

O JEDNOM TIPU AMFOROIDNIH PITOSA SA ŽELJEZNODEBNIH GRADINA OTOKA KORČULE

ON A TYPE OF AMPHOROID PITHOS FROM THE IRON AGE HILLFORTS OF THE ISLAND OF KORČULA

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Angažman na proučavanju gradinskih naselja otoka Korčule u posljednje je vrijeme dobio na intenzitetu, prije svega arheološkim istraživanjima na gradini Kopila kod Blata i Stine kod Žrnova. Uz to, pojedina gradinska naselja bila su i mjestom višestrukih rekognosciranja, a jedno je od njih i Smokviška gradina, pozicionirana nad glavnom transversalom koja spaja zapadni i središnji dio otoka. Navedena tri lokaliteta mjesta su nalaza specifičnih keramičkih predmeta koji po morfološkim odlikama odgovaraju amforama, no po dimenzijskima i tehnološkima skladišnim posudama tipa pitos. U radu se raspravlja o potencijalnim uzorima za njihovo oblikovanje te donosi viđenje njihova vremenskog, ishodišnog i namjenskog određenja, i to u kontekstu do sada poznatih okolnosti života mlađe željeznodobnih zajednica otoka Korčule.

KEY WORDS:

Kopila, Island of
Korčula, Late Iron Age,
amphorae, pithoi

In recent years, research on the hillfort settlements of the island of Korčula has intensified, primarily through archaeological excavations at the Kopila hillfort near Blata and the Stine hillfort near Žrnovo. In addition, several hillfort sites have been subject to multiple surveys, one of which is the Smokvica hillfort, positioned above the main transversal route connecting the western and central parts of the island. These three sites have yielded distinctive pottery artefacts that, by their morphological features, correspond to amphorae; however, their dimensions and technological characteristics place them in the category of storage vessels of the pithos type. This paper discusses models that might have inspired their form and offers an interpretation of their provenance as well as their chronological and functional characteristics within the context of the known circumstances of life in the Late Iron Age communities on the island of Korčula.

Sve intenzivnija arheološka istraživanja na području otoka Korčule pokazuju kako je tamošnje kasno željezno doba razdoblje vrlo intenzivnog života u kojem se reflektira opća društveno-politička te gospodarska slika srednjeg i južnog dijela istočnog Jadrana. Prije svega, određuju je multietničnost, a time i multikulturalnost regije, obilježja nastala slijedom grčke kolonizacije otoka Visa i Hvara,¹ do tada naseljenih isključivo indigenim zajednicama, a zatim i svih kasnijih povijesnih procesa koji u vrlo složen koloplet odnosa dovode indigeno ilirsko te doseljeničko helensko, a potom i italo-rimsko stanovništvo.² Takvo definiranje temeljeno je prije svega na komplementarnosti geografskih i povijesnih izvora u čijem je fokusu bilo navedeno područje, ali još više i na sve brojnijem te raznovrsnijem arheološkom materijalu koji vrlo sugestivno upućuje na iznimno dobro razvijene trgovačke, a posredstvom njih periodično sigurno i diplomatske te mnoge ine odnose među istaknutim subjektima.

Strateško pozicioniranje i određivanje uloge korčulanskih željeznodobnih zajednica u takvim je okolnostima moralo biti temeljeno na valorizaciji dvaju glavnih čimbenika.³ Prvi je od njih geografski položaj otoka u cjelini, ali i onih posebno atraktivnih zona na njegovim krajnjim istočnim i zapadnim stranama. Oгледа se u mogućnostima kontrole i korištenja u maritimno-trgovačkom smislu posebno vitalnoga Pelješkog, ali i Korčulanskog te Lastovskog kanala, dakle u okvirima mlađeg željeznog doba vrlo frekventnog akvatorija, na što, među ostalim, upućuju i brojne podmorske arheološke lokacije brodoloma, luka i sidrišta.⁴ Drugi čimbenik razvoja odnosi se na dostupne prirodne resurse i tu pri-

The increasingly intensive archaeological research conducted on Korčula indicates that the Late Iron Age on the island was a period of acute activity, reflecting the broader socio-political and economic landscape of the central and southern parts of the eastern Adriatic. This period was characterised above all by the region's multiethnic and, consequently, multicultural composition – attributes that emerged following the Greek colonisation of the islands of Vis and Hvar,¹ which had until then been inhabited solely by indigenous communities. Subsequent historical processes further intertwined the local Illyrian population with the incoming Hellenic settlers, and later with Italic and Roman influences.² This definition is based primarily on the complementarity of geographical and historical sources focusing on the region, but even more on the growing quantity and diversity of archaeological material, which convincingly attest to well-developed trade networks – and, through them, to intermittent diplomatic and other forms of interaction between prominent entities.

In such circumstances, the strategic positioning and role of Korčula's Iron Age communities must have been founded upon the evaluation of two principal factors.³ The first was the island's geographical position as a whole, particularly the highly desirable zones located at its eastern and western extremities. This was reflected in the communities' ability to control and exploit, in a maritime and commercial sense, the strategically important Pelješac Strait, as well as the Korčula and Lastovo Straits – seaways that were heavily navigated during the Late Iron Age, as evidenced by numerous underwater archaeological sites, including shipwrecks, harbours and anchorages.⁴ The second developmental factor

¹ O grčkim kolonijama Issa i Pharos kod KIRIGIN 1996; 2004; JELIČIĆ RADONIĆ, KATIĆ 2015.

² O povijesnim procesima i društvenim odnosima kod MATIJAŠIĆ 2009; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; DŽINO, DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2013; ZANINOVIĆ 2015.

³ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017; BORZIĆ 2025.

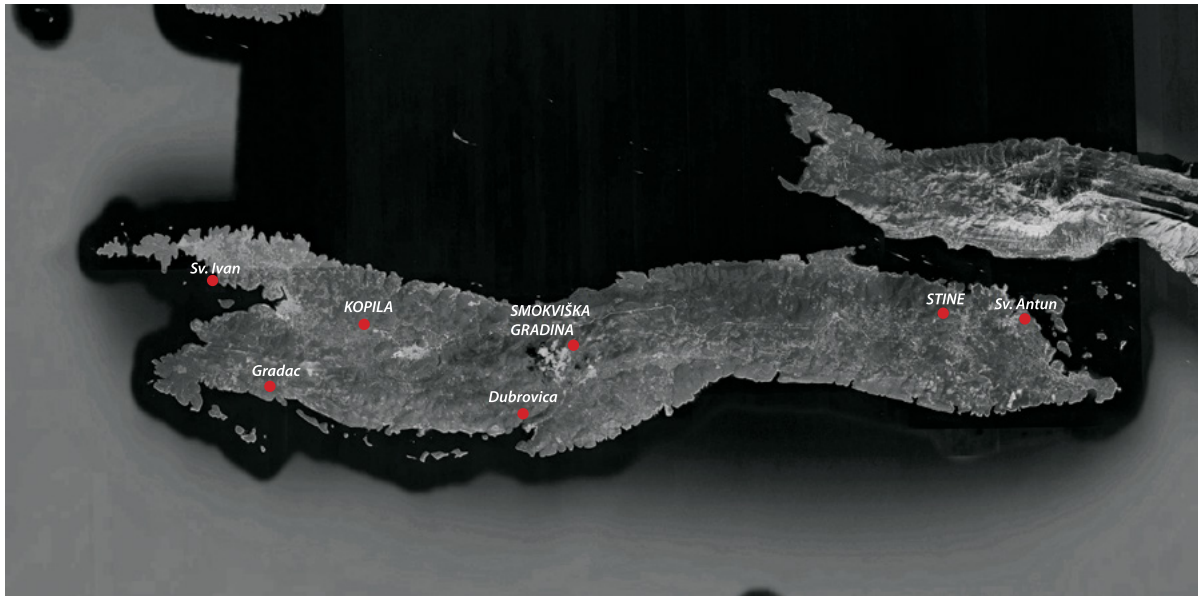
⁴ KOZLIČIĆ 2001; JURIŠIĆ 2001; RADIĆ ROSSI 2005; BORZIĆ 2009.

¹ On the Greek colonies of Issa and Pharos, see KIRIGIN 1996; 2004; JELIČIĆ RADONIĆ, KATIĆ 2015.

² On their historical processes and social relations, see MATIJAŠIĆ 2009; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; DŽINO, DOMIĆ KUNIĆ 2013; ZANINOVIĆ 2015.

³ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017; BORZIĆ, 2025.

⁴ KOZLIČIĆ 2001; JURIŠIĆ 2001; RADIĆ ROSSI 2005; BORZIĆ 2009.



