

Dodatak o prehistorijskim gradinama i gomilama unutar i uokolo Starogradskoga i Jelšanskog polja na otoku Hvaru

Appendix on Prehistoric Hillforts and Mounds in and around the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains on the Island of Hvar

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U radu se raspravlja o gradinama, mogućim gradinama te o pedesetak gomila koje se nalaze unutar i uokolo Starogradskoga i Jelšanskog polja na otoku Hvaru. Radi se o prostoru koji zauzima 10 do 15 % površine otoka i u kojem se nalazi najveća plodna ravnica među svim otocima na Jadranu. To su jedini vidljivi spomenici koji bi općenito mogli pripadati brončanom i željeznom dobu, odnosno vremenu prije utemeljenja grčkoga grada Farosa na mjestu današnjega Staroga Grada, na samom početku Starogradskog polja. Premda su neke poznate još od vremena Hvarskog statuta (14. st.), do sada je arheološki istražena samo jedna gomila, i to gotovo najmanja, dok su na najvećoj, na Purkinu kuku, provedena manja iskopavanja. Uz to, samo su na jednoj gradini tek nedavno obavljena preliminarna sondiranja. Kako se gradine, a osobito gomile u Dalmaciji javljaju u razdoblju od oko 2500 godina, a njihova je brojnost na području koje smo analizirali velika, pokušali smo pokazati kako su ta nalazišta jasan pokazatelj da je središnji sjeverni

The article discusses hillforts, potential hillforts, and around fifty mounds located within and around Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains on the island of Hvar. This area covers 10 to 15% of the island's surface and contains the largest fertile plain among all the Adriatic islands. These are the only visible monuments, which generally could have belonged to the Bronze and Iron Ages, i.e. the period before the foundation of the Greek city of Pharos at the site of modern Stari Grad town, at the very edge of the Stari Grad Plain. Although some have been known since the time of the Hvar Statute (14th century), only one mound, namely, one of the smallest ones, has been archaeologically explored thus far, while minor excavations have been conducted on the largest one, Purkin Kuk. In addition, preliminary trenches have been excavated on only one hillfort. As hillforts, and especially mounds, in Dalmatia appear over a period of approximately 2500 years and their abundance in the analysed area is significant, the aim was to show that these si-

dio otoka Hvara bio naseljen u navedenim razdobljima te da su gradine i gomile bile od velikog značenja za indigeno stanovništvo. Premda se tijekom rada pokazao velik broj nepoznanica, pokušali smo donijeti dosad najpotpuniji uvid u ovu problematiku.

Ključne riječi: *gradine, gomile, Starogradsko polje, Jelšansko polje, otok Hvar, brončano doba, željezno doba.*

tes are a clear indicator that the central northern part of the island of Hvar was inhabited during the periods in focus and that hillforts and mounds were of great importance to the indigenous population. Despite numerous uncertainties encountered during the study, an attempt was made to provide the most comprehensive insight into this issue to date.

Key words: *hillforts, mounds, Stari Grad Plain, Jelsa Plain, the island of Hvar, Bronze age, Iron Age.*

U novije vrijeme u raznim se medijima dosta govori i piše o Starogradskom i Jelšanskom polju (SGP i JP). Literatura je sve obimnija i zanimljivija. No i dalje se prehistorijskim nalazima na tom prostoru ne poklanja dovoljno pozornosti. O njima je Branko Kirigin ukratko pisao 1993. na temelju sistematskog terenskog pregleda otoka koji je obavljen u razdoblju od 1982. do 1989. godine.¹ Potom je 1997. godine objavljena knjiga *Arheološka baština otoka Hvara* sa sistematiziranim analitičkim registrom dotad poznatih svih arheoloških nalazišta na otoku (s bibliografskim i arhivskim podacima), koji, među ostalim, omogućuje pristup podrobnijim podacima o gradinama i gomilama na području od početka Starogradskog zaljeva pa do Jelse na istoku.² Zatim se 2004. i 2006. također pisalo o ovoj temi,³ a na popularan način u vodiču iz 2003. godine.⁴ No čini se kako to nije bilo dovoljno da se najraniji predgrčki kulturni krajolik Starogradskoga i Jelšanskog polja uzme u obzir kada je UNESCO zaštitio Polje 2008. godine, s krajnje nejasnim granicama.⁵ Brda oko obaju polja nedvojbeno pripadaju njihovoj cjelini, što će se, nadamo se, vidjeti i iz ovog priloga. Iako se u međuvremenu nisu obavljala nikakva arheološka iskopavanja na ovim nalazištima, ova nas tema zaokuplja ponajprije zbog pitanja kako su Starogradsko i Jelšansko polje funkcionirali prije doseljenja Parana 385./384. godine pr. n. e. Osim gradina i gomila jedini dosad vidljivi arheološki nalazi iz tog predgrčkog doba izrazito su malobrojni pokretni nalazi, bez jasnog konteksta. Također treba naglasiti da na ovom prostoru nema špijla kao što ih ima drugdje na otoku, s izdašnim arheološkim nalazima. Pitanje glasi: je li prije doseljenja Parana na ovom prostoru bilo indigenog⁶ stanovništva i, ako jest, kako je bilo organizirano? Jesu li oni bili akteri sukoba o kojem piše Diodor (15, 14) ili je u pitanju nešto drugo? Što o tome može reći arheologija?

GRADINE

Pod gradinom razumijevamo utvrđeni istaknuti položaj pogodan za trajniji boravak, na kojem se mogu naći tragovi

In recent times, various media outlets have extensively discussed and written about the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains (SGP and JP). The literature on the subject is becoming more voluminous and interesting. However, prehistoric findings in the area still do not receive enough attention. In 1993, Branko Kirigin briefly wrote about them, drawing from a systematic field survey of the island conducted between 1982 and 1989.¹ Then, in 1997, the book *Arheološka baština otoka Hvara* (*Archaeological Heritage of the Island of Hvar*) was published, providing a systematic and analytical register of all known archaeological sites on the island, including bibliographic and archival data. This, among other things, provided more detailed information on hillforts and mounds in the area, from the edge of Stari Grad Bay all the way to Jelsa in the east.² Further writings on this topic were published in 2004 and 2006,³ and a popular guide was published in 2003.⁴ However, it seems that this was not sufficient for the earliest pre-Greek cultural landscape of the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains to be considered when UNESCO protected the area in 2008, with unclear boundaries.⁵ The hills around each plain undoubtedly belong together with the plain itself, which will hopefully be made evident by this contribution. Although no archaeological excavations have been conducted on these sites in the meantime, this topic is engaging primarily because of the question of how the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains functioned before the arrival of the Parian colonists between 385 and 384 BCE. Aside from hillforts and mounds, the only visible archaeological findings from this pre-Greek period are scarce artefacts without a clear context. It is also worth noting that there are no caves in this area, unlike in other parts of the island with abundant archaeological findings. The question is: was there an indigenous⁶ population in this area before the arrival of the Parian colonists, and if so, how was it organised? Were they the actors in the conflict mentioned by Diodorus (15, 14), or something else? What can archaeology tell us about this?

1 Kirigin 1993, str. 192-193.

2 Gaffney *et al.* 1997.

3 Kirigin 2004, str. 25-28, 109-114; 2006, 12-26, 86-91.

4 Kirigin 2003.

5 Gradine i gomile oko Starogradskog polja nisu uvrštene (osim devet gomila u samom Polju) u studiju arheološkog krajolika Starogradskog polja Sare Popović koja se ponajprije bavi parcelacijom zemljišta unutar Polja od grčkih vremena do danas (2020, 21, 46, 47, 50, 53, 142-143, 221-229).

6 Koristimo ovaj termin jer držimo da je najprikladniji za opis starog stanovništva na određenom prostoru. U domaćoj literaturi koriste se razni nazivi, npr. starinci, epihorsk, domorodačko, lokalno, autohtono stanovništvo, a u novije vrijeme i urođeničko.

1 Kirigin 1993, pp. 192-193.

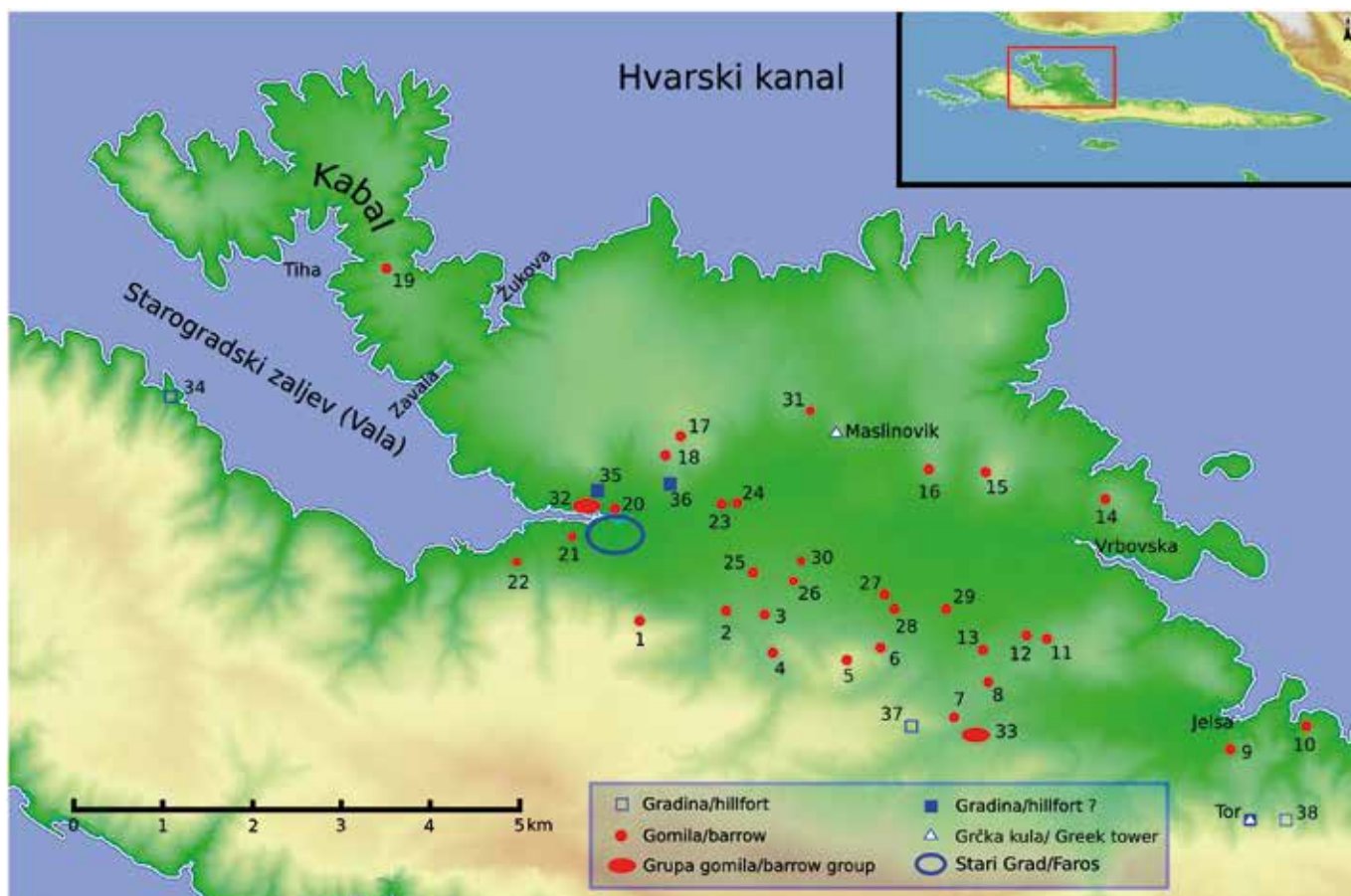
2 Gaffney *et al.* 1997.

3 Kirigin 2004, pp. 25-28, 109-114; 2006, pp. 12-26, 86-91.

4 Kirigin 2003.

5 Hillforts and mounds around Stari Grad Plain are not included (except the nine mounds in the Plain itself) in Sara Popović's study of the archaeological landscape of Stari Grad Plain, which primarily deals with land parcelling within the Plain since Greek times until today (2020, pp. 21, 46, 47, 50, 53, 142-143, 221-229).

6 We are using this term because we consider it the most suitable for describing the indigenous population of a certain area. Various terms are used in domestic literature, such as old-timers, epichoric, aboriginal, local, autochthonous population, and more recently, native.



Slika 1.
Gradine i gomile u Starogradsnome i Jelšanskom polju

Figure 1.
Hillforts and mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains

ljudskih aktivnosti iz prehistorijskih razdoblja.⁷ Dva lokaliteta u ovom prostoru bez dvojbe možemo nazvati gradinama. To su Lompić (SG0035.00,⁸ sl. 1, 34), na zapadnom ulazu u Starogradski zaljev, površine oko 4090 m², i Gračišće (JE0099.00; sl. 1, 37), na brežuljku koji dijeli Starogradsko polje od Jelšanskoga, između sela Vrbanja i Svirča, površine oko 3900 m². Navedenima vjerojatno treba pribrojiti i Grad/Galešnik (JE162.00, sl. 1, 38), na obroncima južno od Jelse. Problematične su gomile na položajima Glavica/Zastražišće (SG0003.00; sl. 1, 35), Storči (SG0011.00; sl. 1, br. 36), a osobito Purkin kuk (SG0015.00;

HILLFORTS

A hillfort is a fortified elevated site suitable for permanent residence where traces of human activities from prehistoric periods can be found.⁷ Two sites in this area can undoubtedly be called hillforts: Lompić (SG0035.00⁸, Fig. 1, 34) on the western entrance to the Stari Grad Bay, with a surface area of about 4090 square metres, and Gračišće (JE0099.00; Fig. 1, 37) on a hill that separates the Stari Grad Plain from the Jelsa Plain, between the villages of Vrbanj and Svirče, with a surface area of about 3900 square metres. To these, Grad/Galešnik (JE162.00, Fig. 1, 38) on the slopes south of Jelsa probably

7 Pod pojmom gradina u našoj struci se razumijeva prehistorijsko utvrđenje na vrhu brda, no utvrđenja ima raznih pa bi to trebalo detaljnije klasificirati. Do sada je, koliko znamo, prvu klasifikaciju gradina u jugozapadnoj Bosni dao Alojz Benac (1985a, str. 61-62, 199-200). Po toj klasifikaciji Glavica/Zastražišće bila bi stražarnica, a ne ograđeni prostor za zbjeg, naseljena utvrđena gradina ili pak utvrđena gradina s podgrađem. Klasifikaciju istarskih gradina izradila je Klara Buršić Matijašić (2008, str. 82), dok je Domagoj Perkić (2018, str. 17-20, 195-184) to učinio za gradine na zapadnom dubrovačkom području.

8 Ova šifra i slične šifre u tekstu odnose se na inventar arheoloških nalazišta otoka Hvara navedenih kod Gaffney *et al.* 1997.

7 Our academic field defines a hillfort as a prehistoric fortification on the top of a hill. However, fortifications come in various types, so a more detailed classification is needed. As far as it is known, the first classification of hillforts in southwestern Bosnia was provided by Alojz Benac (1985a, pp. 61-62, 199-200). Klara Buršić Matijašić (2008, p. 82) created a classification for Istrian hillforts, while Domagoj Perkić (2018, pp. 17-20, 195-184) did so for hillforts in the western Dubrovnik area.

8 This code and similar codes in the text refer to the inventory of archaeological sites on the island of Hvar listed in Gaffney *et al.* 1997.



Slika 2.

Gomila na Purkin kuku, pogled s jugozapada; u donjem dijelu gomile vide se zidovi od većih kamenih blokova; desno je selo Dol, iza kojeg je brdo Hum s gomilom, lijevo je Starogradsko polje i priobalje Brača, a u pozadini Biokovo (dobrotom Željka Pekovića)

Figure 2.

Mound on Purkin Kuk, view from the southwest; walls of large stone blocks are visible in the lower part of the mound: to the right is the village of Dol behind which is the hill of Hum with a mound, to the left is the Stari Grad Plain and the Brač coast, and Biokovo is in the background (gifted by Željko Peković)

sl. 1, 1), za koju smatramo da su joj na zapadnoj strani dodani zidovi iz vremena postojanja grčke naseobine Faros (sl. 2).⁹ Za Tor (JE0157.00; sl. 1, 37), gdje je u 4. st. pr. n. e. sagrađena grčka kula ispred koje je masivni nasip kamena, smatramo da prije gradnje kule nije bio indigeno utvrđenje, već nekakav javni spomenik, o čemu je iscrpnije pisao Kirigin u prethodnom broju VAHD-a.¹⁰ Također smatramo kako treba posve odbaciti mišljenja da su na Veloj gomili kod Dola sv. Ane (JE0090.00; sl. 1, 4) i na obližnjem brdu Hum s gomilom (JE0093.00; sl. 1, 5) postojale gradine, jer za to nema nikakvih dokaza.¹¹

Lompić (sl. 1, 34)

Prostor gdje se Lompić nalazi na austrijskom katastru iz 1834. označen je toponimom *Lampež*, uvala s istočne strane kao Balonik (Balunić), a uvala sa zapadne strane kao *Lampes* (do koje

needs to be added. The sites at the following locations are problematic: Glavica/Zastražišće (SG0003.00; Fig. 1, 35), Storči (SG0011.00; Fig. 1, 36), and especially Purkin Kuk (SG0015.00; Fig. 1, 1), where the authors believe that the walls were added to its western side at the time when the Greek settlement of Pharos existed (Fig. 2).⁹ Regarding Tor (JE0157.00; Fig. 1, 37), where a Greek tower was built in front of a massive stone embankment in the 4th century BCE, the authors consider that it was not an indigenous fortification before the construction of the tower, but some kind of public monument, as Kirigin elaborated in the previous issue of the journal *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*.¹⁰ The authors also believe that opinions suggesting the existence of hillforts on Vela Gomila near Dol Sv. Ane (JE0090.00; Fig. 1, 4) and the nearby hill of Hum with a mound (JE0093.00; Fig. 1, 5) should be entirely rejected since there is no evidence to support such claims.¹¹

9 O ovom nalazištu bit će više govora u članku Kirigin i Vujnović (u tisku).

10 Kirigin 2022.

11 Petrić 1979, 73; Zaninović 1988, 38; Tarbušković 2010, str. 152. Spomenuti autori ne donose nikakve relevantne dokaze da se ovdje radi o gradini. Naši obilasci nisu mogli potvrditi takve tvrdnje.

