

Ivo Babić

Antičko (grčko) svetište u Pantanu/Blatu kod Trogira?

Ivo Babić
Lucićeva 10
HR, 21220 Trogir
ivo.babic@gradst.hr

UDK: 726.1(497.583Pantan)“652”
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primitljeno: 13. 1. 2017.
Prihvaćeno: 26. 1. 2017.

U ispravi iz 1329. godine spominje se polovina jednog vrta smještenog uz jezero (lokvu) pokraj grčkog svetišta: *meditatem unius orti, positam prope lacum ad fanum Gregum*. Da li se taj podatak odnosi na grčko svetište? U zidu jezera u predjelu Pantan/Blato nedaleko Trogira uzidano je kamenje tesano u tehnici *bugnato rustico*. Da li su to možda ostaci grčkog svetišta u svezi s kultom vode?

Ključne riječi: grčko svetište, Pantan, Trogir, bugnato rustico

An ancient (Greek) shrine at Pantan/Blato, near Trogir?

Ivo Babić
Lucićeva 10
CROATIA, 21220 Trogir
ivo.babic@gradst.hr

UDC: 726.1(497.583Pantan)“652”
Original scientific paper
Received: 13 January 2017
Accepted: 26 January 2017

In a document from 1329, there is mention of half of a garden situated on the banks of a lake (pond) next to a Greek shrine: *meditatem unius orti, positam prope lacum ad fanum Gregum*. Does this refer to a Greek shrine? Stones dressed in the *bugnato rustico* technique are built into a pond retaining wall in the Pantan Blato tract near Trogir. Could this possibly be the remains of a Greek shrine associated with the cult of water?

Key words: Greek shrine, Pantan, Trogir, bugnato rustico

U jednoj objavljenoj trogirskoj ispravi iz godine 1329. spominje se polovina jednog vrta smještenog uz jezero (lokvu) pokraj grčkog svetišta: *meditatem unius orti, positam prope lacum ad fanum Gregum*.¹ Dakako, ovu vijest o grčkom svetištu treba kritički preispitati. Prvo, što je to uopće grčko svetište (...*ad fanum gregum*)? Pridjev *grčki* u pučkim interpretacijama u obalnom dijelu Dalmacije pridaje se starim, ruševnim zdanjima; u zaleđu, međutim, stanovništvo sve starije i ruševine pripisuje Turcima. Primjerice, Škrip na Braču u pučkoj predaji spominje se kao “grčki grad”.² No priče o grčkom gradu *Scripea* (Škripu), o Greima izbjeglicama iz Troje, prvim stanovnicima Brača, donosi 1405. godine povjesničar svećenik Dujam Hranković.³ Dakako, sve su to opća mjesta u mitovima o osnivanju gradova. Takozvane pučke predaje zapravo su najčešće tek odjeci domišljanja učenih pojedinaca, najčešće svećenika, “stvaratelja tradicija”. Gotovo u pravilu na ranosrednjovjekovne, predromaničke crkve i na Bizant upućuju toponimi tipa *Grčka crkva*. U XV. stoljeću humanist Filip de Diversis opisuje crkvicu sv. Petra u Dubrovniku sagrađenu u obliku križa “kao što je to običaj kod starih grčkih vjernika”.⁴ Kod starijih pisaca, onih iz XVII. i XVIII. stoljeća, pridjev *grčki* koristi se pri spomenu predromaničkih zdanja. U biskupskim vizitacijama kao grčke slike spominju se bizantske ikone.

Jesu li notar, sastavljač spomenute isprave iz 1329. godine i njegovi suvremenici u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru pod izrazom *fanum gregum* razumijevali neke antičke ruševine u polju ili su možda zaista mislili na ostatke nekog antičkog (grčkog) svetišta?

Gdje je i što je taj *lacus* uz koji je smješteno “grčko svetište”. Riječ *lacus*, naravno, odnosi se u svom izvornom smislu na jezero, no može imati značenje bunara, lokve, bazena, bare, močvare...⁵ U Rimu se u blizini Vestina hrama nalazi tzv. *Lacus Juturnae*, fontana, izvor na kojem su prema priči Kastor i Poluks napojili konje. Na samom forumu nalazila se ograđena sveta površina *Lacus Curtius* - izvorno jama, bezdan, po drugima pak močvara u koju se s konjem sunovratio Marko Kurcije (*Marcus Curtius*) prinoseći samog sebe kao žrtvu podzemnim bogovima. I u srednjovjekovnoj latinštini riječ *lacus* može imati više značenja, pa može značiti lokvu. Primjerice u srednjovjekovnom statutu Brača riječ *lacus* odnosi se i na

A published document from Trogir, dated 1329, contains a reference to half of a garden situated on the banks of a lake (pond) next to a Greek shrine: *meditatem unius orti, positam prope lacum ad fanum Gregum*.¹ To be sure, this information on a Greek shrine should be critically examined. First, what, in fact, is a Greek shrine (...*ad fanum gregum*)? The adjective ‘Greek’ in the common parlance of the coastal belt of Dalmatia was given to old, dilapidated buildings; in the hinterland, however, the people attributed such antiquities and ruins to the Turks (Ottomans). For example, Škrip on the island of Brač was designated as a “Greek fortification” in the common lore.² But the stories about the Greek settlement of *Scripea* (Škrip), and about Greek refugees from Troy, were brought to the residents of Brač in 1405 by the historian priest Dujam Hranković.³ To be sure, all of these are general features in myths on the establishment of cities. So-called popular lore is most often only an echo of speculation by learned individuals, usually priests, “the creators of tradition.” Toponyms such as “Greek church” almost as a rule indicate early medieval, pre-Romanesque churches and Byzantium. In the 15th century, humanist Filip de Diversis described the small Church of St. Peter in Dubrovnik, built in the shape of a cross, “as was the custom among the ancient Greek faithful”.⁴ Among older writers, those from the 17th and 18th centuries, the adjective “Greek” was used when speaking of pre-Romanesque buildings. Byzantine icons were referred to as Greek paintings in the records of visitations by bishops.

Did the notary, the compiler of the aforementioned document from 1329, and his contemporaries in medieval Trogir use the phrase *fanum gregum* to refer to an ancient ruin in a field, or did they perhaps indeed mean an ancient (Greek) shrine?

Where and what is that *lacus* next to which the “Greek shrine” is situated? In its original sense, the word *lacus* naturally refers to a lake, but it may also have the meaning of a well, pond, pool, splash or marsh.⁵ The so-called *Lacus Juturnae* in Rome, near the Temple of Vesta denoted a spring or pool where, according to legend, Castor and Pollux watered their horses. The sacred surface of the *Lacus Curtius* was on the grounds of the forum itself – originally a hole, or

1 Ispravu je objavio Barada 1988, str. 286; na ispravu je upozorio Burić 2003, str. 65-74.

2 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, str. 1.

3 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, str. 25; Legende i kronike 1977, str. 208.

4 De Diversis 1973, str. 23.

5 Mayer 1935, str. 263-269.

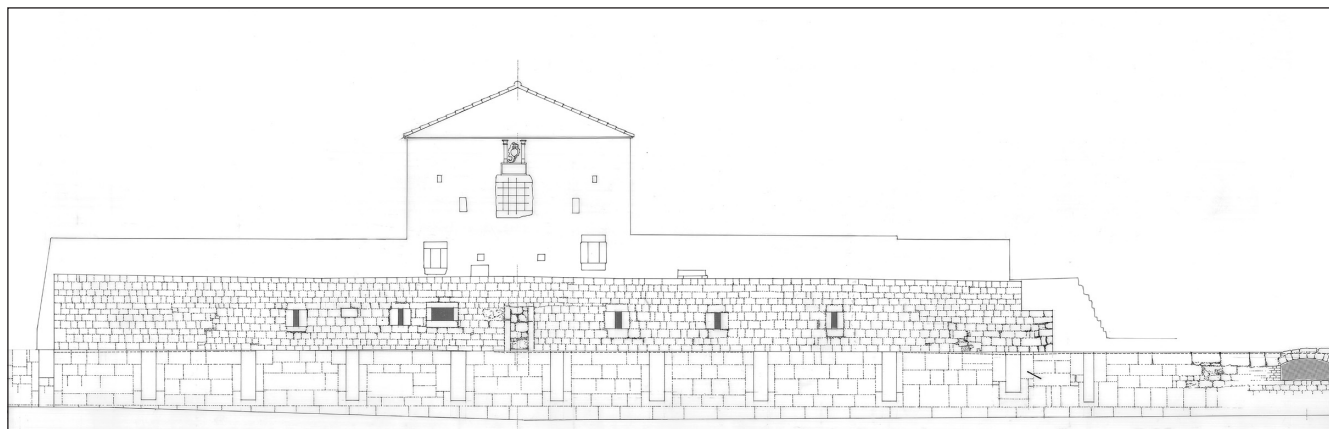
1 The document was published in Barada 1988, p. 286; the document was highlighted by Burić 2003, pp. 65-74.

2 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, p. 1.

3 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, p. 25; Legende i kronike 1977, p. 208.

4 De Diversis 1973, p. 23.

5 Mayer 1935, pp. 263-269.



Sl. 1. Sjeverno pročelje Mlinice s južnom ogradom Jezera (crtež: Z. Perković)

Fig. 1. Northern façade of the Mlinica building with the southern retaining wall of Jezero (sketch: Z. Perković)

udubine uklesane u kamenu, svojevrsne cisterne u kojima se skuplja voda.⁶ U trogirskim ispravama iz XIII. i XIV. stoljeća, međutim, bunar (*putheus*) razlikuje se od lokve i jezera (*lacus*). U blizini grada, preko mosta, na kopnu, bilo je više lokava.⁷ Kako se, sudeći po redosljedu zemljišta u ispravama spominje jedno jezerce (*lacus*) u neposrednoj blizini grada, zaključuje se da se taj spomen odnosi na bunar Dobrić. Iznesena je stoga pretpostavka da se u ispravi iz 1329. godine *lacus* odnosi upravo na bunar Dobrić, kraj kojega je vrt gdje se nalazilo “grčko svetište”.⁸

Antičko svetište na Patanu/Blatu?

