

# Grčke fortifikacije i ruralno naselje na lokalitetu Tor iznad Jelse na otoku Hvaru<sup>1</sup>

## Greek Fortifications and Rural Settlement at the Tor Site above Jelsa on the Island of Hvar<sup>1</sup>

Miroslav Katić  
Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika /  
Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments  
Gunjačina 3  
HR - 21000 Split  
miroslav.katic@mhas-split.hr

UDK: 908Tor(1-197.6)(497.583Jelsa)(210.7Hvar)  
Grčka 623.1/3:911.373]Tor,Purkin kuk  
27-789.33Pribojević, V. 902/904Galešnik,Tor“16“  
341.71 Burton,R. F. 597.556.35(210.7Hvar)Tor“1873“  
Burton, R. F. (049.1)Tor-028.44 (0.041).  
Zaninović, M.: 902/908

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

Primljeno / Received: 13. 3. 2023.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 31. 7. 2023.

U članku se obrađuje arheološki lokalitet Tor iznad Jelse na kojem se nalazi grčka četvrtasta kula naslonjena na prehistorijsku gomilu. Opisane su tri razvojne faze lokaliteta. Prva je tzv. limitni tumul, koji je imao kulturnu ulogu; u drugoj fazi se na njegovoj južnoj strani podiže bedem, a u trećoj se ispred gomile gradi kula. Autor smatra da je bedem druge faze štiti grčko ruralno naselje orijentirano na Jelšansko polje i središnji brdski prostor otoka Hvara. Sličan način utvrđivanja ilirske gomile megalitskim zidom nalazi se u Daorsonu (Gradina u Ošanićima kod Stoca). Kula na Toru je otprilike u razdoblju od sredine do druge polovine 4. stoljeća prije Krista zajedno sa starijim bedemom izgrađenim na južnoj strani limitnog tumula bila spojena u jedinstvenu fortifikacijsku cjelinu. Nakon osnivanja Farosa uređena je njegova hora u današnjem Starogradskom polju, a na rubu brdskog prostora središnjeg dijela otoka Hvara osnovano je grčko ruralno naselje važno za gospodarski život kolonije.

The article discusses the archaeological site of Tor above Jelsa, where a square Greek tower is situated leaning against a prehistoric mound. The developmental phases of the site are described. The first is the so-called limit tumulus, which had a cultic role; in the second phase, a wall is erected on its southern side; and in the third, a tower is built in front of the mound. The author believes the second phase wall protected the Greek rural settlement oriented towards the Jelsa Plain (Jelšansko polje) and the central hilly area of the island of Hvar. A similar method of fortifying an Illyrian mound with a megalithic wall can be found in Daorson (Gradina in Oštanići near Stolac). The tower on the Tor hill, together with the older rampart wall built on the southern side of the limit tumulus, was connected to a unified fortification complex dating from mid-to-the second half of the 4th century BCE. After the foundation of Pharos, its chora was organised in today's Stari Grad Plain, while a Greek rural settlement, important for the economic life of the colony, was established on the edge of the hilly area in the central part of the island of Hvar.

1 Arsen Duplančić proveo je svoj radni vijek u knjižnici Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu, gdje su generacije studenata, arheologa i drugih znanstvenika osim knjiga i znanja nalazili Arsenovu susretljivost i pomoć. Sa zahvalnošću pridružujem ovaj rad ostalim tekstovima Zbornika.

1 Arsen Duplančić spent his entire career at the library of the Archaeological Museum in Split, where generations of students, archaeologists and other scientists found not only books and knowledge but also Arsen's helpfulness and assistance. With gratitude, I add this work to the other articles in the Journal.

**Ključne riječi:** *Grčka kula Tor, Purkin kuk, limitni tumul, kulturna gomila, Gradina u Ošanićima, Faros, grčko ruralno naselje, grčke fortifikacije.*

**Keywords:** *Greek tower of Tor, Purkin Kuk, limit tumulus, cult mound, Hillfort in Ošanići, Pharos, Greek rural settlement, Greek fortification.*



Slika 1.  
Pogled na grčku kulu i pret-historijsku kamenu gomilu s istočne strane

Figure 1.  
East-side view of the Greek tower and prehistoric stone mound



Slika 2.  
Zračna snimka kamene gomile, kule i dijela podgrađa

Figure 2.  
Aerial view of the stone mound, tower, and part of the settlement

Grčka kula Tor iznad Jelse na otoku Hvaru jedinstven je lokalitet koji dominira nad jugoistočnim dijelom Jelšanskoga polja. Smještena je na oko 230 m nadmorske visine (sl. 1, 2). S Tora se pruža izvrstan pogled na okolni akvatorij i cijelo Starogradsko i Jelšansko polje. Četvrtasta grčka kula nije velika, dimenzija je 7,2 m x 6,2 m, sačuvana do visine oko 8 m. U temeljnim redovima kule uzidani su veliki pravilno klesani kameni blokovi, dok su u gornjim ugrađivani blokovi manjih dimenzija. Pretpostavlja se da je ime Tor poteklo od romanskoga *torre*, tj. latinskoga *turris* (toranj, kula),<sup>2</sup> no okolna recentna suhozidna gradnja pokazuje da se oko ilirske gomile u novome vijeku najvjerojatnije utoravala stoka, a sama kula pastirima je mogla služiti kao sklonište. Zato značenje imena ne treba tražiti izvan funkcije običnoga tora za stoku. Stara fotografija iz 1947. godine pokazuje kako je lokalno stanovništvo brdski okoliš Tora još koristilo za ispašu stoke (sl. 3).

Tijekom 19. stoljeća Tor se često opisuje u starijim vodičima i povijesnim prikazima Dalmacije.<sup>3</sup> Zbog kvalitetne obrade kamena i načina zidanja kula je ostala sačuvana do danas. Obnavljana je u više navrata: prvi put 1912. godine, na inicijativu jelšanskoga župnika don Vice Gamulina, drugi put 1972. godine, na poticaj Vladimira Mirosavljevića, koji je okolni prostor istraživao u više navrata tijekom šezdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Sedamdesetih godina za konzervaciju su iskorišteni blokovi bačeni s kule u njezino podnožje. Rekonstruirana su tri reda kamenih blokova na sjevernoj, zapadnoj i istočnoj strani kule.<sup>4</sup>

I bez tih konzervatorskih zahvata ostatci helenističke kule Tor izgledali su impresivno u okolišu središnjega brdskog lanca otoka Hvara. Zato ne iznenađuje činjenica da je kula zabi-

The Greek tower of Tor above Jelsa on the island of Hvar is a unique site that dominates the southeastern part of the Jelsa Field. It is located at about 230 metres above sea level (Fig. 1, 2). Tor offers an excellent view of the surrounding sea and the whole of Stari Grad and Jelsa Plain. The square Greek tower is not large, measuring 7.2 m by 6.2 m, with a preserved height of about 8 m. Large precisely carved stone blocks make up the foundational rows of the tower, while smaller blocks were used in the upper rows. It is assumed the name Tor originated from the Romance *torre*, i.e., Latin *turris* (tower, turret).<sup>2</sup> However, the surrounding newer dry-stone construction indicates that livestock likely grazed in the modern era around the Illyrian mound, while the tower itself could have served as a shelter for shepherds. Therefore, the meaning of the name should not be sought beyond the function of a typical livestock pen (Croatian: tor, “livestock pen”). An old photograph from 1947 shows how the local population still used the hilly surroundings of the Tor for grazing livestock (Fig. 3).

Throughout the 19th century, the Tor tower was often described in older guides and historical descriptions of Dalmatia.<sup>3</sup> Due to quality stone cutting and masonry, the tower has been preserved to this day. It has undergone restoration several times: first in 1912, initiated by the Jelsa parish priest Don Vice Gamulin, and then in 1972, prompted by Vladimir Mirosavljević, who conducted multiple surveys of the surrounding area in the 1960s. In the 1970s, blocks thrown off the tower to its base were used for conservation. Three rows of stone blocks were reconstructed on the north, west, and east sides of the tower.<sup>4</sup>

2 Zaninović 1996, str. 70.

3 Maschek 1873, str. 103; Bulić 1892, str. 55; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, T. XIV.

4 Zaninović 1996, str. 70.

2 Zaninović 1996a, p. 73.

3 Maschek 1873, p. 103; Bulić 1892, p. 55; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, T. XIV.

4 Zaninović 1996, p. 70.



Slika 3.  
Kula Tor, snimljena 1947.  
godine

Figure 3.  
Tower of Tor, photographed  
in 1947

lježena u jednom od prvih arheoloških zapisa na tlu Hrvatske. Hvarski dominikanac i humanist Vinko Pribojević dvadesetih godina 16. stoljeća opisuje arheološke ruševine iznad Jelse, a u njegovu opisu prepoznajemo kasnoantičku utvrdu Galešnik i obližnju kulu Tor. On piše: „Još i danas postoji među brdima gotovo neoštećena gradina dižući se nad gradom, koji je zapremao istočni dio polja. Na domet strijele od nje nalazi se kula od četverouglastog kamenja neobične veličine s jednim jedinim uskim ulazom, na kojoj se zbog starine ne vidi nikakav trag žbuke.“<sup>5</sup>

Jakov Boglić u knjizi o povijesti otoka Hvara, tiskanoj 1873. godine, „nadopunjuje“ Pribojevićeve podatke navodeći kako su u njegovo vrijeme (1525. godine) postojala manja vrata na južnoj strani kule.<sup>6</sup> Znamo da Pribojević nije preciznije naveo mjesto gdje se nalazio „uski ulaz“ u kulu. U 19. st. više mu nije

Even without these conservation efforts, the remains of the Hellenistic tower of Tor looked impressive in the central hill range area of the island of Hvar. Therefore, it is not surprising that the tower is documented in one of the first archaeological records on the territory of Croatia. In the 1520s, Vinko Pribojević, a Dominican friar and humanist from Hvar, described the archaeological ruins above Jelsa, identifying the Late Antique fortress of Galešnik and the nearby tower of Tor. He writes: “Even today, among the hills, an almost undamaged hillfort rises above the town, which occupied the eastern part of the plain. Just within arrow-range of it stands a tower built from unusually sized square stones with a single narrow entrance, on which, due to its age, there is no trace of plaster.”<sup>5</sup>

In his book on the history of the island of Hvar published in 1873, Jakov Boglić “supplements” Pribojević’s data by stating that in his time (1525), a smaller door existed on the southern side of the tower.<sup>6</sup> It is known that Pribojević did not specify the exact location of the “narrow entrance” to the tower. By the 19th century, there was no trace of it, but Boglić’s assertion was enough to mistakenly construct a smaller door during the conservation of the tower at the beginning of the 20th century,<sup>7</sup> where it remains to this day. They were not mentioned even by the English explorer, writer, soldier, and diplomat, Sir Richard Francis Burton, who came to Hvar in 1873 and visited the tower of Tor. He soon published his description and several drawings.<sup>8</sup> This was also the first time the site was professionally examined. When considering the megalithic walls of the burial plots in the Western Necropolis of Salona called *Hortus Metrodori*, Don Frane Bulić compared them to the Tor’s architecture.<sup>9</sup> It was later determined that these megalithic walls of burial plots in Salona were a part of a Roman necropolis.

Marin Zaninović published the results of his research on the Tor tower in the 1960s.<sup>10</sup> He collaborated with Vladimir Miroslavljević during 1967 and 1968, when they opened an archaeological trench measuring 1.5 metres in width and 7.5 metres in length near the top of the stone embankment northeast of the tower. In contrast to the excavations around the tower, this trench yielded archaeological finds that were described in Zaninović’s article.<sup>11</sup>

During the 1980s, another Hellenistic tower on the island of Hvar was explored. Its remains are located on the hill of Maslinovik, north of the Stari Grad plain. The tower was first

5 Pribojević 1951, str. 201.

6 Boglić 1873, str. 11-12.

5 Pribojević 1951, p. 201.

6 Boglić 1873, pp. 11-12.

7 Kirigin 2022, p. 76

8 Burton 1876, pp. 275-297.

9 Bulić 1910, pp. 8-9, Tab. VI.

10 Zaninović 1996a, p. 78.

11 Zaninović 1996a, pp. 78-90, T. 1-5.

bilo traga, no Boglićev navod bio je dovoljan da se početkom 20. st., prilikom konzervacije kule, na južnoj strani pogrešno izgrade manja vrata.<sup>7</sup> Ona tu stoje i danas. Nije ih spomenuo ni engleski istraživač, pisac, vojnik i diplomat Sir Richard Francis Burton, koji je posjetio Hvar 1873. godine te tom prilikom obišao i Tor. Ubrzo je objavio njegov opis i nekoliko nacrtā.<sup>8</sup> To je ujedno i prva stručna obrada nalazišta.

Razmatrajući megalitske zidove grobišnih parcela zapadne salonitanske nekropole na lokalitetu nazvanom *Hortus Metrodori*, don Frane Bulić usporedio ih je sa arhitekturom Tora.<sup>9</sup> Poslije je utvrđeno kako je u Saloni riječ o megalitskim zidovima grobišnih parcela rimske nekropole.