SLIKA 1. Gradinski lokaliteti otoka Korčule s potvrđenom željeznodobnom naseljenošću (izradio: I. Borzić)
FIGURE 1 Hillfort sites on the island of Korčula with confirmed Iron Age occupation (made by I. Borzić)

je svega treba istaknuti kontinuirane obradive površine koje se od zaljeva Vele Luke na zapadu preko Blatskog polja protežu duboko u unutrašnjost kopna te one nešto manje, ali dovoljno izdašne na krajnjem istočnom dijelu otoka. Shvaćanjem potencijala i kombiniranjem navedenih čimbenika jasno je zašto se Korčula u mlađem željeznom dobu smatra populacijski vrlo snažnim i utjecajnim otokom, koji je na kraju krajeva kao pozornica prisutan u nekoliko događaja spomenutih u povijesnim izvorima.⁵

Kao posljedica opisanih čimbenika razvoja korčulanskih zajednica, na otoku se bilježi vrlo brojna te tipološki i ishodišno raznovrstan arheološki materijal, među kojim je za ovu priliku izdvojena još uvijek malobrojna, ali vrlo indikativna kategorija nalaza. Riječ je o specifičnom tipu skladišno-transportnih posuda, svojevrsnom amforoidnom pitosu, do sad pronađenom među materijalom s triju otočnih kasnoželjeznodobnih gradina, nedvojbeno nositeljica razvoja triju izdvojenih otočnih regija, one zapadne okrenute Blatskom polju i zaljevu Vele Luke, zatim središnje upućene poljima smokvičko-čar-

⁵ Vidjeti bilj. 3.

concerned the availability of natural resources, above all the presence of arable land extending continuously from the bay of Vela Luka in the west, across the Blato plain deep into the island's interior, as well as somewhat smaller yet sufficiently fertile areas in its far eastern part. Recognition of the potential and interaction of these factors helps explain why Korčula is regarded as having been a densely populated and influential island during the Late Iron Age – one that, ultimately, features as a setting for several events recorded in historical sources.⁵

As a consequence of these developmental circumstances, the island has yielded an abundant and typologically (as well as culturally) diverse corpus of archaeological material, from which, for the purpose of this paper, a limited but still highly indicative category of finds has been singled out. The subject at hand is a specific type of storage and transport vessel – a kind of amphoroid pithos – discovered among material from three Late Iron Age hillforts on the island, each clearly representing a distinct regional centre: the western, oriented towards the Blato plain and the bay of Vela Luka; the central, connected with the Smokvica–Čara lowlands; and the

⁵ See n. 3

skog areala te konačno istočne, u čijoj su domeni djelovanja izlazi na Pelješki kanal te poljoprivredne i ine zone oko Žrnovskog polja (sl. 1).

Sam nalaz skladišno-transportnih posuda na navedenim, ali i ostalim lokalitetima ovog tipa nije neka posebna vijest. Dapače, riječ je o uobičajenoj vrsti predmeta zabilježenoj u različitim morfološkim i tehnološkim varijantama putem kojih ih se generalno može razdijeliti na one izrađene u manirama indigene keramičarske tradicije te one koje sasvim sigurno pripadaju importu iz obližnjih helenističkih središta.⁶ No ono što nas je ponukalo na izdvajanje i zasebno prezentiranje ovdje interesnog tipa jest njegova specifičnost koja s jedne, one morfološke strane pokazuje sve odlike klasičnih amfora, dok s one druge, tehničke, ipak više odgovara tipičnim masivnim skladišnim posudama, dakle klasičnim pitosima, što ga čini svojevrsnim hibridom. No prije no što se osvrnemo na te detalje, radi kontekstualizacije teme ukratko će se predstaviti lokaliteti s kojih studijski materijal i potječe.

Trenutačno je najbolje poznat lokalitet gradina Kopila, smještena na sjevernom rubu Blatskog polja na zapadnom dijelu otoka (sl. 2).⁷ Nakon inicijalnih topografskih saznanja o tipično gradinskom lokalitetu, recentna arheološka istraživanja ukazala su kako je riječ o naselju čije se trajanje prati još od srednjega brončanog doba, konkretno 16./15. st. pr. Kr. Njegov znatniji iskorak na scenu poklapa se s povećanim interesom grčkih i južnoitalskih zajednica za odnose s istočnim Jadranom, dakle razdobljem 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr. Tada se, naime, datira pet korintskih posuda i arhajska staklena pločica koje se dovodi u vezu s ovim lokalitetom i koje su krajem 19.

eastern, whose sphere of activity encompassed access to the Pelješac Strait and the agricultural and surrounding areas around the Žrnovo plain (Fig. 1).

The discovery of storage and transport vessels at these and similar sites is not in itself remarkable. On the contrary, such finds are common and appear in various morphological and technological variants, which can broadly be divided into those made in the manner of indigenous pottery-making traditions and those that clearly were imports from nearby Hellenistic centres.⁶ What prompted us to single out and present this particular type, however, is its distinctiveness: morphologically, it exhibits all the features of classical amphorae, while from a technical perspective it more closely corresponds to the robust storage vessels known as pithoi – thus forming a kind of hybrid between the two. Before we turn to these details, the sites from which the studied material originates will briefly be presented to provide contextual grounding for the discussion.

The best-known site at present is the hillfort of Kopila, located on the northern edge of the Blato plain, in the western part of the island (Fig. 2).⁷ Following the initial topographical observations that identified Kopila as a typical hillfort site, recent archaeological research has revealed that it was, in fact, a settlement with continuous occupation traceable back to the Middle Bronze Age – specifically to the 16th/15th centuries BC. Its emergence into greater prominence coincided with the period of increased interest in the eastern Adriatic shown by Greek and South Italian communities during the 7th and 6th centuries BC. This phase is represented by five Corinthian vessels and an Archaic glass plaque associated with the site, which entered the Dubrovnik

⁶ O nalazima pitosa na srednjodalmatinskim otocima vidjeti kod KIRIGIN *et al.* 2006; KIRIGIN 2007. O trenutačno objavljenim nalazima s otoka Korčule kod BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021; BORZIĆ 2022.

⁷ Najosnovnije informacije s historijatom istraživanja do 2017. vidjeti kod FADIĆ, ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ 2017. Nakon toga kod BORZIĆ 2022.

⁶ On pithos finds from the central Dalmatian islands, see KIRIGIN *et al.* 2006; KIRIGIN 2007. For currently published finds from the island of Korčula, see BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021; BORZIĆ 2022.

⁷ For the basic information and the history of research up to 2017, see FADIĆ, ETEROVIĆ BORZIĆ 2017. Subsequently, see BORZIĆ 2022.



SLIKA 2. *Gradina Kopila nad Blatskim poljem, pogled sa sjevera* (snimio: L. Bogdanić)
 FIGURE 2 *Hillfort of Kopila above the Blato field, view from the north* (photo by L. Bogdanić)

stoljeća pristigle u Dubrovačke muzeje,⁸ ali i sve veći broj ulomaka daunijske geometrijske keramike pronađene u nasipnim dijelovima nekropole te slojevima unutar naselja. Ipak, čini se da zajednica s Kopile svoj najveći uspon doseže tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba, što je do sad argumentirano prije svega posebno dobro istraženom nekropolom naselja,⁹ prepoznatljivom po specifičnoj prostornoj organizaciji te karakteru brojnih grobnih priloga. Njihova tipološka raznovrsnost te podijeljenost na proizvode iznikle iz indigene ilirske obrtničke tradicije, prije svega oružje i funkcionalno-ukrasni dijelovi odjeće, te proizvode helenističkog, a kasnije i italo-rimskoga umjetničko-obrtničkog miljea, pretežito sve varijante helenističke keramike te metalni, stakleni i jantarni nakitni elementi, sugeriraju intenzivnu prisutnost

Museums⁸ at the end of the 19th century, as well as by an increasing number of fragments of Daunian geometric pottery found in the fill layers of the necropolis and within the settlement strata. Even so, the Kopila community appears to have reached its peak during the Late Iron Age. This has so far been substantiated primarily through the exceptionally well-studied necropolis of the settlement,⁹ notable for its distinctive spatial organisation and the character of its numerous grave goods. The typological diversity of these grave goods – ranging from items rooted in indigenous Illyrian craftsmanship, such as weapons and functional or decorative elements of clothing, to products of Hellenistic and later Italo-Roman artistic and artisanal traditions, including various forms of Hellenistic pottery as well as metal, glass and amber ornaments – indicates the community's strong engagement

⁸ O nalazima deponiranima u Dubrovačkim muzejima kod RADIĆ 2003.

⁹ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017a; BORZIĆ 2022.

⁸ For the finds deposited in the Dubrovnik Museums, see RADIĆ 2003.