Pokušat ćemo iznijeti nešto drukčiju pretpostavku: da se izraz *lacus* odnosi na nekadašnja jezerca ili jezero u močvarnom predjelu Pantan/Blato na istočnom rubu Malog trogirskog polja, te da se možda tamo nalazilo “grčko svetište”.

Trogir je od davnine posjedovao prirodno definiran prostor Malog polja, sa sjevera okruženom brdima poput luka, s tetivom na jugu, duž morske obale. U antičko doba Malo je polje bilo *chora* grčkog *Traguriona*, odnosno ager rimskog *Traguriuma*.⁹ Trogirski teritorij u ranom srednjem vijeku, njegova astareja (ista se riječ grčkog porijekla upotrebljava i za prvotnu jezgru dubrovačkog teritorija na kopnu), bio je sveden na Malo polje, s istočnom granicom do jezera u Pantanu/

chasm, according to others a swamp into which Marcus Curtius plunged, sacrificing himself to the gods of the underworld. Even in medieval Latinism, the word *lacus* could have several meanings, so it could also refer to a pool. For example, in the medieval statute of Brač, the word *lacus* refers to depressions carved into stone, sort of like cisterns to collect water.⁶ In the Trogir documents of the 13th and 14th centuries, however, a well (*putheus*) is distinguished from a pond or lake (*lacus*). There were a number of ponds near the city, across the bridge on the mainland.⁷ Since a pond (*lacus*) in the immediate vicinity of the city is mentioned, judging by the order of properties in the documents, it has been concluded that this refers to the well called Dobrić. The assumption has thus been made that the *lacus* mentioned in the 1329 document in fact refers to the Dobrić well, next to which there was a garden in which the “Greek shrine” was situated.⁸

An ancient shrine at Patan/Blato?

I shall endeavour to pose the question in a slightly different fashion: whether the term *lacus* refers to a former pond or lake in the Pantan/Blato marshes on the eastern edge of Trogir’s Malo field, and whether a “Greek shrine” was possibly located there.

Since the distant past, Trogir possessed the naturally defined surface of Malo polje (‘little field’), encircled by hills from the north like an arc, with a strand in the south down the seashore. In Antiquity,

6 Vrsalović 1957, str. 95.

7 Do početka XX. st. na kopnu u predjelu Travarica nalazila se velika lokva zvana Ošljak; na starim kartama na području Lokvica prikazano je jezerce, lokva do samog mora.

8 Burić 2003, str. 57, bilj. 9.

9 U grčkim gradovima vodeni tokovi bijahu od presudne važnosti u organizaciji naselja i njegova teritorija; o tome vidi radove u Calderone 2012.

6 Vrsalović 1957, p. 95.

7 Until the beginning of the 20th cent., there was a large pond called Ošljak on the mainland tract called Travarica; on old maps a pond, right next to the seashore, is shown in the area of Lokvica.

8 Burić 2003, p. 57, note 9.

Blatu.¹⁰ Tako su vode u Pantanu/Blatu bile razmeđe između bizantskog Trogira i njegovog Malog polja i ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske, koja se odatle pružala prema istoku, duž današnjega Kaštelanskog polja, na području ranosrednjovjekovne Primorske županije (Paratalasija) čije je središte bio Klis.

Na istočnome rubu Malog polja, tj. na zapadnom početku Velikog polja, oko 2,5 km zračne linije od grada, nalazi se zgrada trogirskih mlinova zvana Mlinice. Tamo pod brdom Krban, na rubu rasjeda,¹¹ ispod ceste Trogir-Split, iz jezera zvanog Jezero izvire slankasta voda, koja protječe pod zgradom Mlinice. Kanalom zvanim Rika, sličnom riječnom toku, voda protječe do mora. Godine 1275. spominje se zemlja pokraj rijeke - *ad flumen Pantani*.¹² Cijeli se taj predio prema moru zapadno i južno od Mlinica spominje u ispravama od XIII. stoljeća kao Pantan ili Blato, ili se pak oba naziva, jedan romanski, drugi slavenski, navode zajedno, iako su istog značenja, koje se odnosi na močvarne predjele: ... *in Blacta Pantani*.¹³ Područje Pantana/Blata (velikim dijelom devastirano izgradnjom i nasipavanjima) ima sva obilježja mediteranske, morske močvare. Nekoć je čitav prostor do mora bio bitno drugačiji, s više izvora; vjerojatno je ranije postojalo i više jezera iz kojih je istjecalo nekoliko vodenih tokova: godine 1194. u popisu imanja samostana sv. Dujma/sv. Nikole u Trogiru spominje se kao orijentir - hidrotoponim *Alacubus (a lacubus)*.¹⁴ U ranom srednjem vijeku, smatra historičar Ivan Lucić, vodene tokove na istočnoj strani Pantana/Blata, uz predio zvan Divulje, koristili su Hrvati koji nastavahu Veliko polje, posebno oni iz Bijaća. Lucić u XVII. stoljeću opisuje dugačak i širok zid istočno od postojećih mlinova, tragove kuća (mlinova) na početku Divulja, gdje je također, pretpostavlja, nekoć moralo postojati jezerce.¹⁵ Istočno od Jezera, na početku Divulja, još početkom XX. stoljeća publicist i kroničar Roko Slade Šilović spominje stare zidine i kanal dužine 500 metara kroz koji je voda otjecala prema moru u predjelu zvanom Mućine.¹⁶ Ostatke starih komunalnih mlinova na zapadu od Mlinice nazivahu

Malo was the *chora* of Greek Tragurion, and then the ager of Roman Tragurium.⁹ Trogir's territory in the early Middle Ages, its *astarea* (this same word of Greek origin was also used for the initial core of Dubrovnik's mainland territory), was limited to the Malo field, with its eastern boundary at the lake in Pantan/Blato.¹⁰ The waters in Pantan/Blato were therefore the border between Byzantine Trogir, and its Malo field, and early medieval Croatia, which extended eastward from there, along today's Kaštela field, in the territory of the early medieval Littoral County (Parathalassia) of which Klis was the seat.

The building of the Trogir mills, called Mlinica, is located on the eastern side of Malo, i.e., at the western entrance to Veliko ('big') field, roughly 2.5 km in a straight line from the city. There, under Krban Hill, at the edge of a rift,¹¹ below the Trogir-Split road, brackish water springs from a pond called Jezero (literally, 'Lake'), which flows under Mlinica. The water flows to the sea down a channel called Rika, similar to a river course (*rika* being the word for river, *rijeka*, in the local dialect). Land next to a river - *ad flumen Pantani*:¹² - was mentioned in 1275. This entire tract toward the sea to the west and south of Mlinica is mentioned in documents from the 13th century as Pantan or Blato, or even with both designations, one Romanic and the other Slavic, used together, even though they have the same meaning, which pertains to marshy tracts: ... *in Blacta Pantani*.¹³ The territory of Pantan/Blato (largely devastated by construction and land reclamation) had all of the features of a Mediterranean, seaside marsh. This entire area was once quite different, with many springs; there were probably several ponds from which a number of waterways flowed: in 1194, the list of properties of the Monastery of St. Dominus/St. Nicholas in Trogir includes the hydro-toponym *Alacubus (a lacubus)*, mentioned as a means of orientation.¹⁴ In the early Middle Ages, according to historian Ivan Lucić, water courses on the eastern side of Pantan/Blato, next to a tract called Divulje, were used by Croats who settled in Veliko field, particularly

10 Lucić 1979, II, str. 1097-1098.

11 Je li jezerce na Pantanu/Blatu možda nastalo utonućem terena za potresa 23. siječnja 1496. godine, o kojem piše mletački kroničar Marino Sanudo? Usp. Kukuljević Sakcinski 1859, str. 1. Izneseno je i mišljenje da se ta vijest odnosi na Zmajevo jezero kod Rogoznice; vidi Kužić 1997, str. 357-360.

12 Barada 1950, str. 125.

13 Barada 1948, str. 92.

14 Babić 2014, str. 126; Jozić 2014, str. 135.

15 Lucić 1979, I, str. 154-155.

16 Slade Šilović 1998, str. 10.

9 In the Greek cities, waterways were of crucial importance to the organization of the settlement and its territory; on this see the works in Calderone 2012.

10 Lucić 1979, II, pp. 1097-1098.

11 Did the pond at Pantan/Blato perhaps emerge after the terrain collapsed during an earthquake on 23 January 1496, about which the Venetian chronicler Marino Sanudo wrote? Cf. Kukuljević Sakcinski 1859, p. 1. Another opinion is that this is a reference to Zmajevo Lake at Rogoznica; see Kužić 1997, pp. 357-360.

12 Barada 1950, p. 125.

13 Barada 1948, p. 92.

14 Babić 2014, p. 126; Jozić 2014, p. 135.

“stara mlinica”.¹⁷ Tamo se još i danas na površini poput otoka, okruženoj vodama, pružaju masivni ostaci urušenog zida s kamenjem vezanim crvenkastom, hidrauličkom žbukom.

