Starohrvatska prosvjeta
III. serija – svezak/vol. 52/2025.

UDK 904:738.8](262.3)"10/12"
Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

Antonia Kovač
Vladimira Gortana 3
Split, HR-21000
antonia.kovac23@gmail.com

Amfore tipa Otranto 2 na istočnoj obali Jadrana

Tijekom podvodnog arheološkog istraživanja provedenog 2022. godine u uvali Polače na otoku Mljetu pronađen je ulomak bizantske amfore tipa Otranto 2. Taj tip amfore, koji se datira od kraja 11. do početka 13. stoljeća, povezuje se s proizvodnim centrima u južnoj Apuliji i s razgranatim trgovačkim mrežama u jadransko-jonskom području. Iako su na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana rijetko dokumentirane, dio su šireg obrasca bizantske gospodarske i kulturne prisutnosti u srednjem vijeku. U radu se analiziraju tipologija, rasprostranjenost i kontekst tih amfora, s posebnim naglaskom na novopronađeni primjerak s Mljeta i njegovo značenje za rekonstrukciju srednjovjekovnih pomorskih trgovačkih ruta.

Ključne riječi: *amfore tipa Otranto 2, bizantske amfore, Mljet, srednji vijek, trgovina.*

Otranto type 2 amphorae on the eastern Adriatic Coast

During underwater archaeological investigations conducted in 2022 in the bay of Polače on the island of Mljet, a fragment of a Byzantine amphora of the Otranto type 2 was recovered. This type of amphora, dated from the end of the 11th until the beginning of the 13th century, is linked to production centres in southern Apulia and to well-established trade networks across the Adriatic–Ionian region. Although Otranto type 2 amphorae are rarely recorded along the Croatian Adriatic coast, they constitute part of a broader pattern of Byzantine economic and cultural presence in the medieval period. This study analyses the typology, distribution and archaeological context of these amphorae, with particular attention to the newly identified specimen from Mljet and its significance for reconstructing medieval maritime trade routes.

Key words: *Otranto 2 amphorae, Byzantine amphorae, Mljet, Middle Ages, trade*

UVOD

Tijekom rekognosciranja uvale Polače na otoku Mljetu 2022. godine izronjena je veća količina miješanog keramičkog materijala iz razdoblja od antike do novog vijeka. Među pronađenim predmetima istaknula se manja amfora specifičnog izgleda, koja je privukla pažnju istraživača i postala tema ovog rada. Riječ je o amfori tipa Otranto 2, bizantskog podrijetla, koja se datira od kraja 11. do 13. stoljeća.

Srednjovjekovne bizantske amfore bile su marginalizirane u arheološkoj literaturi sve do kasnog 20. stoljeća, a tek se manji broj istraživača posvetio proučavanju te skupine pokretnih arheoloških nalaza. Upravo iz tog razloga cilj ovog rada jest analiza bizantskih amfora tipa Otranto 2, s posebnim naglaskom na njihovu prisutnost i distribuciju na istočnom Jadranu.

Njihova slaba zastupljenost u hrvatskoj stručnoj literaturi može se pripisati nedostatku arheoloških istraživanja ili činjenici da takvi nalazi dosad nisu bili prepoznati, obrađeni ili objavljeni. Naime, iako nisu zabilježeni u literaturi, prema usmenim informacijama poznato je da primjeraka ipak ima. S tim na umu, trenutačno je otežano sagledavanje stvarne učestalosti ovog tipa amfora u arheološkom kontekstu istočne jadranske obale pa se analiza temelji na sintezi postojećih međunarodnih istraživanja s područja istočnog i zapadnog Jadrana te egejskog bazena.

Nadamo se da će ovaj rad potaknuti učestalije objavljivanje sličnih nalaza i pridonijeti izradi pouzdanije arheološke karte distribucije bizantskih amfora na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

LUKA POLAČE NA OTOKU MLJETU

Zahvaljujući svojem geografskom položaju i prirodnim resursima, Mljet je od prapovijesti bio uključen u važne oblike pomorskih, gospodarskih i političkih aktivnosti na istočnom Jadranu. Lokalitet Polače (sl. 1), smješten u duboko uvučenoj i prirodno zaštićenoj uvali s izvorom pitke vode, svoj je toponim dobio po kasnoantičkoj palači smještenoj na dnu uvale – jedinstvenom arhitektonskom kompleksu s kulama, aulom i apsidom, koji se, uz Dioklecijanovu palaču, ubraja među najvažnije kasnoantičke spomenike na istočnoj jadranskoj obali.

Tijekom ranijeg rimskog razdoblja Mljet je bio organiziran kao ruralni posjed pod upravom imućnih Rimljana, no upravo je izgradnja palače označila

INTRODUCTION

During the reconnaissance survey in 2022 of the bay of Polače on the island of Mljet, a substantial quantity of mixed ceramic material dating from Antiquity to the modern period was recovered. Among these finds, a small amphora of distinctive form stood out and thus attracted particular attention of researchers and became the focus of this study. The amphora has been identified as belonging to the Otranto type 2, of Byzantine origin, which is dated to the end of the 11th to the 13th century.

Medieval Byzantine amphorae were marginalised in archaeological literature until the late 20th century, and only a small number of researchers have devoted attention to the study of this group of movable artefacts. In light of this, the present paper aims to analyse Byzantine amphorae of the Otranto type 2, with particular emphasis on their occurrence and distribution along the eastern Adriatic coast.

Their limited representation in Croatian scientific literature may be attributed either to the lack of archaeological research or to the fact that such finds have not yet been recognised, analysed or published. Although they have not been documented in the available literature, oral information indicates that examples of this type are nevertheless present. Consequently, it remains difficult to assess the actual frequency of this amphora type within the archaeological context of the eastern Adriatic coast. The present analysis is therefore based on a synthesis of existing international research from the eastern and western Adriatic regions, as well as the Aegean Sea.

I hope that this study will encourage more frequent publications of similar finds and contribute to the development of a more reliable archaeological distribution map of Byzantine amphorae along the eastern Adriatic coast.

THE HARBOUR OF POLAČE ON THE ISLAND OF MLJET

Since prehistoric times, Mljet has been involved in significant maritime, economic and political activities in the eastern Adriatic due to its favourable geographical position and natural resources. The site of Polače (Fig. 1), located within a deeply indented and naturally sheltered bay supplied by a freshwater source, derives its toponym from a late antique palace situated at the head of the bay. This exceptional architectural complex, with towers, an



Sl. 1 - Geografski položaj otoka Mljeta (izvor:https://earth.google.com/web/search/Polače/)
Fig. 1 - Geographical location of the island of Mljet (source: Google Earth)

prekretnicu u važnosti i oblikovanju tog prostora.[1] U literaturi se pojavljuje niz različitih mišljenja o vremenu nastanka palače u Polačama, no najuvjerljivija se čini datacija u kraj 3. i prvu polovinu 4. stoljeća po. Kr., na temelju arhitektonskih obilježja i tipoloških usporedbi s drugim kasnoantičkim rezidencijalnim kompleksima.[2]

U 6. stoljeću, za vladavine cara Justinijana I., kompleks je proširen izgradnjom dviju ranokršćanskih bazilika i utvrde Kaštio na uzvišenju iznad njega, a Mljet je u to vrijeme bio uključen u bizantski sustav nadzora pomorskih komunikacija na Jadranu.[3]

Sloj destrukcije iz 7. stoljeća, dokumentiran na utvrdi Kaštio iznad palače, s tragovima paljevine i nalazom trokrilne strijele, upućuje na pljačkaški pohod avaroslavenskih skupina. Nakon gubitka bizantske kontrole nad južnim Jadranom i učestalih slavenskih upada, palača u Polačama postupno gubi svoje urbane funkcije. Arheološki nalazi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka zasad su malobrojni, a pitanje kontinuiteta korištenja ovog kompleksa tijekom tog razdoblja i dalje ostaje otvoreno.[4]

Car Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet sredinom 10. stoljeća u djelu *De administrando imperio* spominje dolazak hrvatskog stanovništva iz doline Neretaula and an apse, is regarded, alongside Diocletian's Palace, as one of the most important late antique monuments on the eastern Adriatic coast.