Marin Zaninović objavio je rezultate istraživanja na Toru iz šezdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća.<sup>10</sup> Bio je suradnik Vladimira Mirosavljevića tijekom 1967. i 1968. godine, kada su pri vrhu kamenoga nasipa sjeveroistočno od kule otvorili arheološku sondu širine 1,5 m i dužine 7,5 m. Za razliku od iskopa oko kule, ta je sonda dala arheološke nalaze opisane u Zaninovićevu članku.<sup>11</sup>

Tijekom osamdesetih godina istražena je još jedna helenistička kula na otoku Hvaru. Njezini ostatci nalaze se na brdu Maslinovik, sjeverno od Starogradskoga polja. Kulu je prvi spomenuo odvjetnik Gianantonio Botteri 1897. godine,<sup>12</sup> a istraživanja su izvedena tijekom osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća u okviru projekta *Jadranski otoci*.<sup>13</sup> Tom su prilikom nađeni ulomci finije grčke keramike okvirno datirane u 4. – 3. stoljeće prije Krista, kao i brojni ostatci pokrova kule.<sup>14</sup> Kirigin i Popović Maslinovik su datirali u 4. – 3. stoljeće prije Krista. Na osnovi vizualne veze između Tora i Maslinovika pretpostavili su komunikaciju signalima s kule na kulu. Tako su Grci izgradili sustav pomoću kojega se u slučaju opasnosti upozoravalo stanovništvo u gradu i u polju. U istom kontekstu čuvanja farske hore definirana je i uloga utvrde na Purkinu kuku, izgrađene na brdu južno od Farosa.<sup>15</sup> Nedvojbeno je da su kule Tor i Maslinovik, te utvrda Purkin kuk služile za nadzor i čuvanje Starogradskoga polja. Za razliku od kule na Maslinoviku, arheološki lokaliteti Tor i Purkin kuk imali su drugačiji morfološki razvoj i kompleksniju ulogu u kontekstu grčke kolonizaci-

mentioned by lawyer Gianantonio Botteri in 1897<sup>12</sup>, and research was carried out during the 1980s as part of the *Jadranski otoci (Adriatic Islands)* project.<sup>13</sup> During this investigation, fragments of fine Greek pottery dating roughly to 4th and 3rd century BCE were discovered, along with numerous remains of the tower's covering.<sup>14</sup> Kirigin and Popović dated the Maslinovik tower to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Based on the visual connection between the towers of Tor and Maslinovik, a signal communication between the towers was hypothesised. This suggests the Greeks built a warning system to alert the town and the plain population of danger. In the same context of protecting the Pharos chora, the role of the fortress on Purkin Kuk, built on the hill south of Pharos, was also defined.<sup>15</sup> It is undeniable that the Tor and Maslinovik towers, as well as the fortress of Purkin Kuk, served to monitor and safeguard the Stari Grad plain. In contrast to the tower on the Maslinovik hill, the archaeological sites of Tor and Purkin Kuk had a different morphological development and a more complex role in contextualising the Greek colonisation of the island of Hvar. It is evident that Purkin Kuk is not a tower but a more complex fortification structure. The ramparts show masonry work with large stone blocks with edge anathyrosis, found in all of the mentioned towers and in Pharos. This architecture dates from the 4th century BCE.<sup>16</sup> Purkin Kuk and Tor overlaid earlier prehistoric sites. They were oriented towards the hilly area of the Hvar Island, effectively located on it, and were undoubtedly used to protect and monitor this economically important area of Pharos. It is worth noting that the hilly area was suitable for breeding small livestock, with animal husbandry being an important economic activity for Greek colonists, no less important than the cultivation of Mediterranean crops in the chora.

On the northern stretch of the ramparts of Purkin Kuk fortress, in addition to large ashlar blocks, "patches" of smaller, more regular blocks, similar to those on the tower of Tor, are also visible. Originally, each of these sites contained a larger stone mound with a new megalithic construction later, during the 4th–3rd century BCE, incorporated into each one.

7 Kirigin 2022, str. 76.

8 Burton 1876, str. 275-297.

9 Bulić 1910, str. 8-9, Tav. VI.

10 Zaninović 1996a, str. 78.

11 Zaninović 1996a, str. 78-90, T. 1-5.

12 Botteri 1897, str. 1.

13 Kirigin 1987, str. 21-24.

14 Kirigin, Popović 1988, str. 179. Tijekom istraživanja nađen je jedan karakterističan ulomak crnoglazirane posude na kojoj su sačuvani tragovi bijele boje. Iako je motiv nejasan, nazire se polukružna bijela linija. Moguće je da se radi o crtežu glave sovce nacrtane bijelom bojom. Tako su ukrašavani skifosi izrađivani u Farosu oko sredine 4. stoljeća prije Krista (vidi: Katić 1999-2000, str. 53, T. 3, 1-20).

15 Kirigin, Popović 1988, str. 180, sl. 10. 3.

12 Botteri 1897, p. 1.

13 Kirigin 1987, pp. 21-24.

14 Kirigin, Popović 1988, p. 179. During the research, a distinctive fragment of a black-glazed vessel was found, on which traces of white colour are preserved. Although the motif is unclear, a semi-circular white line is discernible. It is possible that it represents a drawing of an owl's head made with white colour. Such decorations were used on skifoi produced in Pharos around the mid-4th century BCE. (see: Katić 1999-2000, p. 53, T. 3, 1-20).

15 Kirigin, Popović 1988, p. 180, Fig. 10. 3.

16 I will delve into the more recent dating of the Pharos fortifications in Remete Garden in the late 3rd century BCE in more detail elsewhere. For now, I will keep to the old dating of the construction of Pharos walls around the mid-4th century BCE.

je otoka Hvara. Kod Purkina kuka evidentno je da se ne radi o kuli, nego o složenijem fortifikacijskom zdanju. Na bedemima je vidljivo zidanje velikim kamenim blokovima s rubnom anatrozom koju nalazimo na svim spomenutim kulama i u Farosu. Riječ je o arhitekturi iz 4. stoljeća prije Krista.<sup>16</sup> Purkin kuk i Tor nalegli su na ranije prehistorijske lokalitete. Bili su okrenuti prema brdskom predjelu otoka Hvara, zapravo su se nalazili na njemu, te su nedvojbeno štitali i nadzirali ovo područje važno za gospodarski život Farosa. Valja znati da je brdski predio bio pogodan za uzgoj stoke sitnoga zuba, a stočarstvo je bilo bitna gospodarska grana grčkih kolonista, ništa manje važna od uzgoja mediteranskih kultura u hori.

Na sjevernom potezu bedema utvrde Purkin kuk osim velikih obrađenih blokova vide se i „zakrpe“ napravljene manjim pravilnijim blokovima sličnim onima na Toru. Izvorno je na svakom ovom lokalitetu bila veća kamena gomila u koju se kasnije, tijekom 4. – 3. stoljeća prije Krista, intervenira novom megalitskom gradnjom.

Kulu Tor u više sam navrata pregledao i dokumentirao, najdetaljnije tijekom arheoloških radova na nedalekoj kasnoantičkoj utvrdi Galešnik.<sup>17</sup> Grčka kula i kasnoantička utvrda imali su vrlo sličnu ulogu u različitim povijesnim razdobljima. Nadzirali su kopneni put između Starogradskega polja i istočnoga dijela otoka koji se u Hvarskom statutu iz 1643. godine naziva *Plame*.<sup>18</sup> Također su nadzirali pomorske putove od Makarskoga primorja preko kanala između Brača i Hvara do Splitskih vrata. Otočni prirodni put koji je presjekla prehistorijska gomila na Toru kasnije je premješten oko tristo metara istočnije, gdje ga je, najvjerojatnije u rimsko doba, prekrila cesta koja je povezivala istočnu stranu otoka sa zapadnom.<sup>19</sup> Prije grčke kolonizacije na otoku je živjela autohtona ilirska zajednica koja je etnički i kulturno bila jedinstvena.<sup>20</sup> Gradine istočnoga dijela otoka Hvara smještene su bliže njegovoj sjevernoj obali.<sup>21</sup> Sve „gledaju“ na kopno, odnosno na Podbiokovlje, s kojim su bile u uskoj prostornoj i kulturnoj vezi. More ovdje nije bilo prepreka, nego poveznica.

Kako navodi Zaninović, arheološka istraživanja šezdesetih godina pokazala su da je ispod grčke kule Tor postojala i gradina.<sup>22</sup> Njeno postojanje relativizira B. Kirigin navodeći: „Zaninović je pretpostavio da se na strmoj sjevernoj padini Tora nalazila *željeznodobna* naseobina. To nije moguće potvrditi.

This author has examined and documented the tower of Tor on multiple occasions, most extensively during archaeological work on the nearby Late Antique fortress of Galešnik.<sup>17</sup> The Greek tower and Late Antique fortress had very similar roles in different historical periods. They monitored the land route between the Stari Grad Plain and the east part of the island, referred to as *Plame* in the Hvar Statute of 1643.<sup>18</sup> They also kept watch over maritime routes from the Makarska coast through the channel between Brač and Hvar islands to the Strait of Split. The natural island path that was intersected by the prehistoric mound on the Tor hill was later relocated about three hundred metres to the east. In all likelihood, it was covered in Roman times by a road connecting the east and west sides of the island.<sup>19</sup> Before Greek colonisation, the island was inhabited by an indigenous Illyrian community that was ethnically and culturally unique.<sup>20</sup> The hillforts in the east of the island of Hvar are located closer to its northern coast.<sup>21</sup> They all “look” towards the mainland, specifically towards the area under the Biokovo Mountain, with which they had a close territorial and cultural connection. In this case, the sea was not a barrier but a connector.

As stated by Zaninović, archaeological investigations in the 1960s revealed a hillfort beneath the Greek tower of Tor.<sup>22</sup> Its existence is called into question by B. Kirigin, who states: “Zaninović presumed an Iron Age settlement existed on the steep northern slope of the Tor hill. This is impossible to confirm. Pottery (local and Greek/Hellenistic) and tiles, as well as stone blocks found on that steep slope of the Tor, could have resulted from erosion. A more suitable location for a settlement was S (south, author’s note) of the ‘rampart,’ but as observed, there is neither much space nor anything indicating that it ever existed.”<sup>23</sup> A noteworthy remark follows this text, where Kirigin notes that during several visits to the site, predominantly Hellenistic pottery and tiles were found. Among the surface finds on the slope below the Tor, the dominance of Greek ceramic material is indeed evident.

Due to this instance where the obvious existence of a “hillfort” settlement is questioned, it is necessary to clarify other,

16 Novijom datacijom farskih fortifikacija u Remetinu vrtu u kraj 3. stoljeća prije Krista bavit ću se opširnije na drugome mjestu. Za sada ostajem na staroj dataciji izgradnje farskih bedema oko sredine 4. stoljeća prije Krista.

17 Arhitektonsku snimku Tora izradio je Robert Maršić, a idealnu rekonstrukciju faza izgradnje na Toru Dalibor Popović.

18 Duboković Nadalini 1988, str. 259.

19 Katić 2021, str. 131-132, sl. 3.

20 Termin Iliri, ilirski ovdje koristim u konvencionalnom smislu.

21 Vujnović 1990, str. 55, sl. 1.

22 Zaninović 1996, str. 67.

17 Architectural documentation of Tor was created by Robert Maršić, and the ideal reconstruction of the construction phases on Tor was done by Dalibor Popović.

18 Duboković Nadalini 1988, p. 259.

19 Katić 2021, pp. 131-132, Fig. 3.

20 The term Illyrians and Illyrian is used here in the conventional sense.

21 Vujnović 1990, p. 55, Fig. 1.

22 Zaninović 1996, p. 67.

23 Kirigin 2022, p. 102. There is no need to question Zaninović’s statements about the “hillfort.” It is a textbook example of the formation of a settlement on a naturally defended slope of a hill. Not everything is derived from the spatial distribution of movable archaeological material but from the geomorphological features of the site, which Kirigin does not recognise.

Lončarija (lokalna i G/H) i crijepovi, kao i kameni blokovi pronađeni na toj strmoj padini Tora mogli su nastati uslijed erozije. Prikladnije mjesto za naselje bilo je J (južno, op. aut.) od 'bedema', no kako smo vidjeli, niti ima puno prostora, niti ičega što bi ukazivalo na to da je ono ikad postojalo.<sup>23</sup> Indikativna je bilješka koja se nadovezuje na ovaj tekst gdje Kirigin navodi kako je u nekoliko obilazaka lokaliteta nađena pretežno helenistička keramika i crjepovi. Među površinskim nalazima na padini ispod Tora uistinu se uočava dominacija grčkog keramičkog materijala.

Zbog ovog primjera gdje se u pitanje dovodi očito postojanje „gradinskog“ naselja, treba razjasniti druge, složenije morfološke momente i faze gradnje koji se nameću kod lokaliteta Tor iznad Jelse. Važno je početi od početka, a početak je velika kamena gomila koja je ostala u sjeni kule. Pokušat ću razjasniti neke važnije intervencije na gomili i konačnu „ugradnju“ kule i formiranje jedinstvenoga grčkog fortifikacijskog korpusa na Toru.

Velika kamena gomila (pl. 1) najviše podsjeća na „limitne tumule“, kako ih je nazvao Alojz Benac. On je na Livanjskom, Duvanjskom i Glamočkom polju, dakle na matičnom prostoru Delmata, uočio veći broj velikih gomila koje su bile inkorporirane u bedem ili su stajale samostalno. Javljaju se na širem zapadnobalkanskom prostoru tijekom drugoga i prvog tisućljeća do rimske okupacije.<sup>24</sup> Benac im daje dvojaku ulogu: obrambenu i kultnu, ovisno o njihovu smještaju.<sup>25</sup> Limitni su tumuli većih dimenzija, eliptične osnove, dužine i preko 60 m, a visina im je mogla prelaziti 10 m. Često su inkorporirani u bedem, snažno se ističući svojom veličinom, čineći posebnu obrambenu cjelinu poput glavne gradinske kule. Nalaze se na lakšoj strani prilaza gradinama štiteći tako naselja od izravnoga napada. Nekim limitnim tumulima, poput onoga na Mandinoj gradini na Duvanjskom polju<sup>26</sup> ili monumentalnim nasipima gradina u Vidošima i nad Vašarovinama u Livanjskom polju,<sup>27</sup> ne može se odrediti slična uloga jer ništa nisu branili ili su imali manju defenzivnu ulogu. Stoga Benac smatra da su služili za kultne obrede.<sup>28</sup> Na problematiku limitnih tumula osvrnuo se i Borivoj Čović na osnovi istraživanja hercegovačkih gradina. On ih je promatrao kao fortifikacijske dominante.<sup>29</sup> Slično je zaključio i Boško Marijan u svojoj opsežnoj studiji o željeznom

more complex morphological aspects and construction phases that arose at the Tor site above Jelsa. It is important to start from the beginning, i.e., the large stone mound that has remained in the shadow of the tower. Several important interventions on the mound and the final “incorporation” of the tower, which formed a unique Greek fortification complex on the Tor, will be clarified.