⁹ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017a; BORZIĆ 2022.

ove zajednice na tržištu, a time i u ostalim povijesnim zbivanjima u razdoblju od sredine 4. do kraja 1. st. pr. Kr.¹⁰ O naselju iz navedenog razdoblja nema mnogo podataka jer se tek počelo istraživati, no preliminarno se može reći kako karakter nalaza očekivano odudara od onog s nekropole te da je uglavnom predstavljen grubom željeznodobnom keramikom skladišnog, kuhinjskog i stolnog određenja, kao i skladišno-transportnim oblicima, dakle amforama i pitosima, tipološki svojstvenima helenističkom i kasnorepublikanskom razdoblju na istočnom Jadranu.¹¹

Krećući se dalje prema istoku otoka, sljedeći za temu bitan lokalitet jest Smokviška gradina,¹² idealno položena na kontaktu udoline koja se od zaljeva Vele Luke gotovo kontinuirano proteže 13 km u unutrašnjost otoka te niza manjih i većih polja smokvičko-čarskog prostora, s fantastičnim pregledom središnjeg dijela Korčulanskog kanala (sl. 3). Reljefno gledano, riječ je o iznimno strmom brdu s relativno malim akropolskim platoom dimenzija 47 × 20 m, danas sa zapadne strane uokvirenim vrlo fino i žbukom vezanim zidom kasnoantičke ili čak i kasnije gradnje, u čijoj se strukturi mjestimično nalaze i megalitski blokovi, potencijalno kasne prapovijesne datacije (sl. 4). Zbog izostanka konkretnih arheoloških istraživanja, o prapovijesnoj periodizaciji ovog naselja nije moguće suvislo govoriti, a jedino što je sigurno i što je temeljeno na rekognosciranjem uočenom i dijelom sakupljenom materijalu jest da je korištena tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba. Navedeno se, uz grubo lokalno posuđe, prije svega temelji na zabilježenim ulomcima grčko-italskih i Lamboglia 2 amfora te klasifikacijski neodredivih, ali sasvim sigurno helenističkih ulomaka stolnog posuđa. Dodajmo ovome da s obližnjeg polja Dol potječe i nalaz tetradrahme Ptolemeja I. Sotera s

in trade and, by extension, in broader historical developments between the mid-4th and the late 1st centuries BC.¹⁰ Little is known about the settlement itself during this period, as its systematic investigation has only recently begun. However, preliminary observations suggest that the character of the finds differs, as expected, from that of the necropolis and is predominantly represented by coarse Iron Age pottery used for storage, cooking and serving, as well as by storage and transport forms – namely amphorae and pithoi – typologically characteristic of the Hellenistic and Late Republican periods on the eastern Adriatic.¹¹

Moving further east across the island, the next site relevant to this discussion is the Smokvica hillfort,¹² ideally situated at the junction between a basin extending almost continuously for 13 km inland from the bay of Vela Luka and a series of smaller and larger plains in the Smokvica-Čara area; it offers an outstanding view of the central part of the Korčula Strait (Fig. 3). In terms of relief, it is an exceptionally steep hill with a relatively small acropolis plateau measuring 47 × 20 m, today bordered on its western side by a finely built wall bonded with mortar, dating from Late Antiquity or possibly even after, which in places incorporates megalithic blocks potentially dating to the late prehistoric period (Fig. 4). In the absence of systematic archaeological excavations, a coherent discussion of the prehistoric periodisation of this settlement is not yet possible. The only certainty (based on material identified and partly collected during reconnaissance) is that the site was in use during the Late Iron Age. This conclusion is primarily supported (alongside the presence of coarse local pottery) by the recorded fragments of Greco-Italic and Lamboglia 2 amphorae, as well as several unclassified but clearly Hellenistic tableware fragments. It is worth adding that a find of a tetradrachm of Ptolemy I Soter, dat-

¹⁰ Uz bilj. 7 vidjeti i ČELHAR, BORZIĆ 2024.

¹¹ O potonjoj grupi proizvoda kod BORZIĆ 2007.

¹² RADIĆ, BASS 2001: 137.

¹⁰ See also ČELHAR, BORZIĆ 2024 in relation to n. 7.

¹¹ For the latter group of products, see BORZIĆ 2007.

¹² RADIĆ, BASS 2001: 137.



SLIKA 3. *Smokviška gradina, pogled s juga* (snimio: I. Borzić)

FIGURE 3 *Smokvica hillfort, view from the south* (photo by I. Borzić)



SLIKA 4. *Smokviška gradina, zidana struktura na zapadnom obodu akropolskog dijela lokaliteta* (snimio: I. Borzić)

FIGURE 4 *Smokvica hillfort, masonry structure on the western edge of the acropolis area* (photo by I. Borzić)

početka 3. st. pr. Kr., nažalost, iz nepoznatog konteksta,¹³ ali opet dovoljno indikativan da potvrdi cirkulaciju helenističkih dobara i na ovom području.

Treći lokalitet koji spominjemo u kontekstu nalaza ovdje interesantne građe jest gradina Stine (sl. 5), tek u posljednje vrijeme apostrofirana kao jedno od najvažnijih gradinskih naselja istočnog dijela otoka Korčule.¹⁴ Utopljenost u pejzaž dugo ju je skrivala od očiju arheologa, no višekratna rekognosciranja uspjela su izdvojiti pojedine segmente lokaliteta položenog na blagim, danas kaskadnim padinama brda i prepoznati sve prednosti odabira upravo ove prirodno savršeno zaštićene pozicije na obodu Žrnovskog polja, neznatno udaljenog od obala više puta spominjanoga Pelješčkog kanala. Pregled terena te u posljednje vrijeme provedena manja probna iskapanja¹⁵ pružila su zaista pregršt pokretnog materijala dostatnog za pozicioniranje ovog naselja barem u vrijeme kasnoga željeznog doba, a izvjesno i u njemu prethodna razdoblja. Karakter tog materijala odgovara onom zabilježenom na ostalim spomenutim pozicijama, no osim prevladavajuće grube keramike, ovdje zaista fascinira količina ulomaka amfora među kojima su za sada zabilježeni tipovi Korint A, Korint B, grčko-italskog te, naravno, Lamboglia 2.¹⁶ Navedeno vrlo jasno pokazuje kako je riječ o naselju koje vrijedi uzeti u obzir kao izravnog sudionika u događanjima oko osnutka isejske naseobine u Lumbardi, ali i svim sljedećima koji su se doticali obala Pelješčkog kanala, završno s Oktavijanovom depopulacijom otoka, koja je i ostala spomenuta naselja prepustila zaboravu.

Ukratko predstavljena tri lokaliteta mje-

ing from the early 3rd century BC, originates from the nearby Dol plain. Although its context is unknown,¹³ it remains a sufficiently indicative piece of evidence confirming the circulation of Hellenistic goods in this area.

The third site mentioned in connection with the finds of the material discussed here is the hillfort of Stine (Fig. 5), only recently recognised as one of the most important such settlements in the eastern part of the island.¹⁴ Its integration into the natural landscape long kept it hidden from the eyes of archaeologists, but repeated reconnaissance made it possible to successfully identify individual segments of the site, situated on the gentle, now terraced slopes of a hill, and to recognise the advantages of its naturally well-protected position on the edge of the Žrnovo plain, only slightly removed from the shores of the frequently mentioned Pelješac Strait. A field survey and more recent small-scale test excavations¹⁵ have yielded a wealth of movable material sufficient to date this settlement at least to the Late Iron Age, if not earlier periods. The character of the material corresponds to that recorded at the other sites mentioned, but in addition to the predominance of coarse pottery, what is truly striking here is the quantity of amphora fragments, among which Corinth A, Corinth B, Greco-Italic and, naturally, Lamboglia 2 types have been identified.¹⁶ This clearly indicates that the settlement should be regarded as having participated directly in the events surrounding the foundation of the Issa colony in Lumbarda, as well as in all subsequent developments along the shores of the Pelješac Strait, culminating in Octavian's depopulation of the island, which consigned these settlements to oblivion.

The three sites briefly presented above are the

¹³ LISIČAR 1963: 76–77.

¹⁴ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017; BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.

¹⁵ Istraživanja provedena u dvije kampanje vodila je mag. archaeol. Marta Kalebota (Gradski muzej Korčule) uz suradnju kolega iz Dubrovačkih muzeja, Odsjeka za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu te Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru.

¹⁶ BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.

¹³ LISIČAR 1963: 76–77.

¹⁴ RADIĆ, BORZIĆ 2017; BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.

¹⁵ The excavations, conducted over two campaigns, were directed by Marta Kalebota (Korčula Town Museum), in collaboration with colleagues from the Dubrovnik Museums, the Department of Archaeology of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar.

¹⁶ BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.



SLIKA 5. *Gradina Stine kod Žrnova, pogled s juga* (snimio: I. Borzić)

FIGURE 5 *Hillfort of Stine near Žrnovo, view from the south* (photo by I. Borzić)

sta su nalaza ulomaka ovdje interesantnih posuda, u istu skupinu predmeta svrstanih prije svega zbog bliskih morfoloških odlika. Na temelju njih bilo je moguće zaključiti kako manipuliramo dijelovima oboda velikih teških posuda otvora širokih čak do cca 25 do 28 cm. Odlikuje ih trokutasto oblikovan masivni obod na vrhu kojeg se nalazi niska, manje ili više široka istaka, koja ustvari predstavlja pravi prstenasti, blago izvijeni rub posude (T. I/1–3; II/1, 3–4). Izvjesno je kako ta istaka ima veze s načinom poklapanja posude poklopcem koji mogao biti jednostavnoga pločastog oblika s obrnuto postavljenim obodom. Na četiri poznata primjerka s gradina Kopile (T. I/1–2) i Stine (T. II/4) vidljivo je kako je donja ploha trokutastog izdanka bila naslonjena na gornji korijen masivne i prema jednom ulomku očito ne pretjerano duge, ali naglašeno lučno oblikovane ručke, kojih je po nekoj logici moralo biti najmanje dvije. U dva slučaja ima kapljičasti, suzoliki presjek s vrhom

findspots of fragments of the vessels discussed here, which can be classified into the same group primarily on the basis of their close morphological features. From these features it was possible to conclude that we are dealing with parts of the rims of large, heavy vessels with openings measuring approximately 25–28 cm in diameter. They are characterised by a massive, triangularly shaped rim, at the top of which is a low projection of varying width that forms a true ring-shaped, slightly everted lip (Pl. I/1–3; II/1, 3–4). It is likely that this projection is related to the vessel having been covered with a lid, which may have been of a simple, flat form with an inverted rim. On the four known specimens from the hillforts of Kopila (Pl. I/1–2) and Stine (Pl. II/4), it is evident that the lower surface of the triangular extension rested on the upper root of a massive, apparently not overly long but markedly arched handle, of which there must logically have been at least two. In two cases, the handle has a drop- or teardrop-shaped cross-section with the point on the upper side (Pl. I/1;