Slankasti izvori u Pantanu/Blatu nisu za piće, dapače, bili su smatrani veoma otrovnima, neobičnih, nevjerojatno štetnih svojstava, što naravno ne odgovara istini; anonimni autor opisa Trogira s kraja XVI. st. piše kako je voda veoma opasna za piće, dapače smrtonosna; ona nagriza kamen, željezo, drvo...¹⁸ Međutim, vodeni su tokovi bili korisni za pokretanje mlinova koji se spominju od srednjeg vijeka. Jedan veći zahvat - gradnju zida za mlinove (...*murum pro molendinis comunis ad Blattam*) Komuna je 12. ožujka 1264. ugovorila sa skupinom zidara.¹⁹ Močvarni plićaci uz morsku obalu pak bijahu podesni za solane. Ostaci solana su drveni piloni i daske, kakvi se nalaze u moru na nekoliko mjesta u predjelu Pantan, Mućine (prema analizi C 14 datiraju se u antičko doba, u I. st. pr. Kr., i u rani srednji vijek, u VIII. st. po. Kr.).²⁰ Komunalne solane sv. Klementa, koje se spominju godine 1416., *salinae comunis de sancto Clementee*, prostirale su se na području Pantana/Blata.²¹

Vode općenito potiču imaginaciju. Gotovo uz svaku vodu, uključujući izvore, bare i zdence, vezuju se mitovi. Uz njih se vežu bezbrojna praznovjerja; jezera se, primjerice, doživljavaju kao oka kroz koja mogu gledati stanovnici podzemlja.²² U pučkim pričama u Dalmaciji jezera (Prukljansko, Vransko, Crveno jezero...) nastala su kad su se u zemlju stropoštali dvori bešćutnog bogataša, gavana. Gonetanjem žuborenja ili promatranjem odraza na vodi proricala se budućnost. Izvori i bunari su diskontinuiteti na tlu, ujedno su i kontaktne zone između različitih agregatnih stanja, krutog i tekućeg; voda iz podzemlja izbija van, iz mraka na svjetlo. Ondje se grade svetišta, od hramova pa do ograđenih svetih prostora sa skulpturama, žrtvenicima i gajevima.²³ Valja se prisjetiti Homera:

*Mi oko izvora stasmo kod svetih oltara te vječnim
Bozima uspjehne tad hekatombe žrtvovat htjesmo
Ispod javora krasnog, gdje bistrica tečaše voda...
(Ilijada II, 305-307, preveo: T. Maretić)*

those from Bijaći. In the 17th century, Lucić described a long and wide wall east of the existing mills, traces of houses (mills) at the beginning of Divulje, where there also had been, he assumed, ponds.¹⁵ Already at the beginning of the 20th century, pamphleteer and chronicler Roko Slade Šilović mentioned old fortified walls and a 500 meter long channel east of Jezero, at the beginning of Divulje, through which water flowed toward the sea in an area called Mućine.¹⁶ The remains of the old communal mills to the west of Mlinica were called the “old mill” (*stara mlinica*).¹⁷ Even today, the massive remains of a collapsed wall with stones bound by reddish hydraulic plaster jut at the surface like islands, surrounded by water.

The brackish springs in Pantan/Blato were not suitable for drinking, and in fact they were deemed rather toxic, with unusual, unbelievably harmful qualities, which naturally does not comport with the truth; the anonymous writer of a description of Trogir from the end of the 16th century wrote that the water is very dangerous to drink, and indeed lethal, allegedly corroding stone, iron, wood...¹⁸ However, the water flows were useful to power the mills mentioned since the Middle Ages. One major undertaking, the construction of a stone wall for the mills (...*murum pro molendinis comunis ad Blattam*) was negotiated with a group of masons by the Commune on 12 March 1264.¹⁹ Marshy shoals along the seacoast were suitable for salt pans. The remains of salt pans consist of wooden pylons and boards, as found in the sea at several points in Pantan and Mućine (based on an C14 analysis, they date to Antiquity, the 1st century BC, and to the early Middle Ages, the 8th century AD).²⁰ The communal salt pans of St. Clement, which were mentioned in 1416, *salinae comunis de sancto Clementee*, extended over the area of Pantan/Blato.²¹

Waters stir the imagination in general. Myths are tied to virtually all waters, including springs, ponds and wells. They are accompanied by countless superstitions; lakes, for example, are perceived as eyes through which the residents of the underworld can see.²² In the popular lore of Dalmatia, the local lakes (Prukljansko, Vransko, Crveno...) were formed when

17 Slade Šilović 1988, str. 12.

18 Babić D. 2012, str. 41. Opis te vode podsjeća na raspravu o škodljivim vodama kod Vitruvija (De arch., Lib. VIII, cap. 15-23).

19 Barada 1948, str. 78.

20 Gluščević 2004, str. 124-131; Radić Rossi 2008, str. 492, 489-506.

21 Pederin 1987, str. 159.

22 Mozzani 1995, str. 944.

23 Calderone 2012.

15 Lucić 1979, I, p. 154-155.

16 Slade Šilović 1998, p. 10.

17 Slade Šilović 1988, p. 12.

18 Babić D. 2012, p. 41. The description of these waters recalls the discussion of harmful waters in Vitruvius (De arch., Lib. VIII, cap. 15-23).

19 Barada 1948, p. 78.

20 Gluščević 2004, pp. 124-131; Radić Rossi 2008, pp. 492, 489-506.

21 Pederin 1987, p. 159.

22 Mozzani 1995, p. 944.

Često su u antičkim hramovima ili u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini studenci i izvori. U Erehtejonu na Akropoli nalazio se zdenac u kojem se, kako se navodi, za južnoga vjetra čuo šum morskih valova. Mnogobrojne takve prostorne situacije nabraja Pauzanija u svojem vodiču po Heladi: kod grada Egija (Lakonija) kod Posejdonova jezera nalazio se hram i kip s likom tog božanstva (III, 21); u selu Kalama (Mesenija) u predjelu Bare (Limnai) nalazilo se svetište Artemide Limnatide (Barske) (IV, 31); u Alkionsku močvaru u Argolidi, uz Lernejski zaljev uz koji su se nalazila jezera i izvori, sišao je Dioniz kako bi iz Hada izvukao svoju majku Semelu (II, 37)... U Egiptu, u blizini glasovitog Amonova svetišta i proročišta - *Hammonis fanum*, kako ga spominje Lukrecije Kar (*De rerum natura* 6,840) - nalazi se tzv. Sunčev izvor u kojem je voda topla noću, a hladna danju, o kojem pišu toliki antički pisci od Herodota (*Hist.* IV, 161) do Aurelija Augustina (*Civ.* XXI, 5). I u proročištu Dodoni, voda u "svetom izvoru" imala je čudesna svojstva: kad bi se u hladnu vodu umetnula ugašena baklja, ona bi ponovno planula. Voda je izvirala ispod svetog hrasta, a po njezinom žuborenju mogla se gonetati budućnost.²⁴ Iz voda su često vrebala pohotna riječna božanstva koja su salijetala ne samo nimfe nego su običavala snubiti i neoprezne kupačice. Riječna božanstva mogu imati posebne hramove. Rijekama, izvorima, vodama općenito treba prinostiti žrtvu, od ostrizene kose i kolača pa do krvi zaklanih životinja; poklanjaju im se i zavjetni predmeti. Horacije pjeva (*Od.* III, 13) o izvoru *Bandusia* (*fons Bandusiae*) koji će se zacrvenjeti od krvi žrtvovanog kozlića (*Od.* III, 13). U Rimu je izvorima bila posvećena svečanost *Fontinalia*, koja se slavila 13. listopada, kad se u izvore bacalo cvijeće i lijevalo vino. Vode naravno mogu biti ljekovite, dapače čudotvorne: kad bi se Hera okupala u vreli zvanom Kanata kod Nauplije na Peloponezu, piše Pauzanija, svake bi godine ponovno postala djevicom (II, 38). Na Italskom poluotoku osobito su čuveni izvori rijeke Klitumno u Umbriji; o ubavom krajoliku uz rijeku sa svetim lugom, s izvorima - jezercima, govori se i piše s udivljenjem od antike naovamo.²⁵ Ondje se štovalo božanstvo zvano *Iuppiter-Clitumnus*. Plinije Mlađi (*Epist.* VIII, 8) spominje uz izvore Klitumna hram, ali i manje "kapele" unaokolo (...*sparsa sunt circa sacella*).

Naravno, za potvrde kultova vezanih uz vode ima naznaka i u Dalmaciji. U šumarcima uz izvore solinske Rike, Jadra (*Salon*) i uz vrutke u okolini Salone

the palaces of heartless, wealthy misers were swallowed up by the earth. The future was foretold by deciphering the babbling of flowing water or observing reflections on the water's surface. Springs and wells are discontinuities in the ground, and also contact zones between different aggregate states, solid and liquid; water emerges from underground, from darkness to light. Shrines were built there, from temples to fenced-in holy places with sculptures, altars and decorative stands of trees.²³ Homer's words are worth recalling:

...we round about a spring were offering to the immortals upon the holy altars hecatombs that bring fulfilment, beneath a fair plane-tree from whence flowed the bright water;

(*The Iliad* II, 305-307, translation: A.T. Murray)

Often wells and springs were inside ancient temples or in their immediate vicinity. There was a well in the Erechtheion on the Acropolis in which, according to popular lore, the sounds of sea waves could be heard when the southerly winds blew. Numerous such situations were listed by Pausanias in his *Description of Greece*: in the city of Aegiae (Laconia), by Poseidon's lake there was a temple with a statue of this same god (III, 21); in the village of Calamae (Messenia) in the place called the Lakes (Limnae) there was a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (of the Lake) (IV, 31); in the Alcyonian Lake in the Argolid, next to the Lernaean bay next to which there are lakes and springs, Dionysus went down to Hades to bring up his mother Semele (II, 37)... In Egypt, in the vicinity of the famed Temple of Amun - *Hammonis fanum*, as it was called by Lucretius Carus (*De rerum natura* 6,840) - there is the so-called Fountain of the Sun in which the water flows hot at night and cold by day, which so many ancient writers mentioned, from Herodotus (*Hist.* IV, 161) to Aurelius Augustinus (*Civ.* XXI, 5). At the Oracle of Dodona, the water in the "sacred spring" had miraculous qualities: when an extinguished torch was placed in the frigid water, it would burst into flame again. The water sprang from beneath a holy oak, and the future could be foretold by listening to its trickling.²⁴ Lustful riverine deities often lurked in waters and not only assaulted nymphs but also tended to seduce incautious bathers. River deities could have their own separate temples. Sacrifices had to be made

24 Popis vijesti o ovom izvoru donosi Prestianni Giallombardo 2002, str. 134; arheološka iskopavanja, međutim, nisu otkrila takav izvor; usp. Quantin 2008, str. 29.