The large stone mound (Pl. 1.) most resembles the “limit tumuli,” as termed by Alojz Benac. He noticed a significant number of large mounds that were incorporated into ramparts or stood independently on the Livno, Duvno, and Glamoč Fields, the ancestral territory of the Delmatae. They appeared in the broader West Balkan region during the 2nd and 1st millennia until Roman occupation.<sup>24</sup> Benac gives them a dual role, defensive and cultic, depending on their location.<sup>25</sup> The limit tumuli are fairly large, with an elliptical base exceeding 60 m in length, and their height could surpass 10 m. They were often incorporated into the rampart, prominently standing out with their size and forming a distinct defensive unit akin to the main hillfort tower. They are situated on the gentler approach to the hillforts, thus protecting settlements from direct attacks. Some limit tumuli, such as the one on Mandina Gradina on the Duvno Field<sup>26</sup> or the monumental embankments of hillforts in Vidoši and above Vašarovine in the Livno Field,<sup>27</sup> did not have a similar role in defending or played a minor defensive role. Consequently, Benac suggests they served ritualistic purposes.<sup>28</sup> Borivoj Čović also addressed the issue of limit tumuli based on research into Herzegovinian hillforts, which he considered fortification dominants.<sup>29</sup> Boško Marijan drew similar conclusions in his extensive study of the Iron Age in the south Adriatic area.<sup>30</sup> This viewpoint is partly supported by archaeological research of the Daorson acropolis, i.e., the hillfort in Ošanići near Stolac in eastern Herzegovina, the centre of the Illyrian Daorsi.<sup>31</sup> A large stone mound with a diameter of 40 m and a height of up to 4 m was located there.<sup>32</sup> Although it was extensively damaged in the 1960s and 1980s in a research attempt to discover its true role,<sup>33</sup> the Great Mound still dominates the surrounding area. On its eastern side, Zdravko Marić unearthed the so-called “supporting wall,” built from large stone blocks. It cuts through the mound from the northern to the southern edge of the acropolis.<sup>34</sup> It had

23 Kirigin 2022, str. 102. Uopće ne treba dovoditi u pitanje Zani-novićeve konstatacije o „gradini“. Riječ je o školskom primjeru formiranja naselja na prirodno branjenoj padini brda. Ne proizlazi sve iz prostorne distribucije pokretnog arheološkog materijala, nego iz geomorfološke slike lokaliteta koju Kirigin ne prepoznaje.

24 Benac 2012, str. 47.

25 Benac 1985, str. 198.

26 Ibid., str. 19-20.

27 Ibid., str. 140.

28 Ibid., str. 198.

29 Čović 1987, str. 465-466.

24 Benac 1985, p. 198.

25 Benac 2012, p. 47

26 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

27 Ibid., p. 140.

28 Ibid., p. 198.

29 Čović 1987, pp. 465-466.

30 Marijan 2000, p. 114.

31 Marić 1976, pp. 247-254.

32 Basler 1956, p. 81.

33 Cambi 1993, p. 46.

34 Marić 1977, Pl. 1.

dobu na južnojadranskom području.<sup>30</sup> Takvo mišljenje donekle su poduprla i arheološka istraživanja na akropoli Daorsona, tj. Gradini u Ošanićima kod Stoca u istočnoj Hercegovini – središtu ilirskih Daorsa.<sup>31</sup> Tu se nalazila velika kamena gomila promjera 40 m, visine do 4 metra.<sup>32</sup> Iako je šezdesetih i osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća devastirana u istraživačkom žaru otkrivanja njezine prave uloge,<sup>33</sup> Velika gomila još dominira okolnim prostorom. Na njezinoj istočnoj strani Zdravko Marić je iskopao tzv. „potporni zid“, izgrađen od velikih kamenih blokova. On siječe gomilu od sjevernog do južnog ruba akropole.<sup>34</sup> Na krajevima je imao po jedna vrata. Sjeverna su iskopana 1978. godine i oko njih je nađeno više željeznih komada, poput brave, ručki, željeznih traka za ojačavanje vrata, obruča za usađivanje drvenih osovina u prag i nadvratnik, itd. Dvokrilna vrata bila su umetnuta u prolaz širine 2 metra.<sup>35</sup> Na sjevernoj strani, ispod njih, megalitski zid se nastavlja niz padinu. Širok je od 2,6 do 3 m, ima dva lica izgrađena od većih kamenih blokova. Na nekima se vide šiljasti utori široki oko 12 cm, ljevkastog oblika; služili su za umetanje drvenih klinova pomoću kojih su se u kamenolomu cijepali blokovi. Također postoje tragovi stepenastog klesanja gornje strane kamenih blokova zbog boljeg nalijeganja sljedećeg reda obrambenog zida. Ovo su jasni tragovi grčkog načina gradnje, koje nalazimo na Toru i u Farosu. Marić „istočni potporni zid“ gomile datira u 3. stoljeće prije Krista, smatrajući da raniji ne može biti.<sup>36</sup>

Nakon iskopavanja Velike gomile na Gradini u Ošanićima (Daorson) ustanovilo se da ona nema grobnu ulogu pa se počeo isticati njezin fortifikacijski karakter, na što je jasno ukazivao spomenuti „istočni potporni zid“.<sup>37</sup> Pritom se manje vodilo računa o tome da se radi o kompleksnom objektu s tragovima uredno podzidanog ruba koji je kroz stoljeća doživljavao promjene. Na gomilu je s južne strane vodilo lijepo izgrađeno stubište.<sup>38</sup> Skladnost i preciznost njegove izvedbe naglašavali su pristup gomili. Prema tome, ne čudi što je Alojz Benac ostao pri mišljenju kako je Velika gomila na Daorsonu ipak kulturno postrojenje. On ističe njezinu povezanost s kasnijim hramom izgrađenim uz zapadno podnožje Velike gomile.<sup>39</sup> Hram na akropoli Daorsona bio je u funkciji negdje od 150. do 50. godine prije Krista. Njegov znakovit smještaj uz gomilu odraz je potrebe da se sačuva kulturni topos akropole i podigne objekt u kojem se najvjerojatnije štovalo isto božanstvo koje se štovalo na vrhu gomile tijekom starijega željeznog doba.

gates at both ends. The northern gate was excavated in 1978, revealing several iron pieces, including a lock, handles, iron strips for reinforcing the gate, rings for embedding wooden axles into the threshold and lintel, etc. The double doors were inserted into a passage 2 metres wide.<sup>35</sup> Below them, the megalithic wall continues down the slope on the northern side. This two-faced wall, between 2.6 and 3 metres wide, is constructed from larger stone blocks. Some contain 12-cm-pointed, funnel-shaped grooves, which were used in the quarries for inserting wooden wedges in order to split the blocks. There are also traces of stepped stone cutting on the upper side of the blocks for better adhesion to the next row of the defensive wall. These are clear indicators of the Greek construction style present in Tor and Pharos. Marić dates the “east supporting wall” of the mound to the 3rd century BCE, stating it cannot be dated to an earlier period.<sup>36</sup>

After excavating the Great Mound at Ošanići Hillfort (Daorson), it was determined it had no funerary role. Instead, its defensive nature began to be emphasised, as clearly indicated by the mentioned “east supporting wall.”<sup>37</sup> Less consideration was given to the fact that it was a complex structure with traces of neatly built edges that underwent changes over the centuries. A well-built staircase led to the mound from the south side.<sup>38</sup> The approach to the mound highlighted the harmony and precision of its construction. Hence, it is unsurprising that Alojz Benac maintained the opinion that the Great Mound on Daorson was a cultic structure. He emphasised its connection with the temple subsequently built at its western base.<sup>39</sup> The temple on the Daorson acropolis was in use sometime from 150 to 50 BCE. Its significant position next to the mound reflects the need to preserve the cultic site of the acropolis and erect a structure where some deity, likely worshipped at the top of the mound during the Early Iron Age, could be revered.

Like the limit tumulus at Tor, Daorson had a large cultic mound at its most prominent location. This mound was later fortified with a megalithic wall, somewhere in the transition from the 4th to the 3rd century BCE. It is reasonable to agree with Marijanović’s conclusion that this “pseudocyclopean wall,” as he calls it, is older than the eastern rampart wall with two towers.<sup>40</sup>

Very similar fortification solutions at Tor and the Great Mound of Daorson, as well as similar stone cutting techniques and masonry methods, along with the abundance of portable

30 Marijan 2000, str. 114.

31 Marić 1976, str. 247-254.

32 Basler 1956, str. 81.

33 Cambi 1993, str. 46.

34 Marić 1977, plan 1.

35 Marić 1992-1997, str. 79-88.

36 Isto, str. 87.

37 Marijanović 1984, str. 19-22; Marić 1977, str. 30; Marijan 2011, str. 180.

38 Marić 1977, str. 25, 28, plan 18 i 19; Marijanović 1984, str. 21.

39 Benac 2012, str. 46-47.

35 Marić 1992-1997, pp. 79-88.

36 Ibid., p. 87.

37 Marijanović 1984, pp. 19-22; Marić 1977, p. 30; Marijan 2011, p. 180.

38 Marić 1977, pp. 25, 28, Pl. 18 and 19; Marijanović 1984, p. 21.

39 Benac 2012, pp. 46-47.

40 Marijanović 1984, p. 22.



Plan 1.  
Fotogrametrijska snimka limitnog tumula i grčke kule ispred njega

Plane 1.  
Photogrammetric survey of the limit tumulus and the Greek tower in front of it

Poput limitnog tumula na Toru i Daorson je na najistaknutijemu mjestu imao veliku kultnu gomilu koja je naknadno, negdje na prijelazu iz 4. u 3. stoljeće, utvrđena megalitskim zidom. Valja se složiti s Marijanovićevim zaključkom da je taj „pseudokiklopski zid“, kako ga naziva, stariji od istočnijeg bedema s dvije kule.<sup>40</sup>

Vrlo slična fortifikacijska rješenja na Toru i Velikoj gomili Daorsona, kao i slična tehnika obrade kamena i načina zidanja

archaeological artefacts such as Pharos coins<sup>41</sup> and amphorae (*Faros 2 amphorae*)<sup>42</sup>, demonstrate close economic and cultural ties between the residents of Pharos and Daorson. Greek builders were likely brought in from Pharos on the island of Hvar for the construction of fortifications at Daorson. The opening of the nearby quarry also must have been their work.

The evolution of Tor from a cultic mound to a fortress and

40 Marijanović 1984, str. 22.

41 Marić 1973a, pp. 247-248.

42 Katić 2019, p. 125.



Slika 4.  
Bedem s dva lica na  
sjeverozapadnoj strani  
limitnog tumula

Figure 4.  
Double-faced rampart wall  
on the north-western side of  
the limit tumulus

te brojnost pokretnoga arheološkog materijala poput farskog novca<sup>41</sup> i farskih amfora (amfore *Faros 2*)<sup>42</sup> pokazuju uske gospodarske i kulturne veze između Farana i Daorsa. Za izgradnju fortifikacija na Daorsonu najvjerojatnije su dovedeni grčki graditelji iz Farosa na otoku Hvaru. Otvaranje kamenoloma u blizini naselja također je moralo biti njihovo djelo.

Razvoj Tora od kultne gomile do utvrde i grčke kule podijelio sam u tri faze, što je ilustrirano na pl. 2, gdje su nacrtane idealne rekonstrukcije njegova razvoja.

**Prva faza** obilježena je podizanjem limitnog tumula.<sup>43</sup> Slobodan prostor između njegova zapadnog ruba i prirodne litice, naknadno zatvoren bedemom s dva lica (sl. 4), negira mogućnost fortifikacijske uloge tumula u njegovoj prvoj fazi. Uz tu činjenicu, položaj velike kamene gomile nepravilnog stepenastog oblika, naknadno reduciranog (presječenog) izgradnjom bedema druge faze, približava nas onome što je Alojz Benac determinirao kao limitni tumul.

Ne treba zaboraviti da su Tor i kasnobrončanodobna gradina na obližnjem Galešniku<sup>44</sup> nadzirali pomorske putove koji su vodili iz Makarskoga primorja u morski kanal između otoka Brača i Hvara. Osim toga, Tor se nalazio na prirodnom putu koji je spajao istočni i zapadni dio otoka. Oko 250 m istočnije u rimsko je doba izgrađena cesta. Iako su Rimljani prilikom gradnje cesta dobrim dijelom pratili stare prehistorijske staze i komunikacijske pravce,<sup>45</sup> ova je izgrađena istočnije zbog konfiguracije terena koja je omogućavala svladavanje padine širokim S zavojima.

Limitni tumul bio je podignut na mjestu pogodnom za okupljanje Ilira s istočne i zapadne strane otoka. Pruža se na rubu

Greek tower has been divided into three phases, as illustrated on Pl. 2, where ideal reconstructions of its evolution are drawn.