During the early Roman period, Mljet was organised as a rural estate under the administration of wealthy Romans; however, the construction of the palace marked a turning point in the importance and spatial development of the area.[1] Although scholarly literature presents various interpretations regarding the date of the palace's construction, the most convincing interpretation places it in the end of the 3rd to the first half of the 4th century, based on architectural features and typological comparisons with other late antique residential complexes.[2]

In the 6th century, during the reign of Emperor Justinian I, the complex was expanded through the construction of two early Christian basilicas and the fortress of Kaštio on an elevation above Polače. At that time, Mljet was incorporated into the Byzantine system of control over maritime communications in the Adriatic.[3]

A layer of destruction dated to the 7th century, documented at the Kaštio fortress above the palace and characterised by traces of burning and the discovery of a trilobate arrowhead, points to a plundering raid by Avar–Slavic groups. After the loss of Byzantine control over the southern Adriatic and the increasing frequency of Slavic incursions, the palace at Polače gradually lost its urban functions. So far, archaeological evidence from the early medieval period has been scarce, and the question of whether this complex continued to be in use during that period is still unresolved.[4]

Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, writing in the mid-10th century in *De Administrando Imperio*, mentions the arrival of the Croatian population from the Neretva valley to Mljet during a period of declining Byzantine authority, i.e. at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century.[5]

1 Katić 2023, str. 31.
2 Usporedive arhitektonske značajke, poput dvotoranjskog pročelja, aksijalnog rasporeda prostorija i monumentalne aule, zatim primjena graditeljske tehnike *opus mixtum* te brojne analogije s rezidencijalnim kompleksima Gamzigrada, Yorka, El Vala i Cercadille podupiru dataciju u kraj 3. i prvu polovinu 4. stoljeća. Turković 2010, str. 78–81.
3 Katić 2023, str. 32.
4 Katić 2023, str. 46–47.

1 Katić, 2023, p. 31.
2 Comparative architectural features, such as a two-tower façade, axial room layout and a monumental aula, as well as the use of *opus mixtum* construction techniques and numerous analogies with residential complexes in Gamzigrad, York, El Vala and Cercadilla, support a dating to the end of the 3rd and first half of the 4th century. Turković, 2010, pp. 78-81.
3 Katić, 2023, p. 32.
4 Katić, 2023, pp. 46-47.
5 DAI, ch. 29.



Sl. 2 - Područje rekognosciranja u uvali Polače tijekom kampanje 2022. godine (Foto: A. Kovač)
Fig. 2 - Reconnaissance area in the bay of Polače during the campaign in 2022 (Photo: A. Kovač)

tve na Mljet u razdoblju slabljenja bizantske vlasti, odnosno krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća.[5]

Raspadom Neretvanske krajine početkom 11. stoljeća otok Mljet pripao je Zahumlju. Tijekom 12. stoljeća Mljet dolazi pod crkvenu i feudalnu upravu benediktinaca iz apulijskog samostana Pulsano, koji prema papinskoj buli iz 1151. godine dobivaju upravu nad cijelim otokom.[6] Tada se osniva samostan Sv. Marije na Velikom jezeru, a Polače funkcioniraju kao sekundarni gospodarski i lučki centar u sklopu njihove domene. U 14. stoljeću Mljet prelazi pod vlast Dubrovačke Republike, čime započinje proces njegove pravno-političke integracije u dubrovačku crkvenu i upravnu strukturu, pri čemu Polače zadržavaju lokalni značaj kao sastavni dio samostanskog gospodarstva.[7]

ARHEOLOŠKA PODVODNA ISTRAŽIVANJA 2022. GODINE

Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu proveo je 2022. godine podvodna arheološka istraživanja u uvali Polače na otoku Mljetu. Istraživanje je započelo sustavnim pretraživanjem morskog dna u blizini današnjeg pristaništa za katamarane (sl. 2), pri čemu su nalazi prikupljani metodom površinskog pregleda do maksimalne dubine od 7 metara. Preliminarni rezultati upućuju na to da se prikupljeni materijal, iako pronađen unutar istog sloja, može podijeliti u dvije jasno definirane skupine. Prvu čine nalazi iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja, okvirno od

[5] DAI, gl. 29.
[6] Čremošnik 1954, str. 71–74.
[7] Marasović 2008, str. 179.

With the disintegration of the Neretva region at the beginning of the 11th century, the island of Mljet came under the jurisdiction of Zachlumia. During the 12th century, the island was placed under the ecclesiastical and feudal administration of the Benedictines from the Apulian monastery of Pulsano, who, according to the papal bull of 1151, were granted authority over the entire island.[6] It was at this time that the monastery of St. Mary was founded on an islet in the Great Lake, with Polače functioning as a secondary economic centre and port within their domain. In the 14th century, Mljet came under the rule of the Republic of Dubrovnik, initiating its gradual legal and political integration into the Ragusan ecclesiastical and administrative system, while Polače retained its local significance as part of the monastic estate.[7]

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN 2022

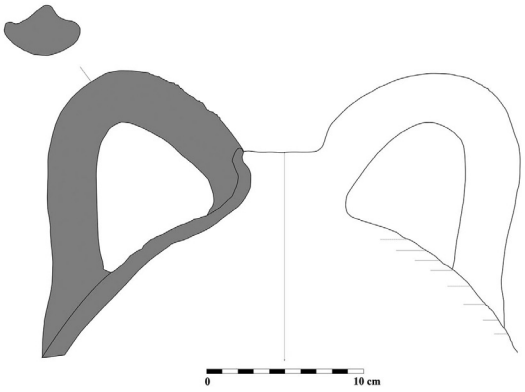
In 2022, the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split conducted underwater archaeological investigations in the bay of Polače on the island of Mljet. The research commenced with a systematic survey of the seabed in the vicinity of the present-day pier for catamaran ferries (Fig. 2), during which material was collected using a surface survey method to a maximum depth of 7 m. Preliminary results indicate that, although the material was discovered within a single stratigraphic layer, it can be divided into two clearly defined groups. The first comprises finds from the late antique period, broadly dated from the 4th to 6th centuries, while the second consists of medieval material dated from the 10th to 13th centuries (Fig. 3).

Within the medieval group, fragments of white-glazed pottery, engobe pottery as well as amphorae of Middle and Late Byzantine origin particularly stand out. Among these finds, the upper part of an amphora, identified as the Otranto type 2, was documented (Figs 4–5).[8]

[6] Čremošnik, 1954, pp. 71-74.
[7] Marasović, 2008, p. 179.
[8] The report on underwater archaeological research conducted in 2022 was written by M. Gogala of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split.



Sl. 3 - Keramički materijal prikupljen tijekom podvodnog rekognosciranja uvale Polače 2022. godine (Foto: M. Gogala)
Fig. 3 - Ceramic material collected during the underwater reconnaissance survey of the bay of Polače in 2022 (photo: M. Gogala)



Sl. 4 - Arheološki crtež profila amfore tipa Otranto 2 iz uvale Polače (Crtež: A. Kovač)
Fig. 4 - Archaeological drawing of the profile of the Otranto 2–type amphora from the bay of Polače (drawing: A. Kovač)



Sl. 5 - Fotografska dokumentacija amfore tipa Otranto 2 pronađene u uvali Polače (Foto: A. Kovač)
Fig. 5 - Photographic documentation of the Otranto 2–type amphora from the bay of Polače (photo: A. Kovač)

4. do 6. stoljeća, dok drugu skupinu predstavljaju srednjovjekovni nalazi datirani od 10. do 13. stoljeća (sl. 3).

U srednjovjekovnoj skupini posebno se ističu ulomci bijele glazirane keramike i engobirane keramike te fragmenti amfora srednje i kasnobizantskog podrijetla. Među njima je zabilježen i gornji dio amfore identificiran kao tip Otranto 2 (sl. 4 i 5). [8]

BIZANTSKE AMFORE

Kao što je već spomenuto, srednjovjekovne bizantske amfore dugo su bile zanemarene u arheo-

[8] Izvještaj o provedenim hidroarheološkim istraživanjima 2022. godine sastavio je M. Gogala iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu.

BYZANTINE AMPHORAE

As mentioned earlier, medieval Byzantine amphorae were long neglected in archaeological research and it was only towards the end of the 20th century that they began to attract more systematic attention from a handful of researchers, who laid the foundations for their typological and chronological analysis.

Already in the 1970s, the work of Zdenko Brusić, a pioneer in many respects, represented the first significant step in the development of a typology of amphorae of medieval origin.[9] His research focuses on Byzantine amphorae dated from the 9th to the 12th

[9] Brusić, 1976, pp. 37-49

loškim istraživanjima te su tek potkraj 20. stoljeća počele privlačiti sustavniju pažnju nekolicine istraživača koji su postavili temelje za njihovu tipološku i kronološku analizu.