25 Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica 1959, str. 723.

23 Calderone 2012.

24 A list of information on this spring was provided by Prestianni Giallombardo 2002, p. 134; archaeological excavations, however, have not uncovered the spring; cf. Quantin 2008, p. 29.

nađeni su mali žrtvenici posvećeni nimfama i Silvanu.²⁶ Na Braču je, primjerice, u špiljskom lokalitetu Vodena jama koji se nalazi između Supetra i Donjeg Humca nađen ulomak reljefa s prikazom dviju nimfa, uz koje je stajao i Silvan, kako se čita na natpisu.²⁷ Uz vrelo u Živogošću u stijeni je uklesan poznati natpis, pjesma, u čast nimfe.²⁸ Čak su i vode u cisternama imale religioznih konotacija. Natpis posvećen nimfama koji je pronađen u Škripi (CIL III 3096) bio je izvorno, navodi se, ugrađen u cisternu.²⁹ Nedaleko od Salone, kod Vranjica, u zidu cisterne bio je ugrađen reljef s prikazom Vulkana i Neptuna.³⁰ U Jaderu je na forumu javna fontana bila koncipirana kao svetište, nimfej, u kojem je stajala skulptura ležeće nimfe; kipova nimfa u svezi s bunarima i vodama nađeno je još na nekoliko mjesta u gradu.³¹ Jedan žrtvenik pronađen u koritu Cetine bio je posvećen Jupiteru i božanstvu rijeke *Hippus* (...*Numini Hippo Fluvii*).³² Svetište vezano uz izvor vode nalazilo se vjerojatno u predjelu zvanom Kolovare, kod Zadra. Ondje uz more izvire voda u bunaru (obnovljen 1546. g.), a u blizini su se nalazile crkve sv. Krševana i sv. Marka, koje se spominju s pridjevom *ad fontem, de fontana, de fonte*...³³

Dakako, različita vjerovanja o vodi postoje u židovskoj i potom kršćanskoj tradiciji, primjerice kod proroka Ezekijela u njegovu viđenju Doma Gospodnjeg pred kojim će izvirati voda (*Ez 47, 1-12*). Razumljivo je da su izvori i bunari imali posebno mjesto u biblijskoj imaginaciji žednih pastira. Izvor pokraj grada Jerihona nekoć je bio škodljiv, uništavao je polja i raslinje, izazivao je neplodnost žena, čak i smrt, no prorok i čudotvorac Elizej učini ga zdravim i plodnosnim, kako to pripovijeda Josip Flavije (*Bell. Iud. cap. lib. IV. cap. VIII, 3*) slijedeći Bibliju (2 Kr. II. 2,19) što prepričavaju i srednjovjekovne legende.

Na religiozni doživljaj Pantana/Blata ukazuje i čijenica da se ondje, na otočiću, nalazila crkvice posvećena sv. Klementu.³⁴ Kult ovog sveca, čije je tijelo prema *Legenda aurea* bilo privremeno sahranjeno na dnu mora, u svetištu poput mramornog hrama, prikladan je močvarnom ambijentu Pantana/Blata.³⁵

to rivers, springs and waters in general, from sheared goats and pastries to the blood of slaughtered animals; votive objects were also given to them. Horace wrote (*Od. III, 13*) about Bandusia's fount (*fons Bandusiae*) that would flow red with the blood of a sacrificed kid (*Od. III, 13*). In Rome, springs were honoured in a festival called the *Fontinalia*, which was celebrated on 13 October, when flowers were thrown and wine was poured into springs. Waters could of course be medicinal, and even miraculous: Pausanias wrote that when Hera bathed in a spring called Canathus in Nauplia on the Peloponnese every year, she would recover her maidenhood (II, 38). On the Italian peninsula, the famed source of the Clitunno (Clitumnus) River in Umbria is particularly well known; the lovely landscape along the river, with sacred groves, springs and pools, has been spoken of and written about with awe from Antiquity onward.²⁵ A deity called Jupiter-Clitumnus was venerated there. Pliny the Younger (*Epist. VIII, 8*) mentioned a temple at the spring of the Clitumnus, as well as smaller "chapels" all around (... *sparsa sunt circa sacella*).

To be sure, there are indications that confirm the existence of cults tied to water in Dalmatia as well. In the groves next to the source of Solin's 'Rika' (river), the Jadro (*Salon*), and alongside springs in the vicinity of Salona, small altars dedicated to the nymphs and Silvanus were found.²⁶ On the island of Brač, for example, a fragment of a relief bearing a portrayal of two nymphs with Silvanus standing next to them, as specified in the inscription, was found in the cave called Vodena jama ('watery chasm') situated between Supetar and Donji Humac.²⁷ A well-known inscription, a poem honouring the nymphs, is carved into the rock next to the spring in Živogošće.²⁸ Even the waters in cisterns had religious connotations. The inscription dedicated to the nymphs found in Škrip (CIL III 3096) was originally – or so it is said – built into a cistern.²⁹ Not far from Salona, at Vranjic, a relief bearing a portrayal of Vulcan and Neptune was built into the wall of a cistern.³⁰ In Iader, the public fountain on the forum was conceived as a shrine, a Nymphaeum, in which there was a statue of a reclining nymph; statues of nymphs associated with wells and waters were found at several other locations in the

26 Babić 1984, str. 55, 165, bilj. 100.

27 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, str. 7; Demicheli 2010, str. 175-185.

28 Rendić-Miočević 1954, str. 436-442; Vratović 1993, str. 77-79.

29 Demicheli 2010, str. 177.

30 Bulić 1898, str. 216.

31 Suić 1981, str. 218; Giunio 2008, str. 151-160.

32 Gunjača 1950, str. 50-52; Milošević 2003.

33 Brusić 1997, str. 53-60.

34 Andreis 1977, I, str. 351.

35 De Voragine 1967, str. 383.

25 Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica 1959, p. 723.

26 Babić 1984, pp. 55, 165, note 100.

27 Faber, Nikolanci 1985, p. 7; Demicheli 2010, pp. 175-185.

28 Rendić-Miočević 1954, pp. 436-442; Vratović 1993, pp. 77-79.

29 Demicheli 2010, p. 177.

30 Bulić 1898, p. 216.

Vodeni tokovi često su linije razgraničenja: rijeka Azop razdvajala je tebanski od platejskog teritorija; rijeka Eurotas bila je granica između Arkadije i Lakedemona... Zato je područje Pantana/Blata kao granično područje s njegovim vodenim tokovima moralo biti važno i u simboličkom smislu. Grčki hramovi bijahu uobičajeni na granicama teritorija, uz rijeke na rubovima agrarnih površina, *chora* antičkih polisa. Zato nam se i čini mogućim da je neko antičko (grčko) svetište u simboličko-religioznom smislu markiralo međe teritorija Tragurija.

Kamenje isklesano u tehnici *bugnato rustico* uz Jezero u Pantanu/Blatu - ostatak antičkog svetišta?

Današnja zgrada zvana Mlinice na južnom rubu Jezera dovršena je krajem XVI. stoljeća. O gradnjama i dogradnjama može se čitati na natpisima istaknutim na nekoliko mjesta na Mlinici. Velik broj natpisa i grobova uključujući dva reljefa krilatog lava sv. Marka ukazuje na važnost zdanja u doba mletačke vladavine. Mlinica je prizemno zdanje kroz čije podnožje protječe voda. U prostoriji u podnožju Mlinice, ispod razine jezera, poredano je mlinsko kamenje.³⁶ Zgrada Mlinice izduženog je oblika, s volumenom dvokatne kule u sredini. Sa zapadne strane pridodana je i posebna zgrada zvana Stupa, podignuta na lukovima, u kojoj su se nalazila postrojenja za valjanje sukna. Na južnoj strani Mlinice pod kulom je pristanište, gat, mul za lađe sagrađen godine 1778. Brodovi su s otoka dovođili žito na mljevenje, čak i sa udaljene Korčule. Još jedan gat nalazi se i zapadno od Mlinice, na području "starih mlinova", gotovo u potpunosti zasut muljem, uz rubove obrastao trskom.

Vodeni tokovi mijenjali su se tijekom stoljeća hidrorregulacijama izvora i vodenih tokova. Današnje stanje datira s kraja XVIII. stoljeća. Godine 1778. započeli su dugotrajni radovi iskopavanja kanala kako bi brodovi mogli pristajati do same Mlinice.³⁷ Gat za lađe pred kulom na južnoj strani Mlinice pridodan je iste 1778. godine. Staja, zaklonište za tegleće životinje na sjevernoj strani Mlinice, dozidana je 1791. godine, kako se to čita na natpisu na pročelju. Iz tog vremena, s kraja XVIII. stoljeća, datira i oblik Jezera s ogradnim zidom na zapadnoj strani kojim se prilazi do same zgrade Mlinice. Na tom ogradnom zidu, ujedno i prilazu Mlinici, nalazi se dvodijelni otvor s branom kroz koju se ispušta višak vode koja hući obrušavajući se u slap. S južne strane Jezera pruža se širok zid, svojevrsna obala, platforma, na kojem su uski vertikalni otvori sa žljebovima za umetanje brana kroz koje

city.³¹ One altar found in the bed of the Cetina River was dedicated to Jupiter and the river deity Hippius (...*Numini Hippii Fluvii*).³² A shrine associated with a spring was probably located in the tract called Kolorare, near Zadar. There, next to the sea, water springs in a well (restored in 1546) and the nearby Church of St. Chrysogonus and St. Mark were mentioned in documents with the adjective *ad fontem, de fontana, de fonte*...³³

To be sure, different beliefs pertaining to water also exist in the Jewish and then Christian traditions. For example, the prophet Ezekiel has a vision of the House of the Lord with waters issuing out from under it (*Ez 47, 1-12*). It is understandable that springs and wells had a special place in the biblical imagination of thirsty shepherds. The spring by the city of Jericho was once quite noxious, destroying the earth and trees, and causing women to be infertile and even killing them, but then the prophet and miracle-worker Elisha made it wholesome and fruitful, as told by Josephus Flavius (*Bell. Iud. cap. lib. IV. cap. VIII, 3*), citing the Bible (*2 Kgs II. 2,19*) and this story was also retold in medieval legends.

