<sup>65</sup> The relatively uniform and fragmented ceramic material from Gračiće has not provided unequivocal evidence that the local community was intensely and directly involved in the active flow of those exchanges, which, as we have stated, were definitely confirmed at a number of more or less contemporary sites in the central Dalmatian setting; this could be a consequence of the small size of the area explored, the location in the interior of the island, and/or a smaller role in the trans-Adriatic communication<sup>66</sup> played by the protected harbours on the northern side of the island, to which this hillfort possibly gravitated.

It is hard to say what role Gračiće played in the Middle Bronze Age settlement system on the island of Hvar. There are a number of documented hillforts on the island,<sup>67</sup> but there has been no systematic research that would enable their more precise chronological correlation. Even the hillforts identified as belonging to the Bronze Age, such as Fortica/Hvar,<sup>68</sup> Vela Moščevica,<sup>69</sup> Grčka Gomila,<sup>70</sup> Likova Glava,<sup>71</sup> Vela Glava<sup>72</sup> and Vela Glava kod Zastržića,<sup>73</sup> have not been precisely dated, so it is uncertain whether they were inhabited at the same time as the settlement

62 Npr. za Istru vidjeti Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, 35–38, 425–452, 504–510; za sjevernu Dalmaciju Batović 1997, 136–142; Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 252; Čelhar 2013; 2014, 170–176, 226–228; za srednju Dalmaciju: Arena 2020; Arena et al. 2020a; Sanford Gaasta, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 11; Čaće 2001; Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 129–133; Šuta 2021a; 2021b (Znojilo); za južnu Dalmaciju: Bukovac 2017 (Podovača); Perkić 2018, 35–36, 54–58, 131–134.

63 Govedarica 1989, 150.

64 Usp. Arena et al. 2020b, 246–247.

65 Arena 2020; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018; Arena et al. 2020a; 2020b.

66 Kirigin 2004, 15.

67 Gradine Hvar (Fortica), Vela Glava (Vela Glova), Glava od bure (Glova od bure), Oštra glava, Lompić, Glavica, Gračiće, Tor, Košnjak, Vela Glava (kod Stražića), Piriška glava, Liković, Likova Glava, Grčka gomila, Vela Moščevica, Sutivan, Turnić i Galešnik, Gaffney et al. 1997; 54, 57–58, 60, 64–65, 87, 105, 139, 146, 149, 151, 177, 195; Šimunović, Šimunović 1999, 40, 41; Miletić 2014, 117–118; Katić 2021, 144–147; Kirigin in print; usmena informacija Nikša Vučinović kojem se ovom prilikom ljubazno zahvaljujemo (za Sutivan).

68 Kirigin et al. 2022, sl. 9, sl. 10: 2.

69 Gaffney et al. 1997, 54.

70 Gaffney et al. 1997, 57–58.

71 Gaffney et al. 1997, 65.

72 Gaffney et al. 1997, 105.

73 Gaffney et al. 1997, 146.

62 E.g. for Istria, see Hänsel, Mihovilić, Teržan 2015, 35–38, 425–452, 504–510; for northern Dalmatia see: Batović 1997, 136–142; Hellmuth Kramberger 2017, 252; Čelhar 2013; 2014, 170–176, 226–228; for central Dalmatia see: Arena 2020; Arena et al. 2020a; Sanford Gaasta, Cristiani, Barbarić 2014, 11; Čaće 2001; Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 129–133; Šuta 2021a; 2021b (Znojilo); for southern Dalmatia see: Bukovac 2017 (Podovača); Perkić 2018, 35–36, 54–58, 131–134.

63 Govedarica 1989, 150.

64 Cf. Arena et al. 2020b, 246–247.

65 Arena 2020; Arena, Cardarelli, Tunzi 2018; Arena et al. 2020a; 2020b.

66 Kirigin 2004, 15.

67 Gradine Hvar (Fortica), Vela Glava (Vela Glova), Glava od bure (Glova Od Bure), Oštra Glava, Lompić, Glavica, Gračiće, Tor, Košnjak, Vela Glava (kod Stražića), Piriška Glava, Liković, Likova Glava, Grčka Gomila, Vela Moščevica, Sutivan, Turnić i Galešnik; Gaffney et al. 1997; 54, 57–58, 60, 64–65, 87, 105, 139, 146, 149, 151, 177, 195; Šimunović, Šimunović 1999, 40, 41; Miletić 2014, 117–118; Katić 2021, 144–147; Kirigin in print; verbal information kindly provided by Nikša Vučinović (for Sutivan).

68 Kirigin et al. 2022, Fig. 9, Fig. 10: 2.

69 Gaffney et al. 1997, 54.

70 Gaffney et al. 1997, 57–58.

71 Gaffney et al. 1997, 65.

72 Gaffney et al. 1997, 105.

73 Gaffney et al. 1997, 146.

nije sigurno je li se uopće život u njima odvijao istovremeno sa životom naselja u Gračišću. Jedini su lokaliteti na otoku Hvaru, čije je funkcioniranje u brončanom dobu nedvojbeno potvrđeno i radiokarbonskim datumima, gradine Gračišće i Galešnik te Grapčeva špilja koja je tijekom navedenog perioda rijetko posjećivana i imala funkciju spilje-stana/tora.<sup>74</sup> Međutim, datumi korištenja špilje tijekom brončanog doba pokazuju da je ona napuštena nešto prije vremena osnutka naselja na Gračišću.<sup>75</sup> S druge strane, jedan radiokarbonski datum iz novijih istraživanja na gradini Galešnik smješta prapovijesni sloj u okvir 13. do 12. st. pr. Kr.,<sup>76</sup> čime bi se funkcioniranje navedene gradine moglo djelomično preklapati s Gračišćem.

