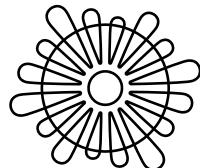


# ARCHAEOLOGIA

adriatica



**Sveučilište u Zadru**  
Universitas Studiorum  
Jadertina | 1396 | 2002 |



SVEUČILIŠTE U ZADRU / UNIVERSITAS STUDIORUM JADERTINA / UNIVERSITY OF ZADAR  
ODJEL ZA ARHEOLOGIJU / DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

UDK 902/904

ARCHAEOL. ADRIAT.

ISSN 1846-4807

# ARCHAEOLIA

adriatica

IZDAVAČ / Publisher  
Sveučilište u Zadru / University of Zadar  
Mihovila Pavlinovića 1, 23000 Zadar, Hrvatska

POVJERENSTVO ZA IZDAVAČKU DJELATNOST / Publishing Committee  
Lena Mirošević (predsjednica / Chair)

GLAVNI I ODGOVORNI UREDNIK / Editor in Chief  
Ante Uglešić

TAJNICA / Secretary  
Josipa Baraka Perica

UREDNIŠTVO / Editorial Board  
Brunislav Marijanović (professor emeritus Sveučilišta u Zadru), Igor Borzić (Sveučilište u Zadru),  
Martina Čelhar (Sveučilište u Zadru), Tomislav Fabijanić (Sveučilište u Zadru),  
Josipa Baraka Perica (Sveučilište u Zadru), Mirja Jarak (Sveučilište u Zagrebu),  
Marko Dizdar (Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb), Biba Teržan (Univerza v Ljubljani),  
Gian Pietro Brogiolo (Università degli Studi di Padova)

ADRESA UREDNIŠTVA / Address of the Editorial Board  
Archaeologia Adriatica  
Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za arheologiju  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV., 2  
23000 Zadar, Hrvatska / Croatia  
Tel. +385(0)23 200 522  
E-mail: archaeologia.adriatica@unizd.hr

ARCHAEOLOGICA ADRIATICA REFERIRA SE U / Archaeologia Adriatica is abstracted and indexed in  
DOAJ: Directory of Open Access Journals  
- Ulrich's international periodicals directory  
- DYABOLA. Sachkatalog der Bibliothek – Römisch-  
Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

DOSTUPNO NA / Available at  
Morepress (morepress.unizd.hr)  
Hrčak. Portal znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske (hrcak.srce.hr)

ČASOPIS IZLAZI JEDNOM GODIŠNJE / Published annually  
ISSN 1846-4807 (Tisak)  
ISSN 1848-9281 (Online)  
DOI 10.15291/archeo

NASLOVNICA / Cover Page  
Foto / Photo: L. Bogdanic

# SADRŽAJ / CONTENTS

KRISTINA HORVAT OŠTRIĆ

Projekt sustavnog terenskog pregleda neolitičkog

nalazišta Graduša – Lokve (Prethodno priopćenje)

*The Systematic field survey of the Neolithic Site*

*of Graduša – Lokve Project (Preliminary communication)*

7

HELENA TOMAS, MIROSLAV VUKOVIĆ

Dvije kamene gomile kod sela Grab – Krivodol kraj Trilja (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Two Stone Cairns by the Village Grab – Krivodol near Trilj (Original scientific paper)*

31

PIO DOMINES PETER

Arheologija otoka Ista: Otočni krajolik i dinamika naseljenosti u svjetlu

preliminarnih rezultata terenskog pregleda (Prethodno priopćenje)

*Archaeology of the Island of Ist: Landscape and population Dynamics in the Light*

*of the Field survey Preliminary Results (Preliminary communication)*

55

MARINA ČELHAR, GREGORY ZARO

Nadin – Gradina: Razvoj grada (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Nadin – Gradina: The Evolution of the City (Original scientific paper)*

103

MARINA UGARKOVIĆ, ANA KONESTRA, PIO DOMINES PETER

Od esencije ljepote do zagonetke smrti: rimske paljevinske grobe

na predjelu Goveja u gradu Visu (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*From the Essence of Beauty to a Riddle of Death: a Roman Incineration*

*Grave in the Goveja Quarter of the Town of Vis (Original scientific paper)*

135

ŽELJANA BAŠIĆ

Indeks tjelesne mase populacija istočne obale Jadrana od antike

do novog vijeka (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Body mass index in the populations of the eastern Adriatic Coast*

*from antiquity to the Modern Period (Original scientific paper)*

163

IVANA KRUŽIĆ

Subadultni stres u kumulativnom uzorku srednjovjekovne

i novovjekovne Dalmacije (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Subadult Stress in a Cumulative Sample of Medieval and*

*Modern-era Dalmatia (Original scientific paper)*

181

LUAN GASHI, QAZIM NAMANI

On The Possibility of Locating the Grave of Pjetër Bogdani

Historical Context and the Mystery of the Tomb of Pjetër Bogdani

(ca. 1630 - 1689) (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*O mogućnosti lociranja groba Pjetëra Bogdanija*

*Povijesni kontekst i zagonetka grobnice Pjetëra Bogdanija*

*(cca 1630. – 1689.) (Original scientific paper)*

201



# ARHEOLOGIJA OTOKA ISTA: OTOČNI KRAJOLIK I DINAMIKA NASELJENOSTI U SVJETLU PRELIMINARNIH REZULTATA TERENSKOG PREGLEDA

## ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ISLAND OF IST: INSULAR LANDSCAPE AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS IN THE LIGHT OF PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE FIELD SURVEY

PIO DOMINES PETER

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

---

UDK: 902(497.581Ist)

DOI: 10.15291/archeo.4291

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / PRELIMINARY COMMUNICATION

Primljeno / Received: 2023-06-22

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 2023-09-18

---

**KLJUČNE RIJEĆI:**  
arheologija otoka,  
zadarsko otoče, otok Ist,  
otočnost, resursi,  
marginalnost

*Arheologija otoka je dinamično i inovativno istraživačko područje usmjereni na proučavanje brojnih pitanja povezanih s otočnim zajednicama, kulturama i okolišem. Usprkos svim istraživačkim potencijalima koje otoci pružaju opće je poznato da su hrvatski otoci slabo arheološki istraženi. Za razliku od brojnih selektivnih pristupa fokusiranih na pojedinačna nalazišta ili razdoblja, rijetki su otoci bili predmetom sustavnih istraživanja usmjerenih na cjelokupni otočni krajolik. Tragom takvih promišljanja 2020. godine pokrenut je studentski istraživački projekt „Arheološki krajolik otoka Ista – Archaeo.IST“ s ciljem analize arheološkog krajolika otoka Ista kao kompleksnog i višeslojnog „arbiva“ podataka koji mogu svjedočiti o dinamičnoj prošlosti otoka. Svojim geografskim položajem kao dio šire cjeline zadarskog otočja, malom površinom i heterogenim krajolikom s visokom razinom očuvanosti otok Ist pružio je idealan poligon za provedbu sustavnog istraživanja. Preliminarni rezultati terenskog pregleda omogućili su stjecanje uvida u slojevitost otočnog krajolika, pružili podlogu za praćenje dinamike naseljenosti i korištenja otoka od prapovijesti do kasnog srednjeg vijeka, a ujedno i otvorili vrata novim pogledima na razumijevanje interakcija ljudskih zajednica u marginalnim okolišima malih jadranskih otoka.*

**KEY WORDS:**  
island archaeology,  
Zadar archipelago,  
island of Ist, insularity,  
resources, marginality

*Island archaeology is a dynamic and innovative field of research focused on the study of numerous issues related to island communities, cultures and environment. Despite all the research potential that the islands provide, it is known that the Croatian islands have been poorly explored in archaeological terms. In contrast to numerous selective approaches focused on individual sites or periods, rare islands have been the subject of systematic research focused on the entire island landscape. As a result of such considerations, the student research project “Archaeological landscape of the island of Ist - Archaeo.IST” was launched in 2020 with the aim of analyzing the archaeological landscape of the island of Ist as a complex and multi-layered “archive” of data that can testify to the dynamic past of the island. With its geographical position as part of the*

wider Zadar archipelago, its small area and heterogeneous landscape with a high level of preservation, the island of Ist provided an ideal testing site for conducting systematic research. The preliminary results of the field survey made it possible to gain insight into the complexity of the island's landscape, provided a basis for monitoring the dynamics of population and use of the island from prehistoric times to the late Middle Ages, and at the same time opened the door to new perspectives on understanding the interactions of human communities in the marginal environments of small Adriatic islands.

## UVOD

Arheologija otoka (engl. *island archaeology*) danas se sve više afirmira kao privlačno, dinamično i inovativno područje arheologije s fokusom na proučavanje otočnih zajednica, njihovih kultura i okoliša. Posljednjih desetljeća prednosti mediteranskih otoka kao istraživačkih područja prepoznati su zbog mogućnosti razmatranja širokog spektra različitih pitanja, poput kolonizacije, krajolika, naseljavanja, ljudskih prilagodbi, migracija, napuštanja, identiteta i uloge otoka u širim mrežama povezanosti i kulturoloških interakcija.<sup>1</sup> Prema posljednjim istraživanjima hrvatski dio Jadrana obuhvaća 1246 otoka, otočića, grebena i hridi.<sup>2</sup> Usprkos svim istraživačkim potencijalima koje otoci pružaju, treba istaknuti da, gledano u cjelini, hrvatski otoci nisu dovoljno arheološki valorizirani, a rijetki od njih su bili predmet opsežnih projekata usmjerenih na istraživanje cijelokupnog otočnog krajolika.<sup>3</sup> Većina studija usmjerenih na istraživanje otoka rijetko proučava male otroke (površine manje od 10 km<sup>2</sup>) koji se stoga ističu kao poseban izazov za istraživanje.<sup>4</sup> Navedene činjenice potaknule su osmišljavanje projekta kojim bi se u središte zanimanja stavio jedan mali sjevernodalmatinski otok koji bi svojim geografskim položajem, malom površinom i heterogenim krajolikom s visokom razinom očuvanosti pružao sve predvjete za provedbu sustavnog istraživanja.

Tragom takvih promišljanja 2020. godine pokrenut je studentski istraživački projekt „Arheološki krajolik otoka Ista – Archaeo.IST“ s ciljem analize arheološkog krajolika

<sup>1</sup> FITZPATRICK 2004: 3–18; DAWSON 2019: 1–8.

<sup>2</sup> DUPLANČIĆ LEDER, UJEVIĆ, ČALA 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Usp. metodologiju i rezultate projekta „Adriatic Islands Project (AIP)“ kojim su obuhvaćeni otoci srednjodalmatinskog otočja u GAFFNEY et al. 1997; STANČIĆ et al. 1999; KIRIGIN et al. 2006. Za otok Lastovo vidi DELLA CASA et al. 2009: 113–136; Za otok Korčulu RADIĆ, BASS 1999: 361–403. Usp. i projekt „Arheološka topografija otoka Raba“ koji je trenutačno u tijeku (KONESTRA et al. 2017; 2019; 2020. i ondje citirana literatura).

<sup>4</sup> FITZPATRICK et al. 2016; ATHANASOULIS et al. 2021; KNODELL et al. 2022.

## INTRODUCTION

Today, island archaeology is asserting itself as an attractive, dynamic and innovative field of archaeology with a focus on the study of island communities, their cultures and environment. In recent decades, the advantages of Mediterranean islands as research areas have been recognized due to the possibility to consider a wide range of different issues, such as colonization, landscape, settlement, human adaptations, migrations, abandonment, identity and the role of islands in wider networks of connections and cultural interactions.<sup>1</sup> According to the latest research, the Croatian part of the Adriatic includes 1,246 islands, islets, reefs and rocks.<sup>2</sup> Despite all the research potentials that the islands offer, it should be emphasized that, viewed as a whole, the Croatian islands have not been sufficiently valorized archaeologically, and few of them have been the subject of extensive projects aimed at investigating the entire island landscape.<sup>3</sup> Most studies focused on island research rarely deal with small islands (areas smaller than 10 km<sup>2</sup>), which therefore stand out as a special challenge for research.<sup>4</sup> The above-mentioned facts encouraged the creation of a project that would focus on a small northern Dalmatian island providing all the prerequisites for the implementation of systematic research with its geographical location, small area and heterogeneous landscape with a high level of preservation.

As a result of such considerations, the student research project “Archaeological landscape of the island of Ist - Archaeo.IST” was launched in

<sup>1</sup> FITZPATRICK 2004: 3–18; DAWSON 2019: 1–8.

<sup>2</sup> DUPLANČIĆ LEDER, UJEVIĆ, ČALA 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the methodology and results of the “Adriatic Islands Project (AIP)”, which included the islands of the Central Dalmatian archipelago, in GAFFNEY et al. 1997; STANČIĆ et al. 1999; KIRIGIN et al. 2006. For the island of Lastovo, see DELLA CASA et al. 2009: 113–136; for the island of Korčula RADIĆ, BASS 1999: 361–403. Cf. also the project “Archaeological topography of the island of Rab” which is currently underway (KONESTRA et al. 2017; 2019; 2020 and the references cited therein).

<sup>4</sup> FITZPATRICK et al. 2016; ATHANASOULIS et al. 2021; KNODELL et al. 2022.

otoka Ista kao kompleksnog i višeslojnog „arhiva“ podataka koji mogu svjedočiti o dinamičnoj prošlosti otoka.<sup>5</sup> Prva faza trogodišnjeg projekta temeljila se na provedbi terenskog pregleda radi prikupljanja podataka na široj prostornoj rezoluciji, a potom, u skladu s planom projekta i postignutim rezultatima, predviđena su ciljana probna iskopavanja na reprezentativnim nalazištima iz pojedinih razdoblja radi dobivanja dodatnih podataka za različite komparativne analize (*inter-site*).<sup>6</sup> Na taj način namjera je prikupiti skup arheoloških izvora iz površinskog i potpovršinskog konteksta čija će interpretacija pokušati odgovoriti na ključna pitanja o prošlosti, razvoju i načinu korištenja malog dalmatinskog otoka, poput ovih: Kada je otok prvi put naseljen? Kako se razvijala dinamika njegove naseljenosti tijekom prošlosti? Na koji se način izdvojenost ili izoliranost malog otoka reflektirala u odnosu prema resursima i otočnom okolišu? Kakav je bio položaj otoka u širem regionalnom kontekstu i mrežama povezanosti?

Otok Ist pripada sjevernodalmatinskoj, odnosno zadarskoj otočnoj skupini (karta 1) koju čine otok Pag, kornatska skupina otoka

<sup>5</sup> Provedba projekta odvijala se u razdoblju od četiri godine (2020. – 2023.). Uz znanstveno-istraživački karakter, dio projekta bio je posvećen aktivnostima na turističkoj valorizaciji i prezentaciji arheološke baštine. Voditelj projekta bio je student arheologije Pio Domines Peter (Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru). Voditelj terenskog pregleda i svih terenskih istraživanja bio je Domagoj Maurin, dipl. arheol. Uz spomenute, u terenskom pregledu su sudjelovali: Jure Mustać, dipl. arheol., Domagoj Knez, Luka Žarković, Karla Genda i Dominik Kelava (studenti Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru). Provedbu projekta omogućila je kontinuirana finansijska podrška Sveučilišta u Zadru u okviru programa za studentske projekte.

<sup>6</sup> U skladu s rezultatima terenskog pregleda definirane su daljnje projektne aktivnosti. Tijekom II. faze projekta (2021.) provedena su manja probna iskopavanja na prapovijesnoj gradini Straža, antičkom nalazištu Selišće i srednjovjekovnom nalazištu Mavrela. Tijekom III. faze projekta (2022.) realizirana su probna sondiranja i na gradini Gracina i Smokvenjak, čime je zaokružen poseban fokus stavljen na tragove kasnoprapovijesne naseljenosti. Naknadno je odlučeno da se tijekom III. faze projekta sustavnim terenskim pregledima obuhvate i manji nenaseljeni otočići iščunskog arhipelaga kako bi se ispitao njihov arheološki potencijal. U tijeku je obrada rezultata istraživanja i priprema za njihovu cjelovitu objavu.

2020 with the aim of analyzing the archaeological landscape of the island of Ist as a complex and multi-layered “archive” of data that can testify to the island’s dynamic past.<sup>5</sup> The first phase of the three-year project was based on the implementation of a field survey in order to collect data at a wider spatial resolution, and then, in accordance with the project plan and the achieved results, targeted trial excavations were planned at representative sites from certain periods in order to obtain additional data for various inter-site analyses.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the intention is to collect a set of archaeological sources from the surface and subsurface context, the interpretation of which will try to answer the crucial questions about the past, development and way of use of the small Dalmatian island, such as: when was the island first inhabited? How did the dynamics of its population develop in the past? In what way was the separation or isolation of the small island reflected in the relationship to the resources and the island environment? What was the position of the island in the wider regional context and

<sup>5</sup> The implementation of the project took place over a period of four years (2020 – 2023). In addition to the scientific-research character, part of the project was focused on activities related to the tourist valorization and presentation of the archaeological heritage. The project leader was archaeology student Pio Domines Peter (Department of Archaeology, University of Zadar). The leader of the field survey and all field investigations was Domagoj Maurin, archaeologist. In addition to the aforementioned, the field survey included the following participants: Jure Mustać, archaeologist, Domagoj Knez, Luka Žarković, Karla Genda and Dominik Kelava (students of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar). The implementation of the project was made possible by the continuous financial support of the University of Zadar within the program for student projects.

<sup>6</sup> Further project activities were defined in accordance with the results of the field survey. During the second phase of the project (2021), smaller trial excavations were carried out at the prehistoric hillfort Straža, the ancient site of Selišće and the medieval site of Mavrela. During the third phase of the project (2022), trial excavations were also carried out at Gracina and Smokvenjak hillforts, which corresponds to the special focus placed on traces of late prehistoric settlement. It was subsequently decided that the third phase of the project should include systematic field surveys of smaller uninhabited islands of the Ist archipelago in order to examine their archaeological potential. Processing of the research results and preparation for their complete publication are underway.



KARTA 1. Geografski položaj otoka Ista (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

MAP 1 Geographical location of the island of Ist (made by P. Domines Peter)

i zadarski otoci u užem smislu. Površinom od 9,73 km<sup>2</sup>, duljinom obalne crte od 23 km i brojem od oko 200 stalnih stanovnika svrsta se u male naseljene jadranske otoke. Smješten između Škarde na sjeverozapadu i Molata na jugoistoku, Ist je dio vanjskog niza otoka čije su zapadne strane otvorene pučini Jadrana. Obale otoka uglavnom su stjenovite, strme i slabo pristupačne (indeks razvedenosti obale je 2,08), s tek nekoliko dubljih i zaštićenih uvala pogodnih za uplovljavanje i sidrenje (Široka, Kosirača, Mljake).<sup>7</sup> Otok Ist slijedi dinarski pravac pružanja (sjeverozapad-jugoistok), a njegov reljefni oblik definiraju dva uzdužna hrpta, jugozapadni s grebenom Gore i Biljavke te istaknutiji sjeveristočni greben s najvišim vrhom Stražom (175 m n. v.). Dvije strane otoka povezane su na središnjem, nazužem dijelu, gdje se na povišenom prostoru između dviju duboko uvu-

netskih uvala nalaze se dve šume.

The island of Ist belongs to the northern Dalmatian or Zadar island group (Map 1), which consists of the island of Pag, the Kornati archipelago and the Zadar islands in the narrower sense. With an area of 9.73 km<sup>2</sup>, a coastline of 23 km and a number of about 200 permanent residents, it is classified as one of the small inhabited Adriatic islands. Located between Škarde in the northwest and Molat in the southeast, Ist is part of the outer chain of islands whose western sides are open to the open sea of the Adriatic. The coasts of the island are mostly rocky, steep and poorly accessible (coast indentation index is 2.08), with only a few deeper and sheltered coves suitable for sailing in and anchoring (Široka, Kosirača, Mljake).<sup>7</sup> The island of Ist follows the Dinaric strike of spreading (northwest-southeast), and its relief shape is defined by two longitudinal ridges, the south-

<sup>7</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 68-69.

<sup>7</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 68-69.

čenih uvala Široke i Kosirače razvilo jedino i istoimeno otočno naselje Ist. U geološkom smislu, otok Ist građen je pretežito od karbonatnih stijena, vapnenaca i dolomita kred-ske, a manjim dijelom i eocenske starosti, koji tvore tipični krški krajolik sa skromnom količinom obradive zemlje (crvenice), koja se u većim naslagama javlja uglavnom na jugoistočnom, a u manjoj mjeri i na središnjem i zapadnom dijelu otoka.<sup>8</sup> Krajolik otoka izgledom se ne razlikuje od drugih susjednih zadarskih otoka koji su danas najvećim dijelom zarasli u gustu vegetaciju. Međutim, sve donedavno raspoložive poljoprivredne površine bile su intenzivno obrađivane, a krčenjem kamena radi dobivanja obradivih površina oblikovan je specifični suhozidni krajolik, dok je ostatak nekultiviranog zemljišta tradicionalno korišten kao pašnjak za uzgoj stoke sitnog zuba, koza i ovaca. Međutim, zbog procesa deagrarizacije i depopulacije danas su takve površine zapuštene i prekrivenе gustim raslinjem makije i crnike koje otežava pristupačnost znatnom dijelu otoka, a prohodnost usmjerava samo na one dijelove do kojih postoje prohodni putovi (sl. 1).<sup>9</sup> Unatoč tomu, krajolik otoka danas je sačuvao visoku razinu izvornosti i izbjegao veliku izgrađenost i degradaciju koja je uglavnom ograničena uz pojas današnjeg naselja. Poput ostalih susjednih otoka, otok Ist obilježava sredozemna klima s blagim i kišovitim zima-ma te toplim i suhim ljetima, dok su najčešći vjetrovi bura, jugo i maestral.<sup>10</sup> Na otoku nema stalnih površinskih izvora vode jer usprkos razmjerno znatnim količinama oborina (prosječna godišnja vrijednost količine padalina je 889 mm), propusna karbonatna podloga uzrokuje njihovo otjecanje.<sup>11</sup> Stoga je nedostatak pitke vode u prošlosti najčešće nadoknađivan korištenjem bunara s boća-

western one with peaks Gora and Biljavka and the more prominent northeastern ridge with the highest summit Straža (175 masl). The two sides of the island are connected at the central, narrowest part, where the only island settlement of the same name, Ist, has developed on the elevated area between the two deeply indented coves of Široka and Kosirača. In the geological sense, the island of Ist is built predominantly of carbonate rocks, limestones and dolomites of Cretaceous and, to a lesser extent, Eocene age, which form a typical karst landscape with a modest amount of arable land (terra rossa), which occurs in larger deposits mainly in the southeastern, and somewhat less in the central and western part of the island.<sup>8</sup> The landscape of the island does not differ in appearance from other neighboring Zadar islands, which today are mostly overgrown with dense vegetation. However, until recently, all available agricultural areas were intensively cultivated, and specific dry stone wall landscape was formed by clearing stone to obtain arable areas, while the rest of the uncultivated land was traditionally used as pasture for breeding goats and sheep. However, due to the process of deagrarianization and depopulation, today such areas are neglected and covered with dense vegetation of maquis and holm oak, which makes it difficult to access a significant part of the island, so that only those parts to which there are unobstructed paths can be reached (Fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the landscape of the island today has preserved a high level of originality and avoided large-scale construction and degradation, which is mostly limited to the belt of today's settlement. Like the other neighboring islands, the island of Ist is characterized by a Mediterranean climate with mild and rainy winters and warm and dry summers, while the most common winds are *bura*, *jugo* and *mistral*.<sup>10</sup> There are no permanent surface water sources on the island, because despite rel-

<sup>8</sup> HUSNJAK 2010: 121–136; MORO, ČOSOVIĆ, MARTON 2010: 93–94.