The religious perception of Pantan/Blato is also indicated by the fact that there, on the islet, there was a church dedicated to St. Clement.³⁴ The cult of this saint, whose body, according to the *Legenda aurea*, was temporarily interred on the seafloor in a shrine resembling a marble temple, was suited to the marshy environment of Pantan/Blato.³⁵

Water courses were often lines of demarcation: the Asopus River separated Theban from Plataean territory; the Eurotas was the border between Arcadia and Lacedaemon... This is why the area of Pantan/Blato, as a border area with its water courses, had to have been vital even in the symbolic sense. Greek temples were normally situated in border territories, along rivers at the edges of agrarian fields, the *chora* of ancient poleis. This is why it seems possible to me that an ancient (Greek) shrine marked the boundary of Tragurion's territory in the symbolic-religious sense.

Stones dressed in the *bugnato rustico* technique next to Jezero at Pantan/Blato - the remains of an ancient shrine?

The current building called Mlinica on the southern banks of Jezero was completed at the end of the 16th century. Works on its construction and expansion may be gleaned from the inscriptions prominent at

36 Slade Šilović 1998, str. 9-15; Pešić, Findrik 1998, str. 19-46; Fisković 1988, str. 61-67; Babić D. 2012, str. 22-23.

37 Babić 2010, str. 413.

31 Suić 1981, p. 218; Giunio 2008, pp. 151-160.

32 Gunjača 1950, pp. 50-52; Milošević 2003.

33 Brusić 1997, pp. 53-60.

34 Andreis 1977, I, p. 351.

35 De Voragine 1967, p. 383.

voda navire pod Mlinicu, u njezinu donju razinu, gdje se nalaze mlinska postrojenja. Istočnije od Mlinice prostire se kameno korito, širok kanal zvan Stura, sa stubičastim, popločanim koritom kroz koje se, podizanjem brane, ispuštala suvišna voda koja je otjecala poput malih slapova, kad bi za kišnih dana Jezero nabujalo. U baroknom duhu Pavao Andreis u XVII. stoljeću piše o "obijesnim bujicama" koje je trebalo krotiti regulacijom voda.³⁸

Južni zid uz Jezero, zapravo tek njegova pročelna strana, zidan je kamenjem neuobičajenog oblika. Većina kamena ima pročelnu stranu gotovo kvadratnog oblika. Rjeđi su izduženi pravokutni blokovi, od kojih neki obasežu do 1 m duljine, oko 40 cm širine i 60 cm debljine. Blokovi su oblikovani s ispupčenjima polukružnoga, trbušastog presjeka (*bugnato rustico*, *bossage rustique*); uz ispupčenja su široki i glatki pojasevi uz bridove, tzv. anatiroza (*anathyrosis*). Poneka izbočenja veoma su istaknuta, gotovo kubičnog oblika ili pak poput krnjih piramida. Masivno kamene mjestimice je ugrađeno i drugdje, primjerice na istočnom zidu kanala zvanog Stura. Poneki masivni blok zamjećuje se i na južnoj strani ogradnog zida Jezera, uz ispušt vode, zapadno od zgrade Stupe. Nekoliko velikih kamena ugrađeno je i na južnoj strani Mlinice, na kontraforima uz kulu, koji podupiru cijelo zdanje, izloženo pritiscima vodene mase u Jezeru.³⁹ Poneki masivni komadi kamena ugrađeni su i na zapadnom zidu-ogradi Jezera, tj. pristupu Mlinici i to uz dvodijelni otvor za ispušt vode. Sjeverna strana Jezera ispod ceste Trogir-Split uglavnom je sva obrasla trskom i drugim biljem; na tom se dijelu Jezera, kad se ljeti voda razbistri, naziru na dnu ostaci zidova i urušeni masivni blokovi kamena. Nepoznat je također izvorni izgled cijele istočne strane Jezera obrasle močvarnim raslinjem te stoga ne možemo saznati da li je i ondje postojao ogradni zid. U donjem dijelu urušenog zida koji se pruža zapadno od zgrade Mlinice, na lokalitetu "stare mlinice" također se zamjećuju veliki kameni blokovi. U tehničar *bugnato rustico* sazdan

several places on Mlinica. A high number of inscriptions and coats of arms, including two relief images of the winged lion of St. Mark, reflect the importance of the building under Venetian rule. Mlinica is a ground-level building with water flowing beneath it. Millstones are set in the room under Mlinica, below the pond's surface level.³⁶ The Mlinica building is oblong, with the form of a two-story tower in the middle. A separate structure called Stupa was added to its western side, raised on arches, in which there was a trip-hammer for making broadcloth. On the southern side of Mlinica, below the tower, there was a dock, a pier to berth boats built in 1778. Boats from the island brought grain for milling, sometimes from as far off as Korčula. Another pier was located west of Mlinica, in the area of the "old mills," almost entirely covered with mud, and with reeds growing at its edges.

The water courses were altered over the centuries by hydraulic engineering works to regulate the flow of springs and waterways. The current situation dates to the end of the 18th century. In 1778, long-term works commenced to dig a canal so that boats could berth at Mlinica itself.³⁷ A pier for boats in front of the tower on the southern side of Mlinica was added in that same year, 1778. A barn to shelter draught animals on the northern side of Mlinica was added on in 1791, as can be read on the inscription on the frontal façade. It was at that time, the end of the 18th century, that the lake assumed its shape with a retaining wall on the western side that leads to the Mlinica building. This retaining wall, also the access path to Mlinica, features a dual opening with a dam to release excess water, which tumbles into a waterfall. A wide wall, something of an artificial beach or platform, extends on the southern side of Jezero. It has narrow vertical sluices on it, with slots for inserting gates, through which the water flows under Mlinica, into its lower level where the milling devices are. A stone basin extends to the east of Mlinica, a wide channel called Stura, with a step-like, tiled bed through which excess water is released by raising the sluice gates, and it flows out like small waterfalls when the lake swells on rainy days. In the Baroque spirit, Pavao Andreis wrote in the 17th century about the "unrestrained floodwaters" that had to be tamed by hydraulic engineering.³⁸

The southern wall along Jezero, actually only its face, was made of unusually-shaped stones. Most of the stones have an almost quadrangular shape on their

38 Andreis 1977, str. 319-320.

39 Pešić, Findrik 1998, str. 30 zapažaju da je: obrada kontrafora u donjim zonama - kameni blokovi u bosagu (bunje) - ista kao i obrada zida brane na zapadu i zida malih brana. Isti autori, str. 26, spominju kamene blokove otkrivene sondažom zapadnog zida Mlinice: kameni blokovi na zapadnoj fasadi, zapravo ploče s fino obrađenim rubovima (možda sa starijeg objekta) uzidane kasnije, kada je Stupa dozidana. Sudeći po arhivskoj fotografiji i na mulu zapadno od Stupe, u nastavku zapadnog ogradnog zida Jezera, bilo je kamenih blokova oblikovanih na isti način, no danas je mul zaklonjen močvarnim raslinjem. Pešić, Findrik 1998, str. 38, sl. 19.

36 Slade Šilović 1998, pp. 9-15; Pešić, Findrik 1998, pp. 19-46; Fisković 1988, pp. 61-67; Babić D. 2012, pp. 22-23.

37 Babić 2010, p. 413.

38 Andreis 1977, pp. 319-320.

je u potpunosti tek južni zid Jezera pred Mlinicom, i to samo njegova pročelna strana. Moglo bi se stoga pretpostaviti, s obzirom na činjenicu da kamen isklesan u tehnici *bugnato rustico* nije dosljedno ugrađen na svim zidovima na Mlinici i na ogradama Jezera, da se radi o blokovima starijim od same zgrade Mlinice i ograda Jezera. Na to upućuje i činjenica što je na nekim blokovima vidljiva anatiroza iako nema ispupčenja koje je naknadno otučeno kad je staro kamenje bilo ponovno iskorišteno. Jesu li ti kameni blokovi spoliji, ostaci starijeg antičkog zdanja koje se nalazilo u blizini, naknadno ugrađeni prilikom regulacije Jezera i popravaka Mlinice u XVIII. stoljeću ili možda još ranije?