**The first phase** is marked by the construction of the limit tumulus.<sup>43</sup> The open space between its western edge and a natural cliff, later enclosed by a double-faced rampart (Fig. 4), eliminates the possibility of a fortification role for the tumulus in its first phase. Along with this fact, the position of a large, irregular, and stepped stone mound, later reduced (cut through) by the construction of the rampart wall in the second phase, brings us closer to what Alojz Benac defined as a limit tumulus.

It is important to remember that Tor and the Late Bronze Age hillfort on the nearby Galešnik<sup>44</sup> overlooked the maritime routes leading from the Makarska coast to the sea channel between the islands of Brač and Hvar. In addition, Tor was situated on a natural route that connected the east and west parts of the island. About 250 metres to the east, a road was built during the Roman era. While the Romans typically adhered to prehistoric paths and communication routes in their road construction,<sup>45</sup> this particular road was built to the east due to the terrain configuration that allowed overcoming the slope with wide S-turns.

The limit tumulus was erected in a strategic location, serving as a meeting ground for Illyrians from both the east and west sides of the island. It extended on the edge of a smaller plateau in an east-west direction, about 40 metres long and 15 to 20 metres wide. It stands in a hilly landscape between the cliffs of two ravines and rises about 4.2 metres above the surrounding terrain. Single-faced dry-stone walls are visible on its surface, the longer one extending from east to west (Pl. 1c) and the shorter one from north to south. They statically secured the massive amount of stone and protected the mound from dispersion. The original northern face of the mound was partially preserved up to a height of 3 metres and was built with irregularly stacked unprocessed stone (Fig. 5). The wall is slightly inclined towards the interior of the mound.

The remaining wall faces in the mound are barely discernible, and some are marked on the survey of the current situation (Pl. 1, 1a). The plans 1b and 1c also show traces of partition walls. They indicate the mound could have had an irregular, stepped shape with a flat plateau on top.<sup>46</sup> On the southern side, the penultimate original face of the limit tumulus is visible, built with irregularly cut stones (Fig. 6).

The next row was built from large ashlar stone blocks from

41 Marić 1973a, str. 247-248.

42 Katić 2019, str. 125.

43 Preuzeo sam naziv Alojza Benca „limitni tumul“ jer je već prihvaćen u stručnoj literaturi.

44 Katić 2021, str. 144-150.

45 Bojanovski 1974, str. 26-30.

43 I have adopted the term “limit tumulus,” coined by Alojz Benac, as it has already been accepted in scholarly literature.

44 Katić 2021, pp. 144-150.

45 Bojanovski 1974, pp. 26-30.

46 These walls will have to be better isolated and documented during future archaeological research on the mound. Their more comprehensive documentation can bring us closer to the original appearance of the limit tumulus on the Tor.



Slika 5.  
Sjeverno lice limitnoga  
tumula

Figure 5.  
The northern face of the  
limit tumulus



Slika 6.  
Predzadnje izvorno lice limit-  
nog tumula na južnoj strani

Figure 6.  
Penultimate original face  
of the limit tumulus on the  
southern side

manjeg platoa u pravcu istok - zapad, dužine oko 40 m, širine 15 do 20 m. Stoji u brdskom krajoliku između litica dvaju klanaca. Od okolnog terena izdignut je oko 4,2 m. Na njegovoj se površini vide suhozidi s jednim licem, duži u pravcu istok-zapad (pl. 1c), a kraći u pravcu sjever-jug. Oni su statički učvršćivali golemu masu kamena i čuvali gomilu od rasipanja. Izvorno sjeverno lice gomile mjestimice je sačuvano do 3 m visine, a građeno je od nepravilno naslagana neobrađena kamena (sl. 5). Zid je blago nagnut prema unutrašnjosti gomile.

Ostala lica zidova u gomili tek se naziru, neka su ucrtana na snimku postojećega stanja (pl. 1., 1a.). Na planovima 1b. i 1c. također su naznačeni tragovi pregradnih zidova. Oni pokazuju da je gomila mogla imati nepravilan stepenasti oblik s ravnim platoom na vrhu.<sup>46</sup> S južne je strane vidljivo predzadnje izvorno lice limitnoga tumula zidano od nepravilno lomljena kamena (sl. 6).

Sljedeći je red izgrađen od velikih klesanih kamenih blokova koji pripadaju drugoj fazi utvrđivanja gradine. Na priloženoj idealnoj rekonstrukciji izgleda prve faze limitnoga tumula (pl. 2) nacrtali smo ga stepenasto sa svih strana.

Stepenasta je gomila na južnoj strani reducirana i presložena u drugoj fazi, kada je izgrađen megalitski bedem. Stepenasti oblik limitnoga tumula vremenom se počeo urušavati i gubiti svoj originalni izgled pretvorivši se u ovalnu gomilu. Jasna je i njegova prostorna veza s gradinom na Galešniku. Slične prostorne odnose imamo npr. kod gradine Sutilija iznad Segeta gornjega i gomila u Baradićima<sup>47</sup> ili limitni tumul kod gradine Talež na otoku Visu, u Istočnoj Hercegovini Prenjska gradina kod Stoca i drugi slični arheološki lokaliteti koji samostalno stoje u prostoru redovno na dominantnim točkama.

the second phase of the hillfort fortification process. It has been illustrated as stepped from all sides in the attached ideal reconstruction of the first phase of the limit tumulus (Pl. 2).

The stepped mound on the southern side was reduced and rearranged in the second phase, when the megalithic rampart wall was built. The stepped shape of the limit tumulus began to collapse and lose its original appearance over time, transforming into an oval mound. Its spatial connection with the hillfort on Galešnik is also evident. Similar spatial relationships are found, for example, at the Sutilija hillfort above Seget Gornji and the mounds in Baradići<sup>47</sup> or the limit tumulus near the Talež hillfort on the island of Vis. In eastern Herzegovina, sites such as the Prenj hillfort near Stolac and other similar archaeological sites are often strategically located at dominant points in the landscape.

Future archaeological research will need to provide an answer to whether there might have been a pre-Greek settlement on the northern slopes below the tumulus, for which the limit tumulus served as protection. It will be necessary to identify areas with less exposure to erosion. Based on the current situation, it can be stated that limit tumuli originally stood on the island of Hvar and in eastern Herzegovina at Daroron. More extensive research into similar prehistoric formations will shed further light on these two mounds.

In the **second phase**, a settlement located on the northern slope of the hill can be identified. The easiest access was from the southern side of the Tor Hill plateau, which was protected by the transformed limit tumulus, finally turned into a strong fortification. The settlement trapezoidally expanded from the top downhill, naturally protected on the east and west sides by deep ravines, while dwellings were erected on terraces. Certain retaining walls of the terraces, built with large stone blocks, have been preserved to this day. In order to fortify the settle-

46 Tijekom budućih arheoloških istraživanja na gomili trebat će ove zidove bolje izolirati i dokumentirati. Njihova cjelovitija dokumentacija može nas približiti izvornom izgledu limitnog tumula na Toru.

47 Šuta, Bartulović 2007, str. 44.

47 Šuta, Bartulović 2007, p. 44.



Pl. 2.  
Idealna rekonstrukcija raz-  
vojnih faza Tora iznad Jelse  
(Crtež: Dalibor Popović)

Pl. 2.  
The ideal reconstruction of  
the development phases of  
Tor above Jelsa (Drawing:  
Dalibor Popović)

Buduća arheološka istraživanja morat će dati odgovor je li na sjevernim padinama brda ispod tumula ipak postojalo nekakvo predgrčko naselje kojem bi limitni tumul služio kao zaštita. Pritom će trebati naći prostor koji je bio manje izložen eroziji. Prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja, mišljenja sam da su na otoku Hvaru i u istočnoj Hercegovini na Daorsonu izvorno stajali limitni tumuli. Šire istraživanje sličnih prethistorijskih formacija bolje će osvijetliti navedene dvije gomile.

U **drugoj fazi** možemo govoriti o naselju smještenu na sjevernoj padini brda. Najlakši pristup bio mu je s južne strane brdskoga platoa Tora, a štito ga je preuređeni limitni tumul



Slika 7.  
Lice bedema nasuprot grčkoj  
kuli

Figure 7.  
Rampart face opposite the  
Greek tower

ment as effectively as possible, on the southern side of the limit tumulus, a powerful surface was constructed using hewn stone blocks, cut in a manner distinct from the blocks incorporated into the tower. Segments of the rampart near the tower (Fig. 7) and the shorter stretch somewhat to the east (Fig. 8) are better preserved. As they were later incorporated into the outer face of the mound, its longer side was integrated into the embankment between them and the penultimate face of the mound, thus reinforcing the wall statics. A similar masonry approach is observed in the Greek fortification architecture in Pharos, where blocks were also inserted into the rampart with their longer sides.<sup>48</sup>

Marin Zaninović commented on this architecture, noting that the mound on Tor was cut across its entire southern side during the construction of the tower, acquiring the appearance that has been preserved to this day. However, he incorrectly attributes the static role of the wall, stating: "To set the foundations of the tower on solid natural ground, builders had to cut through an already existing embankment. To prevent its collapse, they underpinned it with a wall that, from its southern side, gave the embankment the appearance of an elevated rampart. The tower was positioned in the middle of this embankment, and there, where this dry-stone wall was closest to the northern wall of the tower, it also served as support for that wall."<sup>49</sup> From this, it follows that the builders of the Greek tower on the adjacent mound created a retaining wall that took on the appearance of a rampart. However, it is not just any retaining wall but a fortification, as evidenced by the continuation of the "retaining wall" towards the west, where the prehistoric mound was lower, and a more robust double-faced rampart, approximately 2.5 metres wide, was built over it (Fig. 4). It closed the free space between the cliff

48 Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, pp. 45-46.

49 Zaninović 1996a, p. 75.



Slika 8.  
Lice bedema na istočnoj strani limitnog tumula

Figure 8.  
Rampart face on the eastern side of the limit tumulus



Slika 9.  
Zapadni potez bedema s dva lica

Figure 9.  
Western section of the double-faced rampart

konačno pretvoren u snažnu fortifikaciju. Naselje se trapezoidno širilo od vrha brda prema podnožju, s istočne i zapadne strane bilo je prirodno zaštićeno dubokim klancima, a nastambe su bile podizane na terasama. Pojedini podzidi terasa građeni od većih kamenih blokova ostali su sačuvani do danas. Da bi se naselje što bolje utvrdilo, na južnoj strani limitnog tumula izgrađeno je moćno lice od priklesanih kamenih blokova koji se načinom izrade razlikuju od blokova ugrađenih u kulu. Bolje su sačuvani segmenti bedema u blizini kule (sl. 7) i kraći potez nešto istočnije (sl. 8). Kako su se naknadno inkorporirali u vanjsko lice gomile, dužom su stranom ugrađeni u nasip koji stoji između njih i predzadnjega lica gomile te je tako pojačana statika zida. Sličan način zidanja zamjećujemo kod grčke fortifikacijske arhitekture u Farosu, gdje su također blokovi svojom dužom stranom ulazili u ispunu bedema.<sup>48</sup>

Marin Zaninović se osvrnuo na ovu arhitekturu primijetivši da je gomila na Toru bila presječena po cijeloj svojoj južnoj strani pri gradnji kule, dobivši tada izgled koji je sačuvan do danas. Ipak, pogrešno pripisuje statičku ulogu zida navodeći: „Da bi naima temelje kule postavili na čvrstu prirodnom terenu, graditelji su morali presjeći već postojeći nasip. Da bi spriječili njegovu osipanje, podzidali su ga zidom koji je nasipu s njegove južne strane dao izgled povišena bedema. Kula se smjestila po sredini ovoga nasipa i ondje, gdje je ovaj suhozidni bedem bio najbliži sjevernom zidu kule, a poslužio je i kao potporanj tome zidu.“<sup>49</sup> Iz navedenoga proizlazi da su graditelji grčke kule na susjednoj gomili napravili podzid koji je dobio izgled bedema. Da se ne radi ni o kakvom podzidu, nego o fortifikaciji pokazuje nastavak „podzida“ prema zapadu, gdje je prethistorijska gomila bila niža pa se preko nje izgradio čvršći bedem s dva lica, širine oko 2,5 m (sl. 4). On je zatvorio slobodan prostor između litice klanca i zapadnoga kraja limitnoga tumula.

of the ravine and the west end of the limit tumulus.

