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## Castellum Tariona

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UDK 904:728.8(497.5 Grebaštica)  
Stručni članak  
Primljeno: 1. 2. 2008.  
Prihvaćeno: 17. 3. 2008.

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UDK 904:728.8 (497.5 Grebaštica)  
Research paper  
Received: 1 February 2008  
Accepted: 17 March 2008

Prema Plinijevu opisu obale od Scardone do Salone (*Plin., N. H. III, 141*), *castellum* Tariona nalazio se na obali staroga teritorija delmatskih Tariota, na zapadnoj strani Hilejskog poluotoka. Njegove ostatke možemo tražiti u ruševinama gradina Stari Šibenik i Mendulina, koje se nalaze sjeverno iznad grebaštičke doline. Gradine su smještene na dva susjedna vrha, te tako čine prostornu cjelinu. Po površinskom materijalu i načinu gradnje bedema razlikuju se od ostalih gradina. Sudeći prema površinskim nalazima i specifičnoj arhitekturi, ta dva moćna utvrđenja nedvojbeno kontinuiraju od 2. do 1. st. pr. Kr.

**Ključne riječi:** *Castellum Tariona, gradine, Mendulina, Stari Šibenik, Grebaštica*

According to Pliny's description of the coast from Scardona to Salona (*Plin., N. H. III, 141*), the *castellum* Tariona was located on the coast of the old territory of the Delmati Tariotes, on the western side of the Hyllus Peninsula. Its remains can be sought in the ruins of the hillforts of Stari Šibenik and Mendulina, which are located above Grebaštica Valley to the north. The hillforts are located on two neighbouring peaks, and thus form a single spatial unit. Based on the surface materials found there and the manner in which the ramparts are constructed, they differ from other hillforts. Judging by the surface discoveries and the specific architecture, these two mighty fortifications certainly have continuity from the second to first centuries BC.

**Key words:** *Castellum Tariona, hillforts, Mendulina, Stari Šibenik, Grebaštica*



Poznati povijesni izvor *Naturalis Historia* Plinija Starijeg u III. knjizi, 141. poglavlju donosi ovakav opis obale od kraja Liburnije do Salone:

*Liburniae finis et initium Delmatiae Scardona in amne eo XII passum a mari. Dein tariotarum antiqua regio et castellum Tariona, promuntorium Diomedis vel, ut alii, paeninsula Hyllis circuitu C, Tragurium civium romanorum, marmore notum, Siculi, in quem locum divus Claudius veteranos misit, Salona colonia ab Jader CXII.*

To antičko enciklopedijsko djelo jedini je literarni izvor koji spominje stari teritorij delmatskih Tariota i njihovu utvrdu Tarionu, Diomedov rt ili, po drugima, Hilejski poluotok, te donosi njegov opseg.

Postavlja se pitanje jesu li Plinijevi podaci vjerodostojni i mogu li se arheološki potvrditi.

Devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća u trogirskom zaleđu pronađena su dva terminacijska natpisa postavljena prema dekretu carskog namjesnika Publija Kornelija Dolabele.<sup>1</sup> Oni su omeđili granicu pašnjaka plemena Tariota sredinom poluotočnog prostora, koji se proteže između Kaštelanskog zaljeva na jugoistoku i Morinjskoga na sjeverozapadu.

Jedna od istaknutijih južnih točaka poluotoka je rt Ploča, a nalazi se južno od granice određene terminacijskim natpisima. Na tom su rtu kraj srednjovjekovne crkvice sv. Ivana Trogirskog pronađeni ostaci svetišta posvećenog mitskom helenskom junaku Diomedu.<sup>2</sup> Njegova prisutnost za grčke je trgovce koji su prolazili ovim dijelom istočnog Jadrana značila sigurnu plovidbu i jamčila utočište u obližnjim uvalama.

Zbog svoje geostrateške važnosti najzapadnija istaka u more na dalmatinskoj obali ušla je u prostor legende o Hilima, koja je nastala u vrijeme kada su Korkirani imali vodeću ulogu na južnom Jadraru i dijelu srednjeg Jadrana. Prema toj legendi grčki geografi bilježe petnaest gradova na Hilejskom poluotoku naseljenih barbariziranim Grcima Hilima (Ps. Scymn., *Perieg.* 405-410).<sup>3</sup>

Hili, međutim, kao i druga manja lokalna plemena, gube svoje značenje na ovom prostoru, jer su bili asimilirani ekspanzijom Delmata, istodobno kada su Rimljani krajem 3. stoljeća prije Krista zakoračili na našu obalu.<sup>4</sup>

Spomen na njihovu prisutnost u ovom dijelu srednjeg Jadrana prenio se u rimsko doba u imenu *Peninsula Hyllis*, a njegov opseg od sto rimskih milja zabilježen je u djelu Plinija Starijeg (Plin., *N.H.* III, 141). Plinijev opseg odgovara perimetru poluotočnog prostora između Kaštelanskog zaljeva na jugoistoku i Morinjskog

The well-known historical source *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder, in Book III, Chapter 141, contains the following description of the coast from the end of Liburnia to Salona:

*Liburniae finis et initium Delmatiae Scardona in amne eo XII passum a mari. Dein tariotarum antiqua regio et castellum Tariona, promuntorium Diomedis vel, ut alii, paeninsula Hyllis circuitu C, Tragurium civium romanorum, marmore notum, Siculi, in quem locum divus Claudius veteranos misit, Salona colonia ab Jader CXII.*

This encyclopaedic Classical work is the only literary source that mentions the old territory of the Delmati Tariotes and their castle, Tariona, the Cape of Diomedes, or to others, the Hyllus Peninsula, and provides a description.

The question arises as to whether Pliny's data were reliable and whether they can be archeologically confirmed.

During the 1920s, two boundary inscriptions were found in the hinterland of the city of Trogir, installed by decree of the imperial consul, Publius Cornelius Dolabella.<sup>1</sup> They delimited the boundary of the pastures of the Tariotes tribe in the middle of the peninsula, which extends between Kaštela Bay in the south-east and Morinj Bay in the north-west.

One of the most prominent southern points of the peninsula is Cape Ploče, and it is south of the boundary specified by the boundary inscription. On this peninsula, next to the medieval Church of St. John of Trogir, the remains of a shrine were discovered that was dedicated to the mythical Hellenistic hero Diomedes.<sup>2</sup> His presence meant safe navigation for Greek merchants passing through this part of the Eastern Adriatic and guaranteed refuge in the nearby coves.

Due to its geostrategic importance, this westernmost promontory on the Dalmatian coast entered into the legends of the Hyllini, which emerged during the time when the Corcyrans played the leading role on the Southern Adriatic and part of the Central Adriatic. Based on this legend, Greek geographers recorded fifteen cities on the Hyllus Peninsula inhabited by the barbarized Greek Hyllini (Ps. Scymn., *Perieg.* 405-410).<sup>3</sup>

The Hyllini, however, like other smaller local tribes, lost their importance in this area, because they were assimilated during the expansion of the Delmati at the same time that the Romans moved onto the Croatian coast at the end of the third century BC.<sup>4</sup>

The memory of their presence in this part of the Central Adriatic carried over into the Roman era in the name *Peninsula Hyllis*, and its extent of one hundred Roman miles was recorded in the work of Pliny the Elder (Plin., *N.H.* III, 141). Pliny's extent corresponds to the

\* Fotografije snimio A. Miletić.

1 Babić 1996, str. 57-70.

2 Čače 1997, str. 21-45.

3 Suić 1996, str. 201-218; Katičić 1995, str. 91-98, 387-398; Mastrocinque 1996, 359-361.

4 Zaninović M. 1996, str. 80-84.

\* Photos by A. Miletić.

1 Babić 1996, pp. 57-70.

2 Čače 1997, pp. 21-45.