<sup>9</sup> PANDŽA 2010: 187–208.

<sup>10</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 79.

<sup>11</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 82–83.

<sup>8</sup> HUSNJAK 2010: 121–136; MORO, ČOSOVIĆ, MARTON 2010: 93–94.

<sup>9</sup> PANDŽA 2010: 187–208.

<sup>10</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 79.



SLIKA 1. Pogled na središnji (a) i jugoistočni dio otoka (b) (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

FIGURE 1 View of the central (a) and southeastern part of the island (b) (photo by P. Domines Peter)

tom vodom ili gradnjom umjetnih kaptaža u obliku cisterni ili lokava. Najveća lokva koja nosi ime Jezero nalazi se na jugoistočnom dijelu otoka, presušuje isključivo za visoko sušnih razdoblja, a u literaturi se spominje i nekoliko manjih izvora boćate vode (lokalni naziv *studenci*) koji su danas uglavnom zatrpani i izvan uporabe.<sup>12</sup> Takva prirodno-geografska osnova sa skromnim resursima na maloj površini imala je presudno značenje za dinamiku naseljavanja, načine korištenja zemljišta i razvoj strategija održivosti otočnih zajednica.

Arheološki potencijali otoka Ista dosad nisu privukli znatniju pozornost arheologa. Količinom podataka iz terenskih istraživanja izdvaja se tek doprinos Š. Batovića koji se jedini detaljnije dotaknuo arheološke baštine otoka Ista.<sup>13</sup> Ostali su publicirani podatci vrlo skromni, općenitog sadržaja, često počivaju na topografsko-toponimskim studijama, a nerijetko su i plod selektivnog pristupa usmjerenog na pojedino razdoblje ili nalazište u fokusu istraživača.<sup>14</sup> Posljedica takvih istra-

zivno significant amounts of precipitation (the average annual value of the amount of precipitation is 889 mm), the permeable carbonate substrate causes their runoff.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the lack of drinking water in the past was most often compensated by using wells with brackish water or by building artificial catchments in the form of cisterns or ponds. The largest pond named Jezero is located in the southeastern part of the island, it dries up only during periods of extreme drought, and several smaller sources of brackish water (locally called *studenci*) are mentioned in the literature, which today are mostly filled in and out of use.<sup>12</sup> Such a natural-geographic basis with modest resources on a small area had a crucial significance for the dynamics of settlement, ways of land use and the development of strategies for the sustainability of island communities.

The archaeological potentials of the island of Ist have not attracted significant attention of archaeologists so far. In terms of the amount of data from field investigations, only the contribution of Š. Batović stands out, as he was the only one who dealt with the archaeological heritage of the island of Ist in more detail.<sup>13</sup> Other published data are very modest, of general content, often based on topographic-toponymic studies, and frequently the result of a selective approach focused on a particular

<sup>12</sup> ČUKA, MAGAŠ 2003: 67–86; MAGAŠ 2010: 63–92.

<sup>13</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 213–220.

<sup>14</sup> FILIPI 1960: 143; BATOVIĆ 1973: 5–165; 1974: 21–34; SKRAČIĆ 1996: 156–162; ČUKA, MAGAŠ 2003: 67; VLASANOVIĆ (n.d.). Među rijetkim publiciranim arheološkim nalazima ističe se ostava bizantskih zlatnika iz 6. stoljeća na položaju „Pod Turtulom“ (BULIĆ 1900: 192). Ciljani pregled arheoloških nalazišta na otoku Istu provenjen je i 90-ih godina kao sastavni dio projekta „Naseljenje zadarsko-šibenskog otočja do početka 20. st.“ (voditelj: S. Čaće), međutim, rezultati do danas nisu objavljeni (usmeno priopćenje: A. Kurilić).

<sup>11</sup> MAGAŠ 2010: 82–83.

<sup>12</sup> ČUKA, MAGAŠ 2003: 67–86; MAGAŠ 2010: 63–92.

<sup>13</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 213–220.

živačkih perspektiva je znatna kvalitativna varijabilnost podataka koja postavlja prepreku u cjelovitom znanstvenom vrednovanju arheološke baštine.

## METODOLOGIJA

Fokus prve faze projekta bila je primjena terenskog pregleda koji se u nizu primjera dokazao kao jedna od najuspješnijih neinvazivnih metoda za istraživanje mediteranskih otočnih krajolika.<sup>15</sup> Za potrebe organizacije terenskog pregleda otok je podijeljen na kvadratnu mrežu (okvirnih dimenzija 250 x 250 m, označeni A–U, numerirani 1–15). Gusta vegetacija, koja danas prekriva veći dio otoka, te smanjuje razinu površinske vidljivosti i otežava mogućnosti sistematičnog kretanja uvjetovala je prilagodbu istraživačke strategije. Umjesto prvotne ideje obuhvata cijelog otoka, selekcijom jedinica prema razrađenim kriterijima prohodnosti, zahtjevnosti terena i površinske vidljivosti odabran je tek dio jedinica – 128 kvadrata (ukupno 5,8 km<sup>2</sup>; 60 % površine otoka) koje formiraju zonu obuhvaćenu pregledom (karta 2).<sup>16</sup> Dio otoka koji je ostao izvan zone pregleda uglavnom karakterizira neprohodni teren s gustom vegetacijom, većim dijelom na strmim padinama, a takvi uvjeti gotovo u potpunosti anuliraju mogućnosti kretanja i pregleda površine, time izazivajući i efikasnost te isplativost metode terenskog pregleda kao načina vrednovanja arheoloških potencijala takvih prostora. Provedba terenskog pregleda temeljila se na suksesivnoj prospekciji odabranih kvadrata (od jugozapadnog prema jugoistočnom dijelu otoka) koji su, ovisno o varijacijama u razini površinske vidljivosti, pregledani kombinacijom sustavnog i nesustavnog kretanja. Sistematičan linijski pregled površine proveden je na način da se osigura što veća i detaljnija

period or site in the focus of the researcher.<sup>14</sup> The consequence of such research perspectives is significant qualitative data variability, which poses an obstacle in the complete scientific evaluation of archaeological heritage.

## METHODOLOGY

The focus of the first phase of the project was field survey, which has proven to be one of the most successful non-invasive methods for investigating Mediterranean island landscapes in a number of examples.<sup>15</sup> For the purposes of organizing the field survey, the island was divided into a square grid (approximate dimensions 250 x 250 m, marked A–U, numbered 1–15). The dense vegetation that covers a large part of the island, reduces the level of surface visibility and hinders the possibility of systematic movement, conditioned the adjustment of the research strategy. Instead of the original idea of encompassing the entire island, only some of the units - 128 square meters (total of 5.8 km<sup>2</sup>; 60% of the island's area) that form the zone included in the survey - were selected according to detailed criteria of passability, terrain characteristics and surface visibility (Map 2).<sup>16</sup> The part of the island that remained outside the survey zone is mainly characterized by impassable terrain with dense vegetation, mostly on steep slopes, and such conditions almost completely prevent the possibility of movement and inspection of the surface, thus challenging the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the field survey method as

<sup>14</sup> FILIPI 1960: 143; BATOVIC 1973: 5-165; 1974: 21-34; SKRAČIĆ 1996: 156-162; ČUKA, MAGAŠ 2003: 67; VLASANOVIĆ (n.d.). A hoard of Byzantine golden coins from the 6th century at the location Pod Turtulom stands out among the rare published archaeological finds (BULIĆ 1900: 192). A targeted survey of archaeological sites on the island of Ist was also carried out in the 1990s as an integral part of the project "Settlement of the Zadar-Šibenik islands until the beginning of the 20th century" (leader S. Čače). However, the results have not been published to date (oral communication with A. Kurilić).

<sup>15</sup> GAFFNEY et al. 2006: 89-106; BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013; DAWSON 2019: 4; KNODELL et al. 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Naseljeno područje isključeno je iz pregleda.

<sup>15</sup> BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013; DAWSON 2019: 4; GAFFNEY et al. 2006: 89–106; KNODELL et al. 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Naseljeno područje isključeno je iz pregleda.

pokrivenost površine, dok je nesustavni pre-gled oblik prilagodbe na terenske uvjete, koji bez obzira na to što nepravilnim kretanjem ne pruža mogućnost potpune pokrivenosti, ne mora nužno utjecati na smanjenje intenziteta pregleda.<sup>17</sup>

Tijekom terenskog pregleda, uz dokumen-tiranje arheoloških struktura, sustavno je re-gistrirana disperzija površinskih artefakata uz bilježenje podataka o brojnosti nalaza, kontek-stu pojave te prirodnim ili antropogenim pro-cesima koji su mogli izravno utjecati na njihov položaj. Posebna se pozornost pridala registri-ranju površinskih nalaza izvan konteksta na-lazišta. Najveći broj lokacija s takvim nalazi-ma (više od 70 %) otkriven je na položajima kamenih krčevina gdje se njihova dominantna pojava povezuje s intenzivnim transformacij-skim procesima krčenja zemljišta i odbaciva-nja pokretnog arheološkog materijala, a veća je šansa za otkrivanje uz bolje mogućnosti pro-hodnosti i veću razinu površinske vidljivosti koje omogućuje „kameno okruženje“. Kako bi se pratile varijacije u brojnosti površinskih nalaza u poslijeterenskoj obradi podataka dife-rencirane su dvije kategorije: pojedinačni nala-zzi (1) i skupni nalazi ( $\geq 2$  nalaza po lokaciji).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> KULENOVIĆ 2019: 264. Na temelju zračnih fotografija unutar svake kvadrantne jedinice unaprijed su diferencirane tzv. zarasle zone (visoko zarasla područja sa smanjenom vidljivošću koja su nesustavno pregledana) i tzv. otvorene zone (područja s niskom vegetacijom i dobrom površin-skom vidljivošću gdje je primijenjen sustavni pregled).

<sup>18</sup> Vrlo sličan pristup primjenjen je i u projektu Neoter-malna Dalmacija (*Neothermal Dalmatia Project*). Usp. CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC 1996: 50. Takva podjela upotrijebljena je i zbog činjenice da tijekom terenskog pre-gleda nisu korišteni geodetski uređaji (npr. diferencijalni GPS prijamnik) koji bi omogućili precizno bilježenje ge-ografskog položaja svakog (pojedinačnog) površinskog nalaza. Korišteni ručni GPS uređaji imaju minimalno od-stupanje do 5 m, stoga je takva udaljenost prihvaćena kao granični prag pri razdvajaju dviju koncentracija nalaza koje su blisko udaljene. Pristup se nije pokazao u potpuno-sti pogodnim za položaje (nalazišta) s velikom količinom i gustoćom površinskih nalaza (isključivo nalazište Selišće), stoga se na takvim mjestima, uz detaljnu pokrivenost, su-stavno bilježenje nastojalo osigurati izdvajanjem manjih zona koncentracije nalaza (koji su dokumentirani kao položaji „skupnih nalaza“ pod jednu geografsku točku). Pritom je posebno pomogla činjenica da se većina površinskih nalaza na nalazištu Selišće pojavljuje na površina-

a way of evaluating the archaeological potential of such space. The implementation of the field survey was based on the successive prospecting of selected squares (from the southwestern to the southeastern part of the island) which, de-pending on the variations in the level of surface visibility, were inspected by a combination of systematic and non-systematic movement. A systematic linear inspection of the surface was carried out in such a way as to ensure the largest and most detailed coverage of the surface, while an unsystematic inspection is a form of adapta-tion to field conditions, which, regardless of the fact that irregular movement does not provide the possibility of complete coverage, does not necessarily result in the reduction of the inten-sity of the survey.<sup>17</sup>

During the field survey, in addition to docu-menting the archaeological structures, the dis-persion of surface artefacts was systematically recorded, with data on the number of finds, the context of occurrence, and natural or an-thropogenic processes that could directly affect their location. Special attention was paid to re-cording surface finds outside the context of the site. The largest number of locations with such finds (more than 70%) were discovered in the positions of stone rubble, where their dominant appearance is linked to intensive transfor-mation processes of land clearing and discarding of movable archaeological material, and a greater chance of discovery is associated with better ac-cessibility and a higher level of surface visibility provided by the “stone environment”. In order to monitor variations in the number of surfaces finds in post-survey data processing, two cate-gories were differentiated: individual finds (1) and collective finds ( $\geq 2$  finds per location).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> KULENOVIĆ 2019: 264. On the basis of aerial photo-graphs, two zone types were differentiated within each quadrant unit, the so-called overgrown zones (highly over-grown areas with reduced visibility that were inspected unsystematically) and the so-called open zones (areas with low vegetation and good surface visibility where systematic survey was applied).

<sup>18</sup> A very similar approach was applied in the *Neothermal Dalmatia Project*. Cf. CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC

Uz krčenje kao jedan od najizraženijih transformacijskih procesa u krškom prostoru, koji je osobito izražen i kroz suhozidni krajolik otoka Ista,<sup>19</sup> registrirani su i drugi procesi koji su, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, uzrokovali pomicanje arheoloških izvora, poput intenzivne reupotrebe kamenog materijala ili životinjskih disturbacija.<sup>20</sup> Pri terenskom su pregledu prikupljeni i podatci o okolišnim varijablama i prirodnim strukturama koji su tijekom prošlosti mogli utjecati na način i karakter korištenja zemljišta (npr. gliništa, lokve, speleološki objekti).

S druge strane, arheološke strukture i nalazi su opisani i fotografski dokumentirani (*Canon EOS 1200D*, *Canon EOS 100D*), a na mjestima gdje je to bilo moguće napravljena su i fotogrametrijska snimanja (korištenjem bespilotnih letjelica *DJI Mavic Mini 2* i *DJI Mavic Air 2S*), radi generiranja 3D modela. Za registriranje geografskog položaja korišteni su GPS uređaji (*Garmin Etrex 10*, *Garmin Etrex 20*), a za orijentaciju i praćenje trase kretanja mobilne aplikacije (*GPX Viewer*, *ViewRanger*) u koje je importirana pripremljena mreža kvadrantata. Osobito su se lako dostupne mobilne aplikacije pokazale vrlo korisnim alatom za praćenje pokrivenosti terena i evaluaciju ukupnog dnevnog učinka svakog pregledača.

Kao komplementarne metode primijenjene su analize zračnih fotografija, satelitskih snimki, povjesnih karata i fotografija, topografskih karata, arhivske građe, a prikupljena su i usmena kazivanja lokalnih stanovnika. Terenski pregled pratilo je korištenje Geo-

ma kamenih krčevina, uskih struktura gdje se njihova raširenost i koncentracija mogla relativno jednostavno pratiti i odvojiti.

<sup>19</sup> Više od 1/6 otoka prekriva guta mreža suhozidnih struktura (lokalni naziv *mocira*) najvećim dijelom nastalih tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća intenzivnim krčenjem zbog sadnje vinograda.

<sup>20</sup> Disturbacija životinja odnosi se na rovanje divljih veprova koje katkad otvara dragocjeni „prozor“ u potpovršinski kontekst. Razgradivanje i reupotreba kamenog materijala s antičke (ili prapovijesne) arhitekture česta je praksa u suhozidnom krajoliku, zabilježena i na otoku Istu.

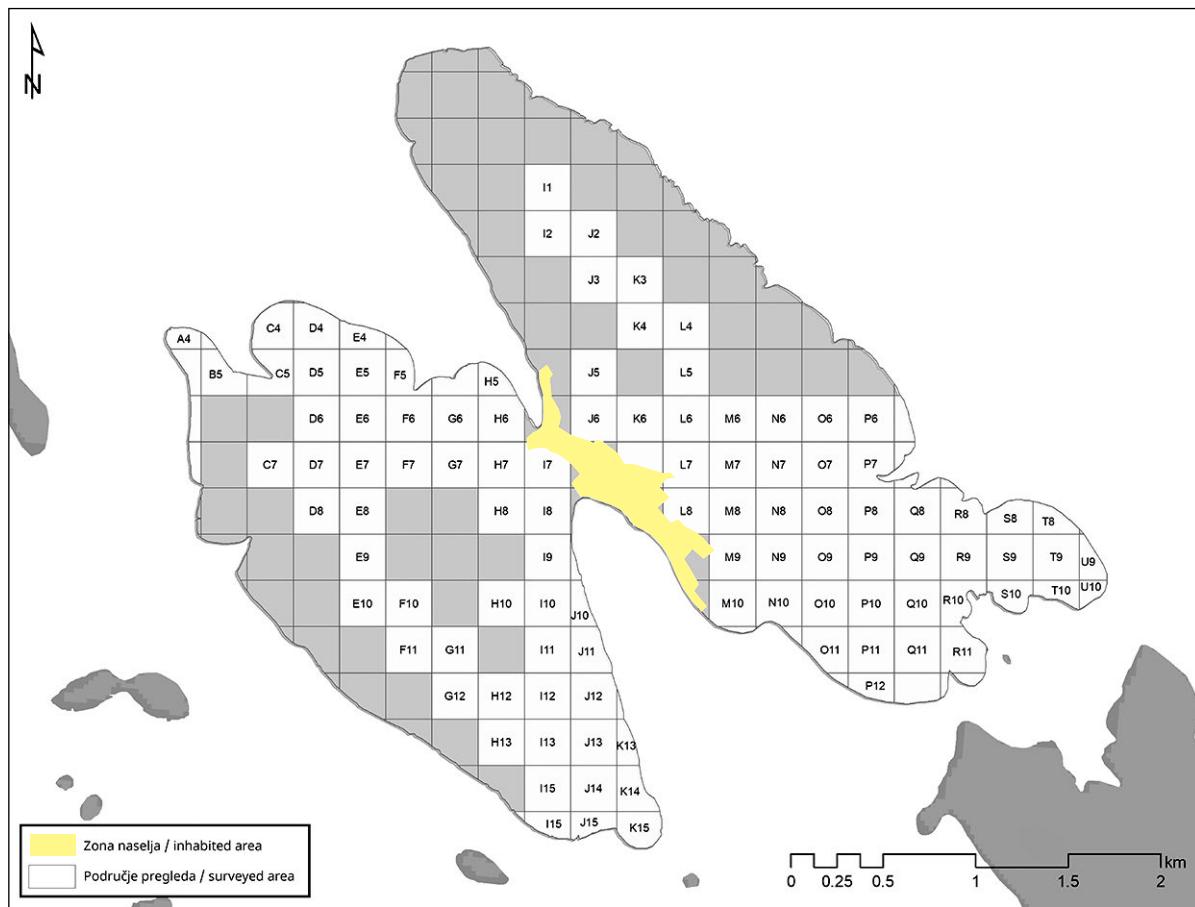
In addition to clearing as one of the most distinct transformation processes in the karst area, which is particularly noticeable in the dry stone wall landscape of the island of Ist,<sup>19</sup> other processes were also recorded that, more or less, caused the movement of archaeological sources, such as the intensive reuse of stone material or animal disturbances.<sup>20</sup> During the field survey, data was also collected on environmental variables and natural structures that could influence the manner and character of land use in the past (e.g. clay pits, ponds, speleological structures).

On the other hand, the archaeological structures and finds were described and photographically documented (Canon EOS 1200D, Canon EOS 100D), and where possible, photogrammetric recordings were made (using the DJI Mavic Mini 2 and DJI Mavic Air 2S drones) to generate a 3D model. GPS devices (Garmin Etrex 10, Garmin Etrex 20) were used to register the geographical position. For orientation and tracking we used mobile applications (GPX Viewer, ViewRanger) into which a prepared grid of squares was imported. In particular, easily available mobile appli-

1996: 50. Such a division was also used due to the fact that no geodetic devices (e.g. differential GPS receiver) were used during the field survey, which would allow precise recording of the geographical position of each (individual) surface find. The used handheld GPS devices have a minimum deviation of up to 5 m, therefore such a distance is accepted as a threshold when separating two concentrations of finds that are closely spaced. The approach did not prove to be completely suitable for locations (sites) with a large amount and high density of surface finds (only the Selišće site), therefore, in such places, with detailed coverage, we tried to ensure systematic recording by separating smaller zones of concentration of finds (which were documented as positions of “collective finds” under one geographical point). Fortunately, most of the surface finds at the Selišće site appear on the surfaces of narrow structures of stone rubble where their spread and concentration could be relatively easily tracked and separated.

<sup>19</sup> More than 1/6 of the island is covered by a dense network of dry-stone wall structures (local name *mocira*) most of which were created during the 18th and 19th centuries by intensive clearing due to the planting of vineyards.

<sup>20</sup> Animal disturbance refers to the burrowing of wild boars, which sometimes opens a precious “window” into the subsurface context. Decomposing and reusing stone material from ancient (or prehistoric) structures is a common practice in the dry-stone wall landscape, also recorded on the island of Ist.



KARTA 2. Područje istraživanja i mreža kvadratnata (izradio: P. Domines Peter)  
MAP 2 Survey area and quadrant grid (made by P. Domines Peter)

grafskog informacijskog sustava (*Esri ArcGIS 10.7*) kao osnovne platforme za organizaciju pregleda, praćenje dinamike rada, sistematiziranje i obradu svih vrsta registriranih podataka.

## REZULTATI TERENSKOG PREGLEDA

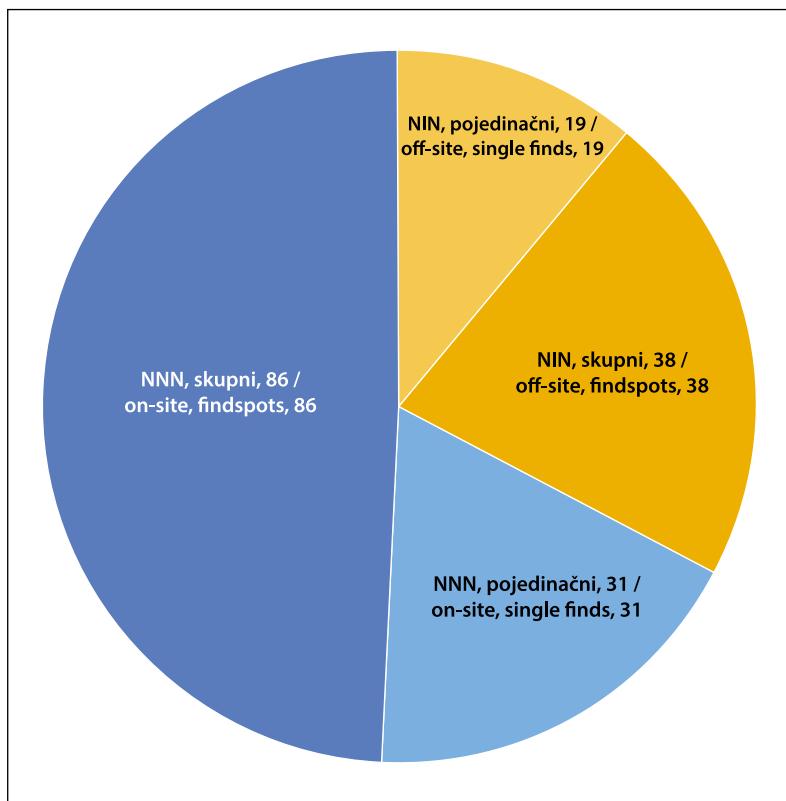
Terenski pregled proveden je krajem rujna i početkom listopada u razdoblju od osam dana, istraživačka ekipa brojila je 6 – 8 članova, pri čemu je prosječni radni dan iznosio oko 10 sati. Analiza svih trasa kretanja pregledača pokazala je da je njihov ukupni zbroj oko 121,4 km. Prosječna ukupna dnevna trasa kretanja iznosila je 15,18 km ili po jednom pregledaču 2,16 km. Dnevno je u prosjeku pregledano 14 – 16 kvadratnih jedinica.

cations have proven to be a very useful tool for monitoring field coverage and evaluating the overall daily performance of each fieldwalker.