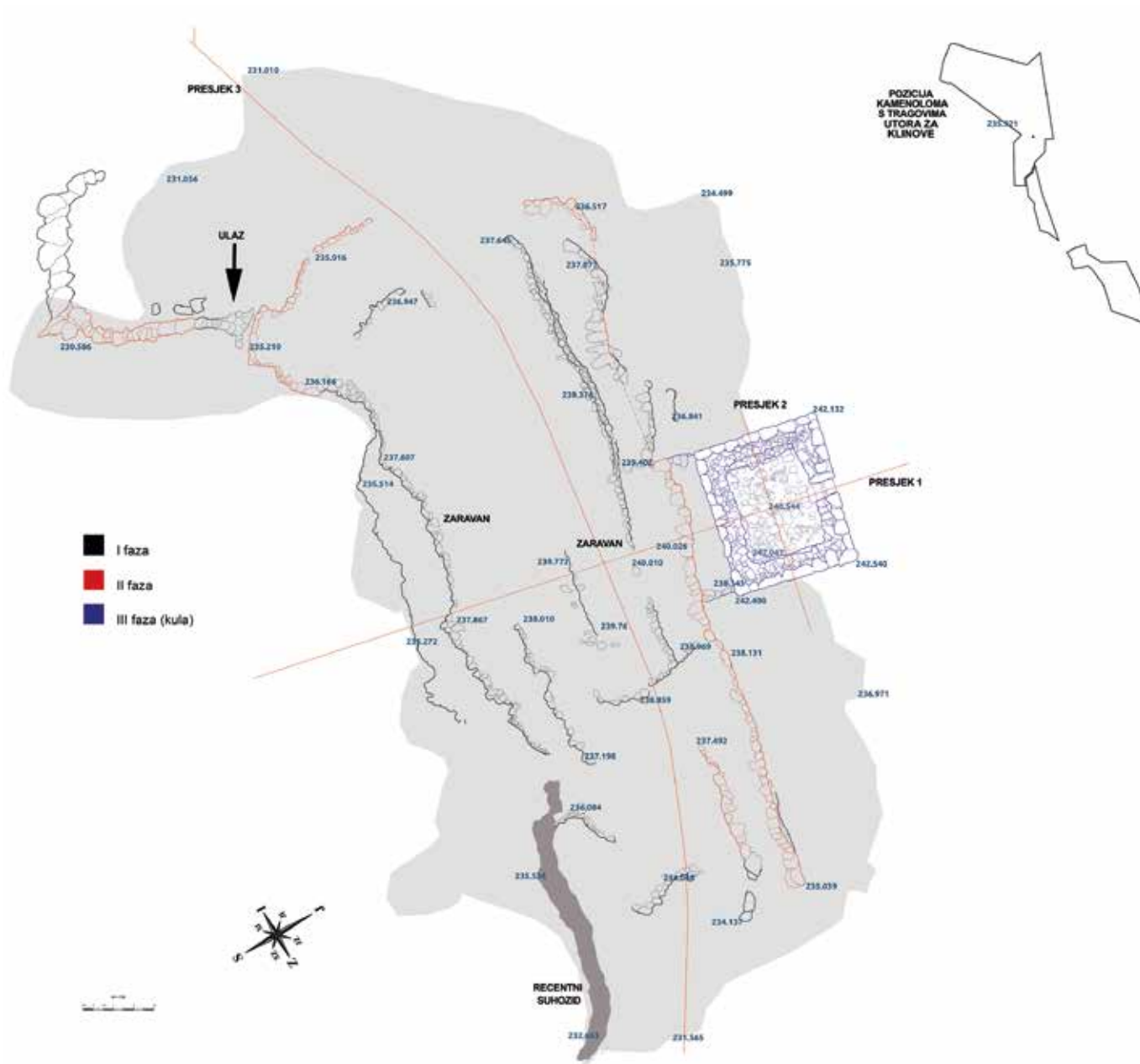
Therefore, a double-faced rampart, 9 metres long and around 2.5 metres wide (Fig. 4, 9), was constructed over the northwestern flank of the mound. It was built using large, dressed stone blocks. In Fig. 9, Pl. 1 and 1a, it can be observed that that section of the rampart lay on the scattered limit tumulus, indicating that it was constructed later. Additionally, its extension along the entire southern side of the stone mound is evident: the external face of the western section of the rampart continues to the east, while the internal face takes over the old retaining wall of the limit tumulus.

Opposite the northeast corner of the Greek tower, the wall breaks towards the north at a right angle for a length of 1.5 metres. This L-shaped break allowed for better defence of the southeast part of the mound, as depicted in the ideal reconstruction of the mound in the second phase (Pl. 2). From this point, the enemy attacking the rampart frontally could be targeted laterally. Such breaks in fortifications actually serve as substitutes for towers. The sharp breaking of the rampart at a 90-degree angle is often interpreted as a fortification form preceding the construction of towers, and in later periods, it appears mainly on steeper terrain.<sup>50</sup> The break in the rampart was made in the middle of the limit tumulus, where the terrain is flat. This defensive measure is in conflict with the tower, as it serves its purpose in an earlier period, suggesting an older phase of fortification construction later negated by the tower's construction.

50 Scranton 1941, p. 154. On the wall cutting across Velika Gomila of Daorson, there is a noticeable indentation of the northern side of the wall towards the west. While there is no L-shaped break like on Tor, bending the defensive wall towards the interior of the mound achieved the same defensive effect, allowing for lateral strikes on the enemy attacking the rampart.

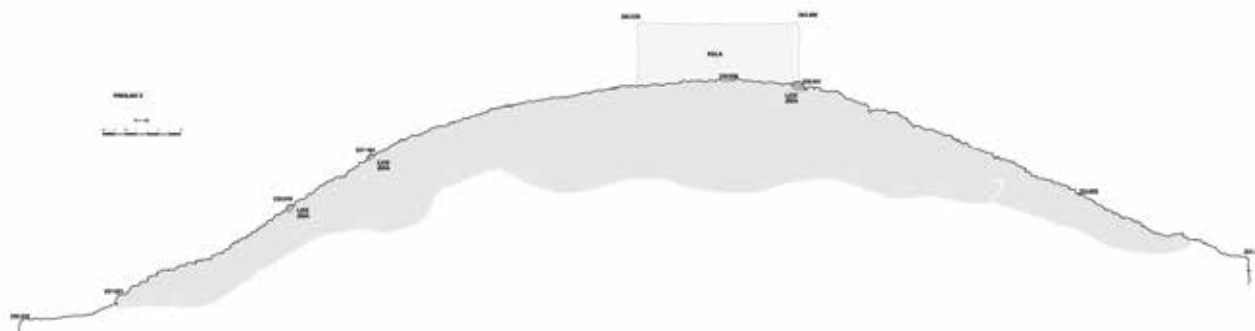
48 Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, str. 45-46.

49 Zaninović 1996a, str. 75.



Plan 1a  
Arhitektonska snimka kule s presjecima

Plane 1a  
Architectural survey of the tower with cross-sections



Plan 1b  
Presjek limitnog tumula u pravcu istok - zapad (presjek 3)

Plane 1b  
Cross-section of the limit tumulus in the east-west direction (section 3)



Plan 1c  
Presjek limitnog tumula u  
pravcu sjever-jug (presjek 1)

Plane 1c  
Cross-section of the limit  
tumulus in the north-south  
direction (section 1)

Plan 1d  
Presjek grčke kule u pravcu  
istok-zapad (presjek 2)

Plane 1d  
Cross-section of the Greek  
tower in the east-west direc-  
tion (section 2)

Dakle, preko sjeverozapadnoga plašta gomile podignut je bedem s dva lica, dužine 9 m i širine oko 2,5 m (sl. 4, 9). Bio je izgrađen od velikih priklesanih kamenih blokova. Na sl. 9, pl. 1 i 1a, vidi se da je taj potez bedema legao na rasuti limitni tumul, što znači da je kasniji od njega. Također se uočava njegovo pružanje duž cijele južne strane kamene gomile: vanjsko se lice zapadnoga poteza bedema nastavlja prema istoku, a unutarnje lice preuzima stari podzid limitnoga tumula.

Nasuprot sjeveroistočnom uglu grčke kule zid se prema sjeveru lomi pod pravim kutom u dužini 1,5 m. Ovaj lom u obliku slova L omogućavao je bolju obranu jugoistočnoga dijela gomile. Prikazan je na idealnoj rekonstrukciji izgleda gomile u drugoj fazi (pl. 2). S njega se bočno mogao gađati neprijatelj koji je frontalno napadao bedem. Ovakvi lomovi na fortifikacijama zapravo zamjenjuju kule. Oštro lomljenje bedema pod kutom od 90° često se tumači kao fortifikacijska forma koja prethodi gradnji kula, u kasnijim razdobljima javlja se uglavnom na strmijim terenima.<sup>50</sup> Lom bedema napravljen je po sredini limitnoga tumula gdje je teren ravan. Takav defenzivni zahvat je u koliziji s kulom, jer u ranijem razdoblju ima njezinu ulogu, stoga se može govoriti o starijoj fazi fortifikacijske gradnje, kasnije negirane izgradnjom kule.

Od zapadnoga kraja do oštrog loma bedem je dug oko 23 m. U nastavku, od loma do jugoistočnoga ugla, dužine je oko 13 m. Na istočnom je potezu dijelom otklizao prema van, a dijelom je ostao *in situ*. Na pl. 1a. ispresijecanom linijom naznačen je njegov izvorni pravac pružanja. Sam jugoistočni ugao bedema vidljiv je u plaštu gomile. Sačuvan je u tri reda kamenih blokova ukupne visine oko 1,6 m. Od jugoistočnoga ugla utvrde druge faze zid skreće prema sjeveru, odnosno prema vratima gradine,

From the western end to the sharp bend, the rampart is about 23 metres long. In the continuation, from the bend to the southeast corner, it is about 13 metres long. Part of it slid outward on the eastern stretch, and part of it remained *in situ*. On Pl. 1a, its original direction is indicated by an intersecting line. The southeast corner of the rampart is visible on the slope of the mound. It is preserved in three rows of stone blocks with a total height of about 1.6 metres. From the southeast corner of the fortification's second phase, the wall turns north, towards the gates of the hillfort, at a right angle of 90 degrees. On the eastern part of the mound, stone rubble has covered the rampart, so it is not visible on the surface. Only on the northeastern part stands a well-preserved square protrusion resembling a bastion, which was actually the southern side of the entrance to the settlement (Fig. 10). The east face of the bastion is around 2.1 metres tall and is preserved in seven to eight rows of stone blocks. Opposite it, only the poorly preserved foundation of the rampart is visible, which stretches further down the gentle slope for about ten metres to the very edge of the cliff. It was about 3.5 metres wide. Its east face is better preserved, which is partly obscured by vegetation and covered in fallen stones. The last block of that face near the gate, which is preserved *in situ*, is 2.5 metres away from the wall on the south side. That means the entrance to the hillfort could be 2 to 2.5 metres wide. The entrance to the hillfort is closed off by a modern dry-stone wall, which covers the east face of the wall at that point.

The limit tumulus was transformed into a fortification in the second phase and could have been the last line of defence in case of an enemy incursion into the settlement.

The northern rampart of the settlement must have been built somewhere on the lower part of the hillside, possibly on an elevated terrace with a parapet. Most likely deconstructed during centuries of land cultivation, it should be verified whether its foundations are preserved in one of the present-day agricultural terraces. This should definitely be examined after clearing the retaining wall from vegetation.

<sup>50</sup> Scranton 1941, str. 154. Na zidu koji presijeca Veliku gomilu Daorso-na vidljivo je znatno uvlačenje sjeverne strane zida prema zapadu. Nema L loma kao na Toru, ali savijanjem obrambenog zida prema unutrašnjosti gomile dobiven je isti defenzivni učinak, tj. mogućnost da se pri napadu na bedem neprijatelj tuče bočno.

pod kutom od 90°. Na istočnom dijelu gomile kamena sipina prekrila je bedem pa on nije vidljiv na površini. Tek na sjeveroistočnom dijelu stoji dobro očuvana četvrtasta istaka poput bastiona koja je zapravo bila južna strana ulaza u naselje (sl. 10). Istočno lice bastiona visoko je oko 2,1 m, a sačuvano je u 7 - 8 redova kamenih blokova. Nasuprot njemu vidljiv je samo temelj loše očuvana bedema koji se pruža dalje niz blagu padinu u dužini od desetak metara do samoga ruba litice. Bio je širine oko 3,5 m. Bolje je sačuvano njegovo istočno lice, koje je djelomice zaklonjeno raslinjem i zatrpao urušenim kamenjem. Zadnji blok toga lica uz vrata, koji je sačuvan *in situ*, udaljen je 2,5 m od zida na južnoj strani, što znači da je ulaz u gradinu mogao biti širok 2 do 2,5 m. Ulaz u gradinu zatvorio je novovjekovni suhozid koji je na tom dijelu pokrio istočno lice bedema.

Limitni tumul je u drugoj fazi pretvoren u fortifikaciju i mogao je biti i zadnja crta obrane u slučaju prodora neprijatelja u prostor naselja.

Sjeverni bedem naselja morao je biti podignut negdje u donjem dijelu padine brda. On je mogao biti povišena terasa s grudobranom. Najvjerojatnije je razgrađen tijekom višestoljetne obrade zemljišta. Trebalo bi provjeriti jesu li mu temelji sačuvani u nekoj od današnjih poljoprivrednih terasa. To bi svakako trebalo ispitati nakon čišćenja podzida od raslinja.

**Treća faza** obuhvaća izgradnju grčke kule i njezino spajanje s bedemom limitnog tumula. Podignuta je na kamenom platou s kojega se prethodno izravnao teren vađenjem kamenih blokova. Kula je udaljena samo oko 1,5 m od lica bedema limitnoga tumula. Kako sam naveo, trećoj fazi pripada popunjavanje uskoga prostora između sjevernog lica kule i bedema limitnoga tumula. Marin Zaninović je ispravno smatrao da su istočno i zapadno lice ovoga spoja kule i tumula napravljeni istodobno s kulom. Problem je u tome što je megalitskom zidu na gomili pridavao više statičku nego fortifikacijsku funkciju.<sup>51</sup> Ispuna između kule i gomile s licima izgrađenim od velikih kamenih blokova postavljenim u nastavku istočnoga i zapadnoga zida kule, pokazuje da se ona spojila s bedemom limitnoga tumula u jedinstven fortifikacijski korpus. U sjeverozapadnom uglu kule nalazi se veći kameni blok, tzv. „vežnjak“, čija je sjeverna strana za tridesetak centimetara duža od lica ostalih blokova (sl. 11). Ostavljen je u namjeri da se zapadni zid kule bolje poveže s kamenom ispunom nasutom između limitnog tumula i kule. Taj detalj otkriva nastojanje graditelja da kulu bolje povežu s postojećim starijim bedemom na južnoj strani gomile, što znači da kula nije stajala samostalno, nego je izgrađena zbog jačeg utvrđivanja južnoga bedema naselja. Unutrašnjost kule bila je ispunjena kamenom do razine tjemena gomile (vidi pl. 1c, pl. 1d).

