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The beginning of Pharos – the present archaeological evidence[1]

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Abstract: The site of the Greek town of Pharos, today Stari Grad on the Island of Hvar in Croatia, during the last three decades has been a point of increased archaeological interest. Small excavation was undertaken by the team of the Adriatic Islands Project during 1990's. The most intensive excavation so far was carried out by the Conservational Department in Split and, during the recent decade, these were followed by the rescue excavations in the same area by the Museum of Stari Grad. The publication of results by the three mentioned teams has created much vagueness, especially regarding the interpretation of the early phases of life on the site that pre-date the solid block built rampart. The interpretation presented by Jeličić Radonić and Katić (2015) was, recently, profoundly challenged by Popović and Devlahović (2018). Following this, our paper aims at clearing out some of the existing doubts on the early stages of the site occupation by presenting the interpretation of depositional processes based on the available archaeological evidence.

Key words: Pharos, stratigraphic sequence, indigenous occupation, foundation of Parian settlement

Although the very date of the foundation of Greek Pharos (385/4 BC) (Fig. 1), the settlement of the Parians from the Aegean Sea, is known thanks to Diodorus account,[2] recent excavations (from 1994 to 2004) conducted by Split's Conservation Department (SCD) at the site of Remete garden and house in the presumed south-eastern part of Pharos (Fig. 2, 1) have brought forth new interpretations.[3] Intensive surveys and excavations conducted at Pharos by the team of the Adriatic Island Project (AIP) in 1992–1993 and 1996 (Fig. 2, 1a) have also been partly published.[4] In addition, during the recent rescue excavations in Stari Grad (2009–2013) by The Museum of Stari Grad (MSG) that were aimed at finding a proper place for a cesspit for the 19th century Remete house where the newly founded *Agency for the Management of the Stari Grad Plain* is located, trenches were opened in several places around and within this building (Fig. 2, 1, and Fig 3).[5]

Fig. 1. *Position of the island of Hvar in Central and Southern Dalmatia and in the Adriatic Sea* (After Kirigin 2003, 6, Fig. 2)

[1] This is an enlarged and revised version of the paper that we have presented at the International scientific conference on *Pharos and Stari Grad Plain* held in Stari Grad (island of Hvar) on September 7-9, 2016, titled "The earliest layers discovered during the excavations from 2009 to 2013 at Remete vrt in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar", see: Devlahović 2016, 16. The proceedings of this conference will not be published.
[2] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, book XV, 13, 1-4; 14, 1-2.
[3] Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015.
[4] Forenbaher et al. 1994; Kirigin / Hayes / Leach 2002; Kirigin 2006. The full publication of AIP survey and excavations is being completed for print.
[5] Popović 2010; Popović / Devlahović 2018.

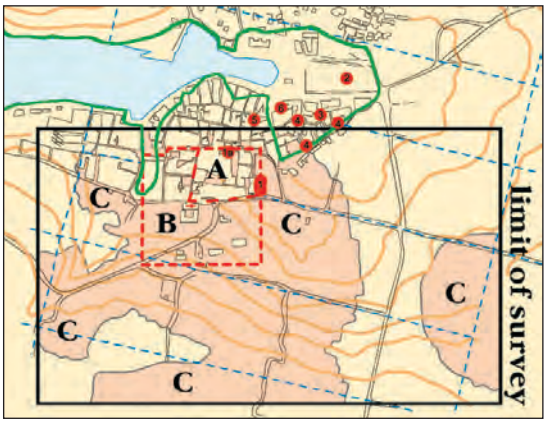

Fig. 2. *Area of present-day Stari Grad with indications of the area of Greek Pharos with the approximate ancient coastline in green. A = fortified area of Pharos after Duboković* (1960). *B = fortified area of Pharos after Gabričević* (1973). *C = Greek pottery distribution based on the AIP survey in 1992 and 1993. 1. Area of excavations at Remete garden and house* (see Fig. 3 below). *1a. Area of the AIP excavations. 2. Vorba. 3. Otočac. 4. Šiberija. 5. Škor. 6. Ploča. The indication of the ancient coastline is based on Barbir 2014, 45 and Gams 1992, 67, fig. 25. Amended by Zoran Podrug.*

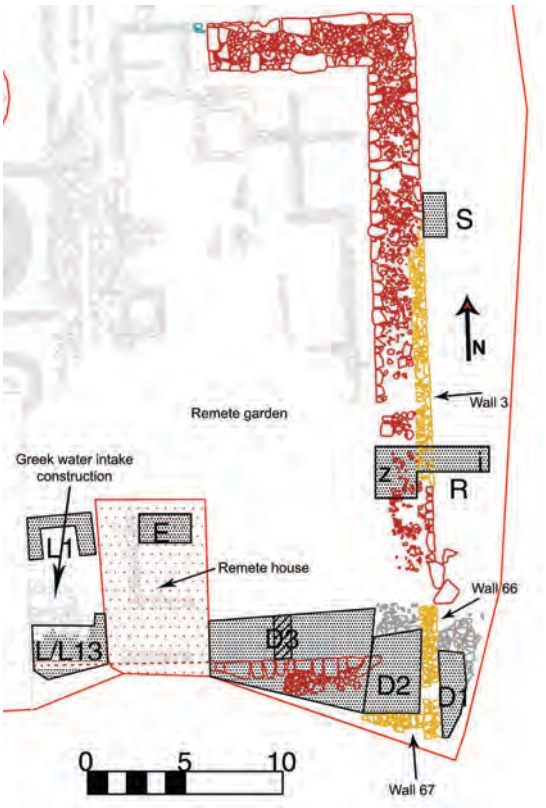

Fig. 3. *Plan of the excavated area at Remete garden and house. Light gray, red represent the CDS excavations. Trenches excavated by the MSG are highlighted in gray. Remete house in red dots* (after Popović / Devlahović 2018, amended by BK and VB)