Gračišće ulazi u red većih gradina na otoku Hvaru<sup>77</sup> pa i na širem srednjodalmatinskom arealu,<sup>78</sup> ali površinski ipak relativno skromnih u odnosu na gradine u nekim drugim kulturnim sredinama, npr. susjednoj sjevernoj Dalmaciji.<sup>79</sup> Način gradnje bedema, koliko je za sada uhvatljiv, ne odudara od tipičnog načina suhozidne gradnje većim rubnim kamenim blokovima i ispunom od sitnjeg kamenja. Stambeni objekti nisu dokumentirani *in situ*, ali na njihovo postojanje unutar bedema upućuje veća količina fragmentiranog kućnog lijepa. Riječ je i o opet o uobičajenom načinu gradnje objekata na širem prostoru.<sup>80</sup> O gospodarskim strategijama zajednice teško je suditi tek na osnovi analize skromnog uzorka životinjskih kostiju. Moguće je tek pretpostaviti kako su stanovnici ove gradine, u zasad nepoznatoj mjeri, iskoristivali domaće životinje poput ovce, koze i goveda. Premda arheobotaničke analize nisu provedene, nema razloga sumnjati da zajednica nije znala iskoristiti resurse plodnog areala Starogradskog i Jelsanskog polja u blizini.<sup>81</sup> S obzirom na način sahranjivanja prakticiran, kako na otoku Hvaru tako i na okolnom srednjojadranskom području tijekom (srednjeg) brončanog doba, može se tek pretpostaviti da su se pokojnici pokapali pod humcima.<sup>82</sup> Druga je najveća nekropola humaka na otoku dokumentirana upravo u blizini, na predjelu Rake i Planik, 1 km istočno od Gračišća, i već je prije pretpostavljeno da je povezana upravo uz navedenu lokalnu zajednicu.<sup>83</sup> Nažalost, dobar dio je humaka oštećen recenitnjim zahvatima i niti jedan nije istražen.<sup>84</sup>

in Gračišće. The only sites on the island of Hvar whose functioning in the Bronze Age has been confirmed undoubtedly with a radiocarbon date are the hillforts of Gračišće and Galešnik, and Grapčeva Cave, which was rarely visited during the aforementioned period and served as a cave shelter or animal pen.<sup>74</sup>

However, the dates of the use of the cave during the Bronze Age show that it was abandoned somewhat before the foundation of the Gračišće settlement.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, one radiocarbon date from recent excavations at the Galešnik hillfort places the prehistoric layer in the period of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC,<sup>76</sup> meaning that the use of this hillfort could have overlapped partly with Gračišće.

Gračišće is one of the larger hillforts on the island of Hvar,<sup>77</sup> even in the wider central Dalmatian area,<sup>78</sup> but it is still relatively modest in size compared to the hillforts in other cultural areas, such as neighbouring northern Dalmatia.<sup>79</sup> The construction method of the rampart seemingly does not differ from the typical dry-wall construction method, with larger stone blocks on the edges and a fill of smaller stones. Residential structures have not been documented *in situ*, but their existence inside the rampart is indicated by the large amount of fragmented house daub. Again, this is the usual construction method in the wider area.<sup>80</sup> On the basis of the modest sample of animal bones, it is difficult to discuss the economic strategies of the community. For now, it is possible only to assume that the inhabitants of this settlement used, to an as-yet unknown extent, domestic animals like sheep, goats and cows. There have been no archaeobotanical analyses, but there is no reason to doubt that the community knew how to use the resources of the nearby fertile area of the Stari Grad and Jelsa plains.<sup>81</sup> Considering the burial rites practised both on the island of Hvar and in the surrounding central Adriatic area during the (Middle) Bronze Age, it can only be assumed that the deceased were buried under mounds.<sup>82</sup> In fact, the second-largest necropolis of mounds on the island was documented close by, in the area of Rake and Planik, 1 km east of Gračišće, and it was already assumed at the time that it was connected with the in-

74 Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 138–139. Ostale pećine i humke ne obradujemo u ovom radu, prije svega zbog izostanaka pouzdanih preciznih kronoloških elemenata.

75 Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 29.

76 Katić 2021, 146, Sl. 14.

77 Iznimku čini obližnja gredina Galešnik, čija se površina procjenjuje na oko 8575 m<sup>2</sup> (Katić 2021, 145), iako za sada ne postoje jasne naznake da je tih dimenzija bila i tijekom brončanog doba.

78 Usp. npr. Gradinu u Majićima površine oko 560 m<sup>2</sup> ili Gradinu kod Matkovića površine od oko 2500 m<sup>2</sup> (Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 130–131).