Veliku zabunu izazvao je rekonstruirani ulaz na južnoj strani kule. Kiriginova studija arhivskih izvora jasno je poka-



Slika 10.  
Sjeverno lice bastiona na koji su se naslanjala gradinska vrata

Figure 10.  
The northern face of the bastion against which the hillfort gates were leaning

**The third phase** involved the construction of the Greek tower and its connection with the rampart of the limit tumulus. It was erected on a stone plateau, which was previously levelled by extracting stone blocks. The tower is only around 1.5 metres away from the face of the limit tumulus rampart. As previously mentioned, the third phase involved filling the narrow space between the northern face of the tower and the rampart of the limit tumulus. Marin Zaninović correctly believed that the east and west faces of this junction between the tower and tumulus were constructed simultaneously with the tower. The problem with this junction is that the function of the megalithic wall on the tumulus shifted from being fortified to being static.<sup>51</sup> The filling between the tower and the tumulus, with faces built from large stone blocks extending off of the east and west walls of the tower, shows that it merged with the rampart of the limit tumulus into a unified fortification structure. In the northwest corner of the tower, there is a larger stone block, known as the “connector,” with a northern face about thirty centimetres longer than the surfaces of other blocks (Fig. 11). It was left to better connect the west wall of the tower with the stone filling between the limit tumulus and the tower. This detail reveals the builders’ efforts to better integrate the tower with the existing older rampart on the southern side of the mound, which means the tower did not stand independently but was constructed to strengthen the fortification of the southern wall of the settlement. The interior of the tower was filled with stones up to the level of the top of the mound (see Pl. 1c, Pl. 1d).

A significant amount of confusion arose from the reconstructed entrance on the southern side of the tower. Kirigin’s study of archival sources clearly demonstrated that the entrance was created during conservation work in 1912, based

51 Zaninović 1996a, str. 75.

51 Zaninović 1996a, p. 75.



Slika 11.  
Kameni blok „vežnjak“ u  
sjeverozapadnom uglu kule

Figure 11.  
Square “connector” block in  
the northwest corner of the  
tower

zala kako je taj ulaz napravljen tijekom konzervatorskih radova 1912. godine prema Pribojevićevom i Bogličevom navodu o uskom ulazu, odnosno ulazu s južne strane, kako je Boglič „preciznije“ nadopunio Pribojevićev opis Tora.<sup>52</sup> Gamulin i Bervaldi smatrali su da se sa sjeverne strane kule nalazio ulaz povezan mostom s gomilom. I Kirigin naginje tom rješenju, pišući: „Primamljivo zvuči Gamulinovo i Bervaldijevo tumačenje – da se na sjevernoj strani kule nalazio drveni ‘pokretni most’ koji je povezivao prvi kat kule s ‘bedemom’, posebice s obzirom na to da je prizemlje unutrašnjosti kule, kako smo vidjeli, bilo zapunjeno zemljom i stijenama do visine ‘bedema’, od-

on Pribojević’s and Boglič’s description of a narrow entrance, specifically an entrance from the south side, as Boglič “more precisely” supplemented Pribojević’s description of the Tor tower.<sup>52</sup> Gamulin and Bervaldi believed there was an entrance on the north side of the tower connected by a bridge to the tumulus. Kirigin also leans towards this solution, writing: “Gamulin and Bervaldi’s interpretation sounds tempting—that on the northern side of the tower there was a wooden ‘movable bridge’ connecting the first floor of the tower with the ‘rampart’, especially considering that the ground floor of the tower’s interior, as observed, was filled with earth and rocks up to the height of the ‘rampart’, or up to the level that was preserved before the restoration in 1912. It is therefore more likely the narrow entrance mentioned by Pribojević was located on that side, not on the south side of the tower.”<sup>53</sup>

It should be noted that there was no need for a wooden bridge connecting the mound with the tower. Instead, the tower was directly incorporated into the southern rampart of the limit tumulus through short connecting walls, the lower parts of which have been preserved. In the time of Pribojević, at the beginning of the 16th century, the tower was better preserved, allowing the “narrow entrance” to be discerned on one of its sides. These did not have to be doors, but one of the narrow windows. There were certainly three: one each on the south, east, and west sides of the tower. On the north side, facing the limit tumulus, a door was located, leading from the fortress into the newly built tower.

There are differences in the construction of the stone blocks incorporated into the tower and those embedded in the rampart of the limit tumulus. They differ both in the method of construction and in the quarrying technique. The construction method of the tower is identical to the construction of the Greek rampart from the 4th century BCE found in Remete Garden in Stari Grad on Hvar.<sup>54</sup> The deep and well-executed anathyrosis at the corners of the tower is similar to the anathyrosis found at the city gates in Remete Garden and in Purkin Kuk. The occasional incline of the lateral sides and the unworked external faces of the stone blocks suggest they were built by the same builders. The tower could therefore be dated to the mid-to-late 4th century BCE.

Slanting grooves, around twenty centimetres wide and ten to fifteen centimetres deep, are visible on certain stone blocks of the tower. These are remnants of grooves for wedges used in splitting the stone blocks in the quarry. Traces of stone extraction are visible in the immediate vicinity of the tower (see Pl. 1a). About fifteen metres southeast of it, on a smaller rock 1.8 to 2 metres high, clearer traces of stone “harvesting”

52 Boglič 1873, p. 11; Kirigin 2022, pp. 74-76.

53 Kirigin 2022, p. 104.

54 Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, pp. 49-50.

52 Boglič 1873, str. 11; Kirigin 2022, str. 74-76.

nosno do razine koja je bila očuvana prije obnove 1912. Stoga je vjerojatnije da se uski ulaz koji spominje Pribojević nalazio se, a ne s J strane kule.<sup>53</sup>

Dodao bih da nije trebao postojati nikakav drveni most koji je spajao gomilu s kulom, nego je kula pomoću kratkih spojnih zidova, čiji su donji dijelovi sačuvani, bila izravno inkorporirana u južni bedem limitnog tumula. U Pribojevićevo vrijeme, početkom 16. st., kula je bila bolje očuvana pa se „uski ulaz“ mogao nazirati na nekoj od njezinih stranica. To nisu morala biti vrata, nego jedan od uskih prozora. Sigurno su bila tri: po jedan na južnoj, istočnoj i zapadnoj strani kule. Na sjevernoj, prema limitnom tumulu, nalazila su se vrata. Kroz njih se prolazilo iz utvrde u novosagrađenu kulu.

Postoje razlike u izradi kamenih blokova uzidanih u kulu i onih ugrađenih u bedem limitnoga tumula. Razlikuju se kako po načinu izrade i zidanja, tako i po načinu vađenja u kamenolomu. Način zidanja kule identičan je načinu zidanju grčkoga bedema iz 4. stoljeća prije Krista nađena u Remetinu vrtu u Starom Gradu na Hvaru.<sup>54</sup> Duboka i kvalitetno izvedena anatroza na uglovima kule slična je anatrozi koju zatječemo kod gradskih vrata u Remetinu vrtu i na Purkinu kuku. Mjestimice zakošene bočne strane kamenih blokova i njihovo neobrađeno vanjsko lice također ukazuju na iste graditelje. Stoga bi se kula mogla datirati u sredinu - drugu polovinu 4. stoljeća prije Krista.

Na pojedinim kamenim blokovima kule vide se kosi utori širine dvadesetak centimetara, dubine deset do petnaest centimetara. To su ostatci utora za klinove pomoću kojih su se cijepali kameni blokovi u kamenolomu. Tragovi vađenja kamena vidljivi su u neposrednom okolišu kule (vidi pl. 1a). Petnaestak metara jugoistočnije od nje, na manjoj litici visine 1,8 do 2 m, ima jasnijih tragova „branja“ kamena. I tu se vidi nekoliko utora za klinove. Ako se prema sjeveroistoku poprati rub ovoga plitkog kamenoloma, ulazi se u klanac. On je zarastao u gustu hrastovu šumu (crnika) pa se teže uočavaju tragovi kamenoloma. Ima dosta odvaljenih blokova, a kamen je prirodno uslojen u tri do četiri reda, svaki debljine oko 90 cm. Takve prirodne strukture idealne su za vađenje kamenih blokova. Na početku ovoga šumarka također se na kamenu živcu zamjećuju tragovi utora za klinove. Grci su nastojali što bliže gradilištu otvoriti kamenolom. Oni su bili kratkoga vijeka, eksploatirani koliko je trajala gradnja objekta uz koji su se nalazili. Kamenolomi za izgradnju kuća i bedema u Farosu također su otvarani blizu grada.<sup>55</sup> Međutim, za izgradnju Farosa morao je postojati neki veći kamenolom koji još nije nađen.

Kameni blokovi od kojih je građen bedem druge faze na limitnom tumulu nemaju tragova vađenja pomoću drvenih kli-

can be discerned, as well as several wedge grooves. Following the edge of this shallow quarry towards the northeast leads into a ravine. It is overgrown with dense oak (holm) forest, making it difficult to notice the traces of the quarry. There are many broken off blocks, and the stone naturally cleaves into three or four layers, each about 90 centimetres thick. Such natural formations are ideal for extracting stone blocks. At the beginning of this grove, traces of wedge grooves are also noticeable on a nearby rock. The Greeks aimed to open quarries as close to the construction site as possible. They were short-lived and exploited for the duration of the construction of the adjacent structure. Quarries for building houses and ramparts in Pharos were also opened near the city.<sup>55</sup> However, a larger quarry for the construction of Pharos, so far undiscovered, must have existed.

Stone blocks used in the construction of the limit tumulus' rampart in the second phase have no traces of extraction using wooden wedges. The blocks are well processed, but to a lesser extent than those incorporated into the tower. These blocks were undoubtedly also "harvested" near Tor.

## CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

From what has been discussed, it is evident that Tor above Jelisa was a more complex archaeological site. So far, it has been primarily viewed through the lens of the fascinating Greek tower, while the limit tumulus remained unrecognised as a cultic or cultic-fortification architecture.

Mirosavljević's research in 1967 and 1968 was conducted on the tumulus itself and did not cover the residential part. On that occasion, a distinct layer of burnt material or a hearth with bone remains, fragments of roughly made ceramic vessels, numerous Hellenistic pottery, flint artefacts, and the remains of sea snails and oysters were found. Coins from Issa and Pharos were discovered around the hearth.<sup>56</sup>

Alojz Benac also found traces of burnt materials during the investigation of the limit tumulus on Mandina Gradina on Duvno Field. Benac considers this hillfort a central cultic location of the Duvno Field, giving it a broader cult significance.<sup>57</sup> Tor was located on a prehistoric route between the east and west parts of the island. This space was sought to be directly controlled for the entire millennium. In the late Bronze Age, a hillfort existed on the neighbouring Galešnik, and the cultic complex on Tor should be examined in this context. Thanks to Mirosavljević's research of the limit tumulus, it can be said it was certainly utilised during the Early and Late Iron Ages.

53 Kirigin 2022, str. 104.

54 Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, str. 49-50.

55 Popović 2012, str. 124-125; Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, str. 66-67.

55 Popović 2012, pp. 124-125; Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015, pp. 66-67.

56 Zaninović 1996a, p. 79.

57 Benac 1985, pp. 19-20.

nova. Blokovi su kvalitetno obrađeni, ali lošije od onih ugrađenih u kulu. Nema sumnje da su i oni „brani“ u blizini Tora.

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Iz rečenoga proizlazi da je Tor iznad Jelse bio složeniji arheološki lokalitet. Do sada je promatran uglavnom kroz atraktivnu grčku kulu, dok je limitni tumul ostao neprepoznat kao kulna, odnosno kulno-fortifikacijska arhitektura.

Mirosavljevićeva istraživanja 1967. i 1968. godine izvedena su na samome tumulu i nisu zahvatila stambeni dio. Tom prilikom nađen je izrazit sloj paljevine, odnosno vatrište s ostatcima kostiju, ulomcima grubih prostoručno izrađenih keramičkih posuda, brojnom helenističkom keramikom, kremenim artefaktima, ostatcima morskih puževa i kamenica. Uokolo samoga vatrišta nađeni su primjerci novca Ise i Farosa.<sup>56</sup>

Tragove paljevine našao je i Alojz Benac prilikom istraživanja limitnoga tumula na Mandinoj gradini na Duvanjskom polju. Benac smatra Mandinu gradinu središnjim kulturnim mjestom Duvanjskoga polja, dajući joj tako šire kulturno značenje.<sup>57</sup> Tor se nalazio na prehistorijskoj komunikaciji između istočnoga i zapadnog dijela otoka. Taj se prostor nastojao izravno kontrolirati cijelo tisućljeće. U kasnome brončanom dobu egzistirala je gradina na susjednom Galešniku. U kontekstu s njom trebali bismo promatrati kulturno postrojenje na Toru. Zahvaljujući Mirosavljevićevim istraživanjima limitnoga tumula, možemo reći da je sigurno bio korišten tijekom starijega i mlađega željeznog doba.

Drugu fazu Tora obilježava izgradnja bedema od klesanih kamenih blokova i zatvaranje zapadnoga slobodnog prolaza između gomile i litice novim potezom bedema s dva lica, te formiranje ulaznih vrata na sjeveroistočnom dijelu limitnoga tumula. Naselje se pružalo niz terase sjeverne padine brda. Neke su terase umjetno formirane izgradnjom podzida od velikih kamenih blokova koji se i danas mjestimice uočavaju. Evidentan je utjecaj grčkih graditelja u izgradnji bedema. Lom bedema pod oštrim kutom na sredini limitnoga tumula upućuje da se radi o ranijoj grčkoj fortifikacijskoj arhitekturi, vjerojatno iz prve polovine 4. stoljeća prije Krista, kada su grčki kolonisti, osim što su nadzirali Starogradsko polje, nastojali zaštititi stanovništvo koje se intenzivnije bavilo stočarstvom u brdskom pojasu otoka Hvara. Uzgoj stoke sitnoga zuba bio je od egzistencijalne važnosti za grčke koloniste u prvim desetljećima doseljenja na otok Hvar.