Analyses of aerial photographs, satellite images, historical maps and photographs, topographical maps, archival materials were applied as complementary methods, and oral accounts of local residents were also collected. The field survey was accompanied by the use of the Geographical Information System (*Esri ArcGIS 10.7*) as a basic platform for organizing the survey, monitoring the dynamics of work, systematizing and processing all types of registered data.

## FIELD SURVEY RESULTS

The field survey was carried out at the end of September and at the beginning of October in a period of 8 days. The research team consist-



**DIJAGRAM 1.** Kvantitativni podatci o površinskim nalazima u različitim kategorijama (NIN i NNN, pojedinačni i skupni) (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

**DIAGRAM 1** Quantitative data on surface finds in different categories (NIN and NNN, individual and collective) (made by P. Domines Peter)

Tijekom terenskog pregleda zabilježene su ukupno 174 lokacije s površinskim nalazima, što prosječno predstavlja oko 1,4 lokacije po kvadrantu. Nalazi unutar pojedinačne lokacije su evidentirani u različitim količinama, pa je zabilježeno 50 lokacija s pojedinačnim nalazima i 124 lokacije sa skupnim nalazima (dijagram 1). Primjetna je izraženija gustoća lokacija s površinskim nalazima na jugozapadnom dijelu otoka (karta 3).<sup>21</sup>

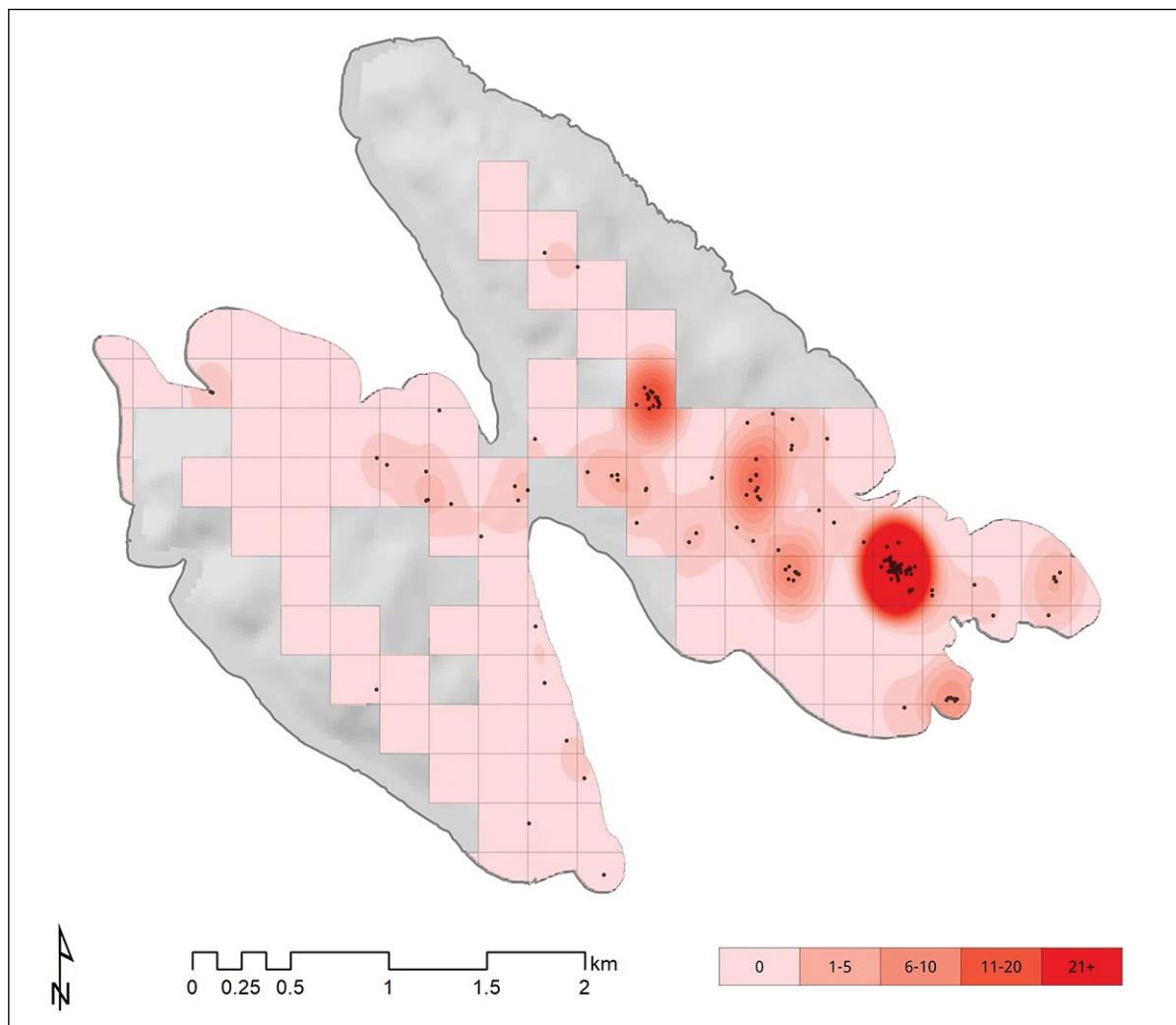
Tijekom terenskog pregleda evidentirano je 412 pokretnih nalaza, dok su prikupljena 272 nalaza. Većinu nalaza predstavljaju keramički ulomci koji su kronološki kategorizirani u četiri skupine: prapovijesna keramika, antička keramika, srednjovjekovna i novovjekovna keramika te kategorija neo-

ed of 6-8 members, with the average working day lasting about 10 hours. The analysis of all routes of the fieldwalkers' movements showed that their total sum is about 121.4 km. The average total daily travel route was 15.18 km or 2.16 km per fieldwalker. On average, 14-16 square units were inspected per day.

During the field survey, a total of 174 locations with surface finds were recorded, which represents an average of about 1.4 locations per quadrant. Finds within an individual location were recorded in different quantities, so 50 locations with individual finds and 124 locations with collective finds were recorded (Diagram 1). A more pronounced density of locations with surface finds is noticeable in the southwestern part of the island (Map 3).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Za razliku od zapadnog dijela otoka, na jugoistočnom dijelu otoka mnogo je više otvorenih površina dobre površinske vidljivosti gdje je bilo moguće primijeniti sustavni pregled površine, što se vjerojatno poslijedično odrazilo i u broju zabilježenih lokacija s površinskim nalazima. S druge strane, i koncentracija nalazišta iz različitih razdoblja upućuje na to da je taj dio otoka bio u izraženijem fokusu ljudskih aktivnosti.

<sup>21</sup> Unlike the western part of the island, the southeastern part has many more open areas with good surface visibility where it was possible to apply systematic survey of the surface, which was probably consequently reflected in the number of recorded locations with surface finds. On the other hand, the concentration of sites from different periods also indicates that this part of the island was a more pronounced focus of human activities.



KARTA 3. Prostorna distribucija i gustoća površinskih nalaza (svaka točka predstavlja jedan položaj s nalazima) (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

MAP 3 Spatial distribution and density of surface finds (each point represents one location with finds) (made by P. Domines Peter)

dredive keramike (ostalo).

Pri obradi podataka napravljena je podjela površinskih nalaza na nalaze izvan nalazišta (NIN) i nalaze na nalazištima (NNN).<sup>22</sup> U slučaju nalaza izvan nalazišta riječ je o artefaktima koji su uglavnom odvojeni od nekog relevantnog arheološkog konteksta koji se može odrediti kao arheološko nalazište.<sup>23</sup> Slijedom toga, izdvojeno je 57 lokacija NIN-a i 117 lo-

During the field survey, 412 small finds were recorded, while 272 finds were collected. The majority of finds are ceramic fragments, which are chronologically categorized into four groups: prehistoric pottery, ancient pottery, medieval and post-medieval pottery, and the category of indeterminate pottery (other).

When processing the data, surface finds were divided into off-site artifacts (NIN) and on-site artifacts (NNN).<sup>22</sup> The off-site artifacts refer to artefacts that are mostly separated from some relevant archaeological context that can be deter-

<sup>22</sup> BINTLIFF, SNODGRASS 1998: 506–518; ČUČKOVIĆ 2012: 262–265. Umjesto termina *off-site* i *on-site* artefakata, koji su uvriježeni u stranoj terminologiji, kao odgovarajuće supstitucije na hrvatskom jeziku predloženi su pojmovi „nalazi izvan nalazišta“ i „nalazi na nalazištima“ (vidi kod KULENOVIĆ 2019: 263).

<sup>23</sup> NOVAKOVIĆ 2003: 142.

<sup>22</sup> BINTLIFF, SNODGRASS 1998: 506-518; ČUČKOVIĆ 2012: 262-265.

kacija NNN-a (prilog 1). Na taj način nastalo je jasno diferencirati dvije skupine nalaza – jedna koja je povezana s kontekstom nalazišta kao nukleusom ljudskih aktivnosti i druga čije deponiranje može biti posljedica različitih privremenih ili povremenih radnji, koji, premda često ne ostavljaju važnijih tragova u strukturnoj modifikaciji krajolika, mogu biti važan pokazatelj o prostornom opsegu i intenzitetu upotrebe prostora. Preliminarna analiza dijagnostičkih keramičkih nalaza koji pripadaju kategoriji NIN-a pokazala je najveću zastupljenost antičke, potom srednjovjekovne/novovjekovne, dok je najmanje prapovijesne keramike.

Terenskim pregledom registrirano je ukupno 17 položaja koji su izdvojeni kao arheološka nalazišta (označeni IST 001-017). Većina registriranih nalazišta nije bila poznata u stručnoj literaturi. Najveći broj nalazišta može se kronološki smjestiti u prapovijesno razdoblje (3; IST 001-003), slijedi ga antičko razdoblje (2; IST 004-005) i kasni srednji vijek (1; IST 006). Kao posebna kategorija nalazišta izdvojene su kamene gomile (11; IST 007-017).

## DINAMIKA NASELJENOSTI I TRANSFORMACIJE OTOČNOG KRAJOLIKA: DIJAKRONIJSKA PERSPEKTIVA

Preliminarni rezultati istraživanja pružili su uvid u strukturiranost i slojevitost otočnog krajolika i omogućili niz podataka pomoću kojih je moguće pratiti dijakronijske promjene u dinamici naseljavanja i prostorne okupacije kao procesa koji su se događali zbog specifičnih kulturnih, društvenih i gospodarskih okolnosti.<sup>24</sup> Transformacija krajolika promatra se u razdoblju od prapovijesti do kasnog srednjeg vijeka, odnosno ranog novog vijeka, a gornja kronološka granica definirana je činjenicom

mined as an archaeological site.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, 57 NIN locations and 117 NNN locations were singled out (Appendix 1). In this way, an effort was made to clearly differentiate two groups of finds - one that is related to the context of the site as a nucleus of human activities, and the other whose deposition may be the result of various temporary or occasional actions, which, although they often do not leave significant traces in the structural modification of the landscape, may be an important indicator of spatial extent and intensity of space use. A preliminary analysis of diagnostic pottery finds belonging to the category of NIN showed the greatest representation of ancient pottery followed by medieval/post-medieval ceramic artefacts while there were least prehistoric ceramic finds.

The field survey recorded a total of 17 positions that were singled out as archaeological sites (marked IST 001-017). Most of the recorded sites were not known in the professional literature. The largest number of sites can be chronologically associated with the prehistoric period (3; IST 001-003), followed by antiquity (2; IST 004-005) and the late Middle Ages (1; IST 006). Stone mounds (11; IST 007-017) were singled out as a special site category.

## SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE INSULAR LANDSCAPE: A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

The preliminary results of the research provided an insight into the structure and complexity of the insular landscape and offered data with which it is possible to monitor diachronic changes in the dynamics of settlement and spatial occupation as processes that occurred due to specific cultural, social and economic circumstances.<sup>24</sup> The transformation of the landscape

<sup>23</sup> NOVAKOVIĆ 2003: 142.

<sup>24</sup> BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013; DAWSON 2014; KNAPP, VAN DOMMELEN 2014: 7-8.

<sup>24</sup> BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013; DAWSON 2014; KNAPP, VAN DOMMELEN 2014: 7-8.

da se sredinom 17. stoljeća događaju bitne promjene u strukturi vlasništva koje će definirati pravce daljnog razvoja otoka.<sup>25</sup>

### *Prapovijest*

Najstariji zabilježeni trag ljudskih aktivnosti je strugalo (*NIN*), pojedinačni nalaz s položaja Ogradica u uvali Mljakama, koji pokazuje karakteristike musterijenske kulture (srednji paleolitik) (T. I/1).<sup>26</sup> Nalaz litičkih izrađevina na otoku Istu potvrda je da je i područje Ista bilo uključeno u prostor kretanja paleolitičkih skupina u potrazi za ležištima za izradu i obradu alata, a moguće ga je sagledati u okviru drugih paleolitičkih nalaza na sjevernodalmatinskim otocima koji se javljuju u kontekstima sličnih geoloških formacija.<sup>27</sup>

Za rekonstrukciju prapovijesnog okoliša i razumijevanje najranijih obrazaca ljudskih kretanja i iskorištavanja resursa ključnu ulogu ima proučavanje promjena obalnih linija. To je posebno važno i u kontekstu razumijevanja kulturnih koncepata poput „teritorijalnosti“ ili „limitiranosti“ koji utječu na ljudsko ponašanje.<sup>28</sup> Nakon posljednje velike oledbe krajem pleistocena koja je znatno promijenila sliku regionalnog krajolika otok Ist i Molat vjerojatno su bili dio iste otočne cjeline. Oblikovanje današnje obalne linije u znatnoj je mjeri povezano s kasnijom postpleistocenskom trangresijom mora koja je postupno dovela do potapanja Zapunelskog prolaza i razdvajanja dvaju otoka.<sup>29</sup> Ne zanemarujući utjecaje lokalnih tektonskih procesa, ako se najveće dubine Zapunelskog prolaza, koje na mjestu

is observed in the period from prehistory to the late Middle Ages, that is, the early Modern Age, and the upper chronological limit is defined by the fact that during the middle of the 17th century, significant changes took place in the ownership structure that would define the direction of the island's further development.<sup>25</sup>

### *Prehistory*

The oldest recorded trace of human activity is a scraper (*NIN*), a single find from the location of Ogradica in Mljeke cove, which shows the characteristics of the Mousterian culture (Middle Palaeolithic) (Pl. I/1).<sup>26</sup> The discovery of lithic artefacts on the island of Ist is a confirmation that the area of Ist was also included in the area of movement of Palaeolithic groups in search of deposits for the manufacture and processing of tools, and it can be observed in the context of other Palaeolithic finds on the northern Dalmatian islands that occur in contexts of similar geological formations.<sup>27</sup>

For the reconstruction of the prehistoric environment and the understanding of the earliest patterns of human movements and exploitation of resources, the study of changes in coastlines plays a key role. This is especially important in the context of understanding cultural concepts such as “territoriality” or “limitation” that influence human behaviour.<sup>28</sup> After the last great glacial period at the end of the Pleistocene, which significantly changed the image of the regional landscape, the islands of Ist and Molat were probably part of the same island unit. The for-

<sup>25</sup> Ključni događaj u povijesnom razvoju otoka dogodio se 1639. kada je na javnoj dražbi u Zadru otok prodan te iz komunalnog prelazi u privatno vlasništvo imućne zadarske porodice Lantana. Privatizacija otoka potaknut će nove ili intenzivirati postojeće obrasce iskorištavanja otočnih resursa (JURAN 2010: 232).

<sup>26</sup> Na determinaciji nalaza zahvaljujemo M. Bodrožiću.

<sup>27</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 51-53; VUJEVIĆ 2009: 2, 42; KRILE, VUJEVIĆ 2017: 24.

<sup>28</sup> SHACKLETON, VAN ANDEL, RUNNELS 1984: 312; DAWSON 2014: 22.

<sup>29</sup> VAN ANDEL 1990: 151-152; BATOVIC 2010: 214.

<sup>25</sup> A crucial event in the historical development of the island took place in 1639, when the island was sold at a public auction in Zadar, thus no longer in communal but private ownership of the wealthy Lantana family from Zadar. Privatization of the island will encourage new or intensify existing patterns of exploitation of the island's resources (JURAN 2010: 232).

<sup>26</sup> We would like to thank M. Bodrožić for determining the finds.

<sup>27</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 51-53; VUJEVIĆ 2009: 2, 42; KRILE, VUJEVIĆ 2017: 24.

<sup>28</sup> SHACKLETON, VAN ANDEL, RUNNELS 1984: 312; DAWSON 2014: 22.

najbližeg dodira dvaju otoka (udaljenost oko 160 m) ne premašuju 6,5 m, usporede s relativnim kretanjima razine mora, s oprezom se može doći do zaključka da se formiranje Ista kao zasebnog otoka dogodilo negdje u 7. – 6. tisućljeću pr. Kr.<sup>30</sup> Međutim, čini se da se odvojenost malog otoka s oskudnim resursima nije pokazala privlačnom za naseljavanje jer nisu utvrđeni tragovi konkretnih ljudskih aktivnosti iz starijih prapovijesnih razdoblja. Odsustvo neolitičkih ili enolitičkih nalaza moguće je gledati kroz prizmu skromne zastupljenosti takvih nalaza i na susjednim otocima, ali i kroz povećalo općih karakteristika obrazaca prostorne okupacije u tim razdobljima koje su bitno određene topografskim obilježjima.<sup>31</sup> S druge strane, iako je mala pličina između dva ju otoka omogućavala kratkotrajne posjete, povremene aktivnosti ostavljavaju malo dokaza u krajoliku, a najlakše ih je dokumentirati u špiljskim objektima sa svojstvima pogodnim za boravak ljudi, kakvi na otoku Istu zasad nisu registrirani.<sup>32</sup>

Prvi strukturirani krajolik kao produkt intenzivnijih ljudskih aktivnosti u prostoru pojavljuje se u brončanom i željeznom dobu, a povezan je s pojavom gradina i gomila. Terenskim pregledom otoka registrirane i dokumentirane su tri dosad nepoznate prapovijesne gradine raspoređene na središnjem otočnom grebenu. Na vrhu Straži (175 m n. v.) dokumentirana je najviša gradina otoka Ista (IST 001). Gradina je formirana na vršnom platou koji s triju strana definira monumentalna suhozidna konstrukcija oblikovana kao podzid sa samo jednim, vanjskim licem građenim od masivnih neobrađenih kamenih

<sup>30</sup> ANTONIOLI et al. 2007: 2479.

<sup>31</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 56–65; BASS 1998: 165–190; HORVAT 2021. Nedavno je otkriveno i nekoliko potencijalnih enolitičkih i neolitičkih potopljenih nalazišta na sjevernodalmatinskim otocima (PARICA 2021: 29–37, 49–52).

<sup>32</sup> U okviru terenskog pregleda pregledana su i dva speleološka objekta na zapadnoj strani otoka: Tomina jama u uvalli Mavrelji i Haršova jama uz more podno vrha Beljavke. Riječ je o objektima s jamskim, vertikalnim otvorima koji prelaze u horizontalne kanale, no u njima nisu utvrđeni arheološki nalazi.

mation of today's coastal line is significantly related to the later post-Pleistocene transgression of the sea, which gradually led to the submergence of Zapuntelski prolaz (*Zapuntel passage*) and the separation of the two islands.<sup>29</sup> Without neglecting the influence of local tectonic processes, if we compare the greatest depths of Zapuntelski prolaz, which at the point of closest contact between the two islands (distance about 160 m) do not exceed 6.5 m, with the relative movements of the sea level, one can cautiously come to the conclusion that the formation of Ist as a separate island happened sometime in the 7th–6th millennium BC.<sup>30</sup> However, it seems that the isolation of a small island with scarce resources was not attractive for settlement, as no traces of specific human activities from older prehistoric periods have been identified. The absence of Neolithic or Eneolithic finds can be viewed through the prism of the modest presence of such finds on the neighbouring islands, but also through the lens of the general characteristics of patterns of spatial occupation in those periods, which are significantly determined by topographic features.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, although the small shoal between the two islands allowed short-term visits, occasional activities leave little evidence in the landscape, and it is easiest to document them in cave structures suitable for human habitation, such as have not yet been recorded on the island of Ist.<sup>32</sup>

The first structured landscape as a product of more intensive human activities in space appears in the Bronze and Iron Ages, associated with the appearance of hillforts and mounds.

<sup>29</sup> VAN ANDEL 1990: 151–152; BATOVIC 2010: 214.

<sup>30</sup> ANTONIOLI et al. 2007: 2479.

<sup>31</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 56–65; BASS 1998: 165–190; HORVAT 2021. Recently, several submerged sites, tentatively dated to the Eneolithic and Neolithic, have been discovered on the northern Dalmatian islands (PARICA 2021: 29–37, 49–52).

<sup>32</sup> As part of the field survey, two speleological structures were inspected on the western side of the island: Tomina jama in Mavrelja cove and Haršova jama by the sea at the foot of Beljavka peak. These are structures with vertical pit openings that turn into horizontal channels, but no archaeological finds have been identified in them.

blokova (sl. 2). Podzid podržava terasu koja je formirana duž istočne strane ispunjavanjem škrapa manjim kamenjem, uz djelomično priklesivanje kamenog živca. Na sjevernoj i južnoj strani struktura se nastavlja na dinamičnu stjenovitu konfiguraciju koja se pruža prema istočnim padinama. Na istočnoj je terasi dokumentiran ulaz u ograđeni perimetar (širine 1,20 m) koji flankiraju poprečno postavljeni kameni blokovi. Na zapadnim, strmim padinama Straže, artificijelno je stvorena veća terasa koju podržava podzid građen od većeg neobrađenog kamenja.

Gradina Gracina (IST 002) smještena je na vrhu (118 m n. v.) jugoistočno od Straže. Gradina je kompleksnog oblika s trima (djelomično) ograđenim platoima koji se na zračnim fotografijama ocrtavaju kroz osipine urušenih suhozidnih konstrukcija. Izvorno očuvani segmenti arhitekture uključuju tragove suhozidnog podzida na istočnoj i sjevernoj strani s vanjskim licem građenim od masivnog neobrađenog kamenja temeljenog na kamenom živcu. Podzid podržava terasu koja je dijelom formirana priklesivanjem živca i zapunjavanjem škrapa kamenjem manjih dimenzija čime je prirodna strmina prilagođena u nивелиrani prostor. Suhozidne konstrukcije nadopunjuju se s dinamičnim vapnenačkim reljefom. Dva ulaza na gradinu, omeđena dužim, poprečno postavljenim kamenim blokovima dokumentirana su na terasama na sjevernoj strani gradića. Ulazi su medusobno povezani putom koji je trasiran između djelomično priklesanih kamenih škrapa, a vodi sjevernom padinom iz smjera podnožja Gracine i položaja Trišćeni.

Gradina Smokvenjak (IST 003) nalazi se jugoistočnom dijelu otoka, na manjem uzvišenju (32 m n. v.) koje se izdiže iznad Zapuntelskog prolaza. Na strmim istočnim, sjevernim i dijelom zapadnim padinama dokumentiran je suhozidni podzid s vanjskim licem građenim od masivnog neobrađenog kamenja koji se polukružno obavija oko uzvišenja (sl. 3). S unutarnje strane podzida stvorena je terasa koja niveliira strmu konfiguraciju padine u za-

A field survey of the island registered and documented three previously unknown prehistoric hillforts located on the island's central ridge. The highest hillfort on the island of Ist (IST 001) is documented on the summit of Straža (175 masl.). The hillfort was formed on the top plateau, which is defined on three sides by a monumental dry-stone wall construction shaped like a retaining wall with only one, outer face built of massive undressed stone blocks (Fig. 2). The retaining wall supports the terrace, which was formed along the eastern side by filling the cracks with smaller stones, while the bedrock was partially chiselled. On the northern and southern sides, the structure continues to a dynamic rocky configuration that extends towards the eastern slopes. The entrance to the enclosed perimeter (width 1.20 m) flanked by transversely placed stone blocks is documented on the eastern terrace. On the western, steep slopes of Straža, a larger terrace was artificially created, which is supported by a retaining wall built of larger undressed stones.