79 Usporedba veličine gradina, doduše bez preciznije kronološke distinkcije, na liburnskom, glasinačkom i srednjodalmatinskom prostoru kod Chapman, Shiel, Batović 1997, 155–156, fig. 120. Gradina Vrćevo kod Gorice u Ravnim Kotarima, s izrazito jakim srednjebrončanodobnim slojem, zauzima površinu od oko 7 ha. Čelhar 2013; 2014, 170–176, 226–228.

80 Usp. npr. Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 132.

81 Arheobotaničke analize provedene su na uzorcima iz Grapčeve spilje i, premda je riječ o malobrojnim izdvojenim ostacima, napose u brončanodobnim sedimentima, detektirani su ostaci karboniziranih žitarica, plodovi drvenastih biljaka i korovi. Borojević *et al.* 2008, T. 2, 293 i d.

82 Barbarić 2011b, 145–146.

83 Kirigin 2004, 30.

84 Gaffney *et al.* 1997, 132–136.

74 Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 138–139. This work does not discuss other caves and mounds, primarily because of the absence of reliable and precise chronological elements.

75 Forenbaher, Kaiser 2008, 29.

76 Katić 2021, 146, Fig. 14.

77 The nearby Galešnik hillfort is an exception, with an estimated area of 8,575 m<sup>2</sup> (Katić 2021, 145), although for now there are no clear indications that it was of this size during the Bronze Age.

78 Cf. e.g. the Majići hillfort, covering around 560 m<sup>2</sup>, or Gradina near Matković, covering around 2500 m<sup>2</sup> (Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 130–131).

79 For a comparison of hillfort sizes, albeit with no precise chronological distinction, in the areas of Liburnia, Glazinac and central Dalmatia, see Chapman, Shiel, Batović 1997, 155–156, Fig. 120. The Vrćevo hillfort near Gorice in Ravni Kotari, with a very strong Middle Bronze Age layer, covers an area of about 7 ha. Čelhar 2013; 2014, 170–176, 226–228.

80 Cf. e.g. Mucić, Kovačević Bokarica 2011, 132.

81 Archaeobotanical analyses were carried out on the samples from Grapčeva Cave, and even though the remains are few and single, especially in the Bronze Age sediments, the analyses detected the remains of carbonized grains, fruits of ligneous plants, and weeds. Borojević *et al.* 2008, Pl. 2, 293 ff.

82 Barbarić 2011b, 145–146.

Gradina Gračišće je od svih poznatih hvarske gradine najudaljenija od mora. Prema Kiriginu, na susjednom Braču brončanodobna naselja su osnivana uglavnom u unutrašnjosti dok se u željeznom dobu preferiraju pozicije bliže obale.<sup>85</sup> Pitanje je može li se u navedenoj tendenciji i promjeni u vrednovanju pozitivno percipiranih strateških karakteristika tražiti eventualno objašnjenje relativno brzog napuštanja pozicije na kojoj potom nema tragova aktivnosti sve do novovjekovnog perioda? Na Hvaru bi od takve slike odstupale gradine smještene u neposrednoj blizini obale, a s brončanodobnom datacijom, ponajprije brončanodobna gradina Vela Moščevica<sup>86</sup> i gradina u Hvaru (Fortica) čiji se osnutak vezuje za (kasno?) brončano doba,<sup>87</sup> iako obje bez poznatog konkretnijega apsolutnokronološkog okvira<sup>88</sup> te gradina Galešnik koja je od obale udaljena manje od 2 km zračne linije.<sup>89</sup> Strateška pozicija Gračišća ponajprije se očituje u kontroli plodnog Starogradskog i Jelšanskog polja. S obzirom na to da se dimenzijama izdvaja u odnosu na druge gradine u blizini, ali i prominentnu stratešku poziciju, u literaturi se smatra primarnim kandidatom za ubicanje od Diodora spomenutog utvrđenog naselja u koji su se povukli pripadnici lokalne zajednice nakon poraza od grčkih kolonizatora, naravno, uz uvjet da se ono uopće i nalazilo u blizini samog polja.<sup>90</sup> Kako probnim istraživanjima nisu utvrđeni željeznodobni nalazi uopće, pa tako ni oni koji neposredno prethode, odnosno slijede nakon vremena osnutka grčke kolonije Far, takva teza više nije održiva.

## Zaključak

Gradina Gračišće spominje se u svoj relevantnoj literaturi koja se bavi prapovijesnim horizontom naseljavanja otoka Hvara, gdje se često navodila kao gradina koja je kontrolirala polje do doseljenja Grka<sup>91</sup> te se čak predlagalo da je Gračišće ono „dobro utvrđeno mjesto“ na koje se domorodno stanovništvo povuklo nakon bitke s grčkim doseljenicima, ali istraživanja nikada nisu vršena i vrijeme funkciranja nalazišta, posljedično tome, nikada nije utvrđeno. U prvim probnim istraživanjima provedenim na gradini Gračišće 2021. godine, u sklopu HRZZ AdriaCos projekta, nisu pronađeni nalazi koji bi se mogli vezati uz željezno doba.