na gornjoj strani (T. I/1; II/4), što je presjek zabilježen na jednom ulomku ručke s gradine Kopila, koji gotovo sigurno pripada ovom tipu posude. S druge strane, jedan primjerak s Kopile ukazuje da su ručke mogle imati i ovalniji presjek (T. I/2) te da su s donje strane završavale na, po svemu sudeći, blago položenom ramenu posude. Opisane odlike sugeriraju kako vrat ovih posuda nije bio pretjerano visok i da, po svemu sudeći, slijedi cilindričnu formu. O oblikovanju ostalih dijelova predmetnih posuda za sada nemamo nikakvih podataka, no nema sumnje kako je generalno bila riječ o dosta masivnim i reprezentativnim recipijentima, na što ukazuje i debljina njihovih stijenki koja iznosi od 1,4 do čak 2,2 cm. Ulomak dna s Kopile istih fabrikatnih odlika sugerira masivnu kružnu prstenastu nogu (T. II/2).

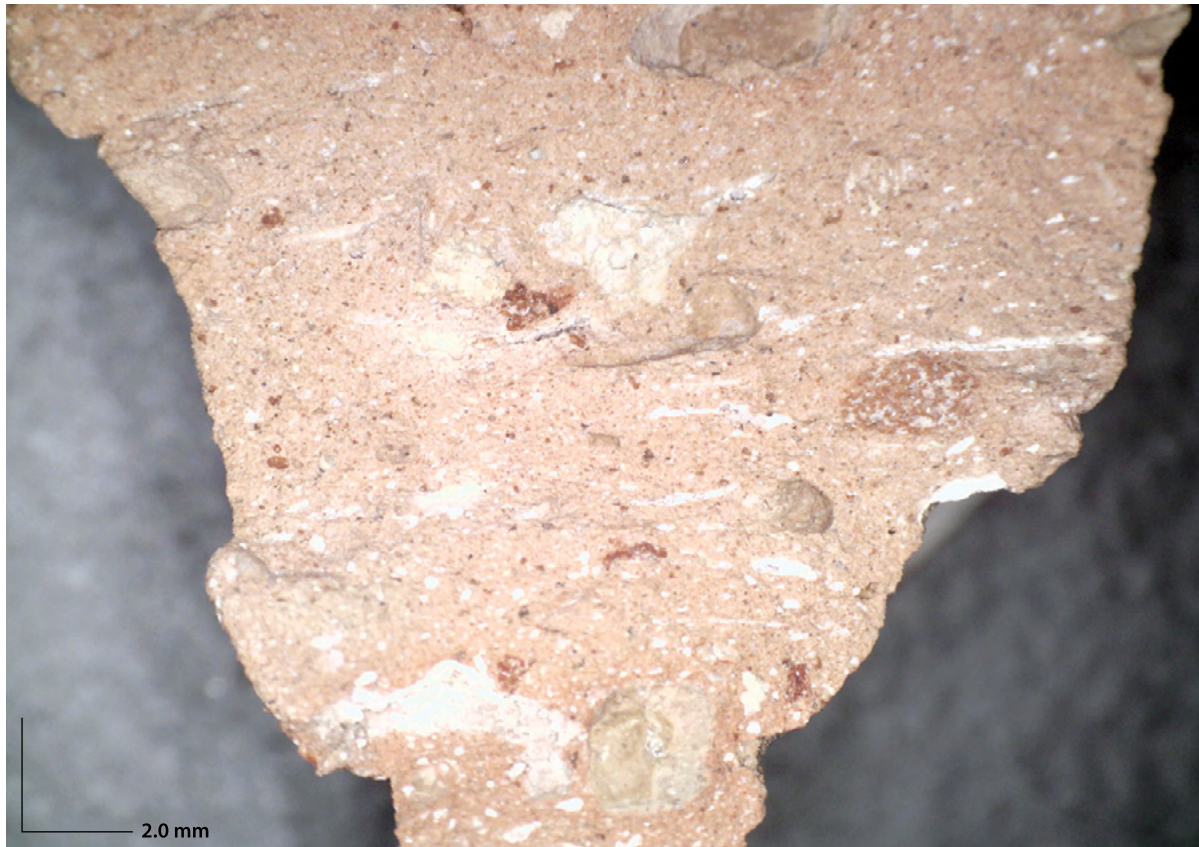
Drugi kriterij koji nas je ponukao da svih sedam ulomaka sagledamo kao dio iste grupe predmeta njihove su fakturane odlike prepoznatljive po velikom broju sitnih pjeskastih primjesa bijele i sive boje te nešto većim uglatim kamenim česticama koje u središtu imaju sivu, a prema rubovima bijelu boju (sl. 6). U manjoj se mjeri pojavljuju i čestice samljevene keramike, odnosno groga. Tehnički gledano, zbog potrošenosti stijenki dosta je teško reći jesu li predmetne posude bile barem dijelom izrađene na kolu, što ipak sugeriraju potencijalni tragovi vrtnje na ulomcima s Kopile. Generalno su im unutrašnje stijenke dosta lošije očuvane i ispucanije strukture, za razliku od vanjskih, redovno zaglađenih, što može biti produkt izravnije povezanosti unutrašnjih stijenki sa sadržajem posude, ali i stvar slučajnosti. Još jedna jasno primjetna tehnička odlika koja je rezultat dosta debelih stijenki jest tzv. sendvič-efekt presjeka, na kojem se izdvajaju središnje svjetlije nijanse pečene gline te tamniji tonovi na rubovima mase (sl. 6).

Da nije riječ o iznimno masivnim keramičkim predmetima, s obzirom na opisane morfološke odlike bez ikakvih bi ih se pro-

II/4) – a cross-section recorded on a handle fragment from Kopila that almost certainly belongs to this type of vessel. Conversely, another example from Kopila suggests that the handles could also have been more oval in section (Pl. I/2) and seem to have terminated on what was probably the gently sloping shoulder of the vessel. These characteristics suggest that the necks of these vessels were not particularly tall and most likely followed a cylindrical form. No data are currently available on the form of the remaining parts of these vessels, yet there is little doubt that they were generally massive and rather representative containers, as indicated by their wall thicknesses, which range from 1.4 cm to as much as 2.2 cm. A fragment of the bottom from the Kopila with the same fabric characteristics suggests a massive circular ring-shaped foot (Pl. II/2).

The second criterion that prompted us to consider all seven fragments as part of the same group of artefacts lies in their fabric characteristics, recognisable by the large quantity of fine, sand-like inclusions of white and grey colour, along with somewhat larger angular stone particles that are grey at the core and turn white towards the edges (Fig. 6). In smaller amounts, particles of crushed pottery (grog) are also present. From a technical perspective, due to the worn condition of the walls, it is difficult to determine whether these vessels were at least partially wheel-thrown, although possible traces of rotation on fragments from Kopila do suggest this. Their interior surfaces are generally less well preserved and exhibit more cracking than their exteriors, which are consistently smoothed. This may result from the more direct exposure of the interior to the vessel's contents, though it could also simply be coincidental. Another clearly visible technical feature, resulting from the considerable wall thickness, is the so-called "sandwich effect" seen in cross-section – a lighter tone of fired clay in the centre, surrounded by darker hues towards the edges (Fig. 6).

Were it not for their extraordinary massiveness, these ceramic artefacts could easily, on the basis of their described morphological charac-



SLIKA 6. Mikroskopski prikaz presjeka ulomka sa Smokviške gradine (s Dino-Lite Edge Digital Microscope AM7115MZT snimila: A. Karađole)

FIGURE 6 *Microscopic section of a sherd from the Smokvica hillfort* (with Dino-Lite Edge Digital Microscope AM7115MZT photo by A. Karađole)

blema moglo odrediti pojedinim grčkim oblicima amfora, prije svega kasnoklasičnim i ranohelenističkim tipom Korint A ili A' (sl. 7).¹⁷ Na kraju krajeva, neiskustvo je svojedobno navelo i autora ovih redaka da prvi poznati ulomak s Kopile u objavi iz 2007. upravo tako i determinira,¹⁸ što je naknadnom osviještenošću o stvarnim manjim gabaritima amfora Korint A negirano, a pitanje određenja ovih ulomaka ostavljeno otvorenim.¹⁹ Napuštanje takve atribucije, naravno, ne znači da za oblikovanje ovih posuda kao model zaista nisu poslužile spomenute amfore korintskog tipa, čiji su zaštitni znak u jednom trenutku predstavljala upravo naglašena dva morfološka detalja, trokutasti

teristics, be classified among certain Greek amphora types, primarily the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth A or A' types (Fig. 7).¹⁷ Indeed, the author of these lines was once misled by inexperience to identify the first known fragment from Kopila as precisely such an amphora in a 2007 publication¹⁸ – an attribution later dismissed upon recognition of the smaller dimensions of Corinth A amphorae, leaving the question of the classification of these fragments open.¹⁹ Of course, the rejection of this attribution does not imply that the above-mentioned Corinthian-type amphorae did not, in fact, serve as models for the shaping of these vessels. At a certain point in time, those amphorae were characterised precisely by two distinctive morpho-

¹⁷ O njima kod KOEHLER 1992; WHITBREAD 1995: 255–346; SACCHETTI 2012: 15–30.