Gracina hillfort (IST 002) is located on the summit (118 masl) southeast of Straža. The hillfort has a complex shape with three (partially) enclosed plateaus that can be seen on aerial photographs through the rubble of collapsed dry stone wall structures. The originally preserved segments of constructions include traces of a dry-stone retaining wall on the eastern and northern sides with an outer face built of massive undressed stones and foundation on the bedrock. The retaining wall supports the terrace, which was partly formed by chiselling the bedrock and filling the cracks with stones of smaller dimensions, which adapted the natural slope into a levelled space. Dry stone wall constructions are complemented by dynamic limestone relief. Two entrances to the hillfort, bordered by longer, transversely placed stone blocks, are documented on the terraces on the northern side of the hillfort. The entrances are connected to each other by a road between partially carved stone karrens, leading along the northern slope from the direction of the foot of



**SLIKA 2.** a) Pogled na gradinu Straža iz zračne perspektive, b) Vanjsko lice suhozidnog podzida na istočnoj padini (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 2** a) aerial view of Straža hillfort, b) outer face of the dry stone wall on the eastern slope (photo by P. Domines Peter)



**SLIKA 3.** a) Pogled na gradinu Smokvenjak, b) Terasa na sjevernoj padini (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 3** a) view of Smokvenjak hillfort, b) terrace on the northern slope (photo by P. Domines Peter)

ravnjenu površinu. Na sjevernom dijelu registriran je ulaz u gradinu (širine 120 cm) koji formiraju poprečno postavljeni kameni blokovi usklađeni s prirodnim pružanjem matične stijene.

U izostanku arheoloških iskopavanja, apsolutnih datuma ili vremenski osjetljivih nalaza teško je donijeti preciznije podatke o vremenu formiranja gradina na otoku Istu, iako ih se konvencionalno može datirati u relativno široko razdoblje od brončanog do željeznog doba. To potvrđuju i površinski ulomci prapovijesnih keramičkih posuda koji se prema svojim oblicima i tehnološkim svojstvima uklapaju u standarde mlađih prapovijesnih razdoblja (T. I/2-20). Općenito, izraženija koncentracija gradinskih nalazišta, ali i gustoća prapovijesne keramike (NIN) potvrđuje težište aktivnosti na jugoistočnoj strani otoka, gdje se nalaze i važni otočni prirodni resursi – površine obradive zemlje i izvor vode (karta 4a).

Gracina and the position of Trišćeni.

Smokvenjak hillfort (IST 003) is located in the southeastern part of the island, on a small hill (32 masl) that rises above Zapunteljski prolaz. A dry-stone retaining wall with an outer face built of massive undressed stones that enclose the elevation in a semicircle was documented on the steep eastern, northern and partly western slopes (Fig. 3). A terrace was created on the inside of the retaining wall which levels the steep configuration of the slope into a flat surface. In the northern part, the entrance to the hillfort (120 cm wide) is recorded, which is formed by transversely placed stone blocks aligned with the natural extension of the bedrock.

In the absence of archaeological excavations, absolute dates or diagnostic finds, it is difficult to provide more precise data on the time of formation of the hillforts on the island of Ist, although conventionally they can be dated



**SLIKA 4.** Komparacija veličina i tlocrta gradina na Istu: a) Straža, b) Gracina, c) Smokvenjak  
(izradio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 4** Comparison of the sizes and ground plans of the hillforts on Ist: a) Straža, b) Gracina, c) Smokvenjak  
(made by P. Domines Peter)

Podizanje gradina označava najraniju pojavu monumentalne arhitekture na otoku Istu. Zajednička arhitektonska obilježja iščunskih gradina očituju se u formi podzida i terasa kao najistaknutijih suhozidnih elemenata građenih od masivnog kamenja čije je podizanje povezano sa savladavanjem prirodne morfologije padine koja se poravnava u nивelirani operativni prostor koji se mogao rabiti za različite aktivnosti.<sup>33</sup> Iako se gradinsko terasiranje ističe kao složeni oblik intervencije u prapovijesnom krajoliku, koji može poprimiti i simboličku ulogu, određene rekonstrukcije pokazuju da je gradnju takvih monumentalnih struktura bilo moguće ostvariti i angažiranjem relativno malog broja ljudi unutar relativno malo vremena.<sup>34</sup> Gradnja suhozidnih struktura može biti povezana i s krčenjem tla, čime se osigurava dovoljno potrebnog kamena za gradnju, a istovremeno povećava gospodarski potencijal zemljišta.<sup>35</sup>

to a relatively broad period from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. This is also confirmed by the surface fragments of prehistoric ceramic vessels, which according to their shapes and technological properties fit into the standards of younger prehistoric periods (Pl. I/2-20). In general, the more pronounced concentration of hillforts, but also the density of prehistoric pottery (NIN) confirms the focus of activity on the southeastern side of the island, where there are also significant natural resources - areas of arable land and a source of water (Map 4a).

The building of the hillfort marks the earliest appearance of monumental architecture on the island of Ist. The common architectural features of hillforts on Ist are manifested in the form of retaining walls and terraces as the most prominent dry stone wall elements built from massive stones, the construction of which is connected with mastering the natural morphology of the slope, which is levelled into an operational space that could be used for various activities.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Starija literatura uglavnom je isticala bedeme kao temeljne arhitektonске značajke gradina. Međutim, pomnije analize strukturnih elemenata pokazuju da su terase također česti element na gradinama. Terase mogu odrediti površinu unutarnjeg perimetra prilagođavajući se prirodnoj konfiguraciji padina oko vršnog platoa, a zbog tehnike gradnje, raspoređa i linije njihova protezanja i njima se može pripisati uloga obrambenog bedema. Međutim, takvi „terasasti bedemi“, za razliku od samostojecih zidova, imaju samo jedno, vanjsko lice. Vidi CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC 1996: 255; RADIĆ, BASS 1999: 37; GLAVAŠ 2015: 72–77.

<sup>34</sup> CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC 1996: 169–175.

<sup>35</sup> CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC 1996: 284.

<sup>33</sup> Older literature mainly emphasized ramparts as the basic architectural features of hillforts. However, a closer analysis of the structural elements shows that terraces are also a common element on hillforts. The terraces can determine the area of the inner perimeter by adapting to the natural configuration of the slopes around the peak plateau, and due to the construction technique, layout and line of their spreading, they can also be attributed the role of a defensive rampart. However, such “terraced ramparts”, unlike free-standing walls, have only one, outer face, see CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIC 1996: 255; RADIĆ, BASS 1999: 37; GLAVAŠ 2015: 72-77.

Linearni prostorni raspored gradina na otoku Istu, koncentriranih na dominantnim položajima središnjeg otočnog grebena odaje moguću korelaciju s kontrolom prirodnih resursa i agrarnih potencijala, osobito površinama obradive zemlje koja je mogla biti korištena kao pašnjak ili za obrađivanje, kakvih je najviše na jugoistočnom dijelu otoka. S druge strane, nije moguće zanemariti i činjenicu da se na tom dijelu nalazi i najveća lokva Jezero, koja je kao jedan od ključnih resursa i ekoloških determinanti možda imala ključnu ulogu i tijekom prapovijesti. Iščunske gradine svojim površinama i tlocrtima ne razlikuju se znatno od gradina na susjednim otocima, gdje također prevladava niz gradina manjih površina čije je formiranje vjerojatno povezano s kontrolom resursa.<sup>36</sup> Složenijim tlocrtom s nekoliko platoa ističe se tek gradina Gracina kojoj je na temelju toga moguće prepostaviti i istaknutije mjesto u naseobinskoj hijerarhiji (sl. 4). Međutim, u razmatranju funkcije, svrhe podizanja ili prostorne uloge otočnih gradina pogrešno je promatrati isključivo naseobinsku ili fortifikacijsku funkciju, posebice u slučajevima kada je bez iskopavanja nemoguće pronaći ikakve dokaze habitacije, a pritom zanemariti čitav spektar drugih mogućih funkcija gradina, od promatračnica, zakloništa, refugija, ograda za stoku, markera teritorijalnosti i kontrole mora, oznake položaja zajednice, orijentira u plovidbi, određenih simboličkih uloga ili drugih društvenih značenja o kakvima zapravo vrlo malo znamo.<sup>37</sup>

Na iščunskim gradinama nedostaju čvrsti kronološki pokazatelji o dugotrajanom kontinuitetu korištenja, koji se može protezati i do

Although hillfort terracing stands out as a complex form of intervention in the prehistoric landscape, which can also take on a symbolic role, certain reconstructions indicate that the building of such monumental structures was also possible by engaging a relatively small number of people within a relatively short time.<sup>34</sup> The construction of dry stone wall structures can also be associated with land clearing, which provides enough necessary stone for construction, and at the same time increases the economic potential of the land.<sup>35</sup>

The linear spatial arrangement of hillforts on the island of Ist, concentrated on the dominant positions of the island's central ridge, reveals a possible correlation with the control of natural resources and agrarian potentials, especially areas of arable land that could have been used as pasture or for cultivation, which are mostly found in the southeastern part of the island. On the other hand, it is not possible to ignore the fact that the largest pond Jezero, is also located in that part, which as one of the crucial resources and ecological determinants may have played a key role during prehistory as well. Hillforts on the island of Ist do not differ significantly in terms of their areas and ground plans from the hillforts on the neighbouring islands where there are also a number of smaller fortifications, the formation of which is probably related to the control of resources.<sup>36</sup> Only Gracina hillfort stands out with a more complex ground plan with several plateaus suggesting a more prominent place in the settlement hierarchy (Fig. 4). However, when considering the function, the purpose of building or the spatial role of island hillforts, we must not concentrate only on the settlement or fortification function, especially in cases where it is impossible to find any evidence of habitation without excavation, while ignoring the entire range of other possible functions of fortifications, from observation towers, shelters, refugia, livestock enclosures, markers

<sup>36</sup> BATOVIĆ 1973: 68–94.

<sup>37</sup> ČAČE 1981: 35–40; NOVAKOVIĆ 2001: 186; GLAVAŠ 2015: 119–126; ČUČKOVIĆ 2017: 539. Pri opisivanju gradine kao ključna odrednica često se ističe položaj na uzvišenom koji jamči dobru vidljivost i vizualnu kontrolu. Takve preduvjete, čini se, ispunjavaju sve gradine na otoku, iako je bez konkretnih analiza vidljivosti moguće zadržati se samo na subjektivnom zapažanju da gradina Straža omogućuje najveći opseg vizualnog dometa jer se s nje pruža izvanredan pogled na sve druge gradine, kao i uvale, komunikacije, gomile, more i okolno otoče.

<sup>34</sup> CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIĆ 1996: 169–175.

<sup>35</sup> CHAPMAN, SHIEL, BATOVIĆ 1996: 284.

<sup>36</sup> BATOVIĆ 1973: 68–94.

kasnog željeznog doba kada se u regionalnom kontekstu razvijaju glavna upravna, gospodarska i teritorijalna središta zajednica koja će takvo značenje zadržati i tijekom antike.<sup>38</sup> Među površinskim nalazima na gradinama (NNN) nije uočen importirani materijal koji potencijalno može biti važan kronološki marker.<sup>39</sup> Kao jedini pouzdano atribuirani nalaz izdvaja se ulomak oboda amfore pronađen kao pojedinačni nalaz (NIN) na zapadnoj strani otoka (T. II/1). Prema obliku i svjetloj fakturi ulomak odgovara tipu Korint B amfora, i to vjerojatno tzv. prijelaznim oblicima prema grčko-italskim amforama (sred. 4. – sred. 3. st. pr. Kr.). Iako je distribucija takvih amfora u sjevernoj Dalmaciji još uvijek vrlo ograničena, ulomak s Ista dokazuje participaciju otoka u široj mreži gospodarskih interakcija i pomorskih kontakata koji su posebno intenzivirani tijekom posljednjih stoljeća prije Krista.<sup>40</sup>

Dominantna brojnost gomila (IST 007-017) među nalazišтima na otoku Istu uklapa se u postojeće obrasce po kojima su upravo gomile jedne od najbrojnijih prapovijesnih struktura na sjevernodalmatinskim otocima (sl. 5).<sup>41</sup> U mnogim slučajevima gomile je bez direktnih dokaza teško kronološki i funkcionalno odre-

<sup>38</sup> Posljednjih stoljeća prije Krista postojeće indigene zajednice dolaze u znatniji kontakt s grčkim utjecajima, a na određenom se području izdvajaju naselja koja će s vremenom preuzeti ulogu gospodarskog, političkog i društvenog središta šireg teritorija (SUIĆ 1974: 49) Međutim, takav razvoj nije moguće implicirati i za zadarske otoke, kao niti za otok Ist, posebice u izostanku bilo kakvih pisanih tragova u antičkim izvorima, ali i arheoloških podataka koji bi upućivali na takav kontinuitet naseobinske hijerarhije. Već u predrimsko doba postojale su izražene veze između sjevernodalmatinskih otoka i Jadera kao najvažnijeg obalnog naselja (ČAĆE 1993: 19), a možda je takav odnos potaknuo i promjenu u naseljenosti malih otoka u korist naseljavanja regionalnih središta tijekom protopovijesnog razdoblja.

<sup>39</sup> Pojava importiranog grčko-helenističkog materijala može se prihvati kao indikator naseljenosti pojedinog gradinskog nalazišta tijekom mladeg željeznog doba (ČAĆE 2006: 69).

<sup>40</sup> PARAMAN, UGARKOVIĆ 2021: 69–71, T. 9/122. Nalaz s otoka Ista prvi je takav nalaz na sjevernodalmatinskim otocima. Najblizi primjerak registriran je u podmorju otoka Mauna. Za distribuciju amfora tipa Korint B na istočnom Jadranu vidi BORZIĆ 2017: 5–12; RADIĆ ROSSI 2017: 13–25.

<sup>41</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 42–43.

of territoriality and control of the sea, marks of the community positions, landmarks in navigation, certain symbolic roles or other social meanings which are actually poorly known.<sup>37</sup>

There are no firm chronological indicators of the long-term continuity of use on the Ist hillforts, which can extend to the late Iron Age, when the main administrative, economic and territorial centres of communities developed in the regional context, which would retain such importance even during antiquity.<sup>38</sup> Among the surface finds on the hillforts (NNN), no imported material was observed, which could potentially be a significant chronological marker.<sup>39</sup> The only reliably attributed find is the amphora rim fragment found as a single find (NIN) on the western side of the island (Pl. II/1). The shape and light fabric of the fragment indicate the Corinth B amphora type, and probably the so-called transitional forms to Greco-Italic amphorae (mid-4th – mid-3rd century BC). Although the distribution of such amphorae in northern Dalmatia is still very limited, the frag-

<sup>37</sup> ČAĆE 1981: 35–40; NOVAKOVIĆ 2001: 186; GLAVAŠ 2015: 119–126; ĆUĆKOVIĆ 2017: 539. When describing a hillfort, the location on an elevated ground that guarantees good visibility and visual control is often highlighted as a crucial determinant. All the hillforts on the island seem to meet such preconditions, although without concrete analysis of visibility, it is possible to stick only to the subjective observation that Straža hillfort provides the greatest scope of visual range because it offers an extraordinary view of all other hillforts, as well as coves, communication lines, mounds, the sea and the surrounding islands.

<sup>38</sup> In the last centuries BC existing indigenous communities come into more significant contact with Greek influences, and in a certain area there are settlements which will eventually become the economic, political and social centers of a wider territory (SUIĆ 1974: 49). However, such development cannot be implied for the Zadar islands, nor for the island of Ist, especially in the absence of any written traces in ancient sources, but also of archaeological data that would point to such a continuity of the settlement hierarchy. Already in pre-Roman times, there were pronounced connections between the northern Dalmatian islands and Iader as the most important coastal settlement (ČAĆE 1993: 19), and perhaps such a relationship also stimulated a change in the settlement of small islands in favour of the settlement of regional centers during the prehistoric period.

<sup>39</sup> The appearance of imported Greco-Hellenistic material can be accepted as an indicator of the settlement of a particular hillfort site during the Late Iron Age (ČAĆE 2006: 69).



**SLIKA 5.** Kamene gomile na otoku Istu: a) Zadoci, b) Binus, c) Pod Klundom, d) Trišćeni (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 5** Stone mounds on the island of Ist: a) Zadoci, b) Binus, c) Pod Klundom, d) Trišćeni (photo by P. Domines Peter)

diti, odnosno sa sigurnošću identificirati kao arheološke strukture ili kao recentne krčevine, stoga činjenica da njihova sigurna atribucija prapovijesnom razdoblju često nije moguća opravdava odvajanje gomila u posebnu kategoriju nalazišta.<sup>42</sup> Gomile se konvencionalno određuju kao prapovijesna sepulkralna nalazišta, iako se razlozi njihova podizanja na odbanim mjestima u prostoru mogu sagledati i kroz prizmu drugih predloženih funkcija, poput gradnje promatračica i ciljane vizualne kontrole, putokaza za pomorce ili markiranja vlasništva nad obradivim površinama, pašnjacima ili komunikacijama.<sup>43</sup> U svjetlu toga, treba istaknuti da se prostorni položaj pojedinih iščunskih gomila može promatrati u korelaciji s nadzorom komunikacija (kopnenih i pomorskih putova) ili simboličnim označavanjem vlasništva nad obradivim zemljištem.

ment from Ist proves the island's participation in a wider network of economic interactions and maritime contacts that were especially intensified during the last centuries BC.<sup>40</sup>

The dominant number of mounds (IST 007-017) among the sites on the island of Ist fits into the existing patterns according to which the mounds belong to the most numerous prehistoric structures on the northern Dalmatian islands (Fig. 5).<sup>41</sup> In many cases, without direct evidence, it is difficult to determine the mounds chronologically and functionally, that is, to identify them with certainty as archaeological structures or as recent piles resulting from land clearing, therefore the fact that their reliable attribution to a prehistoric period is often not possible justifies the separation of mounds into a special category of sites.<sup>42</sup> The mounds are conventionally deter-

<sup>42</sup> Usp. BARBARIĆ 2011: 145–152. Isto vrijedi i za gomile na Istu koje nije moguće u cjelini jednoznačno odrediti kao prapovijesne strukture.

<sup>43</sup> OREĆ 1978: 181–291; ČAČE 1981: 36–39; BORGNA, CASSOLA GUIDA 2009: 89–104; ČUČKOVIĆ 2017: 526–546.

<sup>40</sup> PARAMAN, UGARKOVIĆ 2021: 69–71, T. 9/122. The find from the island of Ist is the first such find on the northern Dalmatian islands. The closest specimen is registered on the seabed near the island of Maun. For the distribution of Corinth type B amphorae in the eastern Adriatic, see BORZIĆ 2017: 5–12; RADIĆ ROSSI 2017: 13–25.

<sup>41</sup> BATOVIC 1974: 42–43.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. BARBARIĆ 2011: 145–152. The same applies to the

## Antika

Promjena političkih i društvenih okolnosti koje prati uspostava rimske vlasti na istočnom Jadranu dovest će do promjenjenih obrazaca korištenja prostora. Sadašnje stanje istraženosti pokazuje da je transformacija otočnih krajolika primarno povezana s novim oblicima korištenja zemljišta i eksploatacijom agrikulturalnih resursa koje je moguće pratiti kroz prostornu organizaciju ruralnih stambeno-gospodarskih kompleksa (*villa rustica*) koji se ističu i kao dominantni izraz naseljenosti zadarskih otoka koji će tijekom čitave antike zadržati svoj ruralno-agrarni karakter.<sup>44</sup> Međutim, posebnu potreškoću predstavlja činjenica da, za razliku od pojedinih susjednih otoka,<sup>45</sup> u povijesnim izvorima nema podataka o administrativnoj i teritorijalnoj pripadnosti ili vlasništvu otoka Ista za rimske vladavine. Suić pretpostavlja da su pojedini zadarski otoci bili organizirani kao državna zemlja (*ager publicus*), dok su drugi bili privatna zemlja (*ager privatus*) ili su pripadali kategoriji neobradene zemlje pašnjaka i šuma (*compascua et silvae*).<sup>46</sup> Iako gusta disperzija položaja pretpostavljenih rustičnih vila na zadarskim otocima upućuje na naglašenu gospodarsko-rezidencijalnu ulogu ruralnog krajolika, širi pogled otkriva i druge oblike ljudskih modifikacija prostora u funkciji kamenarstva,<sup>47</sup> solarstva i ribarstva<sup>48</sup>, pomorskog prometa<sup>49</sup>, a sasvim je sigurno da su dostupne površine šuma i pašnjaka otvarale mogućnosti za ra-

mined as prehistoric sepulchral sites, although the reasons for their erection in selected places in space can also be seen through the prism of other proposed functions, such as the construction of observation posts and targeted visual control, guideposts for sailors or marking ownership of arable land, pastures or communication lines.<sup>43</sup> In light of this, it should be emphasized that the spatial position of individual mounds on Ist can be observed in correlation with the monitoring of communication lines (land and sea routes) or the symbolic marking of ownership of arable land.

## Antiquity

The change in political and social circumstances accompanied by the establishment of Roman rule in the eastern Adriatic led to changed patterns of space use. The current state of research shows that the transformation of island landscapes is primarily associated with new forms of land use and exploitation of agricultural resources, which can be traced through the spatial organization of rural residential and agricultural complexes (*villa rustica*), which also stand out as the dominant expression of settlement of the Zadar islands, which will retain its rural-agrarian character throughout antiquity.<sup>44</sup> However, unfortunately there is no information in historical sources about the administrative and territorial affiliation or ownership of the island of Ist during Roman rule, unlike for some neighbouring islands.<sup>45</sup> Suić assumes that certain Zadar islands were organized as state land (*ager publicus*), while

<sup>44</sup> SUIĆ 1974: 47–49. Za vile rustike u Dalmaciji vidi BEGOVIĆ, SCHRUNK 2002. Za ruralni krajolik sjeverne Liburnije vidi KONESTRA, LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, WELC 2022. Za naseljenost zadarskih otoka usp. SUIĆ 1974: 41–63. Za topografiju rustičnih vila na zadarskim otocima vidi JURJEVIĆ 2020: 156–198 i ondje citiranu literaturu.

<sup>45</sup> Za povjesnu toponimiju zadarskih otoka vidi KATIČIĆ 1974: 35–46.

<sup>46</sup> SUIĆ 1974: 52.

<sup>47</sup> PARICA 2012: 345–353.

<sup>48</sup> CARRE, AURIEMMA 2009: 89; UGLEŠIĆ, PARICA 2013: 149–153; PARICA 2017: 88–93.

<sup>49</sup> Brojni su ostaci luka i pristaništa iz rimskog razdoblja. Vidi BRUSIĆ 1974: 67–68; JURIŠIĆ 2006; PARICA 2017.

mounds on Ist, which cannot all be unambiguously identified as prehistoric structures.

<sup>43</sup> OREČ 1978: 181–291; ČAČE 1981: 36–39; BORGNA, CASSOLA GUIDA 2009: 89–104; ČUČKOVIĆ 2017: 526–546.