9 More on this site in the article by Kirigin and Vujnović (in print).

10 Kirigin 2022.

11 Petrić 1979, p. 73; Zaninović 1988, p. 38; Tarbušković 2010, p. 152. The mentioned authors do not provide any relevant evidence that this is a hillfort. Our surveys could not confirm such claims.

je uvala *Gracischie*).¹² Vrh je na 75 mnv. Naziv je vjerojatno došao od riječi koja označava bljesak, signalizaciju vatrom i dimom. Na vrhu se nalazi mali kameni plato gdje se mogao ložiti oganj. Zaninović navodi kako „usmena predaja potvrđuje da je ovdje bila osmatračnica za davanje znakova Starom Gradu“.¹³ Mi smo stoga ovo nalazište nazvali Lompić. Grga Novak je ovdje obavio kratka istraživanja te je naveo da je na vrhu velika gomila (za što nema osnove). Novak ovo nalazište naziva Gračišće, no taj toponim nosi susjedno više brdo sa zapadne strane, na kojem nismo našli nikakvih arheoloških tragova. Novak navodi kako je ova gradina „s razvijenim utvrđenim sistemom... nastala krajem II ili početkom I tisućljeća pr. n. e.“ te kako je „iza toga bila ona upotrebljavana i u grčko doba kako nam pokazuju nešto fragmenata, koji su na njoj nađeni“.¹⁴ Također navodi kako je Gračišće, to jest Lompić, jedno od utvrđenja gdje su, prema Diodorovu navodu, živjeli domorodci kada su Parani osnovali Faros.¹⁵ Skica i fotografija Lompića te četiri ulomaka južnoitalske geometrijske lončarije objavljeni su 2004. i 2006. godine.¹⁶ Među nalazima prikupljenima terenskim pregledom ima i nekoliko trbuha lokalne lončarije sa sitnijim kalcitnim dodatcima, kao i nekoliko trbuha nedefinirane antičke keramike, za koje se ne može sa sigurnošću reći jesu li grčki ili rimski. Iako se južnoitalska geometrijska lončarija ne bi očekivala na ovakvoj promatračnici, ona ipak upućuje na predgrčko razdoblje korištenja ove lokacije. Dekoracija s cikcak linijom najbliža je uzorcima na posudama daunijske srednjogeometrijske faze, koju Yntema¹⁷ datira u 8. st. pr. n. e., dakle u predgrčko razdoblje.¹⁸ Stoga je, prema dosad poznatim nalazima, gradina/promatračnica na Lompiću korištena najkasnije u ranom željeznom dobu.

Gračišće (sl. 1, 38)

Otkriće ove gradine 1985. godine (čiji se toponim spominje u Hvarskom statutu)¹⁹ na istoimenom brežuljku na 151 mnv između sela Vrbanja i Svirača privuklo je pozornost Vincenta Gaffneya i Zorana Stančića. Kao suradnici projekta *Hvar - arheologija mediteranskog predjela* bili su pioniri u primjeni GIS

Lompić (Fig. 1, 34)

The area of Lompić on the Austrian cadastral map from 1834 is marked with the toponym *Lampež*, the bay on the eastern side as Balonik (Balunić), and the bay on the western side as *Lampes* (next to which is the bay *Gracischie*).¹² The summit is 75 metres above sea level. The name is probably derived from the word that denotes a flash, sending signals with fire and smoke. On the summit is a small stone plateau where a fire could be lit. Zaninović mentions that “oral tradition confirms that there was an observation post here for sending signals to Stari Grad.”¹³ Therefore, we named this site Lompić. Grga Novak conducted brief research here and stated that there is a large mound at the top (for which there is no basis). Novak calls this site Gračišće, but that toponym belongs to a neighbouring hill on the western side, where no archaeological traces were found. Novak states that this hillfort “with a developed fortification system... originated at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE” and that “after that, it was used in the Greek period, as indicated by some fragments found on it.”¹⁴ He also mentions that Gračišće, i.e., Lompić, is one of the fortifications where, according to Diodorus, the indigenous people lived when the Parians founded Pharos.¹⁵ A sketch and a photograph of Lompić, along with four fragments of South Italian geometric pottery, were published in 2004 and 2006.¹⁶ The findings from the field surveys included several body sherds of local pottery, which cannot be definitively determined as Greek or Roman. Although South Italian geometric pottery would not be expected at such an observation post, it still suggests the pre-Greek presence at this location. The zigzag decoration closely resembles patterns found on vessels from the Daunian middle-geometric phase, which Yntema¹⁷ dates to the 8th century BCE, placing it within the pre-Greek period.¹⁸ Therefore, based on the known findings, the hillfort/observation post at Lompić was used no later than the Early Iron Age.

Gračišće (Fig. 1, 38)

The discovery of this hillfort in 1985 (whose toponym is men-

12 Vidi: <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1838884.4958792273%2C5341448673655337%2C1842512.866065639%2C5342740.9371647835>. Pristupljeno 6. 3. 2023.

13 Zaninović 1984, 43. Opširniji opis u Kirigin 2004, 26-27; Kirigin 2006, str. 13-16.

14 Nije poznato gdje su pohranjeni ti nalazi.

15 Novak 1959a, str. 231-232; Novak 1960, str. 23, 30, spominje da se „u gomilama našlo i rimske keramike“. Nije poznato gdje su ti nalazi.

16 Kirigin 2004, 26-27, T. 1, C, T. 4, B-D; 2006, str. 13-17, sl., 3, 8-10. Teško je reći pripadaju li jednoj posudi ili su ulomci nekoliko njih.

17 Yntema 1985, str. 299-305, sl. 203,1. Sličan ulomak otkriven je u gradu Hvaru: Kirigin *et al.* 2022, str. 72, sl. 5.

18 Više o ovom nalazištu u Kirigin 2004, str. 26-27; 2006, str. 12-16.

19 Ljubić 1882-1883, str. 205.

12 See: <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1838884.4958792273%2C5341448673655337%2C1842512.866065639%2C5342740.9371647835>. Accessed March 6, 2023.

13 Zaninović 1984, p. 43. Detailed description in Kirigin 2004, pp. 26-27; Kirigin 2006, pp. 13-16.

14 It is unknown where these findings are stored.

15 Novak 1959a, pp. 231-232; Novak 1960, p. 23, 30, mentions that “Roman pottery was found in the mounds.” It is unknown where these findings are.

16 Kirigin 2004, pp. 26-27, T. 1, C, T. 4, B-D; 2006, pp. 13-17, Fig. 3, 8-10. It is hard to tell if they belong to one vessel or if they are fragments of several vessels.

17 Yntema 1985, pp. 299-305, Fig. 203, 1. A similar fragment was discovered in the city of Hvar: Kirigin *et al.* 2022, p. 72, Fig. 5.

18 More on this site in Kirigin 2004, 26-27; 2006, 12-16.

tehnologije na Hvaru,²⁰ a i u Europi.²¹ Koristeći se metodom *site-catchment* analize za gradine otoka Hvara, ustanovili su kako prostor koji bi mogao pripadati gradini Gračišće (ne onoj Novakovoj, nego navedenoj) obuhvaća dobar dio istočnog dijela Starogradskog polja, cijelo Jelšansko polje i južno područje koje gleda na središnji hvarski masiv. Na temelju toga predložili su da bi Gračišće moglo biti ono jako utvrđeno mjesto gdje su živjeli domorodci, a koje spominje Diodor. Naime, mjesto na kojem su Parani sagradili grad gotovo je na samom kraju prostora koji bi pripadao Gračišću (Stari Grad i Gračišće udaljeni su oko 4,5 km zračne linije i ne vide se međusobno zahvaljujući brdu Hum) pa im je stoga možda bilo dopušteno da se ondje nasele. Po takvom je tumačenju do sukoba o kojem piše Diodor (15, 14) došlo tek kada su Grci prisvojili prostor Starogradskoga polja.

Osim navedenog unutrašnji ovalni prostor Gračišća (oko 3400 m²) omeđen je masivnim nasipom kamenja s tragovima vanjskog lica zida,²² krševit je i pun škrapa, recentnijih suhozidina i borove šume te danas s jako malo ravnog prostora za nekakvu nastambu.²³ Prije djeluje kao refugij ili tor. Iako su nedavna sondažna iskopavanja utvrdila korištenje ove lokacije u srednjem i/ili kasnom brončanom dobu, pokazalo se kako se ovdje ne radi o lokalitetu koji predstavlja naselje od nekakvog većeg regionalnog ili lokalnog značenja u brončanom dobu, a da tragova korištenja lokaliteta u željeznom dobu za sada uopće nema.²⁴

Grad/Galešnik (sl. 1, br. 38)

Grad/Galešnik (JE162.00) smješten je na obroncima koji se južno od Jelse uzdižu prema planinskom hrptu otoka. Nalazi se petstotinjak metara istočno od Tora, na 252 mnv. Sa Grada/Galešnika pruža se širok pogled na Jelšansko i Starogradsko polje, na moru do otokâ Šolte na zapadu i Brača na SZ te, na SI, na kopneno priobalje od Promajne kraj Makarske do Igrana. Lokacija je dobro zaštićena strmom padinom na tri strane, ima uzak prilaz s jugozapada, zaravnjen vrh veličine približno 75 × 25 m te omanji izvor u samom podnožju. Na lokalitetu su dobro vidljivi ostaci zidina i objekata kasnoantičke/srednjovjekovne utvrde. Prapovijesna faza lokaliteta donedavna nije bila poznata, a manjim iskopavanjem 2021. godine otkriven je, osim kasnoantičkih i srednjovjekovnih fragmenata, manji broj fragmenata

tioned in the Hvar Statute)¹⁹ on the hill of the same name at 151 metres above sea level, between the villages of Vrbanj and Svirče, drew the attention of Vincent Gaffney and Zoran Stančić. As collaborators on the *Hvar – Archeology of the Mediterranean Landscape* project, they were pioneers in the application of GIS technology on Hvar²⁰ and in Europe.²¹ By using the *site-catchment* analysis method on the hillforts of the island of Hvar, they determined that the area that could belong to the Gračišće hillfort (not Novak's, but the one mentioned) includes a good portion of the eastern part of the Stari Grad Plain, the entire Jelsa Plain, and the southern area overlooking the central Hvar massif. Based on this, they proposed that Gračišće could be the well fortified place where the indigenous people lived, as mentioned by Diodorus. Namely, the site where the Parians established their city lies near the outermost boundary of what would later belong to Gračišće (Stari Grad and Gračišće are about 4.5 kilometres apart in a straight line and are not visible from each other due to the presence of the Hum hill), suggesting the possibility that they were granted permission to settle there. According to this interpretation, the conflict mentioned by Diodorus (15, 14) may have occurred only after the Greeks claimed the territory of Stari Grad Plain.

Beyond the described features, the inner oval expanse of Gračišće (approximately 3400 square metres) is surrounded by a massive stone embankment displaying remnants of an outer wall face.²² The area is rugged, strewn with fissures, and features recent dry-stone walls and pine forests, leaving minimal flat ground for any settlement.²³ It is more akin to a refuge or an animal pen (Croatian: "tor"). Despite recent trench excavations revealing activity in this location during the Middle and/or Late Bronze Age, it has become evident that this site does not constitute a settlement of significant regional or local importance in the Bronze Age, and there are currently no traces of its use in the Iron Age.²⁴

20 Metoda kojom se pokušava proučiti koji su resursi stajali na raspolaganju određenoj zajednici na udaljenosti od 1-2 km hoda od njihova boravišta, tj. prostor koji bi mogao zadovoljiti njihovu dnevnu opstojnost (Bail 2005). Po ovoj metodi sve gomile u SGP i JP bile su dostupne za 1-2 sata hoda (oko 4-6 km).

21 Gaffney, Stančić 1991, str. 49-54, sl. 23, 25, 26, 27, 77, 78.

22 Sam istočni nasip širok je 10-12 m, dok je bedem širok oko 5,30 m. Za sliku bedema vidi: Popović 2020, str. 22, sl. 4. Za najnovija istraživanja na ovom nalazištu vidi Ugarković, Korić 2022; Ugarković *et al.*, 2023.

23 Detaljnije u Kirigin 2004, str. 29-30, T. 4, A; 2006, str. 17-18, sl. 11.

24 Ugarković, Korić 2022; Ugarković *et al.* 2023, str. 43-46.

19 Ljubić 1882-1883, p. 205.

20 The method used attempts to study the resources available to a specific community within a walking distance of 1 to 2 km from their residence, i.e., the area that could satisfy their daily sustenance (Bail 2005). According to this method, all the tumuli in SGP and JP were accessible within a 1-to-2-hour walk (approximately 4-6 km).

21 Gaffney, Stančić 1991, pp. 49-54, Figs. 23, 25, 26, 27, 77, 78.

22 The eastern embankment is 10 to 12 metres wide, while the rampart is around 5.3 metres wide. For the image of the rampart, see Popović 2020, p. 22, Fig. 4. For the latest research at this site, see Ugarković, Korić 2022; Ugarković *et al.* 2023.

23 More detail in Kirigin 2004, pp. 29-30, T. 4, A; 2006, pp. 17-18, Fig. 11.

24 Ugarković, Korić 2022; Ugarković *et al.* 2023, pp. 43-46.

prapovijesne lončarije. Iz istog konteksta potječe uzorak kosti koji je analizom dao datum u 13. st. pr. n. e.²⁵ Katić (2021, str. 144-145) navodi kako je gradina bila utvrđena bedemom građanim od velikih poluobrađenih kamenih blokova, izvorne širine oko 4,3 m (što je prilično neuobičajen podatak za takvu vrstu gradnje) te iznosi tezu o površini gradine od 8,5 ha unutar takvog bedema.

Podatak o kasnobrončanodobnoj prisutnosti na toj točki stavlja Grad/Galešnik u red naseljenih pozicija koje su možda imale značajnu ulogu u kontroli istočnog dijela Starogradskega i Jelšanskog polja, no dostupni su fragmentarni podaci još uvijek nedovoljni da bi se moglo detaljnije raspravljati o tome.

Glavica/Zastražišće (sl. 1, br. 35)

Glavica/Zastražišće²⁶ (SG0003.00) nalazi se na brežuljku oko 500 m sjeverno od Staroga Grada. Za nju gotovo svi drže da je gradina (a držao je i prvopotpisani), no mogla bi biti najveća gomila na otoku Hvaru, veličine oko 47 × 44 m (oko 1700 m²) i visine 2 - 3 m,²⁷ ili, pak, nešto sasvim drugo. Naime, sam vrh je, prema Zaninoviću,²⁸ poravnat tako da tvori ravnu površinu od oko 20 × 20 m (naše mjere).²⁹ Na jugoistočnoj strani tog prirodno ravnog škrapastog prostora krajem 19. st. na živcu je podignuta kućica za protugradnu opremu (tzv. stacija). Ispred same litice na južnoj strani, okrenutoj Starom Gradu, u čast početka 20. st. podignut je (također na živcu) komemorativni kameni križ na masivnom piramidalnom postamentu, obnovljen 1990. godine (sl. 4-7).³⁰ Ta litica u pravcu istok-zapad duga je 25-30 m,

Grad/Galešnik (Fig. 1, no. 38)

Grad/Galešnik (JE162.00) is located on the slopes that rise south of Jelsa towards the mountain ridge of the island. It is situated about five hundred metres east of Tor, 252 metres above sea level. Grad/Galešnik offers a wide view of the Jelsa and Stari Grad Plains, the sea extending to the islands of Šolta to the west and Brač to the northwest, and the coastal mainland from Promajna near Makarska to Igrane in the northeast. The location is well protected by steep slopes from three sides, with a narrow approach from the southwest, and features a flattened top approximately 75 × 25 metres in size, as well as a small spring at the base. The site exhibits well-preserved remains of late-antique/mediaeval fortifications. The prehistoric phase of the site was not known until recently, and in a small excavation conducted in 2021, along with late antique and mediaeval fragments, a small number of prehistoric pottery fragments were discovered. Analysis of a bone sample from the same context provided the date from the 13th century BCE.²⁵ Katić (2021, pp. 144-145) notes that the hillfort was fortified with a wall constructed from large, roughly worked stone blocks, originally about 4.3 metres wide, an uncommon feature for this type of construction. Katić also suggests that the hillfort encompassed an area of 8.5 hectares within these ramparts.

The information about the Late Bronze Age presence at that point places Grad/Galešnik among inhabited locations, which may have had a significant role in controlling the eastern part of the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains. However, the available fragmentary data is still insufficient for a more detailed discussion on this matter.

Glavica Zastražišće (Fig. 1, no. 35)

Glavica/Zastražišće²⁶ (SG0003.00) is located on a hill about 500 metres north of Stari Grad. Most consider it to be a hillfort (as did the lead author), but it could be the largest mound on the island of Hvar, measuring approximately 47 × 44

25 Katić 2021, str. 144-147. T VII, 1. Autor navodi kako materijal potječe iz „stabilnijega, donjeg sloja prethistorijskog naselja“. Među objavljenim fragmentima tek je jedan (tunelasta ručka, T VII, 1) donekle indikativan u smislu mogućnosti nešto ranije datacije (srednje brončano doba) od dobivenog datuma.