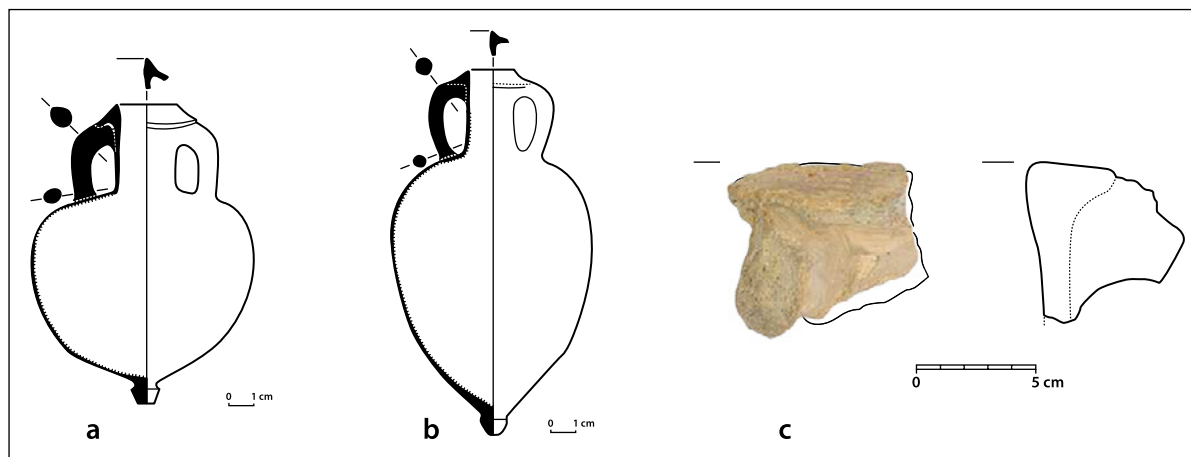
¹⁸ BORZIĆ 2007: 343, 347, T. I/1–2.

¹⁹ BORZIĆ 2020: 365.

¹⁷ For more on these, see KOEHLER 1992; WHITBREAD 1995: 255–346; SACCHETTI 2012: 15–30.

¹⁸ BORZIĆ 2007: 343, 347, Pl. I, 1–2.

¹⁹ BORZIĆ 2020: 365



SLIKA 7. Tipični prikaz amfora Korint A (a i b – prema: Koehler 1992; c – primjerak s gradine Stine, prema: Borzić, Radić 2021.)

FIGURE 7 Typological illustration of Corinth A amphorae (a and b – after Koehler 1992; c – specimen from the Stine hillfort, after Borzić, Radić 2021)

spušteni obod te kapljičasto profilirane ručke. Ranije naglašeni dio rečenice „u jednom trenutku” ovdje je od velike važnosti, jer kad se govori o amforama Korint A mora se biti svjestan njihove duge povijesti morfološkog razvoja još od 7. st. pr. Kr., ali i činjenice kako njihova pojava na Jadranu,²⁰ posebice ako se fokusiramo na nama interesantan središnji dio istočnog Jadrana, kolidira s početnim dijelom 4. st. pr. Kr. i sve izraženijom helenizacijom regije potaknutom konačnim utemeljenjem i razvojem helenskih kolonija u Faru i Isi, što je upravo vrijeme kad se amfore Korint A odlikuju spomenutim morfološkim detaljima. Ne smije se izgubiti iz vida ni to da su dosadašnji nalazi ovih tipova amfora na istočnom Jadranu za sada i pronalazeni ponajviše u kontekstima grčkog Fara,²¹ koji se u posljednje vrijeme na temelju preliminarnih arheometrijskih ispitivanja spominje i kao mjesto potencijalne lokalne imitacije ovog tipa amfora,²² dok se pojedinačni primjerci bilježe primjerice na jednom lokalitetu u podmorju Lastova,²³ za-

logical features – a downward-sloping triangular rim and teardrop-shaped handles. The wording “at a certain point in time” is of particular importance here, as any discussion of Corinth A amphorae must take into account their long history of morphological development (beginning in the 7th century BC) as well as the fact that their appearance in the Adriatic²⁰ – especially in the central part of the eastern Adriatic concerning us here – coincides with the early 4th century BC. This was the period of intensified Hellenisation of the region, prompted by the establishment and subsequent development of the Greek colonies of Pharos and Issa, when Corinth A amphorae displayed precisely the morphological traits described above. It should also be noted that finds of these amphora types along the eastern Adriatic have so far been recorded mainly in contexts associated with Greek Pharos,²¹ which has recently been proposed, on the basis of preliminary archaeometric analyses, as a possible site of local imitation of this amphora type.²² Individual specimens have also been identified, for instance, at an underwater site near Lastovo,²³ possibly at

²⁰ O njihovoj pojavi na sjevernom Jadranu kod SACCHETTI 2012.

²¹ KATIĆ 1996: 102 i 123; 2000, 3740; KIRIGIN 2004: 153; 2018, 402–403.

²² MIŠE *et al.* 2019, 484.

²³ JURIŠIĆ 2000: 5.

²⁰ On their occurrence in the northern Adriatic, see SACCHETTI 2012.

²¹ KATIĆ 1996: 102 and 123; 2000, 3740; KIRIGIN 2004: 153; 2018, 402–403.

²² M. MIŠE *et al.* 2019, 484.

²³ M. JURIŠIĆ 2000: 5.

tim moguće u helenističkom Epetiju,²⁴ ali i jednom korčulanskom lokalitetu, gradini Stine (sl. 7c),²⁵ s koje potječe i ulomak ovdje obrađivanih pitosa (T. II/4).

Sve navedeno upućuje nas na kratku raspravu o pitanjima datacije, ali i provenijencije ovdje interesantnih ulomaka. Odgovor na prvo pitanje, nažalost, ograničen je jednostavnom činjenicom što svi do sad poznati ulomci predmetnih pitosa potječu s rekonosciranja navedenih korčulanskih gradina, što logično povlači zaključak kako su lišeni svake stratigrafske, a time i potencijalne kronološke odrednice. Ne treba posebno napominjati kako je površinski pokretni arheološki materijal sa sva tri spomenuta lokaliteta indikativan jedino za zaključak kako je riječ o u najužem smislu mlađe željeznodobnim, a u najširem kasnoprapovijesnim naseljima.²⁶ No uzimajući u obzir opisane i ipak specifične morfološke odlike predmetnih ulomaka koje je moguće dovesti u vezu s „modom oblikovanja” određenog vremena, smatramo kako se neće mnogo pogriješiti ako ih se odredi proizvodima 4., tek potencijalno i 3. st. pr. Kr., kad je trokutasto oblikovanje transportnih amfora još uvijek aktualno, prije svega u repertoaru grčko-italskih amfora.²⁷ Na navedeno vrijeme produkcije ukazuju i najbliže tipološke analogije pitosa kao posebne grupe proizvoda s bližih i daljih lokaliteta na kojima se pojavljuju u nešto boljim stratigrafskim okolnostima,²⁸ među kojima posebno spominjemo one tzv. atičkog tipa pitosa bez vrata (engl. *Attic type of neckless pithoi*)²⁹ sa susjednog Fara, odakle potječe i jedna ručka istih morfoloških odlika³⁰ kao

Hellenistic Epetion,²⁴ as well as at one Korčula site – the hillfort of Stine (Fig. 7c)²⁵ – which has also yielded a fragment of one of the pitoi examined in this study (Pl. II/4).

All of the above leads us to a brief discussion of the questions of dating and provenance of the sherds under consideration. Unfortunately, the answer to the first question is limited by the simple fact that all the known fragments of these pithoi come from the reconnaissance of these three hillforts on Korčula, which logically means that they lack any stratigraphic – and consequently chronological – context. It hardly needs to be emphasised that the surface finds from all three sites can only indicate that these were settlements belonging, in the strict sense, to the Late Iron Age, or more broadly, to the Late Prehistoric period.²⁶ However, given the described and rather specific morphological features of the fragments, which can be linked to the “design trend” characteristic of a certain period, I believe it is reasonable to date them to the 4th century BC, or possibly the 3rd century BC, when the triangular profiles of transport amphorae were still in use – particularly among the repertoire of Greco-Italic amphorae.²⁷ This proposed date of production is also supported by the closest typological analogies for pithoi as a distinct group of vessels from nearby and more distant sites where they appear in somewhat better stratigraphic contexts²⁸ – most notably the so-called Attic type of neckless pithoi²⁹ from neighbouring Pharos, from which comes a handle of the same morphological type³⁰ as that from Kopila. The proposed production period, of

²⁴ UGARKOVIĆ, KONESTRA 2020: 53, T. 3/21.

²⁵ BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021: 355, T. I/1.

²⁶ Vidjeti npr. raster materijala iz objava BORZIĆ 2007; BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.

²⁷ O navedenom tipu amfora kod VANDERMERSCH 1994.