Rad Zdenka Brusića, pionira u mnogim aspektima, već od sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća označava prvi značajan korak u razvoju tipologije amfora srednjovjekovnog podrijetla.[9] U njemu se obrađuju bizantske amfore od 9. do 12. stoljeća s podvodnih lokaliteta na istočnom Jadranu. Izdvaja pet grupa amfora koje klasificira s obzirom na varijacije u njihovim oblicima, fokusirajući se na razlike u vratu, ručkama i tijelu. Tako izdvaja grupu 5, koju datira od 10. do 12. stoljeća i pripisuje joj amfore ovoidnog ili piriformnog tijela s malim, zdepastim vratom.[10] Ovisno o tome prelaze li ručke visinom otvor amfore ili ne, dodatno ih razdjeljuje na grupe 5a i 5b. Recipijent je ispunjen horizontalnim rebrima, a visina varira od 30 do 40 cm. Tu se spominje i „mala žućkasto smeđa amfora u Muzeju grada Šibenika pronađena je blizu poluotoka Oštrice (između Šibenika i Primoštena) na dubini od 35 metara kao izdvojeni nalaz“[11] (sl. 6). Navedena amfora pripada tipu Otranto 2.[12]

U ovom radu koristi se kombinirana periodizacija prema C. Negrelliju i V. Zmaić-Kralj, koja obuhvaća prijelaz iz kasne antike u srednji vijek te razdoblje do 14. stoljeća.

centuries, which were recovered from underwater sites in the eastern Adriatic. He identified five groups of amphorae, classifying them according to variations in their shapes, with particular emphasis on differences in the neck, handles and body. Within this framework, he distinguishes Group 5, which he dates from the 10th to 12th centuries, to which he ascribes amphorae with an ovoid or piriform body and a small, stubby neck.[10] Depending on whether the handles extend above the height of the amphora's opening or not, he further divides them into Groups 5a and 5b. These vessels are characterised by horizontal ribbing and typically measure between 30 and 40 cm in height. Brusić also notes a "small yellowish-brown amphora" in the Šibenik City Museum, reportedly recovered as an isolated find near the Oštrica peninsula (between Šibenik and Primošten) at a depth of 35 m (Fig. 6).[11] This specimen can be attributed to the Otranto type 2.[12]

This paper uses a combined periodization by C. Negrelli and V. Zmaić-Kralj, which covers the transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages and the period up to the 14th century.

---

9 Brusić 1976, str. 37–49.

10 Brusić 1976, str. 41.

11 Brusić 1976, str. 42.

12 Drugi autori koji su dali doprinos razumijevanju bizantskih amfora su Ch. Bakirtzis, koji je pratio evoluciju amfora od antike do srednjeg vijeka i uveo pojam *magarikon* (Bakirtzis 1989); N. Günsenin, koja je razvila sustavnu tipologiju s četirima osnovnim tipovima i 24 podtipa, uz naglasak na anatolijske radionice i nalazišta poput Atene (Günsenin 1990); J. Vroom, koja je amfore tipa Otranto 2 svrstala u srednjebizantsku fazu i u suradnji s R. Hodgesom analizirala nalaze s albanske i talijanske obale (Vroom 2005; Hodges, Vroom 2007); C. Negrelli, koji je istraživao prisutnost istočnomediteranskih produkcija u sjevernoj Italiji i njihov prijenos preko Jadrana (Negrelli 2012; Negrelli 2017); te Vesna Zmaić, koja u suvremenoj hrvatskoj arheologiji predvodi istraživanja bizantskih amfora s naglaskom na podmorske lokalitete i trgovačke mreže, često u suradnji s Igorom Miholjekom (Zmaić, Miholjek 2012a; Zmaić, Miholjek 2012b; Zmaić 2013; Zmaić-Kralj 2017).

10 Brusić, 1976, p. 41.

11 Brusić, 1976, p. 42.

12 Other authors who contributed to the understanding of Byzantine amphorae include Ch. Bakirtzis, who traced the evolution of amphorae from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and introduced the term *magarikon* (Bakirtzis, 1989); N. Günsenin, who developed a systematic typology with four main types and 24 subtypes, emphasizing Anatolian workshops and sites such as Athens (Günsenin, 1990); J. Vroom, who classified Otranto type 2 amphorae as part of the Middle Byzantine phase and, in collaboration with R. Hodges, analysed finds from the Albanian and Italian coasts (Vroom, 2005; Hodges & Vroom, 2007); C. Negrelli, who studied the presence of eastern Mediterranean productions in northern Italy and their transfer across the Adriatic (Negrelli, 2012; 2017); and Vesna Zmaić, who leads research on Byzantine amphorae in contemporary Croatian archaeology, focusing on underwater sites and trade networks, often in collaboration with Igor Miholjek (Zmaić, Miholjek, 2012A; 2012B; Zmaić, 2013; Zmaić-Kralj, 2017.)

Razdoblje	Stoljeće
Prijelaz iz rimskog u bizantsko doba	4. – 7. st.
Ranobizantsko (EBA)	7. – 9. st.
Srednjebizantsko (MBA)	9. – 12. st.
Kasnobizantsko (LBA)	13. i 14. st.



Sl. 6 - Amfora tipa Otranto 2 iz fundusa Muzeja grada Šibenika (preuzeto iz: Vrsalović, 1974, str. 153)

Fig. 6 - Otranto 2–type amphora from the collection of the Šibenik City Museum (taken from: Vrsalović, 1974, p. 153)

AMFORA TIPA OTRANTO 2

Otranto se u srednjem vijeku razvija kao keramičko i pomorsko središte Apulije. Njegova strateška lokacija nasuprot albanskoj obali, u neposrednoj blizini Otrantskih vrata, omogućila je kontrolu nad pomorskim pravcima između istočnog i zapadnog Mediterana. U tom je razdoblju Otranto bio sjedište vojne posade, luka s brodogradilištem i dinamično središte razmjene dobara, ljudi i ideja, dok je lokalna keramička proizvodnja bila integrirana u široke opskrbne i trgovačke mreže koje su povezivale bizantski istok sa zapadnom Europom.

Period	Century
Transition from the Roman to the Byzantine period	4th – 7th century
Early Byzantine (EBA)	7th – 9th century
Middle Byzantine (MBA)	9th – 12th century
Late Byzantine (LBA)	13th and 14th centuries

AMPHORA OF THE OTRANTO 2–TYPE

During the Middle Ages, Otranto developed as a significant ceramic and maritime centre in Apulia. Its strategic location opposite the Albanian coast, in the immediate vicinity of the Strait of Otranto, allowed control over maritime routes between the eastern and western Mediterranean. During this period, Otranto functioned as the headquarters of a military garrison, a port with a shipyard, and a dynamic centre for the exchange of goods, people and ideas, while its local pottery production was closely integrated into extensive supply and trade networks that connected the Byzantine East with Western Europe.

At a site immediately outside Otranto's main northern gate, construction works commenced in the spring of 1977, causing considerable damage to the underlying archaeological layers. Rescue excavations, which were conducted until September 1978, revealed over eight metres of cultural stratigraphy with structures and movable material dated from the 1st to the 15th centuries.[13]

The results of the excavations were published in two volumes in 1992, involving numerous experts on different types of archaeological material.[14] Among them, Paul Arthur focused on amphorae and, for the first time, identified a type he termed the Otranto series. He further subdivided these amphorae into Otranto 1 and Otranto 2, noting that type 2 was the most numerous Late Byzantine type of amphora at the site, suggesting local production in a nearby workshop. Arthur dates this amphora to the late 11th and 12th centuries and the very beginning of the 13th century, while also highlighting an analogy with an amphora housed in the Šibenik City Museum, previously published by D. Vrsalović in 1979.[15]

13 Arthur. 1992, p. 197.
14 Arthur, 1992, p. 211.
15 Arthur, 1992, pp. 206-207.

Na lokaciji neposredno izvan glavnih sjevernih vrata Otranta u proljeće 1977. godine započeli su građevinski radovi koji su uzrokovali veliku štetu arheološkim slojevima. Zaštitna istraživanja odvijala su se do rujna 1978., pri čemu je otkriveno više od osam metara kulturne stratigrafije sa strukturama i pokretnim materijalom datiranim u rasponu od 1. do 15. stoljeća.[13]

Rezultati istraživanja objavljeni su u dvama svescima 1992. godine, u kojima je sudjelovao veći broj stručnjaka specijaliziranih za različite vrste arheološkog materijala.[14] Među njima se Paul Arthur fokusirao na amfore te po prvi put razlikuje vrstu amfora koju naziva otrantskom serijom. Amfore klasificira u tipove Otranto 1 i Otranto 2, pri čemu procjenjuje da je tip 2 najbrojniji kasnobizantski tip amfore na istraživanom lokalitetu te sugerira da su proizvedene u lokalnoj radionici. Datira ih u kasno 11. i 12. stoljeće te na sam početak 13. stoljeća, navodeći pritom analogiju s amforom iz Muzeja grada Šibenika, koju je objavio D. Vrsalović 1979.[15]

Na temelju novijih istraživanja provedenih u Otrantu i na području Salenta Marco Leo Imperiale nedavno je predložio novu klasifikaciju amfora tipa Otranto, kategorizirajući ih u pet podtipova nazvanih tipovima Mitello 1 – 5, po lokalitetu u Otrantu na kojem je identificirana obrtnička četvrt s ostatcima keramičkih peći. Prema njemu, amfore koje Paul Arthur opisuje kao Otranto 1 korespondiraju s grupama 1, 2 i 3, dok grupa 5 odgovara tipu Otranto 2, a grupa 4 bi se mogla smatrati prijelaznim tipom (sl. 6).[16] U ovom radu koristit će se klasifikacija Paula Arthura.