The results of all these excavations have prompted us to re-examine all the available data on the earliest material evidence from the site of Pharos.

CDS excavations

From the book by Jeličić Radonić and Katić (2015) that presents the results of their recent excavations at Pharos it is difficult to glean reliable information about the lowest layers that they have found. Not only in this book, but also in some other reports, both authors claim that a native Illyrian settlement existed at the site that was settled by the Greeks from Paros and that this native settlement covered an area of some 3.7 ha. According to them, this settlement flourished in the 5th century BC and had dwellings (huts) made of wattle and daub.[6] In the excavator's view, this native settlement was destroyed by the first Greeks who arrived in 385/4 BC (contrary to Diodorus' narrative). The settlement was rebuilt by the natives after the Greeks' withdrawal. Subsequently, it was again attacked and destroyed by the Greeks. Then the Greeks settled down and built their first huts with wooden materials. Later on, the Iadassioni (a Liburnian community from northern Dalmatia, located at present-day Zadar) attacked the newly founded Greek settlement, but the Greeks resisted and won the battle. Following this victory, the Parians started to build their houses and fortifications in stone. According to Jeličić Radonić and Katić all this building and rebuilding took place in a time span of some 30–40 years. Their dramatic narrative would (possibly) have been convincing if they had provided both clear stratigraphic data correlated to the finds and the extant structures, and plans of these dwellings, in their publications. The c. 17,5 m² area a little to the north of the trenches excavated later on by the MSG (Fig. 2), which Jeličić Radonić and Katić used as their main source of information, is a large space where in plan and section one would see clearly the earliest huts, especially because both authors assert that the earliest stratum is 80 cm thick. One would also expect to see the association between the pottery and the archaeological layers or context. Yet, because of the way in which their data have been presented, the far-reaching

[6] Jeličić Radonić / Rauter Plančić 1995, 51; Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 33-36

conclusions put forth by Jeličić Radonić and Katić are not based upon firm grounds.[7] In this essay we will try to show that the problems regarding the founding of Pharos are very complex.

The MSG excavations

The aforementioned MSG excavations, covering some 54 m², have encompassed in part the earlier excavations conducted by the CDS and have unearthed architectural features and more than a ton or 42.742 various ceramic sherds, mostly of Greek origin![8] However, unlike the CDS excavations, the excavations conducted MSG (and by the AIP) were carried out using the stratigraphic method and covered a much smaller area. This has provided greater insight and has dispelled much of the vagueness that characterized the excavations by the CDS (see below). The report by Popović and Devlahović (2018) has clearly shown that some of the former interpretations, including dating and phasing of fortifications and urban remains, cannot be supported, and it has yielded a new solid interpretation and dating that are based upon the archaeological evidence.

The earliest material evidence from the area of Pharos is associated with the layers deposited over the bedrock or above a thin layer of red clayish virgin soil that are found within the Remete garden and Remete house area (Fig. 3). Within this area the bedrock gently slopes down towards the northeast: from 1.70 masl in trench L'13 where it is rather thin (SU 470), to 1.10 in trench D and then to only 0.60 masl in trenches R-Z and R-I where the lowest layers get thicker (SU 411 and 394). These layers are mostly described in publications as "black" or dark layers with the remains of some burning.

Only 2440 sherds or c. 0.5% of the total pottery finds from the MSG excavations belong to these layers. In contrast to the overlying layers the majority of finds here belong to the so-called local calcite gritted coarse handmade pottery (LCGP) – some 2233 of them. In these layers we find two different assemblages. In the lowest layers in trenches D3, R-I and R-Z (Figs 4 and 5), with a dark soil matrix, only LCGP pottery was found (361 sherds + one Greek amphora and one Greek pithos sherd found in R-Z SU 398).

The other 1872 sherds of this class were found in the lowest layers in trenches E, D2, L1 and L'13; the LCGP sherds were found there together with 198 sherds of Greek ceramics (Fig. 5). These layers are not entirely dark and some have charcoal. Except pottery and one terracotta no other artefacts or animal bones have been found in any of these layers in both assemblages.