3 Suić 1996, pp. 201-218; Katičić 1995, pp. 91-98, 387-398; Mastrocinque 1996, 359-361.

4 Zaninović M. 1996, pp. 80-84.

zaljeva na sjeverozapadu, te odražava rimsko, a ne grčko poimanje Hilejskog poluotoka. Pristup iz unutrašnjosti na poluotok prirodno je zatvoren sa tri velika vapnenačka grebena antiklinalne građe; počevši od zapada prema istoku to su Vilaja, Labišnica i Kozjak.

Na zaštićenom obalnom jugoistočnom dijelu poluotoka Grci osnivaju subkoloniju *Tragurion*, koja u 1. st. pr. Kr. postaje rimski municipij poznat po svojem kamenu. Preko njega je vodila i rimska obalna cesta, trasirana duž cijelog Hilejskog poluotoka. Ona je išla iz smjera Tragurija preko putnih postaja *Loranum* i *ad Pretorum*, posljednja je ubicirana u grebaštičkoj dolini.<sup>5</sup> Prema *Tabula Peutingeriana* cesta je dalje vodila prema Scardoni, a udaljenost od putne postaje Praetorium do Scardone iznosila je dvadeset rimskih milja, što bi odgovaralo udaljenosti između Grebaštice i Skradina.<sup>6</sup>

U vremenu koje je prethodilo rimskoj putnoj postaji Praetorium, prostor Grebaštice s prostranom prodolinom i zaštićenom lukom nalazio se zapadno od granice određene terminacijskim natpisima na starom teritoriju Tariota, koji su istočno unutar poluotoka najvjerojatnije graničili s Hilima.

Na zapadnoj strani izvan poluotoka susjedi su im bili Liburni, a sjeverno u unutrašnjosti delmatski Riditi, na prostoru današnjeg Danila, poslije sjedišta rimskog municipija Ridera.<sup>7</sup>

Tariotski teritorij, koji je obuhvaćao gotovo cijeli zapadni dio Hilejskog poluotoka, omeđen je krškim brežuljcima u podnožju kojih se često nalaze lokve.

Prema dvjema važnim lokvama i rimski je namjesnik Dolabela odredio istočnu granicu pašnjaka Tariota (*saltus tariotarum*), koji su više nego njihovi sjeverni i zapadni susjedi bili vezani uz pastirski način života.<sup>8</sup> Danas su nam sačuvani monumentalni ostaci tariotskih gradina, od kojih neke imaju tri obruča bedema. Na tim gradinama u bedemima se vide uži ulazi ljevkasta oblika, koji su najvjerojatnije građeni za stoku.<sup>9</sup> Pastirsku tradiciju još iz vremena Rima potvrđuje i natpis iz Grebaštice posvećen Silvanu,<sup>10</sup> gdje su zbog izvora vode bili najbolji uvjeti za organizaciju života jedne veće plemenske zajednice, plemena Tariota.

Kako je poznato, kroz Grebašticu je jugoistočno vodila rimska obalna cesta prema Traguriju, koja je dijelom prekrila pretpovijesni put uz važnija gradinska naselja na Hilejskom poluotoku i izvan njega.<sup>11</sup>

Također, pravac rimskog puta išao je iz Grebaštice sjeverno prema Danilu, što je zapravo pokazatelj prastare komunikacije između Tarione i Ridera; stoga je Tariona tijekom 1. st. pr. Krista imala značajnu ulogu, najvjerojatnije zbog sigurne luke. Zato je Plinije spominje zajedno s drugim središtima obalnog prostora između Scardone i Salone (Plin., *N.H.* III 141).

perimeter of the peninsular area between Kaštela Bay in the south-east and Morinj Bay in the north-west, and reflects the Roman rather than the Greek notion of the Hyllus Peninsula. The approach to the peninsula from the interior is naturally impeded by three large limestone ridges of anticlinal composition; going from west to east, they are called: Vilaja, Labišnica and Kozjak.

On the protected south-eastern part of the peninsula, the Greeks established the sub-colony *Tragurion*, which became a Roman municipium in the first century BC known for its stone. The Roman coastal road, with sections all along the Hyllus Peninsula, passed through it. It ran from the direction of Tragurion through the roadside stations *Loranum* and *ad Pretorum*, and the latter has been located in Grebaštica Valley.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the road continued toward Scardona, and the distance from the Praetorium station to Scardona was twenty Roman miles, which would correspond to the distance between Grebaštica and Skradin.<sup>6</sup>

During the time that preceded the Roman station of Praetorium, the area of Grebaštica with its spacious dell and sheltered harbour was west of the boundary specified by the boundary inscriptions on the old territory of the Tariotes, who probably bordered with the Hyllini on the east within the peninsula.

On the western side off of the peninsula their neighbours were the Liburnians, while to the north in the interior they neighboured the Delmati Reditae, in the territory of today's Danilo, later the seat of the Roman municipium of Rider.<sup>7</sup>

The Tariote territory, which encompassed almost the entire western part of the Hyllus Peninsula, was bordered by karst hills which often had ponds at their foot.

Based on two important ponds, the Roman Consul Dolabella determined the eastern boundary of the pastures of the Tariotes (*saltus tariotarum*), who were more tied to the shepherd lifestyle than their northern and western neighbors.<sup>8</sup> Today the monumental remains of the Tariote hillforts are preserved, and some have three circuits of ramparts. Narrow funnel-shaped entrances can be seen in the walls of these hillforts, and they were probably made for livestock.<sup>9</sup> The shepherding tradition in Roman times is also confirmed by an inscription from Grebaštica dedicated to Silvanus,<sup>10</sup> where the sources of water afforded the best conditions to organize the life of a large tribal community, the Tariote tribe.

As is known, the Roman coastal road to Tragurion passed through Grebaštica along the south-east, and it partially ran along the prehistoric route along the major hillfort settlements on the Hyllus Peninsula and outside of it.<sup>11</sup>

5 Zaninović J. 1995, str. 34-36; Miletić Ž. 1993a, str. 77-87; Miletić Ž. 1997, str. 176.

6 Miletić Ž. 1993a, str. 87; Miletić Ž. 1993b, str. 142-143.

7 Rendić-Miočević 1989, str. 845-902.

8 CIL III 9867; Gunjača 1977, str. 177-185; Batović 2004, str. 636-638.

9 Sličnu pojavu na gradinama kod Morinjskog zaljeva uočio je i Zlatko Gunjača, Gunjača 1976, str. 378-379; Miletić A., *Saltus tariotarum*, u tisku.

10 Dujmović 1958-1959, str. 125.

11 Miletić Ž. 1993a, str. 79; Miletić A. 2007, str. 62-69.

5 Zaninović J. 1995, pp. 34-36; Miletić Ž. 1993a, pp. 77-87; Miletić Ž. 1997, p. 176.

6 Miletić Ž., 1993a, p. 87; Miletić Ž. 1993b, pp. 142-143.

7 Rendić-Miočević 1989, pp. 845-902.

8 CIL III 9867; Gunjača 1977, pp. 177-185; Batović 2004, pp. 636-638.

9 A similar phenomenon on the hillforts at Morinj Bay were observed by Zlatko Gunjača, Gunjača 1976, pp. 378-379; Miletić A., *Saltus tariotarum*, in press.

10 Dujmović 1958-1959, p. 125.

11 Miletić Ž. 1993a, p. 79; Miletić A. 2007, pp. 62-69.

Prema Pliniju, koji opisuje obalu i njezinu unutrašnjost od sjevera prema jugu, Tariona se nalazila na obali južno od Scardone unutar teritorija Tariota. Ona je bila utvrđenje iznad zaštićene luke i administrativno središte plemenske zajednice, udaljeno od međe određene dekretom carskoga namjesnika.<sup>12</sup>

Prije Diomedova svetišta, sjeverno, u starom teritoriju Tariota, prostor današnje Grebaštica omeđen je ostacima pretpovijesne aglomeracije, koju čini nekoliko utvrđenih gradinskih naselja. Ona su postavljena na strateškim pozicijama u odnosu na plodnu dolinu i njezinu luku, a u vremenu koje je prethodilo rimskoj ekspanziji neka od tih utvrđenja bila su organizirana kao jedna cjelina u prostoru.