<sup>85</sup> Kirigin 2004, 22–23. S druge strane, na istočnom Jadranu poznat je niz brončanodobnih naselja smještenih u obalnom pojusu ili na malenim otočićima povezanim nasipima s kopnom. Usp. npr.: Parica 2021, 55–85, 90–104.

<sup>86</sup> Gaffney *et al.* 1997, 54.

<sup>87</sup> Kirigin spominje i malen broj eneolitičkih nalaza koji potencijalno upućuju na naselje iz navedenog vremena, ali uz dominantnu koncentraciju onih iz kasnoga brončanog i željeznog doba. Kirigin 2004, 32.

<sup>88</sup> Kirigin 2004, 16, 33–34; Visković 2019, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Katić 2021, 127.

<sup>90</sup> Gaffney, Stančić 1991, 62. O navedenom, kao i drugim prijedlozima ubikacije indigenog naselja, koje spominje Diodor (Lompić, Glavica, Purkin kuk, Hvar), s relevantnom bibliografijom kod: Kirigin 2004, 30–34. Za Diodorov pasus usp. Čače 1997, 225.

<sup>91</sup> Kirigin 2004, 85.

digenous community.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, many mounds have been damaged by recent activities, and none have been investigated.<sup>84</sup>

Of all the known hillforts on Hvar, the Gračišće hillfort is the furthest from the sea. On nearby Brač, according to Kirigin, the Bronze Age settlements were founded mainly inland, but those in the Iron Age were closer to the coast.<sup>85</sup> Maybe this tendency and new valuation of positively perceived strategic characteristics could explain the relatively quick abandonment of the site, which has no further traces of activity until the modern period. On Hvar, the Bronze Age hillforts deviating from this notion are those located in the immediate vicinity of the shore, primarily the Bronze Age hillfort of Vela Moščevica<sup>86</sup> and the hillfort in Hvar (Fortica), its foundation associated with the (Late?) Bronze Age,<sup>87</sup> although neither has a concrete absolute date,<sup>88</sup> and the Galešnik hillfort, less than 2 km away from the shore as the crow flies.<sup>89</sup> The strategic position of Gračišće primarily provides control over the fertile plains of Stari Grad and Jelsa. Considering its large size compared to other nearby hillforts, and its prominent strategic position, Gračišće used to be put forward in literature as the main candidate for the fortified settlement where, according to Diodorus, the indigenous community retreated after its defeat by the Greek colonizers – of course, providing that it was located near the plain in the first place.<sup>90</sup> As trial excavations have not uncovered any Iron Age finds, let alone any finds immediately preceding or following the time when the Greek colony of Pharos was founded, this hypothesis is no longer tenable.

## Conclusion

The Gračišće hillfort is mentioned in all the relevant literature dealing with the prehistoric settlement horizon of the island of Hvar, where it was often brought up as the hillfort that controlled the plain until the arrival of the Greeks,<sup>91</sup> and it was even put forward that Gračišće was the “well-fortified place” where the native population retreated after the battle with the Greek settlers, but there were never any excavations, and the active period of the site was consequently never established. The first trial excavations carried out at the Gračišće hillfort in 2021 within the CSF AdriaCos project have not found any evidence that could be connected with the Iron Age.

<sup>83</sup> Kirigin 2004, 30.

<sup>84</sup> Gaffney *et al.* 1997, 132–136.

<sup>85</sup> Kirigin 2004, 22–23. On the other hand, in the eastern Adriatic, a number of Bronze Age settlements are known, located in the coastal belt or on small islands connected to the mainland by embankments. Cf. e.g. Parica 2021, 55–85, 90–104.

<sup>86</sup> Gaffney *et al.* 1997, 54.

<sup>87</sup> Kirigin also mentions a small number of Eneolithic finds that may point to a settlement of that period, but there is a dominant concentration of finds from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. Kirigin 2004, 32.

<sup>88</sup> Kirigin 2004, 16, 33–34; Visković 2019, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Katić 2021, 127.

<sup>90</sup> Gaffney, Stančić 1991, 62. Regarding this and other proposals for the location of the indigenous settlement mentioned by Diodorus (Lompić, Glavica, Purkin Kuk, Hvar), including the relevant bibliography, see Kirigin 2004, 30–34. For Diodorus's text cf. Čače 1997, 225.

<sup>91</sup> Kirigin 2004, 85.