<sup>44</sup> SUIĆ 1974: 47–49. About *villae rusticae* in Dalmatia, see BEGOVIĆ, SCHRUNK 2002. For rural landscape of northern Dalmatia, see KONESTRA, LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, WELC 2022. About the settlement of the Zadar islands cf. SUIĆ 1974: 41–63. For the topography of *villae rusticae* on the Zadar islands, see JURJEVIĆ, 2020: 156–198 and the references cited therein.

<sup>45</sup> For the historical toponymy of the Zadar islands, see KATIČIĆ 1974: 35–46.

zvoj stočarstva, šumarstva i drugih povezanih aktivnosti.

Nemoguće je precizno reći kada su prvi odjeci romanizacije zahvatili otok Ist. Skromni površinski nalazi iz ranorimskog razdoblja (NIN) sugeriraju da je određena razina prostorne i ekonomске organizacije unutar rimskog sustava postojala već tijekom 1. st. pr. Kr., iako je teško prosuditi je li način korištenja otoka uključivao povremenu ili stalnu naseljenost. Integriranje u rimski svijet otvorilo je vrata novim građevnim tehnikama, materijalima i načinima obrade zemlje, a smještaj na važnom dužjadranskom pomorskom putu, koji prolazi uz istočnu obalu Ista, naglasio prometni položaj otoka.<sup>50</sup> Najveća koncentracija antičkih nalaza povezana je s položajem Selišće u zaleđu uvale Mljaka na jugoistočnoj strani otoka (IST 004). Dokumentirane strukture uključuju tri zida i ukopanu pravokutnu strukturu (unutarnje dimenzije 1,80 x 1,20 m). Tlocrt nalazišta otkriva pravilnu dispoziciju zidova koje povezuje identična širina i način gradnje uz uporabu sličnog vezivnog sredstva što može upućivati na zaključak da vjerojatno pripadaju istoj arhitektonskoj cjelini (sl. 6). Osim arhitektonskih ostataka koji podupiru pretpostavku da je riječ o ostacima ruralnog stambeno-gospodarskog kompleksa,<sup>51</sup> prilog toj tvrdnji mogla bi biti i dominantna količina ulomaka amfora, koji uz ulomke dolija i kamenih žrvnjeva upućuju na gospodarski karakter te preradu i skladištenje poljoprivrednih proizvoda, dok nalazi troske i na aktivnosti povezane s preradom metala. Po-

others were private land (*ager privatus*) or belonged to the category of uncultivated pasture and forest land (*compascua et silvae*).<sup>46</sup> Although the dense dispersion of the positions of presumed *villae rusticae* on the Zadar islands indicates an emphasized productive and residential role of the rural landscape, a wider view reveals other forms of human modification of space in the function of stonework,<sup>47</sup> salt production and fishing,<sup>48</sup> maritime traffic,<sup>49</sup> and it is quite certain that the areas of forests and pastures opened opportunities for the development of animal husbandry, forestry and other related activities.

It is impossible to say precisely when the first echoes of Romanization were felt on the island of Ist. Modest surface finds from the early Roman period (NIN) suggest that a certain level of spatial and economic organization within the Roman system already existed during the 1st century BC, although it is difficult to say whether the way the island was used included occasional or permanent settlement. Integration into the Roman world opened the door to new construction techniques, materials and ways of tilling the land, and the location on the important maritime route along the Adriatic, which runs along the eastern coast of Ist, highlighted the traffic importance of the island.<sup>50</sup> The largest concentration of ancient finds is related to the location of Selišće in the hinterland of Mljake cove on the southeastern side of the island (IST 004). Documented structures include three walls and a buried rectangular structure (inner dimensions 1.80 x 1.20 m). The ground plan of the site reveals regular disposition of the walls connected by identical width and construction method with the use of

<sup>50</sup> Više antičkih brodoloma evidentirano je u podmorju otoka Ista (usp. JURIŠIĆ 2006: 322; VRSALOVIĆ 2011: 91). U uvali Dumboka na zapadnoj obali otoka navodi se podatak o postojanju potopljene antičke maritimne konstrukcije (JURIŠIĆ 2006: 322).

<sup>51</sup> Ukopanoj strukturi sa Selišća pronalaze se analogije u obliku i dimenzijama ožbukanog bazena s nalazišta rimske vile u uvali Solinama na otoku Sv. Klement kod Hvara (UGARKOVIĆ et al. 2016: 163) koji je mogao imati ulogu u različitim prerađivačkim pogonima, povezanim s proizvodnjom vina, ulja ili soljenjem ribe (SCHRUNK et al. 2022: 199–200).

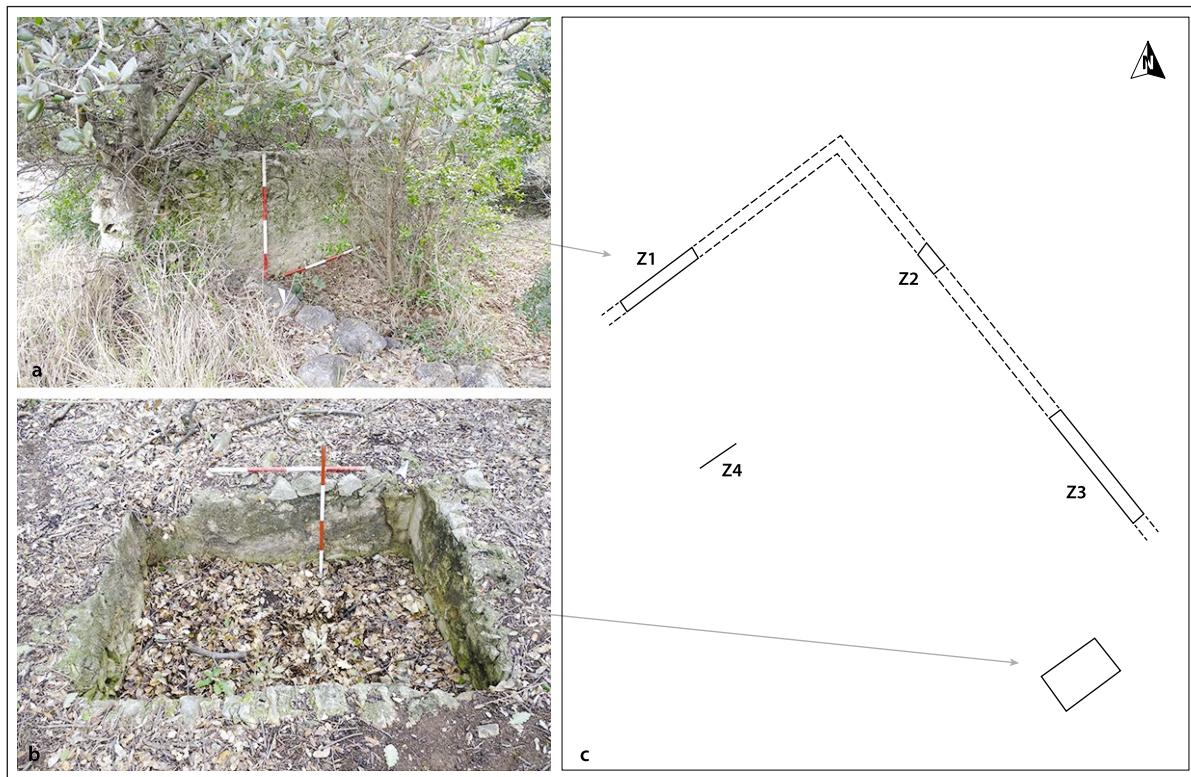
<sup>46</sup> SUIĆ 1974: 52.

<sup>47</sup> PARICA 2012: 345–353.

<sup>48</sup> CARRE, AURIEMMA 2009: 89; UGLEŠIĆ, PARICA 2013: 149–153; PARICA 2017: 88–93.

<sup>49</sup> There are numerous remains of harbours and piers from the Roman period, see BRUSIĆ 1974: 67–68; JURIŠIĆ 2006; PARICA 2017.

<sup>50</sup> Several ancient shipwrecks have been recorded on the seabed of the island of Ist (cf. JURIŠIĆ 2006: 322; VRSALOVIĆ 2011: 91). There is information about submerged ancient maritime structure in Dumboka cove on the west coast of the island (JURIŠIĆ 2006: 322).



**SLIKA 6.** Nalazište Selišće: a) antička arhitektura – zid Z1, b) antički bazen?, c) situacijski plan i hipotetska rekonstrukcija rustične vile (?) (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

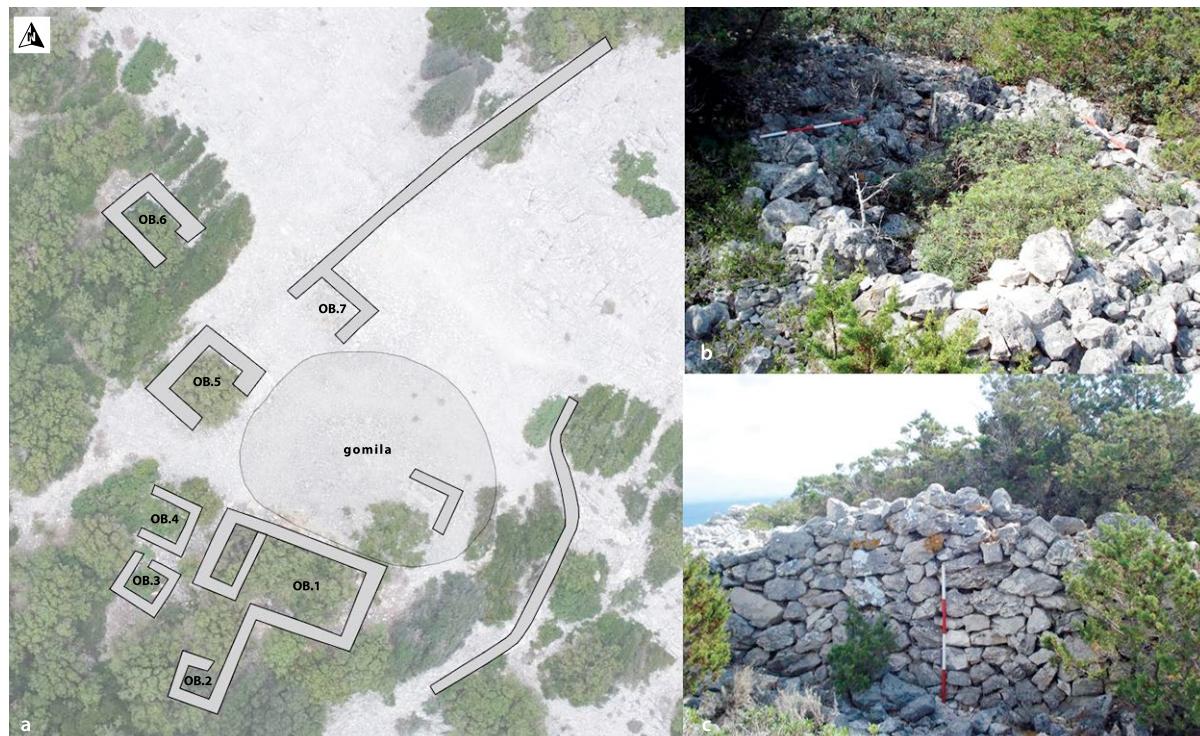
**FIGURE 6** Selišće site: a) Roman-era structure - wall Z1, b) Roman-era pool?, c) situation plan and hypothetical reconstruction of villa rustica (?) (photo by P. Domines Peter)

ložaj je svakako bio korišten u kasnoj antici, što posvjeđočuje dominantna zastupljenost kasnoantičkog površinskog materijala (4. – 7. st.), a prilog tomu je i nalaz, zasad još uvijek neodređenog, kasnoantičkog novca (T. II/2-11). Za razliku od sličnih nalazišta na susjednim otocima, često smještenih na samom obalnom pojusu, položaj nalazišta Selišće usred zone s najboljim agrarnim potencijalom naglašava gospodarsku orijentaciju povezanu s iskorištavanjem obradivog zemljišta, potencijalno za uzgoj vinove loze ili maslina, čija je široka kultivacija na prostoru sjevernodalmatinskih otoka tijekom rimskog doba potvrđena arheološkim i povijesnim izvorima.<sup>52</sup> Teško je raspravljati u koliko su mjeri stabilne gospodarske prilike potaknule intenzivnije naseljavanje otoka i stvaranje kompleksnijeg naseobinskog su-

a similar binding agent, which may suggest that they probably belong to the same architectural unit (Fig. 6). In addition to the architectural remains that support the assumption that these are the remains of a rural residential and agricultural complex,<sup>51</sup> this assertion could also be supported by the dominant number of amphora fragments, which together with fragments of dolia and stone querns indicate an economic character and the processing and storage of agricultural products, while finds of slag suggest activities related to metal processing. The location was certainly used in Late Antiquity, which is evidenced by the dominant presence of late antique surface finds (4th-7th centuries), and this is supported by the finding of a still undetermined late antique coin

<sup>51</sup> Analogies to the buried structure from Selišće are found in the shape and dimensions of the plastered pool from the site of the Roman villa in Soline cove on the island of Sv. Klement near Hvar (UGARKOVIĆ et al. 2016: 163), which could have been used in various processing facilities, related to the production of wine, oil or salting fish (SCHRUNK et al. 2022: 199-200).

<sup>52</sup> SUIĆ 1960: 230–249; MATIJAŠIĆ 1993: 247–261; ILAKOVAC 2003: 49–64; KOPÁČKOVÁ 2020: 163–184.



**SLIKA 7.** Nalazište Jabucina: a) situacijski plan, b) suhozidni objekt OB.4, c) zidovi objekta OB.1  
(snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 7** Jabucina site: a) situation plan, b) dry stone wall structure OB.4, c) walls of structure OB.1  
(photo by P. Domines Peter)

stava. Izuvez nalazišta Selišće, u literaturi se navodi podatak o depozitu s ostacima iz rimskog vremena evidentiranom i na mjestu današnjeg naselja,<sup>53</sup> no bez preciznih podataka.

Posebnu pozornost privlače antički ostatci na vrhu uzvisine Jabucine (37 m n. v.) iznad Zapuntelskog prolaza (IST 005). Nalazište prethodno opisuje Batović navodeći da je riječ o kasnoantičkim objektima.<sup>54</sup> Kompleks se sastoji od sedam objekata različitih dimenzija koji su raspoređeni na vršnoj za-

(Pl. II/2-11). In contrast to similar sites on neighbouring islands, often located on the coastal belt itself, the location of the Selišće site in the middle of the zone with the best agricultural potential emphasizes the economic orientation associated with the use of arable land, potentially for the cultivation of vines or olives, which were widely cultivated in the area of the northern Dalmatian islands during the Roman era as confirmed by archaeological and historical sources.<sup>52</sup> It is difficult to say to what extent stable economic conditions encouraged more intensive settlement of the island and the creation of a more complex settlement system. With the exception of the Selišće site, the literature mentions information about a deposit with remains from Roman times also recorded at the site of today's settlement,<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 216. Tragom vijesti o pronalasku koštanih breča na Istu skupina zadarskih arheologa 1989. je posjetila otok i zabilježila podatke o kontekstu i lokaciji nalaza. Tijekom pregleda jame za gustirnu uz kuću Mate Komaća, uz koštane breče, u profilu je zamijećen i sloj „s crnom zemljom u kojem su se nalazili ulomci rimske keramike i stakla“. U kontekstu antičkih nalaza treba spomenuti i kamenu glavu koja se nalazi na zabatu kuće (Tomina kuća) u uvali Široka. Prema stilskim značajkama mogla bi se datirati u dr. pol. 1. – poč. 2. st. Međutim, informacije o njezinu podrijetlu ili mjestu otkrića nisu poznate, pa nije moguće isključiti mogućnost da je na otok donesena s nekog drugog mjesta.

<sup>54</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 215.

<sup>52</sup> SUIĆ 1960: 230-249; MATIJAŠIĆ 1993: 247-261; ILAKOVAC 2003: 49-64; KOPÁČKOVÁ 2020: 163-184.

<sup>53</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 216. Following the news about the discovery of bone breccias on Ist, a group of archaeologists from Zadar visited the island in 1989 and recorded information about the context and location of the find. During the inspection of the pit for a water tank next to the house of

ravni oko veće prapovijesne gomile (sl. 7). U strukturi najvećeg objekta čiji su zidovi djelomično vezani žbukom dokumentirane su kamene ploče koje vjerojatno predstavljaju kamene ploče grobne škrinje iz susjedne gomile. Objekte s južne strane omeđuje polukružni suhozid, dok se prema sjeveroistočnim padinama nastavlja pravilno građeni suhozid. Među površinskim nalazima zastupljen je dijagnostički materijal dominantno kasnoantičke provenijencije. Pojava kasnoantičkih objekata na Jabucini, moguće i ulomaka kasnoantičke keramike registriranih na položajima prapovijesnih gradina Gracina i Smokvenjak, a njima treba pridodati i nalaze keramike na lokaciji Varh od Turtule (NIN), pokazuje da u nestabilnim vremenima na odmaku antike u fokus ponovno dolaze aktivnosti na uzvišenim položajima. Iako nije moguće u potpunosti rasvjetliti karakter nalazišta koje je, čini se, bilo tek kratkotrajno korišteno, istaknuti položaj Jabucine koja se izdiže uz istočni dio i danas prometno važnog Zapuntelskog prolaza možda treba razmatrati kroz prizmu intenziviranja važnosti otoka, formiranja refugijskih naselja, kao i povećane kontrole plovidbenih putova zbog nestabilnih i nesigurnih društvenih i političkih okolnosti kasne antike.<sup>55</sup>

### Srednji i rani novi vijek

Tijekom 14. stoljeća javljaju se najraniji pisani i kartografski izvori koji izravno svjedoče o naseljenosti otoka. Ime otoka prvi put se navodi 1318. u obliku *Est*, za koji se pretpostavlja da podrijetlo vuče još iz pre-

<sup>55</sup> GUNJAČA 1986; TOMIČIĆ 1989; SUIĆ 1995: 136–38. U ovom kontekstu zanimljivo je spomenuti mišljenje A. Badurine koji ističe raširenu prisutnost toponima Straža na jadranskim otocima i priobalju te tumači takav fenomen u smislu postojanja kasnoantičkih izvidnica koje su služile za nadziranja pomorskih pravaca. Među takva nalazišta ubraja i položaj Straža na otoku Istu (BADURINA 1992: 7). Međutim, terenskim pregledom Straže nisu evidentirani kasnoantički nalazi.

but without precise data.

Ancient remains on the top of Jabucina hill (37 masl) above Zapuntelski prolaz (IST 005) are particularly interesting. The site was previously described by Batović who stated that these are late antique structures.<sup>54</sup> The complex consists of seven buildings of different dimensions that are arranged on the summit plateau around a larger prehistoric mound (Fig. 7). In the structure of the largest building, the walls of which are partially bound with plaster, stone slabs were documented, which probably represent the stone slabs of the burial cist from the adjacent mound. The buildings are bounded on the southern side by a semi-circular dry-stone wall, while neatly built dry stone wall continues towards the northeastern slopes. Diagnostic material of late antique provenance is dominant among the surface finds. The presence of late antique objects on Jabucina, possibly also fragments of late antique pottery recorded at the sites of the prehistoric hillforts Gracina and Smokvenjak, and the finds of pottery at the location of Varh od Turtula (NIN), indicate that in turbulent times, at the end of antiquity, activities on elevated positions gain importance once more. Although it is not possible to shed light on all aspects of the site, which seems to have only been used for a short time, the prominent position of Jabucina, rising along the eastern part of Zapuntelski prolaz, which is still important for traffic today, should perhaps be considered through the prism of the intensification of the island's importance, the formation of refuge settlements, as well as the increased control of navigation routes due to the unstable and

Mate Komać, in addition to the bone breccias, a layer "with black soil in which there were fragments of Roman pottery and glass" was noticed in the profile. In the context of ancient finds, we should also mention the stone head located on the gable of the house (Toma's house) in Široka cove. According to the stylistic features, it could be dated to the second half of the 1st - the beginning of the 2nd century. However, information about its origin or place of discovery is missing, so we cannot rule out the possibility that it was brought to the island from somewhere else.

<sup>54</sup> BATOVIĆ 2010: 215.

drimskog jezičnog supstrata.<sup>56</sup> Mnoge metodološke poteškoće u proučavanju srednjovjekovne povijesti Ista proizlaze iz činjenice da se otok Ist promatrao kao administrativno sastavni dio otoka Molata, a posljedica toga jest nemogućnost istraživanja pojedinačne otočne povijesti, što osobito dolazi do izražaja u općenitom nedostatku pisanih isprava koje se odnose na Ist iz razdoblja prije 17. stoljeća. Do 1639. godine i prelaska otoka u privatno vlasništvo zadarske obitelji Lantana, otok Ist zajedno s otokom Molatom bio je pod vlasništvom Mletačke Republike kao jedan od komunalnih otoka koje je zadarska komora davala u zakup pojedincima iz plemičkog i trgovačkog staleža. Poput ostalih komunalnih otoka, bio je namijenjen isključivo stočarskoj privredi, a zakupnici su naseljavali otok svojim stadima ovaca i koza dajući ih na brigu lokalnim pastirima ili doseljenim stočarima. Društveni odnosi između zakupnika i stočara bili su najčešće temeljeni na usmenim dogovorima, što se posebice odrazilo u nedostatku odgovarajuće arhivske građe koja bi pružila detaljniji uvid u gospodarske odnose i demografsku sliku otočnog stanovništva.<sup>57</sup>

Usprkos pojavi prvih pisanih tragova arheološki izvori iz srednjeg vijeka su skromni. Jedino nalazište iz srednjovjekovnog razdoblja registrirano je u uvali Mavreli (IST 006), na sjeverozapadnoj strani otoka gdje su dokumentirani ostaci kompleksa koji se sastoji od dvaju međusobno prislonjenih suhozidnih objekata (sl. 8) i dvaju zatrpanih suhozidnih bunara kružnog oblika. Površinski nalazi pronađeni su neposredno uz najveći objekt, a riječ je o ulomcima keramičke peke (T. II/12) koja se prema tipološkim značajkama i pojavi plastičnih rebara može datirati u kasni srednji vijek, odnosno rani

<sup>56</sup> FILIPI 1960: 143; BATOVIC 2010: 213; JURAN 2010: 222–233.

<sup>57</sup> JURAN 2010: 222–233. Za više o naseljenosti i gospodarstvu zadarskog otočja u srednjem vijeku vidi RAUKAR 1977; 1997: 69–80; GRGIN 1989: 311–327; 1996: 40–52.

uncertain social and political circumstances of Late Antiquity.<sup>55</sup>

### Medieval and post-medieval period

In the 14th century, the earliest written and cartographic sources appear that directly testify to the island's settlement. The name of the island was mentioned for the first time in 1318 in the form of *Est*, which is assumed to have its origins in the pre-Roman language substrate.<sup>56</sup> Many methodological difficulties in the study of the medieval history of Ist arise from the fact that the island of Ist was viewed as an integral part of the island of Molat in terms of administration, and the consequence of this is the impossibility of researching individual island history, which is particularly evident in the general lack of written documents relating to Ist from the period before the 17th century. Until 1639 and the transfer of the island to the private ownership of the Lantana family from Zadar, the island of Ist together with the island of Molat was in possession the Republic of Venice as one of the communal islands that the Zadar chamber leased to individuals from the nobility and merchant class. Like other communal islands, it was intended exclusively for livestock farming, and tenants inhabited the island with their flocks of sheep and goats, leaving them in the care of local shepherds or immigrant herdsmen. Social relations between tenants and herders were most often based on oral agreements, resulting in the lack of adequate archival materials that would provide a more detailed insight into economic relations

<sup>55</sup> GUNJAČA 1986; TOMIČIĆ 1989; SUIĆ 1995: 136–38. In this context, it is interesting to mention the opinion of A. Badurina, who emphasizes the widespread presence of the toponym Straža on the Adriatic islands and the coast, and interprets such a phenomenon in terms of the existence of late antique surveillance points that were used to monitor maritime routes. The location of Straža on the island of Ist belongs to such sites (BADURINA 1992: 7). However, no late antique finds were recorded during the field survey of Straža.