Iako u Grebaštica nisu obavljana sustavna arheološka istraživanja, može se donekle odrediti smještaj antičkog utvrđenja, koje se od ostalih razlikuje prema morfologiji i brojnosti antičkog materijala na površini unutar perimetra fortifikacije.

Prije ubikacije potrebno je opisati cijeli prostor Grebaštica i njezine bliže okolice na istočnoj strani, zajedno s pretpovijesnim utvrdama koje su ga čuvale.

Sjevernom stranom Hilejskog poluotoka pruža se duga sinklinala u smjeru istok - zapad, od Barin dola u Segetu Gornjem pa prema luci Grebaštica. U Blizni Gornjoj, gdje se nalazi sjeverni terminacijski natpis, teren se od brda Ripište sredinom sužene prodoline spušta prema nižoj prostranoj dolini Grebaštica. Dolina dužine kojih 7 kilometara, koja završava uvalom, zatvorena je poput korita s južne i sjeverne strane dvjema antiklinalama, cijelom svojom dužinom. Sredinom je podijeljena lancem brežuljaka, koji se također pružaju u smjeru istok - zapad. Od istočne međe pa prema grebašticačkoj dolini na odabranim strateškim pozicijama duž Vilaje nalaze se ostaci bedema pretpovijesnih gradina.

Počevši od istoka prema zapadu, to su: Grad iznad Blizne, Kurlje, Gradina - Vrsno, Police - Vrsno, Sv. Ivan de Tiro, Čobanska greda, Mendulina, Stari Šibenik - Grebaštica. Sredinom iznad prodoline u Blizni Gornjoj je gradina Ripište i dalje u istočnom djelu grebašticačke doline gradina Privija, iznad zaseoka Svirčića. Južno iznad doline između vrhova Jelinjaka i Vucistera dominira prirodnim prolazom duž padine antiklinale gradina Mali Jelinjak.

Na zapadnom dijelu uz more pri kraju prodoline izdiže se brežuljak Vrzine na kojem su sa sjeverne i južne strane blage padine ostaci arhitekture te razbacani ulomci rimske i kasnoantičke keramike. Sjeverozapadno od Vrzina nalazi se lokalitet Kuline, također sa ostacima rimske arhitekture, a navedene građevine i keramika pripadaju kasnijem razdoblju Praetoriuma.<sup>13</sup>

Sjevernije iznad navedenih lokaliteta u zapadnom dijelu grebašticačke doline, gdje je polje najplodnije, dominira padina

The route of the Roman road went out of Grebaštica north toward Danilo, which is actually an indicator of the ancient communication between Tariona and Rider; thus Tariona played a significant role during the first century BC, probably because of its safe harbour. This is why Pliny mentioned it together with other centres along the coastal belt between Scardona and Salona (Plin., *N.H.* III 141).

According to Pliny, who described the coast and its interior from north to south, Tariona was located on the coast south of Scardona inside the territory of the Tariotes. It was a fortification above the safe harbour and the administrative seat of the tribal community, far from the boundary decreed by the imperial consul.<sup>12</sup>

Before the shrine to Diomedes, north, in the old territory of the Tariotes, the area of today's Grebaštica is bordered by the remains of a prehistoric agglomeration, which consists of several fortified hillfort settlements. They are placed at strategic positions in relation to the fertile valley and its harbour, and during the time preceding Roman expansion some of these fortifications were organized as a single spatial unit.

Even though systematic archaeological research has not been conducted in Grebaštica, to a certain extent the position of the ancient fortification can be determined, as it differs from the others in terms of morphology and the number of materials dating to Antiquity found on the surface within the fortification's perimeter.

Prior to pinpointing a location, it is necessary to describe the entire area of Grebaštica and its nearer vicinity on the eastern side, together with the prehistoric fortifications that protected it.

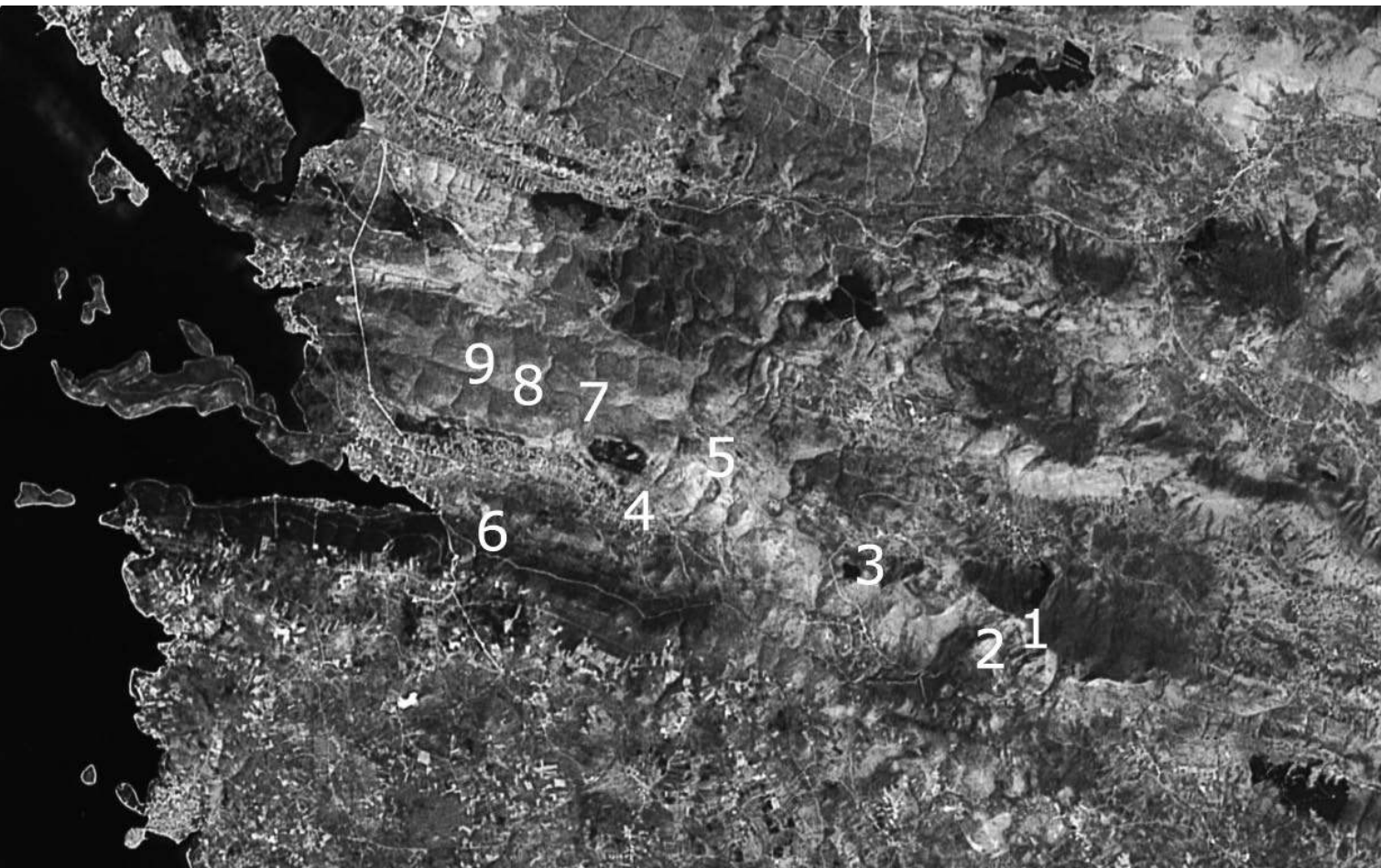
A long syncline extends on the northern side of the Hyllus Peninsula in the east-west direction, from Barin dol to Seget Gornji and onward to Grebaštica's harbour. In Blizna Gornja, where the northern boundary inscription is located, the terrain from Ripište Hill descends along a narrow ravine to the lower, spacious Grebaštica Valley. The valley is roughly 7 kilometres long, and it ends in a cove, closed like a basin to the north and south by two anticlines along its entire length. It is divided in the middle by a chain of hills, which also extend in the east-west direction. From the eastern boundary toward Grebaštica Valley, the remains of fortified walls of prehistoric hillforts can be found at select points all along Vilaja.