Uza sve poznate izazove prilikom proučavanja prapovijesne lončarije u Dalmaciji, posebno u slučajevima fragmentirane i teže odredive grude kakva je dokumentirana na Gračišću, keramički materijal može se ipak pripisati brončanodobnoj tradiciji. Stratigrafska slika ukazuje na jednoslojno naselje kraćeg vijeka trajanja, čemu u prilog svjedoči i uniformna prateća materijalna grada. Unatoč izostanku karakterističnih formi lončarije, koje bi omogućile određivanje užeg relativnokronološkoga okvira unutar brončanog doba, on je određen zahvaljujući provedenom radiokarbonskom datiranju, pri čemu dobiven raspon od 1450. do 1280. g. pr. n. e. sugerira da je naselje egzistiralo tijekom srednjeg do početka kasnog brončanoga doba. Naizgled neutraktivna materijalna grada, prikupljena tijekom istraživanja, ipak pruža važne podatke o naseobinskom sustavu (srednjeg) brončanog doba, čiji važan integralni dio čine i manja gradinska naselja, često dosad zanemarivana u istraživačkim aktivnostima, posebno na obalnom i otočnom dijelu srednjeg Jadrana. Značaj ovih istraživanja, uz činjenicu da je riječ o prvim arheološkim iskopavanjima izvršenima na gradini Gračišće, ogleda se i u činjenici da je riječ o drugoj gradini i tek trećem prapovijesnom lokalitetu (Grapčeva špilja i gradina Galešnik) na Hvaru, gdje je šire relativnokronološko određenje materijalne grude potvrđeno i uže vremenski određeno putem radiokarbonske analize. Sukladno vremenskom određenju potvrđenom na taj način, očito je da utvrđeno indigeno naselje, koje spominje Diodor, ipak treba tražiti na nekoj drugoj od brojnih u literaturi predloženih pozicija.

Even with all the challenges associated with studying prehistoric pottery in Dalmatia, especially in cases of fragmented evidence that is more hard to determine, such as the pottery from Gračišće, the ceramic material can nonetheless be attributed to Bronze Age tradition. The stratigraphic picture, along with the material evidence, indicates one layered settlement of somewhat short span. Despite the absence of characteristic ceramic forms that could enable a narrower relative chronological frame, this has been achieved with a radiocarbon dating that offered a span of 1450–1280 BCE and, as such, suggests the existence of a settlement during the Middle Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The apparently unattractive material culture collected during this excavation albeit offers important data on the (middle) Bronze Age settlement, whose smaller hillfort settlements – as an important integral part – have often been ignored in research activities in the coastal and island part of the middle Adriatic. These excavations are significant not only because they are the first ever archaeological excavations carried out at the Gračišće hillfort, but also because this is the second hillfort, and only the third prehistoric site, on Hvar (following Grapčeva Cave and Galešnik hillfort) where wider relative chronological determination of finds has been confirmed with a narrower time frame obtained by radiocarbon analysis. In line with this time frame, it becomes apparent that the fortified indigenous settlement mentioned by Diodorus should be looked for in some other of the numerous sites put forward in the literature.