Trenches	SU	Local ware	Greek fine wares	Greek cooking wares	Greek amph.	Tiles	Pithos	Total	Soil type	Comment
D3	425	33	-	-	-	-	-	33	Dark without animal bones	Only local pottery
R-Z	411	117	-	-	-	-	-	117	Dark gray compact. 1 animal bone	Only local pottery
R-Z	398	74	-	-	1	-	1	76	Dark with one sea shell.	Greek amphora body sherd and a pithos base
R-I	394	137	-	-	-	-	-	137	Dark with much soot.	Only local pottery
Total:	4	361	-	-	1	-	1	363		Only local pottery

Fig. 4. *Assemblage 1. – Layers with only LCGP*

[7] One gets the impression that the authors do not need evidence to reach the conclusions that they present. For more details on this book see Kirigin 2018.

[8] This unexpectedly large number of potsherds is still the subject of intermittent study, which is based on the availability of funding and will probably take several years to be completed. The Greek amphorae from these excavations at Pharos have been examined in detail: see Kirigin 2018; Miše et al. 2019. For the Greek pithoi see Kirigin 2017.

Trenches	SU	Local pottery	Greek fine wares	Greek kitchen ware	Greek amphorae	Tiles	Pithois	Total	Soil	Comment
E	23a	46	-	2	1	-	-	49	Terra rossa, No animal bones	Amph. Body sherd
E	15a	957	9	29	33	2	-	1030	Terra rossa mix with dark soil. No animal bones	B amphorae of different fabricas. BG FW, TWW(?)
L1	303	292	25	22	13	-	-	352	Clayish brown with charcoal. No animal bones	BG skyphos, BG swith palmette stamps, casserols.
L'13	470	74	10	-	2	-	-	87	Reddish / brown	BG, terracotta head, GCW = jug with a handle
D2	301	503	4	31	15	-	-	559	Black with red parts	B amph. Yellow fab., cassarole, BG, A-A(?)
Total:	7	1872	48	84	64	2	-	2077		

Fig. 5. *Assemblage 2. Layers with the mixture of LCGP and early Greek ware*

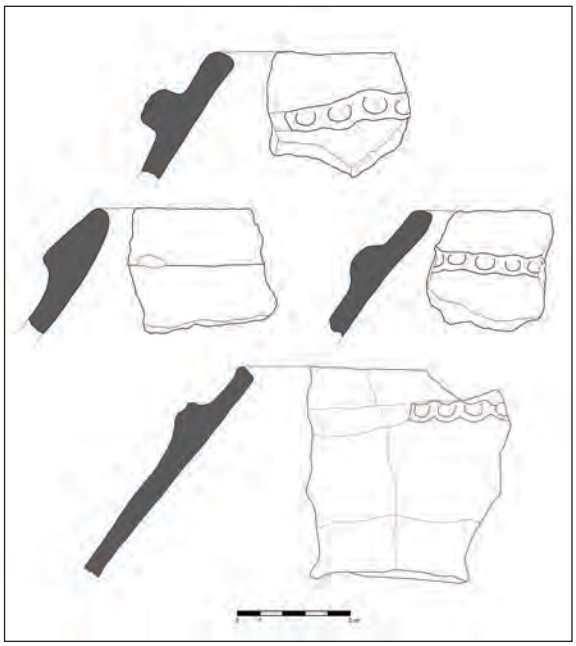

Fig. 6. *Selections of local calcite gritted pottery found in the lowest SU in trenches excavated by the MGS* (Drawn by VB)

Underneath the abovementioned lowest layers in the area excavated by the MSG, the bedrock is irregular. How should the formation and/or deposition of these layers be interpreted?

An examination of the pottery found in these contexts' shows that the LCGP is represented only by rather large jars that could have been used for storing food (Fig. 6). The sherds do not differ in fabrics in both assemblages from the earliest Stratigraphic Units (SU), i.e. those with or without Greek pottery. However, the much smaller number of Greek potsherds includes various forms and functions which can easily be linked to household needs: amphorae, casseroles (lopades) and fineware pots for serving and drinking (skyphoi and bowls) (Figs 7 and 8). The Greek pottery in these earliest layers consists of imported wares, i.e. of the vessels that could have been brought by the first immigrants from Paros and elsewhere. The black gloss (BG) skyphos and the BG bowl with palmette stamps from L1, as well as the rim and the toe of the B type amphora and the *lopades* = casseroles (Figs 7 and 8), can be dated to the early 4th century. A unique and exceptional find from L'13 SU 470 is a fragmented terracotta depicting a human head (Fig. 7, right), which has been interpreted as an image of a Celt.[9]

One could speculate that here we have scant remains from a habitation area with local vessels for storing food and Greek vessels for storing liquids, for cooking, and for consuming food. Thus, the finds from this area could represent the initial phase of the first Greek settlement and provide evidence of cooperation between

[9] For details see Kirigin / Kavur / Blečić Kavur, in print.

