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## Recent work on Roman quarries near Korčula and on Brač

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This paper presents the results of a field survey undertaken to determine the nature of the evidence for Roman-period activity at quarries on the so-called Škoji islands off Korčula and on Brač. The aim of this investigation was to observe the condition of the quarries and the available archaeological evidence as well as to provide a more comprehensive description of the sites, using measurements, photographs, maps and geographical coordinates. An analysis of the sites also includes comparisons with other quarries in Dalmatia and in the broader Roman Mediterranean.

*Keywords:* quarries, limestone, Korčula, Škoji islands, Sutvara, Vrnik, Kamenjak, Brač

## Noviji radovi na rimskim kamenolomima blizu Korčule i na Braču

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U ovom radu predstavljeni su rezultati rekognosciranja provedenog kako bi se utvrdila priroda dokaza o aktivnostima u kamenolomima na otocima Škoji i na Braču u rimsko doba. Cilj istraživanja bila je analiza stanja u kamenolomima i dostupnog arheološkog materijala te izrada sveobuhvatnijeg opisa ovih nalazišta, koji bi uključivao izmjere, fotografije, zemljovide i geografske koordinate. Analiza nalazišta obuhvaća i njihovu usporedbu s drugim kamenolomima u Dalmaciji i na širem prostoru rimskoga Sredozemlja.

*Ključne riječi:* kamenolomi, vapnenac, otočje Škoji, Sutvara, Vrnik, Kamenjak, Brač

Dalmatian limestone has been an important source of building and sculptural material on the eastern shores of the Adriatic since ancient times; the most celebrated type of this stone from the island of Brač has been transported abroad throughout history. The sheer mass of Roman buildings, sarcophagi, sculptures and inscriptions executed in locally sourced stone attests to the vitality and importance of the stone trade in this region, but apart from the finished products, physical evidence for this apparently flourishing industry is hard to find. Due to the nature of quarrying, continual working of the same stone sources during the Middle Ages through to modern times will certainly have removed evidence of earlier extraction.

In September 2008, the authors undertook a survey of four quarrying zones. One of these, on the northern coast of the island of Brač, is already well-known as a major centre of stone quarrying in the Roman period. The other three are on Sutvara, Vrnik and Kamenjak in the Škoji islands off Korčula. This paper is a report of the results of those investigations and presents these sites with a variety of geographical coordinates, measurements, photographs and maps.<sup>1</sup>

## Škoji islands

In the regional language of the Croatian littoral, the term ‘škoj’ (pl. škoji) can refer to any island or reef; several small islands along the Dalmatian coast make use of this term, and in its plural form, it is also used as a collective proper name for the group of nineteen small islands off eastern Korčula, on the southern side of the Pelješac Channel, in southern Dalmatia (Fig. 1). These islands have long been famous for their quarries of fine white limestone, demand for which peaked in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The most notable quarries are found on the islands of Badija, Vrnik, Kamenjak and Sutvara; the last three are thought to have been worked in the Roman period. All of these sites and further evidence for Roman settlement on the islands – including the late Roman villa on the island of Majsan – have been known about for some time.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 This survey was made possible through a grant from the University of Oxford (Sir John Hicks Fund). The authors would also like to thank Prof Igor Fisković, Dr Branko Kirigin, Dr Igor Borzić and Mr Joško Belamarić for their assistance with preliminary enquiries; Mr Boris Marelić for his help on Korčula and the Škoji islands; and Mr Nikola Mirić for his help on Brač. We are also very grateful to the anonymous reviewers, especially for their observations about the Sutvara quarry.
- 2 Škoji quarries: Gjivoje 1970 and Fisković 1971; Majsan: Fisković 1984.

Dalmatinski vapnenac još je od antičkih vremena važan izvor građevinskog i kiparskog materijala na istočnoj obali Jadrana, a najpoznatija vrsta tog kamena s otoka Brača odvozila se u inozemstvo tijekom čitave povijesti. I sama količina rimske građevine, sarkofaga, skulptura i natpisa izrađenih od kamena iz lokalnih kamenoloma svjedoči o vitalnosti i važnosti trgovine kamenom u ovome području. No, osim gotovih proizvoda, materijalne pokazatelje ove očito uspješne djelatnosti teško je naći. Zbog same prirode vađenja kamena i stalne eksploatacije istih kamenoloma tijekom srednjega vijeka i sve do modernoga doba, dokazi o ranijem rudarenju kamena zasigurno su izbrisani.

U rujnu 2008., autori su proveli rekognosciranje četiriju područja u kojima se vadio kamen. Jedno od njih, na sjevernoj obali otoka Brača, već je dobro poznato kao veliko središte eksploatacije kamena u rimsko doba. Preostala tri nalaze se na otocima Sutvari, Vrniku i Kamenjaku u otočju Škoji. Ovaj je rad izvješće o rezultatima tih istraživanja, a u njemu su opisana nalazišta popraćena nizom geografskih koordinata, izmjera, fotografijama i zemljovidima.<sup>1</sup>

## Otočje Škoji

Na narječju hrvatskog priobalja, izraz ‘škoj’ (pl. škoji) može se odnositi na bilo koji otok ili hrid. Tako se taj izraz koristi za više manjih otoka duž dalmatinske obale, a u množini se rabi i kao zajednički naziv za skupinu od devetnaest malih otoka uz istočnu obalu Korčule, na južnoj strani Pelješkoga kanala u južnoj Dalmaciji (sl. 1). Odavno su poznati po svojim kamenolomima lijepog bijelog vapnenca, a potražnja za njim vrhunac je dosegla u 15. i 16. stoljeću. Najpoznatiji se kamenolomi nalaze na otocima Badiji, Vrniku, Kamenjaku i Sutvari, a smatra se da se iz posljednja tri kamen vadio u rimsko doba. Sva ta nalazišta i drugi dokazi o rimskoj prisutnosti na ovim otocima – uključujući i kasnorimsku vilu na otoku Majsanu – poznati su već neko vrijeme.<sup>2</sup> Unatoč

- 1 Ovo su istraživanje omogućila bespovratna sredstva koja nam je dodijelilo Sveučilište u Oxfordu (Zaklada Sir John Hicks). Autori također zahvaljuju prof. Igoru Fiskoviću, dr. Branku Kiriginu, dr. Igoru Borziću i g. Jošku Belamariću na njihovoj pomoći tijekom preliminarnog prikupljanja informacija, g. Borisu Mareliću za njegovu pomoć na Korčuli i Škojima te g. Nikoli Miriću za njegovu pomoć na Braču. Isto tako, veoma smo zahvalni anonimnim recezentima, osobito za njihova zapažanja o kamenolomu na Sutvari.
- 2 Kamenolomi na Škojima: Gjivoje 1970 i Fisković 1971; Majsan: Fisković 1984.

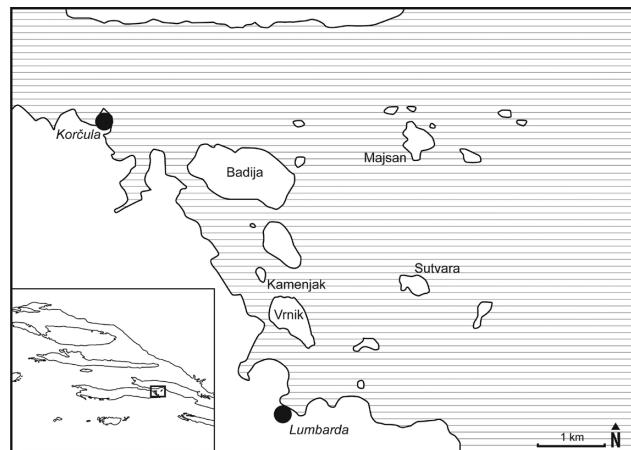


Fig. 1. Map of the Škoji islands (© authors)  
Sl. 1. Zemljovid otočja Škoji (© autori)

Despite this, there is only one published photograph of very poor quality, and none of the published studies of these sites includes maps or any detailed discussion of the visible working traces or dating evidence. A brief survey of the quarries on Vrnik, Kamenjak and Sutvara was undertaken, therefore, with the aim of providing some more information on these quarries and stone-working on Korčula. Most of this section will focus on the underground quarry on Sutvara, described previously by only Gjivoje and Fisković.

### Sutvara

The small islet of Sutvara lies 5 km southeast of Korčula town and 2.6 km northeast of Lumbarda. At its greatest extent it is less than 500 m long and 300 m wide and rises to a height of no more than 20 m above sea level. The island has no permanent inhabitants but there are several vineyards and a temporary structure belonging to a family from Lumbarda on the southwest corner of the island, near the remains of an early medieval church. The evidence for quarrying activity on the island is concentrated on its northern side, where several abandoned cottages and a small stone-built quay are preserved, all datable to the early modern and modern periods. A quarry-face, at least 40 m long and in places 5 m high, is located immediately behind this settlement, and presumably dates from the same period. Large dumps of quarry debris litter this area making movement in and out of the centre of the island very difficult. It seems very likely that there was earlier quarrying on this area of the island, since several phases of working are clearly visible on the preserved rockface, though the exact date of this activity is impossible to verify. The earliest quarry might have been originally underground, since Radić

tome, objavljena je samo jedna njihova fotografija, a i ta je vrlo slabe kakvoće, i niti jedan objavljeni rad koji govori o ovim nalazištima ne uključuje zemljovid niti bilo kakvu podrobnu analizu vidljivih tragova rada niti materijala koji bi omogućio datiranje. Stoga je provedeno kratko terensko istraživanje kamenoloma na Vrniku, Kamenjaku i Sutvari, u cilju pružanja dodatnih informacija o tim kamenolomima i kamenoklesarstvu na Korčuli. Ovaj će se dio rada uglavnom usredotočiti na podzemni kamenolom na Sutvari, koji su do sada opisali samo Gjivoje i Fisković.