<sup>56</sup> FILIPI 1960: 143; BATOVIC 2010: 213; JURAN 2010: 222–233.



**SLIKA 8.** Uvala Mavrela: a) unutarnje lice objekta, b) suhozidno okno bunara (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 8** Mavrela cove: a) inner face of the structure, b) dry stone lining of the well (photo by P. Domines Peter)

novi vijek (15.-16. st.).<sup>58</sup> Može se samo slutiti da je razlog podizanja kompleksa bila zaštićena uvala koja je mogla služiti kao pogodno sidrište s izvorima, vjerojatno boćate vode. Nedostatak drugih nalazišta iz srednjeg vijeka može se protumačiti pretpostavkom da je naseobinski obrazac, koji je vjerojatno određen malobrojnim stanovništvom, u srednjem vijeku snažno centraliziran na položaju koji je podudaran s područjem današnjeg mjesta Ista. Izbor takve lokacije vjerojatno je naglašen povoljnim pomorskim i zemljopisnim značajkama s izlazom na dvije uvale na suprotnim stranama otoka. S obzirom na takav način korištenja prostora, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da su graditeljske intervencije u širem otočnom krajoliku bile skromne i uglavnom povezane sa suhozidnim pregrađivanjem pašnjaka, gradnjom zaklona i pastirskih objekata koje je bez asociranih nalaza i iskopavanja često vrlo teško kronološki odrediti.

Među drugim registriranim nalazima treba istaknuti uklesane znakove na stjeni na prijevoju Prisligu preko kojeg prolazi glavna komunikacija između središnjeg i jugoistočnog dijela otoka. Kompozicija se sastoji od dvaju križeva razgrnutih krakova i natpisa IHS uklesanih na izlizanoj vapnenačkoj

<sup>58</sup> BUNČIĆ 2010: 93, T. 2/15. Za nalaze iz utvrde u Donjem Zemuniku Gusar navodi se da se reljefne trake počinju upotrebljavati u 15. stoljeću (GUSAR, VUJEVIĆ 2016: 26).

and the demographic picture of the island's population.<sup>57</sup>

Despite the appearance of the first written traces, archaeological sources from the Middle Ages are modest. The only site from the medieval period was registered in Mavrela cove (IST 006), on the northwestern side of the island, where the remains of a complex consisting of two adjacent dry-stone wall buildings (Fig. 8) and two filled-in circular dry-stone wells were documented. The surface finds, fragments of ceramic baking lid, were found right next to the largest object (Pl. II/12) which, according to typological features and the appearance of embossed ribs, can be dated to the late Middle Ages, that is, the early Modern Age (15th-16th centuries).<sup>58</sup> One can only speculate that the reason for building the complex was a protected cove that could serve as a convenient anchorage with springs of probably brackish water. The lack of other sites from the Middle Ages can be interpreted by the assumption that the settlement pattern, which was probably determined by a small population, was strongly centralized in the Middle Ages in a position that coincides with the area of

<sup>57</sup> JURAN 2010: 222-233. More about settlement and economy of the Zadar archipelago in the Middle Ages, in RAUKAR 1977; 1997: 69-80; GRGIN 1989: 311-327; 1996: 40-52.

<sup>58</sup> BUNČIĆ 2010: 93, T. 2/15. Gusar claims that the relief bands started to be used in the 15th century regarding the finds from the fort in Donji Zemunik (GUSAR, VUJEVIĆ 2016: 26).



**SLIKA 9.** Uklesani znakovi na položaju Prislig (snimio: P. Domines Peter)

**FIGURE 9** Carved signs at the Prislig site (photo by P. Domines Peter)

stijeni (sl. 9). Iako je takve nalaze u načelu vrlo teško kronološki odrediti, treba spomenuti da su križevi sličnih oblika zabilježeni u pripečku Abri Uh u Lovranskoj dragi na istarskoj obali gdje se na temelju konteksta povezuju s upotrebotom položaja od kristijaniziranog kasnoantičkog stanovništva.<sup>59</sup> Slični križevi dokumentirani su i u drugim špiljskim nalazištima.<sup>60</sup> Monogram IHS javlja se već tijekom kasne antike, a njegova upotreba osobito se širi tijekom 14.-15. stoljeća.<sup>61</sup> Položaj Prislig može se identificirati s toponimom *Očenaš*, zabilježenim u starijim povjesnim dokumentima, pod kojim se opisuje mjesto na putu prema uvali Mljakama, odakle se posljednji put vidi mje-

the present-day settlement of Ist. The choice of such location was probably emphasized by favourable maritime and geographical features with access to two coves on the opposite sides of the island. Considering such a way of using the space, it could be assumed that the construction interventions in the wider island landscape were modest and mostly connected with the dry-stone wall partitioning of pastures, the construction of shelters and shepherds' huts, which are often very difficult to determine chronologically without associated finds and excavations.

Among other recorded finds, we should highlight the carved signs on the rock at Prislig pass, on the main communication line between the central and southeastern part of the island. The composition consists of two crosses with flared arms and the inscription IHS carved on weathered lime-

<sup>59</sup> BLEČIĆ KAVUR, KOMŠO 2015: 94.

<sup>60</sup> Primjerice, u jami Kapljici na sjevernom Velebitu (GLAVĀŠ 2018: 89).

<sup>61</sup> HAUCK 1910: 168.

sna crkva, a na kojem bi se težaci odmorili i pomolili. Sličan je običaj dokumentiran i na obližnjim otocima, primjerice u Salima na Dugom otoku, gdje su takvi položaji također bili označeni uklesanim križevima.<sup>62</sup> U svakom slučaju, neovisno o tome kada se javlja običaj uklesavanja križeva, takve položaje moguće je promatrati kao sastavni dio sakralnog krajolika i mesta posebnog značenja u društvenoj memoriji i vjerskim praksama otočnog stanovništva.

## MARGINALNOST, RESURSI I OBRASCI KORIŠTENJA MALIH JADRANSKIH OTOKA

Krajolik otoka geografski je zaokružen, socijalno konstruiran, dinamični medij u kojem su otočani živjeli, producirali svoje društvene odnose i svakodnevne materijalne prakse.<sup>63</sup> Efekti kulturnih i okolišnih procesa mnogo su očitiji na otocima nego što je to izraženo na kopnu. Ograničeni otočni prostor i njegov fizički krajolik određivali su brojne aspekte života i razvoja ljudskih zajednica na otoku, a utjecaj otočnosti može se u određenoj mjeri osjećati kroz sve elemente habitata. Iz tog razloga mali otoci poput Ista mogu se smatrati izvanrednim poligonom za arheologiju krajolika koja u specifičnom okružju i ekosustavu otoka može proučavati tragove koji su nastali kao posljedica dugotrajne i kompleksne interakcije čovjeka – otočanina i njegova okoliša tijekom prošlosti. Istraživački potencijal proizlazi iz izvanredne mogućnosti praćenja interakcije u obama smjerovima – načina na koji marginalni otočni prostor i njegovi resursi motiviraju ili limitiraju ponašanje ljudi i zajednica, ali i načina na koji otočne populacije svojim društvenim i materijalnim praksama uzrokuju njegovu transformaciju.

<sup>62</sup> VIGATO 2015: 60.

<sup>63</sup> DAWSON 2014: 22–23.

stone rock (Fig. 9). Although chronological determination of such finds is usually very difficult, it should be mentioned that crosses of similar shapes were recorded in rock shelter Abri Uho in Lovranska draga on the Istrian coast where, based on the context, they are associated with the use of the position by the Christianized late antique population.<sup>59</sup> Similar crosses have been documented in other cave sites.<sup>60</sup> The IHS monogram appeared already in Late Antiquity, and it became especially widespread during the 14th–15th centuries.<sup>61</sup> The location of Prislig can be identified with the toponym Očenaš, recorded in older historical documents, which describes the place on the way to Mljake cove, from where the local church can be seen for the last time, and where the laborers would rest and pray. A similar custom was also documented on nearby islands, for example in Sali on Dugi otok, where such positions were also marked with carved crosses.<sup>62</sup> In any case, regardless of when the custom of carving crosses appeared, such positions can be viewed as an integral part of the sacred landscape and places of special significance in the social memory and religious practices of the island population.

## MARGINALITY, RESOURCES AND USAGE PATTERNS OF THE SMALL ADRIATIC ISLANDS

The landscape of the island is a geographically homogenous, socially constructed, dynamic medium in which the islanders lived, created their social relations and everyday material practices.<sup>63</sup> The effects of cultural and environmental processes are more obvi-

<sup>59</sup> BLEČIĆ KAVUR, KOMŠO 2015: 94.

<sup>60</sup> For example, in Kapljica pit on the northern Velebit (GLAVAŠ 2018: 89).

<sup>61</sup> HAUCK 1910: 168.

<sup>62</sup> VIGATO 2015: 60.

<sup>63</sup> DAWSON 2014: 22–23.

Rezultati terenskog istraživanja već sada očrtavaju nekoliko preliminarnih zaključaka o obrascima naseljavanja otoka Ista u prošlosti. Usprkos bliskoj povezanosti s kopnjom i drugim otocima, prostorna je okupacija sporadična i limitirana na određena razdoblja koja su dobro posvjedočena količinom arheoloških izvora. Skromni uvjeti prirodno-geografske osnove i oskudni resursi predstavlјali su glavni ograničavajući faktor za kontinuitet dugog naseljavanja i osiguranje samoodrživosti otočnih zajednica tijekom prošlosti. Osobito je naglašen problem nedostatka vode jer osim umjetnih akumulacija (lokvi), ovisnih o padalinama i bočatih studenaca, ograničene upotrebe, otok nema drugih mogućnosti vodoopskrbe.

Sporadičnu, a vjerojatno i ciljanu naseljenost, primjetnu kroz intenziviranje ljudskih aktivnosti u prostoru, treba povezati s partikularnim društvenim, gospodarskim i okolišnim okolnostima u širem (regionalnom) kontekstu koji su potaknuli naseljavanje i/ili eksploataciju ograničenih resursa marginalnih prostora, uključujući i male otoke poput Ista.<sup>64</sup> U takvim trenutcima kada su prednosti malih otoka došle do izražaja više nego njihovi nedostatci, modalitet ljudskih aktivnosti na otoku ovisio je o dostupnim kapacitetima agrikultурne ili pastoralne ekonomije ili mogućnostima iskorištavanja drugih, uglavnom skromnih otočnih resursa. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su na obrazac naseljenosti na Istu posebno utjecale korelacije s različitim varijablama: geografsko-okolišnim značajkama (obradiva zemlja, pašnjaci, zaštićene uvale), pristupom vodi i blizinom/mogućnostima povezivanja s većim susjednim otokom. Značenje spomenutih varijabli može se osobito pratiti

<sup>64</sup> Bass ističe da će otok biti trajno naseljen ako sadrži dovoljno prirodnih resursa (BASS 1998). Veća površina otoka može nužno značiti i veću različitost i dostupnost resursa, pa će time veći otoci biti i prije naseljeni. S druge strane, mala površina može implicirati nedostatak resursa, pa se zaključuje da mali otoci neće rano ili uopće privući trajne naseljenike (FORENBAHER 2008: 224).

ous on the islands than on the mainland. The limited island space and its physical landscape determined numerous aspects of life and development of human communities on the island, and the influence of insularity can be felt to a certain extent through all elements of the habitat. For this reason, small islands such as Ist can be considered exceptional testing sites for landscape archaeology, which in the specific environment and ecosystem of the island can study the traces that were created as a result of the long-term and complex interaction of man - the islander and his environment during the past. The research potential derives from the extraordinary possibility of monitoring the interaction in both directions - the way in which the marginal island space and its resources motivate or limit the behaviour of people and communities, but also the way in which island populations cause its transformation through their social and material practices.

The results of the field survey already outline several preliminary conclusions about the settlement patterns of the island of Ist throughout the past. Despite the close connection with the mainland and other islands, spatial occupation is sporadic and limited to certain periods that are well attested by the amount of archaeological sources. The modest conditions of the natural-geographical basis and scarce resources were the main limiting factor for the continuity of long settlement and ensuring the self-sustainability of island communities in the past. The problem of lack of water is particularly emphasized because apart from artificial reservoirs (ponds), dependent on rainfall and brackish wells, of limited use, the island has no other water supply options.

Sporadic and probably targeted settlement, noticeable through the intensification of human activities in space, should therefore be linked to particular social, economic and environmental circumstances in a wider (regional) context that encouraged the settlement and/

kroz arheološke tragove kasnopravovijesne i antičke naseljenosti, koji su koncentrirani na jugoistočnoj strani otoka. Plodna udolina s visokim agrarnim potencijalom, pristup vodi na lokvi Jezera i zaštićena uvala Mljačke ističu se kao potencijalno ključni faktori koji su uvjetovali ciljane odabire pojedinih položaja za naseljavanje – gradina centraliziranih na vrhovima najvišeg otočnog hrpta i rustične vile smještene u samom središtu polja.

Korelacija s blizinom većeg (satelitskog) otoka također se ističe kao jedna od važnijih prepostavki za naseljavanje ili kontinuiranu upotrebu malih otoka, posebice onih nenaseljenih, koji su mogli biti korišteni kao izdvojeni satelitski teritoriji pod vlasništvom zajednica s većih otoka u njihovoј blizini. U tom svjetlu fokus prostornih aktivnosti na jugoistočnoj strani otoka moguće je promatrati i kroz vezu sa susjednim i nedaleko udaljenim otokom Molatom, ponajprije zbog povoljnih maritimnih značajki uvale Mljaka koja gravitira Molatu i omogućuje najkraci most između Ista i susjednog Zapuntela. Također odnos malog i većeg (satelitskog) otoka često može rezultirati i dijeljenjem zajedničke dinamike razvoja. Poveznica Ista i Molata osobito je naglašena tijekom srednjeg vijeka kada se dva otoka najčešće promatraju i spominju kao jedna cjelina. Kroz sličnu prizmu moguće je promatrati i relacije između Ista i malih nenaseljenih otočića iščunskog arhipelaga koji su tradicionalno u vlasništvu iščunskog stanovništva (*Tramerka, Obljak, Maslinjak, Vodenjak, Dužac, Kamenjak* itd.), a sve donedavno imali su i gospodarsko značenje, dominantno kao pašnjaci za slobodnu ispašu sitne stoke.<sup>65</sup> Maritimne značajke mogle su biti i ključan faktor u preferiranju specifičnih lokacija, poput zaštićene uvale Mavrele s izvorima vode koja bi se mogla do-

<sup>65</sup> Drvenim brodovima stoka sitnog zuba (koze i ovce) periodično se vozila na otok, onđe najčešće ostavljala i puštalaa na slobodnu ispašu tijekom zimskih mjeseci (usmena kazivanja).

or exploitation of limited resources of marginal areas, including small islands like Ist.<sup>64</sup> In such moments, when the advantages of small islands came to the fore more than their disadvantages, the modality of human activities on the island depended on the available capacities of the agricultural or pastoral economy or the possibilities of exploiting other, mostly modest, island resources. The results of the research indicate that the population pattern on Ist was particularly affected by correlations with different variables: geographical-environmental features (arable land, pastures, protected coves), access to water and proximity/possibility of connection with a larger neighbouring island. The meaning of the mentioned variables can be traced through the archaeological traces of late prehistoric and ancient settlements, which are concentrated on the southeastern side of the island. A fertile valley with high agricultural potential, access to water at Jezero pond and the protected Mljake cove stand out as potentially crucial factors that determined the targeted selection of individual locations for settlement - hillforts centralized on the summits of the island's highest ridge and *villae rusticae* located in the very center of the field.

The correlation with the proximity of a larger (satellite) island is also mentioned as one of the more important assumptions for the settlement or continuous use of small islands, especially uninhabited ones, which could have been used as separate satellite territories in possession of communities from larger islands in their vicinity. In this light, the focus of spatial activities on the southeastern side of the island can also be observed through the connection with the neighbouring and near island of Mo-

<sup>64</sup> Bass points out that an island will be permanently inhabited if it contains enough natural resources (BASS 1998). A larger area of an island can necessarily mean greater diversity and availability of resources, so larger islands will be populated earlier. On the other hand, a small area may imply a lack of resources, so the conclusion is that small islands will not attract permanent settlers early or at all (FORENBAHER 2008: 224).

vesti u vezu s pomorskim prometom, moguće zbog ostvarivanja lokalnih veza sa susjednim otocima (Škarda) ili kao mjesto sidrišta i privremenog boravka brodova uključenih u dužjadranski pomorski promet, u kojem je i Ist mogao participirati zahvaljujući svojem geografskom položaju i povoljnim značajkama obale.

Posebnu pozornost izaziva problem izostanka nalaza iz pojedinih razdoblja, poput mlađeg željeznog doba ili ranog srednjeg vijeka, koji bi mogli sugerirati napuštanje, depopulaciju ili prekide u naseljenosti otoka. Međutim, konstatacija poziva na oprez jer to ne isključuje mogućnost da takvi nalazi još nisu evidentirani. U razdobljima nenastanjenosti moglo je biti povremenih posjeta ribara ili putnika, premda oni redovito ne ostavljaju vidljive arheološke tragove.<sup>66</sup> S druge strane, efemerne prakse poput sječe šuma ili stočarstva, posvjedočene povijesnim i etnografskim izvorima, mogle su biti povremeno prakticirane bez potrebe za stalnim naseljavanjem. Kroz uzorke površinskih nalaza izvan nalazišta (NIN) raspršene u čitavom krajoliku otoka moguće je promatrati dokaze o različitim nenaseobinskim (ili povremenim) aktivnostima (karta 4), među kojima su primarno mjesto možda imale upravo stočarske prakse.

Iako otok pruža mogućnosti ograničene agrikulture, najveći gospodarski potencijal primarno je naglašen kroz stočarsku funkciju, što ponajbolje posvjedočuje dominantna i gotovo isključiva uloga otoka kao pašnjaka tijekom srednjeg vijeka. Gledajući u cjelini, otoci malih površina i oskudnih obradivih površina pogodniji su za stočarstvo koje, u odnosu na poljoprivredu, traži manje radne snage, manju ovisnost o vodi, a omogućuje brže stvaranje viškova i iskorištavanje mnogo većih površina za ispašu pa najmanje otoci koji su služili kao pašnjaci za slobodnu ispašu zbog fizičkog okruženja morem nije

<sup>66</sup> FORENBAHER 2008: 224.

lat, primarily due to the favourable maritime features of Mljake cove, which gravitates to Molat and enables the shortest bridge between Ist and neighbouring Zapuntel. Such a relationship between a small and a larger (satellite) island can often result in the sharing of common development dynamics. The connection between Ist and Molat was particularly emphasized during the Middle Ages, when the two islands were most often seen and mentioned as one unit. Through a similar prism, it is possible to observe the relations between Ist and the small uninhabited islands of the Ist archipelago that are traditionally owned by the population of Ist (Tramerka, Obljak, Maslinjak, Vodenjak, Dužac, Kamenjak, etc.), and until recently they also had an economic significance, dominantly as pastures for free grazing of small livestock.<sup>65</sup> Maritime features could also be a key factor in the preference of specific locations, such as the protected Mavrela cove with water sources that could be connected to maritime traffic, possibly due to local connections with neighbouring islands (Škarda) or as a place of anchorage and temporary stay of ships included in maritime transport along the Adriatic, in which Ist also could have participated thanks to its geographical position and favourable features of the coast.

There is also a problem of the absence of finds from certain periods, such as the early Iron Age or the early Middle Ages, which could suggest abandonment, depopulation or interruptions in the settlement of the island. However, one should keep in mind the possibility that such finds have not been recorded yet. In periods when the island was uninhabited, there could have been occasional visits by fishermen or travellers, although they do not regularly leave visible archaeological traces.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, ephemeral practices such

<sup>65</sup> Small livestock (goats and sheep) were periodically transported to the island in wooden boats, where they were usually left and released to graze freely during the winter months (oral accounts).

<sup>66</sup> FORENBAHER 2008: 224.

bilo ni potrebno ogradićati. Mnogi nenaseljeni jadranski otoci, poput onog najvećeg, Prvića kod Krka, tijekom prošlosti kontinuirano su korišteni kao pašnjaci za cjelogodišnju ili sezonsku ispašu sitne stoke u vlasništvu zajednica s kopna ili obližnjih, najčešće većih otoka. Sličnih primjera ima i drugdje na Mediteranu, poput Polyaigosa, najvećeg nenaseljenog egejskog otoka čije ime otkriva i dominantnu gospodarsku ulogu (grč. *poly aigi*, 'mnogo koza').<sup>67</sup> Slični obrasci gospodarskog iskorištavanja prostora otoka mogu se pretpostaviti i za otok Ist, ne samo tijekom srednjeg vijeka već i u ranijim razdobljima, a nije moguće isključiti da su potencijali stočarske privrede privukli i njegove najranije stanovnike.

Pri razmatranju načina korištenja malih otoka tijekom prošlosti, uz ulogu pašnjaka za slobodnu ispašu, nije moguće zanemariti i niz drugih različitih funkcija – od svetišta, groblja, pomorskih utvrda do odskočnih točaka (*stepping stones*) pri dalekosežnim pomorskim interakcijama, poput Palagruže i drugih pučinskih otoka Jadrana i njihove istaknute važnosti u ostvarivanju najranijih transjadranskih veza.<sup>68</sup> Braudelov opis jadranskih otoka kao „konvoja kamenih brodova“<sup>69</sup> izvrsno oslikava još jednu moguću funkciju jadranskih otoka koji su zbog svojih specifičnih geografskih postavki i načina pružanja u bilo kojem razdoblju mogli predstavljati sigurnu odstupnicu pri nestabilnim i nesigurnim okolnostima na kopnu, ali i ulogu obrambenih izvidnica i promatračnica u trenutcima kada je opasnost prijetila s otvorenog mora. U svjetlu takve „selektivne marginalnosti“ otoka dovoljno odvojenih da mogu uvijek iskoristiti tu prednost, a dovoljno povezanih da sudjeluju u širim sustavima,<sup>70</sup> moguće je promatrati i

as forest cutting or animal husbandry, attested by historical and ethnographic sources, could be occasionally practiced without the need for permanent settlement. Through samples of off-site surface finds (NIN) scattered throughout the landscape of the island, it is possible to observe evidence of various non-settlement (or occasional) activities (Map 4), among which livestock practices may have had a leading role.

Although the island offers limited agricultural possibilities, the greatest economic potential is primarily manifested through the animal husbandry function, which is best evidenced by the dominant and almost exclusive role of the island as a pasture during the Middle Ages. Looking at it as a whole, islands with small areas and scarce arable land are more suitable for animal husbandry, which, compared to agriculture, requires less labour, less dependence on water, and enables faster creation of surpluses and utilization of much larger areas for grazing. Thus, the smallest islands that served as pastures for free grazing needed not be enclosed since the sea was a physical barrier. Many uninhabited Adriatic islands, such as the largest one Prvić near Krk, were continuously used in the past as pastures for year-round or seasonal grazing of small livestock owned by communities from the mainland or nearby, usually larger islands. There are similar examples elsewhere in the Mediterranean, such as Polyaigos, the largest uninhabited Aegean island whose name also reveals its dominant economic role (Greek *poly aigi* many goats).<sup>67</sup> Similar patterns of economic exploitation of the island's space can be assumed for the island of Ist, not only during the Middle Ages but also in earlier periods, and we cannot rule out the possibility that the potential of livestock farming attracted its earliest inhabitants as well.