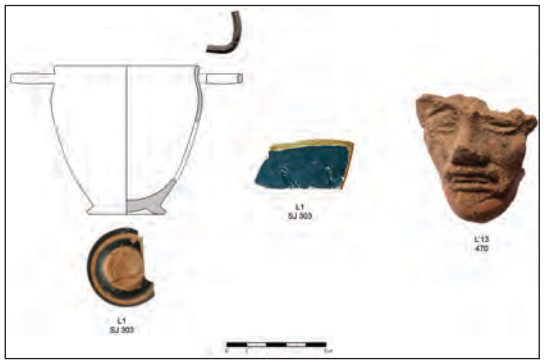

Fig. 7. *Selection of Greek fine wares and a terracotta from the lowest SU in trenches excavated by the MSG* (Drawn by Porin Kukoč)

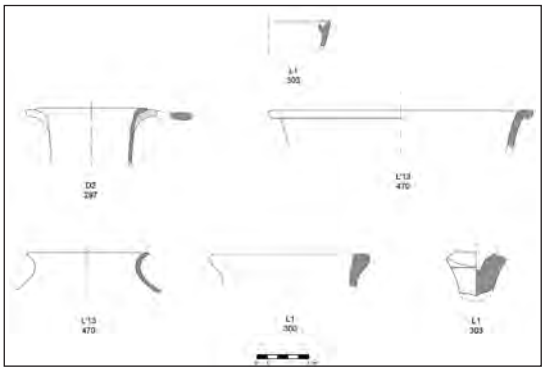

Fig. 8. *Selection of Greek coarse wares and amphorae from the lowest SU in trenches excavated by the MSG* (Drawn by Porin Kukoč)

Trench	SU	Local pottery	Greek wares	Total	Comment	Proposed dating of contents
AIP III	1220	163	70	233	Mortar, charcoal spreads, animal bone, shell, tile and 1 sherd of South Italian geometric.	Early-Mid IV BC
AIP III	1222	126	107	233	Mortar, charcoal spreads, animal bone, shell, tile	Early IV BC
AIP III	1223	73	18	91	-	Early IV BC
Total:		362	195	557		

Fig. 9. *Assemblage 3. The lowest layers in AIP Trench III*

the Greeks and the indigenous inhabitants (i.e., of Greeks exchanging goods with local people). Similar situations (although earlier than in Starigrad's case) are known at sites in Southern Italy where Greek *apoikiai* were founded.[10] On the other hand, these layers could be the ground level for the first Greek settlement. If so, they could contain a mix of materials from some local, pre-Greek activity, and Greek materials deposited through the initial phase of life of Pharos.

The AIP excavations

The pottery assemblage from the lowest levels in trench III, excavated by the AIP team, contains both LCGP and Greek ceramics, with LCGP representing roughly 2/3 of the total (Fig 9).[11] These layers were found here in association with the early drystone walled structure, and SU 1223 preceded the construction of the latter, whereas SU 1222 and 1220 consist of fill that was dumped in at a later date.

Interpretation of depositional processes

We will try to clarify the circumstances under which these layers were deposited by taking into consideration all aspects of the archaeological data recorded during the MSG excavations.

In order to do so, the creation of the dark soil that forms the matrix of these layers needs to be addressed as well. Popović and Devlahović[12] have shown that the construction of an elaborate stone-walled spring-water intake used for pulling water out of it (like a cistern) in trench L was one of the earliest Greek architectural structures in this area of the site.[13] This masonry intake was built there because of the presence of the fresh-

[10] Yntema 2011; Hanberg / Jakobsen 2011; Vlassopoulos 2013; Zuchtriegel 2016; 2017.
[11] Kirigin / Hayes / Leach 2002, 243, Table 1.
[12] Popović / Devlahović 2018, 389, 391.
[13] For details and ilustrations see: Popović 2010, 142-143; Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 86-89.

water spring that is still active during the rainy season, when it raises the water level and floods the area of Remete garden.[14] The water intake has a let-out through which the surplus of water was taken away towards the north,[15] through a drainage system that still cannot yet be fully explained. Thus, before this Greek structure was built, the lower reaches of this area must have been occasionally flooded. Therefore, it is plausible that the existence of various plants associated with freshwater, rather than an episode of burning, could have caused the formation of a dark-coloured organic-rich soil at this place. The local nearby toponym Šiberija (a flat marshy area), referring to the north-east, implies exactly the same (Fig. 2, 4). This soil forms the matrix of most of the layers that contain LCGP, and it is, therefore, important to define its origin. The other existing nearby toponyms, Otočac (meaning: Isle), Ploča (meaning: a flat stone) and Škor (meaning: a shipyard),[16] all on land today, point to the existence of a former sea inlet that was filled in over time up to the present day (Fig. 2, nos 2-6).[17]

We propose the following interpretation of the depositional processes, based on the available archaeological evidence.

Pre-Greek phase

The initial phase is represented by layers of a dark soil containing LCGP and occasionally burned house daub and wood, but no other artefacts or animal bones. It is important to point out that no remains of burned structures made of wood and daub have been found *in situ*, but only fragments of these mixed with soil. We find the layers with material that was deposited through this phase only in the north-eastern D3, R-I and R-Z trenches (Fig. 3). Regarding the interpretation of this phase, it is worth noting the absence of any LCGP forms other than rather large jars, a fact that could help us explain the nature of this layer. There are no locally made vessels for drinking, eating or cooking, nor are there any of the imported south Italian geometric vessels that have been found at indigenous Iron Age sites in Northern and Central Dalmatia.[18] It is also noteworthy that most of the LCGP assemblage is not fired properly, i.e. long enough at a higher temperature. This is shown by the fact that the sherds often exhibit loss of surface calcite grains and brittleness. This largely limits the possibilities for different use and the longevity of these vessels. The uniformity of LCGP pottery forms and the almost total absence of other finds clearly suggest that we are not in a household area of a local indigenous settlement. The archaeological excavation of such areas regularly reveals traces of activities that are connected with food preparation and consumption, i.e. different types of vessels that are used for those purposes and, at the same time, faunal remains or molluscs found in refuse pits or mixed with the other contents of the layer. An assemblage of this kind that has been found recently in the town of Hvar has been interpreted as a deposit from the Iron age settlement.[19] As we see no traces of such finds here, we can exclude that kind of interpretation.