²⁸ Usp. nalaze iz Korinta (MACNEIL BOGGESS 1970), obližnjeg Fara (KIRIGIN 2014: 55–57, kat. br. 1–11, Pl. 1–2).

²⁹ O navedenima kod MACNEIL BOGGESS 1972.

³⁰ KIRIGIN 2014: 58, kat. br. 18, Pl. 4, 18.

²⁴ UGARKOVIĆ, KONESTRA 2020: 53, Pl. 3/21.

²⁵ BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021: 355, Pl. I/1.

²⁶ See, for example, the distribution of material published in BORZIĆ 2007; BORZIĆ, RADIĆ 2021.

²⁷ On this type of amphora, see VANDERMERSCH 1994.

²⁸ Cf. finds from Corinth (MACNEIL BOGGESS 1970) and from nearby Pharos (KIRIGIN 2014: 55–57, cat. nos. 1–11, Pls. 1–2).

²⁹ On these examples, see MACNEIL BOGGESS 1972.

³⁰ KIRIGIN 2014: 58, cat. no. 18, Pls. 4, 18.

i ona s Kopile. Predloženi vremenski okvir proizvodnje, naravno, ne određuje i donju vremensku granicu njihova korištenja, jer je dobro poznata činjenica da se posude velikih dimenzija skladišnih namjena u uporabi mogu zadržati čak i znatno dulje od vremena u kojem se njihov tip nominalno i proizvodi, praktički sve dok god zadovoljavaju svoju funkciju.

Mnogo se više konkretnih informacija ne može dati ni po pitanju provenijencije predmetnih ulomaka. Tehnološki gledano, definitivno ne odgovaraju tradiciji indigenoga keramičarskog obrta, čije proizvode odlikuje gruba struktura keramike u kojoj dominiraju uglate primjese kalcita te uglavnom redukcijско pečenje s tamnim nijansama pečeni proizvoda. S druge strane, uz već naglašenu morfološku bliskost grčko-helenističkoj tradiciji, s njom su ovi proizvodi povezani i fakturnim odlikama, zbog čega je najlogičnije pretpostaviti kako im se ishodište najvjerojatnije mora tražiti u nekom od helenskih središta, prije svega srednjeg Jadrana, dakle Isi ili Faru. Nažalost, u literaturi koja spominje pitose s istočnog Jadrana nema mnogo objava putem kojih se može steći konkretniji uvid u fakturane osnove studijske građe, zbog čega se u ovom trenutku kao komparativnom materijalu možemo uputiti ponajviše tipološki potpuno drugačijim, ali fakturno samo bliskima pitosima iz Ise.³¹ No budući da su pitosi specifična keramičarska kategorija koja podrazumijeva isto tako specifične proizvodne tehnikalije poštovane od mnogih dionika uključenih u njihovu proizvodnju u određenoj regiji, pitanje je koliko bi bilo metodološki ispravno u naglašenoj fakturnoj sličnosti u isejskim ergasterijima zaista i tražiti proizvodno određenje korčulanskih primjeraka. Stoga i u ovom našem slučaju snažno odjekuje zaključak koji je B. Kirigin napisao prije desetak godina radeći na pitosima iz Fara: „*I believe that in further analyses*

course, does not define the lower chronological limit of their use, since it is well known that large storage vessels could remain in use long after the period in which their particular type was originally produced – practically as long as they continued to serve their intended function.

Not much more specific information can be provided regarding the provenance of the fragments discussed here. From a technological perspective, they clearly do not correspond to the tradition of indigenous pottery production, the wares of which are characterised by coarse fabric dominated by angular calcite inclusions and predominantly by reduction firing resulting in dark-coloured surfaces of the fired products. Conversely, in addition to their already emphasised morphological affinity with the Greek–Hellenistic tradition, these vessels are linked to it also by their fabric characteristics. It is therefore most reasonable to assume that their origin should be sought in one of the Hellenic centres of the central Adriatic – most likely Issa or Pharos. Unfortunately, the literature concerning pithoi from the eastern Adriatic offers very few publications that provide a more detailed insight into the fabric characteristics of the studied material. For this reason, at present, the only comparable material can be found in Issaean pithoi – typologically different but of similar fabric.³¹ However, since pithoi represent a specific pottery category that involves equally specific production techniques adhered to by many craftsmen operating within a given region, it is questionable whether it would be methodologically sound to attribute the Korčula examples to the workshops (Gr. *Ἐργαστήριον*, *ergastērion*) of Issa solely on the basis of the emphasised similarity in fabric. Therefore, in this case as well, B. Kirigin's conclusion, reached about a decade ago while studying the pithoi from Pharos, is strongly resonant: “*I believe that in further*

³¹ Usp. ČARGO, 2021: 89, kat. br. 22–24.

³¹ Cf. ČARGO, 2021: 89, cat. nos. 22-24.

of pithoi and dolia, archeometry will also be of great importance. However, until then, we must be content with what we can see with naked eye and wait for more reliable stratigraphic data." [Vjerujem da će u daljnjim analizama pitosa i dolija važnu ulogu imati arheometrija. No, dotad moramo biti zadovoljni onime što vidimo prostim okom i čekati pouzdane stratigrafske podatke.].³²

U kontekstu naše priče upotreba sintagme „ono što se vidi golim okom”, osim stvarnih morfoloških i fakturnih odlika promatranih ulomaka, može se proširiti i na naša jasna saznanja o povezanosti studijskih korčulanskih indigenih zajednica s helenskima, što također može biti putokaz u približavanju traženim odgovorima. Na današnjoj razini našeg znanja ne treba sumnjati u najnaglašeniju vezu helenske Ise s ovdašnjim zajednicama, a to osim već ranije spomenutih kolonizatorskih i diplomatskih aktivnosti na istoku otoka ukazuje i količina isejskih proizvoda. Dinamiku njihova dotoka najbolje opisuje već nekoliko stotina isejskih posuda iz kategorije keramike tipa Gnathia, te sivo premazanog, smeđe premazanog i crveno premazanog posuđa pronađenog u kontekstu grobnica kopske nekropole, a korištenog u rasponu od sredine 3. do sredine 1. stoljeća prije Krista.³³ Uz to se mora barem jednim dijelom pretpostaviti i isejsko posredništvo u dotoku onog ranijeg keramičkog materijala među kojim dominira kanoška keramika tipa Gnathia, također dosta brojno zastupljena među nalazima s Kopile. Gotovo će se sigurno pokazati kako je Isa bila ishodište i određene količine grčko-italskih te Lamboglia 2 vinskih amfora zabilježenih na korčulanskim gradinskim naseljima, što repertoar dopremanih proizvoda tijekom čitavoga kasnog željeznog doba širi i na onaj poljoprivredni, prije svega iznimno popularno isejsko vino. Izvjesno je kako su i

analyses of pithoi and dolia, archeometry will also be of great importance. However, until then, we must be content with what we can see with the naked eye and wait for more reliable stratigraphic data."³²

In the context of our discussion, the phrase “what can be seen with the naked eye” may, beyond the actual morphological and fabric characteristics of the examined fragments, also be extended to our clear understanding of the connection between the indigenous Korčula communities under study and the Hellenic ones, which may likewise serve as a guide in approaching the questions at hand. At our present level of knowledge, there is little doubt that the strongest connection was that between Hellenic Issa and the local communities. In addition to the colonial and diplomatic activities on the eastern part of the island already mentioned, this is also indicated by the quantity of Issaeian products. The dynamics of their influx are best illustrated by the several hundred Issaeian vessels of Gnathia-type pottery, as well as grey-slipped, brown-slipped, and red-slipped wares found in the tombs of the Kopila necropolis and used from the mid-3rd to the mid-1st century BC.³³ Furthermore, Issaeian mediation must at least partly be assumed in the import of earlier ceramic material, among which Canosan Gnathia-type pottery predominates, also well represented among the finds from Kopila. It is almost certain that Issa was also the source of a number of Greco-Italic and Lamboglia 2 wine amphorae recorded at the hillfort settlements of Korčula, thus expanding the range of imported goods throughout the Late Iron Age to include agricultural products – most notably the highly popular Issaeian wine. It is safe to say that storage vessels – pithoi from Issa – reached Kopila, one of

³² KIRIGIN 2014: 59.

³³ O isejskoj produkciji navedenih kategorija keramike kod MIŠE 2015. O nalazima s Kopile kod BORZIĆ 2020.

³² KIRIGIN 2014: 59.