26 U Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 177, za ovo nalazište naveden je toponim Glavica/Zastražišće. To je učinjeno na temelju topografske karte otoka u mjerilu 1:5000. Međutim na austrijskom katastru iz 1834. godine naveden je toponim Stražišće, no oblik nalazišta na parceli 7306 nije nacrtan. Stražišće je toponim koji jasno upućuje na funkciju nalazišta. U narodnoj predaji nisu zabilježene neke legenda o ovom nalazištu koje bi upućivale na nešto drugo, kao što je to slučaj s kulom Tor. Danas je Glavica uobičajen naziv za ovaj položaj. Vidi: <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1846815.3368215866%2C5340836.499756102%2C1848629.5219147925%2C5341482.631510825>. Pristupljeno 6. 3. 2023.

27 Smatra se da je zasad najveća gomila u Dalmaciji Baturova gomila kod sela Bradarići iznad Trogira, čije su veličine 50 × 38 × 8 m. Vidi Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, str. 248-249.

28 Zaninović 1984, str. 40. Vjerojatno je mislio da je prirodno poravnat, ali ne kao ravna ploča, nego kao ravnina s tipičnim kraškim procjepima.

29 Geodetski tlocrt ovog nalazišta objavljen je u katalogu Pharos 1995, na str. 50, ali bez opisa i ucrtanih građevina iz 19. i 20. st.

30 Zaninović 1984, str. 40. Križ je srušen u Drugome svjetskom ratu 1943., a 1990. je obnovljen, dok je dio stacije pretvoren u kapelu Krišta Spasitelja svijeta ispred koje se nalazi oltar na otvorenom i klupe za vjernike: Moškateo 2008 (stacija), str. 23; Tarbušković 2009,

25 Katić 2021, pp. 144-147. T VII, 1. The author notes the material comes from the “more stable, lower layer of prehistoric settlement.” Among the published fragments, only one (tunnel-shaped handle, T VII, 1) is somewhat indicative in terms of the possibility of a slightly earlier dating (Middle Bronze Age) than the obtained date.

26 In Gaffney *et al.* 1997, p. 177, the toponym listed for this site is Glavica/Zastražišće. This was done based on a topographic map of the island at a scale of 1:5000. However, on the Austrian cadastral map from 1834, the toponym Stražišće is mentioned, but the shape of the site on plot 7306 is not drawn. Stražišće is a toponym that clearly indicates the function of the site. In folk tradition, there are no recorded legends about this site that would suggest something else, as is the case with the Tor tower. Today, Glavica is the common name for this location. See: <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1846815.3368215866%2C5340836.499756102%2C1848629.5219147925%2C5341482.631510825>. Accessed March 6, 2023.



Slika 3.

Terenska karta u mjerilu 1:5000 predjela Glavica, Priko i Stari Grad, iz 1988./1989., s gomilama označenim crvenim krugovima. 1. SG0024.6, 2. SG0024.7, 3. SG0024.1, 4. SG0024.2, 5. SG002.3, 6. SG0024.5, 7. SG0024.4, 8. SG0024.8, 9. SG0024.9, 10. SG0003.00 (Glavica/Zastražišće), 11. SG 0012.00-63 Položaj Farosa (izradili N. Vujnović i V. Gaffney, modificirao B. Kirigin)

Figure 3.

Field map in scale 1:5000 of the Glavica, Priko, and Stari Grad area from 1988-1989, with mounds marked by red circles. 1. SG0024.6, 2. SG0024.7, 3. SG0024.1, 4. SG0024.2, 5. SG002.3, 6. SG0024.5, 7. SG0024.4, 8. SG0024.8, 9. SG0024.9, 10. SG0003.00 (Glavica/Zastražišće), 11. SG 0012.00-63 the position of Pharos (made by N. Vujnović and V. Gaffney, modified by B. Kirigin)

a kod križa je visoka 2 – 3 m (sl. 6). Ispod nje je sagrađen mali kameni plato s molitvenom klupom i stupom s uokvirenom tablom (sl. 7). Niski kameni nasip s desne i lijeve strane širok je oko 5 m, a spaja se s daleko širim i višim nasipom koji opasuje vrh brežuljka sa zapadne, sjeverne i istočne strane (111 mnv).

Sa sjeverne strane križa, također na ravnom škrapastom živcu, sagrađeni su na podzidanom kružnom betonskom prostoru oltarni stol i propovjedaonica, kojima se sa sjevera pristupa pomoću dvije stepenice (sl. 5). Ispred se pruža ravni živac u duljini od oko 6 m, na kojem su molitvene klupe, a nadalje počinje kameni nasip u duljini od oko 15 m, koji je sličnih mje-

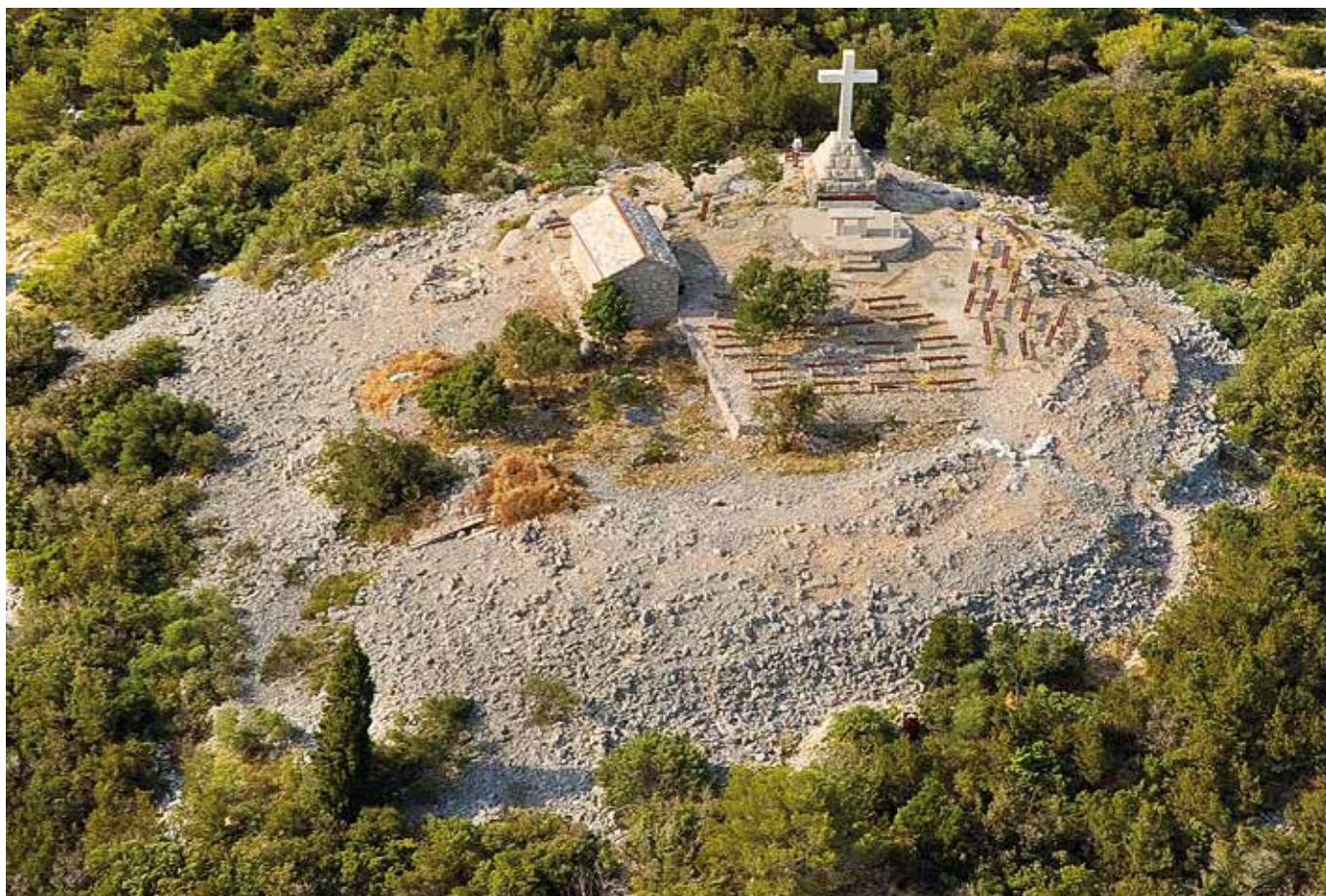
metres (around 1700 square metres) and 2 to 3 metres high,²⁷ or something entirely different. According to Zaninović,²⁸ the top is levelled to form a flat surface of about 20 × 20 metres (authors' measurements).²⁹ On the southeast side of this naturally flat, rocky area, a small building for protection of equipment against hail (known as "stacija") was erected in the late 19th century. To commemorate the beginning of the 20th centu-

str. 174-176 (kameni križ i kapela). Vjerski obredi počeli su se odvijati nakon obnove križa 1990. (usmeno priopćenje V. Tarbuškovića). U narodu ne postoji priča da su se na tom mjestu nekad prije odvijali neki obredi, na što sugerira i sam toponim.

²⁷ It is considered that the largest mound in Dalmatia is Baturova Gomila near the village of Bradarići above Trogir, with dimensions of 50 × 38 × 8 m. See Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, pp. 248-249.

²⁸ Zaninović 1984, p. 40. He probably thought it was naturally levelled, but not like a flat surface, but rather like a plane with typical karst crevices.

²⁹ The geodetic plan of this site was published in the Pharos catalogue in 1995, on page 50, but without descriptions and representations of buildings from the 19th and 20th centuries.



Slika 4.
Zračna snimka Glavice prema jugu (dobrotom Pavela Jaroszewskog)

Figure 4.
Aerial view of Glavica towards the south (gifted by Pavel Jaroszewski)



Slika 5.
Središnji dio Glavice, s križem, oltarom i klupama; u pozadini je nekadašnja kućica za protugradnu obranu; pogled sa sjeverozapada (foto: B. Kirigin)

Figure 5.
The central part of Glavica, with a cross, altar, and benches; in the background is the former hail protection hut; observed from the northwest (photo: B. Kirigin)

ry, a stone cross was erected on a massive pyramidal pedestal (on the cliff) facing towards Stari Grad. The cross was restored in 1990 (Fig. 4-7).³⁰ This rocky outcrop, extending from east to west, is 25 to 30 metres long and, at the location of the cross, 2 to 3 metres high (Fig. 6). Below it, a small stone platform, with a prayer bench and a pillar with a framed plaque, was built. A low stone embankment on the right and left sides, about 5 metres wide, connects to a much wider and higher embankment that surrounds the top of the hill from the west, north, and east sides (111 metres above sea level).

North of the cross, also situated on the flat rocky ridge, stands a circular concrete platform supporting an altar and

30 Zanimović 1984, p. 40. The cross was torn down in World War II in 1943 and restored in 1990, while a part of the "stancija" was turned into the chapel of Christ Salvator Mundi, in front of which is an altar and benches: Moškateo 2008 (stacija), p. 23; Tarbušković 2009, pp. 174-176 (stone cross and chapel). Religious ceremonies began taking place after the restoration of the cross in 1990 (oral statement of V. Tarbušković). There is no folktale of any ceremonies that ever took place there, as suggested by the toponym itself.



Slika 6.
Pogled s jugoistoka na
kameni nasip ispred litice i na
kameni križ (foto: B. Kirigin)

Figure 6.
View from the southeast of
the stone embankment in
front of the cliff and stone
cross (photo: B. Kirigin)



Slika 7.
Pogled s Glavice na
molitvenu klupu ispred
kamenog križa, na Stari Grad
i južni dio Starogradskog
polja, sve do brda Hum
(gore lijevo), iza kojega je
dugi hvarski masiv (foto: B.
Kirigin)

Figure 7.
View of the prayer bench in
front of the stone cross, of
Stari Grad and the southern
part of the Stari Grad Plain
all the way to the hill Hum
(upper left corner), behind
which is the long Hvar
massif; observed from
Glavica (photo: B. Kirigin)

ra na svom zapadnom i istočnom dijelu (sl. 4, 5.). Stoga bi se moglo reći da široki kameni nasip ukupno obuhvaća oko 1700 m², dok prostor unutar toga, oko stacije, križa i oltara te dijele klupa, leži na relativno ravnom škrapastom živcu na približno kružnoj površini od oko 470 m². Niski kameni nasip s južne strane ispod litice možda je srušen prigodom gradnje stacije i kamenog križa (sl. 6). Na sl. 4. na zapadnom i dijelu sjevernog nasipa mogu se vidjeti tragovi suhozidnog prstena. On ne djeluje kao da ima fortifikacijsku funkciju, već je možda pripadao ogradi kružnog platoa, nastaloj prije spomenutih gradnji s kraja 19. st. i u 20. st.

Na Glavici/Zastražišću pronađen je ulomak trbuha glačane prehistorijske posude i još nekoliko manjih ulomaka trbuha s kalcitnim dodatcima. Osim ovih ulomaka lončarije nema drugih površinskih nalaza poput kamenih alatki, žrvnjeva, kućnog lijepa, životinjskih ili ljudskih kostiju, školjki i puževa, gareži ili pak nekih metalnih predmeta, što još više otežava atribuciju nalazišta. Ako je ovdje ipak riječ o gradini, u što nismo sigurni, onda je ona bila veoma mala i dobro utvrđena. Na krševitom terenu južno prema moru nalazi se 9 kamenih gomila, uglavnom devastiranih (sl. 3; Prilog 1, br. 32), dok oko same gradine/gomile, gdje je teren jako zarastao, nema tragova naselja niti površinskih nalaza.

Pogled s ovog nalazišta pruža se na južnu stranu Starogradskog zaljeva, to jest do istočnog rta uvale Lučica prema zapadu (sl. 8) pa preko Lompića, trajektnog pristaništa, Staroga Grada, Purkina kuka, Huma (sl. 7) i cijelog polja do brda Tatinja, Ka-

a pulpit, accessible via two steps from the northern side (Fig. 5). Directly ahead, a flat ridge with prayer benches stretches approximately 6 metres. Beyond this lies a stone embankment about 15 metres long, with similar proportions on its western and eastern parts (Fig. 4 and 5). It could therefore be said that the wide stone embankment covers a total of about 1700 square metres, while the space within it, around the “stacija,” cross, altar, and part of the benches, lies on a relatively flat rocky ridge on an approximately circular surface of about 470 square metres. The low stone embankment on the south side below the cliff may have been demolished during the construction of the “stacija” and the stone cross (Fig. 6). In Fig. 4, traces of a dry-stone ring can be seen on the western part of the northern embankment. It does not seem to have been used as a fortification, but may have belonged to the enclosure of the circular plateau formed before the aforementioned construction works from the late 19th and 20th centuries.

On Glavica/Zastražišće, a fragment of the body sherd of a smoothed prehistoric vessel was discovered, along with several smaller calcite-gritted fragments. Apart from these pottery fragments, there are no other surface findings, such as stone tools, querns, housewares, animal or human bones, shells and snails, ashes, or any metal objects, which further complicates the attribution of the site. If this is indeed a hillfort, of which the authors are not certain, then it was very small and well-fortified. On the rocky terrain south towards the sea, there are 9 stone mounds, mostly damaged (Fig. 3; Appendix 1, No.



Slika 8.
Pogled na zapad, na ulaz u Starogradsku valu; u daljini desno Šolta i kopno iza nje (foto: B. Kirigin)

Figure 8.
View of the entrance to the Stari Grad Bay; in the distance to the right is Šolta and the mainland behind it; observed from the west (photo: B. Kirigin)



Slika 9.
Zračna snimka gradine Storči (preuzeto s Google Earth, modificirali B. Kirigin i T. Milošević)

Figure 9.
Aerial view of the Storči mound (taken from Google Earth, modified by B. Kirigin and T. Milošević)

štilca i Vetežnog huma nad Vrboskom, Škudljivca, Starča i brežuljaka sve do vrha Kabla, gdje nekoliko vrhova priječi pogled na veći dio otvorenog mora. Ne vidi se ni obližnja velika uvala Tiha, a ni uvale Zavala ni Žukova na najužem dijelu, odakle počinje poluotok Kabal. Kako se more u Hvarskom kanalu s ovog mjesta ne vidi, tako brodovi koji plove uz taj dio obale Hvara ostaju neopaženi s ovog položaja.³¹ Općenito, manji brodovi od oko desetak metara ne mogu se vidjeti na udaljenosti većoj od 5 km, pogotovo ako su bez jedra i ako plove uz obalu. Može se stoga reći da ovo nalazište ima veze samo s južnim dijelom, to jest Starogradskim zaljevom, Starim Gradom, Poljem i brdima oko njega. O vezi s Lompićem, udaljenim 5,3 km, ne možemo govoriti, jer ne znamo jesu li postojali u isto vrijeme.

Storči (sl.1, br. 36, sl. 9)

Na uzvisini Storči (SG0011.00), na k. č. 6764/1, oko 1 km istočno od Glavice/Zastražišće na 64 mnv,³² nalaze se ostaci bedema/nasipa kružnog oblika, promjera oko 65 m (oko 3150 m²), s vidljivim nasipom na istočnoj (oko 80 m) i zapadnoj (oko 30 m) strani. Na lokalitetu su pronađeni ulomci prehistorijske tunelaste ručke i antički ulomci pitosa te amfora. Uz navedeno nema drugih pouzdanih podataka osim izvrsnog pogleda na Starogradsko polje, ali ne i na more.

32), while the terrain around the hillfort/mound itself is heavily overgrown, with no traces of settlements or surface findings.