Amfore tipa Otranto 1 predstavljaju stariju inačicu otrantske serije, razvijene najkasnije u 9. stoljeću na egejskom području. Karakteriziraju ih kratak vrat u obliku krnjeg stošca i isturen rub, dok je tijelo piriformno, s horizontalnim žljebovima i ugraviranim uzorkom „vala“ na ramenu (sl. 7, grupe 1 – 3).[17] Ove se amfore datiraju između 9. i 11. stoljeća, a pronađene su u južnoj Italiji, Grčkoj, Dalmaciji, na Siciliji i u drugim regijama.[18]

Tip Otranto 2 ima piriforman profil s dubokim horizontalnim žljebovima i uzdignutim ručkama s

[13] Arthur 1992, str. 197.
[14] Arthur 1992, str. 211.
[15] Arthur 1992, str. 206–207.
[16] Leo Imperiale 2018, str. 53–56.
[17] Arthur, Auriemma 1996, str. 16.
[18] Leo Imperiale 2018, str. 56–57; Leo Imperiale 2014, str. 330.

Based on more recent research in Otranto and the Salento region, Marco Leo Imperiale has recently proposed a new classification of Otranto–type amphorae, dividing them into five subtypes, referred to as the Mitello types 1 to 5, named after the site in Otranto where a workshop district with remains of ceramic kilns was identified. According to Imperiale, the amphorae described by Paul Arthur as Otranto 1 correspond to groups 1, 2 and 3, while group 5 corresponds to the Otranto type 2, and group 4 may be considered a transitional form (Fig. 6).[16] For the purposes of the present study, Arthur's classification is retained.

Otranto type 1 amphorae represent an older variant of the Otranto series, developed no later than the 9th century in the Aegean region. They are characterised by a short, truncated-cone neck with an everted rim, a piriform body with horizontal grooves, and an incised "wave" pattern on the shoulder (Fig. 7, groups 1–3).[17] These amphorae are dated to the period between the 9th and 11th centuries and have been discovered in southern Italy, Greece, Dalmatia, Sicily and other regions.[18]

The Otranto type 2 has a piriform profile with deep horizontal grooves and raised handles featuring pronounced ribs, which are directly attached to the amphora's rim; the rim itself has an internal groove for a lid (Fig. 7, group 5). This type is dated from the second half of the 11th century to the end of the 12th century.[19] It is frequently found along the southern Adriatic and inland, such as in Otranto, Taranto, Butrint and Durrës, with possible occurrences in Greece.[20] They were likely produced within the Adriatic region, perhaps in continuity with the Otranto 1 group, given the similarities in distribution and style. Their spread may coincide with the expansion in the import of glazed pottery to the Adriatic from Byzantine territories and Sicily.[21]

[16] Leo Imperiale, 2018, pp. 53-56.
[17] Arthur, Auriemma, 1996, p. 16.
[18] Leo Imperiale, 2018, pp. 56-57; Leo Imperiale, 2014, p. 330.
[19] Arthur, Auriemma, 1996, p. 17.
[20] Leo Imperiale, 2018, p. 58; Arthur; Leo Imperiale; Tinelli, 2015, pp. 45-46.
[21] Arthur, Auriemma, 1996, pp. 16-17.

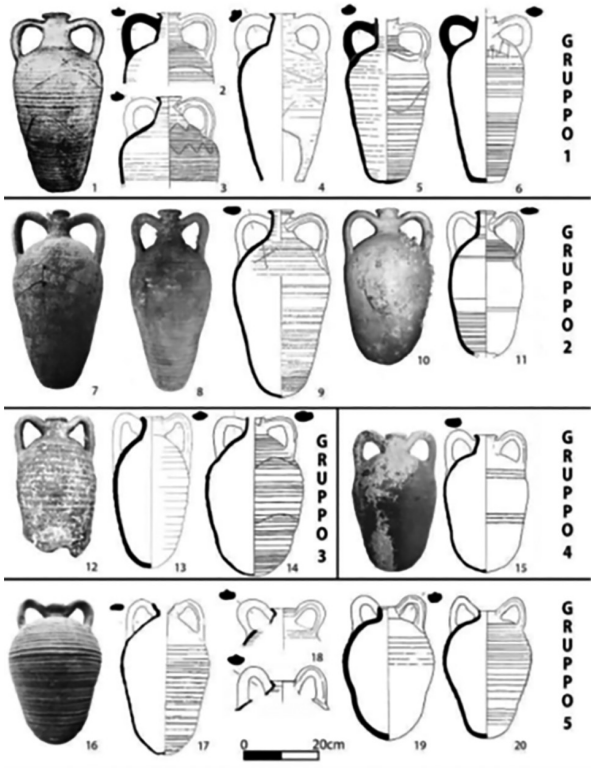
istaknutim rebrom koje su izravno spojene na otvor amfore, koji ima utor s unutrašnje strane za smještaj poklopca (sl. 7, grupa 5). Datira se od druge polovine 11. do kraja 12. stoljeća.[19] Čest je nalaz duž južnog Jadrana i u unutrašnjosti, primjerice u Otrantu, Tarantu, Butrintu i Draču, uz moguće tragove u Grčkoj.[20] Ove su se amfore vjerojatno proizvodile na jadranskom prostoru, možda u kontinuitetu sa skupinom Otranto 1, s obzirom na sličnosti u distribuciji i stilu. Njihovo širenje moglo bi koincidirati s procvatom uvoza glazirane keramike na Jadran s bizantskih teritorija i Sicilije.[21]

PROBLEMI ATRIBUCIJE IZMEĐU KORINTSKOG I OTRANTSKOG TIPA AMFORA

Tijekom iskopavanja u antičkom Korintu Rossana Valente, u suradnji s Guyjem Sandersom, identificirala je dva tipa bizantskih amfora s vrlo sličnim morfološkim značajkama kao amfore Otranto 1 i 2 iz Apulije. Iako nisu provedene petrografske i kemijske analize korintskih amfora, odbačeni primjerci i lociranje peći na padinama Akrokorinta upućuju na lokalnu proizvodnju.[22] Korintski tip 1, koji je morfološki najsličniji grupi Otranto 1, pojavljuje se u 9. stoljeću, a isti se tip u južnoj Apuliji proizvodi krajem 9. ili početkom 10. stoljeća. Gornji dijelovi amfora iz obaju područja pokazuju veliku morfološku sličnost, dok se u donjem dijelu razlikuju prema profilaciji: korintski tip ima globularan profil, a apulijski više ovalan (sl. 8). Razlika se očituje i u zapremnini: apulijski tip ima manji kapacitet od 10 do 15 litara, dok korintske amfore imaju zapremninu od 30 do 35 litara.[23]

Još veću morfološku sličnost pokazuju korintski tip 2 i Otranto 2, pri čemu obje amfore imaju visoko postavljene ručke iznad oboda i ovalan profil tijela s horizontalnim žljebovima (sl. 9). Paul Arthur sugerira da ovaj tip amfore potječe iz središnjih teritorija Apulije, između provincija Brindisija i Barija.[24] Budući da se većina nalaza zbog minimalnih morfoloških razlika između korintskog tipa 2 i otrantskog tipa 2 automatski pripisuje tipu Otranto 2, trenu-

[19] Arthur, Auriemma 1996, str. 17.
[20] Leo Imperiale 2018, str. 58; Arthur, Leo Imperiale, Tinelli 2015, str. 45–46.
[21] Arthur, Auriemma 1996, str. 16–17.
[22] Sanders 2003b, str. 397.
[23] Valente 2018, str. 363–364.
[24] Arthur 1992, str. 207; Valente 2018, str. 364.