³³ On the Issaeian production of the above-mentioned pottery categories, see MIŠE 2015. On the finds from Kopila, see BORZIĆ 2020.

do Kopile kao jednog od promatranih korčulanskih lokaliteta stizale i skladišne posude – pitosi iz Ise, na što prije svega upućuje ulomak pitosa s reljefno dekoriranim obodom (T. II/5),³⁴ detaljem zabilježenim uglavnom u kontekstima Ise i njezinih kopnenih satelita.³⁵ S druge strane, opus materijala s promatranih korčulanskih gradina, čije se podrijetlo povezuje s helenskim Farom, znatno je skromniji i za sad ga se može svesti isključivo na poljoprivredne proizvode povezane s amforama tamošnjih kasnohelenističkih tipova Faros 2 i Faros 4 s Kopile,³⁶ dok se može očekivati kako će se i među Korint B i tzv. prijelaznim tipovima sve brojnijih amfora s korčulanskih gradina pronaći i pokoji ulomak farske produkcije.³⁷

Budući da navedene materijalne potvrde trgovačkih veza korčulanskih željeznodobnih i susjednih helenskih zajednica ne nude konkretan odgovor na pitanje podrijetla ovdje studijske grupe predmeta, naravno da je otvorena mogućnost i trećeg ishodišnog rješenja, prostorno ne nužno povezanog s dvjema perjanicama helenske kulture na istočnom Jadranu. U tom se smislu bez ikakvog aludiranja može spomenuti tema koju je svojedobno načeo M. Katić povezujući podatke o jadranskim *kerkirskim amforama* koje se, prema Pseudo-Aristotelu, zajedno s proizvodima s otoka Hija, Tasa i Lezba prodaju u jednom istočnojadranskom trgovištu (Narona?) s potencijalnim proizvodima korčulanskih helenskih zajednica, prije svega one isejske u Lumbardi.³⁸ Opravdanim stoji promišljanje kako se u jednom takvom okruženju očekuje i lokalna produkcija ke-

the Korčula sites under consideration, as indicated above all by a pithos fragment with a relief-decorated rim (Pl. II/5),³⁴ a feature recorded mainly in contexts from Issa and its mainland satellites.³⁵ On the other hand, the corpus of material from the studied hillforts on Korčula that can be attributed to Hellenic Pharos is much more modest and, for now, appears to consist solely of agricultural products associated with amphorae of the late Hellenistic Pharos 2 and Pharos 4 types from Kopila.³⁶ It may also be expected that among the Corinth B and so-called transitional types of the increasingly numerous amphorae from the Korčula hillforts, a few fragments of Pharian production will eventually be identified.³⁷

Since the material evidence of trade connections between the Korčula Late Iron Age communities and their neighbouring Hellenic counterparts does not provide a definite answer regarding the provenance of the group of artefacts under study, the possibility of a third point of origin remains open – one not necessarily geographically tied to the two leading centres of Hellenic culture on the eastern Adriatic. In this regard, and without implying any direct conclusions, it is worth recalling the issue once raised by M. Katić, who linked the data on Adriatic *Corcyran amphorae* – which, according to Pseudo-Aristotle, were traded together with products from Chios, Thasos and Lesbos in an eastern Adriatic marketplace (Narona?) – with the potential products of the Hellenic communities on Korčula, primarily the Issaeian colony in Lumbarda.³⁸ The reasoning that such an environment would have supported local pro-

³⁴ BORZIĆ 2017a: 83, sl. 42.

³⁵ Usp. KIRIGIN 2012: 295, T. I, 1 (Vlaška njiva – Issa); ČAR-GO 2021: 81, sl. 8–9, 89, kat. br. 22–24 (Issa); ŠUTA 2011: 87–88 (Sikuli); UGARKOVIĆ, KONESTRA 2020: 55, T. 5, 1 (Epetion).

³⁶ BORZIĆ 2007: 342. O navedenom tipu amfora kod KATIĆ 2019: 121–131.

³⁷ O navedenim tipovima amfora vidjeti kod KATIĆ 2005; KIRIGIN 2018; MIŠE *et al.* 2019.

³⁸ KATIĆ 2005: 57–59.

³⁴ BORZIĆ 2017a: 83, Fig. 42.

³⁵ Cf. KIRIGIN 2012: 295, Pl. I, 1 (Vlaška Njiva – Issa); ČAR-GO 2021: 81, Fig. 8–9, 89, Cat. No. 22–24 (Issa); ŠUTA 2011: 87–88 (Sikuli); UGARKOVIĆ, KONESTRA 2020: 55, Pl. 5, 1 (Epetion).

³⁶ BORZIĆ 2007: 342. On the above-mentioned amphora type, see KATIĆ 2019: 121–131.

³⁷ For the amphora types in question, see KATIĆ 2005; KIRIGIN 2018; MIŠE *et al.* 2019.

³⁸ KATIĆ 2005: 57–59.

ramičkih proizvoda različitih vrsta, pa tako i onih skladišno-transportnih, no od vremena kad je spomenuti rad objavljen na južnom je Jadranu na vidjelo izašla respektabilna količina amfora Korint B čija se dominantna produkcija smješta upravo na jonskoj Korkiri (Krf),³⁹ pa se postavlja pitanje je li jadranska opredijeljenost kerkiških amfora samo geografska omaška grčkog pisca. Vrijeme i daljnje tipološke i interdisciplinarne analize svakako će pokazati pravu istinu, kao što to u posljednjim desetljećima sve više čine i po pitanju spoznaja o sve širem proizvodnom repertoaru istočnojadranskih helenističkih ergasterija.⁴⁰ Isto se očekuje i po pitanju u ovom radu posebno obrađene skupine predmeta, zbog masivnosti svrstanih u kategoriju amforoidnih pitosa, sasvim sigurno uključenih u dopremu i skladištenje tekućih proizvoda, prije svega vina, čija se kultura konzumiranja kod istočnojadranskih otočnih indigenih zajednica materijalno puno lakše prati njihovim dolaskom u domenu utjecaja helenske kulture.

Na kraju istaknimo kako se predstavljanjem ovih nalaza osim promocije jednog dijela građe s korčulanskih lokaliteta nastojalo postići još nekoliko ciljeva. Jedan od njih povezan je s isticanjem česte dvojbenosti svrstavanja pojedinih keramičarskih oblika u određene namjenske kategorije. Amforoidni su pitosi s korčulanskih gradina zbog postojećih ručki morali biti predviđeni za povremeno pomicanje te ih se zbog toga teško može svrstati u onu klasičnu grupu skladišnih, uglavnom statičnih pitosa velikih zapremnina, kao što ih se zbog izrazite masivnosti ne može svrstati ni u grupu prvenstveno transportnih klasičnih amfora zapremnina oko 25 litara. S obzirom na to može ih se gledati kao svojevrsan međuproizvod,

duction of various categories of ceramic goods, including storage and transport vessels, remains well founded. However, since that study was published, a considerable number of Corinth B amphorae have come to light in the southern Adriatic, their dominant production having been traced precisely to Ionian Corcyra (Corfu).³⁹ This raises the question of whether the “Adriatic” designation of Corcyran amphorae in the Greek text was merely a geographical slip on the part of the author. Time and further typological (as well as interdisciplinary) analyses will no doubt reveal the true answer, as they have increasingly done in recent decades with regard to the growing understanding of the expanding production repertoire of Hellenistic *ergastēria* along the eastern Adriatic.⁴⁰ The same may be expected with regard to the group of artefacts specifically examined in this paper – massive vessels classified as amphoroid pithoi, which were almost certainly used for the transport and storage of liquid products, primarily wine. The culture of wine consumption among the indigenous communities of the eastern Adriatic islands can be traced much more clearly in material terms once these communities came within the sphere of Hellenic cultural influence.

Finally, it should be emphasised that, apart from presenting a selection of material from sites on Korčula, this paper has sought to achieve several additional objectives. One of them concerns highlighting the frequent ambiguity involved in classifying certain ceramic forms into specific functional categories. The amphoroid pithoi from the Korčula hillforts, owing to their handles, must have been designed for occasional movement. For this reason, they can hardly be placed within the classical group of storage pithoi – generally static vessels of large capacity – just as, due to their pronounced massiveness,

³⁹ O amforama Korint B na istočnoj Jadranu kod KATIĆ 2005; KATIĆ, KAPETANIĆ 2023: 95–97; BORZIĆ 2017b; RADIĆ ROSSI 2017.

⁴⁰ ŠEGVIĆ *et al.* 2016; UGARKOVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 2018; MIŠE 2022; MIŠE, QUINN 2022; MIŠE *et al.* 2019; 2020; 2022; HAWKINS, MIŠE, QUINN 2025.

³⁹ On Corinth B amphorae in the eastern Adriatic, see KATIĆ 2005; KATIĆ, KAPETANIĆ 2023: 95–97; BORZIĆ 2017b; RADIĆ ROSSI 2017.

⁴⁰ ŠEGVIĆ *et al.* 2016; UGARKOVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 2018; MIŠE 2022; MIŠE, QUINN 2022; MIŠE *et al.* 2019; 2020; 2022; HAWKINS, MIŠE, QUINN 2025.

hibrid nastao iz prilagodbe potrebi, primjerice racionalizaciji odnosa broja korištenih skladišno/transportnih recipijenata i količine sadržaja, što može biti u vezi i s racionalizacijom prostora, bilo u brodu kao transportnom sredstvu bilo u krajnjem domaćem skladišnom prostoru. Kolika je bila brojnost njihove proizvodnje te kako i koliko dugo su bile prihvaćene kao namjenski proizvod teško je reći jer u ovom trenutku manipuliramo s vrlo ograničenim brojem primjeraka, arheološki povezanih isključivo s korčulanskim ambijentom. Upravo u tome i leži drugi cilj njihove objave kojom se nastoji isprovocirati prepoznavanje i izdvajanje eventualnih novih nalaza s ostalih kasnoželjeznodobnih ili helenističkih lokaliteta u regiji, čije istraživanje u posljednje vrijeme bilježi znatan napredak i kontekstualno popunjava sagledavanje protopovijesti na ovdje predmetnom otoku Korčuli.

they cannot be classified among the primarily transport-oriented classical amphorae, which typically held about 25 litres. Given these characteristics, they can be regarded as an intermediate product – a hybrid created out of practical necessity, possibly as a way to rationalise the relationship between the number of storage and transport containers used and the quantity of their contents. This may also reflect an attempt to optimise space, whether on board a ship used for transport or within a domestic storage setting. The scale of their production and the extent to which they were accepted as a standardised functional type remain difficult to determine, as we currently deal with only a very limited number of examples, all archaeologically linked exclusively to the Korčula context. This, in turn, represents the second objective of their publication – to prompt the identification and recognition of possible new finds from other Late Iron Age or Hellenistic sites in the region. In recent years, research at such sites has made significant progress, gradually enriching our contextual understanding of the protohistoric period on the island of Korčula under discussion.