### Sutvara

Otočić Sutvara nalazi se 5 km jugoistočno od grada Korčule i 2,6 km sjeveroistočno od Lumarde. Na najdužem dijelu dug je manje od 500 m, širok 300 m, a uzdiže se tek do visine od 20 m iznad mora. Otok nije trajno naseljen, no na njemu se nalazi nekoliko vinograda, a u jugozapadnom uglu, u blizini ostataka ranosrednjovjekovne crkve, i privremeni objekt koji pripada obitelji iz Lumarde. Materijalni dokazi o eksploataciji kamena koncentrirani su na sjevernom dijelu otoka, gdje je sačuvano nekoliko napuštenih koliba i mali kameni mol koji se mogu datirati u rano moderno i moderno doba. Otkopna fronta kamenoloma, duga najmanje 40 m i mjestimice visoka 5 m, nalazi se neposredno iza tih koliba i može se prepostaviti da potječe iz istoga razdoblja. Velike hrpe otpada od eksploatacije kamena razbacane su po ovom području i uvelike otežavaju kretanje do središta otoka i od njega. Čini se vrlo vjerojatnim kako se na ovom dijelu otoka kamen vadio i ranije jer se na očuvanoj površini stijene može jasno uočiti više faza radova, premda je tu aktivnosti nemoguće točno datirati. Najraniji je kamenolom možda prvotno bio podzemni jer Radić upravo takav kamenolom spominje u svom izvješću iz devetnaestoga stoljeća.<sup>3</sup>

Podzemni kamenolom koji ćemo ovdje opisati nalazi se u središtu otoka, blizu njegova vrha, a do njega se iz naselja na sjevernom dijelu otoka može doći zaraslom stazom.<sup>4</sup> To što kameni otpad na obali prijeći pristup središtu otoka pokazuje da su se aktivnosti na obali provodile nakon eksploatacije kamena u središtu otoka. Moguće je da je podzemni kop sa jugozapadnom stranom otoka, pokraj crkve, prvobitno povezivao neki drugi put, ali do kamenoloma se najlakše dolazi sa sjeverozapada i za svaki prijevoz kamena prema jugu ili zapadu bilo bi ga potrebno najprije transportirati uzbrdo, prije nego što ga se moglo

3 Radić 1892, str. 51.

4 Približne koordinate ulaza u kamenolom su N 42°56.399', E 17°11.506'.



*Fig. 2. Exterior opening of Sutvara quarry  
Sl. 2. Vanjski otvor kamenoloma na Sutvari*

mentions such a quarry on the north side of the island in his nineteenth-century report.<sup>3</sup>

The underground quarry that we will discuss here is located at the centre of the island, near its summit, and is accessible from this northern settlement via an overgrown path.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the quarry debris at the coast blocks access to the centre of the island proves that the coastal activity post-dates quarrying in the centre of the island. It is possible that an alternative route originally connected the underground quarry with the southwest side of the island, near the church, but the quarry is most accessible at its northwest end and any transport of material to the south or west would have necessitated an up-hill climb before the stone could have been brought down to the sea. The northwest corner of the quarry lies no more than 120 m from the coast up a gentle incline, the gradient of which is distorted by layers of quarrying debris and undergrowth. The quarry itself consists of an opening in the hillside, 23 m wide but only just over 2 m high in most places (Fig. 2). The opening to this quarry has been damaged by recent activity involving explosives, so its original form is hard to reconstruct. The quarry floor is covered across most of its extent by a deep layer of debris (Fig. 3), which makes estimating its original size also difficult; only in the southwest corner of the quarry is the floor visible. Despite this, some general observations can be drawn about access in and out of the quarry. At its southwest corner, the current floor level is several metres below the level of the opening and must have been lower in the past. This is the case along most of the western end of the quarry except at its northwest corner where the ground level



*Fig. 3. Interior of Sutvara quarry  
Sl. 3. Unutrašnjost kamenoloma na Sutvari*

sputisti do mora. Sjeverozapadni kut kamenoloma nalazi se više od 120 m od obale na blago povišenom terenu, a sam nagib zaklanjaju naslage kamenog otpada i vegetacija. Sam se kamenolom sastoji od otvora u obronku, koji je širok 23 m ali najvećim dijelom visok tek nešto više od 2 m (sl. 2). Otvor ovog kamenoloma oštećen je novijom aktivnošću kod koje su se rabila eksplozivna sredstava, tako da je njegov izvorni oblik teško rekonstruirati. Tlo je u kamenolomu većinom prekriveno debelim slojem otpadnog kamenog materijala (sl. 3), što također otežava procjenu njegove prvobitne veličine. Samo se u jugozapadnom kutu kamenoloma može vidjeti izvorna podna ploha. Unatoč tomu, moguće je dati neke općenite napomene o pristupu kamenolomu i izlazu iz njega. U jugozapadnom uglu, trenutačna razina poda nalazi se nekoliko metara ispod razine otvora, a u prošlosti je zacijelo bila još niža. Isto vrijedi i za najveći dio zapadnog kraja kamenoloma, osim za sjeverozapadni ugao, gdje je razina tla unutar i izvan kamenoloma na istoj visini. Ovdje se morao nalaziti glavni ulaz u kop.

Unutar kamenoloma, kop ulazi u brdo u dubini od 18 m, pri čemu se postupno sužava što se više udaljava od otvora, iako je i na dubini od 12 m širina i dalje veća od 10 m. Stoga je ukupna unutrašnja površina kopa oko 220 m<sup>2</sup>. Ta je površina manja od okvirne veličine koju navodi Fisković (30×30 m), ali blizu one koju bilježi Gjivoje (25×13 m).<sup>5</sup> Gjivoje daje i grubu procjenu visine kamenoloma na Sutvari: 2-3 m. Zbog količine otpadnoga materijala, teško je točno izmjeriti tu dimenziju. U jugozapadnom dijelu, gdje je podna ploha u kamenolomu najčišća, ujedno je i najniža, i nalazi se više od 6 m ispod stropa kamenoloma. Razlog tome vjerojatno leži u činjenici da je ovo

3 Radić 1892, p. 51.

4 The approximate coordinates of the quarry opening are N 42°56.399', E 17°11.506'.

5 Fisković 1971, str. 143-144 i Gjivoje 1970, str. 73.

inside and outside are the same. This must have been the main point of access.

Inside, the quarry reaches 18 m into the hillside, gradually narrowing in width with distance from the main opening, though even as far as 12 m in it has a preserved width of over 10 m. The total internal area of the quarry, therefore, is approximately 220 m<sup>2</sup>. This is smaller than the approximate size offered by Fisković (30 × 30 m) but close to that recorded by Gjivoje (25 × 13 m).<sup>5</sup> Gjivoje also gives a rough height for the Sutvara quarry of 2–3 m. The quantities of debris, however, make any accurate measurement of this dimension difficult. In the southwest, where the quarry floor is clearest, it is also deepest – over 6 m below the quarry ceiling. This is partly because this was probably the last area of quarrying at the site, cut down into the existing quarry floor; the debris across the quarry interior seems to have been cleared to either side to allow access to this area. At the top of this cutting a small area of quarry floor is preserved at 3.4 m below the ceiling. Since the height of the interior elsewhere (above the debris layer) ranges from 1.8 to 2.5 m, an original height of approximately 3 m is probably a reasonable conjecture. Using this figure a total minimum volume of stone removed from this space of roughly 650–700 m<sup>3</sup> can be calculated, though it is likely that less than half of this quantity ended as useable stone.

This was probably a medium-sized quarry for the region. The limestone quarry at Otočac, in Lika, one of the few published in any detail in Dalmatia, measures only 65 m<sup>2</sup>, with a depth of less than 2 m. Šarić estimates that only around 100 blocks measuring 1 × 2.5 × 0.5 m could have been removed from the quarry in antiquity.<sup>6</sup> Both of these sites operated on a much smaller scale, however, than the quarries on Brač (see below) and the recently discovered quarry on the hill of Sv. Ilija, near Trogir.<sup>7</sup> In comparison with other underground quarries in the ancient world, too, these Dalmatian quarries are small. The Kuš-ini quarries on the Kurt Kaya hill, 12 km NE of Ephesus, are similar in form but much larger in scale; they were probably used between the Classical and Roman periods. Here, the main quarry is 40 m deep and 8–10 m high with an opening over 100 m long. Atalay suggests that this single site could have supplied at least 7,000 m<sup>3</sup> of usable marble.<sup>8</sup> The best-known ancient underground quarries, those near Marathi on Paros, differ in form. Here, the fine white marble known

posljednje mjesto iz kojega se vadio kamen, usjecima koji su se radili u postojeći pod kamenoloma – čini se da je kameni otpad u unutrašnjosti kopa pomaknut na jednu i drugu stranu kako bi se omogućio pristup ovome dijelu. Na vrhu ovog usjeka sačuvan je mali dio poda kamenoloma na visini od 3,4 m ispod svoda. Budući da se u drugim dijelovima visina unutrašnjosti kopa (iznad sloja kamenog otpada) kreće između 1,8 i 2,5 m, vjerojatno je razumno pretpostaviti da je prvo bitna visina kamenoloma bila oko 3 m. Koristeći se tim brojem, možemo izračunati da je iz ovog prostora izvađeno ukupno najmanje 650–700 m<sup>3</sup> kamena, no vjerojatno je manje od polovice tog obujma na kraju bio upotrebljiv kamen.

Ovo je vjerojatno bio kamenolom srednje veličine u ovoj regiji. Kamenolom vapnenca u Otočcu u Lici, jedan od malobrojnih kamenoloma u Dalmaciji o kojima su objavljene ikakve pojedinosti, prostirao se na samo 65 m<sup>2</sup> s dubinom manjom od 2 m. Šarić procjenjuje da je iz tog kamenoloma u antičko doba moglo biti izvađeno samo oko 100 blokova dimenzija 1x2,5x0,5 m.<sup>6</sup> Oba ova kamenoloma bila su mnogo manja nego oni na Braču (vidi u nastavku) ili nedavno otkriveni kamenolom na brdu Sv. Ilija u blizini Trogira.<sup>7</sup> Iako ih usporedimo s drugim podzemnim kamenolomima antičkoga svijeta, ovi dalmatinski kamenolomi bili su mali. Kamenolomi Kuš-ini na brdu Kurt Kaya, 12 km sjeveroistočno od Efeza, sličnog su oblika ali mnogo su veći. Vjerojatno su bili u uporabi u doba antičke Grčke i Rima. Ovdje je glavni kop dubok 40 m a visok 8–10 m, s otvorom dužim od 100 m. Atalay navodi da je samo iz ovoga kamenoloma moglo biti izvađeno najmanje 7000 m<sup>3</sup> upotrebljivoga mramora.<sup>8</sup> Najpoznatiji antički podzemni kamenolomi nalaze se u blizini Marathina na Parosu, no njihov je oblik drukčiji. Ovdje se fini bijeli mramor poznat pod nazivom *lychnites* (Paros-1) vadio iz velikih podzemnih komora povezanih s površinom dugim uskim tunelima koji su ulazili u obronak brda pod kutom od 35–45°.<sup>9</sup> U kamenolomima Bacakale kod Dokimeiona pronađeni su mnogo manji tuneli, iako u ruševnom stanju.<sup>10</sup> Na svim navedenim nalazištima, vadio se vrijedan dekorativan kamen visoke kakvoće. No katkad se i običan građevinski kamen vadio kroz podzemne tunele. Na brojnim mjestima duž doline Nila – primjerice, u Beni Hassanu i El Berschehu – rudarenje vapnenca odvijalo se u podzemnim komorama, katkad

6 Šarić 1980, str. 117–120.

7 Za kamenolom kod Trogira, usp. Maršić 2007.

8 Atalay 1976, str. 59–60.

9 Herz 2000; Korres 2000.

10 Waelkens, de Paepe, Moens 1987, str. 114; Bruno 2002, str. 181.

5 Fisković 1971, pp. 143–144 and Gjivoje 1970, p. 73.

6 Šarić 1980, pp. 117–120.