One possibility is that these finds come from the storage area of the settlement, as was suggested by Katić.[20] Unfortunately, apart from the still unstudied burned residue visually identifiable on some potsherds, we do not have any information on the original contents of those large jars. Furthermore, we have to ask ourselves about the nature of this hypothetical storage area. The excavated area, including the one explored by the CDS, where we see the layers that have been described, is quite large. Such a large storage area

[14] The water from the wells in Remete garden (with Greek pottery) that were used until recently is slightly salty (Katić 2000, 5) indicating the presence of sea water. Katić (2000, 8) also mentions the difficulties created by water while this area was being excavated.

[15] See note 7. It is about 1 m above the bedrock. This lowest part has not yet been excavated.

[1615] Čavić 2004, 26; Barbir 2014, 45. Nearby is the park called Vorba (willow) (Fig. 2, no. 2) that has a freshwater source, now an underground stream which flowed from the village of Dol, whose riverbed was discovered by Gams (1992, 56, Fig. 22). This could be the river Pharos mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnika*, sv. Pharos: "Pharos, is an island in the Adriatic, with a river of the same name. It is a settlement of the Parians, as was stated by Ephorus in his twenty-eight book."

[17] Barbir 2014, 45.

[18] Such as Rat on the nearby island of Brač, in the town of Hvar, Talež / Kopacina on Vis, Trogir, and other sites in Central Dalmatia. See: Petrić 1994, 1-13; Gaffney et al. 1997, 87; Barbarić 2010, 166-169; Visković 2019, 24-26. One such sherd has been found in the AIP trench III (unpublished).

[19] The author points out that there were no finds apart from the pottery and mentions the possibility that the layers went through re-depositional processes: see Visković 2019, 17-28.

[20] Katić 2000, 24-26.

can only be associated with some activity that is not strictly limited to storing the food of the community that lived, presumably, nearby. Further questions arise if one looks at the possible existence of an access to the sea through the small cove, now filled by erosion and human interventions (Fig. 2, nos 2-6). But these questions cannot be addressed without new and more comprehensive data.

This phase ends, as proposed by Jeličić Radonić and Katić[21] with an episode of destruction by fire, marked by the burned organic material in the layers. However, the circumstances under which this might have happened are far more complicated to explain without additional evidence.

Early Greek phase

Evidence of the early Greek habitation on the site can be divided into two categories. The first belongs to layers that, apart from Greek pottery from the early 4th century BC, contain mostly LCGP (Fig. 5). As stated earlier, these layers were found in the MSG and AIP trenches where the excavation did not reveal the presence of the layers with only LCGP over the bedrock. The second category comprises the evidence of the earliest Greek construction so far found at the Remete garden site, which is represented with remains of a poorly preserved floor and a drystone wall (SU 457) preserved to a length of 1.20 m in L13.[22]

The composition of the finds of Greek origin in these layers (fineware and cooking pots, amphora) points to the settling of Greek newcomers, but the majority of finds here, the LCGP, needs to be observed in a different manner. As noted, local pottery assemblages in these layers do not differ at all from the ones in layers with only LCGP. One can only presume that, during this early Greek presence on site, sherds of Greek vessels connected with household activities were mixing with the LCGP from the layers that were forming their walking surfaces, thus creating the mixed assemblage. Important proof in this direction is the occasional presence of remains of burned daub and wood that is very hard to connect with this phase, a feature typical for the pre-Greek layers (see above). It is also possible that the Greeks were initially using LCGP as storage vessels before they could have established purchase of large storage vessels through supplies from their homeland, trade, or by local production.

After taking all the available archaeological data into consideration, while it seems highly probable that these layers contain material deposited through the first Greek habitation in the area of Stari Grad, we still cannot be certain of the nature of their correlation with the earliest known walled structures (so far only a drystone wall, SU 457, in Remete garden and house). The same can be stated about the earliest layers and walls in AIP trench III (layers 1220 and 1222), where they have been re-deposited during the later phase (since layers contain fragments of mortar, which is a feature of a later date).

What is especially problematic at the present level of knowledge, is the lack of data that can help us to understand the correlation of the above-mentioned layers with the solid built architecture of the following phase (see below). When everything is taken into account, we should point out that more work, excavations above all, needs to be done in order to make any advance in that respect.