Beginning in the east and heading west, these are: Grad above Blizna, Kurlje, Gradina-Vrsno, Police - Vrsno, Sveti Ivan de Tiro, Čobanska greda, Mendulina, Stari Šibenik-Grebaštica. The Ripište hillfort stands midway above the ravine in Blizna Gornja, while the Privija hillfort is farther on in the eastern portion of Grebaštica Valley above the hamlet of Svirčići. South above the valley between Jelinjak and Vucister peaks, the Mali Jelinjak hillfort dominates the natural pass over the length of the anticline's slope.

12 Babić 1996, str. 64-65: povodeći se za međašnim natpisima i dvosmisleno interpretirajući njihovo značenje, autor je tražio Tarionu na istočnom kraju tariotskog teritorija, uz samu granicu.

13 Dujmović 1956, str. 242-243; Miletić Ž. 1993a, str. 78.

12 Babić 1996, pp. 64-65: based on the boundary inscriptions and interpreting their meaning ambiguously, the author sought Tariona in the eastern periphery of Tariote territory, along the boundary itself.



Karta 1.

Karta gradinâ od Blizne Gornje do Grebaštica

Japaga, podno koje se na dodirnome mjestu fliša i vapnenaca nalazi i danas korišten izvor Kanela, koji je imao važnu ulogu u antici, o čemu svjedoče ostaci fortifikacija na vrhovima iznad njega.<sup>14</sup>

Ova dva utvrđenja (Mendulina i Stari Šibenik) izgrađena su na maloj udaljenosti jedan od drugog i imaju sličnu morfologiju i tehniku zidanja. Iako su tijekom vremena pretrpjela znatne izmjene u arhitekturi, s dosta sigurnosti se može pratiti lice bedema kod utvrde Stari Šibenik, što se ne bi moglo reći i za gradinu Mendulina, čiji je prostor ponovno korišten u srednjem vijeku.<sup>15</sup>

Prije nego što ubiciramo Tarionu, potrebno je popisati ostale gradine na teritoriju između Blizne Gornje na istoku i uvale Grebaštica na zapadu.

Dakle, idući od istoka prema zapadu, navodimo sljedeće gradine (karta 1):

Map 1.

Map of hillforts from Blizna Gornja to Grebaštica

The small hill called Vrzine rises on the western end along the sea at the end of the ravine; on the northern and southern gentle slopes there are architectural remains and scattered fragments of Roman and Late Antique pottery. The Kuline site is north-west of Vrzine, also with Roman architectural remains, and this structure and the pottery belong to the later period of Praetorium.<sup>13</sup>

The slopes of Japag dominate farther north above these sites in the western end of Grebaštica Valley, where the field is the most fertile. At its foot, at the meeting point of flysch and limestone, the Kanela spring can be found, which is still used today. It played a major role during Antiquity, to which the remains of a fortification on the peaks overlooking it testify.<sup>14</sup>

These two fortifications (Mendulina and Stari Šibenik) were constructed a short distance from each other and they have a similar morphology and masonry technique. Even though they have undergone considerable architectural change over time, the

14 Višestruki način utvrđivanje većega i prostranijeg vrha na romaniziranom teritoriju poznat nam je preko Apijanova opisa osvajanja japodskog Metuluma, *Metulum ... sita urbs est in monte ad modum silvosa, duobus imposta tumulis* (Appiani, *Rom. Hist., de rebus Illiricis*, XIX, 54).

15 Stošić 1941, str. 249-250.

13 Dujmović 1956, pp. 242-243; Miletić Ž. 1993a, p. 78.

14 The manifold fashion of fortifying large and more spacious peaks in Romanized territories is known thanks to Appian's descriptions of the conquest of the Japode Metulum, *Metulum ... sita urbs est in monte ad modum silvosa, duobus imposta tumulis* (Appiani, *Rom. Hist., de rebus Illiricis*, XIX, 54).



Slika 1.  
Kurlje, pogled s vrha na istočnoj strani

Figure 1.  
Kurlje, view from top on the eastern side

1. Kurlje (sl. 1), zapadno iznad Blizna Gornje. Mala stožasta uzvisina opasana ostacima trostrukog obruča bedema, koji završava liticom na južnoj strani. Zbog morfologije strmijeg terena bedem dominantne manjih je dimenzija. Prema dominantni vodi manji ulaz u obliku hodnika usječenog u bedeme s njihove sjeveroistočne strane.

Ostaci monumentalnog ulaza nalaze se na sjeverozapadu drugoga, najjačeg obruča bedema. Usječen u njega, ulaz predstavlja manji propugnakul, čiji su dovratnici rađeni različitim djelomice obrađenim kamenim blokovima kiklopskih dimenzija, visine do otprilike 1,3 m i širine do otprilike 1 m. Dužina tog hodnika ulaza je 3,9 m, a širina 2,3 m. Kameni blokovi ulaza pomnije su slagani, za razliku od ostale strukture suhozida bedema.

Ovaj središnji obruč u kojem je ulaz, sastoji se od tri lica paralelnih zidova rađenih većim kamenom različitih dimenzija, čiji je središnji prostor ispunjen manjim kamenjem i lomljencem.

2. Ripište, brijeg koji se nalazi južno nasuprot Kurlji u predjelu Osoje (Blizna Gornja) i dominira prirodnim prolazom prema grebaštičkoj dolini. Njegov vrh bio je zaštićen sa dva obruča bedema, koji na zapadnoj strani završavaju strmijom liticom, a na južnoj, gdje je najlakši pristup ulazu, manjim vanjskim lučnim podzidom. Ostaci ulaza u gradinu usječeni su u oba

face of the rampart of the Stari Šibenik fortification can be followed with considerable certainty, and this can also be said of the Medulina hillfort, which was once more used in the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup>

Before precisely locating Tariona, the other hillforts in the territory between Blizna Gornja in the east and Grebaštica Cove in the west must be listed.

Therefore, moving from east to west, the following hillforts are specified (map 1):

1. Kurlje (Fig. 1), west above Blizna Gornja. A small conical rise is encircled by the remains of a triangular circuit of ramparts, which end in a cliff of the southern side. Due to the morphology of the terrain, the rampart of the dominant structure has smaller dimensions. A smaller entrance leads to the dominant structure, shaped like a corridor carved into the rampart on its north-east side.

The remains of the monumental entrance are located to the north-west of the second strongest rampart circuit. Carved into it, the entrance constitutes a small propugnaculum, with door jambs made of various partially dressed stone blocks of

<sup>15</sup> Stošić 1941, pp. 249-250.

obruča bedema na južnoj strani. Na mjestu ulaza vidljiva su dva paralelna pojačanja, između kojih prolazi manji hodnik, koji se prema unutrašnjosti sužava. Osim što izgledom podsjeća na gradinu Kurlje, konstrukcija bedema i ulaza gradine Ripište lošije je izrade. To se očituje na strukturi vanjskih lica zidova, koji su rađeni većim grubljim kamenjem različitih dimenzija, zbog čega i nisu osobito pomno slagani. Prostor među licima zidova bedema ispunjen je manjim amorfnim kamenjem.