Sl. 7 - Klasifikacija amfora tipa Otranto prema M. Leo Imperialeu (preuzeto iz: Leo Imperiale, 2018, str. 55)

Fig. 7 - Classification of Otranto-type amphorae according to M. Leo Imperiale (taken from: Leo Imperiale, 2018, p. 55)

PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION BETWEEN CORINTHIAN AND OTRANTO–TYPE AMPHORAE

During excavations in ancient Corinth, Rossana Valente, in collaboration with Guy Sanders, identified two types of Byzantine amphorae exhibiting morphological features closely resembling the Otranto types 1 and 2 from Apulia. Although petrographic and chemical analyses of the Corinthian amphorae have not been conducted, the presence of discarded specimens and the location of kilns on the slopes of the Acrocorinth strongly suggest local production.[22] The Corinthian type 1, which is morphologically most similar to the Otranto 1 group, appears in the 9th century, whereas the same type was produced in southern Apulia at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century. The upper parts of the amphorae from both regions show a great morphological similarity; however, differences are evident in the lower body profile: the Corinthian

[22] Sanders, 2003, p. 397.



Sl. 8 - Usporedba amfora tipa Korint 1 i Otranto 1 (preuzeto iz: Valente, 2018, str. 360)

Fig. 8 - Comparison of amphorae of Corinth type 1 and Otranto type 1 (taken from: Valente, 2018, p. 360)

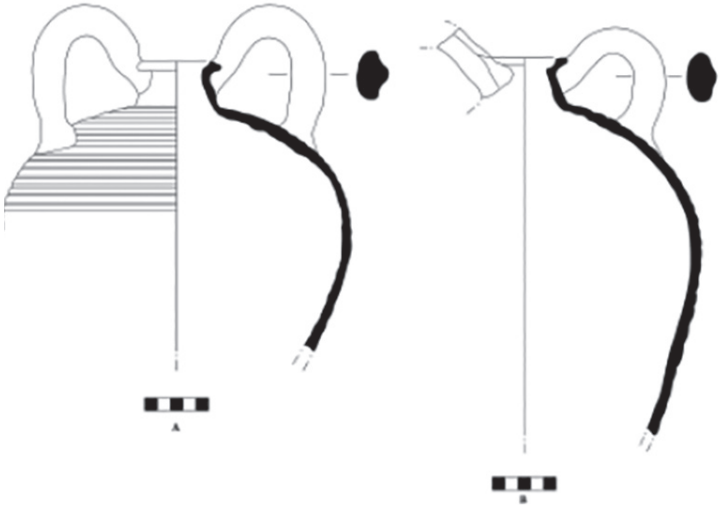
tačno je otežano precizno određivanje distribucije korintskog tipa. Unatoč navedenim poteškoćama, možda je moguće hipotetizirati istovremenu proizvodnju u različitim radionicama.[25]

Petrografske analize provedene na amforama iz Apulije pokazale su uporabu barem triju različitih impasta – dvaju lokalnog i jednog egejskog podrijetla – pri čemu se apulijski primjerci makroskopski približavaju korintskim, ali se ipak razlikuju po teksturi površine.[26]

Prema interpretaciji Rossane Valente, bliske morfološke i petrografske sličnosti između korintskih i apulijskih tipova upućuju na mogućnost da

[25] Valente 2018, str. 359–360.

[26] Na temelju makroskopskog promatranja boje i mineralnog sastava impasta apulijski primjerci izgledaju vrlo slično, ali ne identično korintskima. Oba tipa karakterizira vrlo fini impast blijedo smeđe boje (Munsell 10YR 8/4), no otrantski tipovi imaju vanjsku površinu glatku i gotovo sapunastu na dodir, dok korintski primjerci imaju više praškastu površinu. M. Leo Imperiale izvještava o petrografskoj analizi koju su proveli C. Capelli i P. Orecchioni na nalazima iz Apulije (Leo Imperiale 2018, str. 28; Valente 2018, str. 363).



Sl. 9 - Amfora tipa Korint 2 iz 12. i 13. st. (preuzeto iz: Valente, 2018, str. 360)

Fig. 9 - Corinth type 2 amphora from the 12th and 13th centuries (taken from: Valente, 2018, p. 360)

type has a globular profile, whereas the Apulian variant is more ovoid (Fig. 8). A difference is also evident in their capacity, with the Apulian type having a smaller capacity of 10–15 litres, whereas Corinthian amphorae have a capacity of 30-35 litres.[23]

An even greater morphological similarity is evident between the Corinthian type 2 and Otranto type 2, both of which have high handles set above the rim and an oval body profile with horizontal grooves (fig. 9). Paul Arthur suggests a possible provenance of this amphora type from the central territories of Apulia, between the provinces of Brindisi and Bari.[24] Due to the minimal morphological differences between Corinthian type 2 and Otranto type 2, it is currently difficult to accurately determine the distribution of the Corinthian type, since most finds are automatically attributed to the Otranto type 2. Despite the aforementioned difficulties, it may be possible to hypothesise that these amphorae were produced simultaneously by different workshops.[25]

Petrographic analyses conducted on amphorae from Apulia have identified the use of at least three distinct fabrics—two of local origin and one of Aegean provenance. While the Apulian examples are macroscopically similar to Corinthian amphorae, they nevertheless differ in surface texture.[26]

[23] Valente, 2018, pp. 363-364.

[24] Arthur 1992, p. 207; Valente, 2018, p. 364.

[25] Valente, 2018, pp. 359-360.

[26] Based on macroscopic observation of colour and mineral composition of the fabric, Apulian specimens ap-

su apulijski lončari svjesno izrađivali posude koje oponašaju korintske uzorke – ili obrnuto – s ciljem standardizacije oblika i impasta. Istodobna proizvodnja istog tipa amfora u Salentu i u Korintu mogla bi biti povezana sa sadržajem koji su prenosile, pri čemu kemijske analize ostataka na apulijskim primjercima upućuju na transport vina i maslinova ulja. Analize ostataka na korintskim amforama mogle bi dodatno potvrditi hipotezu da je ovaj oblik služio kao svojevrsno „pakiranje" za visokokvalitetno maslinovo ulje jer je i apulijsko i korintsko ulje u srednjem vijeku bilo cijenjeno zbog svoje kvalitete.[27]

Međutim, u nedostatku jasnih arheoloških ili povijesnih dokaza koji bi podržali jednu od mogućih interpretacija, otvorena je i hipoteza prema kojoj identične amfore u dvjema regijama mogu biti rezultat upravljanja proizvodnjom i distribucijom u nadležnosti centralne vlasti. Valente tu standardizaciju tumači i u širem geopolitičkom kontekstu bizantskog preustroja južne Italije i migracija stanovništva s Peloponeza u Apuliju tijekom 9. stoljeća. Općenito, ovaj oblik imitacije keramičkih obrazaca mogao bi se tumačiti kao reakcija na prekid postojeće socijalno-ekonomske ravnoteže, uzrokovan značajnim društvenim i gospodarskim promjenama.[28]

RASPROSTRANJENOST AMFORA TIPA OTRANTO 2 NA ISTOČNOM JADRANU

Rasprostranjenost amfora tipa Otranto 2 potvrđena je na čitavom prostoru donjeg Jadrana i jonskog bazena brojnim nalazima na obalnim i kopnenim lokalitetima u Albaniji, poput Butrinta, Drača i bazilike u Arapaju.[29] Najdetaljniji podatci potječu iz sustavnih iskopavanja u Butrintu, gdje je identificirano jasno prisustvo apulijske keramike, a amfore tipa Otranto čine kvantitativno najzastupljeniju skupinu među svim uvoznim keramičkim oblicima.[30] U to je doba Butrint bio biskupsko sjedište i važno administrativno središte, strateški smješten uz antički put Via Egnatia, što mu je omogućilo da djeluje kao most između obalnih i unutrašnjih regija Balkana. Distribucija ovih amfora nije bila ograničena samo na obalu. Oba otrantska tipa zabilježena su i u srednjovjekovnim urbanim središtima poput

[27] Valente 2018, str. 364–366.

[28] Valente 2018, str. 365; Theophanes Continuatus, 321.3–6.

[29] Leo Imperiale 2014, str. 330.

[30] Reynolds 2004, str. 270–271.