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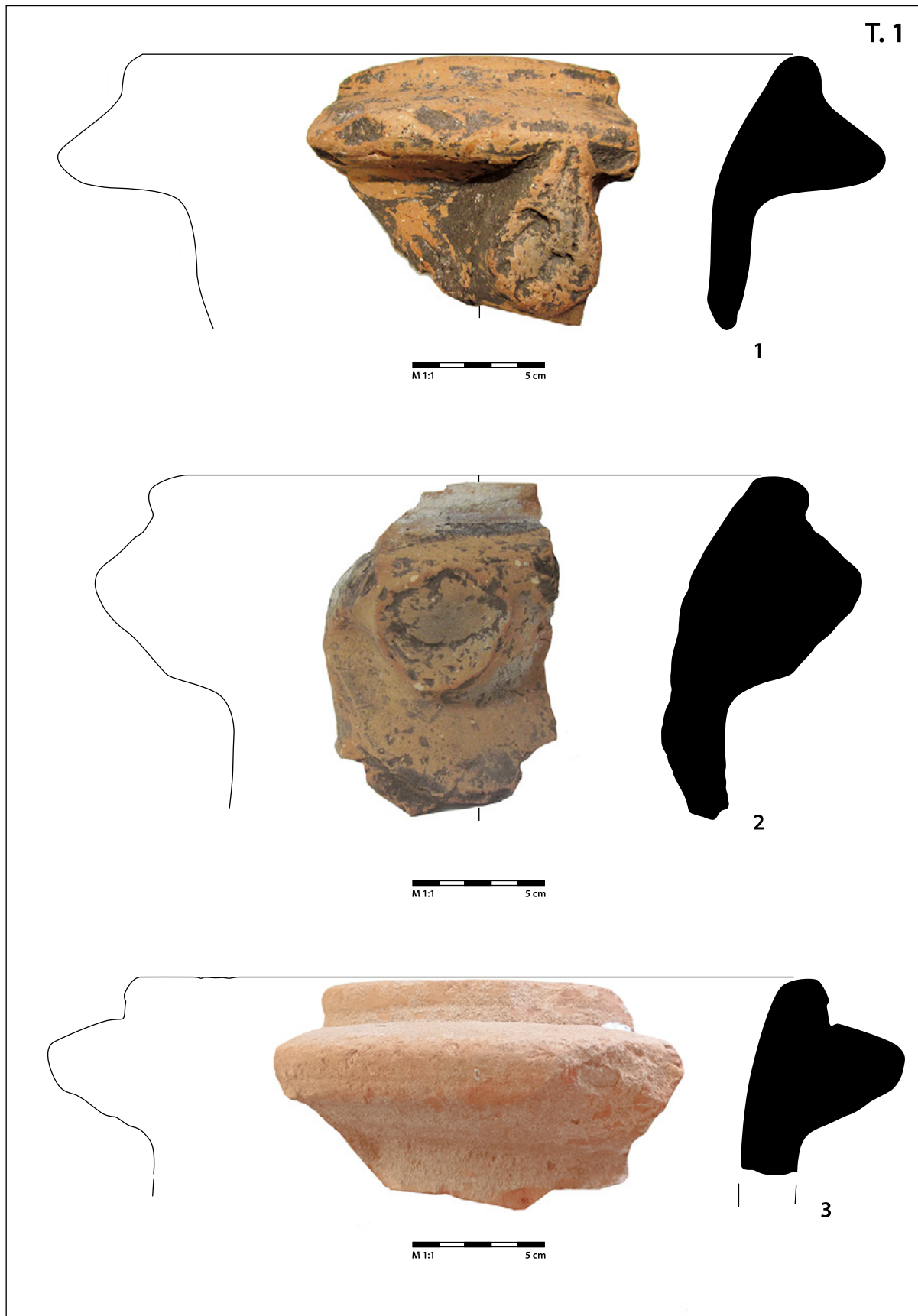


TABLA 1. *Amforoidni pitosi, 1-3: gradina Kopila* (crteži: N. Ćuk; fotografije: I. Borzić)

PLATE 1 *Amphoroid Pithoi 1-3: Kopila hillfort* (drawings by N. Ćuk; photo by I. Borzić)

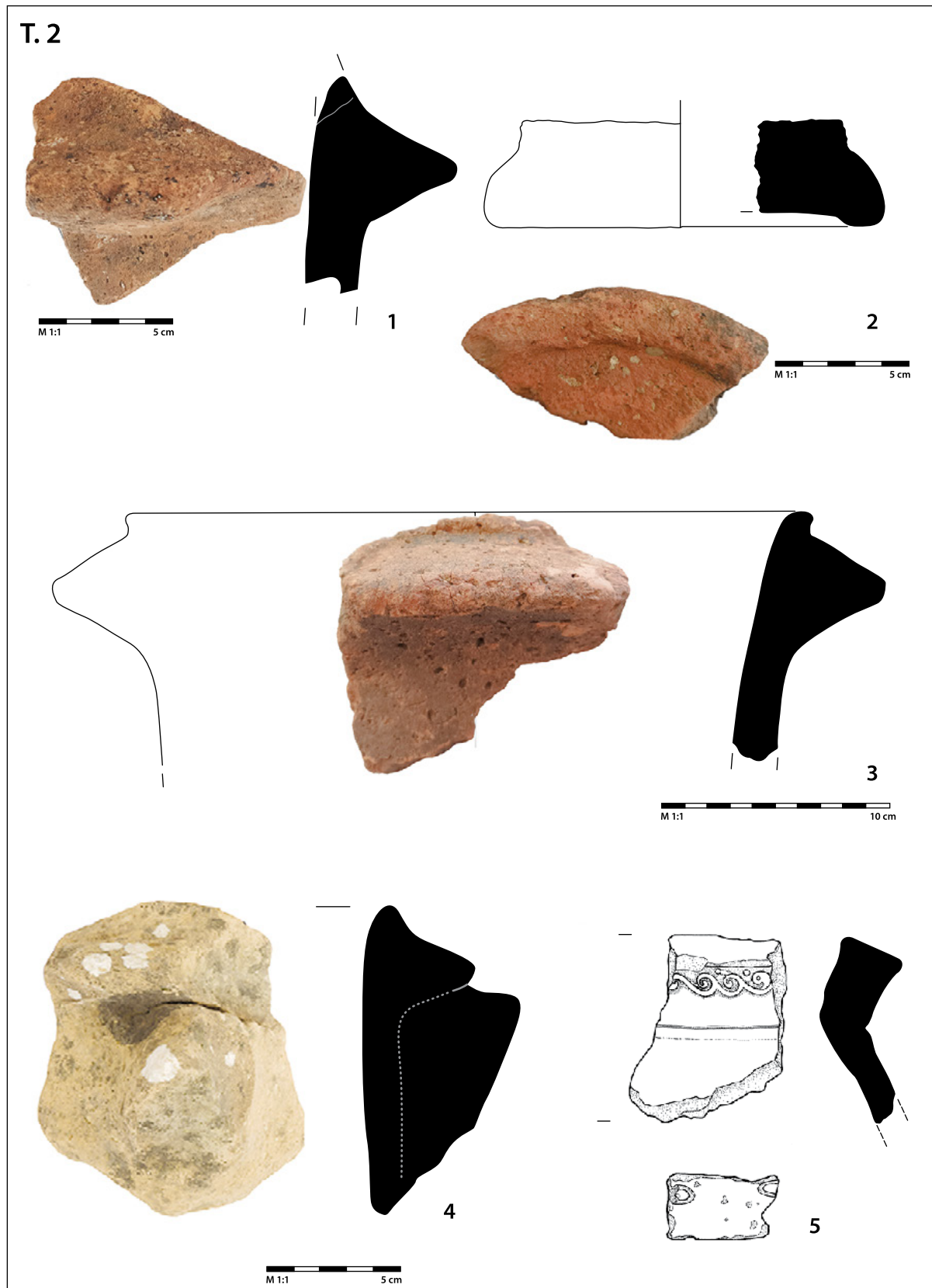


TABLA 2. Amforoidni pitosi: 1-2: gradina Kopila; 3: Smokviška gradina; 4: gradina Stine; 5: pitos s reljefnim ukrasom s gradine Kopila (crteži: N. Ćuk; fotografije: I. Borzić)

PLATE 2 Amphoroid Pithoi; 1-2: Kopila hillfort; 3: Smokvica hillfort; 4: Stine hillfort; 5: pithos with relief decoration from Kopila hillfort (drawings by N. Ćuk; photo by I. Borzić)