3. Police,<sup>16</sup> gradina koja se nalazi na jednom od vrhova iznad zaselka Škendereovca, istočno od sela Vrsna. Bila je opasana sa dva lučna bedema različitih dimenzija duž cijele sjeverne strane. Ostaci moćnog unutarnjeg obrambenog zida pružaju se prema akropoli s južne strane, prirodno zaštićenoj strmom padinom. S istočne je strane prema akropoli vodio prolaz između dva bedema, nad njima je dominiralo izrazito pojačanje, naglašeno na sjeveroistočnoj strani višeg unutarnjeg bedema. Ta konstrukcija postavljena iznad ulaza, koji je smješten između vanjskoga i unutarnjeg bedema, imala je funkciju kule. Ona je kružnog oblika, poduprta potpornim zidovima, koji se stepenasto penju prema vrhu. Iako je zbog razrušenosti teško zamijetiti lica zidova, na jednom se segmentu južno do kule vidi vanjsko lice rađeno djelomice obrađenim i pomnije slaganim kamenim pločama različitih dimenzija.

Južno od Polica, na susjednom, manjem stožastom vrhu nalaze se ostaci suhozidnog bedema manje gradine. Ona je bila isključivo strateškog karaktera, te je valja promatrati u prostornom kontekstu s gradinom Police.

4. Privija,<sup>17</sup> brijeg koji dominira sredinom grebaštičke doline. Nalazi se sjeverno od trase rimske obalne ceste koja poprečno prelazi dolinu. Unutar perimetra fortifikacije gradina je podijeljena u dva dijela, s naglašenom dominantom, koja je s jugozapadne strane prirodno zaštićena defenzivnim značajkama strmog terena. Sjeverna strana dominantne branjena je lučnim bedemom, a on se istočno spušta prateći morfologiju padine. Taj istočni potez bedema štutio je bočnu stranu južnog prostora namijenjenog stanovanju, o čemu svjedoče ulomci pretpovijesne keramike razbacani po površini terasa.

Na najlakšem pristupu dominantni sa sjeverne strane naglašeno je pojačanje u bedemu sred kojega prolazi manji hodnik dužine 4,2 m i širine 2,3 m. Ta konstrukcija, branjena s desne strane manjim bastionom, imala je funkciju manjeg propugnakula.

Bedem gradine širine oko 4,2 metra sastoji se od četiri lica paralelnih zidova građenih od većeg kamena različitih dimenzija, a cijela struktura pojačana je poprečnim zidovima. Prostor među licima zidova ispunjen je manjim amorfnim kamenjem i lomljenjem zida. Zapadno od gradine na susjednom brijegu nalaze se ostaci većeg tumula kupolastog oblika.

cyclopean dimensions, at heights of roughly 1.3 m and widths of roughly 1 m. The length of this corridor entrance is 3.9 m, and its width is 2.3 m. The stone blocks of the entrance were more carefully laid, as opposed to the remaining structures of the dry stone ramparts.

This central circuit in which the entrance is located consists of three faces of parallel walls made of large stones of varying dimensions, whose central space is filled with smaller stones and debris.

2. Ripište, a hill located south just opposite of Kurlje in the Osoje tract (Blizna Gornja), dominates the natural pass toward Grebaštica Valley. Its peak was protected by two circuits of ramparts, which end at a steep cliff on the left side, while on the south, where access to the entrance is easiest, there is a small external arched underpinning wall. The remains of the entrance to the hillfort are cut into both circuits of ramparts on the southern side. Two parallel reinforcements are visible at the entrance, between which a small corridor passes that narrows toward the interior. Besides recalling the Kurlje hillfort in appearance, the construction of the ramparts and the entrance to the Ripište hillfort is of poorer quality. This is apparent in the structure of the external face of the walls, which are made of large coarser stones of different dimensions, which is why they were not more carefully stacked. The space between the walls of these ramparts is filled with smaller amorphous stones.
3. Police,<sup>16</sup> is a hillfort located on one of the peaks above the hamlet of Škendereovac, toward the east, in Vrsno. It was encircled by two arched ramparts of different dimensions all along the entire northern side. The remains of the powerful interior defensive wall extend toward the acropolis from the south, naturally protected by a steep slope. A passage between the two ramparts ran from the eastern side toward the acropolis; a striking reinforcement dominated the space above these walls, emphasized on the north-east side of the higher internal wall. This construction, placed above the entrance, which was located between the external and internal wall, functioned as a tower. It was circular, undergirded by support walls, which climbed in stair-fashion toward the peak. Although the faces of the walls are scarcely noticeable due to the extensive dilapidation, on one segment south of the tower the external face made of partially dressed and more carefully stacked stone slabs of different sizes can be discerned.

The remains of a smaller dry stone hillfort are located south of Police, on the neighbouring, less conical peak. It had an exclusively strategic character, and it should be viewed in the same spatial context as the Police hillfort.

16 Brusić 1976, str. 19; Krnčević, Krnčević 1994; Menđušić 2000, str. 202.

17 Miletić Ž. 1993a.

16 Brusić 1976, p. 19; Krnčević, Krnčević 1994; Menđušić 2000, p. 202.



5. Sv. Ivan de Tyro,<sup>18</sup> istureni brijeg južno od sela Vrsna na vrhu antiklinale, koji je prirodno zaštićen liticom s južne, istočne i zapadne strane na vrhu antiklinale. Dobio je ime prema srednjovjekovnoj crkvi porušenoj godine 1570. Od gradine je preostala samo osipina bedema sa sjeverne strane, gdje se na površini vide rijetki ulomci pretpovijesne keramike. Unutar vanjskog perimetra gradine nalaze se srednjovjekovni grobovi, od kojih su neki iskopani.

6. Mali Jelinjak<sup>19</sup> nalazi se južno iznad grebašičke doline, na izbačenom brijegu vrha padine Jelinjaka, sjeverno od današnje ceste koja vodi u Primošten Burnji. Stožasta uzvisina prirodno je zaštićena s istočne strane strmom liticom, dok su je na južnoj i zapadnoj strani štitila dva lučna pretpovijesna bedema. Vanjski, u kojem je otvorena sonda, pojačan je s južne strane, zbog lakog pristupa blagom južnom padinom. Unutarnji bedem pružao se od akropole do kraja podgrađa, zaštićenog sa sjeverne strane većim podzidom.

Podgrađe je bilo izdvojeno od akropole zidom u smjeru istok - zapad, koji je građen većim i pravilnijim kamenim blokovima, a njegovi ostaci sačuvani su na površini duž sjevernog kraja akropole. Za razliku od pravilne strukture suhozida akropole, bedem je rađen većim pločastim kamenjem različitih dimenzija. Čini ga nekoliko lica paralelnih zidova, koji su svakih nekoliko metara pojačani poprečnim zidovima kako bi se osigurala statika mase suhozida koji se spušta niz padinu. Po površini bedema i podgrađa razbacani su ulomci pretpovijesne keramike.

7. Čobanska greda nalazi se na grebenu koji blago pada prema istočnoj strani, odnosno prema selu Konobama. Ostaci pretpovijesnog suhozidnog bedema, dužine 118 m i širine od 1,2 m do 2 m, zatvaraju cijelu zapadnu i sjevernu stranu uskog vrha gradine. U bedemu su suhozidnu masu stabilizirala do tri paralelna suhozida, čije je vanjsko lice rađeno pomoću većeg neobrađenog kamena različitih dimenzija. Ispod litice je na padini s južne strane bilo malo podgrađe zaštićeno zapadnim bočnim bedemom, dok je s istoka naselje štitila prirodna strmina preko koje je neprijatelj teže napredovao. Na prostoru podgrađa nalazi se manja količina pretpovijesne keramike.

Mendulina i Stari Šibenik<sup>20</sup> dva su vrha izdvojena blagim prijevojem.