Greek phase with walled structures

As described by Popović and Devlahović,[23] the next phase of Greek occupation at the site is marked by the existence of finely built walls and of the architecture that is, with the help of the available archaeological data, interpretable only up to some extent. After an unknown lapse of time, while Greeks were present at the site and with no known traces of any kind of destructive event(s) in the archaeological record,[24] sets of activities were performed that remodelled the Remete garden and house site into an enclosed area with perimeter walls that can, so far, be traced towards east and probably south (Walls 3, 66 and 67 on Fig. 3).[25] It must be stressed again that the material evidence that can help us interpret this phase in more detail is vague and few correlations can be made. Still, it is quite certain

[21] Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 33

[22] Popović / Devlahović 2018, 391.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Contrary to the interpretation in Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 33-37.

[25] Popović / Devlahović 2018, 386-388.

that this remodelling included not only drystone construction, but also some earthwork in the levelling of the area.

As noted, it was observed that the south part the bedrock is on a higher ground level than on the north-east part of the site, differing some 1 m in elevation and declining towards the former sea inlet (Vorba, Šiberija, Otočac, Škor and Ploča) (Fig. 2, nos 2-6). This is documented by the thickness of the lowest layers on site, those containing only LCGP (trenches D3, R-Z and R-I). As was mentioned earlier, in trenches that were excavated in the south-west part of the site (L1, L'13 and E) there were no layers containing only LCGP. At the same time, in trenches due north-east, D3, R-Z and R-I, layers containing only LCGP (Fig. 3) are quite thick, and are occasionally alternating with the archaeologically sterile layers of clayish red soil. As shown by the sections (Figs 10-12), these alternations were clearly not deposited through natural processes but are the result of human interventions as we can see in D3: SU 424/425 (Fig. 10) and R-Z: SU 398/397 (Fig. 11).[26]

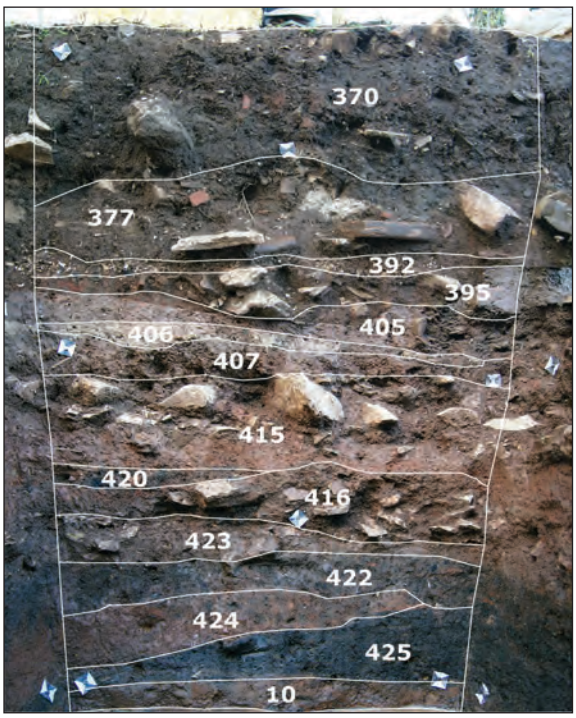

Fig. 10. *Northern section of trench D3* (MSG documentation)

[26] See also photo of the section from the area excavated by CDS more to the north in Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 41, an illustration titled "Wall of the early Greek architecture over the strata of the burned and ruined Illyrian settlement".

Therefore, we can conclude that at some point in time the site went through a substantial process of ground levelling as an aspect of the construction activity through which the dark layers containing material from the burned, pre-Greek context were re-deposited from the higher to the lower part of the area (due north-east).[27]

The correlation of the earthworks with the construction of walls can be seen through the examination of sections in trenches R-Z and R-I (Figs 11 and 12), which were excavated on both sides of Wall 3.[28] Here we have pre-Greek layers *in situ* over the bedrock, containing only LCGP: SU 394 in R-I and SU 411 in R-Z.[29] Over this lowest layer in R-Z, there is a layer with the same content, SU 398, that covers walls footing and foundation, while there is also no foundation trench visible in the section.[30] On the outer side of the wall (R-I) there is no such layer, so we conclude that the SU 398 in R-Z was filled in immediately after the construction of Wall 3, as a part of the levelling of the interior of that newly organised space. This provides us with valuable information on the preparation activities and the building process of this earliest elaborately made Greek stone construction that was planned and carried out in a fine structured manner, transforming this area possibly into some kind of a manufacturing quarter.[31]

Wall 3 was built with very fine masonry; it has the chiselled footing and the foundations laid over bedrock with the use of irregular stones. The irregular stones in the foundation of Walls 66 and 67 are preserved only in one row that is laid upon the bedrock. Because of the resemblance of the walling and the close chronological correlation of the associated archaeological material, it was suggested that the stone-walled spring-water intake in Trench L was built in the same phase as these walls.[32] With the aforementioned water spring in mind, it is quite clear that this construction was a necessary prerequisite for putting most of the Remete garden area to some structured use. Al-

[27] This was not recognised in Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 33-36.
[28] Popović / Devlahović 2018, 386-388.
[29] Ibid., 386-387, Figs 12-14.
[30] This is contrary to the observations made by Popović / Devlahović 2018, 383, 388.
[31] Popović / Devlahović 2018, 391.
[32] Ibid.