7 For the quarry at Trogir, cf. Maršić 2007.

8 Atalay 1976, pp. 59–60.

as lychnites (Paros-1) was extracted from large underground galleries linked to the surface via long, narrow tunnels sunk at a 35–45° angle into the hillside.<sup>9</sup> Much smaller tunnels have also been identified in the Bacakale quarries at Dokimeion, albeit in a state of collapse.<sup>10</sup> In all of these cases the stones being extracted were high-quality and valuable decorative stones. However, ordinary building stone was also occasionally quarried via underground tunnels. At numerous locations along the Nile valley – Beni Hassan and El Berscheh, for example – limestone was extracted via underground galleries, sometimes 200 m deep, cut into the hillside.<sup>11</sup> Much of this work dates from the Pharaonic period but it certainly continued right through to the Roman period. Further extensive underground galleries are preserved in the tuff quarries at Kretz and Kruft in the Pellenz, Germany, and in the sandstone quarries at El Haouaria on Cap Bon; the former are certainly datable to the Roman period, worked as they were by legionary detachments, while the latter were worked through the Punic and Roman periods.<sup>12</sup> In her recent survey of quarrying in Catalonia, Gutiérrez identified several quarries at which underground extraction is attested. In several of these, such as Coves del Llorito and Coves de La Pedrera, these tunnels seem to be post-Roman but at Clots de Sant Julià they might well be earlier.<sup>13</sup>

The best parallel for the Sutvara quarry are the two sites recently explored in detail by Rižnar and Jovanović at Dardagani in eastern Dalmatia, modern Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>14</sup> At the first of these, a site called Sige, 5 km north of Zvornik and close to the Sapna river, fine-grained white limestone was quarried via two separate underground galleries. Each is between 2 and 2.5 m high and extends approximately 15 m into the hillside; in other words, each gallery is slightly smaller than the Sutvara quarry. The only real difference between these quarries and the Sutvara one is the presence of a supporting pillar, 2 m in diameter. At the second site, at a place called Bandera, 200 m north-west of the Sige site, a similar underground gallery has recently collapsed. Extraction at these sites was most likely aimed at supplying local

dubokim i 200 m, usječenim u obronak brda.<sup>11</sup> Velik dio tih aktivnosti odvijao se u faraonskom razdoblju, ali s eksploracijom kamena sigurno se nastavilo sve do rimskoga doba. Velike podzemne galerije sačuvane su i u kamenolomima sedre u Kretzu i Kruftu u području Pellenz u Njemačkoj te u kamenolomima pješčenjaka u El Haouariji na poluotoku Cap Bonu. Prvi od njih sa sigurnošću se mogu datirati u rimsko razdoblje, kad su u njima radile legionarske postrojbe, dok su ovi drugi bili aktivni tijekom punskog i rimskog razdoblja.<sup>12</sup> Za nedavnog istraživanja rudarenja kamena u Kataloniji, Gutiérrez je pronašla nekoliko kamenoloma u kojima je potvrđeno da se kamen vadio iz podzemnih kopova. U nekolicini njih, poput kamenoloma Coves del Llorito i Coves de La Pedrera, čini se da tuneli potječu iz razdoblja mlađeg od rimskog doba, ali u Clots de Sant Julià, mogli bi biti stariji.<sup>13</sup>

Najbolja paralela za kamenolom na Sutvari dva su nalazišta koja su nedavno podrobno istražili Rižnar i Jovanović u zaseoku Dardagani u istočnoj Dalmaciji, današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini.<sup>14</sup> Na prvome od njih u mjestu Sige, 5 km sjeverno od Zvonika, u blizini rijeke Sapne, sitno granulirani bijeli vapnenac vadio se iz dviju odvojenih podzemnih komora. Objekti su visoke između 2 i 2,5 m i zadiru u obronak otprilike 15 m. Drugim riječima, svaka od komora nešto je manja od kamenoloma na Sutvari. Jedina stvarna razlika između ovih kamenoloma i onoga na Sutvari jest to što ovde postoji i potporni stup promjera 2 m. Na drugom nalazištu, u mjestu Bandera, 200 m sjeverozapadno od nalazišta Sige, nedavno se urušila slična podzemna komora. Kamen koji se vadio iz ovih kopova vjerojatno je bio namijenjen lokalnom tržištu, a možda i obližnjem pokrajinskom rudarskom središtu Domavia.<sup>15</sup>

Podzemno rudarenje kamena logistički je izazovnije od površinskoga kopa i obično se primjenjuje kad željena vrsta stijene leži ispod, ili se nalazi između, manje poželjnih materijala, čije je uklanjanje nepraktično. Ovu se tehniku katkada naziva ‘selektivnim’ vađenjem kamena.<sup>16</sup> Stoga na Parosu podzemni kamenolomi slijede uske slojeve mramora *lychnites* (koji nisu širi od 4 m), koji pod oštrim kutom prodiru

9 Herz 2000; Korres 2000.

10 Waelkens, de Paepe, Moens 1987, p. 114; Bruno 2002, p. 181.

11 Klemm, Klemm 1990, p. 26.

12 On the Pellenz quarries, cf. Lehner 1921, pp. 130-133, Röder 1957, pp. 213-228; 1959, pp. 47-88; 1970, pp. 15 (Fig. 12-14), and 1974, pp. 509-544, and Bedon 1984, 48; on El Haouaria, cf. Harrazi 1995.

13 Gutiérrez 2009; 2011, pp. 330-331

14 Rižnar, Jovanović 2006.

11 Klemm, Klemm 1993, str. 26.

12 O kamenolomima u Pellenzu, usp. Lehner 1921, str. 130-133, Röder 1957, str. 213-228; 1959, str. 47-88; 1970, str. 15 (sl. 12-14) i 1974, str. 509-544 te Bedon 1984, str. 48. Za El Haouariju, usp. Harrazi 1995.

13 Gutiérrez 2009; 2011, str. 330-331.

14 Rižnar, Jovanović 2006.

15 Vidi Đurić *et al.* 2006. Rižnar, Jovanović (2006) ustraju na tvrdnji da je Dardagani dobavljao kamen za udaljeni Sirium, iako se o plovnosti rijeke Drine u antičko doba još raspravlja (vidi Wray 1921, str. 12).

16 Vidi Bowles 1939, str. 18.

markets, possibly including the nearby provincial mining centre of Domavia.<sup>15</sup>

Underground quarrying is logically more challenging than opencast quarrying and is usually practised when the desired lithotype is overlain by, or sandwiched between, less desirable materials, the removal of which is impractical. This technique is sometimes referred to as 'selective' quarrying.<sup>16</sup> On Paros, therefore, the underground quarries follow the narrow lychnites beds (no more than 4m wide) as they slope sharply into the mountainside. A similar rationale underlies the exploitation of even the less high-quality material exploited in the Pellenz and at El Haouaria. At El Bercheh the same vein of limestone was intensively quarried for several kilometres while those above and below it were left untouched. These materials were targeted for their specific qualities, whether colour, fineness, hardness or workability. Rižnar and Jovanović have shown that the galleries at the Sige site near Dardagani targeted the best quality white limestone (their Lithotype III) which was layered between less desirable stone. With this in mind, it seems likely that the limestone extracted from the underground quarry on Sutvara was also targeted for its specific qualities. The possible earlier phase of quarrying on the north side of the island, destroyed by later activity, indicates that material closer to the sea-shore was also extracted, but the fact that the quarrymen were prepared to move away from the shore and underground suggests that this limestone was sought after. According to local stoneworkers, quarrying on Sutvara was eventually abandoned and the workers moved to Vrnik because the limestone left on the island was too 'salty', that is too friable. It is possible, therefore, that the ancient underground quarries exploited, and perhaps effectively exhausted, the small amount of higher quality limestone on the island.

Fisković and Gjivoje were unequivocal in dating the Sutvara quarry to the Roman period. They point out that, though quarrying was a major industry in medieval Dalmatia and Istria, especially under Venetian rule, and at none of the large and well-preserved quarries from this period are underground galleries found. This certainly lends some support to this view that this quarry is ancient but since underground quarries datable to the post-Roman period are found elsewhere it is far from conclusive. Dating quarries from working traces is notoriously difficult. Stone-working is a

u obronak planine. Slični su razlozi i za eksplotaciju čak i manje kvalitetnog materijala koji se vadi u kamenolomima u Pellenzu i El Haouariji. U El Berchehu intenzivno se vadio vapnenac iz iste žile duljine nekoliko kilometara, dok su slojevi iznad i ispod nje ostali netaknuti. Materijali su se birali zbog posebnih obilježja, bilo da je riječ o boji, finoći, tvrdoći ili mogućnosti obrade. Rižnar i Jovanović pokazali su da se iz galerija u Sigama kod zaseoka Dardagani vadio najkvalitetniji bijeli vapnenac (njihov litotip III), čiji je sloj ležao između manje poželjnih stijena. Imamo li to na umu, čini se vjerojatnim da se i vapnenac vadio iz podzemnoga kopa na Sutvari zbog njegovih posebnih obilježja. Moguća ranija faza eksplotacije kamena na sjevernoj strani otoka, uništenoj kasnijim aktivnostima, ukazuje na to da se kamen vadio bliže morskoj obali, ali činjenica da su se radnici u kamenolomu bili spremni odmaknuti od obale i zaći pod zemlju daje naslutiti da se tragalo upravo za tim vapnencem. Lokalni kamenoklesari kažu da se u toj kasnijoj fazi konično prestalo s vađenjem kamena na Sutvari i da su se radnici preselili na Vrnik jer je u to doba vapnenac postao previše 'slan', previše drobiv. Stoga je moguće da je ovaj podzemni kamenolom iskoristio, a možda zapravo i iscrpio, malu količinu kvalitetnoga vapnenca koji je postojao na otoku.

Fisković i Gjivoje nedvosmisleno datiraju kamenolom na Sutvari u rimsko razdoblje. Ističu da, iako je eksplotacija kamena bila značajna djelatnost u srednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji i Istri, osobito za vrijeme mletačke vlasti, ni u jednom od velikih i dobro očuvanih kamenoloma iz tog doba nisu pronađene podzemne galerije. To zacijelo podupire tezu da ovaj kamenolom potječe iz antičkog vremena, no budući da na drugim mjestima postoje podzemni kamenolomi koji se mogu datirati u razdoblja mlada od rimskoga, nemoguće je izvesti čvrst zaključak. Poznato je da je datiranje kamenoloma na temelju tragova radnih alatki vrlo teško. Obrada kamena konzervativan je zanat i tehnike vađenja kamena vrlo su se malo mijenjale sve do uvođenja eksploziva. Većina je kamenoloma datirana na temelju obrađenih predmeta koji su u njima pronađeni, bilo da su odbačeni ili nedovršeni, ili pak na temelju pridruženih epigrafskih nalaza.<sup>17</sup> Primjerice, kamenolomi iznad Splitske na Braču, na taj se način mogu pouzdano datirati u rimsko doba (poglavito u kasnorimsko doba) (vidi u nastavku). U kamenolomu na Sutvari nije pronađen ni jedan isklesani predmet. Međutim, natpis na crijevu koji se po svemu

15 See Đurić *et al.* 2006. Rižnar, Jovanović (2006) insist on Dardagani as a supplier for more distant Sirumium, though the navigability of the Drina River in antiquity remains debated (see Wray 1921, p. 12).