Tehnika klesanja *bugnato rustico* svojstvena je grčkom graditeljstvu pa tako i onom u južnoj Italiji i na Siciliji. Poznata je u i rimskom graditeljstvu, posebno u doba cara Klaudija, tako, primjerice, na prostranom podiju na kojem je stajao hram posvećen diviniziranom caru, *templum Divi Claudii*. U istoj tehnici klesani su blokovi na gradskim vratima Rima, na tzv. *Porta Maggiore* (*Porta Labicana* ili *Praenestina*).⁴⁰

Masivni blokovi kamenja s trbušastim ispupčenjem svojstveni antičkim zdanjima, posebno bedemima, sačuvani su na više lokaliteta u Dalmaciji.⁴¹ Kamenjem s trbušastim ispupčenjima i s anatirozom građeni su mjestimice bedemi Apsorusa (Osora),⁴² Jadera (Zadra),⁴³ Salone (Solina),⁴⁴ Ise,⁴⁵ Tragurija (Trogira),⁴⁶ Epetija (Stobreča),⁴⁷ Farosa (Staroga Grada),⁴⁸ Narone (Vida kod Metkovića),⁴⁹ zidine Curicuma (Krka),⁵⁰ uglovi kule Tor nad Jelsom,⁵¹ zidine Risna (Rhizon, Risinium).⁵²

U samom Trogiru masivno trbušasto kamenje otkriveno je na više mjesta.⁵³ Vidljivo je u podnožju

frontal sides. Oblong rectangular blocks are rarer, although of these some are 1 meter long, approximately 40 cm wide and 60 cm thick. The blocks were dressed with protrusions that have a semi-circular, rounded cross-section (*bugnato rustico*, *bossage rustique*, rusticated ashlar); the protrusions are accompanied by wide and smooth bands along the edges, a so-called anathyrosis. Some protrusions are very prominent, almost cubically shaped or even resembling severed pyramids. Massive stones were installed elsewhere at places, for example on the eastern wall of the Stura channel. The occasional massive block may also be noticed on the southern side of Jezero's retaining wall, next to the sluice, west of the wall of Stupa. Several large stones were also installed on the southern side of Mlinica, on the counterforts next to the tower, which support the entire structure, exposed to the pressure of the mass of water in Jezero.³⁹ Some of the massive pieces of stone are built into the western retaining wall of Jezero, i.e., the access way to Mlinica next to the dual-part sluice. The northern side of Jezero below the Trogir-Split road is generally covered with an overgrowth of reeds and other vegetation; when the water clears on this side of Jezero, the remains of walls and collapsed massive stone blocks can be discerned on its bed. The original appearance of the entire eastern side of Jezero also remains unknown, as it is covered by wetland vegetation and there is no way of knowing if a retaining wall exists there. Large stone blocks may also be observed in the lower section of the collapsed wall that extends west of the Mlinica building, at the "old mills" site. Only Jezero's southern wall in front of Mlinica is entirely composed in the *bugnato rustico* technique, and there only on its frontal side. It may therefore be assumed, given the fact that the stone dressed in the *bugnato rustico* technique was not consistently installed on all of the walls at on Mlinica and on Jezero's retaining wall, that these are blocks older than the actual Mlinica building and Jezero's

40 Turrini 2011, passim.

41 Popis donosi Faber 1976, str. 244.

42 Blečić Kavur 2015, str. 54.

43 Suić 1981, str. 188.

44 Mardešić 1999-2000, str. 150. U Solinu je najpoznatiji dugačak zid, tzv. *murazzo*, uz put prema Traguriju, uz koji su nanizane grobne parcele ograđene masivnim blokovima; vidi Rendić-Miočević 1980, str. 60-99.

45 Čargo 2004, str. 15.

46 Faber 1975, str. 93-95; Faber 1976, str. 240; Faber 1983, str. 24, bilj. 20.

47 Faber 1983, str. 17-37.

48 Zaninović 1984, str. 93-101; Forenbaher *et al.* 1992-1993, str. 27, sl. 9; Kirigin 2003, T. VII, str. 267, T. XXI, str. 381.

49 Cambi 1980, str. 129-130.

50 Lipovac 1991, str. 37-46.

51 Zaninović 1984, T. VIII, sl. 2.

52 Faber 1996, str. 101-115; Buzov 2011, str. 477-480.

53 Bulić 1897, str. 136-137.

39 Pešić, Findrik 1998, p. 30 observed that: the rendering of the counterforts in the lower sections – the stone blocks arranged in a stacked technique – is the same as the rendering of the wall of the dam in the west and the walls of the small dams. The same authors, on p. 26, mention stone blocks discovered during test inspections of the western wall of Mlinica: the stone blocks on the western façade are actually plates with finely dressed edges (perhaps from an older structure) installed later, when Stupa was added. Judging by the archival photographs, there were stone blocks formed in the same manner on the pier west of Stupa, in the extension of the lake's western retaining wall, but today the pier is covered by marsh vegetation. Pešić, Findrik 1998, p. 38, Fig. 19.

srednjovjekovne kuće podignute nad temeljima kule koja se nalazila na sjevernom ulazu u helenistički *Tragurion*.⁵⁴ Nekoliko redova masivnih trbušastih blokova otkriveno je i konzervirano *in situ* u Lapidariju u sastavu Muzeja grada Trogira. Do početka XX. stoljeća bila je velikim dijelom sačuvana antička kula do razine prvoga kata, u sklopu srednjovjekovne Biskupove palače (na mjestu postojeće sudske zgrade), smještena na strateški značajnome mjestu, ondje gdje je morski tjesnac između grada i otoka Čiova najuži.⁵⁵ Kameni blokovi s trbušastim ispupčenjima i anatirozom ugrađeni su u obalu s istočne strane mosta koji spaja Trogir s Čiovom, a vjerojatno potječu upravo sa spomenute nekadašnje kule u sklopu Biskupove palače (porušena 1908. g.) koja se nalazila u blizini.⁵⁶ Ti blokovi ugrađeni u obalu po obliku i dimenzijama najsljedniji su onima ugrađenim u obalu Jezera u Pantanu/Blatu. Poneki masivni blokovi, neki s anatirozom, otkriveni su i u zidinama obližnje helenističke naseobine *Siculi* (Resnik u Kaštelima).⁵⁷

Pod utjecajem helenističkoga i ranorimskoga graditeljstva u priobalnim gradovima, velikim trbušastim kamenjem grade se bedemi i na nekadašnjim pretpovijesnim gradinama na kojima se život održao u rimsko doba, primjerice u Varvariji (Bribir), Aseriji (Podgrađe kod Benkovca),⁵⁸ na Purkinu kuku na Hvaru,⁵⁹ u Ošanićima kod Stoca.⁶⁰

Često se prilikom gradnja, posebno bedema, koristi kamenje sa starijih zdanja. Ruševine Salone stoljećima su se koristile kao kamenolomi. Već u antičko doba koristila se u Saloni kamena građa iz starijih zdanja, ponajviše nadgrobni spomenici.⁶¹ Kamenje iz Epidaura (Cavtat) raznosilo se za gradnje u Dubrovniku.⁶² U vrijeme Kandijskog rata (1645.–1669.), u doba providura Antonija Bernarda za gradnju bastiona i kortina dovozilo se kamenje iz Solina.⁶³ I za

retaining wall. This is further indicated by the fact that on some blocks the anathyrosis is visible even though there are no protrusions, which were later broken off when the stones were re-used. Were these stone blocks spolia, the remains of an older nearby structure from Antiquity, and subsequently installed during works to regulate Jezero and repair Mlinica in the 18th century or perhaps even earlier?

The *bugnato rustico* stonework technique was specific to Greek architecture, including that which can be found in southern Italy and on Sicily. It was also known in Roman architecture, particularly during the reign of Emperor Claudius; for example, on the spacious podium on which a temple dedicated to the deified emperor, the *templum Divi Claudii*, stood. The blocks on the city walls of Rome, on the so-called *Porta Maggiore* (*Porta Labicana* or *Praenestina*) were dressed in the same technique.⁴⁰

Massive blocks of stone with rounded protrusions were typical of structures from Antiquity, especially defensive walls, preserved at a number of sites in Dalmatia.⁴¹ The defensive walls of Apsorus (Osor),⁴² Iader (Zadar),⁴³ Salona (Solin),⁴⁴ Issa,⁴⁵ Tragurium (Trogir),⁴⁶ Epetium (Stobreč),⁴⁷ Pharos (Stari Grad),⁴⁸ Narona (Vid near Metković)⁴⁹ and Curicum (Krk)⁵⁰ were constructed at places using stones with rounded protrusions and anathyroses, as were the corners of the Tor tower above Jelsa⁵¹ and the walls of Risan (Rhizon, Risinium).⁵²

In Trogir itself, the massive rounded stones were discovered at many sites.⁵³ They are visible at the foot of a medieval house erected on the foundations of the tower located on the northern gate to Hellenistic

54 Faber 1975, str. 93-95; Faber 1976, str. 240; Faber 1983, str. 24, bilj. 20.

55 Bulić 1897, str. 136-137; Piplović 1996, str. 59; Kovačić 2002, str. 385, sl. 1.

56 Prema usmenom priopćenju ing. A. Faber, koja je to svojedobno čula od starijih Trogirana.

57 Šuta 2011, str. 38.

58 Suić 1981, str. 31-42.

59 Zaninović 1978, str. 47-51.

60 Cambi 1993, str. 37-60; Marić 2000, str. 37-52; Marijan 2011, str. 177-187.

61 Piplović 2005, str. 1-25.

62 Faber 1966, str. 30.

63 Žmegač 2009, str. 186. Golemi blokovi, poneki s profilacijama - ostaci arhitektonskih često reprezentativnih antičkih zgrada korišteni za gradnju bastiona Bernardo (Sv. Ivan) u Trogiru - razmješteni su u perivoju na sjevernoj strani grada (predio Fortin, perivoj nazvan

40 Turrini 2011, passim.

41 The list was cited by Faber 1976, p. 244.

42 Blečić Kavur 2015, p. 54.

43 Suić 1981, p. 188.

44 Mardešić 1999-2000, p. 150. In Solin, the best known is the long wall, the so-called murazzo, along the road toward Tragurium, next to which there are consecutive grave plots fenced by massive stone blocks; see Rendić-Miočević 1980, pp. 60-99.

45 Čargo 2004, p. 15.

46 Faber 1975, pp. 93-95; Faber 1976, p. 240; Faber 1983, p. 24, note 20.

47 Faber 1983, pp. 17-37.

48 Zaninović 1984, pp. 93-101; Forenbaher *et al.* 1992-1993, p. 27, Fig. 9; Kirigin 2003, Pl. VII, p. 267, Pl. XXI, p. 381.