According to the interpretation proposed by Rossana Valente, the close morphological and petrographic similarities between the Corinthian and Apulian types suggest that Apulian potters may have deliberately produced vessels imitating Corinthian models—or vice versa—with the aim of standardising vessel form and fabric. The simultaneous production of the same amphora type in Salento and Corinth may be related to the contents they transported. Namely, a chemical analyses of residues on Apulian specimens indicate the transport of wine and olive oil. Comparable residue analyses of Corinthian amphorae could further support the hypothesis that this form functioned as a type of 'packaging' for high-quality olive oil, given that both Apulian and Corinthian oils were highly valued for their quality during the Middle Ages.[27]

However, due to the lack of clear archaeological or historical evidence supporting one of the possible interpretations, an alternative hypothesis remains plausible: that the production of identical amphorae in the two regions reflects a system of centralised control over production and distribution by a central authority. Valente interprets this standardisation also within the broader geopolitical context of the Byzantine reorganisation of southern Italy and the migration of populations from the Peloponnese to Apulia during the 9th century. In general, this form of imitation of ceramic patterns could be interpreted as a reaction to the disruption of the existing socio-economic balance, caused by significant social and economic changes.[28]

DISTRIBUTION OF OTRANTO TYPE 2 AMPHORAE IN THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

The distribution of Otranto type 2 amphorae is well attested throughout the southern Adriatic and the Ionian Sea, with numerous finds documented at both coastal and inland sites in Albania, such

pear very similar but not identical to Corinthian ones. Both specimens are characterized by a very fine fabric in pale brown colour (Munsell 10YR 8/4). However, the Otranto types have a smooth, almost soapy exterior surface to the touch, whereas Corinthian examples have a more powdery surface. M. Leo Imperiale reports on a petrographic analysis carried out by C. Capella and P. Orecchioni on finds from Apulia (Leo Imperiale, 2018, p. 28; Valente, 2018, p. 363.)

[27] Valente, 2018, pp. 364-366.

[28] Valente, 2018, p. 365; Theophanes Continuatus 321.3-6.



Sl. 10 - Rasprostranjenost amfora tipa Otranto na istočnoj obali Jadrana (Izrada: A. Kovač)
Fig. 10 - Distribution of Otranto type amphorae along the eastern Adriatic coast (A. Kovač)

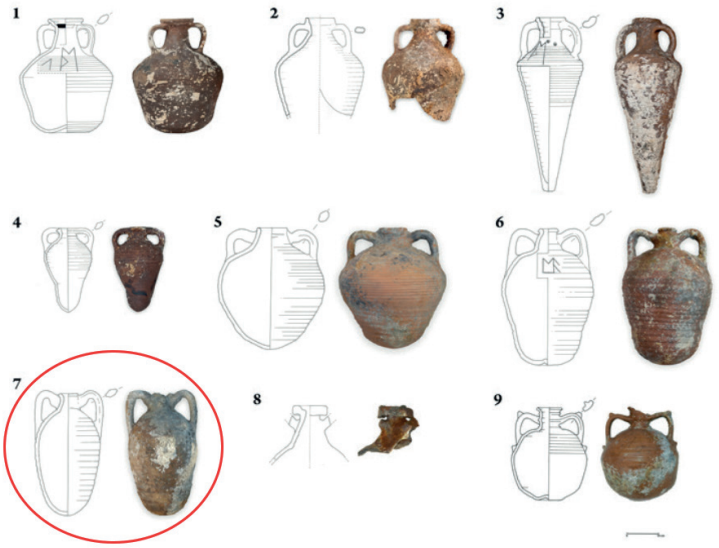
Sarde, Lissusa, Krüje i Gjirokastërra te u kontekstu podvodnih arheoloških nalazišta (npr. Porto Palermo i rt Orso).[31] U Crnoj Gori prisutnost ovih amfora potvrđena je na lokalitetima Topolica, Bigovica, Svač i Prevlaka u okviru projekta Staribar (sl. 10).[32]

Amfora za koju se sumnja da bi mogla pripadati tipu Otranto 2 pronađena je na podvodnom lokalitetu kod rta Stobe na otoku Mljetu tijekom arheoloških istraživanja koja je u više navrata između 2008. i 2013. godine provodio Hrvatski restauratorski zavod pod vodstvom Igora Miholjeka.[33] Istraživanja

as Butrint, Durrës and the basilica at Arapaj.[29] The most comprehensive data derive from systematic excavations at Butrint, where a substantial presence of Apulian pottery has been identified and Otranto–type amphorae constitute the most numerous group among all imported ceramic forms.[30] At that time, Butrint was an episcopal seat and an important administrative centre, strategically located along the ancient road Via Egnatia, which enabled it to serve as a key link between coastal zones and the inland regions of the Balkans. The distribution of these amphorae was not limited to coastal areas—both

31 Leo Imperiale 2014, str. 330–332.
32 Negrelli 2017, str. 253–256.
33 Miholjek, Zmaić 2017, str. 227–228.

29 Leo Imperiale, 2014, p. 330.
30 Reynolds, 2004, pp. 270-271.



Sl. 11 - Tipovi amfora sa brodoloma rt Stoba kod Mljeta (preuzeto iz: Miholjek, Zmaić, 2016, str. 232.)
Fig. 11 - Types of amphorae from the shipwreck at Cape Stoba near Mljet (taken from: Miholjek, Zmaić 2016, p. 232)

su dokumentirala ostatke brodoloma na dubini od 20 do 27 metara, uključujući teret broda, dijelove trupa i brodsku opremu. Posebno je značajan broj amfora koje pripadaju različitim produkcijama iz bizantskog i sicilijanskog kruga. Izdvojeno je ukupno devet grupa amfora (sl. 11, grupe 1 – 9), koje su klasificirane na temelju morfoloških i tehnoloških značajki.[34] Na temelju keramičkog materijala, tipologije amfora i ostalih nalaza brodolom kod rta Stobe datiran je u kraj 11. ili početak 12. stoljeća. Prema I. Miholjeku, grupa 7 iz brodoloma kod rta Stobe izjednačena je s Brusićevim tipom 5a, što bi upućivalo na pripadnost seriji starijih otrantskih amfora.[35]

Amfora iz šibenskog muzeja, koju je prvi put objavio D. Vrsalović, trenutno je jedini objavljeni primjerak otrantskog tipa 2 na istočnoj obali hrvatskog Jadrana, uz onu pronađenu u uvali Polače na otoku Mljetu tijekom kampanje 2022. godine.[36] Obje se klasificiraju u grupu 5b prema Brusićevoj tipologiji, što odgovara tipu Otranto 2 (P. Arthur), odnosno grupi 5 (M. L. Imperiale). Za amforu s Mljeta možemo pretpostaviti da je, s obzirom na to da je pronađena unutar nekadašnje luke, ondje dospjela kao transportna ambalaža za vino ili maslinovo ulje tijekom 11. ili 12., odnosno početkom

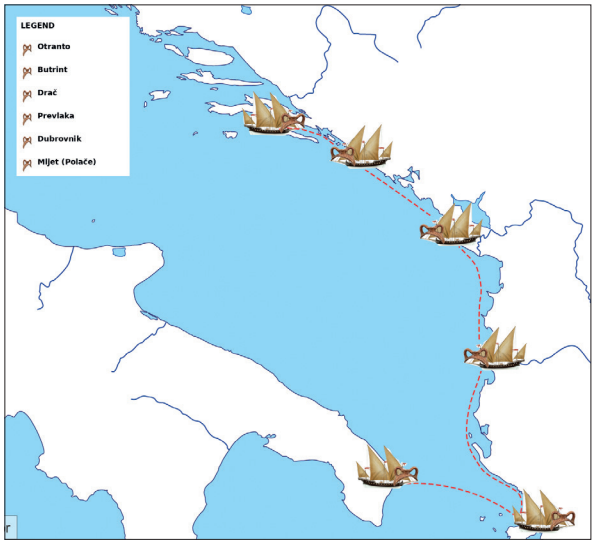
[34] Miholjek, Zmaić 2017, str. 231–232.
[35] Miholjek, Zmaić 2017, str. 236.
[36] Vrsalović 1974, str. 141.