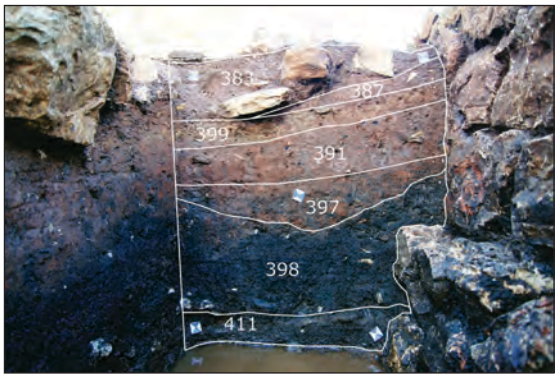

Fig. 11. *Northern section of trench R-Z*
(after Popović / Devlahović 2018, Fig. 14)

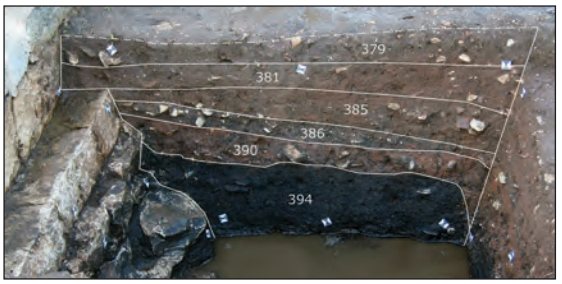

Fig. 12. *Northern section of trench R-I*
(after Popović / Devlahović 2018, Fig. 13)

Fig. 13. *Remains of the pottery kiln in trench D2*
(MSG documentation)

though it would be far-fetched to propose a definite interpretation for the use of this whole area, the record of trench D2 points to the existence of a pottery kiln (SU 281: Fig. 13). Therefore the notion that this area of the town was used as a workshop is acceptable to a certain extent.

The built structures can help us understand the formation of the stratigraphic sequence here in only a limited way. What starts with the above-mentioned structures, ends with the construction of the fortification walls built with large rectangular stone blocks (Fig. 3, walls marked in red). The initial dating of this rampart into the middle of 4th century BC by Jeličić Radonić and Katić[33] was recently corrected by Popović and Devlahović, who have shown that its construction could not have occurred earlier than the period of the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd century BC, based on stratigraphic evidence.[34]

Within this phase, only a relative distinction can be made in L'13, where the excavation provided us with data about a single event, i.e. the repairs made on the water intake with the associated layers (Fig. 14, B).

The same thing can be pointed out in trench D2, where at some point in time the pottery kiln is abandoned and demolished, and layers SU 282 and 274 are formed (Fig. 15).

At the same time, layers do not help much in the attempt to interpret the sequence in more detail with separate sub-phases. What is problematic here is the fact that vast majority of layers that are part of this phase of occupation in the excavated trenches contain more or less similar assemblages (in E: SU 16, 24, 26, 28 (Fig. 16); in L13: 462 (Fig. 14); in D2: 282, 284, 292 (Fig. 15); in R-Z: 391, 399 (Fig. 11); and in R-I: 386, 390 (Fig. 12). What has been found are mainly sherds of Greek casseroles, B type amphorae, plain ware and fine black glazed ware, so the whole sequence can only be roughly dated to second half of 4th – beginning of 3rd century BC. It is worthwhile mentioning, though, that fragments of roof tiles appear for the first time within the stratigraphic sequence in the layers belonging to the later stage of this phase (SU 399 in R-Z; 386 in R-I; 294; 297 and 298 in L1). This evidence also supports interpreting this phase as the first one in which solid structures were built.

It is also important to point out the fact that coins minted in the 4th Century BC appear for the first time within sequence in the layers of this phase (in D2, SU 284: Syracuse (405-367); Pharos 4th BC; in AIP Trench III: SU 1214, 1215

[33] Jeličić Radonić / Katić 2015, 45-69, 179
[34] Ibid., 33; Popović / Devlahović 2018, 391.