8. Mendulina, viši istočni vrh, prirodno je zaštićena s južne strane kaskadnom liticom koja se spušta prema izvoru Kaneli. Ovaj dugi brijeg orijentiran je u smjeru istok - zapad i blago pada prema zapadu, obrubljen je ostacima polukružnog bedema na kojem se vidi nekoliko građevinskih faza, a uz bedem

4. Privija,<sup>17</sup> a hill which dominates the middle of Grebaštica Valley. It is located north of the section of the Roman coastal road which passes transversely through the valley. Within the perimeter of the fortifications the hillfort is divided into two sections, with a prominent dominant structure, which is naturally protected from the south-west side by the defensive features of the steep terrain. The northern side of the dominant structure is guarded by an arched rampart, and it descends easterly, following the morphology of the slope. This eastern leg of the rampart protected the lateral side of the southern area intended for residence, to which the fragments of prehistoric pottery scattered over the surface of the terrace testify.

There is a prominent reinforcement of the rampart at the easiest point of access to the dominant structure on the northern side, with a small corridor, 4.2 m long and 2.3 m wide, passing through its middle. This construction, guarded from the right side by a small bastion, functioned as a smaller propugnaculum.

The hillfort's rampart, with a width of approximately 4.2 meters, consists of four faces of parallel walls made of large stones of various sizes, and the entire structure is reinforced with perpendicular walls. The space between the faces of the walls is filled with small amorphous rocks and debris from the walls. The remains of a large dome-shaped tumulus are located west of the hillfort on a neighbouring hill.

5. Sveti Ivan de Tyro,<sup>18</sup> a jutting hill south of the village of Vrsno atop an anticline, is naturally protected by a cliff to the south, east and west on the peak of the anticline. It obtained its name from a medieval church that was demolished in 1570. All that remains of the hillfort is the eroded rampart on the northern side, where rare fragments of prehistoric pottery can be seen on the surface. Medieval graves are inside the outer perimeter of the hillfort, some of which have been excavated.

6. Mali Jelinjak<sup>19</sup> is located south above Grebaštica Valley, on a protruding hill at the peak of the slopes of Jelinjak, north of today's road leading to Primošten Burnji. The conical prominence is naturally protected from the east by a steep cliff, while its southern and western sides were protected by two arched prehistoric ramparts. The external wall, in which a test trench was opened, was reinforced from the southern side for easier access to the gentle southern slope. The internal wall extended from the acropolis to the end of the support works, protected from the north by a large underpinning wall.

The support works were separated from the acropolis by the wall in the east-west direction, constructed from large and more regular stone blocks, while its remains are preserved

18 Stošić 1941, str. 253-254.

19 Mendušić 2000, str. 198, 203, crtež 209.

20 Mendušić 2000, str. 198, 208-209.

17 Miletić Ž. 1993a.

18 Stošić 1941, pp. 253-254.

19 Mendušić 2000, pp. 198, 203, sketch 209.



Slika 2.  
Mendulina, dio pojačanja na  
sjevernom potezu bedema

Figure 2.  
Kurlje, view from top on eastern  
side

na površini brojni su ulomci rimske i rijetke pretpovijesne keramike. Ostaci dvostrukog pretpovijesnog bedema koji se sastoji od manjega vanjskog i većega unutarnjeg bedema dobro su sačuvani duž sjeveroistočne strane brijega. Veći unutarnji bedem širine je oko 2,2 m, lučnog je oblika, a vanjsko lice njegova zida, rađeno neobrađenim kamenom različitih dimenzija, može se sasvim dobro pratiti u dužini od oko 60 m. Prekida se velikom depresijom ulaza na sjevernoj strani.<sup>21</sup> Na sjeveroistočnoj je strani u bedemu sačuvan manji segment pravilnog suhozida rađenog obrađenim megalitima (sl. 2). To naknadno gotovo četvrtasto pojačanje dužine oko 5 metara razlikuje se od ostatka pretpovijesnog bedema, a najvjerojatnije je imalo ulogu "bastiona" podignutog u ranorimskoj fazi utvrde.

Na nižoj, zapadnoj strani razasutog bedema vidi se unutrašnje i vanjsko lice širokog zida koji se lomi pod ostrim kutom. Bez arheoloških istraživanja teško je razlučiti pripada li ovaj potez bedema istoj građevinskoj fazi kao i spomenuto lice od tri reda pravilnih blokova vidljivo na sjeveroistočnoj strani razasutog bedema. No zbog pravilnosti zidanja bedema koji se lomi pod pravim kutom, moglo bi se zaključiti da ovoj fazi fortifikacija pripadaju i brojni ulomci rimskih amfora tipa *Lamboglia 2*, kao i ulomci dolija i tegula koje u velikoj količini nalazimo na površini Menduline.

Čini se da je u jednom trenutku prostor gradine reduciran na istočni dio, koji se od ostalog dijeli poprečnim širim zidom što se pruža u smjeru istok-zapad, a nalazi se istočnije, iznad porušene srednjovjekovne kapele sv. Marije.<sup>22</sup> U strukturi tog zida vidljivi su tragovi vapnenog morta pa je očito riječ o

on the surface all along the northern end of the acropolis. In contrast to the regular structure of the dry stone walls of the acropolis, the rampart is made of large stone slabs of differing sizes. It consists of several faces of parallel walls, which are reinforced every few meters to ensure the statics of the mass of the dry stones which descend down the slope. Fragments of prehistoric pottery are strewn about the surface of the rampart and support works.

7. Čobanska greda is located on a ridge that gently descends eastward toward the village of Konobe. The remains of the prehistoric dry stone rampart, 118 m long and 1.2 to 2 m wide, close the entire western and northern side of the narrow top of the hillfort. In the rampart, the dry stone mass was stabilized by up to three parallel dry stone walls, whose external face was made using larger unworked stones of various dimensions. A small support work protected by the western lateral rampart was beneath the cliff on the slope from the south side, while from the east the settlement was protected by a natural gradient over which enemies experienced difficulties in advancing. A small quantity of prehistoric pottery was found in the area of the support work.

Mendulina and Stari Šibenik<sup>20</sup> are two peaks separated by a gentle pass.

8. Mendulina, the higher eastern peak, is naturally protected on the southern side by a cascading cliff which descends toward the Kanela spring. This long hill is oriented in an east-west direction toward the west, bordered by the remains of a semi-circular rampart in which several construction phases can be discerned, while next to the rampart, on the surface, there are numerous fragments of Roman and rare prehistoric pottery. The remains of the double prehistoric rampart consisting of a smaller external and larger internal rampart are well preserved along the north-eastern side of the hill. The larger internal rampart is approximately 2.2 m wide, arched in form, and its external wall face, made of uncut stones of various sizes, can be followed quite well over a length of 60 m. It ends with a large depression at the entrance on the northern side.<sup>21</sup> On the north-eastern side, in the rampart, a small segment of dry stone made of carved megaliths (Fig. 2) has been preserved. This subsequent almost square reinforcement, approximately 5 m long, differs from the rest of the prehistoric rampart, and it probably played the role of a small "bastion" raised in the early Roman phase of the fortification.

On the lower, western side of the crumbling rampart, the internal and external face of the wide wall can be discerned, which fractures at a sharp angle. Without archaeological research, it will be difficult to ascertain whether this section

<sup>21</sup> Mendušić 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Stošić 1941.

<sup>20</sup> Mendušić 2000, pp. 198, 208-209.

<sup>21</sup> Mendušić 2000.



Slika 3a.  
Stari Šibenik, pogled sa  
sjeveroistočne strane

Figure 3a.  
Stari Šibenik, view from the north-  
eastern side



Slika 3b.  
Stari Šibenik, dio sjevernog  
bedema

Figure 3b.  
Stari Šibenik, part of the northern  
rampart

kasnijoj fazi gradnje na Mendulini. Na terasi koju je formirao spomenuti poprečni zid, nalazila se i cisterna, na što upućuje depresija nepravilnog četvrtastog oblika dimenzija oko 5 x 10 m te ulomci vapnenog morta pomiješani s usitnjenom ciglom.