Otranto types have also been recorded in medieval urban centres such as Sarda, Lissus, Krujë and Gjirokastër, as well as in the context of underwater archaeological sites (e.g. Porto Palermo and Cape Orso).[31] In Montenegro, the presence of these amphorae has been confirmed at the sites of Topolica, Bigovica, Svač and Prevlaka within the framework of the Staribar project (Fig. 10).[32]

An amphora suspected to belong to the Otranto type 2 was discovered at an underwater site near Cape Stoba on the island of Mljet during archaeological investigations conducted on several occasions between 2008 and 2013 by the Croatian Conservation Institute, under the direction of Igor Miholjek.[33] The investigations documented the remains of a shipwreck at a depth of 20–27 m, including the ship's cargo, parts of the hull and associated nautical equipment. Of particular significance is the large number of amphorae belonging to various productions from the Byzantine and Sicilian spheres. A total of nine groups of amphorae were identified (fig. 11, group 1–group 9), which were classified based on their morphological and technological characteristics.[34] Based on the ceramic material, the typology of amphorae and other finds, the shipwreck at Cape Stoba has been dated to the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. According to I. Miholjek, Group 7 from the wreck at Cape Stoba corresponds to Brusić's type 5A, which would indicate its belonging to the series of older Otranto amphorae.[35]

The amphora housed in the Šibenik City Museum, first published by D. Vrsalović, is currently the only published example of the Otranto type 2 from the eastern coast of the Croatian Adriatic, together with the specimen recovered from the bay of Polače on the island of Mljet during the campaign in 2022.[36] Both vessels are classified as Group 5b according to Brusić's typology, corresponding to Otranto 2 in Paul Arthur's classification and to Group 5 in that of M. L. Imperiale. To date, these remain the only discovered (or more precisely, published) amphorae of this type on the eastern coast of the Croatian Adriatic. With regard to the specimen from Mljet, we can assume, given that it was

[31] Leo Imperiale, 2014, pp. 330-332.
[32] Negrelli, 2017, pp. 253-256.
[33] Miholjek, Zmaić, 2017, pp. 227-228.
[34] Miholjek, Zmaić, 2017, pp. 231-232.
[35] Miholjek, Zmaić, 2017, p. 236.
[36] Vrsalović, 1974, p. 141.



Sl. 12 - Moguća trgovačka ruta amfore pronađene u luci Polače (Izrada: A. Kovač).

Fig. 12 - Possible trade route of the amphora found in the port of Polače (drawing by A. Kovač)

13. stoljeća, dok bi amfora slučajno pronađena kod Šibenika mogla biti dio tereta broda koji je duž istočne jadranske obale također prevozio maslinovo ulje ili vino prema nepoznatoj krajnjoj luci, moguće nekom od talijanskih emporija sjevernog Jadrana ili gradova sjeverne Dalmacije i Istre.

Zanimljiva je prisutnost otrantskih amfora (iako nije moguće utvrditi o kojem je tipu riječ) u kontekstu crkvene arhitekture, gdje su služile kao akustične posude uzidane u crkvama.[37] Najpoznatiji primjer je crkva sv. Barbare u Trogiru iz 11. stoljeća, gdje su amfore ugrađene u svod. Slična praksa bilježi se i na drugim dalmatinskim lokalitetima, primjerice u Ošlju, gdje se u oktogonalnoj crkvi iz 10. stoljeća vjerojatno koriste amfore tipa Otranto s valovitim urezima.[38]

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Amfore tipa Otranto 2 smještaju se u širi gospodarski okvir 11. i 12. stoljeća te početka 13. stoljeća, razdoblja obilježenog intenziviranjem pomorske trgovine na Jadranu i rastućom ulogom Bizantskog Carstva u usmjeravanju trgovačkih tokova. Na istočnoj jadranskoj obali jača bizantska prisutnost, dok na zapadnoj značajnu trgovačku i političku ulogu preuzimaju gradovi poput Barija, Otranta, Tranija i Ancone. Carigrad zadržava koordinacijsku ulogu u distribuciji dobara unutar imperijalnog sustava, dok

[37] Jurković, Turković 2012, str. 137.
[38] Vežić 2002, str. 22.

found within the former port, that it arrived there as transport packaging for wine or olive oil during the 11th/12th centuries or possibly the beginning of the 13th century. The amphora discovered near Šibenik, by contrast, may represent part of the cargo of a ship that was also transporting olive oil or wine along the eastern Adriatic coast to an unknown final port, possibly one of the Italian emporia of the northern Adriatic or the cities of northern Dalmatia and Istria.

Particularly noteworthy is the presence of Otranto amphorae (although it is not possible to determine the exact type) discovered in contexts associated with church architecture, as acoustic vessels built into churches.[37] The most prominent example is the 11th-century Church of St. Barbara in Trogir, where amphorae were incorporated into the vault. A similar practice has been documented at other Dalmatian sites, such as Ošlje, where amphorae of the Otranto type with wavy incisions were likely used in the octagonal church from the 10th century.[38]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Otranto type 2 amphorae are placed within the broader economic framework of the 11th and 12th centuries, and at the beginning of the 13th century, which was a period marked by intensified maritime trade in the Adriatic and the increasing role of the Byzantine Empire in shaping trade routes. Along the eastern Adriatic coast, Byzantine presence strengthened, while cities on the western coast, such as Bari, Otranto, Trani and Ancona, assumed important commercial and political roles. Constantinople maintained a coordinating role in the distribution of goods within the imperial system, whereas Venice, emerging as a maritime power, increasingly asserted its dominance over the northern Adriatic. Within this context, Otranto and Corinth functioned concurrently as centres of production and intermediaries, with their ceramic goods—particularly amphorae—circulating within a trade network in which economic interests and geopolitical strategies were closely intertwined.

Finds from the shipwreck near Cape Stoba on the island of Mljet, dated to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century, include a cargo composed of various amphorae alongside other ce-

[37] Jurković, Turković 2012, p. 137.
[38] Vežić, 2002, p. 22.

Venecija, u usponu, sve odlučnije uspostavlja dominaciju nad sjevernojadranskim prostorom. U tom su kontekstu Otranto i Korint istodobno funkcionirali kao proizvodna i posrednička središta, a njihova keramička proizvodnja – osobito amfore – cirkulirala je unutar trgovačke mreže u kojoj su se preklapali gospodarski interesi i geopolitičke strategije.

Nalazi s brodoloma kod rta Stobe na otoku Mljetu, datiranog u kraj 11. ili početak 12. stoljeća, uključuju teret sastavljen od različitih amfora i drugih keramičkih posuda. Ta raznolikost pokazuje da su proizvodi iz različitih mediteranskih regija istodobno pristizali na istočnu jadransku obalu. Slični primjeri potvrđeni su i na drugim lokalitetima, poput Raba, Zadra i Trogira, gdje su luke i emporiji služili kao tranzitne točke za daljnju distribuciju prema unutrašnjosti.

U tom je okviru moguće rekonstruirati jednu od potencijalnih trgovačkih ruta za amforu tipa Otranto 2 pronađenu u Polačama. Teret proizveden u Otrantu mogao je najprije biti distribuiran do Butrinta, gdje je zabilježeno obilje apulijske keramike. Sljedeće točke na ruti uključivale bi Drač i Porto Palermo, nakon čega bi brod doplovio do dubrovačkog područja, a zatim do Mljeta (sl. 12). U tom trgovačkom kontekstu otok Mljet – osobito luka Polače – funkcionirao je kao važno sidrište na pomorskim rutama koje su povezivale južnu Italiju, albansku obalu i dubrovačko područje s dalmatinskim, istarskim i sjevernotalijanskim gradovima.

Amfore tipa Otranto 2, čija uporaba seže i u 13. stoljeće, predstavljaju jednu od posljednjih faza korištenja amfora kao standardnih spremnika u mediteranskoj trgovini. U drugoj polovini 13. i osobito početkom 14. stoljeća njihovu funkciju sve češće preuzimaju drvene bačve, koje postaju dominantan transportni oblik za tekuće proizvode. Ova promjena označava kraj dugotrajne tradicije trgovine u amforama i prijelaz prema novim logističkim i trgovačkim praksama kasnog srednjeg vijeka.

ramic vessels. This diversity shows that products from different Mediterranean regions had been arriving at the eastern Adriatic coast at the same time. Comparable examples have been confirmed at other sites such as Rab, Zadar and Trogir, where ports and emporia served as transit points for the further distribution of goods into the hinterland.

Within this framework, it is possible to reconstruct one of the potential trade routes for the Otranto type 2 amphora found in Polače. Cargo produced in Otranto may have first been transported to Butrint, where an abundance of Apulian ceramics has been documented. Subsequent stops on the route likely included Durrës and Porto Palermo, after which the vessel would have sailed to the Dubrovnik region and then on to Mljet (Fig. 12). In this trade context, the island of Mljet—particularly the port of Polače—served as an important anchorage along maritime routes linking southern Italy, the Albanian coast and the Dubrovnik area with Dalmatian, Istrian and northern Italian cities.

Otranto type 2 amphorae, whose use extended also into the 13th century, represent one of the final phases of amphorae as standard containers in Mediterranean trade. By the second half of the 13th century, and especially at the beginning of the 14th century, their function was increasingly replaced by wooden barrels, which became the predominant means of transporting liquid products. This change marks the end of the long-standing tradition of amphora-based trade and the transition towards new logistical and commercial practices in the Late Middle Ages.