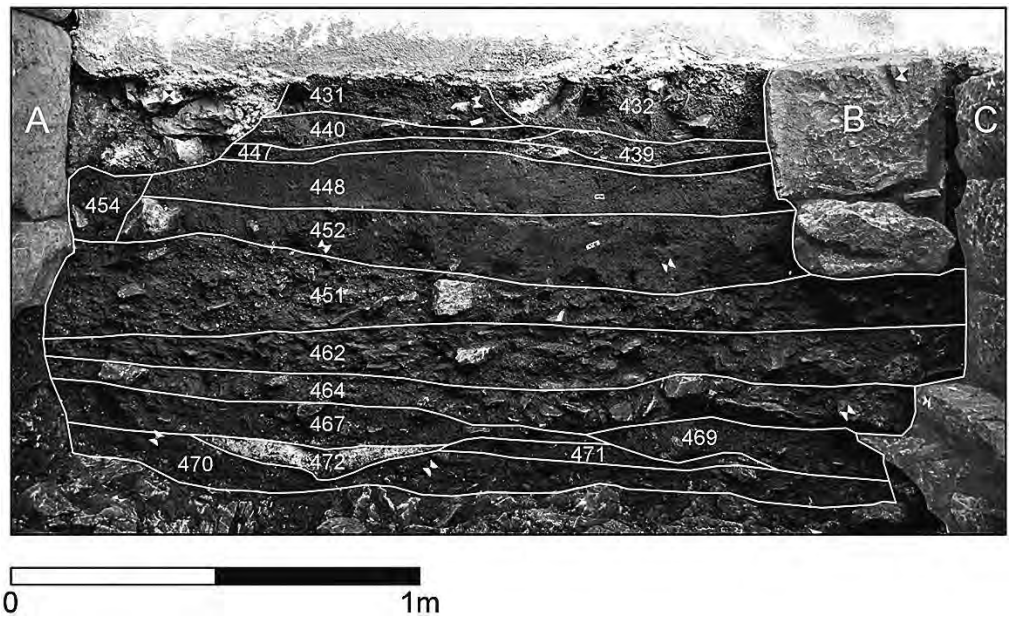

Fig. 14. *Western section of trench L13. A = Inner face of the south fortification wall, B = repairs of the water intake construction, C = water intake construction* (after Popović / Devlahović 2018, Fig. 17)

Fig. 15. *Western section of trench D2. A = Inner face of the south fortification wall, B = inner face of the wall 67* (after Popović / Devlahović 2018, Fig. 8, amended by BK and VB)

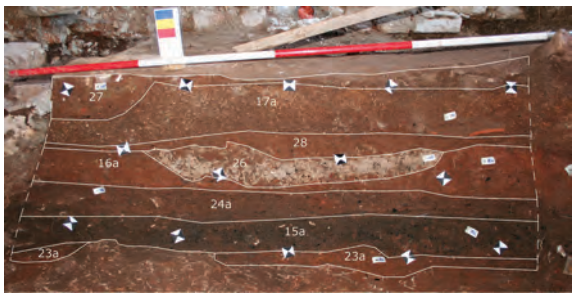

Fig. 16. *Eastern section of trench E* (MSG documentation)

1216: coins of Pharos, Phlius and Syracuse.[35] Subsequently, we find 4th century coins in the layers related to the construction of the rampart, but there they belong to an assemblage redeposited much later. All of this may indicate that coins began to be struck in Pharos in its second phase, i.e. after the first generation of settlers. This could be the archaeological evidence that dates the first Pharian coins to c. the mid-4th Century BC.

Concluding remarks

Here we have presented a case study that aims to contribute to the debate about the initial phases of Pharos. It is very important to resolve this debate based on properly presented archaeological evidence, especially because recent publications have generated a great deal of confusion, thus hindering an understanding of how Pharos was settled.

Whatever our analysis of current data has shown, one has to bear in mind that Greek Pha-

[35] Kirigin / Hayes / Leach 2002, 245, Tab. 1.

ros occupies an area of some 10 ha[36] that equals 100.000 m^2 and that the whole excavated area by all three teams covers only approximately some 1000 m^2, i.e. 1% of the total area of the site. If we accept Katić's statement by that the Illyrian settlement at the later site of Greek Pharos covered 3.7 ha (c 1/3rd of the size of Greek Pharos),[37] the excavated area is too small to yield reliable and conclusive information. It is also true that only some 100 m^2 were excavated according to modern standards and that all others were done in the old-style way. We think that the survey and the excavations that have been carried out thus far do not provide enough evidence that can clearly tell us how the Greek settlement was founded and what was in its place before the Parians arrived. The only way to find out is to conduct a geophysical survey as a precursor to targeted excavations.

In ending, we would like to thank the editors of *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* for inviting us to contribute to the volume that is dedicated to our dear friend and colleague Blagoje Govedarica who has for many years been most supportive and has always brought the good Bosnian mood into our lives. We also wish to thank the editors for their patience.

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Sažetak

Početak Farosa – sadašnji arheološki dokazi

Grčki grad Faros, danas Stari Grad na otoku Hvaru, tokom posljednja tri desetljeća bio je predmetom povećanog interesa arheologa. Manja iskopavanja su tokom 1990-ih izvršili članovi tima projekta "Jadranski otoci". Najintenzivnija iskopavanja do sada je izveo Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, a tokom posljednjeg desetljeća zaštitna iskopavanja na istom prostoru proveo je Muzej Staroga Grada. Publikacija rezultata triju spomenutih istraživanja stvorila je dosta nedoumica, pogotovo po pitanju interpretacije ranih faza života na lokalitetu, starijih od zidina građenih od pravilnih kamenih blokova. Interpretaciji Jasne Jeličić Radonić i Miroslava Katića (2015) nedavno je suprotstavljena bitno drugačija interpretacija od strane Sare Popović i Andree Devlahović (2018). Slijedom navedenog, ovaj rad ima za cilj raščistiti neke od postojećih dvojbi vezanih za ranije faze života na lokalitetu kroz interpretaciju depozicijskih procesa, utemeljenu na svim dostupnom arheološkim dokazima.

[36] Forenbaher et al. 1994, 16-28, Fig. 3; Kirigin 2006, 53-54, Fig. 42, a. b.

[37] Jeličić Radonić / Rauter Plančić 1995, 51; Katić 2000, 21.

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