When considering the way small islands were used in the past, in addition to the role of pas-

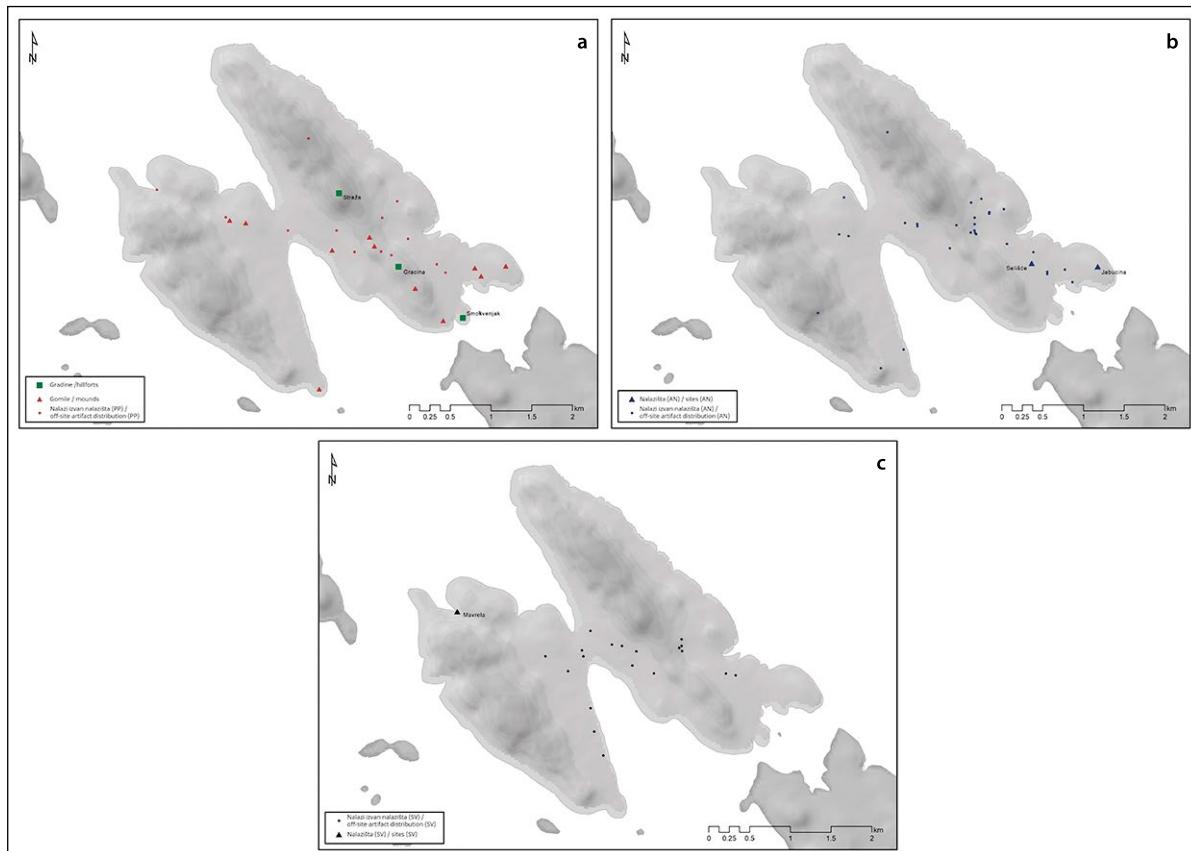
<sup>67</sup> Za više usp. CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2007: 211; BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013: 184.

<sup>68</sup> FORENBAHER 2008; 2009.

<sup>69</sup> BRAUDEL 1997.

<sup>70</sup> KNODELL et al. 2022: 503.

<sup>67</sup> More about this in CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2007: 211; BEVAN, CONOLLY 2013: 184.



**KARTA 4.** Dijakronijski uvid u transformaciju otočnog krajolika: a) prapovijest, b) antika, c) srednji i rani novi vijek (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

MAP 4 Diachronic insight into the transformation of the island landscape: a) prehistory, b) antiquity, c) Middle Ages and early Modern Age (made by P. Domines Peter)

otok Ist, smješten na obodu arhipelaga, dovoljno udaljen od kopna, a dovoljno blizak (većim) otocima da otočne populacije kroz kontakte sa susjednim zajednicama mogu smanjiti rizik vlastite samoodrživosti. Karakteristike odvojenosti i distanciranosti posebice dolaze do izražaja u nesigurnim okolnostima pa Hood predlaže model „otoka kao refugija“ koji implicira ulogu otoka kao mesta povlačenja stanovništva u kriznim trenutcima.<sup>71</sup> Korištenje izoliranih i zaštićenih položaja, poput Jabucine, moguće tijekom kraćeg razdoblja kasne antike, moglo bi se povezati upravo s takvom teorijom. Naposljetku, ne može se zanemariti da su mali otoci imali i značenje markera u terestričkoj navigaciji, služili su i kao mjesta odmora i privremenog zaustavljanja za brodove, dok

tures for free grazing, one should not ignore a number of other different functions - from sanctuaries, cemeteries, naval forts to stepping stones for far-reaching maritime interactions, such as Palagruža and other offshore islands of the Adriatic and their prominent importance in the realization of the earliest trans-Adriatic connections.<sup>68</sup> Braudel's description of the Adriatic islands as a "convoy of stone ships"<sup>69</sup> perfectly illustrates another possible function of the Adriatic islands, which, due to their specific geographical settings and their layout in any period, could represent a safe retreat during unstable and uncertain circumstances on the mainland, but also the role of defensive control points and observation posts in moments when danger threatened from the

<sup>71</sup> HOOD 1970.

<sup>68</sup> FORENBAHER 2008; 2009.

<sup>69</sup> BRAUDEL 1997.

su pojedine ciljano raspoređene strukture u prostoru, poput gradina ili gomila, mogле predstavljati i dodatne orijentire i oznake pri plovidbi.<sup>72</sup>

More, kao najefikasniji medij mobilnosti djeluje kao most koji tvori aktivni životni prostor otočana, sudjeluje u stvaranju društvenog iskustva i omogućuje putovanje ljudi i širenje novih roba, ideja i znanja.<sup>73</sup> Koliko god skromni prirodni resursi ograničavali mogućnosti održivosti otočnih zajednica i upućivali na intenzifikaciju korištenja i eksploatacije „dostupnog“ prostora i resursa, potreba za vanjskim interakcijama bila je neizbjegljiva. Geografske postavke istočne obale Jadrana pružaju izvrsnu podlogu za ostvarivanje veza između malih otoka, velikih otoka i kopna. To je posebice vidljivo u zadrskom otočju, usitnjenoj i fragmentiranoj otočnoj skupini s brojnim bliskim otocima i otočićima koje povezuje plovidba koja u optimalnim uvjetima ne traje više od nekoliko sati. U takvom prostornom kontekstu treba promatrati i geografski položaj Ista koji mu omogućuje snažnu integraciju u regionalnu, a potom i transregionalnu mrežu jadranskih plovidbenih putova i kontakata s bliskim susjednim otocima i kopnom. Smješten između Škarde i Molata, Ist predstavlja sponu u nizu vanjskih otoka (Molat-Ist-Škarda-Premuda-Silba-Ilovik) koji omogućuju optimalan pravac dužjadranskog pomorskog povezivanja sjevernodalmatinskog i kvarnerskog arhipelaga. S druge strane, unatoč činjenici da se za vrijeme bistrog vremena s najvišeg vrha Straže ostvaruje vidljivost sve do suprotne talijanske obale, od koje ga dijeli 121,7 km (ili 65,7 nm), plovidba prema otvorenom moru je opasna, nepredvidiva i nije imala veliko značenje u nedavnoj prošlosti otoka. U pojedinim razdobljima veze otok-kopno ili otok-otoci bile su izraženi-

open sea. This “selective marginality” of islands separated enough to always use this advantage, and connected enough to participate in wider systems,<sup>70</sup> could also be applied to the island of Ist, located on the edge of the archipelago, far enough from the mainland, and close enough to the (larger) islands so that island populations could reduce the risk of their own self-sustainability through contacts with neighbouring communities. The characteristics of separation and distance especially come to the fore in uncertain circumstances, so Hood proposes the “island as a refuge” model, which implies the role of the island as a place of retreat for the population in moments of crisis.<sup>71</sup> Such theory could correspond to the use of isolated and protected positions, such as Jabucina, possibly during a shorter period of Late Antiquity. Finally, it cannot be ignored that the small islands also had the meaning of markers in terrestrial navigation, serving as resting places and temporary stops for ships, while certain purposefully arranged structures in space, such as forts or mounds, could also represent additional landmarks and guideposts during navigation.<sup>72</sup>

Sea, as the most efficient medium of mobility, acts as a bridge that forms the active living space of the islanders, participates in the creation of social experience and enables the travel of people and the spread of new goods, ideas and knowledge.<sup>73</sup> As much as the modest natural resources limited the possibilities of sustainability of the island communities and pointed to the intensification of the use and exploitation of the “available” space and resources, the need for external interactions was inevitable. The geographical characteristics of the eastern coast of the Adriatic provide an excellent basis for establishing connections between small islands, large islands

<sup>70</sup> KNODELL et al. 2022: 503.

<sup>71</sup> HOOD 1970.

<sup>72</sup> BORGNA, CASSOLA GUIDA 2009: 89-104; ČUČKO-VIĆ 2017.

<sup>73</sup> HORDEN, PURCELL 2000: 123-132.

<sup>72</sup> BORGNA, CASSOLA GUIDA 2009: 89-104; ČUČKO-VIĆ 2017.

<sup>73</sup> HORDEN, PURCELL 2000: 123-132.

je, stoga ih je i u arheološkom kontekstu moguće lakše pratiti kroz prisustvo roba ili predmeta kakvi se na otoku nisu mogli pronaći. Za razliku od prapovijesti, kada još nemamo dovoljno (importiranih) dokaza da bismo pouzdano raspravljaljali o intenzitetu vanjskih kontakata, antičko razdoblje označava prvu snažnu integraciju otoka u široku mrežu mediteranskog svijeta koja je omogućila akviziciju stranih roba i predmeta (npr. keramičkih amfora, žrvnjeva, stolne keramike). Tijekom srednjeg vijeka dodatan izvor podataka za razumijevanje međuotočnih interakcija nude pisani izvori koji govore o mobilnosti pastirskog stanovništva između različitih otoka, komunalnih i onih privavnih.<sup>74</sup>

## ZAKLJUČAK

Preliminarni rezultati prve faze projekta „Arheološki krajolik otoka Ista – Archaeo. IST“ otvaraju novi pogled na arheološke potencijale malih sjevernodalmatinskih otoka i omogućuju korak dalje u razumijevanju odnosa ljudskih zajednica s marginalnim otočnim okolišem. U kontekstima fizičke odvojenosti i društvene izolacije otočni stanovnici razvili su specifičan odnos s prostorom. Istraživanje je pokazalo da mali jadranski otoci, poput Ista, predstavljaju partikularne mikrookoliše u kojima su se odvijale različite ljudske aktivnosti koje se mogu pratiti kroz arheološke dokaze, pritom razlikujući naseobinske aktivnosti često povezane s formiranjem nalazišta i nenaseobinske prakse poput stočarstva, o kojima može svjedočiti raširenost površinskih nalaza izvan nalazišta.

Prirodne karakteristike malog otoka nisu definirane samo malom površinom, već i oskudnim prirodnim resursima koji su imali presudan utjecaj na karakter naseljenosti i osiguranje održivosti otočnih populacija.

<sup>74</sup> JURAN 2010: 232.

and the mainland. This is particularly visible in the Zadar archipelago, a small and fragmented island group with numerous nearby islands and islets connected by sailing that, under optimal conditions, takes no more than a few hours. The geographical position of Ist should be observed in such a spatial context which enables it to be strongly integrated into the regional and then transregional network of Adriatic navigation routes and contacts with nearby neighbouring islands and the mainland. Located between Škarda and Molat, Ist represents a link in a row of outer islands (Molat-Ist-Škarda-Premuda-Silba-Ilovik) that provide an optimal route along the Adriatic maritime connection of the northern Dalmatian and Kvarner archipelago. On the other hand, despite the fact that during clear weather, visibility is achieved from the highest summit of Straža all the way to the opposite Italian coast, from which it is separated by 121.7 km (or 65.7 nm), sailing towards the open sea is dangerous, unpredictable and without great significance in the island's recent past. In certain periods, connections island-mainland or island-island were more pronounced, and therefore, even in the archaeological context, it is possible to trace them more easily through the presence of goods or objects that could not be found on the island. Unlike prehistory, when we still do not have enough (imported) evidence to reliably discuss the intensity of external contacts, the ancient period marks the first strong integration of the island into the wide network of the Mediterranean world, which enabled the acquisition of foreign goods and objects (e.g. ceramic amphorae, querns, ceramic tableware). In the Middle Ages, an additional source of data for understanding inter-island interactions is offered by written sources that illustrate the mobility of shepherd populations between different islands, communal and private.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> JURAN 2010: 232.

Premda modaliteti ljudskih aktivnosti variraju u razdoblju i intenzitetu, u korelaciji između raširenosti obradivih tla, izvora vode i gustoće arheoloških nalaza i nalazišta na jugoistočnoj strani otoka, jasno se mogu prepoznati obrasci okupacije prostora koji su nedvojivo povezani s pojavom otočnih resursa. Ipak, najvažniji gospodarski resurs otoka Ista jesu pašnjaci pa su njegova uloga i način upotrebe u prošlosti, osobito tijekom srednjeg vijeka, a vrlo vjerojatno i prije, usko povezani sa stočarskom ekonomijom.

Arheološki tragovi pokazuju da je intenzivnija upotreba otoka limitirana na određena razdoblja, međutim, arheološki dokazi ne idu u prilog dugotrajnoj, kontinuiranoj okupaciji. Preliminarni rezultati upućuju na visoki intenzitet ljudskih aktivnosti u kreiranju i rekreiranju kompleksnog prapovijesnog krajolika, ali i znatno manju razinu strukturiранih intervencija u prostoru tijekom ostalih razdoblja. Nedostatak materijalnih dokaza za pojedina razdoblja mogao bi upućivati na diskontinuitet, praznine u naseljavanje ili napuštanje otoka, no pritom se ne može zanemariti i uloga povremenih ljudskih aktivnosti koje ostavljaju malo vidljivih tragova u površinskom kontekstu.

Naposljetku, za razliku od prethodnih selektivnih ili parcijalnih pristupa, sustavni istraživački pristupi pružaju niz mogućnosti u vrednovanju arheološke baštine malih otoka, posebice u kontekstu teško pristupačnih područja gdje, usprkos svim novijim mogućnostima digitalnih tehnologija, jedino detaljna terenska istraživanja mogu ponuditi najpotpuniju sliku korištenja prostora i omogućiti cjelovite podatke o slojevitosti distinkтивnih otočnih krajolika.

## ZAHVALE

Ovaj rad nastao je u okviru studentskog projekta „Arheološki krajolik otoka Ista – Archaeo.IST“ čiju je provedbu financiralo

## CONCLUSION

The preliminary results of the first phase of the project “Archaeological landscape of the island of Ist - Archaeo.IST” open a new perspective on the archaeological potential of the small northern Dalmatian islands and enable a step forward in understanding the relationship between human communities and the marginal island environment. In contexts of physical separation and social isolation, islanders have developed a specific relationship with space. Research has shown that small Adriatic islands, such as Ist, represent particular micro-environments in which different human activities took place that can be traced through archaeological evidence, while distinguishing settlement activities often associated with the formation of sites, and non-settlement practices such as animal husbandry, which can be associated with the spread of surface finds outside the site.

The natural characteristics of the small island are not defined only by the small area, but also by the scarce natural resources that had a decisive influence on the settling characteristics and on ensuring the sustainability of the island population. Although the modalities of human activities vary in period and intensity, patterns of space occupation that are inextricably linked to the appearance of island resources can be clearly recognized in the correlation between the spreading of arable land, water sources and the density of archaeological finds and sites on the south-eastern side of the island. Nevertheless, the most important economic resource of the island of Ist is the pastures, so its role and the way of use throughout the past, especially during the Middle Ages, and very likely even earlier, are closely related to the livestock economy.

Archaeological traces show that more intensive use of the island was limited to certain periods, but however, archaeological evidence does not support long-term, continuous occupation. Preliminary results indicate high intensity of human activities in the creation and

Sveučilište u Zadru (voditelj: Pio Domines Peter). Zahvaljujemo kolegama Domagoju Maurinu, Juri Mustaću, Domagoju Knezu, Luki Žarkoviću, Dominiku Kelavi i Karli Gendi na sudjelovanju u terenskim istraživanjima. Za pomoć u atribuciji dokumentirane arheološke grude zahvalnost dugujemo Ani Konestri, Igoru Borziću, Karli Gusar, Draženu Maršiću, Marini Ugarković i Mariju Bodrožiću. Na podatcima o nalazištu Straža zahvale upućujemo Urošu Koširu, a informacijama u vezi s rezultatima studentske ekspedicije na Istu 1989. godine Miroslavu Katiću. Na susretljivosti u prikupljanju usmenih kazivanja dužni smo zahvaliti Išćanima Anti Genariju, Mati Kozuliću, Mili Kozuliću i Leu Bonicioliu.

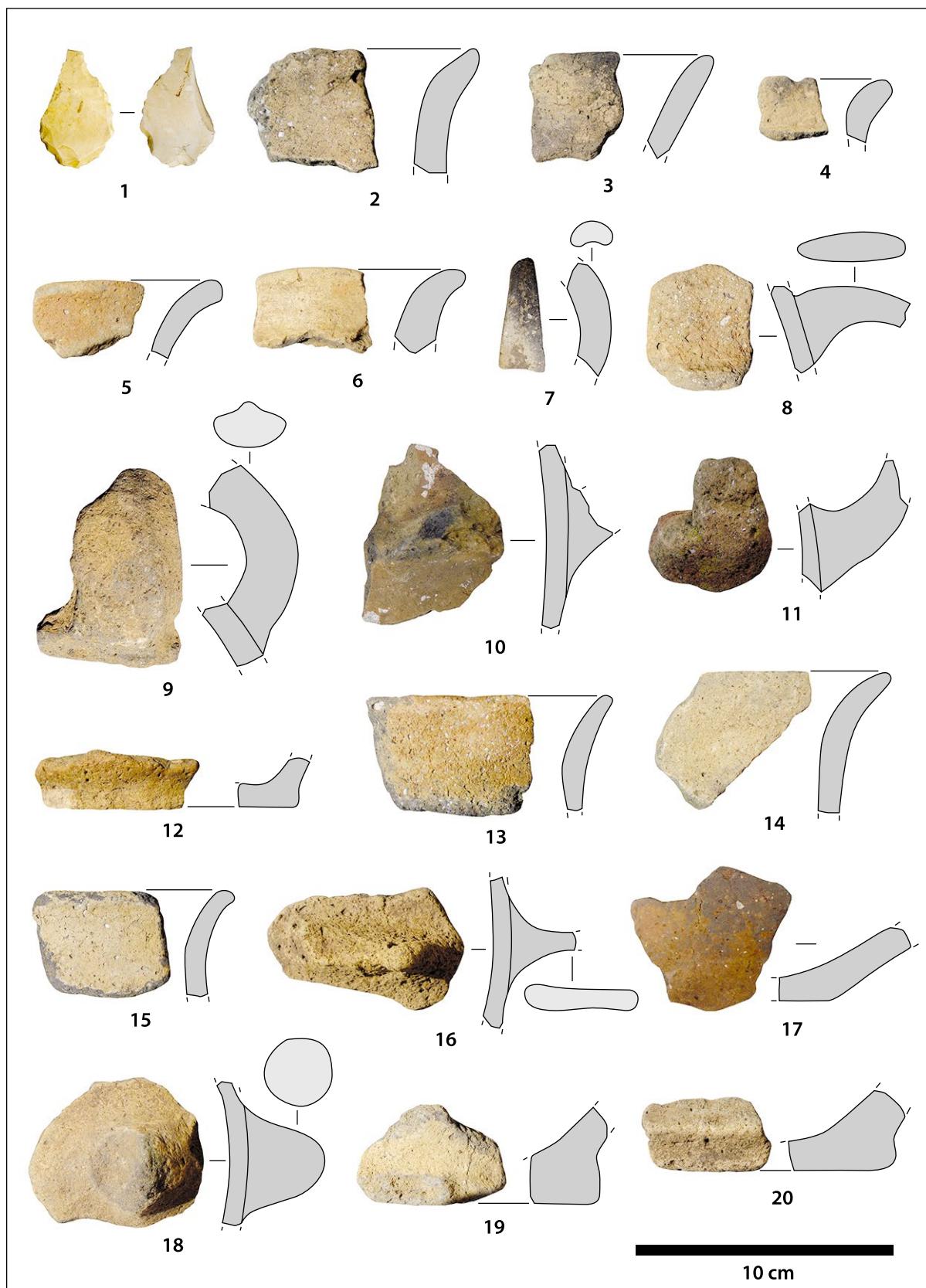
recreation of a complex prehistoric landscape, but also a significantly lower level of structured interventions in space in other periods. The lack of material evidence for certain periods could indicate discontinuity, gaps in settlement or abandonment of the island, but the role of occasional human activities that leave few visible traces in the surface context cannot be ignored.