16 See Bowles 1939, p. 18.

17 O tome, usp. Dworakowska 1983, str. 45.

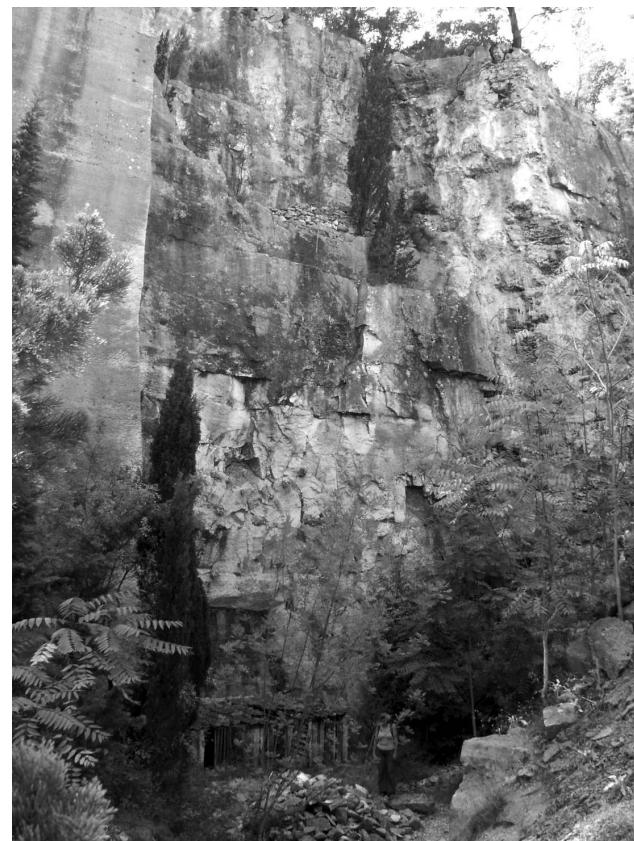


*Fig. 4. Detail of toolmarks and block channels in the Sutvara quarry*

*Sl. 4. Detalj tragova alata i kanala za odvajanje blokova u kamenolomu na Sutvari*

conservative craft and quarrying techniques changed very little over time prior to the introduction of explosives. Most quarries are dated by worked objects found in them, discarded or unfinished, or by associated epigraphic evidence.<sup>17</sup> The quarrying districts above Splitska on Brač, for example, can be confidently dated to the Roman period (especially the Late Roman period) in this way (see below). No carved objects have been recovered from the Sutvara quarry. However, an inscribed roof-tile, apparently datable to the first century AD, was found on the island and attests to a Roman presence.<sup>18</sup>

While the surviving working traces on the walls of the quarry help little with dating they do tell us something about working practices at the site. Most of the stone was removed as blocks, the majority of which appear to have been quarried as units measuring approximately  $2 \times 1 \times 1$  m. In ancient opencast quarries blocks were extracted relatively simply. Separation trenches were cut around each block and iron or wooden wedges used to split it free from the rock along its remaining plane. This method was used consistently from the Archaic to Roman periods.<sup>19</sup> However, this technique requires that the quarryman can approach the block from above so as to gain access to its rear side. In an underground quarry, like that at Sutvara, this was not always possible. Instead blocks were quarried using the same method but vertically rather than horizontally (Fig. 4). The block was marked out



*Fig. 5. Quarry-face on Vrnik, with traces of older working on the right*

*Sl. 5. Oktopna fronta kamenoloma na Vrniku, s tragovima stare eksploracije na desnoj strani*

sudeći može datirati u 1. stoljeće, pronađen je na otočiću i dokaz je rimske nazočnosti na njemu.<sup>18</sup>

Iako očuvani tragovi rada na zidovima kamenoloma nisu od velike pomoći u datiranju, ipak nam nešto otkrivaju o načinu rada na ovome lokalitetu. Kamen se uglavnom vadio u blokovima, a čini se da je većina blokova imala dimenzije otprilike  $2 \times 1 \times 1$  m. U antičkim površinskim kamenolomima blokovi su se vadili na razmjerno jednostavan način. Oko svakoga bloka urezivali su se kanali, a potom se blok odvajao od preostale plohe stijene pomoću željeznih ili drvenih klinova. Ta se metoda primjenjivala sve od arhaičnog do rimskog doba.<sup>19</sup> Međutim, ova tehnika zahtjeva da radnik bloku može prići odozgo, kako bi mogao doći do njegove stražnje strane. U podzemnom kamenolomu, poput onoga na Sutvari, to nije uvijek bilo moguće. Stoga su se blokovi vadili primjenom iste metode, ali okomito, radije nego vodoravno (sl. 4). Blok bi se označavao na zidu kamenoloma i kanali bi se

17 On this point, cf. Dworakowska 1983, p. 45.

18 Personal observation in Korčula museum; Fisković 1971, p. 166.

19 Cf. Koželj 1988, Waelkens 1990, and Rockwell 1993, pp. 160-161.

18 Osoban uvid u Gradskom muzeju Korčula; Fisković 1971, str. 166.

19 Usp. Koželj 1988, Waelkens 1990 i Rockwell 1993, str. 160-161.

on the quarry wall with separation trenches along its bottom and sides. As much as possible of the required top surface was then cleared with the pick before an oblique v-shaped trench was cut, using the point, down the back of this plane. Into this trench, and into the side ones if necessary, wedges could be hammered to split the rear of the block from the rock.<sup>20</sup> Once the block was removed from the quarry-face it could be shaped or sub-divided using wedges as required.

#### Vrnik

Vrnik, the second largest of the Škoji islands (after Badija), lies 3.5 km south-southeast of Korčula town, 1.3 km north of Lumbarda, and is separated from the main island by a mere 100 m of water. Quarrying activity is focused at the northern end of the island. A near continuous quarry-face runs across this area for just over 500 m from midway along the northeast side of the island to midway along its northwest side; a second quarry-face runs from this point down the western side of the island for at least 250 m.<sup>21</sup> The modern village of Vrnik occupies the land between these quarry-faces and the northern coast, the area previously quarried away. Abandoned quarry-workers cottages, similar to those on Sutvara, cluster at the eastern end of the modern village.

Vrnik was a major source of limestone during the Venetian period, supplying urban centres all along the eastern Adriatic coast. The extent of demand for this high-quality grey-white limestone is testified to by the surviving quarry-face, 20 m high in places (Fig. 5). The intensiveness of this later quarrying and the growth of the modern village have eradicated most of the evidence for earlier activity; Radić mentions an underground quarry on Vrnik which was already destroyed by the late nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Any Roman work on the island probably began next to the coast and has probably since been built over. Although scant evidence for pre-medieval quarrying exists, Roman artefacts have been recovered from the island. According to the locals, quarried material datable to the Roman period is visible in several of the later houses and roughed-out architectural elements and even a sarcophagus chest can be seen in the village.

urezivali duž dna i stranica bloka. Potom bi se gornja ploha očistila pijukom koliko je god bilo moguće, a zatim bi se niz stražnju stranu ove plohe dlijetom urezao kosi kanal u obliku slova V. U taj su se kanal – a po potrebi i u bočne kanale – mogli nabiti klinovi kako bi se stražnja strana bloka odvojila od stijene.<sup>20</sup> Nakon što je blok odvojen od otkopne fronte, mogao se oblikovati ili podijeliti na manje blokove pomoću klinova.

#### Vrnik

Vrnik, drugi po veličini otok u otočju Škoji (poslije Badije), nalazi se 3,5 km južno-jugoistočno od grada Korčule, 1,3 km sjeverno od Lubarde, a od otoka Korčule razdvaja ga tek 100 m mora. Aktivnosti vezane uz eksploataciju kamena koncentrirane su na sjevernom kraju otoka. Gotovo neprekidna otkopna fronta kamenoloma proteže se duž nešto više od 500 m od sredine sjeveroistočne strane do sredine sjeverozapadne strane otoka, dok se druga otkopna fronta proteže od tog mjesta niz zapadnu stranu otoka u dužini od najmanje 250 m.<sup>21</sup> Današnje selo Vrnik zauzima prostor između otkopnih fronti kamenoloma i sjeverne obale, a iz tog je područja u prošlosti izvaden kamen. Napuštene kolibe radnika u kamenolomu, slične onima na Sutvari, zbijene su jedna uz drugu na istočnome kraju današnjega sela.

Vrnik je bio veliki izvor vapnenca tijekom mletačke vladavine, a ovdašnji se kamen isporučivao u gradsku središta duž cijele istočne obale Jadrana. O potražnji za ovim kvalitetnim sivo-bijelim vapnencem svjedoči sačuvana otkopna fronta kamenoloma, koja je na nekim mjestima visoka 20 m (sl. 5). Intenzitet kasnije eksploatacije kamena na ovome otoku i razvoj suvremenoga sela izbrisali su najveći dio materijalnih pokazatelja ranijih aktivnosti. Radić spominje podzemni kamenolom na Vrniku, koji je koncem devetnaestog stoljeća bilo već uništen.<sup>22</sup> U rimsko doba obrada kamena na Vrniku vjerojatno je počela na obali, a na tom su prostoru u međuvremenu podignute građevine. Iako su dokazi o starovjekovnom rudarenju kamena malobrojni, na otoku su nađeni rimski nalazi. Prema tvrdnjama mještana, izvađeni kamen koji se može datirati u rimsko doba može se vidjeti u nekoliko kasnijih kuća i obrađenih arhitektonskih elemenata, a

20 For a depiction of a similar process, cf. Koželj 1987, p. 21 (Fig. 2).

21 The middle of the main quarry face, where it is most accessible from the village, is at N 42°56.230', E 17°10.106'; at this point the quarry face is over 20 m high.

22 Radić 1892, p. 51.

20 Za opis sličnoga postupka, usp. Koželj 1987, str. 21 (sl. 2).

21 Sredina glavne otkopne fronte kamenoloma, na mjestu koje je iz sela najdostupnije, nalazi se na N 42°56.230', E 17°10.106'. Na tom je mjestu otkopna fronta viša od 20 m.

22 Radić 1892, str. 51.



*Fig. 6. Quarry-face on Kamenjak  
Sl. 6. Otkopna fronta kamenoloma na Kamenjaku*

In addition, the museum in Korčula town preserves an inscribed epitaph of a certain Valer[?] from Vrnik.<sup>23</sup>

#### Kamenjak

Three areas of quarrying also exist on the tiny island of Kamenjak, 250 m off the northern tip of Vrnik. The largest preserved quarry-face runs right across the northern end of the island, for approximately 100 m, preserved in places to a height of 6 m (Fig. 6) (N 42°56.505', E 17°09.850'). A second area of intensive quarrying occupies the southeast corner of the island, near a small quay, similar in construction to those preserved on Sutvara and Vrnik of medieval or later date (N 42°56.466', E 17°09.880'). The extant quarry-face in this area extends for 53 m around three sides of a rectilinear cutting in the hillside and is preserved to a height of 7 m in places. The third area of activity on the island lies midway along its western coast, at or just above sea level (N 42°56.487', E 17°09.829'). It is the first and last of these areas that concern us here, since the quay associated with the quarry on the southeast corner suggests a post-antique date.