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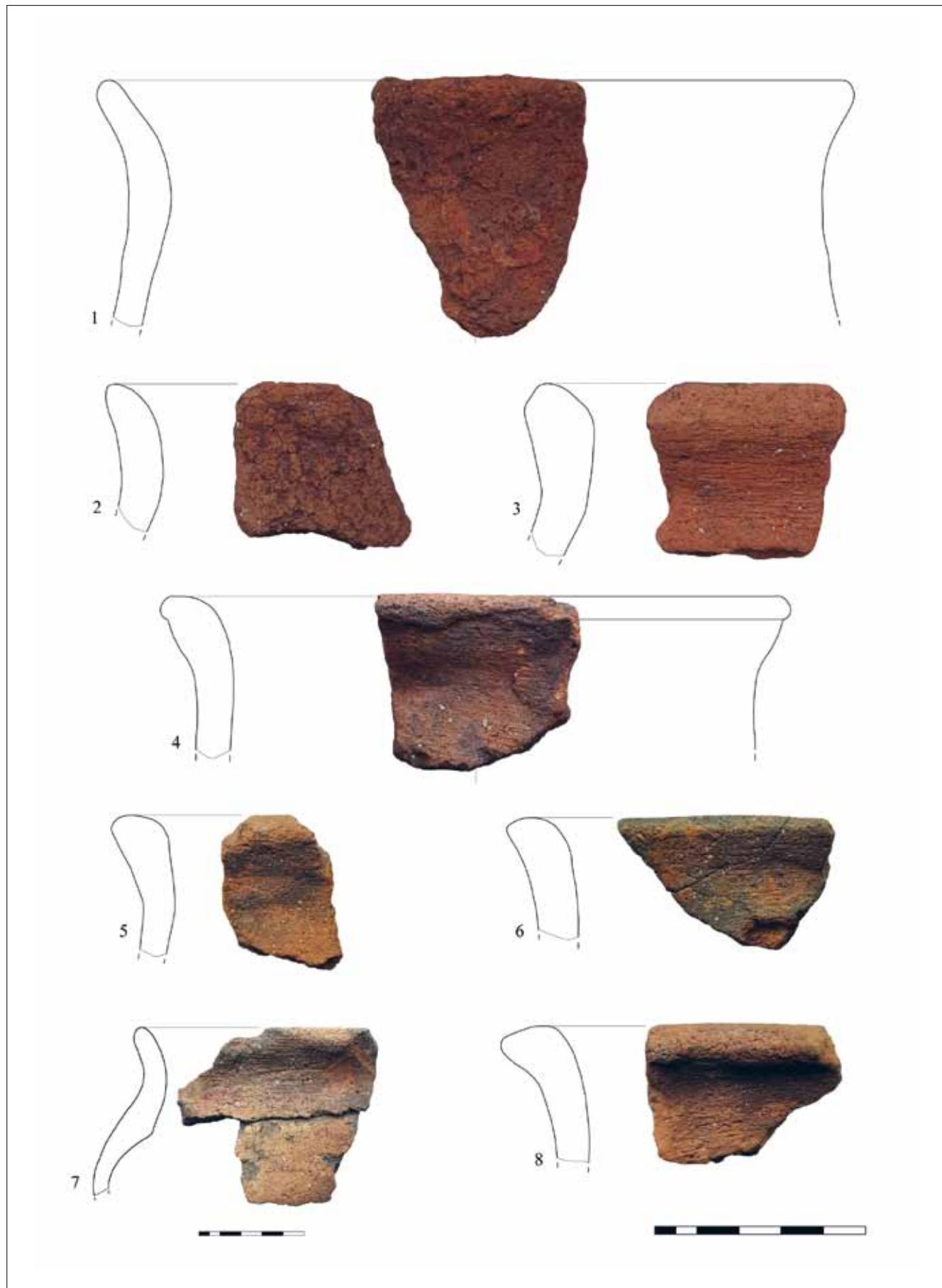
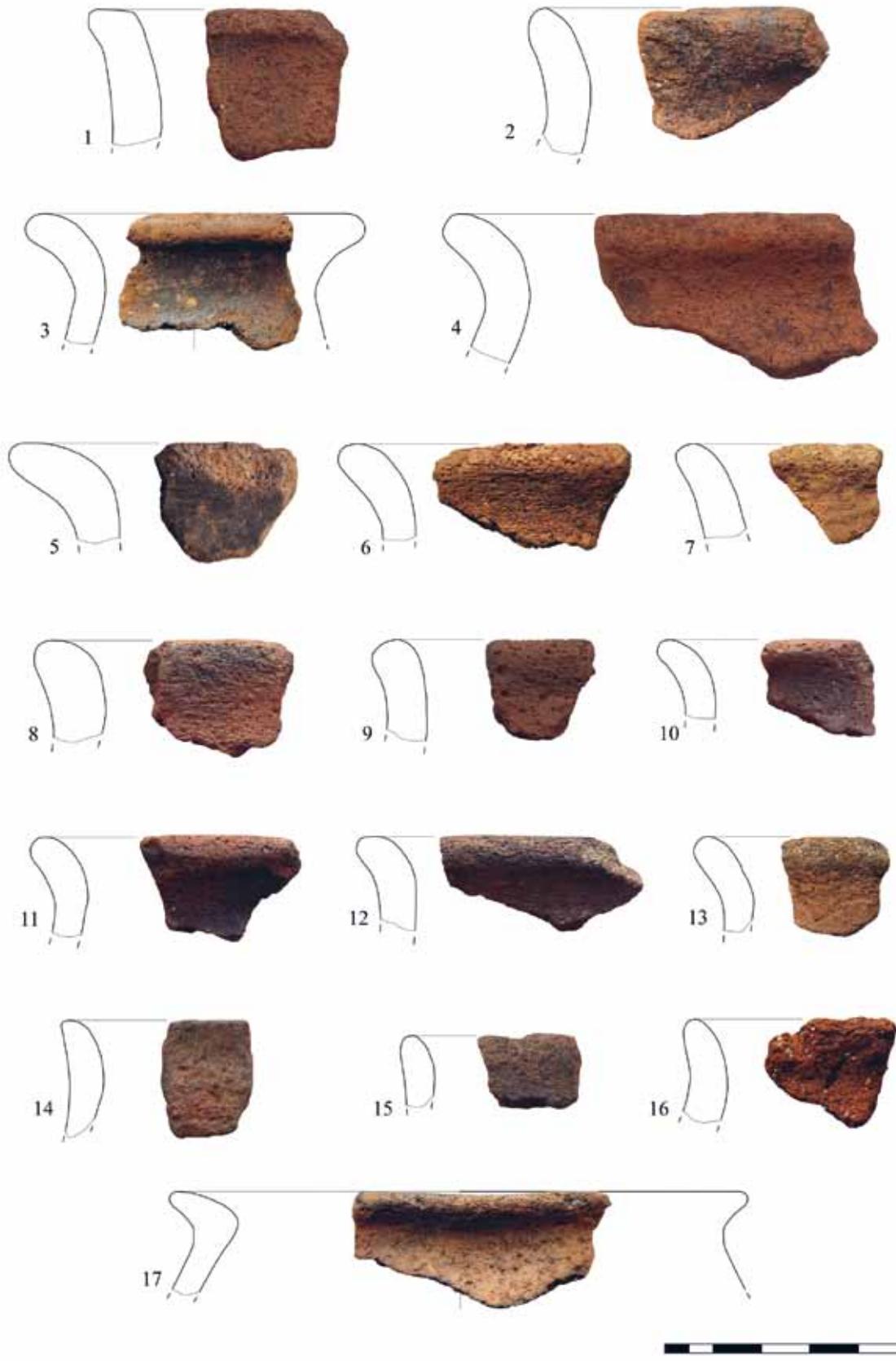


TABLA 1.

Keramički materijal s gradine Gračišće (foto i crtež: M. Korić).