49 Cambi 1980, pp. 129-130.

50 Lipovac 1991, pp. 37-46.

51 Zaninović 1984, Pl. VIII, Fig. 2.

52 Faber 1996, pp. 101-115; Buzov 2011, pp. 477-480.

53 Bulić 1897, pp. 136-137.

potrebe gradnje splitskih utvrda, zaslugom providura Bernarda, godine 1656. dopremljena je znatna količina velikog kamenja iz Solina.⁶⁴ Kamenje slično onom uz Jezero, no rustičnije obrade su blokovi sa širokom anatrozom, ugrađeni u donjim dijelovima bastiona, na pokosima (*scrapa*) tvrđave Starigrad ponad Omiša (druga polovica XVI. st.), za koje se pretpostavlja da se izvorno nalazilo u bedemima gradinskog naselja plemena Onastina.⁶⁵ Slično je u bedemima Ulcinja iz XVI. stoljeća, u donjim dijelovima, korišteno priklesano kamenje s grčko-ilirskih zidina.⁶⁶

Mišljenja smo da su blokovi uz Jezero u Pantanu/Blatu najvjerojatnije antički spoliji. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje odakle su dopremljeni; jesu li preneseni iz Trogira ili možda iz ruševina Salone, odakle se i u novije doba, još krajem XVIII. st., nabavljaju stupovi i mramori?⁶⁷ No blokovi su mogli biti preneseni iz ruševina nekog zdanja koje se nalazilo u neposrednijoj blizini Jezera. Možda je od tog kamenja bila sazidana ograda nekog svetog prostora *locus consecratus*; prisjećamo se opisa ograđenih površina koje spominje Pauzanija, primjerice ograđene površine nazvane Aheruzijska bara kod grada Hermina u Argolidi (II. 35). Jesu li ti zidovi uz Jezero u Pantanu/Blatu ostaci "grčkog svetišta" koje se spominje u ispravi iz 1329. g.? No valja naglasiti da u Pantanu/Blatu nisu zabilježeni arheološki nalazi, s iznimkom jednog rimskog sarkofaga.⁶⁸

Antički ili novovjekovni *bugnato rustico* uz Jezero u Pantanu/Blatu?

Tehnika klesanja *bugnato rustico* česta je ponovno u razdoblju renesanse, manirizma, baroka, klasicizma, neostilova, i to najčešće u gradnjama donjih dijelova pročelja. Svakako je najpoznatije trbušasto kamenje na renesansnim palačama Medici-Riccardi i Strozzi u Firenci. Tako oblikovano kamenje, kao

Tragurion.⁵⁴ Several rows of massive rounded blocks were discovered and conserved *in situ* in the Lapidarium of the Trogir City Museum. Until the beginning of the 20th century, there was tower from Antiquity mostly preserved up to its first floor level as part of the medieval Bishop's Palace (at the site of the existing courthouse), situated at a strategically vital point, where the strait between the city and the island of Čiovo is narrowest.⁵⁵ Stone blocks with rounded protrusions and anathyroses are built into the waterfront to the east of the bridge that connects Trogir to Čiovo, and they probably originally came from the former tower in the Bishop's Palace complex (demolished in 1908) which was in the vicinity.⁵⁶ These blocks built into the waterfront are the most similar to those built into the waterfront of the Jezero in Pantan/Blato in terms of shape and dimensions. Certain massive blocks, some with anathyroses, were also discovered in the defensive walls the nearby Hellenistic settlement of Siculi (Resnik in Kaštela).⁵⁷

Under the influence of Hellenistic and early Roman architecture in the coastal cities, large rounded stones were used to build defensive walls even on some earlier prehistoric hillforts in which life was maintained during the Roman era, for example in Varvaria (Bribir), Asseria (Podgrađe at Benkovac),⁵⁸ at Purkin kuk on the island of Hvar,⁵⁹ and in Ošanići near Stolac.⁶⁰

Stones from older structures were often used during construction, especially of defensive walls. The ruins of Salona were used as a quarry for centuries. Already during Antiquity, stone materials from older buildings were used in Salona, mostly for grave-stones.⁶¹ Stones from Epidaurum (Cavtat) were taken for construction works in Dubrovnik.⁶² During the Cretan War (1645-1669), during the tenure of Governor General Antonio Bernardo, stones from Solin were brought for the construction of bastions and curtain walls.⁶³ A considerable quantity of stones from

Sofija). Takvi masivni blokovi bili su otkriveni u temeljima kortina koje su povezivale bastione; otkriveni su i ponovno zatrpani prilikom radova kanalizacijskog sustava Kaštelanskog zaljeva od 2001. do 2011. g. Već u antičko doba reciklira se kamenje, za što ima niz potvrda, posebno u zidinama Salone; vidi Piplović 2005, str. 1-25. Masivno kamenje iz helenističkog doba ugrađeno je, primjerice, u kuli dominikanskog samostana u Starome Gradu na Hvaru - usp. Kirgin 2004, str. 69.

64 Ljubić 1879, str. 90; Jelić 1894, str. 39; Fisković 1952, str. 197-206; Duplančić 2007, str. 58, bilj. 66.

65 Kovačić 1985, str. 162, 146, bilj. 161-184.

66 Bošković 1980, str. 15-17.

67 Fisković 1955, str. 249.

68 BD XIX (1896), str. 160.

54 Faber 1975, pp. 93-95; Faber 1976, p. 240; Faber 1983, p. 24, note. 20.

55 Bulić 1897, pp. 136-137; Piplović 1996, p. 59; Kovačić 2002, p. 385, Fig. 1.

56 Based on a verbal communication from A. Faber, who had been told this by an elderly Trogir resident.

57 Šuta 2011, p. 38.

58 Suić 1981, pp. 31-42.

59 Zaninović 1978, pp. 47-51.

60 Cambi 1993, pp. 37-60; Marić 2000, pp. 37-52; Marijan 2011, pp. 177-187.

61 Piplović 2005, pp. 1-25.

62 Faber 1966, p. 30.

63 Žmegač 2009, p. 186. Enormous blocks, some with articulation - the remains of architectural sections of typical buildings of Antiquity used for the construction

da je nabreklo, simbolizira snagu i potiske. Golemi blokovi u podnožjima palače Pitti u Firenci doimaju se poput geoloških formacija. Na zgradi Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu sagrađenoj 1914. godine mjestimice je u dekorativne svrhe ugrađeno kamenje isklesano u tehnici *bugnato rustico* s naglašenom anatrozom.⁶⁹ Učestao je i takozvani *bugnato liscio*, s pličim ispupčenjem, s ravnom plohom, no s dubokom i stoga sjenovitom anatrozom, dakle drugačiji od onog s ispupčenjem poput jastuka (*bugnato a cuscino*, *bossage en coussin*). Takvim su kamenjem pod utjecajima mletačke arhitekture u dekorativne svrhe zidana i poneka zdanja u Dalmaciji: Loža i Zgrada gradske straže u Zadru, Gradska vrata u Trogiru, Šibeniku i Kotoru, Toranj gradskog sata u Kotoru, pročelje Gradske straže u Dubrovniku... Taj motiv primjenjuje radionica Bokanić krajem XVI. st., no u prvoj polovici XVI. st. U dalmatinsko graditeljstvo donose ga arhitekti Michele Sanmicheli i njegov nećak Gian Girolamo: 1543. g. na Gradskim vratima u Zadru (*Porta di Terraferma*)⁷⁰ i na tvrđavi sv. Nikole (gradnja započeta 1540. g.) pred ulazom u kanal sv. Ante u Šibeniku.⁷¹ Na ulazu, reprezentativnom portalu tvrđave sv. Nikole iz 1543. g. u gornjem je dijelu primijenjen *bugnato liscio*, a u donjim dijelovima *bugnato rustico*;⁷² masivni blokovi isklesani u maniri *bugnato rustico* nanizani su duž tvrđave, uz samo more, u donjim dijelovima bastiona i kortina.⁷³

Budući da se ista tehnika, *bugnato rustico*, koristi u antičko doba, ali ponovno i u novije doba, moglo se pretpostaviti da je spomenuto kamenje uz Jezero u Pantanu/Blatu novijeg datuma (s kraja XVI. stoljeća, kad se zida zgrada Mlinice, ili iz druge polovice XVIII. stoljeća, kad se izvode zamašni hidrotehnički zahvati?). Kao analogija za blokove iz Pantana/Blata navodi se kamenje na hvarskoj obali (predio zvan Fabrika, prije Riva sv. Marka) sagrađenoj 1554. godine.⁷⁴ No tamo je kamenje drugačije složeno; naime, ono nije razmješteno u istoj ravni; už i duži blokovi s trbušastim izbočinama položeni su poprečno, tako da strše.⁷⁵ Odatle i nedoumice u datiranjima sličnog zida.⁷⁶ Tako su o potpornom zidu rječice Spile u Risnu iznesena različita mišljenja. Jedno je da se radi o ostacima bedema predrimskog grada Risna; prema drugom, potporni zid bio bi iz doba austrougarske

Solin were also brought in for the needs of building Split's fortifications in 1656, thanks also to Bernardo.⁶⁴ The blocks with broad anathyroses built into the lower parts of the bastions, on the scarp revetments of the fortress of Starigrad above Omiš (latter half of 16th cent.), were actually stones similar to those next to Jezero, but with a more rustic dress, and they are assumed to have originally been in defensive walls of the hillfort of the Onastini tribe.⁶⁵ Something similar was noted in the fortified walls of Ulcinj from the 16th century, as dressed stones from Graeco-Illyrian walls were used in its lower sections.⁶⁶

It is my opinion that the blocks next to Jezero at Pantan/Blato are most likely spolia from Antiquity. The question of whence they were brought remains open; were they taken from Trogir, or perhaps the ruins of Salona, whence columns and marble were procured even in more recent times, as late as the 18th century?⁶⁷ But the blocks may have been taken from the ruins of a building in the immediate vicinity of Jezero. Perhaps these stones had been built into the fence of some holy place, *locus consecratus*; we should recall the description of the fenced-in surfaces mentioned by Pausanias, for example the fenced surface called the Archerusian Lake near the city of Hermione in the Argolid (II. 35). Are these walls adjacent to Jezero at Pantan/Blato the remains of the "Greek shrine" mentioned in the document from 1329? It should nonetheless be stressed that archaeological finds were not recorded at Pantan/Blato, with the exception of a single Roman sarcophagus.⁶⁸

of the Bernardo (St. John's) bastion in Trogir - are arranged in the gardens on the northern side of the city (the Fortin section in the gardens called Sofija). Such massive blocks were discovered in the foundations of the curtain wall that linked the bastions; they were revealed and then again covered during works on the Kaštela Bay sewage system from 2001 to 2011. Stones were already being recycled during the era of Antiquity, for which there are many confirmations, particularly in the walls of Salona; see Piplović 2005, pp. 1-25. For example, massive stones from the Hellenistic era were built into the tower of the Dominican monastery in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar; cf. Kirgin 2004, p. 69.