The largest quarry on the island appears also to be the oldest. It is certainly more weathered than the quarry on the southeast corner of the island. At least 30 m of the northern end of the island appears to have been quarried back to the level of this quarry-face. This means that stone was extracted from an area of roughly 1,400 m<sup>2</sup>, to a maximum depth of 6 m, making this quarry at least five or six times larger than the one on Sutvara, though still significantly smaller than that on Vrnik. A large section of the central part of this northern quarry has now collapsed but several



*Fig. 7. Submerged quarry on Kamenjak  
Sl. 7. Potopljeni kamenolom na Kamenjaku*

u selu se nalazi i jedan sanduk u obliku sarkofaga. Povrh toga, u muzeju u gradu Korčuli čuva se epitaf nekog Valera [?] s Vrnika.<sup>23</sup>

#### Kamenjak

Na otočiću Kamenjaku koji se nalazi 250 m od sjevernoga vrha Vrnika također postoje tri mesta iz kojih se vadio kamen. Najveća sačuvana otkopna fronta kamenoloma proteže se preko sjevernoga kraja otoka u dužini od otprilike 100 m, a na nekim je mjestima sačuvana do visine od 6 m (sl. 6) (N 42°56.505', E 17°09.850'). Drugo područje intenzivne eksploracije kamena nalazi se u jugoistočnom kutu otoka, u blizini maloga mola, sličnog onima koji su na Sutvari i Vrniku sačuvani iz srednjega vijeka ili kasnijega razdoblja (N 42°56.466', E 17°09.880'). Na ovom je mjestu otkopna fronta kamenoloma duga 53 m i proteže se duž tri strane pravocrtnog usjeka u obronak. Na nekim je mjestima sačuvana do visine od 7 m. Treće mjesto na kojem se na ovom otoku vadio kamen nalazi se na sredini zapadne obale, u visini ili neposredno iznad razine mora (N 42°56.487', E 17°09.829'). Ovdje ćemo razmotriti prvu i zadnju lokaciju, budući da mol povezan s kamenolomom na jugoistočnom kutu upućuje na razdoblje poslije antike.

Čini se da je najveći kamenolom na otočiću ujedno i najstariji. U svakom slučaju, u njemu su tragovi vremena vidljiviji nego u kamenolomu u jugoistočnom kutu otoka. Čini se da je duž najmanje 30 m sjevernoga kraja otoka vađenjem kamenog obronaka pomačnut do plohe današnje otkopne fronte. To znači da je kamen izvađen s površine veličine otprilike 1400 m<sup>2</sup>, u dubini od najviše 6 m, što ovaj kamenolom čini

23 Personal observation in Korčula museum.

23 Osobni uvid u Gradskom muzeju Korčula.

well-preserved areas of stepped extraction are still visible towards its eastern end. In several places along this quarryface it is clear that extraction was practiced via underground tunnels, like those on Sutvara, the roofs of which have since collapsed. In addition, one section of the quarry-face preserve the traces of an operation to remove a large block, measuring roughly  $3 \times 1 \times 1$  m; separation trenches are preserved on both sides, as well as both light pick and point chisel marks. On an adjacent section of quarry-face, pick and point chisel were combined to create trenches for the insertion of wedges in the same way as on Sutvara, suggesting a similar date.

The second area of possible ancient quarrying, midway along the western coast of the island, is now partially submerged under about 0.2 m of water; the sea level was obviously lower whenever this area was worked. The general subsidence of the eastern Adriatic coast is a well-known phenomenon and has been very roughly approximated at 0.001 m every year, though naturally, the actual levels at specific locations vary and depend on local factors. Nearly 10 m of the hillside has been cut away along a length of approximately 23 m at this point. Working traces on both the quarry bed and its two remaining sides show that the limestone was extracted as small blocks, the majority no more than  $1 \times 0.5$  m in plan, using the familiar system of separation trenches (Fig. 7).

Giving accurate dates for any of the quarries on the Škoji islands is highly problematic. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that many began life in the Roman period. The preserved working traces are not inconsistent with such a hypothesis, and the presence of Roman material on Sutvara, Vrnik and Majsan shows activity in this region. There was certainly a market for high-quality limestone on Korčula and elsewhere along the Dalmatian coast, and the location of the islands in the Pelješac Channel would have facilitated seaborne transport.

### Brač

The island of Brač is the source of the highest quality and best-known of Dalmatian limestones. In the last century, this fine white limestone was shipped around the world, as far as the USA and Australia.<sup>24</sup> In the Roman period, limestone from Brač was used extensively in the building of Diocletian's Palace at Split and was even exported beyond the provincial boundaries. While the products of these quarries have been the subject of much fruitful research,

barem pet ili šest puta većim od kamenoloma na Sutvari, iako je i dalje znatno manji od onoga na Vrniku. Veliki komad središnjega dijela ovog sjevernog kamenoloma u međuvremenu se urušio, ali na istočnom kraju i dalje se može uočiti nekoliko dobro očuvanih stepenastih etaža. Na više mjesta duž ove otkopne fronte kamenoloma očito je da se vađenje kamena obavljalo putem podzemnih tunela, poput onih na Sutvari, čiji su se svodovi u međuvremenu urušili. Povrh toga, na jednom dijelu otkopne fronte vide se tragovi nastojanja da se izvadi veliki blok, dimenzija  $3 \times 1 \times 1$  m. S obje strane bloka sačuvani su kanali, kao i tragovi lakog pijuka i dlijeta. Na susjednom dijelu otkopne fronte kamenoloma radilo se pijukom i dlijetom kako bi se dobili utori za klinove, i to na isti način kao i na Sutvari, što upućuje na sličnu dataciju.

Drugo mjesto na kojem se kamen možda eksplorirao u antičko doba, na sredini zapadne obale otoka, danas se djelomično nalazi 0,2 m ispod razine mora. Kad se ovdje radilo, razina mora očigledno je bila niža. Općenito porast razine mora na istočnoj obali Jadrana poznata je pojava. Procjenjuje se da more svake godine naraste za 0,001 m, iako se, dakako, točne razine razlikuju od jednog mjeseca do drugog i ovise o mjesnim čimbenicima. Na ovome je mjestu uklonjeno gotovo 10 m obronka brda u dužini od otprilike 23 m. Tragovi alata i na podnoj plohi i na dvije sačuvane strane kamenoloma otkrivaju da se vapnenac vadio u malim blokovima, većinom tlocrtnih dimenzija  $1 \times 0,5$  m, primjenom poznate tehnike urezivanja kanala za odvajanje blokova (sl. 7).

Vrlo je teško odrediti točnu dataciju za bilo koji kamenolom na otočju Škoji. Unatoč tome, postoje dobri razlozi zbog kojih možemo vjerovati da su mnogi od njih nastali u rimsko doba. Sačuvani tragovi alata odgovaraju takvoj pretpostavci, a nazočnost rimske naleta na Sutvari, Vrniku i Majsanu svjedoči o rimskoj aktivnosti u ovome području. Za kvalitetan vapnenac tržište je svakako postojalo i na Korčuli i drugdje na dalmatinskoj obali, a lokacija otočja u Pelješkom kanalu olakšavala je prijevoz kamena putem mora.

### Brač

Otok Brač izvor je najkvalitetnijeg i najpoznatijeg dalmatinskog vapnenca. U prošlom stoljeću taj se fini bijeli vapnenac prevozio diljem svijeta, sve do SAD-a i Australije.<sup>24</sup> U rimsko doba, brački se vapnenac mnogo upotrebljavao tijekom gradnje Dioklecijanske palače u Splitu, a izvozio se i izvan granica ove provincije. Iako su proizvodi tih kamenoloma bili predmetom mnogih plodonosnih istraživanja, osobito

24 Cf. Didolić 1954, p. 220.

24 Usp. Didolić 1954, str. 220.

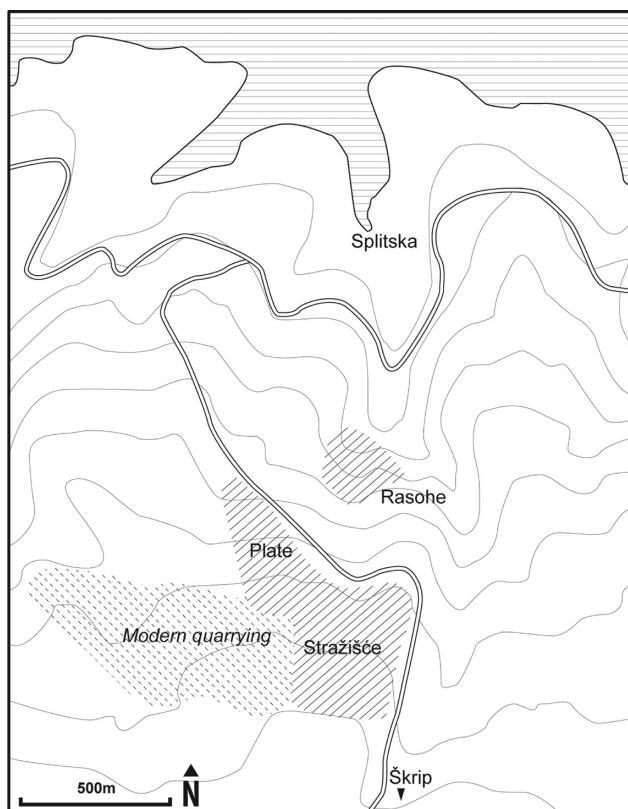


Fig. 8. Map of quarrying zone on Brač (© authors)  
Sl. 8. Zemljovid područja kamenoloma na Braču (© autori)

especially by Cambi, the quarries themselves have received much less attention in published studies.<sup>25</sup>

Three main areas of ancient quarrying are usually mentioned in discussions of stone extraction on Brač: Stražišće, Plate and Rasohe.<sup>26</sup> All of these toponyms refer to approximate areas of hillside, rather than distinct locales, on the northern side of the island between the ancient Illyrian hilltop settlement of Škrip and the harbour at Splitska (Fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> Finds from the quarries themselves clearly date them to the Roman period, particularly the third and fourth centuries AD. In addition, three altars found in the area bear the names of military personnel employed on construction projects and probably finding themselves on Brač for the purpose of acquiring building material. CIL III, 3096 names a curagens theatri, while AE 1979, 448 has been interpreted as being dedicated by a centurion in

25 Cambi 1998; 2002; 2004; for a more thorough picture of the archaeology of Brač, see volume 21 (2004) of *Brački zbornik*, which is dedicated to this topic.

26 Cf. Bulić 1900, pp. 18-23, and 1908, pp. 86-127, and Didolić 1954, p. 220.

27 Activity in these districts are concentrated on the following coordinates: Stražišće – N 43°21.905', E 16°36.453'; Plate – N 43°21.893', E 16°36.102'; Rasohe – N 43°22.103', E 16°36.274'.