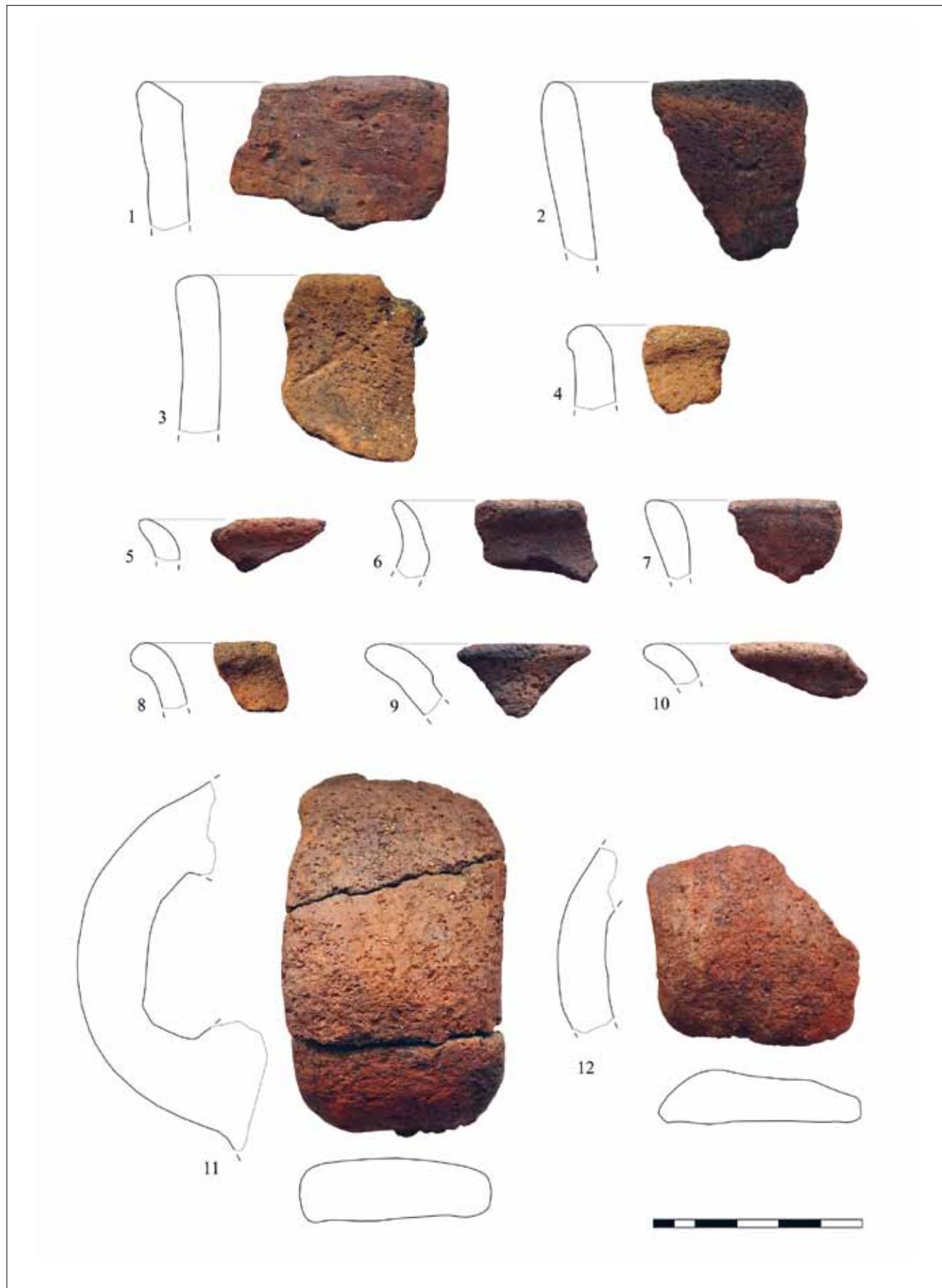
PLATE 1.

Ceramic material from the Gračišće hillfort (photo and drawing: M. Korić).