64 Ljubić 1879, p. 90; Jelić 1894, p. 39; Fisković 1952, pp. 197-206; Duplančić 2007, p. 58, note 66.

65 Kovačić 1985, pp. 162, 146, note 161-184.

66 Bošković 1980, pp. 15-17.

67 Fisković 1955, p. 249.

68 BD XIX (1896), p. 160.

69 Duplančić, Jovanović 2013, str. 23-33.

70 Vežić 2005, str. 93-106.

71 Ćuzela 1992, str. 51-76.

72 Nacrt vrata vidi kod Ćuzela 1992, str. 63.

73 Ćuzela 1992, str. 72-73.

74 Fisković 1981, str. 61, bilj. 44.

75 Duboković Nadalini 1960, str. 31.

76 Bošković 1980, str. 15-17.

vlasti, a za gradnju je korišten pokoji antički kvadar.⁷⁷

Bez obzira na sve moguće nedoumice, smatramo da je kamenje na obali Jezera u Pantanu/Blatu antičkog, kasnohelenističkog porijekla (I. st. pr. Kr.?), i da je upravo ono ostatak onog svetišta koje se spominje u ispravi iz godine 1329.

Ancient or early modern 'bugnato rustico' at the Lake in Pantan/Blato?

The *bugnato rustico* stonework technique became common again during the eras of the Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, Classicism and the neo-styles, used mostly in the structural elements at the lower sections of building façades. Certainly the best known rounded stones are on the Renaissance Medici-Riccardi and Strozzi Palaces in Florence. Stone formed in this manner, as though swollen, symbolize power and the projection of force. The enormous blocks at the foot of the Pitti Palace in Florence resemble geological formations. Stones carved in the *bugnato rustico* style with a prominent anathyrosis were installed at places on the building of the Archaeological Museum in Split in 1914 for decorative purposes.⁶⁹ Also common was the so-called *bugnato liscio*, with shallow protrusions and a smooth surface, but with deep and thus rocky anathyrosis, so different from the cushion-shaped blocks (*bugnato a cuscino*, *bossage en coussin*). Such stones under the influence of Venetian architecture were also installed in some buildings in Dalmatia for decorative purposes: the Loggia and Municipal Guard Building in Zadar, the City Gates in Trogir, Šibenik and Kotor, the City Watch Tower in Kotor, the façade of the City Guard in Dubrovnik... This motif was applied by the Bokanić workshop at the end of the 16th century, but in the first half of that century, it was brought to Dalmatian architecture by architects Michele Sanmicheli and his nephew Gian Girolamo: in 1543 on the City Gate in Zadar (*Porta di Terraferma*)⁷⁰ and on the Fortress of St. Nicholas (construction began in 1540) in front of the entrance to the St. Anthony Channel in Šibenik.⁷¹ At the entrance, on the ideal-type gate to the Fortress of St. Nicholas from 1543, *bugnato liscio* was applied in the upper sections, and *bugnato rustico* in the lower sections;⁷² massive blocks carved in the *bugnato rustico* style were arranged all along the fortress, right next to the sea, in the lower sections of the bastions and curtain walls.⁷³

Since that same technique, *bugnato rustico*, was also employed in Antiquity, but also in more recent periods, it may be assumed that the aforementioned stones next to the Lake in Pantan/Blato are of a more recent date (from the end of the 16th century, when the Mlinica building was being constructed, or perhaps

69 Duplančić, Jovanović 2013, pp. 23-33.

70 Vežić 2005, pp. 93-106.

71 Ćuzela 1992, pp. 51-76.

72 For a sketch of the gate, see Ćuzela 1992, p. 63.

73 Ćuzela 1992, pp. 72-73.

77 Pregled mišljenja vidi kod Vrzić 2004, str. 202.

in the latter half of the 18th century, when extensive hydraulic engineering was done). The stones on the waterfront in the town of Hvar (the section called Fabrika, earlier the Shore of St. Mark) built in 1554 are offered as an analogy to the blocks from Pantan/Blato.⁷⁴ But there the stones are assembled differently; they are not set on the same plane; the narrower and longer blocks with rounded protrusions were placed perpendicularly, so that they jut.⁷⁵ Hence the ambiguities in the dating of the similar wall.⁷⁶ Differing opinions of the support wall along the small Spila River in Risan have thus been expressed. According to one view, these are the remains of the defensive walls of the pre-Roman fortification of Risan; according to another, the support wall dates to the time of Austro-Hungarian rule, with the occasional block from Antiquity used during construction.⁷⁷

Regardless of all possible uncertainties, it is my opinion that the stones on the shore of Jezero in Pantan/Blato have their origins in Antiquity, in the late Hellenistic era (1st cent. BC?), and that they are indeed the remains of that shrine mentioned in the document from 1329.

74 Fisković 1981, p. 61, note 44.

75 Duboković Nadalini 1960, p. 31.

76 Bošković 1980, pp. 15-17.

77 For an overview of opinions, see Vrzić 2004, p. 202.



Sl. 1. Dio pročelja ogradnog zida obale južne strane Jezera u Pantanu/Blatu kod Trogira
Fig. 1. Part of the façade of the retaining wall on the southern shore of Jezero in Pantan/Blato near Trogir



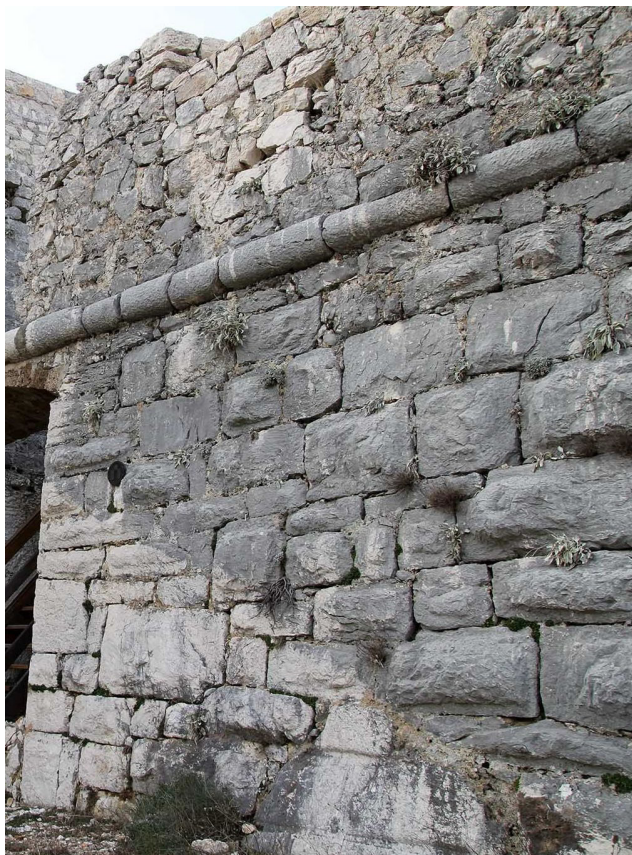
Sl. 2. Podnožje kontrafora s južne strane Mlinice (kontrafor lijevo od ulaza u kulu)
Fig. 2. Foot of the counterfort on the southern side of Mlinica (counterfort left of the entrance to the tower)



Sl. 3. Nekadašnja helenistička kula u sklopu Biskupove palače u Trogiru
Fig. 3. Former Hellenistic tower as part of the Bishop's Palace in Trogir



Sl. 4. Kameni blokovi ugrađeni u zidu obale na Žudiki kod mosta Trogir-Čiovo
Fig. 4. Stone blocks built into the wall of the waterfront at Žudika near the Trogir-Čiovo bridge



Sl. 5. Zide u pokosu (scarp) bastiona tvrđave Starigrad nad Omišem sagrađenog u drugoj polovici XVI. stoljeća; pretpostavlja se da je sazdan od kamenih blokova s gradinskog naselja plemena Onastina (foto: I. Šuta)

Fig. 5. Scarp revetments of the bastions on the Starigrad fortress above Omiš built in the latter half of the 16th century; it is assumed that it was made of stone blocks from the hillfort settlement of the Onastini tribe (photo: I. Šuta)



Sl. 6. Kameni blokovi, antički spoliji iz bastiona Bernardo (Sv. Ivan) u Trogiru

Fig. 6. Stone blocks, Antique spolia from the Bernardo (St. John) bastion in Trogir

Sl. 7. Kameni blokovi ugrađeni u hvarsku rivu (Obala sv. Marka, Fabrika), sagrađenu 1554. g. (foto: M. Petrić)

Fig. 7. Stone blocks built into the Hvar waterfront (Shore of St. Mark, Fabrika), built in 1554 (photo: M. Petrić)



Sl. 8. Kameni blokovi isklesani u tehnicu bugnato rustico u podnožju tvrđave sv. Nikole u Šibeniku, sagrađene oko 1545. g. pred ulazom u kanal sv. Ante (foto: Ž. Krnčević)

Fig. 8. Stone blocks dressed in bugnato rustico technique at the foot of the Fortress of St. Nicholas in Šibenik, built in ca. 1545 in front of the entrance to St. Anthony's Channel (photo: Ž. Krnčević)

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Arheološki pregled, Beograd, Ljubljana
BD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split
Godišnjak CBI	Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja, Sarajevo
HA	Histria Antiqua, Pula
Izdanja HAD-a	Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb
RFFZd	Radovi Filozofskoga fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

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