Bibliografija / *Bibliography*

Arthur 1992
P. Arthur, Amphorae for Bulk Transport, u: *Excavations at Otranto, Volume II: The Finds* (ur. F. D'Andria, D. B. Whitehouse), Galatina 1992, 197–217.

Arthur *et al.* 1992
P. Arthur, M. P. Caggia, G. P. Ciongoli, V. Melissano, H. Patterson, P. Roberts, Fornaci medievali a Otranto: Nota preliminare, *Archeologia medievale* 19, Firenze 1992, 91–122.

Arthur *et al.* 2016
P. Arthur, M. T. Giannotta, M. Leo Imperiale, M. Lettieri, F. Notarstefano, L'analisi funzionale delle ceramiche altomedievali nel Salento: Il contributo delle indagini sui residui organici, *Studi di Antichità* 14, Galatina 2016, 97–118.

Arthur, Auriemma 1996
P. Arthur, R. Auriemma, A Search for Italian Wine, Middle Byzantine and Later Amphoras from Southern Puglia, *INA Quarterly* 23, College Station 1996, 14–17.

Arthur, Leo Imperiale, Tinelli 2015
P. Arthur, M. Leo Imperiale, M. Tinelli (ur.), *Apigliano: Un villaggio bizantino e medievale in Terra d'Otranto: I reperti*, Galatina 2015.

Arthur 1993
P. Arthur, Quattro Macine: alla scoperta di un villaggio medievale nel Salento, *Archeo* 103, Roma 1993, 54–59.

Brusić 1976
Z. Brusić, Byzantine amphorae (9th–12th century) from eastern Adriatic underwater sites, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* XVII, B1976, 37–49.

Brusić 2010
Z. Brusić, Ranosrednjovjekovni nalazi iz hrvatskog podmorja, *Archaeologia Adriatica* IV, Zadar 2010, 243–255.

Čremošnik 1954
G. Čremošnik, Isprave zahumskog kneza Dese, *Anali Zavoda za poeograd vijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 3, Dubrovnik 1954, 71–74.

Von Doorninck 1989
F. von Doorninck, The Cargo Amphoras on the 7th-century Yassi Ada and 11th-century Serçe Limani Shipwrecks: Two Examples of a Reuse of Byzantine Amphoras as Transport Jars, *Recherches sur la Céramique Byzantine (Bulletin de correspondance hellénique)*, suppl. XVIII, Paris 1989, 247–257.

Hayes 1992
J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul 2*, Princeton 1992.

Jurković, Turković 2012
M. Jurković, T. Turković, La Croatie médiévale: état des lieux, u: *Archéologie du son: Les dispositifs de pots acoustiques dans les édifices anciens* (ur. B. Palazzo-Bertholon, J.-C. Valière), Paris 2012, 133–139.

Katić 2023
M. Katić, Kasnoantička utvrda Kaštio u Polačama na otoku Mljetu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 50, Split 2023, 29–49.

Leo Imperiale 2004
M. Leo Imperiale, Otranto, cantiere Mitello: un centro produttivo nel Mediterraneo bizantino, u: *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia* (ur. S. Patitucci Uggeri), Atti del V Congresso di Archeologia Medievale, Firenze 2004, 327–342.

Leo Imperiale 2014
M. Leo Imperiale, Ceramiche e commerci nel Canale d'Otranto tra X e XI secolo. Riflessioni sulla cultura materiale bizantina tra Salento e Albania meridionale, u: *Ricerche archeologiche in Albania* (ur. G. Tagliamonte), Roma 2014, 327–341.

Leo Imperiale 2018
M. Leo Imperiale, Anfore e reti commerciali nel basso Adriatico tra VIII e XII secolo, *Archeologia Medievale* 45, Sesto Fiorentino 2018, 27–44.

Marasović 2008
T. Marasović, *Dalmatia Praeromanica: Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji, svezak 4: Korpus arhitekture: južna Dalmacija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora*, Split 2008.

Miholjek, Zmaić, Ferri 2016
I. Miholjek, V. Zmaić, M. Ferri, The Byzantine Shipwreck of Cape Stoba (Mljet, Croatia), *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 45, London 2016, 227–246.

Negrelli 2012
C. Negrelli, Towards a definition of early medieval

pottery: amphorae and other vessels in the northern Adriatic between the 7th and the 8th centuries, u: *From One Sea to Another. Trade Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (ur. S. Gelichi, R. Hodges), Turnhout – New York 2012, 415–438.

Negrelli 2017
C. Negrelli, Le anfore medievali in Dalmazia: Una prospettiva mediterranea, u: *Adriatico altomedievale (VI–XI secolo)*, Venecija 2017, 247–284.

Negrelli, Vroom 2017
C. Negrelli, J. Vroom, *The Byzantine Web: Pottery and Connectivity Between the Southern Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Venecija 2017.

Pace 2009
C. Pace, *Taranto: la ceramica tra il periodo tardo-bizantino e normanno da Largo San Martino*, diplomski rad, Università del Salento, A. A. 2008/2009.

Popović 1989
M. Popović, Importation et production locale de céramique à Ras (fin XIe–début XIIIe siècle), u: *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine* (ur. V. Déroche, J.-M. Spieser), *BCH Suppl.* 18, Athens 1989, 119–130.

Reynolds 2004
P. Reynolds, The Medieval amphorae, u: *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Survey 1994–1999* (ur. R. Hodges, W. Bowden, K. Lako), Oxford 2004, 270–277.

Roux 2015
V. Roux, Standardization of ceramic assemblages: Transmission mechanisms and diffusion of morpho-functional traits across social boundaries, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 40, 2015, 1–9.

Sanders 1989
D. G. R. Sanders, Three Peloponnesian churches and their importance for the chronology of late 13th and early 14th century pottery in the eastern Mediterranean, *BCH Suppl.* 18, Atena – Pariz 1989, 189–199.

Sanders 2003a
G. D. R. Sanders, An overview of the new chronology for 9th to 13th century pottery at Corinth, u: *VIIe Congrès international sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée* (ur. Ch. Bakirtzis), Solun 2003, 35–43.

Sanders 2003b
G. D. R. Sanders, Recent Developments in the Chronology of Byzantine Corinth, *Corinth* 20, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003, 389–399.

Tartari 1982
F. Tartari, Amforat e muzeut arkeologik të Durrësit, *Iliria* 12 (2), Tirana 1982, 239–279.

Turković 2010
T. Turković, Kasnoantička „palača" u Polačama – nove spoznaje, u: *Zbornik radova simpozija „Dani Cvita Fiskovića"* (ur. M. Perković), Zagreb 2010, 73–92.

Valente 2018
R. Valente, Amphorae in Early and Middle Byzantine Corinth: Continuity and Changes, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 96, Atena 2018, 355–369.

Vroom 2005
J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean: An Introduction and Field Guide*, Utrecht 2005.

Vroom 2007
J. Vroom, Late Antique and Early Medieval ceramics from Butrint, Albania, u: *La Circolazione delle Ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra Tarda Antichità ed Altomedioevo* (ur. S. Gelichi, C. Negrelli), *Documenti di Archeologia* 43, Mantova 2007, 375–388.

Vežić 2002
P. Vežić, Rotonda u Ošlju, u: *Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića*, Split 2002, 219-232.

Vrsalović 1974
D. Vrsalović, *Istraživanja i zaštita podmorskih arheoloških spomenika u SR Hrvatskoj,* Zagreb 1974.

Zmaić, Miholjek 2012a
V. Zmaić, I. Miholjek, Medieval amphorae of the 13th and 14th century in the Eastern Adriatic, *Portal* 3, Zagreb 2012, 157–168.

Zmaić, Miholjek 2012b
V. Zmaić, I. Miholjek, Medieval Byzantine shipwrecks in Eastern Adriatic, *SKYLLIS – Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie* 11 (1), Remshalden 2012, 94–99.

Zmaić 2013
V. Zmaić, Late Byzantine amphorae from eastern Adriatic underwater sites, *SKYLLIS – Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie* 11 (1), Remshalden 2013, 81–88.

Zmaić-Kralj 2017
V. Zmaić-Kralj, Byzantine maritime trade based on underwater archaeological finds of the eastern Adriatic, *SKYLLIS – Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*, Remshalden 2017 (1), 3–61.

Povijesni izvori

De administrando imperio (DAI), gl. 29.
Theophanes Continuatus, 321.3–6.

Mrežni izvori

https://earth.google.com/web/search/Polače/