The view from this site extends to the southern side of the Stari Grad Bay and the eastern cape of Lučica Bay towards the west (Fig. 8), then over Lompić, the ferry terminal, Stari Grad, Purkin Kuk, Hum (Fig. 7), and the entire plain to the hills of Tatinje, Kaštilac, Vetežni Hum above Vrboska, Škudljivac, Storči, and hills all the way to the end of Kabal, where several peaks block the view of most of the open sea. The nearby large bay of Tiha is not visible, nor are the bays of Zavala and Žukova at the narrowest point from where the Kabal peninsula begins. As the sea in the Hvar Channel is not visible from this location, boats sailing along that part of the Hvar coast remain unnoticed from this position.³¹ In general, smaller boats of about ten metres in length cannot be seen at a distance greater than 5 kilometres, especially with no sails or when sailing along the coast. Therefore, it can be said that this site is only connected to the southern part, that is, the Stari Grad Bay, Stari Grad, the Plain, and the hills surrounding it. Discussing its connection to Lompić, located 5.3 kilometres away, presents a challenge due to uncertainty regarding their contemporaneity.

³¹ Vidljivost s ovog mjesta vidi na *Google Earth*.

³² Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 179.

³¹ See the visibility from this point on *Google Earth*.

Ono što je karakteristično za spomenute gradine jest da su uglavnom male površine. One jesu na istaknutim položajima, ali ni za jednu od njih se ne može reći da je bila stalno naselje. Lompić svakako nije stalno naselje jer oko sebe nema plodnih površina i nema vode; to je čisti brdoviti krš za pokoju kozu. Lompić je na ulazu u zaljev, ima vizualnu kontrolu nad njim i morskim prostorom prema Splitskim vratima (između Šolte i Brača) te ima izravnu vidljivost s Glavicom/Zastražišćem. S Glavice/Zastražišća kao i sa Storči ne vidi se gradina Gračišće nad Vrbanjem i Svirčima kojima smeta spomenuto brdo Hum s gomilom na vrhu (o čemu dalje). Grad/Galešnik smješten je na položaju s kojeg je moguća vizualna kontrola širokog prostora, Starogradskega i Jelšanskoga polja, ali i maritimnog prostora do susjednih otoka i kopna, no, kao što je navedeno, dostupni podaci iz istraživanja ne daju zaključiti mnogo više osim podatka o prisutnosti ljudi na toj točki.

Izneseno upućuje na zaključak da u ovom prostoru ne možemo govoriti o postojanju utvrđenoga željeznodobnoga gradinskog naselja u predgrčkom razdoblju (a takvo je trebalo biti ono koje spominje Diodor), s podgrađem ili bez njega, već da su postojale stražarnice (vidi bilj. 11), od kojih neke danas izgledaju kao gomile. Gračišće je, kao jedina sigurna gradina, funkcioniralo u odmaklim fazama brončanog doba, ali ne i kasnije (osim ako nije bilo privremeni zbjeg ili tor za stoku). To bi značilo da je u brončanom i željeznom dobu možda postojalo indigeno naselje ili naselja (osim Gračišća, a možda i Storči te Grad/Galešnik) koja nisu bila utvrđena, no za sada nema materijalnih dokaza o postojanju takvih u predgrčkom razdoblju. Vjerojatnije je da su naselja bila raspršena i kratkotrajna (zasepci koji su nastajali, premještali se i napuštali nakon nekoliko generacija). Nedostatak iskopavanja svakako otežava mogućnost pouzdanije interpretacije, pogotovo kada govorimo o prisvajanju prostora.

S druge strane, nedavna analiza nalaza iz grada Hvara pokazala je kako je u prvom mileniju pr. n. e. na tom prostoru (Fortica ili Kaštil i njegova južna padina) postojalo najveće indigeno naselje na otoku.³³ Kako je u daleko povoljnijem maritimnom položaju s obzirom na transjadranske komunikacije, to bi naselje moglo biti ono jako utvrđeno mjesto o kojem piše Diodor.

Storči (Fig. 1, No. 36, Fig. 9)

On the elevation of Storči (SG0011.00), at cadastral plot 6764/1, approximately 1 kilometre east of Glavica/Zastražišće, at an elevation of 64 metres,³² there are remnants of a circular-shaped rampart/embankment, with a diameter of about 65 metres (approximately 3150 square metres), with a visible embankment on the eastern (about 80 metres) and western (about 30 metres) sides. Artefacts discovered at the site include fragments of prehistoric tunnel-shaped handles and sherds of pithoi and amphorae. Aside from this, there is no other reliable data except for an excellent view of the Stari Grad Plain, although not of the sea.

The characteristic feature of the mentioned hillforts is their generally small size. Despite their prominent locations, not one of them can be considered a permanent settlement. Lompić is definitely not a permanent settlement because it lacks fertile land and a water source. Its terrain is rugged and suitable only for a few goats. Positioned at the bay entrance, Lompić provides visual control over the bay and the maritime area towards Splitska Vrata (between Šolta and Brač), with direct visibility from Glavica/Zastražišće. From Glavica/Zastražišće, as well as from Storči, the hillfort of Gračišće, above Vrbanj and Svirče, is not visible due to the obstructing Hum hill with a tumulus on top, as further discussed. The location of Grad/Galešnik enables visual oversight of a wide area, including the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains, as well as the maritime space to neighbouring islands and the mainland. Nevertheless, available research data offers limited insight beyond the presence of people at that site.

Consequently, the conclusion is that in this area, the existence of a fortified Iron Age hillfort settlement in the pre-Greek period (such as the one mentioned by Diodorus), with or without suburbs, cannot be asserted. Instead, evidence suggests the presence of watchtowers (see Note 11), some of which now appear as tumuli. Gračišće, as the only confirmed hillfort, was used in the advanced phases of the Bronze Age but not later, unless it served as a temporary refuge or an animal pen. This implies that in the Bronze and Iron Ages, unfortified indigenous settlements (aside from Gračišće, and perhaps Storči and Grad/Galešnik) may have existed, but there is currently no material evidence supporting the existence of such settlements in the pre-Greek period. It is more likely that settlements were dispersed and short-lived (hamlets that emerged, relocated, and were abandoned after a few generations). The lack of excavations certainly complicates the possibility of a more reliable interpretation, especially in cases of territorial appropriation.

On the other hand, a recent analysis of the findings from the town of Hvar has revealed that in the first millennium

33 Čače 1994, 38-41, i ondje navedena ranija literatura; Slapšak, Kirigin 2001, 575, sl. 5; Kirigin *et al.* 2022, str. 76-79.

32 Gaffney *et al.* 1997, p. 179.

GOMILE (SL. 1, 1-33, PRILOG 1)**Prostorna distribucija**

Koncentracija gomila na otoku Hvaru najveća je na prostoru grada Hvara, otoka Šćedra,³⁴ Starogradskoga i Jelšanskog polja, dok su drugdje one u manjim skupinama (na otoku Sveti Klement pred gradom Hvarom i oko Poljica, Zastrazišća, Gdinja, Bogomolja i Umića kod Sućurja) ili su usamljene. U Starogradskome i Jelšankome polju sačuvano je pedesetak potencijalnih prethistorijskih gomila.³⁵ Nalaze se koncentrirane na prostoru od 30 – 40 km²,³⁶ što čini 10 – 15 % površine otoka (297,4 km²). Radi se otprilike o jednoj četvrtini ukupno registriranih gomila na otoku Hvaru, a većinom su većeg volumena. Ipak, ne možemo biti posve sigurni jesu li sve naše gomile prethistorijske ili nisu. Samo su tri od njih sigurno gomile s grobom.³⁷ One na vrhovima brda najvjerojatnije su prethistorijske gomile, dok one u poljima, uz njihove rubove ili na padinama, mogu biti i krčevine. Također, ne možemo biti sigurni jesu li sve gomile sadržavale grobove, kakvi su bili ti grobovi (paljevinski, inhumacije u cistama ili jamama), koliko su grobova takve gomile sadržavale, koji su pripadnici zajednice u njima bili pokapani, kakvi su bili grobni prilozi, itd. Moguće je da su neke bile samo kulturna mjesta te nisu sadržavale ukope.³⁸ S obzirom na stanje

BCE, the area (Fortica or Kaštil and its southern slope) housed the largest indigenous settlement on the island.³³ Given its much more advantageous maritime position in the context of trans-Adriatic communications, this settlement could be the strongly fortified location mentioned by Diodorus.

MOUNDS (FIG. 1, 1-33, APPENDIX 1)**Spatial Distribution**

The mounds on the island of Hvar are mostly concentrated in the areas of the town of Hvar, the island of Šćedro,³⁴ the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains, while elsewhere they are found in smaller groups (on the island of Sveti Klement in front of the town of Hvar and around Poljica, Zastrazišće, Gdinj, Bogomolja, and Umić near Sućuraj) or as isolated structures. In the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains, about fifty potential prehistoric mounds have been preserved.³⁵ They are concentrated in an area of 30 to 40 square kilometres,³⁶ which makes up 10 to 15% of the island's total surface area (297.4 square kilometres). This represents approximately one-fourth of all registered mounds on the island of Hvar, and most of them are of significant volume. However, we cannot be completely certain whether all these mounds are prehistoric. Only three of them are confirmed to be burial mounds.³⁷ Those on hilltops are most likely

34 Našim terenskim pregledom utvrđene su 52 gomile (Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 153-161, 279, 230), dok je Mia Marijan registrirala njih 75: Marijan 2022.

35 Moguće je da ih ima još (kao što smo vidjeli na primjeru Prilog 1, br. 31, na sl. 1, Prilog 1, br. 31) no one su ili posve uništene (kao na primjer velika gomila u blizini Orišća, br. 30, na sl. 1; sl. 13, Prilog 1, br. 30) ili su nam promaknule (kao na primjer gomile br. 11 i 12 na sl. 1; Prilog 1, 11 i 12 koje je registrirao kolega Miletić) jer su male ili zarasle u vegetaciju te ih nismo prepoznali prilikom obilaska terena. Nedavno smo na zračnoj snimci uočili moguću gomilu na brdu Burkovo sjeverno od Jelse, a M. Katić 2021, str. 130, navodi da se u blizini nalazišta Grad/Galešnik nalazi brončanodobna gomila. Ovdje ih nismo stavili na kartu i u tablicu zbog pomanjkanja detaljnijih podataka. U našem slučaju traženje gomila samo preko zračnih snimaka može voditi u krivom smjeru jer se može raditi i o trimima/bunjama, okruglim poljskim suhozidnim skloništima i spremama poljodjelskog alata, kojih ima u priličnom broju.

36 To je nešto manja gustoća gomila nego na Nakovanskoj visoravni: 92 gomile na 35 km² (Forenbaher 2023, str. 177-185), dok je najveća gustoća u okolici grada Hvara: 72 gomile na oko 10 km² (Kirigin *et al.* 2022).

37 Ilegalna iskopavanja nepoznatog datuma. Prilikom iskopavanja na kuli Maslinovik u škrapama živca otkriveni su mali ulomci brončanodobne lončarije. Moguće je da je i na tom brežuljku bila jedna manja gomila koju su graditelji kule razgradili. Zbog nemogućnosti završetka tih iskopavanja unutar kule ostao je neiskopan II kvadrant od sitnijeg kamenja. Oko kule, a osobito s istočne strane, ima hrpa rasutog kamenja koje bi moglo pripadati gomili, Kirigin 2023. No moguće je da ti ulomci predstavljaju ostatke nekog rijetkog i nama nepoznatog događaja koji nema veze s gomilom, a možda su te hrpe kamenja mjesta gdje su se blokovi obrađivali.

38 Iako je taj fenomen zabilježen na pojedinim mjestima na otocima i

33 Čače 1994, pp. 38-41, and earlier bibliography listed there; Slapšak, Kirigin 2001, p. 575, Fig. 5; Kirigin *et al.* 2022, pp. 76-79.

34 Our field survey determined 52 mounds (Gaffney *et al.* 1997, pp. 153-161, 279, 230), while Mia Marijan registered 75 of them: Marijan 2022.

35 It is possible there are more mounds (as seen in the example of Appendix 1, No. 31), but they are either completely destroyed (such as mounds No. 11 and 12 in Fig. 1; Appendix 1, No. 30) or may have escaped our notice (such as mounds No. 11 and 12 in Fig. 1; Appendix 1, 11 and 12, recorded by colleague Miletić) due to their small size or being overgrown with vegetation, making them difficult to recognise during field surveys. Recently, a possible mound was identified on an aerial photograph on the Burkovo hill north of Jelsa, and M. Katić (2021, p. 130) mentions a Bronze Age mound near the Grad/Galešnik site. They have not been included on the map or in the table due to a lack of detailed information. In our case, searching for mounds solely through aerial photographs can lead in the wrong direction, as the mound could turn out to be a so-called *trim* or *bunja*, a round agricultural dry-stone shelter or storage for agricultural tools. Such structures are quite numerous in the area.

36 That is a slightly lower density of mounds compared to the Nakovana plateau: 92 mounds on 35 square kilometres (Forenbaher 2023, pp. 177-185), while the highest density is found in the vicinity of the town of Hvar: 72 mounds on approximately 10 square kilometres (Kirigin *et al.* 2022).

37 Illegal excavations of unknown dates. During excavations at the Maslinovik tower in the rocky outcrop, small fragments of Bronze Age pottery were discovered. It is possible that there was a small mound on that hill that the builders of the tower dismantled. Due

istraženosti, ne znamo ni koliko dugo su bile u upotrebi, bilo kao mjesta ukapanja pokojnika, ritualna mjesta, teritorijalne oznake ili stražarnice. Naime, od svih pedesetak gomila istražena je samo jedna, i to gotovo najmanja (Ivanje gomile, Prilog 1, br. 22), dok su na najvećoj gomili na Purkinu kuku obavljena samo manja iskopavanja (sl. 2, Prilog 1, br. 1).

Brojnost gomila na ovom prostoru ne iznenađuje. Na primjer, na prostoru od oko 10 km² oko prehistorijskog naseља u gradu Hvaru zabilježeno je oko 70 gomila (Kirigin *et al.* 2022, str. 69), dok su, kao što smo naveli, na oko 35 km² oko gradine Grad kod Nakovane na Pelješcu zabilježene 92 gomile (Forenbaher 2023, str. 18, 177-178). U oba ova slučaja tamošnje gomile nisu tako velikih dimenzija kao u našem slučaju. No razlika je također i u tome što oko grada Hvara i na Nakovanskom platou gomile ne okružuju polja. Ipak, naš slučaj nije usamljen. Krška polja na Visu (Dračevo polje i Velo poje), gdje se nalaze gradine Talež i Sveti Vid, na neki su način okružena gomilama.³⁹ Blatsko polje na Korčuli, gdje dominira gradina Kopila, također je okruženo gomilama,⁴⁰ a donekle i Velo polje na otoku Šolti.⁴¹ Na Braču je uočeno kako je većina obradivih površina na otoku obilježena gradnjom gomila, dok je isto naročito uočljivo u blizini lokvi.⁴² Treba još navesti da su deseterostruko veća od našeg prostora kraška polja (pašnjaci) u unutrašnjosti, u kontinentalnom dijelu delmatskog područja, okružena gradinama i promatračnicama (njih više od stotinu), uključujući i pojedinačne kultne gomile, o čemu je iscrpnije pisao Alojz Benac (1985a).

S obzirom na geomorfologiju otoka Hvara, gomile u Starogradskome i Jelšanskome polju pripadaju jednoj zasebnoj zemljopisnoj cjelini. Njezine glavne značajke su: 1. visoka, gotovo neprohodna brda s južne, istočne i zapadne strane, 2. niska brda i izrazito razvedena sjeverna morska strana prema Braču te 3. velika plodna ravnica, najveća na jadranskim otocima, koja stvara dojmljiv kontrast u odnosu na okolna brda. Najveća udaljenost između pojedinih gomila na ovom prostoru iznosi 1,5 do 3 km zračne linije, npr. Škudljivac (sl. 1, br. 16) i Starač

prehistoric mounds, while those in fields, along their edges, or on slopes could be clearance cairns. Moreover, it is uncertain whether all mounds contained burials, what was the nature of these burials (incineration, inhumation in cists or pits), how many graves these mounds contained, the identity of the individuals buried in them, the nature of grave goods, etc. Some mounds may have served as ritual sites and did not contain burials.³⁸ Given the state of research, it is also unknown how long they were in use, whether as burial sites, ritual locations, territorial markers, or watchtowers. Only one mound has been extensively explored among the fifty, and that was one of the smallest ones (Ivanje mound, Appendix 1, No. 22), while only minor excavations were carried out on the largest mound on Purkin Kuk (Fig. 2, Appendix 1, No. 1).

The abundance of mounds in this area is not surprising. For example, on an area of about 10 square kilometres around the prehistoric settlement in the town of Hvar, approximately 70 mounds were recorded (Kirigin *et al.* 2022, p. 69), while, as mentioned earlier, around the Gradina site near Nakovana on the Pelješac peninsula, 92 mounds were documented in an area of about 35 square kilometres (Forenbaher 2023, pp. 18, 177-178). In both of these cases, the mounds are not as large as those presented in this article. However, the difference also lies in the fact that around the town of Hvar and on the Nakovana Plateau, the mounds do not surround fields. Nevertheless, this is not a unique occurrence. The karstic fields on the island of Vis (Dračevo polje and Velo poje), where the hillforts Talež and Sveti Vid are located, are in a way surrounded by mounds.³⁹ Blatsko polje on the island of Korčula, dominated by the hi-

to the impossibility of completing the excavations within the tower, the southeast quadrant, made of smaller stones, remained unexcavated. Around the tower, especially on the eastern side, there is a pile of scattered stones that could belong to a mound (for fragments, see Kirigin 2023). However, these fragments may represent the remains of a rare and unknown event unrelated to the mound, and the stone piles could be places where blocks were processed.