Na istočnom prethistorijskom bedemu vidljiv je ostatak zida širine oko 40 cm; on je naknadno izgrađen i zidan je u vapnenom mortu. To je zadnja fortifikacijska faza Menduline, koju je teško datirati bez arheoloških istraživanja.

9. Stari Šibenik, fortificirani plato koji se nalazi zapadno od Menduline (sl. 3a). Utvrđenje je nepravilnoga četvrtastog oblika, prirodno zaštićeno strmom liticom s južne strane, obrubljeno suhozidnim bedemom dužine oko 330 m, širine od 2,3 m do 4,2 m i sačuvane visine do oko 2 m. Struktura bedema sastoji se od 2 do 4 lica paralelnih zidova, a masa obrambenog zida stabilizirana je poprečnim suhozidima. Vanjsko lice bedema građeno je s djelomice obrađenim megalitima (sl. 3b). S istočne i zapadne strane sačuvana su po dva ulaza, od kojih je monumentalniji istočni, prema kojem vodi trasirani put iz pravca Menduline. Ulaz je i danas impresivan jer su njegovi zidovi rađeni od bolje obrađenih blokova; vanjski su kiklopskih dimenzija (sl. 4). Kod ulaza je naglašeno i pojačanje u bedemu, naročito iznad sjevernog zida hodnika, zbog čega je cijela konstrukcija imala funkciju propugnakula.

Međutim, važan ulaz nalazio se uz liticu pri kraju zapadnog poteza bedema, o čemu svjedoče ostaci kule sačuvani s lijeve strane ulaza.

Prostor unutar perimetra ove moćne fortifikacije poravnan je i podijeljen u nekoliko dijelova, od kojih je južni, bliži litici, služio za stanovanje. Ondje su, naime, vidljivi ostaci zidova kuća. Sjevernije ispod njih je velika cisterna iskopana u živcu, a kamen izvađen iz nje najvjerojatnije se koristio u izgradnji bedema. Također, o intenzivnom životu unutar

of the rampart belongs to the same construction phase as the aforementioned face made of three regular blocks visible on the north-eastern side of the crumbling rampart. However, due to the regularity of the construction of the rampart fracturing at a right angle, it may be concluded that the numerous fragments of Roman *Lamboglia 2* type amphora fragments belong to this phase of the fortification, as do the dolium and tegula fragments found in large quantities on the surface of Mendulina.

It would appear that at one moment, the area of the hillfort was reduced at its eastern end, which is divided from the rest by a perpendicular wider wall which extends in an east-west direction, and is located more to the east, above the demolished medieval Chapel of St. Mary.<sup>22</sup> Traces of limestone plaster are visible in the structure of this wall, so it is obviously a matter of a later construction phase on Mendulina. A cistern was located on the terrace formed by the aforementioned perpendicular wall, indicated by a depression of irregular rectangular shape with dimensions of roughly 5 x 10 m, and fragments of limestone plaster mixed with crushed brick.

The remains of an approximately 40 cm thick wall are visible on the eastern prehistoric wall; it was subsequently built and walled in limestone plaster. This is the last fortification phase of Mendulina, which is difficult to date without archaeological research.

9. Stari Šibenik, a fortified plateau located west of Mendulina (Fig. 3a). The fortification has an irregular rectangular shape, naturally protected by a steep cliff on its southern side,

22 Stošić 1941.



Slika 4.  
Stari Šibenik, ulaz na istočnoj strani utvrđenja

Figure 4.  
Stari Šibenik, entrance to the eastern side of the fortification

utvrđenja svjedoči površinski keramički materijal, uglavnom ulomci tijela i oboda amfora tipa *Lamboglia 2* i drugoga rimskog materijala.

Nakon obilaska i opisa navedenih lokaliteta okvirno možemo izdvojiti tri oblika gradina:<sup>23</sup>

- A. Najzastupljenije su gradine s dvostrukim ili trostrukim sustavom koncentričnih bedema: Kurlje, Ripište, Police, Mali Jelinjak.
- B. Gradine s manjom ili užom utvrđenom dominantom, s pristupačnije strane zaštićene su jednim lučnim bedemom, dok se s južne strane, na padini, nalazi podgrađe odvojeno od dominante manjom liticom preko koje prohodna komunikacija vodi na vrh:<sup>24</sup> Privija i Čobanska greda.
- C. Utvrđenja nepravilnoga četvrtastog oblika, s bedemima koji se lome približno pod pravim kutom. S južne strane nalazi se litica čija je strmina iskorištena u defenzivne svrhe: Mendulina i Stari Šibenik.

Gradine morfološki slične našim tipovima A i B nalazimo i na prostoru sjeverno od Morinjskog zaljeva, odnosno Donjeg polja. Sedam gradina smješteno je na strateškim pozicijama brdskog lanca koji se pruža u smjeru istok - zapad, odvajajući Donje polje od unutrašnjosti, gdje se nalazio teritorij delmatskih Ridita.<sup>25</sup> Tipovi A i B građeni su više u tradiciji brončanodobnih gradina,

bordered by a dry stone rampart approximately 330 m long, with widths ranging from 2.3 m to 4.2 m and a preserved height up to approximately 2 m. The structure of the rampart consists of 2 to 4 faces of parallel walls, and the mass of the defensive wall is stabilized by perpendicular dry stone walls. The external face of the rampart is partially constructed out of carved megaliths (Fig. 3b). Two entrances on the eastern and western sides have been preserved, of which the eastern is more monumental, and a marked trail from Mendulina leads to it. The entrance is still impressive today, as its walls are made of more nicely-crafted blocks; the external walls have cyclopean dimensions (Fig. 4). There is also a prominent reinforcement of the rampart at the entrance, particularly above the northern wall of the corridor, which gave the entire construction the function of a propugnaculum.

However, an important entrance was located along the cliff toward the end of the rampart's western extension, to which the remains of a tower preserved to the left of the entrance testify.

The area within the perimeter of this formidable fortification was levelled and divided into several sections, of which the southern, closer to the cliff, served as a residential space. The remains of house walls are visible there. To the north above them there is a large cistern excavated in solid rock, and the stone removed from it was probably used to construct the rampart. Also, surface pottery remains, mainly fragments of *Lamboglia 2* type amphora bodies and rims and other Roman materials, testify to the intensity of life within the fortification.

Based on a tour and description of these sites, three forms of hillforts can be roughly discerned:<sup>23,24</sup>

- A. The most common hillforts have double or triple systems of concentric ramparts: Kurlje, Ripište, Police, Mali Jelinjak.
- B. Hillforts with a more or less fortified dominant structure, with more accessible sides are protected by a single arched rampart, while on the south, on the slope, there are support works separated from the dominant structure by a small cliff with passage leading to the peak:<sup>24</sup> Privija and Čobanska greda.
- C. Fortifications of irregular rectangular shape, with ramparts that meet roughly at right angles. A cliff on the southern side exploited for defensive purposes: Mendulina and Stari Šibenik.

23 Na nesebičnoj pomoći i stručnim savjetima zahvaljujem kolegi Miru Katiću, a kolegi Arsenu Duplančiću na korisnim sugestijama. Prilikom obilaska terena pomogli su mi: Jere Čaleta, Ivan Kalebota, Marijan Lozo iz Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu, Mijo Maljković, prof. i Luciano Russo.  
24 U slučaju opasnosti stanovnici gradine sklonili bi se na dominantu, odakle bi ujedno i organizirali obranu.  
25 Zaninović M. 1976, str. 22-23; Rendić-Miočević 1989, str. 845-869.