Cambijevih, samim kamenolomima je u objavljenim radovima posvećena kudikamo manja pozornost.<sup>25</sup>

U raspravama o eksploataciji kamena na Braču obično se navode tri glavna područja u kojima se kamen vadio u antici: Stražišće, Plate i Rasohe.<sup>26</sup> Svi se ti toponimi odnose na približna područja na obronku brda, a ne na točna mjesta, na sjevernoj strani otoka, između drevne ilirske gradine Škrip i luke u Splitskoj (sl. 8).<sup>27</sup> Nalazi pronađeni u samim kamenolomima omogućavaju njihovu jasnu dataciju u rimsko doba, i to u 3. i 4. stoljeće. Povrh toga, na tri žrtvenika pronađena u ovom području nalaze se imena vojnoga osoblja koje je radilo na građevinskim projektima i vjerojatno se našlo na Braču kako bi pribavili građevinski materijal. CIL III, 3096 navodi nekog *curagens theatri*, dok tumačenje AE 1979, 448 kaže da ga je posvetio centurion koji je bio zadužen da se brine o amfiteatru. Činjenica da se na žrtvenicima ne spominje niti jedna lokacija može biti znak da su se građevinski projekti provodili u blizini, a općenito se smatra da je riječ o građevinama u Saloni. Treći žrtvenik, CIL III, 10107, posveta je Herkulju nekog Valerija Valerijana, vojnika zaduženog za postavljanje kapitela u Licinijevim termama u Sirmiumu. Taj je vojnik vjerojatno sudjelovao u prijevozu kamena od Brača do Sirmiuma, koji je potom iskorišten u kupališnom kompleksu koji je car Licinije gradio od 308. do 314.<sup>28</sup> Ovaj iznimno važan natpis jedini je jasan primjer izvoza građevinskog kamena iz Dalmacije izvan granica provincije.

U muzeju u Škripu danas se čuvaju i dva reljefa Herkula na kojima nema natpisa. Poznati reljef Herkula uklesan u stijenu u Rasohama Vrsalović je datirao u kasno 3. ili početak 4. stoljeća, ali jednak tako mogao biti i stariji. Naime, lik je isklesan vrlo grubo, oštećen je atmosferilijama, pa ga se ne može datirati na temelju klesarskoga stila.<sup>29</sup> Herkul, a u nekim područjima i Silvan, često su smatrani zaštitnicima radnika u kamenolomima, a očito je da je kult boga Herkula na Braču bio vrlo raširen. Slične posvete Herkulu i njegovi opisi, obično s epitetom *Saxanus*, posebno su česti u sjeveroistočnoj Galiji i u njemačkim provincijama, gdje ih je često podizalo vojno osoblje, no pronađeni su i u Carrari (antičkoj Luni), u Cernavodi

25 Cambi 1998; 2002; 2004; za temeljiti uvid u arheologiju Brača, vidi svezak 21 (2004.) Bračkog zbornika, koji se bavi tom tematikom.

26 Usp. Bulić 1900, str. 18-23; 1908, str. 86-127 i Didolić 1954, str. 220.

27 Vađenje kamena na tim mjestima koncentrirano je oko ovih koordinata: Stražišće – N 43°21.905', E 16°36.453'; Plate – N 43°21.893', E 16°36.102'; Rasohe – N 43°22.103', E 16°36.274'.

28 Mirković 1971, str. 37.

29 Vrsalović 1960, str. 90.

charge of the care of an amphitheatre. The fact that no location is recorded on the altars may be a sign that the projects were fairly local, and they are generally thought to refer to buildings in Salona. The third altar, CIL III, 10107, is a dedication to Hercules by one Valerius Valerianus, a soldier in charge of setting up column capitals in the Licinian baths at Sirmium. He was probably involved in the transport of stone from Brač to Sirmium for use in the bath complex being built by the emperor Licinius between AD 308 and 314.<sup>28</sup> This extremely significant inscription is the only clear example of building stone from Dalmatia being exported beyond the provincial boundaries.

Two uninscribed reliefs of Hercules are also now preserved in the museum at Škrip. At Rasohe, the famous relief of Hercules carved into the rock-face was dated by Vrsalović to the late third or early fourth century AD but could equally be earlier; the carving is extremely crude and weathered and cannot be dated stylistically.<sup>29</sup> Hercules, along with Silvanus in some regions, was often adopted as a patron deity by quarry-workers, and his cult obviously enjoyed great popularity on Brač. Similar dedications to, and depictions of, Hercules – usually with the epithet Saxanus – are especially common in north-east Gaul and the German provinces, often being erected by military personnel, but have also been found at Carrara (ancient Luna), at Cernavoda in Romania and in the Deliktaş quarry in the hinterland of Iznik (ancient Nikaea) in Turkey.<sup>30</sup>

Other objects found in the quarries at Stražišće and Plate include roughed-out altars and stone vessels (now in the courtyard of the museum at Škrip), blocks and sarcophagi. Most of the extant blocks are clustered at the lowest, northern end of the Plate quarries, at the base of a well-preserved ancient quarry-face; the majority are shaped into rectangular blocks but several are pentagonal, possibly intended for use in arches. No worked blocks were found at Stražišće, now mostly covered by olive groves, or at the heavily overgrown Rasohe. Sarcophagi, however, have been recovered from Stražišće – a recently discovered, and eroded, lid lies outside the church in Škrip – as well as from Plate. Five sarcophagus chests, four of them with lids, and two additional lids can be found in Škrip. These chests, all with lower but not upper moulding, are finished with the point chisel; one is decorated with a cross. Five of the six lids are of the

u Rumunjskoj te u kamenolomu Deliktaş u unutrašnjosti Iznika (antičke Nikeje) u Turskoj.<sup>30</sup>

Ostali predmeti pronađeni u kamenolomima Stražišće i Plate uključuju grubo obradene žrtvenike i kamene posude (danas u dvorištu muzeja u Škripu), blokove i sarkofage. Većina postojećih blokova nagonjilana je u najnižem, sjevernom dijelu kamenoloma u mjestu Plate, u podnožju dobro očuvane antičke otkopne fronte. Većinom je riječ o pravokutnim blokovima, no neki su i pentagonalni, i možda su bili namijenjeni da budu upotrijebљeni u lukovima. U Stražišću, u kojem je kop danas uglavnom prekriven nasadom maslina, kao ni u gusto zaraslim Rasohama, nije pronađen ni jedan obrađeni blok. No i u kamenolomu Plate i u Stražišću pronađeni su sarkofazi, a jedan nedavno otkriveni erodirani poklopac sarkofaga leži ispred crkve u Škripu. U Škripu se nalazi pet sarkofaga, od kojih četiri imaju poklopce, te dodatna dva poklopca. Svi sanduci sarkofaga izrađeni su pomoću donjeg ali ne i gornjeg kalupa, a dovršeni šiljastim dlijetom. Na jednom se nalazi ukras u obliku križa. Pet od šest poklopaca imaju oblik krova na dvije vode s akroterijima na uglovima, a jedini koji je drukčiji ima bačvasti oblik. Taj posljednji, i još jedan poklopac oblikovani su nazubljenim dlijetom, dok se na ostalima vide samo tragovi šiljastog dlijeta. U sjevernom dijelu kamenoloma Plate može se vidjeti još nekoliko dijelova poklopaca u obliku krova na dvije vode.

Glavno tržište za sarkofage proizvedene na Braču bila je Salona, u kojoj je potražnja za sarkofazima bila daleko najveća u ovoj provinciji. U Saloni i njezinoj okolini pronađeno je više od dvije tisuće sarkofaga, bilo cijelovitih ili u dijelovima, od kojih je više od 90% izrađeno od lokalnog vapnenca. Na mnogima od njih su ukrasi koji su naknadno izrađeni u drugim radionicama na kopnu, ali većina je upotrijebljena u obliku u kojem su otpremljeni iz kamenoloma.<sup>31</sup> Cambi je napravio klasifikaciju sarkofaga iz Salone, i onih izrađenih od prokoneškog mramora koji su dovršeni u Saloni, i onih proizvedenih od lokalnoga kamena.<sup>32</sup> Prevladavajući tip – neukrašeni sanduk izrađen pomoću donjega kalupa, s poklopcom u obliku krova na dvije vode i akroterijima u uglovima – oponašao je jedan od glavnih tipova sarkofaga (tip ‘C’ po Asgariju) koji su se na Prokonezu mogli naći od sredine do konca 2. stoljeća nadalje.<sup>33</sup> Takvi su se sarkofazi proizvodili

28 Mirković 1971, p. 37.

29 Vrsalović 1960, p. 90.

30 On the patron deities of quarrymen, cf. Bedon 1984, pp. 180-188, Bauchhenss 1986, and Stoll 1998; on the relief from Iznik, see Yavuz, Bruno, Attanasio 2012, str. 258, sl. 4.

30 O bogovima zaštitnicima radnika u kamenolomima, usp. Bedon 1984, str. 180-188, Bauchhenss 1986, i Stoll 1998; o reljefu iz Iznika, vidi Yavuz, Bruno, Attanasio 2012, str. 258, sl. 4.

31 Usp. Cambi 1998 i 2000.

32 Cambi 2002.

33 Usp. Asgari 1990, str. 110-116.

gable-type with corner acroteria, the one exception being barrel-vaulted. This last piece and one of the other lids are carved with the tooth chisel, all of the others preserve traces of the point chisel only. Several additional fragments of gable-type lids are still visible at the northern end of the Plate quarries.

The primary market for the sarcophagi produced on Brač was Salona, by far the greatest consumer of sarcophagi in the province. Over two thousand sarcophagi, whole and fragmentary, have been found at Salona and in the surrounding area; above ninety percent of these were made of local limestone. Many had decoration added to them at secondary workshops on the mainland but the majority were employed in the condition in which they left the quarries.<sup>31</sup> Cambi has created a categorisation of sarcophagi produced at Salona, both Proconnesian types finished in the city and forms in local stone.<sup>32</sup> The dominant type – blank chest with lower moulding, gable-type lid with corner acroteria – imitated one of the main sarcophagus types (Asgari's 'Type C') found on Prokonnesos from the mid to late second century AD onwards.<sup>33</sup> These pieces were also produced for export typically carved only with the point chisel, though some examples on which the tooth chisel was used have been identified.

The latest phase of sarcophagus manufacture produced chests with a central cross or Christogram. The stone for these sarcophagi comes from Brač: not only have a comparatively large number of them been found on the island, but they can be identified by their dark, often corroded, surface and by the specific bituminous properties of the limestone, known locally as smrdečac because of the bad smell it emits while being worked; the bitumen in the stone causes dark spots to appear, which can be cleaned away through polishing. These sarcophagi have also been found on the western Adriatic coast, especially in Ravenna, and are significant as the only securely-identified archaeologically-visible Dalmatian export.<sup>34</sup>

A detailed survey of the quarries on Brač has never been undertaken and modern quarrying work at Plate threatens to destroy much of what is left. Much more detailed work should be done but here several general observations only will be made, firstly about the organization and lay-out of the Roman quarries, and secondly about the evidence for working practice.

31 Cf. Cambi 1998 and 2000.

32 Cambi 2002.

33 Cf. Asgari 1990, pp. 110-116.

34 For sarcophagi with Christian symbols: Cambi 1998; for Dalmatian sarcophagi in Italy: Fisković 1996 and Cambi 2002; for Dalmatian exports, cf. Glicksman 2009.