³⁸ Although this phenomenon is recorded in certain locations on the islands and the coast, it is interesting that there is no Christian church on any of the mounds in the area of Stari Grad Plain (SGP) and Jelsa Plain (JP) (there is only one built on a mound on the entire island: the Church of St. Magdalene near the town of Hvar: HV0005.00). On Hum above Dol and Vrbanj, the Church of St. Vitus is about 80 metres west of the mound on the same ridge of the summit (see below). It is also worth noting that, based on the surface traces, these mounds do not seem to be used as places for later ancient, mediaeval, and modern burials, as is the case in other parts of inland Dalmatia (Šučur 2017). On the other hand, Kovačić (1993, p. 209) mentions for the mounds in SGP that they are “prehistoric tumuli, dry-stone walls created by land clearing, or even burial-ritual mounds possibly created after the Slavic migration.” The key question of the continuity of the spiritual dimension related to the mounds is a much broader topic than can be presented here.

³⁹ Kirigin *et al.*, in print.

priobalju, zanimljivo je da ni na jednoj gomili na prostoru SGP i JP nema kršćanske crkve (na cijelom otoku je samo jedna podignuta na gomili: crkva sv. Magdalene u blizini grada Hvara: HV0005.00). Na Humu povrh Dola i Vrbanja crkva sv. Vida je oko 80 m zapadnije od gomile na istom hrptu vrha (vidi dolje). Također navodimo da se prema površinskim tragovima naše gomile čini se ne koriste kao mjesto kasnijih antičkih, srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih ukopa kao što je to drugdje na prostoru kopnene Dalmacije (Šučur 2017). S druge strane Kovačić (1993, str. 209) za gomile u SGP navodi kako su “prapovijesni humci, suhozidi nastali krčenjem zemlje ili čak ukopno-obredne gomile nastale možda nakon slavenske doseobe”. Suštinsko pitanje kontinuiteta duhovne dimenzije vezane uz gomile mnogo je šira tema negoli je moguće izložiti je na ovome mjestu.

³⁹ Kirigin *et al.*, u tisku.

⁴⁰ Radić 1990-2000.

⁴¹ Kirigin *et al.* 2006, str. 91-137.

⁴² Barbarić 2022, 23, str. 27-33.

(sl. 1, br. 17, 18), Purkin kuk (sl. 1, br. 1) i Vela gomila (sl. 1, br. 4), Hum (sl. 1, br. 5) i Kaštilac (sl. 1, br. 14). Najbliže gomile izvan ovog područja su gomila Kluca na zapadu kod sela Velo Grablje (SG0051.00), a prema istoku je to Futretova gomila kod sela Poljica (JE 0146.00),⁴³ obje udaljene po 5,5 do 6 km zračne linije od Starogradskoga i Jelšanskoga polja. S ove dvije potonje ne mogu se vidjeti gomile unutar Poljā. Iz Poljā se prema istoku može vidjeti, u krajoliku upečatljivo, 12 km udaljeno brdo Vela glava iznad sela Zastrazišća, s velikom gomilom na 315 mnv (36 × 21 × 4,5 m, obujma oko 833 m³), oko koje je kameni nasip istoimene gradine (JE 0133.01 i JE 0133.00) i još udaljenija mala gradina Likova glava kod Bogomolja (na 417 mnv, BG 066.00).

Uglavnom, taj međuprostor (tampon zona/ničija zemlja), širine oko 6 km, između zapadnoga i istočnog dijela otoka je viši, krševit, brdovit, bezvodan, uglavnom neplodan (osim za drva, divljač, med i ljekovito bilje te za ispašu koza i ovaca) i nepristupačan te jasno odvaja Starogradsko i Jelšansko polje od ostalih dijelova otoka. Na ovome međuprostoru gotovo da nema obradivih površina,⁴⁴ niti ima arheoloških nalazišta te nema razloga pomišljati da bi ovdje postojala čak i neka privremena naselja. Komunikacije s tim predjelima i danas su vrlo ograničene i naporene s obzirom na zapuštene i obrasle staze. Razdjelnica pak između Starogradskoga i Jelšanskoga polja gotovo je neznatna, a čini je niski prijevoj između brdā Gračišće i Tatinja, širok 500 – 600 m. Glavni resurs našeg područja je plodno polje s nekoliko izvora vode i jednom stalnom lokvom – Dračevicom. Usmjerenost našeg područja bila je prema moru preko triju dubljih zaljeva i brojnih povoljnih uvala sa sigurnim pristaništima, odlično vidljivih s većine naših gomila po vrhovima brda.

Morfologija gomila

Naše smo gomile razvrstali prema promjerima u četiri skupine: one od 10 do 15 m, kojih ima 10, od 16 do 20 m, kojih ima 12, od 21 do 30 m, kojih ima 24, te one od 31 do 40 m promjera kojih ima dvije. Kada govorimo o zapreminama gomila (sl. 10), najviše ih, njih 30, ima zapreminu od 500 do 600 m³, samo 3 imaju zapreminu od 900 do 1100 m³, dok najveću zapreminu

llfort Kopila, is also surrounded by mounds,⁴⁰ as is to some extent Velo Polje on the island of Šolta.⁴¹ On Brač, it has been observed that mounds were constructed around the majority of the island's arable surfaces, which is especially noticeable near ponds.⁴² It should also be noted that much larger karstic fields (pastures) in the interior, in the continental part of the Delmataean territory, are surrounded by hillforts and watchtowers (more than a hundred of them), including individual ritual mounds, as extensively described by Alojz Benac (1985a).

Considering the geomorphology of the island of Hvar, the mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains belong to a separate geographical unit, whose main features include: 1. high, almost impassable hills on the south, east, and west sides; 2. low hills and an extremely indented northern seaside towards Brač; and 3. a large fertile plain, the largest one on the Adriatic islands, creating a striking contrast with the surrounding hills. The greatest distance between individual mounds in this area is 1.5 to 3 kilometres in a straight line, for example, between Škudljivac (Fig. 1, No. 16) and Starač (Fig. 1, No. 17, 18), Purkin Kuk (Fig. 1, No. 1) and Vela Gomila (Fig. 1, No. 4), Hum (Fig. 1, No. 5) and Kaštilac (Fig. 1, No. 14). The nearest mounds outside this area are Kluca mound to the west near the village of Velo Grablje (SG0051.00), and to the east, Futreta's mound near the village of Poljica (JE 0146.00),⁴³ both about 5.5 to 6 kilometres in a straight line from the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains. From the last two, mounds within the Plains cannot be seen. From the Plains to the east, the remarkable hill of Vela Glava can be seen above the village of Zastrazišće, located 12 kilometres away, with a large mound at an elevation of 315 metres (36 × 21 × 4.5 metres, volume approximately 833 cubic metres), around which is the stone embankment of the homonymous hillfort (JE 0133.01 and JE 0133.00), and even further, the small hillfort of Likova Glava near Bogomolja (at 417 metres above sea level, BG 066.00).

This interspace (buffer zone/no man's land), approximately 6 kilometres wide, between the western and eastern parts of the island is higher, rocky, hilly, waterless, mostly infertile (except for trees, game, honey, and medicinal herbs, as well as for

43 Zanimljivo je, iako izlazi iz granica našeg razmatranja, da se u Hvarskom statutu iz 1331., odnosno u dodatcima iz 1407. godine (Ljubić 1882-1883, 344) na ovom prostoru spominje „Smeleva Gomilla Sabor“, za koju Joško Kovačić dodaje da je „dakle okupljalište naroda“ (Kovačić 1987, 19). U Poljicima i bližoj okolici sela registrirali smo desetak gomila (Hayes and Kirigin 1994, str. 245, i sl. 1 na str. 251; Gaffney *et al.* 1997). Na čije se okupljalište ovaj Sabor odnosi, teško je reći. Naime, nakon kasne antike Poljica se spominju u Hvarskome statutu tek od 15. stoljeća, i to kao agrarni lokalitet (Kovačić 1993, str. 210).

44 Osim iznad sela Selca na putu prema gradu Hvaru gdje je rimsko nalazište Dolčić (SG0040.00), dva kilometra zračne linije udaljeno od Staroga Grada.

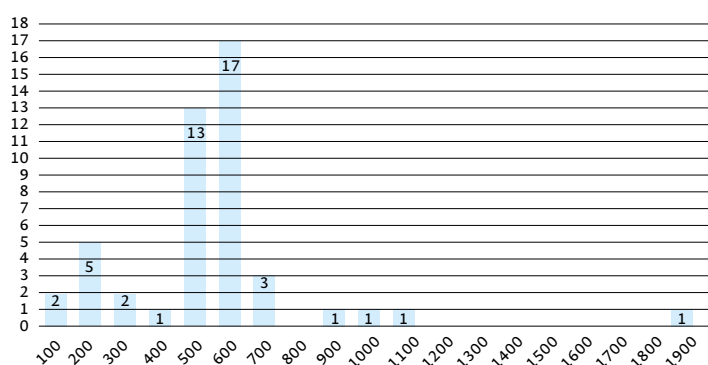
40 Radić 1990-2000.

41 Kirigin *et al.* 2006, 91-137.

42 Barbarić 2022, pp. 23, 27-33.

43 It is interesting, although it goes beyond the scope of our discussion, that in the Hvar Statute from 1331 and in the additions from 1407 (Ljubić 1882-1883, p. 344), the term “Smeleva Gomilla Sabor” is mentioned in this area. Joško Kovačić adds that it is “therefore a gathering place for the people” (Kovačić 1987, p. 19). In Poljica and the immediate vicinity of the village, we have recorded about ten mounds (Hayes and Kirigin 1994, p. 245, and Fig. 1 on page 251; Gaffney *et al.* 1997). It is difficult to determine which gathering place this Sabor refers to. After late antiquity, Poljica is mentioned in the Hvar Statute only from the 15th century, and primarily as an agrarian location (Kovačić 1993, p. 210).

VOLUMNE GOMILA U SGP I JP



Slika 10.
Histogram sa zapreminama
gomila u Starogradskome i
Jelšanskom polju (izradili autori)

Figure 10.
Histogram with mound volumes
in the Stari Grad and Jelsa plains
(created by authors)

nu ima gomila na Purkinu kuku (sl. 1, br. 1), nešto iznad 1800 m³ (sl. 2)⁴⁵ Jedina veća usamljena gomila je Jurkovića, smještena unutar Starogradskog polja, sa 1002 m³,⁴⁶ što je gotovo dvostruko manje od gomile na Purkinu kuku. Izuzmemo li problematičnu Glavicu/Zastražišće, taj podatak čini Purkin kuk najmonumentalnijom gomilom na prostoru između Staroga Grada i Jelse. Prema formuli koju je iznio Stašo Forenbaher⁴⁷, jedan čovjek bi gomilu na Purkinu kuku sagradio za 2550 do 2700 dana ili za oko 7 godina, dok bi skupini od tridesetak ljudi za to bilo potrebno između 42 i 50 dana. Prema istoj formuli za gradnju jedne gomile prosječne veličine 550 m³ (naše 23 gomile

grazing goats and sheep), and inaccessible. It clearly separates the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains from the rest of the island. In this interspace, there is almost no arable land,⁴⁴ archaeological sites, and no reason to think that even temporary settlements existed there. Routes through these areas remain very limited and strenuous to this day due to neglected and overgrown paths. The dividing line between the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains is almost negligible, consisting of the low pass between the hills of Gračišće and Tatinja, approximately 500 to 600 metres wide. The main resource in this area is a fertile field with several water sources and a permanent pond of Dračevica. The focal area for this article was towards the sea, with three deeper bays and numerous favourable coves with secure harbours, well visible from most of the mounds on the hilltops.

Morphology of Mounds

The mounds have been classified into four groups based on diameters: those from 10 to 15 metres, of which there are 10; those from 16 to 20 metres, of which there are 12; those from 21 to 30 metres, of which there are 24; and those with diameters from 31 to 40 metres, of which there are two. When it comes to the volumes of the mounds (Fig. 10), most of them, 30 in total, have a volume of 500 to 600 cubic metres, only 3 have a volume of 900 to 1100 cubic metres, while the largest volume is held by the mound on Purkin Kuk (Fig. 1, No. 1), just over 1800 cubic metres (Fig. 2)⁴⁵ The only larger isolated mound is Jurkovića, located within the Stari Grad Plain, with 1002 cubic metres,⁴⁶ which is almost twice as small as the mound on Pur-

45 Za osam gomila visinu nije bilo moguće utvrditi te one nisu uvrštene u grafikon. Ironija sudbine je da je jedina istražena ona najmanja, Ivanje gomile (Prilog 1, br. 22), dok su se na najvećoj, Purkin kuk, obavljala tek manja iskopavanja. Volumen smo izračunali prema formuli koju donosi Forenbaher (2023, str. 174-176). Po zapremini gomila na Purkinu kuku, primjerice, slična je gomili AN39 u Eracima, koja ima više faza prehistorijskih ukopa i većeg je promjera (za oko 7 m) od gomile na Purkinu kuku (Bilić, Ivišić, Vulić 2011; Forenbaher 2023, str. 176, Tablica 12). Također, u Dalmaciji zasad najstarija gomila, na žalost devastirana, Ivankovača kod Danila, ima dimenzije od 40 m u promjeru i 6 m visine (3500 m³): Menđušić 1997, 55; Brajković, Krnčević, Podrug 2013, 26, 60-61; Forenbaher 2023, str. 127-131, Tablica 12. Zasad se najvećom gomilom u Dalmaciji može smatrati Baturova gomila kod sela Baradići iznad Trogira, veličine 50 × 38 × 8 m: Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, str. 248.

46 Moguće je da je sličnog volumena bila i Marijca gomila, ali je ona uništena te joj visina nije poznata. Prema jednoj legendi za našu Jurkovicu (ovdje Prilog 1, br. 25) koju navodi Zorislav Posinković iz Dola „u mejošu sa Savotovima je jedna velika gomila, veća od motike kompa, po koju su sve niki fošoli i provjo mi moj barba Stipon da su tuote niki ljudi davno, nosili pune žare cekinih, koje su tuote bili zakopali gusari“. Vidi: Posinković 2012, str. 5.

47 Forenbaher, 2023, str. 174-177, Tablica 12.

44 Except above the village of Selca on the road to the town of Hvar, where the Roman site of Dolčić (SG004.00) is located, two kilometres in a straight line from Stari Grad.

45 For eight mounds, the height could not be determined, and they were not included in the graph. The irony of fate is that the only one investigated is the smallest, Ivanje gomile (Appendix 1, No. 22), while the largest, Purkin Kuk, underwent only minor excavations. The volume was calculated according to the formula provided by Forenbaher (2023, pp. 174-176). In terms of volume, the mound on Purkin Kuk, for example, is similar to the mound AN39 in Eraci, which has multiple phases of prehistoric burials and a larger diameter (by about 7 metres) than the mound on Purkin Kuk (Bilić *et al.* 2011; Forenbaher 2023, p. 176, Table 12). Also, in Dalmatia, the oldest mound, unfortunately devastated, Ivankovača near Danilo, has dimensions of 40 metres in diameter and 6 metres in height (3500 cubic metres): Menđušić 1997, p. 55; Brajković, Krnčević, Podrug 2013, pp. 26, 60-61; Forenbaher, 2023, pp. 127-131, Table 12. Currently, it is considered that the largest mound in Dalmatia is the mound of Baturova near the village of Baradići above Trogir, with dimensions of 50 × 38 × 8 metres: Paraman, Ugarković, Steskal 2020, p. 248.

46 It is possible that the Marijca mound had a similar volume, but it was destroyed, and its height is unknown. According to a legend about Jurkovića (here Appendix 1, No. 25) mentioned by Zorislav Posinković from Dol, “in the meadow with Savote, there is a large mound, bigger than a hoe, where all the foxes are, and my uncle



Slika 11.
Položaj gomila na predjelu Rake – Pelinje – Polonda (Geoportal,
snimka iz 1968., prilagodili autori)

Figure 11.
Position of mounds on the Rake-Pelinje-Polonda area (Geoportal,
image from 1968, modified by the authors)

s volumenom od 300 do 700 m³) bilo bi potrebno između 713 i 855 dana (2 do 2,5 godine), dok bi 30 ljudi takvu gomilu moglo sagraditi za 24 do 29 dana. Kako je naše znanje o društvenim okolnostima u vrijeme u kojem su podizane veoma fragmentarno, kao što je već rečeno, u ovom trenutku se teško može reći išta više od utemeljene pretpostavke da se radi o pothvatima koji uključuju širu zajednicu.

Gomile u Starogradskome i Jelšanskome polju u većini ne pokazuju morfološku raznolikost kao ni drugdje na našem dijelu Jadrana. Prema danas vidljivim ostacima razlika je u veličini gomila, posebno kada gledamo veličinu gomila na nekropolama Pod Glavicu/Priko (sl. 3) i onih na predjelu Rake/Planik/Polonda (sl. 11), koje su u prosjeku za oko 6 m veće u promjeru te nešto više od prethodnih (Prilog 1, br. 32, 33). Sve u svemu nema malih gomila, kakve su npr. poznate na nakovanskoj visoravni, na vrelu Cetine ili pak u okolici grada Hvara. Teško je reći razlikuju li se gomile u polju od onih na vrhovima brda, jer su ove u polju često nadograđivane krčenjem i obzidane tijekom milenija. Stoga je vrlo vjerojatno da su sve one ponajprije vezane uz polje i da ponajprije služe pojačavanju fizičkog, simboličkog i religijskog osjećaja lokalne zajednice da prostor pripada njima, bilo da se radi o gomilama s grobom (grobovima) ili o javnim spomenicima, obrednim mjestima koja su nastajala, nadograđivala se i čuvala tijekom duljega vremenskog razdoblja.

kin Kuk. Excluding the problematic Glavica/Zastražišće, this makes Purkin Kuk the most monumental mound in the area between Stari Grad and Jelsa. According to the formula provided by Stašo Forenbaher,⁴⁷ one person would have built the mound on Purkin Kuk in 2550 to 2700 days, or about 7 years, while it would have taken a group of around thirty people between 42 and 50 days. According to the same formula, to build a mound of average size, 550 cubic metres (according to the 23 mounds with a volume of 300 to 700 cubic metres), it would take between 713 and 855 days (2 to 2.5 years) for a single person, while thirty people could build it in 24 to 29 days. Due to the fragmented knowledge regarding social circumstances at the time of their construction, it is currently challenging to assert anything beyond a well-founded assumption that these endeavours involved a broader community.

The mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains generally do not show morphological diversity, similar to other parts on this side of the Adriatic. Based on the visible remains today, the difference lies in the size of the mounds, especially when comparing those in the necropolis Pod Glavicu/Priko (Fig. 3) and those in the Raka/Planik/Polonda area (Fig. 11), which are

Stipe told me that there were people here a long time ago, carrying pockets full of money, which the pirates buried." See Posinković 2012, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Forenbaher 2023, pp. 174-177, Table 12.



Slika 12.
Položaj Marijice gomile (Prilog 1, br. 29) unutar Starogradskog polja
(Geoportal, snimka iz 1968., prilagodili autori)

Figure 12.
Position of the mound of Marijica (Appendix 1, No. 29) in the Stari
Grad Plain (Geoportal, image from 1968, modified by the authors)

Interpretacija

Gomile se u Starogradskome i Jelšanskom polju pojavljuju kao pojedinačne ili u skupinama. Pojedinačne se nalaze na vrhovima brda ili na istaknutim položajima, padinama i prijevojima, njih 13. Uz rubove polja ima ih sedam, a u samoj plodnoj ravnici osam.⁴⁸ Dosta su rijetka pojava unutar krških polja Dalmacije i otoka, pa se valja zapitati jesu li naših osam gomila u polju prehistorijske gomile ili krčevine.⁴⁹ No nalaz privjeska od školjke s dekorativnim okruglim udubljenjima, ulomci lončarije i kostiju, otkriveni 1988. godine na bagerom poravnatoj površini nekoć velike Marijica gomile (JE0019.00, sl. 12, vidi Prilog 1, br. 29), ukazuju da se tu doista radi o prehistorijskoj gomili.⁵⁰

Pod pretpostavkom da se na našem prostoru radi o dvije „nekropole“, moguće je da se u njihovoj blizini nalaze naselja. Skup od 15 gomila na predjelu Rake/Planik/Polonda (sl. 11; Pri-

on average about 6 metres larger in diameter and slightly higher than the former (Appendix 1, No. 32, 33). Overall, there are no small mounds, like those known, for example, on the Nakovana plateau, at the source of the river Cetina, or in the vicinity of the town of Hvar. It is difficult to determine whether the mounds in the field differ from those on the hilltops because those in the field were often modified through clearing and wall construction over millennia. It is therefore highly likely that they were primarily associated with the field and primarily served to enhance the local community's physical, symbolic, and religious sense that the space belonged to them, whether they contained graves, served as public monuments, or as ritual sites that were created, modified, and preserved over an extended period.

Interpretation

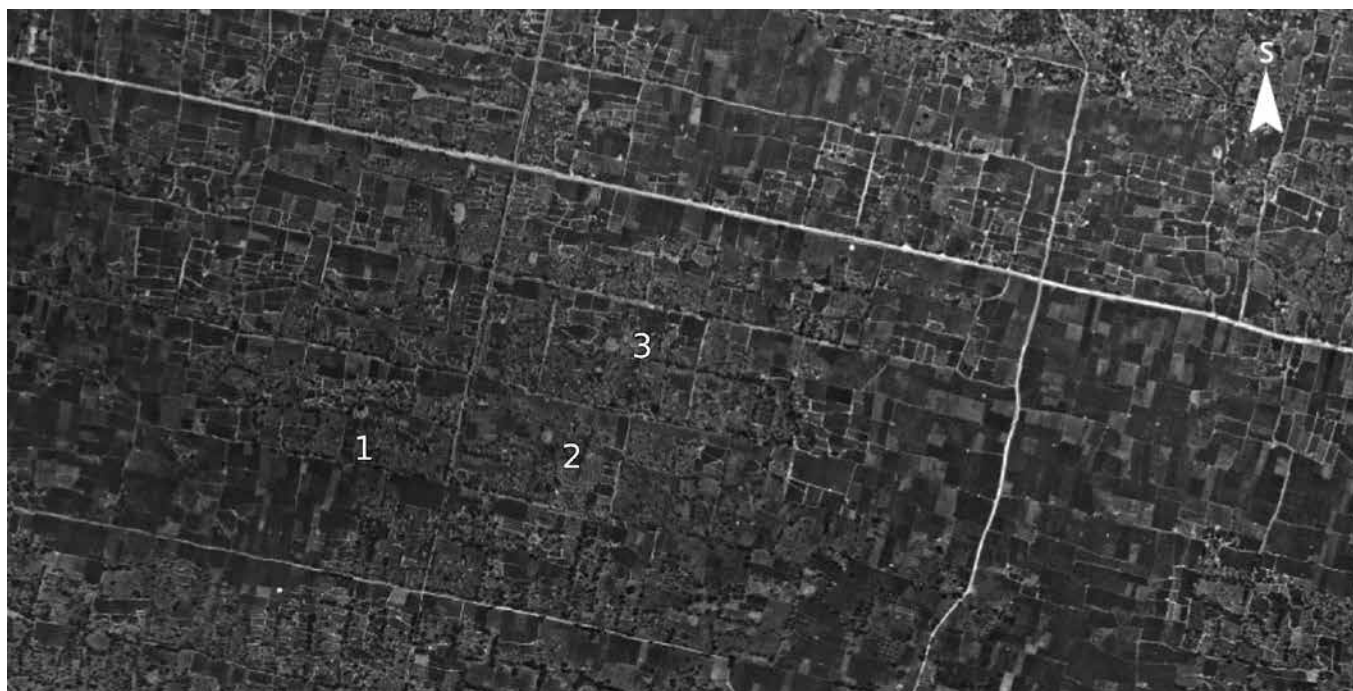
The mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains appear as individual or grouped formations. Individual ones are found on hilltops or prominent positions, slopes, and mountain passes, totalling 13. There are seven along the edges of the fields, and within the fertile plain itself, there are eight.⁴⁸ They are qu-

48 I nedavni pregled snimaka na *Geoportalu* iz 1968. godine pokazuje da se sjeveroistočno od gomile Orišac (sl. 1, br. 26) nalazila još jedna velika gomila (sl. 1, 30 i sl. 13, Prilog 1, 30) koje na kasnijim snimcima nema te je očito da je ona u međuvremenu uništena.

49 Poznate su u unutrašnjosti, npr. na Kupreškom polju (Benac 1985b), a na istočnoj obali Jadrana u Tivtu: Della Casa 1996.

50 Crtež privjeska u Kirigin 2004, str. 35, T. 1, D; 2006, str. 22, sl. 4 na str. 11. Vranković 1891, str. 19, navodi da je jedan težak za ovu gomilu rekao kako je dovoljno velika da bi se od nje mogla napraviti crkva: “bastarebbe a fabricare una chiesa”.

48 Recent reviews of images on *Geoportal* from 1968 reveal that north-east of the mound Orišac (Fig. 1, No. 26), another large mound was located (Fig. 1, 30 and Fig. 13, Appendix 1, 30), which is not present



Slika 13.
Položaj gomila Jurkovicica (1), Orišac (2) i Orišac? (3) unutar grčke pravilne parcelacije zemljišta Starogradskega polja (Geoportal, snimka iz 1968., prilagodili autori)

Figure 13.
Position of the mounds Jurkovicica (1), Orišac (2) and Orišac? (3) within the regular Greek land division of the Stari Grad Plain (Geoportal, image from 1968, modified by the authors)

log 1, br. 33)⁵¹ možemo vezati uz gradinu Gračišće, dok skupinu od 9 gomila na predjelu Pod Glavicu/Priko (sl. 3; Prilog 1, br. 32), od kojih su dvije sadržavale grobove, ne možemo iz već navedenih razloga pouzdano vezati uz Glavicu/Zastražišće te je položaj Staroga Grada vjerojatniji kandidat za eventualno naselje s izvorima vode.⁵² Ove dvije skupine gomila, iako manjeg broja, upućuju da se radi o većoj koncentraciji stanovništva u njihovoj blizini, čime su one uvjetovane. Ipak, kako navodi Čače, one ne moraju biti nužno povezane s trajnim naseljem jer se nekropole javljaju i uz naselja i dalje od njih, ali su vezane uz obradive površine.⁵³

Dok su gomile na kopnu uglavnom smještene uz putove koji vode k naseljima ili oko samih naselja, gomile u Starogradske i Jelšanskome polju nisu vezane uz kopnene komunikacije. Također nisu ni vizualno povezane s glavnim transjadranskim pomorskim putem, koji je s južne strane otoka išao k jedinoj sigurnoj većoj luci s pitkom vodom, na mjestu grada Hvara. Gomile u Starogradske i Jelšanskome polju ne vide se iz Hvarskog kanala, poput spomenute Vele glave kod sela Zastrazišća ili Vele gomile kod gradine Talež na Visu. Kako zna-

ite rare within the karstic fields of Dalmatia and the islands, prompting the question of whether these eight mounds in the field are prehistoric mounds or clearings.⁴⁹ However, the discovery of a pendant made from shell with decorative round indentations, pottery fragments, and bones in 1988 on the excavator-levelled surface of the once large Marijca mound (JE0019.00, Fig. 12, see Appendix 1, No. 29) suggests that this mound indeed is prehistoric.⁵⁰

Assuming two “necropolises” exist in this area, it is possible that there are settlements near them. A group of 15 mounds in the Raka/Planik/Polonda area (Fig. 11; Appendix 1, No. 33)⁵¹ can be associated with the Gračišće hillfort, while a group of nine mounds in the Pod Glavicu/Priko (Fig. 3; Appendix 1, No. 32), two of which contained graves, cannot be reliably linked to Glavica/Zastražišće for the reasons previously mentioned. Therefore, the location of Stari Grad is a more likely can-

in later images, clearly indicating that it has been destroyed in the meantime.

49 They are known in the interior, for example, in the Kupres Plain (Benac 1985b), and on the eastern coast of the Adriatic in Tivat: Della Casa 1996.

50 The drawing of the pendant can be found in Kirigin 2004, p. 35, T. 1, D; 2006, p. 22, Fig. 4 on p. 11. Vranković 1891, p. 19, mentions that someone, in reference to this mound, said it was large enough to build a church: “bastarebbe a fabricare una chiesa.”

51 The Hvar Statute mentions the mounds on Rake and Polonda (Ljubić 1882-1883, p. 206; Kovačić 1987, p. 19).

51 Gomile na položajima Rake i Polonda spominje Hvarski statut (Ljubić 1882-1883, str. 206; Kovačić 1987, str. 19).

52 Dosadašnja uvjeravanja da je na prostoru Staroga Grada postojalo domorodačko naselje, iako indicije postoje, nisu temeljena na uvjerljivim dokazima. Vidi: Kirigin, Barbarić 2019.

53 Čače, 1985, str. 70.

mo da istočno od Tora i Galešnika na krševitom predjelu Plame nema većih zajednica, a da je na brdovitom prostoru na zapadu, gotovo do samoga grada Hvara, posve mali broj gomila, bez gradina, treba se zapitati zašto je bilo potrebno ovako snažno obilježiti Starogradsko polje.

U rasporedu gomila unutar Starogradskog polja ne vidi se nekakva pravilnost, no sve su one većih dimenzija. Također, njihov se položaj ne preklapa s pravcima rastera grčke parcelacije zemljišta.⁵⁴ Međutim, dvije su gomile na granici između parcela F8 i F9 (Popović 2020, str. 143, sl. 78) uz samu južnu granicu grčke parcelacije. Slično je i s gomilama na granici između parcela F11 i F12,⁵⁵ koje su na pravcu osi grčke parcelacije. Također, Didina gomila, spomenuta u Hvarskom statutu, koja se nalazi izvan grčke parcelacije, u ravnini je s njezinom glavnom osi pružanja I-Z⁵⁶; spomenuta gomila na brdu Hum je na liniji jedne od poprečnih osi parcelacije. To je navelo Saru Popović na misao da su „one bile prostorne oznake ili (su) služile kao pomoć pri viziranju pravilnih linija podjele zemljišta“, uz napomenu da za takvu tvrdnju trebaju dodatne studije.⁵⁷ Na brdu Hum (207 mnv) između sela Dol i Vrbanj nalazi se crkva sv. Vida, a oko 80 m istočno od nje je gomila (JE0093.00; sl. 1, 5; Prilog 1, 5) na istom hrptu vrha. O blagdanu sv. Jurja, koji se slavi 23. travnja, nekoć se na ovoj gomili palio krijes,⁵⁸ što je prema Jošku Kovačiću „jasan prežitak slavenskih (i ne samo slavenskih) pretkršćanskih vjerovanja i obreda“.⁵⁹ Kontinuitet je nastavljen 1899., kada je Austro-Ugarska u sklopu obrane polja od tuče u blizini gomile sagradila staciju, danas zapuštenu kućicu za naprave za protugradnu obranu.⁶⁰

didate for a potential settlement with water sources.⁵² These two groups of mounds, although fewer in number, indicated a higher concentration of population in their vicinity, influencing their presence. However, as Čače notes, they do not necessarily have to be connected to a permanent settlement, as necropolises can appear both near and far from settlements but are often associated with arable land.⁵³

While mounds on the mainland are generally located along roads leading to settlements or around the settlements themselves, the mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains are not associated with land routes. They are also not visually connected to the main trans-Adriatic maritime route, which passed on the southern side of the island towards the only larger safe harbour with drinking water, at the location of the town of Hvar. The mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains are not visible from the Hvar Channel, unlike the mentioned Vela Glava near the village of Zastrazišće or Vela Gomila near the Talež hillfort on the island of Vis. Considering that there were no larger communities east of Tor and Galešnik in the rocky area of Plame and that in the hilly area to the west, almost to the town of Hvar, there are very few mounds without fortifications, it is worth questioning why it was necessary to mark the Stari Grad Plain so prominently in this way.

The arrangement of mounds within the Stari Grad Plain does not show any specific regularity, but all of them are of larger proportions. Their positions also do not overlap with the direction of the Greek land division grid.⁵⁴ However, two mounds are located on the border between plots F8 and F9 (Popović 2020, p. 143, Fig. 78) along the southern border of the

54 Jesu li Parani poznavali i poštivali svetost gomila prilikom postavljanja mreže parcela unutar polja pa su ih stoga sačuvali? Ili im se jednostavno nije dalo razgrađivati te gomile pa su ih radije koristili kao deponije kamenja čišćenog iz polja i tako ih nastavili povećavati? Za sva razdoblja vrijedi pravilo da kad se jednom kamenje stavi na hrpu, na nju poslije svi odlažu kamenje koje im smeta. I u Grčkoj su gomile (έρμια) mogle nastajati na taj način i postajati mjesto štovanja običnih težaka i pastira (Nilsson 1971, str. 8-9), a poznato je da su se gomile podizale nad grobovima grčkih heroja (Homer, Iliada 23, 478-479 = sahrana Patrokla). Velika je vjerojatnost da su doseljeni Parani znali što predstavljaju gomile u SGP i JP i da su imali respekt prema njima. Indikativan je i primjer Apolonije u Albaniji, gdje su novodoseljeni Grci (oko 600. g. pr. n. e.) preuzeli običaj pokapanja svojih mrtvih u gomile premda je taj običaj kod lokalnih Ilira u vrijeme doseljenja Grka već bio zamro. Gomile su bile vidljive u krajoliku oko novoga grada te su nekad u brončanom i ranom željeznom dobu označavale položaje tamošnjem lokalnom nomadskom stanovništvu (Stocker 2009, str. 311-315).

55 Popović 2020, str. 143.

56 Nije uvrštena u Prilog 1. Promjer joj je 26 × 26 m, a površina 531 m². Moguće je da se radi o nalazištu Dolac (JE005.00), gdje smo svojedobno registrirali rimske nalaze na većoj gomili. Nije bilo vremena da sve to provjerimo.

57 Popović 2020, str. 142-143.

58 Škobač 1970, str. 440; Tarbušković 2010, 154 i bilj. 14.

59 Kovačić 1987, 9 i bilj. 74.

60 Moškateo 2008, str. 23.

52 The existing claims that there was a native settlement in the area of Starigrad (Stari Grad) are not based on convincing evidence, despite the available indications. See Kirigin, Barbarić 2019.

53 Čače 1985, p. 70.

54 Were the Parians familiar with and respected the sacredness of the mounds when establishing the network of plots within the plain, thus preserving them? Or did they simply not bother to dismantle these mounds and instead used them as dumping grounds for stones cleared from the fields, perpetuating their enlargement? The rule holds for all periods: once stones were placed in a heap, others subsequently piled more stones onto it. In Greece, mounds (έρμια) could form in a similar manner and become places of reverence for ordinary labourers and shepherds (Nilsson 1971, pp. 8-9). It is well known that mounds were raised over the graves of Greek heroes (Homer, Iliad, 23 pp. 478-479 = burial of Patroclus). There is a high probability that the incoming Parians were aware of the significance of the mounds in the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains and held respect for them. An indicative example is found in Apollonia in Albania, where newly arrived Greeks (around 600 BCE) adopted the custom of burying their dead in mounds, even though this practice had already faded among the local Illyrians at the time of the Greeks' arrival. Mounds were visible in the landscape around the new city and once marked the positions of the local nomadic population in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Stocker 2009, pp. 311-315).