Već smo istaknuli sličnost „istočnog potpornog zida“ na Velikoj gomili u Daorsonu s južnim zidom gomile na Toru. „Podzidavanje“ kulne gomile u Hercegovini, odnosno njezino

The second phase of Tor is characterised by the construction of ramparts, built of ashlar stone blocks, the closure of the western passage between the mound and the cliff with a new section of the double-faced rampart wall, as well as the construction of the entrance gates on the northeast part of the limit tumulus. The settlement extended down the terraces on the northern slope of the hill. Some terraces are artificially formed by building retaining walls from large stone blocks, which are still partially visible today. The influence of Greek builders is evident in the construction of the ramparts. The sharp-angled break in the rampart wall in the middle of the limit tumulus suggests an earlier Greek fortification structure, probably from the first half of the 4th century BCE. Greek colonists, in addition to overseeing the Stari Grad Plain, sought to protect the population engaged in livestock farming in the hilly areas of the island of Hvar. The breeding of small cattle was of crucial importance for the Greek colonists in the early decades of their settlement on the island of Hvar.

The similarity between the “east supporting wall” at Velika Gomila in Daorson and the southern wall of the mound in Tor has already been highlighted. Construction of retaining walls for the cult mound in Herzegovina, or its subsequent fortification using large stone blocks, was adopted from the island of Hvar. It is hard to escape the impression that this fortification idea was introduced by Greek builders and stonecutters from Pharos and that they were the ones who constructed the ramparts of Daorson.

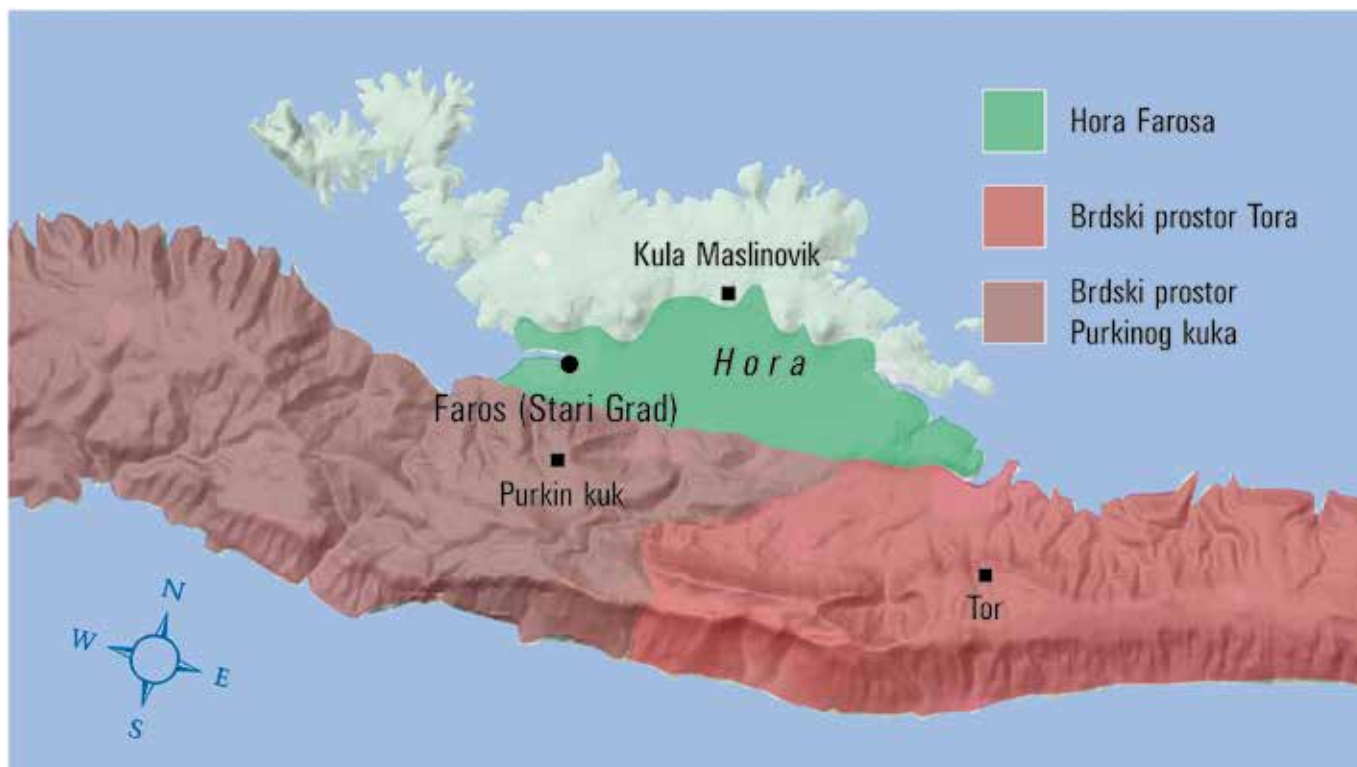
The hillfort of Purkin Kuk near Dol can also be observed in the same context. There, too, the ancient Illyrian mound/hillfort was fortified with large stone blocks. As in Tor, the northern part of the rampart briefly turns at a sharp angle. Purkin Kuk was open towards the west, while Tor was open towards the east part of the hilly area in central Hvar. It is easy to imagine thousands of herds of goats and sheep scattered across the slopes of Hvar’s hills, intersected with a forest of holm oak and black pine. The island abounded in Mediterranean vegetation: sage, rosemary, heather, broom, pyrethrum, and immortelle, which favoured beekeeping and honey production.<sup>58</sup> It was therefore necessary to organise the hilly terrain by forming rural settlements for the population primarily engaged in animal husbandry (Map 1) but also in other agricultural activities.

The settlement on Tor retained its hillfort morphology, but the Greek fortification architecture clearly indicates dominance over this area and settlement. Of course, the Ilirians, skilled livestock farmers and adaptive to hilly landscapes, cannot be excluded from it. Diodorus writes that the “Parians who settled Pharos allowed the barbarians on the island to remain undisturbed in a highly fortified place, while they founded

56 Zaninović 1996a, str. 79.

57 Benac 1985, str. 19-20.

58 Trbušković 2018, pp. 22-23.



Karta 1.  
Prijedlog prostornog nadzora i korištenja brdskog prostora središnjeg dijela otoka Hvara.

Map 1.  
Proposal for spatial surveillance and utilisation of the hilly terrain in the central part of the island of Hvar.

naknadno fortificiranje pomoću velikih kamenih blokova preuzeto je s otoka Hvara. Teško se oteti dojmu da su tu fortifikacijsku ideju prenijeli baš grčki graditelji i kamenoklesari iz Farosa i da su oni gradili bedeme Daorsona.

U istom kontekstu možemo promatrati i gradinu Purkin kuk kod Dola. I tamo je stara ilirska gomila/gradina utvrđena velikim kamenim blokovima. Bedem se na sjevernom dijelu kratko lomi pod ostrim kutom kao i na Toru. Purkin kuk bio je otvoren prema zapadnom, a Tor prema istočnom dijelu brdskoga prostora središnjega dijela otoka Hvara. Možemo zamisliti tisuće grla koza i ovaca raširenih po padinama hvarskih brda ispresijecanim šumom česmine i crnoga bora. Otok je obilovao mediteranskim biljem: kaduljom, ružmarinom, vrijesom, brnistrom, buhačem, smiljem, što je pogodovalo pčelarstvu i proizvodnji meda.<sup>58</sup> Stoga je trebalo organizirati brdski prostor formiranjem ruralnih naselja za stanovništvo koje se primarno bavilo stočarstvom (Karta 1), ali i drugim poljoprivrednim aktivnostima.

Naselje na Toru zadržalo je gradinsku morfologiju, no grčka fortifikacijska arhitektura jasno pokazuje tko je dominirao ovim prostorom i naseljem. Naravno, iz njega ne možemo isključiti Ilire, vješte u uzgoju stoke i životu u brdskom krajoli-

a city by the sea and raised a wall around it.”<sup>59</sup> This information confirms that local Illyrians continued to live somewhere in the hilly area, probably on the hillfort in the town of Hvar.<sup>60</sup> Before the arrival of the Greeks, their harbour and settlement lay at the end of the Stari Grad bay. Archaeological remains of this harbour and settlement were discovered during the research of Remete Garden in Stari Grad.<sup>61</sup> Important sources of freshwater were located here, and the whole bay was controlled with a system of hillforts: Lompić at the entrance to the Stari Grad bay, Gradina north of Stari Grad, Purkin Kuk, and the hillfort settlement in the harbour—at the location that Pharos would occupy. With the arrival of the Greeks on the island of Hvar, essential natural resources such as the harbour, fields, and water sources were taken from the Illyrians. It is hard to believe they relinquished all of this willingly to the colonists without coercion or some form of agreement, as some authors thought.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, some Illyrians remained in one of the fortified places. They were engaged in animal husbandry and seafaring, thus contributing to the economic life

<sup>59</sup> Čače 1997, p. 225.

<sup>60</sup> Čače 1994, p. 40; Kirigin 2004, pp. 33-34.

<sup>61</sup> Katić 1995-1996, p. 51-55.

<sup>62</sup> Čače 1997, p. 225.

<sup>58</sup> Trbušković 2018, str. 22-23.

ku. Poznat je Diodorov podatak kako su „Parani koji su naselili Far dopustili barbarima na otoku da nesmetano ostanu na veoma utvrđenom mjestu, dok su oni utemeljili grad kraj mora i obzidali ga“.<sup>59</sup> Ovaj podatak potvrđuje da su negdje u brdskom prostoru, vjerojatno na gradini u gradu Hvaru,<sup>60</sup> ostali živjeti lokalni Iliri. Oni su na kraju Starogradske uvale, prije dolaška Grka, imali svoje pristanište i naselje čije smo arheološke ostatke otkrili prilikom istraživanja Remetina vrta u Starome Gradu.<sup>61</sup> Tu su se nalazili važni izvori pitke vode na otoku, cijela uvala kontrolirana je sustavom gradina: Lompić na ulazu u Starogradsku uvalu, Gradina sjeverno od Staroga Grada, Purkin kuk i gradinsko naselje u luci - na mjestu koje će zauzeti Faros. Dolaskom Grka na otok Hvar Ilirima su oduzeti egzistencijalni prirodni resursi poput luke, polja i izvora vode. Teško je povjerovati da su sve to prepustili kolonistima bez prisile, odnosno sklapanjem nekakvog sporazuma, kako su mislili pojedini autori.<sup>62</sup> Ipak, dio Ilira ostao je živjeti na nekom utvrđenom mjestu; oni su stočarenjem i moreplovstvom bili uključeni u gospodarski život Farosa. Nije se tu radilo o nekoj velikodušnoj gesti kolonista, nego o interesu da se osigura egzistencija kolonije u najosjetljivijoj fazi formiranja novoga polisa. Grci su ove Ilire, pod određenom kontrolom, ostavili na područjima gdje su se stoljećima bavili uzgojem stoke i obradom zemljišta. Ustupci koje su im dali zasigurno su ih zadržali u brdskom području, iz kojega su Farani dobivali meso, vunu, med i mliječne proizvode.

Od početka 4. stoljeća prije Krista, kada Grci s Parosa osnivaju koloniju Faros na otoku Hvaru, više ne možemo govoriti o gradinskom naselju, nego o grčkom ruralnom naselju koje je bilo prostorno i gospodarski povezano s Farosom. Drugo slično ruralno naselje možemo pretpostaviti na Purkinu kuku kod Dola. Ako bi se na južnim padinama ispod utvrđene „akropole“ utvrdilo postojanje naselja istodobnog s Farosom, onda bi se i ovdje moglo govoriti o grčkom ruralnom naselju. To bi trebalo utvrditi arheološkim iskopavanjem.

Odavno je utvrđeno da Jelšansko polje nije bilo parcelirano i uključeno u sustav farske hore. Marin Zaninović je pretpostavio kako to ima veze s gradinom na Toru, odnosno da je taj prostor ostao pod kontrolom Ilira.<sup>63</sup> Isto smatra i Branko Kirigin, koji piše da su marginalni istočni dijelovi hore bili prepušteni domorodcima.<sup>64</sup>

Jelšansko polje uistinu je ostavljeno na korištenje naselju formiranom na sjevernoj padini brda ispod Tora, ali, opet ističem, smatram da to nije bilo ilirsko, nego grčko ruralno naselje, koje su Grci utvrdili na potpuno nov način. Naime, Grci ne bi

of Pharos. It was not a generous gesture from the colonists, but rather an interest in securing the existence of the colony in the most critical phase of forming a new polis. The Greeks left these Illyrians under certain control in areas where they cultivated livestock and land for centuries. The concessions given to them undoubtedly kept them in the hilly area, which provided Pharos with meat, wool, honey, and dairy products for centuries.

From the beginning of the 4th century BCE, when the Greeks from Paros founded the colony of Pharos on the island of Hvar, the hillfort settlement became a Greek rural settlement that was spatially and economically connected to Pharos. Another similar rural settlement can be assumed at Purkin Kuk, near Dol. If the existence of a settlement contemporaneous with Pharos is confirmed on the southern slopes below the fortified “acropolis,” it would also be considered a Greek settlement. Archaeological excavations would be necessary to confirm this.