23 I would like to thank my colleague Miro Katić for his unselfish and professional advice, and my colleague Arsen Duplančić for his helpful suggestions. During field tours I was assisted by: Jere Čaleta, Ivan Kalebota, Marijan Lozo, all from the Conservation Department in Split, Prof. Mijo Maljković and Luciano Russo.  
24 In case of danger, the residents of the hillfort would seek shelter on the dominant, whence they would also organize their defence.



Slika 5.

Talež - Vis, dio vanjskog lica zida bokobrana

Figure 5.

Talež-Vis, part of the external face of the lateral rampart

kako na ovom prostoru, tako i na sjevernojadranskom području,<sup>26</sup> dok specifična utvrđenja tipa C - kojemu pripadaju gradine Mendulina i Stari Šibenik - imaju drugačije zidana lica, s bedemima od bolje obrađenih kamenih blokova. Na prvi pogled takva fortifikacijska arhitektura upućuje na grčke utjecaje, kakve uočavamo na nekim važnijim gradinama, poput Taleža na otoku Visu (sl. 5).<sup>27</sup>

Postoje međutim razlike u morfologiji gradina, ali i u načinu obrade kamenih blokova bedema i ulaza. Tu razliku zamjećujemo na ulaznim vratima utvrđenja Stari Šibenik i ulaznim vratima gradine Kurlje, nekoliko kilometara istočnije na istoj antiklinali. Temelji njihovih dovratnika građeni su velikim četvrtastim i bolje obrađenim kamenim blokovima (sl. 6).

Za razliku od prethodne dvije, taleški bokobran koji je štitio podgrađe građen je od nepravilnijih kamenih blokova. Njegovi

Hillforts morphologically similar to types A and B can be found in the area north of Morinj Bay, i.e. Donje polje. Seven hillforts are located at strategic sites on the chain of hills that stretches in the east-west direction, dividing Donje polje from the interior, which was the territory of the Dalmatian Riditae.<sup>25</sup>

Types A and B were constructed more in the tradition of Bronze Age hillforts, both here and in the Northern Adriatic zone,<sup>26</sup> while the specific fortification of type C - to which Mendulina and Stari Šibenik belong - have differently constructed faces, with ramparts made of better dressed stone blocks. At first glance, such fortification architecture indicates Hellenistic influences, the kind seen in some more important hillforts, such as Talež on the island of Vis (Fig. 5).<sup>27</sup>

26 Za gradine sjevernog Jadrana vidi: Marchesetti 1903.

27 Čargo 2002, str. 402-403; Zaninović M. 1997, str. 81; Zaninović M. 2002, str. 280; Gaffney et al. 2002, str. 38, 48-49; Takvu morfologiju ilirskih gradina i strukturu zidova njihovih bedema nalazimo kod nekih utvrđenja pod izravnijim grčkim utjecajima, na otocima srednje Dalmacije, istočne Hercegovine i u Crnoj Gori, vidi: Faber 1976, str. 233; Marić 1976, str. 247; Garašanin 1967, str. 27-36.

25 Zaninović M. 1976, pp. 22-23; Rendić-Miočević 1989, pp. 845-869.

26 On the hillforts of the Northern Adriatic see: Marchesetti 1903.

27 Čargo 2002, pp. 402-403; Zaninović M. 1997, p. 81; Zaninović M. 2002, p. 280; Gaffney et al. 2002, pp. 38, 48-49; Such a morphology of Illyrian hillforts and wall structure of their ramparts can also be found at some fortifications under more direct Greek influences, on the islands of Central Dalmatia, Eastern Herzegovina and in Montenegro, see: Faber 1976, p. 233; Marić 1976, p. 247; Garašanin 1967, pp. 27-36.



Slika 6.  
Kurlje, ulaz na sjeverozapadnoj  
strani gradine

Figure 6.  
Kurlje, entrance on north-western  
side of hillfort

megaliti korišteni su na jednostavnim fortifikacijskim strukturama, koje se pružaju u pravcu bez ikakvih lomova.

Kod Starog Šibenika to nije slučaj, već je evidentno nastojanje da se zidovi lome pod pravim kutom i da cijela utvrda ima čvrst fortifikacijski korpus. Izgradnja takvih bedema, dužine oko 330 metara, s većim vratima nego na drugim željeznodobnim gradinama, zahtijevala je određena građevinska i statička znanja. U sredini utvrđene površine nalazi se i iskopana depresija, najvjerojatnije akumulacija za kišnicu, što nije u tradiciji ostalih delmatskih gradina. Da je ovako moćna gradina građena pod helenističkim utjecajima, očekivala bi se i pojava helenističkog materijala.

Sudeći po površinskim nalazima, dominiraju ulomci rimskih amfora (*Lamboglia 2*) i druge obične rimske keramike. Rijetka je i gruba lokalna keramika, a nema traga grčkoj ili helenističkoj keramici. Prema tome, možemo zaključiti da je Stari Šibenik utvrđenje izgrađeno pod izravnijim rimskim utjecajem i da ovdje prije možemo govoriti o procesu romanizacije, a ne helenizacije.

Susjedna Mendulina starija je gradina i, kako smo naveli, ima nekoliko građevinskih faza. Segment zidan paralelopipedima otkriva fazu zidanja novih fortifikacija, koje su istodobne površinskim nalazima brojnih ulomka rimskih amfora tipa *Lamboglia 2*, koje su u upotrebi od kraja 2. do prve polovice 1. st. prije Krista.

Specifična arhitektura i pokretni materijal Starog Šibenika i Menduline upućuju na snažnu prisutnost rimskog elementa u njihovoj blizini, upravo tijekom rimskih vojnih operacija protiv Delmata.

Stoga ova dva utvrđenja valja promatrati u istom prostornom i vremenskom kontekstu, kao ostatke castelluma, na starom teritoriju Tariota, čije se ime *castellum Tariona* sačuvalo u Plinijevu djelu.

There are, however, differences in the morphology of these hillforts, and in the method of making the stone blocks of the ramparts and entrances. This difference is noticeable in the entrance doors of the Stari Šibenik fortifications and the entrance doors of the Kurlje hillfort, several kilometres eastward on the same anticline. The foundations of the their jambs are constructed by large squarish and more nicely dressed stone blocks (Fig. 6).

In contrast to the preceding two, the Talež adjunct defences, which guarded the support works, were made of irregular stone blocks. Their megaliths were used on simple fortification structures, which extend directionally without any breaks.

This is not the case at Stari Šibenik, rather the attempt to have the walls meet at right angles and give the entire fortress a firm, fortified body is evident. The construction of such ramparts approximately 330 meters long, with larger doors than at other Iron Age hillforts, required a certain degree of knowledge of construction and statics. An excavated basin is also in the centre of the fortified surface, probably to collect rain water, which is not a tradition of the other Delmati hillforts. If such a powerful fortification had been constructed under Greek influence, then the appearance of Hellenistic materials would also be expected.

Based on the articles found on the surface, Roman amphora (*Lamboglia 2*) fragments and other common Roman pottery dominate. Local pottery is rare and coarse, and there are no traces of Greek or Hellenistic pottery. Thus, one can conclude that Stari Šibenik is a fortification constructed under more direct Roman influence and that in this case one can speak of Romanization rather than Hellenization.

Neighbouring Mendulina is an older hillfort, and as stated, it underwent several construction phases. The segment walled with parallelepipeds reveals a phase of new fortification construction, which is coterminous with the Roman *Lamboglia 2* type amphora fragments found on the surface, which were in use to the end of the second and early first century BC.

The specific architecture and movable materials at Stari Šibenik and Mendulina indicate the intense presence of the Roman element in their vicinity, precisely during Roman military operations against the Delmati.

Thus, these two fortifications should be observed in the same spatial and chronological context, as the remains of a castellum, on the old territory of the Tariotes, whose name, *castellum Tariona*, was preserved in Pliny's work.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

ARR - Arheološki radovi i rasprave

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum latinarum

RFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

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