Zanimljivo je napomenuti da Hvarski statut iz 1331. godine⁶¹ – u poglavljima: „Granice polja sv. Stjepana“, „Granice polja sv. Stjepana i Vrbanja“, „Navode se putovi hvarske komune“, „O putovima koji presijecaju spomenuto polje poprijeko“ i „O ostalim putevima“ – kao teritorijalne oznake spominje šest gomila: Vulčina gomila, Crna (Krnja) gomila, Dragojeva gomila, Vela gomila, Gomile i Didina gomila.⁶² Neke se dađu prepoznati, npr. Vela gomila, ali za ostale je teško utvrdili precizniju lokaciju.⁶³

ZAKLJUČAK

Gomile u Starogradskom polju i uokolo njega svakako bi trebale označavati moć zajednice, koja pomoću njih obilježava svoj prostor, a također ukazuju na postojanje socijalne stratifikacije unutar stanovništva koje živi na tom prostoru. Ali kada je to bilo, ostaje da se vidi. Prema do sada iznesenim podacima najstarija bi možda bila Marijca gomila (sl. 12), koja bi, prema spomenutom dekorativnom poliranom amuletu od školjke, mogla pripadati ranom brončanom dobu,⁶⁴ dok bi najmlađa mogla biti Ivanje gomile (Prilog 1, br. 22), u kojoj je, među malobrojnim nalazima prethistorijske lončarije i izgoranim kostima te uz probušenu školjku nađena i stopa grčkog crnopremazanog skifa (4. st.?), sa cik-cak urezanim linijama s obje strane.⁶⁵ Za ostale gomile nemamo podatke kada su mogle nastati. To je ozbiljan problem jer su se u Dalmaciji u prethistoriji gomile gradile u vremenskom rasponu od oko dva i pol milenija. Tako se gomile kao pogrebna mjesta u priobalju južne Dalmacije koristile sve do mlađega željeznog doba.⁶⁶ U srednjoj je Dalmaciji jedini odgovarajući primjer dugog trajanja takvog pogrebnog običaja gomila Ruda glava na Paklenim otocima.⁶⁷ Poznato je da su se u željeznom dobu koristile ranije gomile kao mjesto

Greek land division. Similarly, there are mounds on the border between plots F11 and F12,⁵⁵ which are on the axis of the Greek land division. Additionally, Didina Gomila, mentioned in the Hvar Statute, is located outside the Greek land division, and is in line with its main east-west axis.⁵⁶ The already-mentioned mound on the Hum hill is on the line of one of the transverse axes of the land division. This led Sara Popović to suggest that “they were spatial markers or aids in sighting regular lines of land division,” with the note that additional studies are needed to support such claims.⁵⁷ On the Hum hill (207 metres above sea level), between the villages of Dol and Vrbanj, stands the Church of St. Vitus, and about 80 metres east of it is a mound (JE0093.00; Fig. 1, 5; Appendix 1, 5) on the same ridge of the summit. On the feast day of St. George, celebrated on April 23, a bonfire⁵⁸ was once lit on this mound, which, according to Joško Kovačić, is a “clear survival of Slavic (and not only Slavic) pre-Christian beliefs and rituals.”⁵⁹ The continuity persisted in 1899, when Austria-Hungary constructed a station near the mound for hail protection purposes. This station, now a neglected hut, is used to store hail protection equipment.⁶⁰

It is interesting to note the chapters of the Hvar Statute from 1331⁶¹ with titles “Boundaries of the field of St. Stephen,” “Boundaries of the field of St. Stephen and Vrbanj,” “Mentions the paths of the Hvar commune,” “About paths that cut across the mentioned field,” and “About other paths” mention six mounds as territorial markers: Vulčina Gomila, Crna (Krnja) Gomila, Dragojeva Gomila, Vela Gomila, Gomile, and Didina Gomila.⁶² Some can be recognised, for example, Vela Gomila, but for others, it is difficult to determine a more precise location.⁶³

61 Cvitanić 1991. Ovo izdanje Hvarskog statuta s prijevodom na hrvatski jezik nije potpuno. Prema Kovačiću (1993, str. 213) nedostaju mu četiri petine.

62 Ovome popisu treba dodati i Vukoslavlja gomilu, koja se spominje u Statutu što ga je cjelovito objavio Ljubić (Ljubić 1882-1883, str. 205; Kovačić 1987, str. 19).

63 Vidi detaljnije u Popović 2020, 83-93, i Kartu 7, dok za mogući položaj Didine gomile vidi Popović 2020, str. 141, sl. 76.

64 Ova se konstatacija temelji se samo na ornamentu s ovalnim udubljenjima kakav je poznat na štitniku za ručni zglob s Palagruže: Forenbaheer 2018, str. 90-93, sl. 84:1.

65 Kirigin 2001, str. 213, T. 1, 1. Kontekst nalaza u ovoj gomili nije jasan. Gomile često sadrže pojedinačne predmete najrazličitijih vremena.

66 Inicijalni rezultati istraživanja grobova u gomilama na lokalitetu Gomile – Zakotorac na Pelješcu pokazali su trajanje takvog pogrebnog ritusa od 10./9. st. do 4. st. pr. n. e. Vidi kod: Perkić, Dizdar, Potrebića 2021.

67 Novak 1959b, str. 240-241 (opis gomile); Novak 1960, T. 3 dole (nalazi).

55 Popović 2020, p. 143.

56 Not included in Appendix 1. Its diameter is 26 × 26 m, with an area of 531 square metres. It is possible that it corresponds to the Dolac site (JE005.00), where we previously recorded Roman findings on a larger tumulus. There was no time to verify all of this.

57 Popović 2020, pp. 142-143.

58 Škobalj 1970, p. 440; Tarbušković 2010, p. 154 and note 14.

59 Kovačić 1987, p. 9 and note 74.

60 Moškateo 2008, p. 23.

61 Cvitanić 1991. This edition of the Hvar Statute with a translation into Croatian is not complete. According to Kovačić (1993, p. 213), four fifths of it are missing.

62 This list should be supplemented with the Vukoslavlja gomila, mentioned in the Statute published in its entirety by Ljubić (Ljubić 1882-1883, p. 205; Kovačić 1987, p. 19).

63 See more details in Popović 2020, pp. 83-93, and Map 7, while for the possible location of Didina gomila, refer to Popović 2020, p. 141, Fig. 76.

pokopa (Barbarić 2011, str. 146; Potrebica 2011, str. 174) pa je i ta varijanta ovdje u igri, iako prevladava mišljenje da se u željeznom dobu ukopi obavljaju u grobovima na ravnom. Jednostavno, zasad ne možemo ući u trag materijalnim ostacima naselja ni grobova. Posljedično, dalje ne možemo govoriti ni o gustoći naseljenosti ovog prostora, a ni otoka Hvara u cjelini.⁶⁸

Naše gomile govore o mogućoj trajnijoj prisutnosti zajednice na ovom prostoru, osobito zbog stalnih resursa (plodna zemlja, pitka voda, more, pašnjaci, ribarstvo, školjkarstvo, gлина, drvo, itd.). Sama činjenica da su sve gomile relativno velike, pogotovo u usporedbi s gomilama oko prehistorijskog naselja u gradu Hvaru ili na Nakovanskoj visoravni, govori nam da su zajednice tijekom vremena mogle uložiti znatno ljudstvo i resurse da bi ih podigle. Gomile osnažuju osjećaj da prostor pripada zajednici koja ih je gradila, bilo u kulturnom, simboličkom, političkom ili obrambenom smislu. One su nam zasad jedini vidljivi tragovi prisutnosti ljudi na ovom prostoru u predgrčkom razdoblju. Prema koncentraciji gomila u prostoru dolazimo do zaključka da na otoku u brončanom, a možda i u željeznom dobu postoje dvije jače zajednice – kao što postoje i danas – uvjetovane geografskim faktorima. Prirodu njihova međusobnog odnosa za sada nije moguće interpretirati.

Pored skromnih i uglavnom nedefiniranih brončanodobnih malih ulomaka lončarije (Storči, Maslinovik, Gračišće, Galešnik) jedini zasad poznati i pouzdani nalazi iz željeznog doba su nalazi brončanog nakita s Tora i iz Staroga Grada, koji nemaju jasan kontekst.⁶⁹ Naravno, brojni ulomci lokalne grube lončarije s kalcitnim dodatcima koji bi mogli pripadati željeznom dobu zbog nedovoljnih stratigrafskih iskopavanja (općenito u Dalmaciji pa tako i na Hvaru) još uvijek nisu jasno kronološki razdvojeni ni klasificirani. Kad takvih ulomaka ima u stratigrafskom kontekstu (zasad samo u Starome Gradu), uvijek su povezani s ulomcima grčke lončarije 4. st. pr. n. e.⁷⁰ Prema tome, zasad osim nalaza ulomaka južnoitalske geometrijske lončarije s Lompica i Starog Grada (neobjavljeno) te nekoliko ulomaka grčkih crnofiguralnih posuda iz Staroga Grada, nema jasnih potvrda među poznatim lokalno rađenim artefaktima da bi oni pripadali ranom željeznom dobu, odnosno vremenu prije doseljenja Parana.

U svakom slučaju teško je zamisliti (iako nema dokaza) da su domorodci s Hvara predali Starogradsko i Jelšansko polje

CONCLUSION

The mounds in the Stari Grad Plain and its surroundings should undoubtedly mark the power of the community, which used them to mark their space. They also indicate the existence of social stratification within the population living in that area. However, when this occurred remains to be seen. Based on the data presented so far, the oldest mound might be the mound of Marijca (Fig. 12), which could belong to the Early Bronze Age⁶⁴ according to the already-mentioned decorative polished shell amulet. The youngest could be the mound of Ivanje (Appendix 1, No. 22), in which, along with the few findings of prehistoric pottery and burned bones, excavations unearthed, along with the pierced seashell, a Greek black-gloss skyphos base (4th century BCE?) with lines incised in a zigzagging pattern on both sides.⁶⁵ The data on when the other mounds could have been created is lacking. This is a serious problem because in prehistoric Dalmatia, mounds were built over a timespan of about two and a half millennia, meaning that mounds were used as burial sites on the southern Dalmatian coast until the Late Iron Age.⁶⁶ In central Dalmatia, the only suitable example of such a long-lasting burial custom is the Ruda Glava mound on the Pakleni Islands.⁶⁷ It is known that earlier mounds were used as burial sites during the Iron Age (Barbarić 2011, p. 146; Potrebica 2011, p. 174), so that possibility is also considered here. However, the prevailing opinion suggests that burials during the Iron Age were typically conducted in flat graves. In simple terms, the material remains of settlements or graves cannot be traced at this time. Therefore, further discussion on the population density of this area or the island of Hvar as a whole is not feasible.⁶⁸

The mounds discussed speak of the possible longer-term presence of a community in this area, especially due to the

68 Naša ranija istraživanja pokazivala su da na otoku Hvaru ima 15 gradina i 242 gomile. Iz toga se izvlačila vrlo gruba procjena da je na Hvaru živjelo oko 1500 ljudi, a da je u gomilama bilo ukopano možda pedesetak ljudi (vidi Forenbaher 2023, str. 177-179, Tablica 13). Međutim novija istraživanja pokazala su da na otoku ima još gradina: na istoku otoka četiri (BG 128.00, BG 151.00, JE 279.00 i JE 280.00) i dvije kod grada Hvara (HV 150.00 i HV 159.00), te 38 gomila. Vujnović *et al.* u pripremi.

69 Tor: Zaninović 1982, str. 64-66, T. 1; Kirigin 2022. Stari Grad: Katalog *Pharos* 1995, str. 68 br. 22, 103 br. 70.

70 Kirigin, Barbarić 2019.

64 This statement is based solely on the ornamentation with oval indentations, similar to what is known on a wristguard from Pala-gruža: Forenbaher 2018, pp. 90-93, Fig. 84:1.

65 Kirigin 2001, p. 213, T. 1, 1. The context of the findings in this mound is not clear. Mounds often contain individual objects from various periods.

66 The initial results of the research on graves in mounds at the site Gomile-Zakotorac on the Pelješac peninsula showed the duration of such burial rituals from the 10th or 9th century BCE to the 4th century BCE. See: Perkić, Dizdar, Potrebica 2021.

67 Novak 1959b, pp. 240-241 (mound description); Novak 1960, T. 3 down (findings).

68 Our earlier research indicated that there are 15 hillforts and 242 mounds on the island of Hvar. From this, a very rough estimate was derived that around 1500 people lived on Hvar, and perhaps fifty people were buried in the mounds (see Forenbaher 2023, pp. 177-179, Table 13). However, recent research has shown that there are more hillforts on the island: four in the east (BG 128.00, BG 151.00, JE 279.00, and JE 280.00) and two near the town of Hvar (HV 150.00 and HV 159.00), as well as 38 mounds. Vujnović *et al.*, in preparation.

Grcima kao prostor koji nije bio naseljen, a da su to ostali dijelovi otoka Hvara bili, što se daje zaključiti iz Diodora, 15, 14: domorodci s otoka „pozvaše Ilire s kopna nasuprot otoku“ u bitku protiv Parana, a potom i Sirakužana.

Ako ćemo vjerovati Diodoru, Grci su se naselili na prostoru gdje dotad nije bilo naselja (jer zašto bi on naveo da su „dopustili barbarima na otoku da nesmetano ostanu na veoma utvrđenom mjestu, dok su oni utemeljili grad kraj mora i obzidali ga“ (Diodor 15, 14). No moguće je da je naselje nekad postojalo i da je bilo napušteno prije negoli su došli Parani. Prema raspoloživim podacima zasad se ne može tvrditi da je na prostoru Starogradskega i Jelšanskoga polja postojalo „veoma utvrđeno mjesto“, o kojem govori Diodor, nego je to mjesto, kako se o tome i ranije pisalo (bilj. 33), po svemu sudeći bilo na položaju današnjega grada Hvara.

Činjenica da u blizini Starogradskega polja nema snažne utvrđene naseobine ili snažne naseobine, kao što su to grad Hvar (oko kojeg su 72 gomile), Talež na Visu (s jednom do tri gomile), Kopila na Korčuli s oko 8 gomila,⁷¹ Grad Nakovana na Pelješcu (sa 52 gomile), Rat na Braču (oko koje nema gomila);⁷² Vodnjak na Šolti (ŠO 76.00) sa 41 gomilom,⁷³ Sutilija/Trogir (s oko 26 gomila),⁷⁴ sv. Nofar iznad Resnika (sa 23 gomile),⁷⁵ sv. Petar u Makarskoj (bez gomila u blizini) – da navedemo samo bliže susjedstvo – još više komplicira stvar. No sve to može biti posljedica neujednačene istraženosti i/ili različitog stupnja razaranja i „brisanja“ gomila. Uostalom, do sukoba s Grcima prilikom osnivanja Farosa ne bi ni došlo da je prostor bio bez ljudi.

Dostupni arheološki podaci jasno upućuju na činjenicu da su ovdje izneseni zaključci provizorni i da su, s rezultatima nekih budućih istraživanja, mogući veliki obrati. Očito je da je na otoku u eneolitiku ili ranom brončanom dobu došlo do velike društvene promjene u odnosu na prethodno neolitičko razdoblje. Moguće je da je oko 2500. g. pr. n. e. došlo, kako iznosi Forenbaheer (2002), do promjena u društvenoj organizaciji lokalnog stanovništva. Forenbaheer oprezno pomišlja da je na otoku tada živjelo oko 1000 stanovnika, dok se u željezno doba taj broj udvostručio. U svakom slučaju, ovdje navedene gomile i gradine ukazuju na jedan odnos zajednice s prostorom Starogradskega i Jelšanskoga polja koji se zasad, zbog neposjedovanja činjeničnih temelja koje smo naveli, ne može uklopiti u neki od brojnih teoretskih modela vezanih uz društveni, kulturni i ekonomski razvoj zajednice koja obitava na ovom prostoru.⁷⁶

consistent resources (fertile soil, drinking water, sea, pastures, fishing, shellfish gathering, clay, wood, etc.). The fact that all the mounds are relatively large, especially when compared to the mounds around the prehistoric settlement in the town of Hvar or on the Nakovana plateau, indicates that communities over time could invest significant manpower and resources to build them. Mounds strengthen the sense that the space belongs to the community that built them, whether for ritual, symbolic, political, or defensive purposes. They are currently the only visible traces of human presence in this area during the pre-Greek period. Based on the concentration of mounds in the area, a conclusion can be reached that on the island, during the Bronze Age and possibly the Iron Age, there were two stronger communities, as is the case even today, conditioned by geographical factors. The nature of their relationship cannot be interpreted at this time.

In addition to modest and mostly undefined Bronze Age pottery fragments (Storči, Maslinovik, Gračišće, Galešnik), the only known and reliable findings from the Iron Age so far are the bronze jewellery findings from Tor and Stari Grad, which lack a clear context.⁶⁹ Of course, numerous fragments of local coarse calcite-gritted pottery that could belong to the Iron Age due to insufficient stratigraphic excavations (generally in Dalmatia, including Hvar) have not yet been chronologically determined or classified. When such fragments are found in a stratigraphic context (so far only in Stari Grad), they are always associated with fragments of Greek pottery from the 4th century BCE.⁷⁰ Therefore, apart from the findings of fragments of South Italian geometric pottery from Lompić and Stari grad (unpublished) and several fragments of Greek black-figure vessels from Stari Grad, there are, at present, no clear confirmations among the known locally produced artefacts indicating that they belong to the Early Iron Age, or the time before the arrival of the Parians.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine (although there is no evidence) that the indigenous people of Hvar handed over the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains to the Greeks as an uninhabited area, while the remaining parts of the island of Hvar were inhabited. This can be inferred from Diodorus, 15, 14: where the locals from the island “called the Illyrians from the mainland opposite the island” to battle against the Parians and then against the Syracusans.