It has long been established that the Jelsa Plain was not parcelled and included in the system of the Pharos chora. Marin Zaninović assumed this was related to the hillfort on Tor, suggesting that this area remained under Illyrian control.<sup>63</sup> Branko Kirigin shares a similar view, stating that the marginal eastern parts of the chora were left to the indigenous population.<sup>64</sup>

The Jelsa Plain was indeed left for use by the settlement, which was formed on the northern slope below Tor. However, it should be emphasised once more that this author believes the settlement was not Illyrian but Greek and that it was fortified by the Greeks in an entirely novel way. In other words, Greeks would not fortify strategic points near Pharos only to leave them to the Illyrians, with whom they were in conflict during the 4th century BCE.

The fortified settlement on Tor was visually connected to the tower on the Maslinovik hill, built on the hill north of the Hvar chora. Together, they formed a security system for raising alarms in case of danger from enemy attacks.

Similar defensive systems for monitoring and defending a territory are known in Greece from the archaic period, especially in eastern and central Greece, where they notably developed after the second quarter of the 4th century BCE.<sup>65</sup> Towers often oversaw communication routes between two cities or regions. In Greece, they were erected by city-states in uninhabited areas, thus forming robust defensive systems. A smaller number were associated with agricultural estates.<sup>66</sup> In the case of the island of Hvar, there is a clear orientation of fortifications and towers towards the Greek chora, controlling

59 Čače 1997, str. 225.

60 Čače 1994, str. 40; Kirigin 2004, str. 33-34.

61 Katić 1995-1996, str. 51-55.

62 Čače 1994, str. 39.

63 Zaninović 1996b, str. 31-33.

64 Kirigin 2004, str. 109.

63 Zaninović 1996b, pp. 31-33.

64 Kirigin 2004, p. 109.

65 Fossey 1993, p. 128.

66 Fossey 1993, p. 128.

u blizini Farosa utvrđivali strateške točke kako bi ih prepustili Ilirima s kojima se sukobljavaju tijekom 4. stoljeća prije Krista.

Utvrđeno naselje na Toru vizualno je bilo povezano s kulom na Maslinoviku podignutoj na brdu sjeverno od hvarske hore. Zajedno su činile sigurnosni sustav uzbunjivanja u slučaju opasnosti od napada neprijatelja.

Slični defenzivni sustavi za nadzor i obranu nekog teritorija poznati su u Grčkoj još od arhajskog doba. U istočnoj i središnjoj Grčkoj do njihova razvoja dolazi osobito od druge četvrtine 4. stoljeća prije Krista.<sup>65</sup> Kule su često nadzirale komunikacije između dvaju gradova ili područja. U Grčkoj su ih podizali gradovi države na nenaseljenim mjestima, gdje su one činile čvrste defenzivne sustave. Manji je broj bio vezan uz poljoprivredna gospodarstva.<sup>66</sup> U slučaju otoka Hvara očita je orijentiranost utvrda i kule na grčku horu, kontrolu pomorskih putova, čuvanje lokalnog ruralnog naselja i njegova stanovništva.

Zbog velike sličnosti kula s arhitekturom bedema u Remetinu vrtu u Starome Gradu, mišljenja sam da se podižu negdje oko sredine - druge polovine 4. stoljeća prije Krista paralelno s izgradnjom bedema u Farosu. To je vrijeme kada se podižu novi gradski bedemi i kada se Faros konačno urbanistički redefinira. Osim zaštite polisa nastojalo se što bolje zaštititi horu, u kojoj se već nekoliko desetljeća uzgajaju mediteranske kulture. Uspostavlja se i bolja kontrola morskih i kopnenih komunikacija, posebno onih prema istočnom dijelu otoka.

Ruralni život Farosa nije bio koncentriran samo na horu. Za koloniste je veliku važnost imalo brdsko područje središnjega dijela otoka. Taj su prostor Grci nakon osnivanja kolonije zauzeli i koristili za uzgoj stoke, lov, proizvodnju meda i nabavu drva; bio im je od egzistencijalne važnosti. Na samom sjevernom rubu brdskoga područja podigli su svoja ruralna naselja bez kojih gospodarski život antičkog Farosa nije bio održiv.

maritime routes, and safeguarding the local rural settlement and its population.

Due to the significant resemblance of the towers with the architecture of the rampart walls in Remete Garden in Stari Grad, this author believes they were erected around the mid-to-late 4th century BCE, simultaneously with the construction of the ramparts in Pharos. This period coincides with the construction of new city walls and the final urban redefinition of Pharos. Aside from protecting the polis, there was an effort to better protect the chora, where Mediterranean crops had been cultivated for decades. Improved control of maritime and land routes, especially those towards the eastern part of the island, was also established.

The rural life of Pharos was not concentrated solely in the chora. The hilly area in the central part of the island was of great importance to the colonists. After the establishment of the colony, the Greeks occupied and used this area of vital importance for animal husbandry, hunting, honey production, and woodcutting. At the northern edge of the hilly area, they built their rural settlements, without which the economic life of ancient Pharos would not have been sustainable.

<sup>65</sup> Fossey 1993, str. 128.

<sup>66</sup> Lawrence 1979, str. 187.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

ANUBiH	Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine
GZM	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja BiH u Sarajevu, Arheologija
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

**Literatura / Bibliography****Basler 1956**

Đ. Basler, *Gradina na Ošanićima kod Stoca*, Naše starine III, Sarajevo 1956, 79-94.

**Benac 1985**

A. Benac, *Utvrđena ilirska naselja (I), Delmatske gradine na Duvanjskom polju, Buškom blatu, Livanjskom i Glamočkom polju*, (ANUBiH, Djela, knj. LX, Centar za balkanološka istraživanja knj. 4), Sarajevo 1985.

**Benac 2012**

A. Benac, *Religijske predstave prastanovnika južnoslavenskih zemalja*, (ANUBiH, Djela, knj. LXXXIV, Centar za balkanološka istraživanja knj. 10), Sarajevo 2012.

**Boglić 1873**

G. Boglić, *Studi storici sull'isola di Lesina*, Zara 1873.

**Bojanovski 1974**

I. Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji*, (ANUBiH, Djela, knj. XLVII, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja knj. 2), Sarajevo 1974.

**Botteri 1897**

G. A. Botteri, *Frugamenti Archeologici a Cittavecchia*, Il Dalmata, Zara 21. 8. 1897, vol. 32, no. 67, 1-4.

**Bulić 1892**

F. Bulić, *Zur vorgeschichtlichen Dalmatiens*, Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Wien 1892, 549-570.

**Bulić 1910**

F. Bulić, *Escavi nella necropoli antica pagana di Salona detta*

*Hortus Metrodori*, Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata XXXIII, Spalato 1910, 4-66.

**Burton 1876**

R. F. Burton 1876, *The Long Wall of Salona and the Ruined Cities of Pharia and Gelsa di Lesina*, The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 5, London 1876, 252-300.

**Gambi 1993**

N. Gambi, *Arheološki pogled na probleme istraživanja, konzervacije, rekonstrukcije i prezentacije ilirskog naselja na Ošanićima*, Radovi, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, Razdio povijesnih znanosti 32(19)/1992-1993, Zadar 1993, 37-60.

**Čače 1994**

S. Čače, *Prilozi raspravi o osnivanju grčkih naseobina na Jadranu u 4. st. pr. Kr.*, Radovi, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, Razdio povijesnih znanosti 33(20)/1993-1994, Zadar 1994, 33-54.

**Čače 1997**

S. Čače, *Pisani izvori za povijest Hvara u antici*, The Adriatic Islands Project vol 1, (BAR, International Series 660), Oxford 1997, 217-241.

**Čović 1987**

B. Čović, *Srednjodalmatinska grupa*, in: A. Benac (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja V*, Sarajevo 1987, 442-480.

**Duboković Nadalini 1988**

N. Duboković Nadalini, in: N. Duboković Nadalini, *Dio otoka Hvara što se zove Plame*, *Rasprave i članci*, Split 1988, 259-262.

**Fossey 1993**

J. M. Fossey, *The Development of some Defensive Network sin Eastern Central Greece during the Classical Period*, (Fortificationes Antiquae), Amsterdam 1993, 109-132.

**Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894**

L. Jelić, F. Bulić, S. Rutar, *Vodja po Spljetu i Solinu*, Zadar 1894.

**Jeličić Radonić, Katić 2015**

J. Jeličić Radonić, M. Katić, *Faros – osnivanje antičkog grada*, Split 2015.

**Katić 1995-1996**

M. Katić, *Ilirsko naselje u Starom Gradu*, in: *Pharos – antički Stari Grad*, katalog izložbe, Zagreb 1995-1996, 51-55.

**Katić 1999-2000**

M. Katić, *Uvod u proučavanje keramičkih radionica Farosa*, *Opuscula archaeologica* 23-24, Zagreb 1999-2000, 49-58.

**Katić 2019**

M. Katić, *Proizvodnja i raširenost amfora Faros 2 na istočnoj obali Jadrana*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 44 (Cambijev zbornik I), Split 2019, 121-131.

**Katić 2021**

M. Katić, *Kasnoantička utvrda Galešnik iznad Jelse*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* prosvjeta, III. ser., 48, Split 2021, 125-159.

**Kirigin 1987**

B. Kirigin, *Maslinovik – zaboravljena grčka kula u Starogradskom polju na otoku Hvaru*, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 1, Zagreb 1987, 21-24.

**Kirigin, Popović 1988**

B. Kirigin, P. Popović, *Maslinovik: A Greek Watchtower in the Chora of Pharos - a preliminary report*, in: Chapman, John, *Recent Developments in Yugoslav Archaeology*, (BAR, International Series 431), Oxford 1988, 177-189.

**Kirigin 2004**

B. Kirigin, *Faros, parska naselobina. Prilog proučavanju grčke civilizacije u Dalmaciji*, VAHD 96, Split 2004, 9-301.

**Kirigin 2022**

B. Kirigin, *Antička kula Tor na otoku Hvaru – retrospektiva*, VAHD 114, Split 2022, 29-68.

**Lawrence 1979**

A. W. Lawrence, *Greek aims in fortification*, Oxford 1979.

**Marić 1973**

Z. Marić, *Arheološka istraživanja na Gradini u Ošanićima kod Stoca 1963. godine*, GZM BiH u Sarajevu, arheologija, sv. XXVII/XXVIII, Sarajevo 1973, 173-236.

**Marić 1973a**

Z. Marić, *Novčići trećeg i drugog stoljeća stare ere sa Gradine u Ošanićima kod Stoca*, GZM BiH u Sarajevu, arheologija, XXVII-XXVIII, Sarajevo 1973, 237-255.

**Marić 1976**

Z. Marić, *Ošanići – centar Daorsa – kulturno-historijske značajke*, in: Suić, Mate (ed.), *Jadranska obala u protohistoriji, kulturni i etnički problemi*, Zagreb 1976, 247-254.

**Marić 1977**

Z. Marić, *Arheološka istraživanja Akropole ilirskog grada Daors..a na Gradini u Oša-*

*ničima kod Stoca od 1967. do 1972. godine*, GZM BiH u Sarajevu, arheologija, XXX-XXXI / 1975-1976), Sarajevo 1977, 5-99.

**Marić 1992-1997**

Z. Marić, *Unutrašnja vrata akropole ilirskog grada Daorsona (Ošanići, Stolica)*, ANUBiH, Godišnjak, knj. XXX, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knj. 28, Sarajevo 1992-1997, 79-95.

**Marijan 2000**

B. Marijan, *Željezna doba na južnojadranskom području (istočna Hercegovina, južna Dalmacija)*, VAHD 93/2000, Split 2001, 7-221.

**Marijan 2011**

B. Marijan, *Gradina u Ošanićima – transformacija prapovijesnoga gradinskog u urbano naselje*, *Histria antiqua* 20, Pula 2011, 177-187.

**Marijanović 1984**

B. Marijanović, *Završna istraživanja akropole na Gradini u Ošanićima*, GZM BiH u Sarajevu, arheologija, 39, Sarajevo 1984, 11-22.

**Maschek 1873**

L. Maschek, *Manuale del regno di Dalmazia*, Zara 1873.

**Oreč 1987**

P. Oreč, *Tri prapovijesna svetišta (hrama) u Posušju i Ljubuškom*, ANUBiH, Godišnjak knj. XXV, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knj. 23, Sarajevo 1987, 189 – 200.

**Popović 2012**

S. Popović, *Kamenolomi Starogradskog zaljeva : problematika podrijetla kamena korištenog za izgradnju bedema*

*antičkog Fara*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 6, Zadar 2012, 107-128.

**Pribojević 1951**

V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena*, Zagreb 1951.

**Scranton 1941**

R. L. Scranton, *Greek walls*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941.

**Šuta, Bartulović 2007**

I. Šuta, T. Bartulović, *Gradi-ne Kaštela i okolice*, katalog izložbe, Kaštela 2007.

**Trbušković 2018**

V. Trbušković, *Farija – rimski grad i otok*, Hvar 2018.

**Vujnović 1990**

N. Vujnović, *Prilozi arheološkoj karti otoka Hvara*, VAHD 83, Split 1990, 47-64.

**Zaninović 1996**

M. Zaninović, *Gradina u Danilu i Tor nad Jelsom*, in: M. Zaninović, *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb 1996, 59-72.

**Zaninović 1996a**

M. Zaninović, *Nalazi s Tora kod Jelse kao prilog njegovoj kronologiji*, *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb 1996, 73-92.

**Zaninović 1996b**

M. Zaninović, *Grčka podjela zemljišta u polju antičkoga Farosa*, *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb 1996, 28-33.