*Fig. 9. Possible quarry road on Brač  
Sl. 9. Možebitna cesta kamenoloma na Braču*

i za izvoz, a obično su se obrađivali samo šiljastim dlijetom, iako je pronađeno i nekoliko primjeraka na kojima je uporabljeno i nazubljeno dlijeto.

U posljednjoj fazi proizvodnje sarkofaga izrađivali su se sanduci sa središnjim križem ili kristogramom. Kamen od kojega su ti sarkofazi izrađeni došao je s Brača – ne samo da je na otoku pronađen razmjerno velik broj takvih sarkofaga, već ih se može lako prepoznati po tamnoj, često nagriženoj površini i po posebnim bituminoznim obilježjima vapnenca lokalno nazvanoga *smrdečac* zbog smrada koji ispušta kad ga se obraduje. Bitumen u tom kamenu uzrokuje pojavu tamnih mrlja koje se mogu očistiti poliranjem. Takvi su sarkofazi pronađeni i na zapadnoj obali Jadrana, osobito u Ravenni, a značajni su kao jedini sa sigurnošću utvrđeni arheološki vidljiv izvoz iz Dalmacije.<sup>34</sup>

Podrobno istraživanje kamenoloma na Braču nikada nije provedeno, a suvremena eksploatacija kamena u Platama prijeti uništenjem većine tragova iz prošlosti. Potrebno je provesti mnogo podrobnije istraživanje, no ovdje ćemo iznijeti tek nekoliko općenitih

34 Za sarkofage s kršćanskim simbolima: Cambi 1998; za dalmatinske sarkofage u Italiji: Fisković 1996 i Cambi 2002; za dalmatinske izvozne proizvode, usp. Glicksman 2009.

To talk of the three main areas of Roman quarrying on Brač as distinct and separate enterprises is misleading. In fact, when viewed from above, it is clear that the toponyms used refer to clusters of extraction sites (or loci) arranged within a single extensive quarrying district extending up the valley behind the port of Splitska. The various scattered loci at Stražišće and Plate cover an area of approximately 40,000-50,000 and 40,000-60,000 m<sup>2</sup> respectively, while the smaller, but deeper and more intensively exploited, Rasohe quarry covers around 5,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Quarrying, therefore, covers approximately 85,000-115,000 m<sup>2</sup> of the valley hillside behind Splitska. Furthermore, Rasohe is actually much closer, and more topographically connected, to Stražišće and Plate than the modern road network would have one believe. The modern road from Škrip to Splitska avoids the direct route along the valley past Rasohe and instead follows the higher ground to join the main coastal road at a point west of the port. It seems likely that the ancient road followed the valley, thus linking all three quarrying areas with the closest access point to the sea. Ward-Perkins observes quite clearly in his private notes, now in the archive of the British School at Rome, the good access that these quarries had to the valley behind Splitska.<sup>35</sup>

One section of what appears to be an ancient quarry road, preserved for nearly 200 m, is still visible at Plate (Fig. 9). The surface of this road is constructed of laterally aligned stones similar in design to some of the less-developed quarry-roads at Penteli, at Styra on Euboea, or near Denizli in Turkey.<sup>36</sup> Ruts, visible in places, at the edge of this road imply the use of either wagons or, more likely, sledges. This route links the higher, southern end of the Plate quarries, itself immediately adjacent to Stražišće, with the site's northern end where the majority of discarded blocks are still visible. This suggests that this was the main route out of these quarries for the bulk of quarried produce. Even though it is likely, therefore, that the quarry-workers' community was based at Škrip – where numerous Roman altars and tombstones, as well as a stone-built mausoleum, have been found – production was always orientated towards Splitska and the export market. With no urban settlement on the island and few rural settlements, there was not enough building activity on the island to justify such extensive quarrying. Clearly, the fine quality of the limestone, coupled

napomena, najprije o organizaciji i prostornom rasporedu rimskih kamenoloma, a potom o nalazima koji govore o načinu rada.

Kad se govori o tri različita i razdvojena glavna mjesta na kojima se u rimske doba na Braču vadio kamen, to može navesti na pogrešne zaključke. Ako ih se pogleda odozgo, jasno je da su toponimi kojima se označavaju skupine mjesta ili lokacija na kojima se eksplorirao kamen raspoređeni unutar jedinstvenog šireg prostora kamenoloma koji se proteže dolinom iza luke Splitska. Različite lokacije u Stražišću i Platama prostiru se na otprilike 40.000-50.000 odnosno 40.000-60.000 m<sup>2</sup>, dok manji, ali dublji i intenzivno eksplorirani kamenolom Rasohe pokriva površinu od oko 5.000 m<sup>2</sup>. Drugim riječima, ukupna površina doline iza Splitske na kojoj se rudario kamen bila je otprilike 85.000-115.000 m<sup>2</sup>. Nadalje, Rasohe su mnogo bliže i topografski su povezani sa Stražišćem i Platama nego što bi se to moglo zaključiti na temelju današnje cestovne mreže. Suvremena cesta od Škripa do Splitske ne ide izravnim pravcem koji vodi kroz dolinu i prolazi pokraj Rasoha, već prolazi na većoj visini i spaja se s glavnom obalnom cestom na mjestu zapadno od luke. Čini se vjerojatnim da je u antičko doba cesta prolazila dolinom i da je povezivala tri kamenoloma s najbližim izlazom na more. Ward-Perkins vrlo jasno primjećuje u privatnim bilješkama koje se danas čuvaju u arhivu Britanske škole u Rimu (BSR), da je dobar pristup do ovih kamenoloma morao biti kroz dolinu iza Splitske.<sup>35</sup>

U mjestu Plate još se vidi dio puta koji izgleda kao drevna cesta do kamenoloma, sačuvana u dužini od gotovo 200 m (sl. 9). Površina ove ceste izrađena je od bočno složenih kamena, i sliči lošijim cestama koje su vodile do kamenoloma u Penteliju, Styri na Eubeji, ili u blizini Denizlij u Turskoj.<sup>36</sup> Tragovi koji se na nekim mjestima vide duž ruba ceste navode na zaključak da su se upotrebljavala kola, ili, što je još vjerojatnije, saonice. Ovaj put povezuje viši, južni kraj kamenoloma Plate, koji se nalazi u neposrednoj blizini Stražišća, sa sjevernim krajem na kojem se još može vidjeti najveći broj odbačenih blokova. To upućuje na zaključak da je ovo bio glavni put kojim je iz kamenoloma izašla većina isklesanih proizvoda. Iako je zajednica radnika u kamenolomu vjerojatno živjela u Škripu, u kojem je nađeno mnogo rimskih žrtvenika i nadgrobnih ploča, kao i kameni mauzolej, proizvodnja je uvijek bila okrenuta prema Splitskoj i izvoznom tržištu. Budući da na otoku nije bilo grada

35 Vrsalović 1960, p. 73; BSR Archive, WP-1, Box XVI: 89-90.

36 Cf. Bruno 2002, pp. 184-185 (Fig. 7), Vanhove 1996, and Waelkens 1992, p. 26.

35 Vrsalović 1960, str. 73; Arhiv BSR-a, WP-1, Box XVI: 89-90.

36 Usp. Bruno 2002, str. 184-185 (sl. 7), Vanhove 1996 i Waelkens 1992, str. 26.

with good access to the sea, made the island a highly desirable source of good limestone.

There can be little doubt that the fine natural harbour at Splitska, no more than 1.5 km downhill from any of the quarries, only 700 m from Rasohe, and less than 20 km by sea from Split, was the main export point for Brač limestone in antiquity. Vrsalović observed a number of architectural fragments in and near the harbour at Splitska and noted that they were very similar to the architectural decoration of the south façade of Diocletian's Palace, and in 1970, Ward-Perkins reported seeing columns, large blocks (one 1.8 m long), and an eroded sarcophagus lid at the harbour.<sup>37</sup> Recently, seven other objects have been recovered from the harbour and are now stored in the courtyard of the museum at Škrip: a fragmentary but near-finished capital and a roughed-out section of a thin column in Brač limestone; two small fragments of a larger column in speckled black-and-grey granite, possibly of Egyptian origin; and three fragments of roughed-out panels decorated with semi-circular leaf motifs, finished examples of which have been found in Late Antique contexts on Brač and elsewhere in Dalmatia, carved from a grey-white marble with grey streaks, possibly Proconnesian. Most recently, excavations in the harbour at Splitska in 2011 uncovered more worked limestone, two types of marble and two types of granite found together with fragments of African red slip ware dating to the third to fifth centuries AD.<sup>38</sup> These new finds suggest that the harbour at Splitska acted not only as an export centre for Brač limestone but as a central redistribution point for both local and imported stone – the bulk of which were presumably intended for the construction of Diocletian's Palace.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the accumulation of small flakes of limestone discovered during the excavations of 2011 witness to the working of locally quarried stone at the harbour before shipment.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, some observations about the working traces still visible in the Brač quarries can be made. There is good evidence for the use of both the light and heavy quarry pick in the quarries at Stražišće and Plate. The light pick was the standard quarrying tool used throughout antiquity and the characteristic nearly horizontal lines left by it are especially clear on a well-preserved locus at the eastern end of the Stražišće quarries. Here, the tool was used for the cutting of a separation trench (0.48 m wide) around the side and

a i broj ruralnih naselja bio je malen, građevinske aktivnosti na otoku ne mogu opravdati tako intenzivnu eksploataciju kamena. Očito je da su visoka kakvoća vapnenca i dobar pristup moru ovaj otok učinili vrlo poželjnim izvorom dobrog vapnenca.