**TABLA 2.**  
Keramički materijal s gradine Gračišće (foto i crtež: M. Korić).

**PLATE 2.**  
Ceramic material from the Gračišće hillfort (photo and drawing: M. Korić).



**TABLA 3.**  
Keramički materijal s gradine Gračišće (foto i crtež: M. Korić).

**PLATE 3.**  
Ceramic material from the Gračišće hillfort (photo and drawing: M. Korić).

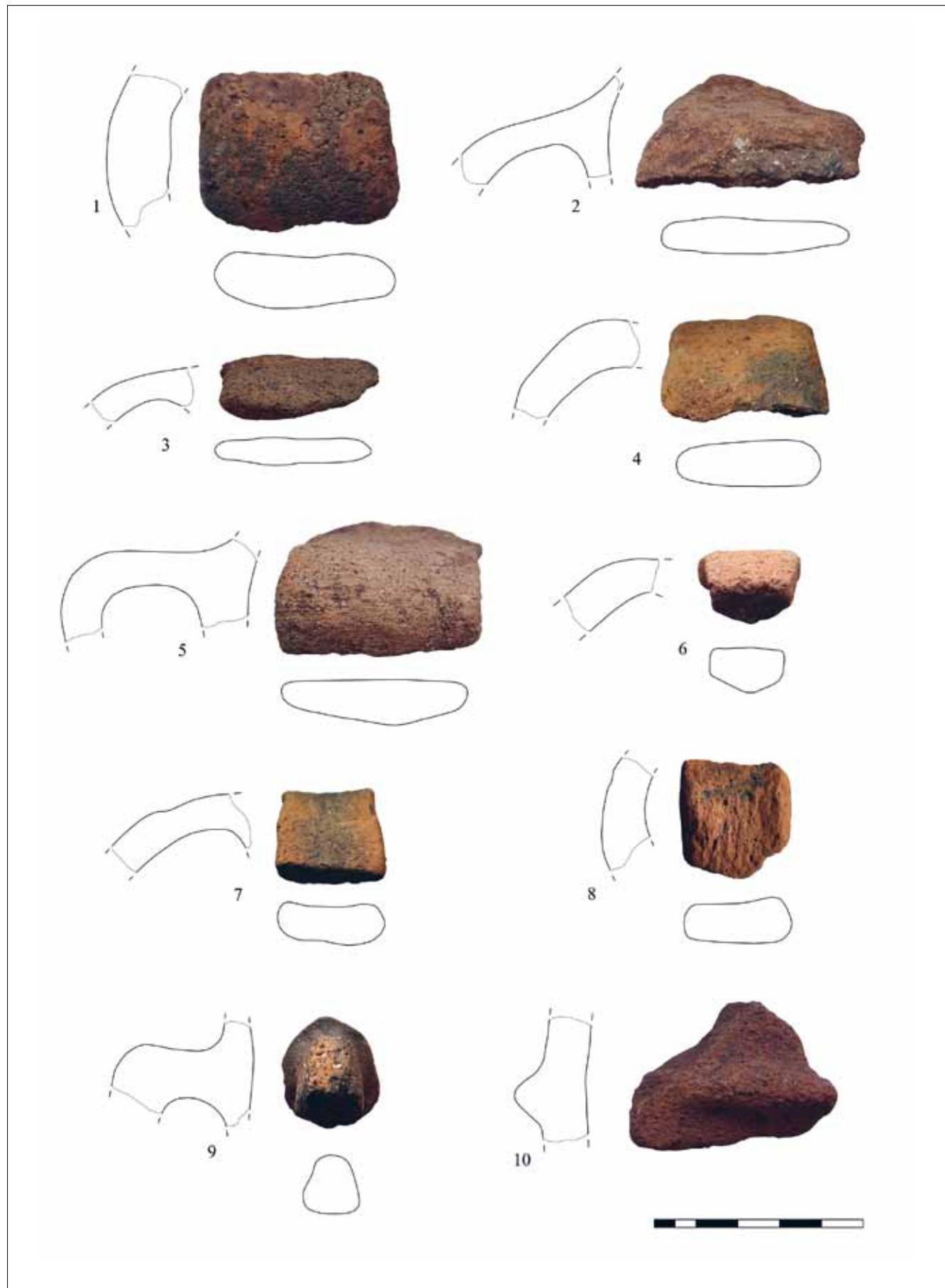
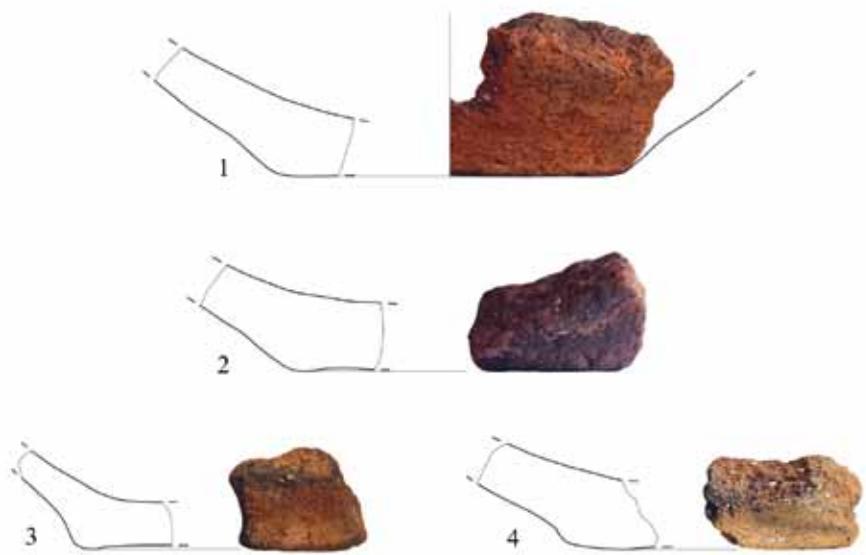


TABLA 4.

Keramički materijal s gradine Gračišće (foto i crtež: M. Korić).

PLATE 4.

Ceramic material from the Gračišće hillfort (photo and drawing: M. Korić).



**TABLA 5.**  
Keramički materijal s gradine Gračišće (foto i crtež: M. Korić).

**PLATE 5.**  
Ceramic material from the Gračišće hillfort (photo and drawing: M. Korić).