If we are to believe Diodorus, the Greeks settled in an area where there had been no settlements before (because why would he mention that they “allowed the barbarians on the island to remain undisturbed in a very fortified place, while they

71 Radić str. 1999-2000.

72 Koncentracija gomila uz gradine na Braču vidljiva je u istočnoj polovici unutrašnjosti otoka: usporedi karte 2, 3 i 4 u Barbarić 2022, str. 14, 20-21.

73 Kirigin *et al.* 2006

74 Babić, Kirigin, Paraman 2020, str. 13, sl. 10.

75 Babić, Kirigin, Paraman 2020, str. 13, sl. 10.

76 Nešto šira slika o brončanom i željeznom dobu na srednjodalmatinskim otocima bit će prezentirana uskoro, u četvrtoj knjizi projekta *Jadranski otoci*.

69 Tor: Zaninović 1982, pp. 64-66, T. 1; Kirigin 2022. Stari Grad: catalogue Pharos 1995, p. 68 No. 22, p. 103 No. 70.

70 Kirigin, Barbarić 2019.

Potpisani sa zadovoljstvom ovaj rad posvećuju našem slavljenuku Arsenu Duplančiću. No prvopotpisani volio bi nadodati još nešto. Arsen je došao u naš Muzej 1981. godine na mjesto tajnika. Zamijetili smo njegovu marljivost i pedantnost još u vrijeme kad je bio tajnik Društva prijatelja kulturne baštine Splita i često posjećivao knjižnicu našeg Muzeja. Čim je postao tajnik Muzeja, odmah se vidjelo da tajništvo besprijekorno djeluje, a Arsen je uz to još imao vremena raditi u knjižnici, čija je voditeljica bila neprežaljena gospođa Neda Anzulović. Na dužnost ravnatelja Muzeja stupio sam 1982. godine, a dvije godine nakon toga gospođa Neda je otišla u mirovinu. Postoje dva stupa našeg Muzeja, koji na prvi pogled možda simboliziraju dva visoka stupa koji krasi bočne strane naše zgrade (prvotno zamišljeni da nose poprsja Dioklecijana i Trajana, a nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, kada je zgrada dovršena, umjesto poprsja tih vladara našla su se na njima dva orla, simboli dviju rimskih legija koje su osvojile Dalmaciju). Ta dva stupa su po meni spomenici koje Muzej čuva i knjižnica s arhivom – sve drugo je prolazno, evo već više od dva stoljeća. Malo prije negoli je gospođa Neda otišla, došao mi je Arsen s molbom koju je jedva izrekao. Želio je doći na mjesto knjižničara. Pristao sam, iako sam znao da ću izgubiti izvrsnog tajnika, ali znajući za njegovu strast prema knjigama i arhivskim dokumentima, nisam mu mogao reći ne. Milina je kad vidiš da netko tako voli svoj posao, da ga zna i da ga želi raditi i usavršavati se. To se vidjelo u cijelom razdoblju Arsenova vođenja knjižnice. Novi nametnuti tajnik, koji nije znao ni tipkati na pisačem stroju, te teški problemi sa zaštitnim iskopavanjima na Visu, u Vidu i, povrh svega, na obilaznici u Solinu, koji su mi odnijeli pola mandata, toliko su me iscrpili da se više nisam htio kandidirati za ravnatelja, a možda i bih da je tajnik bio Arsen. Ipak, vidi se po Arsenovim postignućima kako je za sve nas bolje da se zbio ovako kako jest. Vridilo je.

founded a city by the sea and fortified it” (Diodorus 15, 14). However, it is possible that a settlement once existed and was abandoned before the arrival of the Parians. According to the available data, it cannot be claimed at this point that there was a “very fortified place” in the area of the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains, as mentioned by Diodorus. Rather, that place seems to have been in the location of today’s town of Hvar, as previously discussed (note 33).

The fact that there is no strong fortified settlement near the Stari Grad Plain, as seen in the case of the town of Hvar (surrounded by 72 mounds), Talež on Vis (with one to two mounds), Kopila on Korčula with around eight mounds,⁷¹ Nakovana on Pelješac (with 52 mounds), Rat on Brač (without mounds around it),⁷² Vodnjak on Šolta (ŠO 76.00) with 41 mounds,⁷³ Sutilija/Trogir (with around 26 mounds),⁷⁴ Sv. Nofar above Resnik (with 23 mounds),⁷⁵ Sv. Petar in Makarska (without mounds nearby) — to list just the closer neighbourhood — further complicates the matter. However, all this could be a result of uneven exploration and/or different levels of destruction and “erasure” of mounds. After all, the conflict with the Greeks during the founding of Pharos would not have occurred if the area had been uninhabited.

The available archaeological data clearly indicates that the presented conclusions are provisional and subject to significant changes based on the results of future research. It is evident that there was a major societal change on the island during the Eneolithic or Early Bronze Age compared to the preceding Neolithic period. It is possible that around 2500 BCE, as suggested by Forenbaier (2002), there were changes in the social organisation of the local population. Forenbaier cautiously suggests that around 1000 inhabitants lived on the island at that time, and this number doubled in the Iron Age. In any case, the mounds and hillforts mentioned here indicate a certain relationship between the community and the area of the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains, which, due to the lack of factual foundations provided, cannot yet be fitted into any of the numerous theoretical models related to the social, cultural, and economic development of the community inhabiting the area.⁷⁶

The authors take great pleasure in dedicating this paper to

71 Radić 1999-2000.

72 The concentration of mounds near hillforts on Brač is evident in the eastern half of the island; compare maps 2, 3, and 4 in Barbarić 2022, pp. 14, 20-21.

73 Kirigin *et al.* 2006

74 Babić, Kirigin, Paraman 2020, p. 13, Fig. 10.

75 Babić, Kirigin, Paraman 2020, p. 13, Fig. 10.

76 A somewhat broader overview of the Bronze and Iron Ages on the central Dalmatian islands will be presented soon in the fourth book of the *Adriatic Islands* project.

our colleague, Arsen Duplančić. Additionally, the lead author would like to include a brief note. Arsen started working at our Museum in 1981 as a secretary. His diligence and precision were already noticed when he was the secretary of the City of Split Heritage Society and often visited the library of our Museum. As soon as he became the Museum's secretary, it was immediately evident that the office of the secretary was functioning flawlessly, and Arsen also had time to work in the library, led by the unforgettable late Mrs. Neda Anzulović. I took over the position of museum director in 1982, and two years later, Mrs. Neda retired. There are two pillars of our Museum, which may symbolise the two high pillars that adorn the sides of our building (originally intended to bear busts of Diocletian and Traian, and after World War I, when the building was completed, instead of the busts of these rulers, there were two eagles, symbols of the two Roman legions that conquered Dalmatia). These two pillars are, in my opinion, monuments that the Museum preserves and the library with the archive — everything else is transient and has been for more than two centuries. Shortly before Mrs. Neda left, Arsen came to me with a request he could hardly utter. He wanted to come aboard as a librarian. I agreed knowing I would lose an excellent secretary. But knowing his passion for books and archival documents, I couldn't refuse him. It is a pleasure to see someone love their job so much, to know it, and to want to do it and improve. This was evident throughout the period of Arsen's management of the library. The new secretary imposed on us, who didn't even know how to use a typewriter, and the difficulties with salvage excavations on Vis, in Vid, and, above all, on the Solin bypass, which took half my term, exhausted me so much that I didn't even want to apply for the director's position again. But maybe I would have if Arsen had been the secretary. Nevertheless, it is evident from Arsen's achievements that it is better for all of us that things happened the way they did. It was worth it.

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PRILOG 1

Tablica s gomilama unutar i uokolo Starogradskoga i Jelšanskog polja

Broj na sl. 1	Šifra	Ime	Promjer u metrima	Visina u metrima	Površina u m ² (cca)	Zapremena u m ³ (cca)	MNV	Nalazi na površini	Stanje spomenika	Referenca
1.	SG0015.01	Purkin kuk	30 × 30	5	707	1833	274	Prehistorijska i grčko-helenistička lončarija, kremeniti nožići	Dosta oštećena	Gaffney 1997, str. 189-190
2.	JE0123.00	?	13 × 13	2,2	133	152	57		Dosta naknadnog krčenja i vegetacije	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 143; Popović 2020, str. 221
3	JE0127.00	Pod borje	24 × 24	4	453	938	61		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 144-145; Popović 2020, str. 118-119, sl. 63; 222
4.	JE0090.00	Vela gomila	22 × 22	2,4	380	463	133	Dosta prehistorijske lončarije	Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 137-138
5	JE0093.00	Hum (sv. Vid)	20 × 20	4	314	662	200		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 138; Kirigin 2004, str. 30-31; 2006, str. 18.
6.	JE0094.00	Krvava gomila	Velika gomila	2			70	Navodno sa 3-4 skeleta	Posve uništena za vrijeme gradnje ceste	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 138
7	JE0277.00	Krušovlje	22 × 22	3,4	380	667	73		Oštećena	Miletić 2010, str. 50; Vu-jnović <i>et al.</i> u pripremi
8	JE0027.00	Humić	17 × 17		227		70		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 120
9.	JE0260.00	Vela gomila	19 × 19	2,2	284	318	82		Oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 167
10	JE0119.00	Grebišće	21 × 21	2,5	346	441	25		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 142-143
11	JE0285.00	Tatinja	14 × 14		154		66		Uništena izgradnjom kućice za protugradnu obranu	Miletić 2010, str. 50; Vu-jnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi
12	JE0284.00	Tatinja	14 × 14	2	154	158	65		Malo oštećena	Miletić 2010, str. 50; Vu-jnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi
13	JE0129.00	Tatinja					55		Uništena gradnjom ceste	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 145
14.	JE0001.00	Kaštilac	13 × 13	1,1	133	74	76		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 115
15	JE0006.00	Hum (Vetežni)	22 × 22	3	380	584	125	Ostaci grobnih ploča	Jako oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 116
16	JE278.00	Škudljivac	15 × 15	1,3	177	116	75		Dosta oštećena	Kirigin 2004, str. 28; Vu-jnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi
17	JE0084.00	Starač	17 × 17	1,6	227	184	108		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 136
18	JE0085.00	Starač	17 × 17	1,5	227	172	90		Jako oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 136
19	NE0001.00	Zemunjeva gomila	27 × 27	1	573	287	65		Dosta oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 175

20	SG0057.00	?	Ovalnog oblika					Navodno s grobom	Uništena, Vidljiva na zračnoj snimci iz 1968.	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 189
21	SG0025.00	Jurjevac	21 × 21	2,5	346	441	16		Jako oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 1193-4
22	SG0008.00	Ivanje gomile	9,3 × 10	1	73	37	45	P & G lončarija, izgorjene kosti, probušena školjka	Iskopavanja G. Protića, nakon čega uništena izgradnjom ceste	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 178-179; Kirigin 2001, str. 212-213
23	JE0061.00	?	27 × 27	3	573	873	17		Dosta naknadnih nadogradnji	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 127
24	JE0062.00	?	19 × 19	1,5	284	519	18		S oštećenjima i stablima u sredini	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 144-145; Popović 2020, , str. 50-51, sl. 30, 225
25	JE0219.00	Jurkovicica	28 × 28	3,2	617	1002	33		Dosta	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 161; Popović 2020, str. 223; Popović 2020, str. 47, sl. 26, 223
26	JE0039.00	Orišac	20 × 20	4	314	662	38		Djelomice oštećena	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 122; Popović 2020, str. 226
27	JE0043.00	Veli loz	20 × 20	3	314	485	31	Rimska keramika	Manja oštećenja	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 123
28	JE0044.00	Veli loz	19 × 19	2	284	363	31	Grčka i rimska keramika	Dobro sačuvana	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 123-124
29.	JE0019.00	Marijica gomila	26 × 26		531		32	Ornamentirani amulet od školjke (?), prethistorijska. lončarija, kosti	Posve uništena 1988. Vidi sl. iz 1968. g.	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, 118; Kirigin 2004, str. 35, T. I, D; Kirigin 2006, str. 22
30	JE0294.00	Orišac (?)	24 × 24		453					Vidljiva na zračnom snimku iz 1968. Uništena mljevenjem kamenja. Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi
31	JE0295.00	Priloge	15 × 15		177					Popović 2020, str. 142, sl. 77; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi
32	SG0024, 1-9	Pod Glavicu/Priko	Prosječno 19,91 × 19,91	2,2	311	350	15-60	Ni jedna istražena, dvije s grobom	3 uništene, 2 možda dvojne ili izdužene 25 × 18 i 30 × 18.	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 192-3
33	JE0082.01-15	Rake/Planik/Polanda	Prosječno 23,65 × 23,65	2,8	439	617	32-50	Neistražene. Tri s rimskom keramikom	1 uništena, 1 jako oštećena, 2 možda dvojne ili izdužene 25 × 18 i 30 × 18	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, str. 132-136; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , u pripremi

APPENDIX 1

Table with mounds within and around the Stari Grad and Jelsa Plains

Number on Fig. 1	Code	Name	Diameter in metres	Height in metres	Surface area in m ² (approx.)	Volume in m ³ (approx.)	Metres above sea level	Surface findings	Condition of monument	Reference
1.	SG0015.01	Purkin kuk	30 × 30	5	707	1833	274	Prehistoric and Greek-Hellenistic pottery, flint knives	Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 189-190
2.	JE0123.00	?	13 × 13	2.2	133	152	57		A lot of subsequent clearing and vegetation	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 143; Popović 2020, p. 221
3	JE0127.00	Pod borje	24 × 24	4	453	938	61		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 144-145; Popović 2020, pp. 118-119, Fig. 63; p. 222
4.	JE0090.00	Vela gomila	22 × 22	2.4	380	463	133	A lot of prehistoric pottery	Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 137-138.
5	JE0093.00	Hum (sv. Vid)	20 × 20	4	314	662	200		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 138; Kirigin 2004, pp. 30-31; 2006, p. 18
6.	JE0094.00	Krvava gomila	Large mound	2			70	Reportedly with 3 to 4 skeletons	Completely destroyed during road construction	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 138
7	JE0277.00	Krušovlje	22 × 22	3.4	380	667	73		Damaged	Miletić, 2010, p. 50; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> in preparation
8	JE0027.00	Humić	17 × 17		227		70		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 120
9.	JE0260.00	Vela gomila	19 × 19	2.2	284	318	82		Damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 167
10	JE0119.00	Grebišće	21 × 21	2.5	346	441	25		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 142-143
11	JE0285.00	Tatinja	14 × 14		154		66		Destroyed by the construction of the hail protection hut	Miletić 2010, p. 50; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , in preparation
12	JE0284.00	Tatinja	14 × 14	2	154	158	65		Slightly damaged	Miletić 2010, p. 50; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , in preparation
13	JE0129.00	Tatinja					55		Destroyed by road construction	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 145
14.	JE0001.00	Kaštilac	13 × 13	1.1	133	74	76		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 115
15	JE0006.00	Hum (Vetežni)	22 × 22	3	380	584	125	Remains of grave slabs	Heavily damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 116
16	JE278.00	Škudljivac	15 × 15	1.3	177	116	75		Quite damaged	Kirigin 2004, p. 28; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> in preparation
17	JE0084.00	Starač	17 × 17	1.6	227	184	108		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 136

18	JE0085.00	Starač	17 × 17	1.5	227	172	90		Heavily damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 136
19	NE0001.00	Zemunjeva gomila	27 × 27	1	573	287	65		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 175
20	SG0057.00	?	Oval-shaped					Reportedly with a grave	Destroyed, visible on the aerial view from 1968	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 189
21	SG0025.00	Jurjevac	21 × 21	2.5	346	441	16		Heavily damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 1193-4
22	SG0008.00	Ivanje gomile	9.3 × 10	1	73	37	45	Prehistoric and Greek pottery, burnt bones, pierced shell	Excavations by G. Protić, after which it was destroyed by the construction of the road	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 178-179; Kirigin 2001, pp. 212-213
23	JE0061.00	?	27 × 27	3	573	873	17		A lot of subsequent annexes	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 127
24	JE0062.00	?	19 × 19	1.5	284	519	18		Damaged, with trees in the middle	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 144-145; Popović 2020, pp. 50-51, Fig. 30, p. 225
25	JE0219.00	Jurkovića	28 × 28	3.2	617	1002	33		Quite damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 161; Popović 2020, p. 223 Popović 2020, p. 47, Fig. 26, p. 223
26	JE0039.00	Orišac	20 × 20	4	314	662	38		Partially damaged	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 122; Popović 2020, p. 226
27	JE0043.00	Veli loz	20 × 20	3	314	485	31	Roman pottery	Minor damage	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 123
28	JE0044.00	Veli loz	19 × 19	2	284	363	31	Greek and Roman pottery	Well preserved	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 123-124
29.	JE0019.00	Marijca gomila	26 × 26		531		32	Ornamented shell amulet (?), prehistoric, pottery, bones	Completely destroyed in 1988. See image from 1968	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, p. 118; Kirigin 2004, p. 35, T. I, D; Kirigin 2006, p. 22
30	JE0294.00	Orišac (?)	24 × 24		453					Visible on the aerial view from 1968. Destroyed by grinding stones. Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , in preparation
31	JE0295.00	Priloge	15 × 15		177					Popović 2020, p. 142, Fig. 77; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> in preparation
32	SG0024, 1-9	Pod Glavicu/Priko	Approx. 19.91 × 19.91	2.2	311	350	15-60	None explored, two with grave	3 destroyed, 2 maybe dual or elongated 25 × 18 and 30 × 18.	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 192-193
33	JE0082.01-15	Rake/Planik/Polanda	Approx. 23.65 × 23.65	2.8	439	617	32-50	Unexplored. Three with Roman pottery	1 destroyed, 1 heavily damaged, 2 maybe dual or elongated 25 × 18 and 30 × 18	Gaffney <i>et al.</i> 1997, pp. 132-136; Vujnović <i>et al.</i> , in preparation