Finally, in contrast to the previous selective or partial approaches, systematic research approaches provide a number of possibilities in the evaluation of the archaeological heritage of small islands, especially in the context of hard-to-reach areas where, despite all the modern possibilities of digital technologies, only detailed field survey can offer the most complete picture of the use of space and provide complete data on the complexity of distinctive island landscapes.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

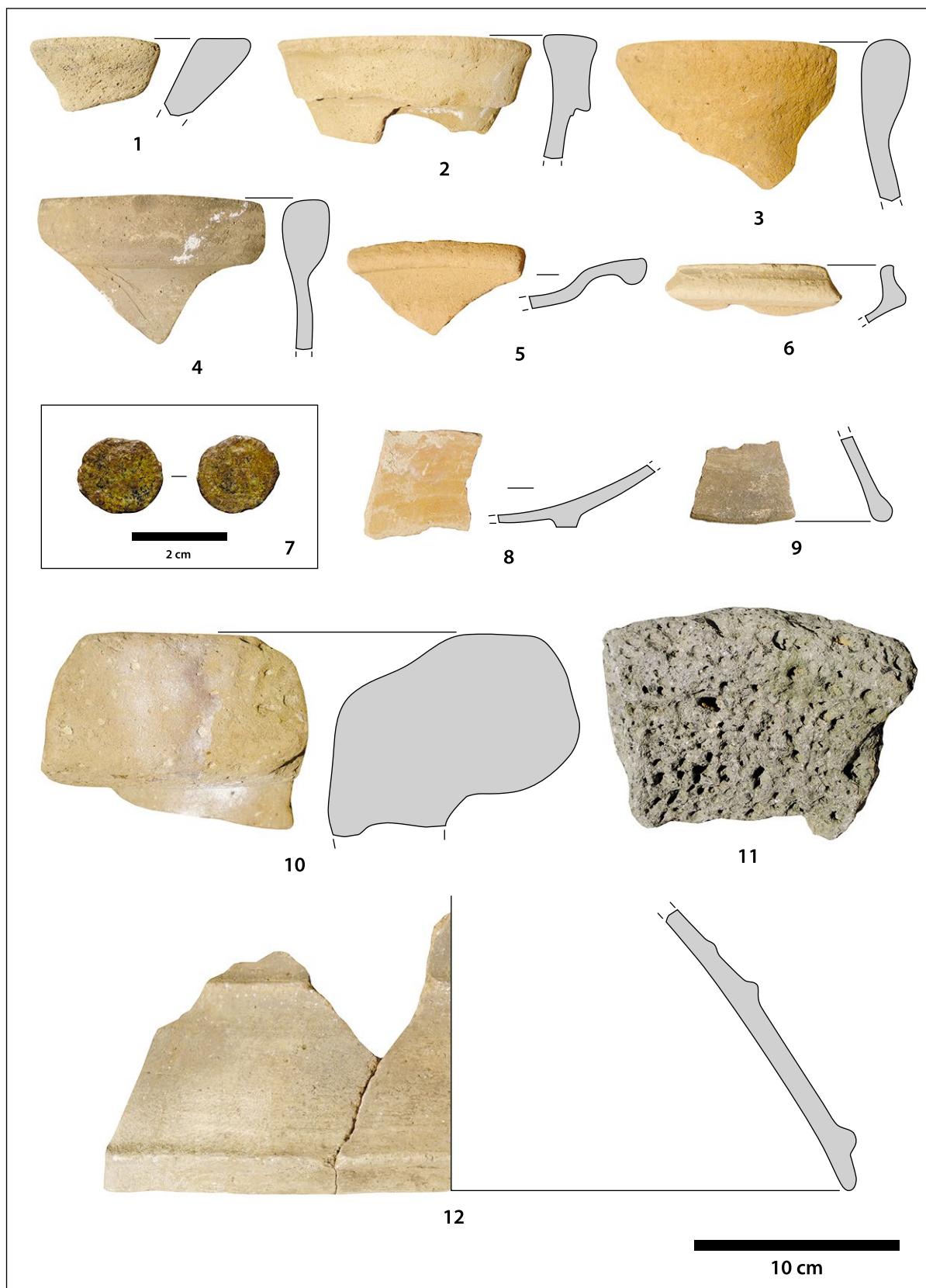
This work was created as part of the student project "Archaeological landscape of the island of Ist - Archaeo.IST", the implementation of which was financed by the University of Zadar (leader Pio Domines Peter). We would like to thank our colleagues Domagoj Maurin, Jure Mustać, Domagoj Knez, Luka Žarković, Dominik Kelava and Karla Genda for participating in the field survey. We are grateful to Ana Konestra, Igor Borzić, Karla Gusar, Dražen Maršić, Marina Ugarković and Mario Bodrožić for their help in the attribution of documented archaeological material. We thank Uroš Košir for the information on the Straža site, and Miroslav Katić for the information related to the results of the student expedition to Ist in 1989. We would like to extend our gratitude to the residents of Ist, Ante Genarij, Mate Kozulić, Milo Kozulić and Leo Bonicioli, for their assistance in collecting oral accounts.

*Translation: Marija Kostić*



**TABLA 1.** Selekcija prapovijesnih nalaza: 1. Mljake, Ogradica (NIN), 2-12. Straža, 13-15. Gracina, 16-20. Smokvenjak (NNN) (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

**PLATE 1** Selection of prehistoric finds: 1. Mljake, Ogradica (NIN), 2-12. Straža, 13-15. Gracina, 16-20. Smokvenjak (NNN) (made by P. Domines Peter)



**TABLA 2.** Selekcija antičkih i srednjovjekovnih/ranonovjekovnih nalaza: 1. Varh Gore (NIN), 2-11. Selišće, 12. Mavrela (NNN) (izradio: P. Domines Peter)

**PLATE 2** Selection of ancient and medieval/early Modern Age finds: 1. Varh Gore (NIN), 2-11. Selišće, 12. Mavrela (NNN) (made by P. Domines Peter)

## LITERATURA / REFERENCES:

- ANTONIOLI, F., ANZIDEI, M., LAMBECK, K., AURIEMMA, R., GADDI, D., FURLANI, S., ORRU, P., SOLINAS, E., GASPARI, A., KARINJA, S., KOVAČIĆ, V., SURACE, L. 2007, Sea level change during Holocene from Sardinia and northeastern Adriatic (Central Mediterranean Sea) from archaeological and geomorphological data, *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 26, 2463–2486.
- ATHANASOULIS, D., KNODELL, A. R., TANKOSIĆ, Ž., PAPADOPOLOU, Z., SIGALA, M., DIAMANTI, C., KOURAYOS, Y., PAPADIMITRIOUS, A. 2021, The Small Cycladic Islands Project (2019–2020): A Comparative Survey of Uninhabited Landscapes near Paros and Antiparos, Greece, *Antiquity*, 95, 1–9.
- BADURINA, A. 1992, Bizantski plovni put po vanjskom rubu sjevernih jadranskih otoka, *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 16, 7–9.
- BARBARIĆ, V. 2011, Tumulus or cairn? Case of Central Dalmatian Islands, u/in: *Ancestral Landscapes: Burial Mounds In The Copper And Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th–2nd millennium)*, Borgna, E., Muller Celka, S. (ur./eds.), Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, 145–152.
- BASS, B. 1998, Early Neolithic offshore accounts: remote islands, maritime exploitations, and the trans–Adriatic cultural network, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 11(2), 165–190.
- BATOVIĆ, Š. 1973, Prapovijesni ostaci na zadarskom otočju, *Diadora*, 6, 5–165.
- BATOVIĆ, Š. 1974, Prapovijesni ostaci na Zadarskom otočju, u/in: *Zadarsko otoče*, Uranija, V. (ur./ed.), Narodni muzej, Zadar, 21–34.
- BATOVIĆ, Š. 2010, Bilješke o najstarijoj povijesti Ista i Škarde, u/in: *Otoc Istra i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 213–220.
- BEGOVIĆ, V., SCHRUNK, I. 2002, Rimske vile Istre i Dalmacije, I. dio: pregled lokaliteta, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 19, 113–130.
- BEVAN, A., CONOLLY, J. 2013, *Mediterranean Islands, Fragile Communities and Persistent Landscapes: Antikythera in Long-Term Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BINTLIFF, J., SNODGRASS, A. 1998, Off-site pottery distributions: Regional and Interregional Perspective, *Current Anthropology*, 29 (3), 506–518.
- BLEČIĆ KAVUR, M., KOMŠO, D. 2016, Tajni grad - grad tajni Oporovina i sustav špilja u kanjonu Lovranske Drage, *Histria archaeologica*, 46, 75–98.
- BORGNA, E., CÀSSOLA GUIDA, P. 2009, Seafarers and Land–Travellers in the Bronze Age of the Northern Adriatic, u/in: *A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Prehistory*, S. Forenbaher (ur./ed.), BAR International Series 2037, Oxford, 89–104.
- BORZIĆ, I. 2017, Korint B i srodne amfore s istočnojadranskih gradinskih lokaliteta, u/in: *Amphorae as a resource for the reconstruction of economic development in the Adriatic region in Antiquity: local production*, Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Radić Rossi, I., Konestra, A. (ur./eds.), Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb, 5–12.
- BRAUDEL, F. 1997, *Sredozemlje i sredozemni svijet u doba Filipa II.*, Zagreb: Antibarbarus.
- BRUSIĆ, Z. 1974, Rezultati podmorskih istraživanja u zadarskom arhipelagu, u/in: *Zadarsko otoče*, Uranija, V. (ur./ed.), Narodni muzej, Zadar, 65–70.
- BULIĆ, F. 1900, Ritrovamenti di monete antiche sull’isola Isto presso Zara, *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 23, 192.
- BUNČIĆ, M. 2010, Naseobinski pokazatelji kasnog srednjeg vijeka zagrebačkog nalazišta Stenjevec, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 43, 69–110.

- CARRE, M. B., AURIEMMA, R. 2009, Piscine e vivaria nell'Adriatico settentrionale: tipologie e funzioni, u/in: *Olio e pesce in epoca romana. Produzione e commerçuelle regioni dell'Alto Adriatico*, Atti del convegno, Padova, 16. 2. 2007, Pesavento Mattioli, S., Carre, M.-B. (ur./eds.), Edizioni Quasar, Roma, 83–100.
- CHAPMAN, J., SHIEL, R., BATOVIC, Š. 1996, *The Changing Face of Dalmatia: Archaeological Studies in a Mediterranean Landscape*, London: Leicester University Press.
- CONSTANTAKOPOULOU, C. 2007, *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire and the Aegean World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ČAČE, S. 1981, Naselje i nekropola u prostoru zajednice, *Dometi*, 5, 35–40.
- ČAČE, S. 1993, Prilozi povijesti Liburnije u 1. stoljeću prije Krista, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 35, 1–35.
- ČAČE, S. 2006, South Liburnia at the beginning of the Principate : jurisdiction and territorial organization, u/in: *Les routes de l' Adriatique antique : geographie et economie : actes de la Table ronde = Putovi antičkog Jadrana : geografija i gospodarstvo: radovi s Okruglog stola*, Čače, S., Kurilić, A., Tassaux, F. (ur./eds), Institut Auonius–Sveučilište u Zadru, Bordeaux–Zadar, 65–79.
- ČUČKOVIĆ, Z. 2012, Metodologija sustavnog terenskog pregleda: primjer istraživanja zapadne Bujštine (Istra), *Opuscula archaeologica*, 36, 247–274.
- ČUČKOVIĆ, Z. 2017, Claiming the sea: Bronze Age fortified sites of the North–Eastern Adriatic Sea (Cres and Lošinj Islands, Croatia), *World Archaeology*, 49 (4), 526–546.
- ČUKA, A., MAGAŠ, D. 2003, Socio–geographic transformation of Ist island, Croatia, *Geoadria*, 8(2), 67–86.
- DAWSON, H. 2014, *Mediterranean Voyages: The Archaeology of Island Colonisation and Abandonment*, London: UCL Institut of archaeology Publication.
- DAWSON. H. 2019, Island Archaeology, u/in: *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, Smith, C. (ur./ed.), Springer, New York, 1–8.
- DELLA CASA, P., BASS, B., KATUNARIĆ, T., KIRIGIN, B., RADIC, D. 2009, An overview of prehistoric and early historic settlement, topography, and maritime connections on Lastovo island, Croatia, u/in: *A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Prehistory*, Forenbaher, S. (ur./ed.), BAR International Series 2037, Oxford, 113–136.
- DUPLANČIĆ LEDER, T., UJEVIĆ, T., ČALA, M. 2004. Coastline lengths and areas of islands in the Croatian part of the Adriatic Sea determined from the topographic maps at the scale of 1 : 25 000, *Geoadria*, 9(1), 5–32.
- FILIPI, A. R. 1960, Kretanje broja stanovništva zadarskih otoka, *Radovi instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, VI-VII, 137–179.
- FITZPATRICK, S. M. 2004, Synthesizing island archaeology, u/in: *Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands*, Fitzpatrick, S. (ur./ed.), Praeger, Westport, 3–18.
- FITZPATRICK, S. M., THOMPSON, V. D., POTEATE, A. S., NAPOLITANO, M. F., ER-LANDSON. J. M. 2016, Marginalization of the margins: The importance of smaller islands in human prehistory, *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology*, 11(2), 155–70.
- FORENBAHER, S. 2008, Archaeological record of the Adriatic offshore islands as an indicator of long-distance interaction in prehistory, *European Journal of Archaeology*, 11(2-3), 223–244.
- FORENBAHER, S. 2009, Adriatic Offshore Islands and Long-Distance Interaction in Prehistory, u/in: *A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Prehistory*, Forenbaher, S. (ur./ed.), BAR Series, 2037, Archaeopress, Oxford, 73–87.

- GAFFNEY, V., KIRIGIN, B., LEACH, P., VUJNOVIĆ, N., FORENBAHER, S., KAISER, T., ČAĆE, S. 2006, *A game of numbers: Rural settlement in Dalmatia and the central Dalmatian islands*, u/in: *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970–2001. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes*, Davison D., Gaffney V., Marin E. (ur./eds.), BAR International Series 1576, Oxford, 89–106.
- GAFFNEY, V., KIRIGIN, B., PETRIĆ, M., VUJNOVIĆ, N. 1997, *The Adriatic Islands Project: Contact, Commerce and Colonialism 6000 BC – AD 600*, Volume 1, BAR International Series 660, Oxford.
- GLAVAŠ, V. 2015, *Romanizacija autohtonih civitata na prostoru sjevernog i srednjeg Velebita*, neobjavljena disertacija/unpublished PhD thesis, Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru.
- GLAVAŠ, V. 2018, Kulturna krajina Severnega Velebita, u/in: *Dinarski Kras: Severni Velebit*, Stepišnik, U. (ur./ed.), Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, Ljubljana, 64–96.
- GRGIN, B. 1989, Historiografija o zadarskom otočju do 1420. godine (Pregled, interpretacija, putevi rješavanja), *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 22(1), 311–327.
- GUNJAČA, Z. 1986, Kasnoantička fortifikacijska arhitektura na istočnojadranskom priobalju i otocima, *Odbrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije*, Materijali, 22, Novi Sad, 124–136.
- GUSAR, K., VUJEVIĆ, D. 2016, *Utvrda u Zemuniku Donjem u srednjem i novom vijeku. Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja 2014. g.*, Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru.
- HAUCK, A. 1910, Monogram of Jesus Christ, u/in: *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, sv. 6, Schaff, P. (ur./ed.), Inktank Publishing, 168.
- HOOD, S. 1970, Isles of refuge in the early Byzantine period, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 65, 37–45.
- HORDEN, P., PURCELL, N. 2000, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- HORVAT, K. 2021, Early Neolithic Settlement Patterns in Northern Dalmatia, *Open Archaeology*, 7(1), 736–746.
- HUSNJAK, S. 2010, Pedološke značajke i uporabna vrijednost tla otoka Ista i Škarde, u/in: *Otocí Ist i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 121–136.
- ILAKOVAC, B. 2003, Rimskodobna proizvodnja vina u Mulinama na otoku Ugljanu, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdvo povijesnih znanosti*, 40/27, 49–64.
- JURAN, K. 2010, Otoci Ist i Škarda u srednjem i ranom novom vijeku – pristup istraživanju i nove spoznaje, u/in: *Otocí Ist i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 221–250.
- JURIŠIĆ, M. 2006, Zadarski akvatorij, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 2(2005), 321–323.
- JURJEVIĆ, M. 2020, *Topografija rimske ruralne arhitekture na području južne Liburnije*, neobjavljena disertacija/unpublished PhD thesis, Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru.
- KATIČIĆ, R. 1974, Liburnski otoci kod antičkih pisaca, u/in: *Zadarsko otočje*, Uranija, V. (ur./ed.), Narodni muzej, Zadar, 35–45.
- KIRIGIN, B., VUJNOVIĆ, N., ČAĆE, S., GAFFNEY, V., PODOBNIKAR, T., STANČIĆ, Z., BURMAZ, J. 2006, *The Adriatic Islands Project Volume 3: The Archaeological Heritage of Vis, Biševo, Svetac, Palagruža and Šolta*, BAR Int. Ser. 1492, Oxford: Archeopress.
- KNAPP, A. B., VAN DOMMELEN, P. 2014, Insularity and Connectivity, u/in: *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean*, Knapp, A. B., van Dommelen, P. (ur./eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 7–8.

- KNODELL, A. R., ATHANASOULIS, D., TANKOSIĆ, Ž., CHERRY, J. F., GARONIS, T., LEVINE, E., NENOVA, D., ÖZTÜRK, H. Ç. 2022, An Island Archaeology of Uninhabited Landscapes: Offshore Islets Near Paros, Greece (The Small Cycladic Islands Project), *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology*, 17 (4), 475–511.
- KNODELL, A. R., WILKINSON, T. C., LEPPARD, T. P., ORENGO, H. A. 2023, Survey Archaeology in the Mediterranean World: Regional Traditions and Contributions to Long-Term History, *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 31, 263–329.
- KONESTRA, A., ŠEGVIĆ, N., ANDROIĆ GRAČANIN, P., STARAC, R. 2017, Arheološka topografija otoka Raba: geofizička, sondažna i topografska istraživanja u 2016. godini, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, 13, 103–110.
- KONESTRA, A., WELC F., DUGONJIĆ, A., ANDROIĆ GRAČANIN, P., RABIEGA, K., SOLECKY, R., NOWACKI, B. 2019, Istraživanja projekta „Arheološka topografija otoka Raba“ u 2018. godini na području Lopara: nova saznanja o prapovijesnim i kasnoantičkim lokalitetima, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, 15, 187–194.
- KONESTRA, A., WELC, F., ANDROIĆ GRAČANIN, P., RABIEGA, K., NOWACKI, B., KUKELA, A. 2020, Tipologija i organizacija otočnih naselja Raba kroz dijakronijski pristup – prvi podaci multidisciplinarnih istraživanja, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, 16, 229–244.
- KONESTRA, A., LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, G., WELC, F. 2022, Rural Landscapes of Roman (northern) Liburnia: Diachronic Development of Organisation and the Economy in Extra-Urban Territories in the Light of Recent Archaeological Research, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 54(3), 195–234.
- KOPÁČKOVÁ, J. 2020, Local Production of Olive Oil and Wine in Roman Dalmatia (1st–7th Century AD) – an overview of the current state of research, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 19, 163–184.
- KRILE, I., VUJEVIĆ, D. 2017, Prilog poznavanju rane prapovijesti Velog Rata na Dugom otoku, *Diadora*, 31, 7–26.
- KULENOVIĆ, N. 2019, Terenski pregled krške zaravni na području Jasenica i Obrovca, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 13, 253–287.
- MAGAŠ, D. 2010, Prirodno geografska osnova – potencijal razvoja otoka Ista i Škarde, u/in: *Otocí Ist i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 63–92.
- MATIJAŠIĆ, R. 1993, Oil and Wine Production in Istria and Dalmatia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, u/in: *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée*, Amouretti, M.–C., Brun, J. P.(ur./eds.), Ecole française d'Athènes – Diffusion de Boccard, Athens – Paris, 247–261.
- MORO, A., ČOSOVIĆ, V., MARTON, E. 2010, Geološka građa otoka Ista i okolnih otočića, u/in: *Otocí Ist i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 93–97.
- NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2001, *Prostorska in pokrajinska arheologija: studija na primeru Krasa*, neobjavljena disertacija/unpublished PhD thesis, Ljubljana: Filozofska Fakulteta v Ljubljani.
- NOVAKOVIĆ, P. 2003, *Osvajanje prostora. Razvoj prostorske in krajinske arheologije*, Ljubljana: Filozofska Fakulteta v Ljubljani.
- OREČ, P. 1978, Prapovijesna naselja i grobne gomile (Posušje, Grude i Lištica), *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, 22, 181–291.
- PANDŽA, M. 2010, Vegetacija Ista i Škarde s pripadajućim otocima, u/in: *Otocí Ist i Škarda*, Faričić, J. (ur./ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 187–211.
- PARAMAN, L., UGARKOVIĆ, M. 2020, Gradinsko utvrđenje Sutilja: nove spoznaje temeljene na arheološkim nalazima prikupljenim neinvazivnim istraživanjima, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 113(1), 41–99.

- PARICA, M. 2012, Nekoliko primjera lučkih instalacija antičkih kamenoloma na dalmatinskim otocima, *Histria antiqua*, 21, 345–354.
- PARICA, M. 2017, Mogućnosti antičke riboprerađivačke industrije u Pašmanskom kanalu, u/in: *ADRIAMPHORAE, Proceedings of the workshop, Zagreb, 21st April 2016*, Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Radić Rossi, I., Konestra, A. (ur./eds.), Institut za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 86–98.
- PARICA, M. 2021, *Prapovijesne maritimne konstrukcije Dalmacije i Kvarnera / Prehistoric maritime structures in Dalmatia and Kvarner*, Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru.
- RADIĆ ROSSI, I. 2017, Amfore tipa Korint B iz hrvatskog podmorja, u/in: *Amphorae as a resource for the reconstruction of economic development in the Adriatic region in Antiquity: local production*, Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Radić Rossi, I., Konestra, A., Institut za arheologiju u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 13–25.
- RADIĆ, D., BASS, B. 1999, Current archaeological research on the Island of Korčula, Croatia, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 90–91, 361–403.
- RAUKAR, T. 1977, *Zadar u XV stoljeću: Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi*, Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu.
- RAUKAR, T. 1997, Zadar i zadarsko otočje u srednjem vijeku, u/in: *Tisuću godina prvoga spomena ribarstva u Hrvata, Zbornik radova istoimenoga znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Zadru – Salima i Splitu 10. – 18. listopada 1995.*, Finka, B. (ur./ed.), Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Institut za ribarstvo u Splitu, Zagreb, 69–80.
- SCHRUNK, I., BEGOVIĆ, V., UGARKOVIĆ, M., KONESTRA, A. 2022, Otočna arheologija i maritimna vila: Soline na Sv. Klementu od 2007. do danas, u/in: *Zbornik skupa Hvarske arhipelag i arheologija dalmatinskih otoka: od dinamične prošlosti do kulturnog turizma, Hvar, 08.-11.10.2019.*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, 34(2019), Visković, E., Ugarković, M., Tončinić, D. (ur./eds.), Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb, 183–208.
- SHACKLETON, J. C., VAN ANDEL, T. H., RUNNELS, C. N. 1984, Coastal paleogeography of the central and western Mediterranean during the last 125,000 years and its archaeological implications, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 11, 307–314.
- SKRAČIĆ, V. 1996, *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka*, Split: Književni krug Split.
- STANČIĆ, Z., VUJNOVIĆ, N., KIRIGIN, B., ČAĆE, S., PODOBNIKAR, T., BURMAZ, J. 1999, *The Adriatic Islands Project Volume 2: The Archaeological Heritage of the Island of Brač*, Croatia, BAR Int. Ser. 803, Oxford: Archeopress.
- SUIĆ, M., 1960, Arheološka istraživanja u Mulinama na otoku Ugljanu, *Ljetopis JAZU*, 64, 230–249.
- SUIĆ, M. 1974., Zadarski otoci u antici, u/in: *Zadarsko otočje*, Uranija V. (ur./ed.), Narodni muzej, Zadar, 47–64.
- SUIĆ, M. 1995, Bizantski limes na istočnoj obali Jadrana, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 35, 133–145.
- TOMIĆIĆ, Ž. 1989, Arheološka svjedočanstva o ranobizantskom vojnem graditeljstvu na sjevernojadranskim otocima, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju*, 5–6, 29–53.
- UGARKOVIĆ, M., SCHRUNK, I., BEGOVIĆ, V., PETRIĆ, M. 2016, Arheološka istraživanja rimske vile u uvali Soline na otoku Sveti Klement (Pakleni otoci, Hvar), lipanj 2015. godine, *Annales Instituti Archaeologici*, 12(1), 160–165.
- UGLEŠIĆ, A., PARICA, M. 2013, Antička, srednjovjekovna i ranonovovjekovna arheološka baština Veloga Rata, u/in: *Veli Rat*, Uglešić, A., Faričić, J. (ur./eds.), Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar, 147–159.

- VAN ANDEL, T. H. 1990, Addendum to Late Quaternary sea-level changes and archaeology, *Antiquity*, 64, 151–152.
- VIGATO, I. 2015, Toponimi u glagoljskim oporukama sa zapadnih otoka zadarskog otočja iz 16., 17. i 18. stoljeća, *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, 11(1), 57–67.
- VLASANOVIĆ, P. (n. d.), *Bilješke o prošlosti otoka Ista* (neobjavljeni materijal).
- VRSALOVIĆ, D. 2011, *Arheološka istraživanja u podmorju istočnog Jadrana: prilog poznavanju trgovackih plovnih putova i gospodarskih prilika na Jadranu u antici*, Split: Književni krug Split.
- VUJEVIĆ, D. 2009, The relations between Middle Paleolithic open air sites in Zadar hinterland and open air sites on Zadar islands, u/in: *A Connecting Sea: Maritime Interaction in Adriatic Pre-history*, Forenbaher, S. (ur./ed.), British Archaeological Reports 2037, Oxford, 1–11.