Nema sumnje da je dobra prirodna luka Splitska, udaljena tek 1,5 km nizbrdo od svakoga od kamenoloma, a samo oko 700 m od Rasoha, i manje od 20 km morskim putem od Splita, bila glavna točka za izvoz bračkoga vapnenca u antici. Vrsalović je uočio nekoliko arhitektonskih fragmenata u luci Splitska i oko nje, i primijetio je njihovu sličnost s arhitektonskim ukrasima na južnom pročelju Dioklecijanove palače, a 1970. godine Ward-Perkins izvijestio je da je u luci vidio stupove, velike blokove (dužine 1,8 m) i erodirani poklopac sarkofaga.<sup>37</sup> U novije vrijeme, u luci je pronađeno još sedam predmeta koji se sada nalaze u dvorištu muzeja u Škipu: fragmentirani ali gotovo dovršeni kapitel i grubo obraden dio tankoga stupa od bračkoga vapnenca, dva mala dijela većega stupa od prošaranog crno-sivog granita možebitno egipatskoga podrijetla te tri fragmenta grubo obrađenih ploča ukrašenih polukružnim motivom lišća, a takvi su dovršeni primjeri nađeni u kasnoantičkim kontekstima na Braču i u drugim mjestima u Dalmaciji, izrađeni od sivo-bijelog mramora sa sivim prugama, možda s Prokoneza. U najnovije vrijeme, tijekom iskopavanja u luci u Splitskoj 2011. godine otkriveno je još obradenog vapnenca, a dvije vrste mramora i dvije vrste granita nađene su zajedno s ulomcima afričke crvene keramike koja potječe iz razdoblja od 3. do 5. stoljeća.<sup>38</sup> Ti novi nalazi upućuju na to da luka u Splitskoj nije bila samo izvozna luka za brački vapnenac, nego i središnje mjesto redistribucije kako lokalnog tako i uvoznog kamena, koji je vjerojatno većinom bio namijenjen izgradnji Dioklecijanove palače.<sup>39</sup> Nadalje, nakupina malih odbojaka vapnenca otkrivena tijekom iskopavanja 2011., svjedoči o tome da se kamen iz lokalnih kamenoloma obrađivao u luci prije opreme.<sup>40</sup>

Na kraju možemo iznijeti i neka zapažanja o još vidljivim tragovima rada u bračkim kamenolomima. Postoje dokazi da su se u kamenolomima Stražišće i Plate rabili i laki i teški pijuci. Laki pijuk bio je standardna alatka za rad u kamenolomu koja se upotrebljavala tijekom čitave antike, a karakteristične gotovo vodoravne crte koje je takav pijuk ostavljao posebno se dobro vide u dobro očuvanom kopu na istočnom kraju kamenoloma u Stražišću. Ondje se ta alatka

37 BSR Archive, WP-1, Box XVI: 90.

38 Parica 2012, p. 350.

39 Modern Carrara performs a similar function in contemporary world-wide marble commerce.

40 Parica 2012, p. 350.

37 Arhiv BSR-a, WP-1, Box XVI: 90.

38 Parica 2012, str. 350.

39 Moderna Carrara ima sličnu ulogu u suvremenoj svjetskoj trgovini mramorom.

40 Parica 2012, str. 350.



Fig. 10. Toolmarks on a quarry-face in the Plate district

Sl. 10. Tragovi alata na otkopnoj fronti kamenoloma Plate

back of a block in the corner of the locus. On another locus to the west of this one the same marks are visible on a quarry-face nearly 4 m high. The heavy quarry pick was introduced at the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD and increased the speed with which a quarryman could work at the expense of greater waste and less accuracy.<sup>41</sup> This tool tends to leave alternating bands of curved marks on the surface of the rock as the workman moves to and fro along the cut. The Italian term for these traces – *a festoni* – describes their appearance well. Three rows of these marks are visible on a locus marooned by modern quarrying at the southeast corner of the Plate quarries; similar marks are visible on a 4–5 m high section of quarry-face partially cut by modern work in the southwest corner of the same site.

Separation trenches are visible throughout the Stražišće and Plate quarries. On an aborted example of one of these, towards the northern end of the Plate quarries, the marks of the heavy pick are especially prominent (Fig. 10). In another case, the imprint of a removed block, approximately 2.3 × 1 m, can be

rabila za urezivanje kanala (širokog 0,48 m) duž bočnih i stražnjih strana bloka u kutu kopa. Na drugoj lokaciji zapadno od prethodno navedene isti se takvi tragovi vide na otkopnoj fronti kamenoloma koja je visoka gotovo 4 m. Težak pijuk za rad u kamenolomu pojavljuje se krajem 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća, čime je povećana brzina kojom je radnik u kamenolomu mogao raditi, ali po cijenu veće količina otpada i manje preciznosti.<sup>41</sup> Ova je alatka ostavljala naizmjenične pruge zaobljenih tragova na površini stijene, jer se radnik pomicao naprijed-natrag duž usjeka. Talijanski naziv ovakvih tragova – *a festoni* – dobro opisuje njihov izgled. Pruge sastavljene od takvih tragova vidljive su na kopu koji je ostao odsječen suvremenim vađenjem kamena u jugoistočnom kutu kamenoloma Plate. Slični se tragovi mogu vidjeti na dijelu otkopne fronte kamenoloma visine 4–5 m koja je djelomice presječena suvremenim radom u kamenolomu, u jugozapadnom kutu istoga nalazišta.

Kanali za vađenje kamenih blokova (tzv. pašarini) mogu se vidjeti diljem kamenoloma Stražišće i Plate. Na jednom takvom prekinutom kanalu u blizini sjevernoga kraja kamenoloma Plate, posebice su izraženi tragovi teškog pijuka (sl. 10). U drugom se slučaju može vidjeti otisak izvadenog bloka veličine otprilike 2,3×1 m. No u Rasohama ima manje dokaza o urezivanju kanala za vađenje blokova. Ondje su otkopne fronte znatno više (do 10 m) a tlo je prekriveno kamnim otpadom. Unatoč tome, na nekim se mjestima na okomitoj plohi stijene oštećenoj vremenskim prilikama mogu uočiti tragovi teških pijuka. Metalno je oruđe trebalo stalno kaliti kako bi ostalo šiljasto, pa se u kamenolomima često mogu naći peći za metal i spremnici za vodu. Nalaza koji svjedoče o postojanju spremnika za vodu ima i na Braču: u Stražišću i Platašima mogu se vidjeti najmanje dvije velike cisterne, usjećene u živu stijenu i dostupne stubama. Gotovo istovjetna cisterna usjećena u živu stijenu može se naći na najvišem mjestu u selu Škripu, a sigurno potječe iz davnina.

### Zaključci

Vađenje kamena u rimskoj je Dalmaciji bilo vitalna i uspješna djelatnost. S dolaskom rimske vlasti, došlo je do velikog porasta javnih i privatnih građevinskih aktivnosti. Vapnenac iz lokalnih kamenoloma bio je nadaleko najpopularniji građevinski materijal, dok su se strane vrste obojenog kamena čuvale za izradu stupova i obloga. Od lokalnog je kamena izrađena i velika većina sarkofaga pronađenih u ovoj regiji. No materijalni dokazi o eksploraciji kamenoloma su

41 Cf. Fant 2008, p. 129.

41 Usp. Fant 2008, str. 129.

seen. There is less evidence for separation trenches at Rasohe, however, where the quarry-faces are significantly higher (up to 10 m) and the ground more covered by debris. Despite this, the marks of the heavy pick can be made out in places on the weathered rock-face. Metal tools needed constant tempering to maintain their points and it is common at quarry sites to find evidence for both furnaces and water containers. Evidence for the latter is available on Brač: at least two large cisterns, cut into the bedrock and accessible via steps, are visible at Stražišće and Plate. A near-identical rock-cut cistern can also be found at the highest point of the village of Škrip and certainly has ancient origins.

### Conclusions

The business of quarrying stone was a vital and thriving industry in Roman Dalmatia. With the advent of Roman rule came an upsurge in public and private building activity. Locally-sourced limestone was by far the most popular building material, foreign coloured imports being reserved for columns and veneers, and it was also used for the vast majority of sarcophagi found in the region. But actual physical evidence of quarrying activity itself is scarce. Where sources were not exhausted in the Roman period, subsequent quarrying will have obliterated many older traces, and where they were exhausted, the evidence may be covered by centuries of overgrowth.

In our examination of quarries on the islands of Sutvara, Vrnik and Kamenjak, we have concluded that there is some evidence to support the theory of a Roman quarrying presence in the Škoji islands, though it is not conclusive. The discovery of a fragmentary inscription from Vrnik and a uniquely stamped roof tile from Sutvara indicate a relatively stable Roman presence, which is encouraging given that stone is the islands' main marketable resource. Sutvara's underground quarry is probably Roman in date. It is small by comparison with other underground quarries of this period, but the size is likely due to the size of the outcrop it was designed to exploit. Apart from a tiny settlement on Vrnik, the islands are uninhabited and left to the vagaries of nature. It may be that further evidence lies beneath the extensive vegetation, and further exploration may bring it to light.

Roman quarrying at Plate, Stražišće and Rasohe has long been recognised, and the relative abundance of Roman-period material from these areas leaves this dating in no doubt. We can now add that these three areas were not separated in antiquity but comprised one large quarrying district focussed on export out of Splitska harbour, which functioned not only as an outlet for local stone but also as a depot for the

malobrojni. Na onim mjestima na kojima zalihe kamena nisu iscrpljene u rimsko doba, kasnije vađenje kamena zacijelo je izbrisalo mnoge starije tragove, a ondje gdje su zalihe iscrpljene, materijalni dokazi možda se nalaze pod stoljetnom vegetacijom.

Tijekom našega istraživanja kamenoloma na otočima Sutvari, Vrniku i Kamenjaku, došli smo do zaključka da postoje dokazi koji podupiru teoriju o eksploataciji kamena na otočju Škoji u rimsko doba, iako ti dokazi nisu konačni. Pronalazak fragmentiranog natpisa s Vrnika i crijeva sa Sutvare na kojem se nalazi jedinstveni žig upućuju na razmjerno stabilnu nazočnost ljudi na ovim otocima u rimsko doba, a to je ohrabrujuć znak pošto je kamen bio glavni proizvod ovih otoka. Podzemni kamenolom na Sutvari vjerojatno je iz rimskoga doba. U usporedbi s drugim podzemnim kamenolomima iz istoga razdoblja, ovaj je kamenolom malen, no njegova je veličina vjerojatno posljedica veličine sloja koji se u njemu eksplorirao. Osim malenoga naselja na Vrniku, Škoji su ne-naseljeni i prepušteni hirovima prirode. Moguće je da bujna vegetacija skriva dodatne nalaze koje bi mogla otkriti daljnja istraživanja.

Odavno je poznato da su Rimljani vadili kamen na lokacijama Plate, Stražišće i Rasohe, a razmjerno mnogo nalaza iz rimskoga razdoblja otkrivenih u tim područjima potvrđuje takvu dataciju. Sad možemo dodati da ta tri područja u antičko doba nisu bila razdvojena, već su zajedno tvorila veće područje kamenoloma koje je bilo usmjereno na izvoz preko luke u Splitskoj, a ta luka nije bila samo mjesto otpreme lokalnoga kamena već i skladište u kojem se redistribuirao uvozni mramor. Jasno je da je Brač imao važnu ulogu u djelatnosti vadnja kamena u ovoj provinciji, a ovo je dosad jedini sigurno utvrđeni rimske eksploracije kamena u čitavoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Zbog toga je ovaj lokalitet važan dio baštine stanovnika Brača i hrvatskoga naroda. Veliku zahvalnost dugujemo g. Nikoli Miriću kako zbog njegove velikodušnosti što nam je pokazao dokaze o rudarenju kamena u mjestima Plate i Stražišće, tako i zbog njegove ljubavi, predanosti i skrbi za ovo područje. Bilo bi dobro kad bi se u ovom području bolje zaštitili arheološki nalazi i kad bi ga se dodatno istražilo.

redistribution of imported marbles. Brač was clearly a significant player in the province's stone industry, and to date this is the only securely identified Roman quarry on the island and the best example of Roman quarrying in the entire province of Dalmatia. As such, it is an important part of the heritage both of the people of Brač and of the Croatian people. We are deeply indebted to Mr Nikola Mirić not only for his generosity in showing us the quarrying evidence at Plate and Stražišće but also for his love, dedication and care of the area. This area would benefit both from greater protection of the archaeological remains as well as further study.

## ABBREVIATIONS / KRATICE

AE	L'Année Epigraphique
BSR	The British School at Rome
CIL III	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum

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