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The ancient tower of Tor on the island of Hvar – a retrospective

Antička kula Tor na otoku Hvaru – retrospektiva

In memory of Niko Duboković Nadalini

U spomen Niki Dubokoviću Nadaliniju

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The site of Tor, an ancient tower on the island of Hvar in Dalmatia, has been the subject of several scholarly studies. However, many of them are controversial, and our understanding of the site's functions and chronology remains incomplete, mainly due to a lack of systematic excavations. This paper provides a comprehensive overview of what has been published or unpublished about the site in the last five centuries and re-examines all thus far proposed interpretations. It also analyses the architectural remains and other archaeological evidence found at Tor and discusses the questions that still need to be answered.

Key words: *Tor, island of Hvar, tower, Iron Age and Greek/Hellenistic architecture and artefacts.*

Lokalitet Tor, antička kula na otoku Hvaru u Dalmaciji, bio je predmet nekoliko učenih studija. Međutim, mnoge od njih su kontroverzne te naše poznavanje funkcija i kronologije ostaje nepotpuno, u najvećoj mjeri zbog nedostatka sustavnih istraživanja. U ovom radu donosi se opsežan pregled objavljenih i neobjavljenih radova tijekom proteklih pet stoljeća i preispituju se sve dosad predložene interpretacije. Usto se u njemu analiziraju ostaci arhitekture, kao i ostali arheološki nalazi otkriveni na ovom nalazištu te se otvaraju pitanja na koja odgovore tek treba iznaći.

Ključne riječi: *Tor, otok Hvar, kula, željezno doba, grčka/helenistička arhitektura*

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the ancient tower of Tor overlooking the small town of Jelsa on the island of Hvar, especially, as this paper will show, in the latter half of the 19th and the early 20th century, then again in the latter half of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st as well. The similarities between this structure and the Greek tower at Maslinovik and the possibility that both towers protected the *chora* of the Greek *apoikia* of Pharos, as I suggested elsewhere (Fig. 1), prompted me to revisit the tower at Tor, a site which is still enigmatic. However, despite several similarities, there are also some differences between these towers that have not received sufficient attention in previous scholarship. A look into the hitherto unknown archival material in the Archaeological Museum in Split (AMS), the State Archives in Zagreb (HDA), the Conservation Department in Split (KOS) and the Hvar Heritage Museum in the town of Hvar (MHB) has shed new light on the evidence that has been gathered previously and on the multiple labels accorded to the site by past investigators. It has been variously interpreted as a watchtower, a lighthouse, an Illyrian hillfort, a Greek tower, a tower built by Demetrius of Pharos, a part of the defence system for Greek Pharos, a signal tower, a temple or an altar to a woodland deity, part of a fortified settlement that was either built or planned, a Roman fortification, and a tower built in the earliest period of the Greek presence in Dalmatia and dated as early as the 8th or 7th century BC.

POSITION OF THE SITE

The Tor site is approximately 1.5 km from the small town of Jelsa on a hill (235 masl)¹ with a small and narrow plateau that is connected on its S² side to the main and much higher range which descends steeply toward the island's S coast. E and W of Tor are two deep and narrow ravines that run down the hill toward Jelsa. The site commands a magnificent view of the Jelsa and Stari Grad plains all the way to the island of Šolta to the W, the island of Brač to the NW, and to the NE the mainland from Promajna near Makarska down to Igrane on the seaside (that are protected from the N by the massive and impressive Biokovo mountain range) (Fig. 1a and 2). A small fertile area with many dry stone walls and larger clearance mounds, now overgrown, lies approximately 130 m behind the tower on the path to Grad/Gališnik and the beginning of the E ravine (Fig.

UVOD

Mного je toga napisano o antičkoj kuli Tor ponad gradića Jelse na otoku Hvaru, osobito, kako će pokazati ovaj rad, u drugoj polovici 19. te početkom 20. stoljeća, a zatim ponovno u drugoj polovici 20. te u prvim desetljećima 21. stoljeća. Sličnosti ovog objekta i grčke kule na lokalitetu Maslinovik, kao i mogućnost da je funkcija obiju kula bila zaštita hore (*chora*) grčke naseobine (*apoikia*) Faros (*Pharos*), kako sam pretpostavio u svojim drugim radovima (sl. 1), ponukali su me da ponovno obiđem kulu Tor, nalazište koje još uvijek krije zagonetke. Međutim, unatoč nekim sličnostima, te se dvije kule ponešto i razlikuju, čemu dosadašnji radovi nisu pridavali dovoljno pozornosti. Pregled dosad nepoznate arhivske građe koja se čuva u Arheološkome muzej u Splitu (AMS), Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu (HDA), Konzervatorskom odjelu u Splitu (KOS) te Muzeju hvarske baštine u Hvaru (MHB) omogućio je sagledavanje dokaza prikupljenih u prethodnim istraživanjima, kao i brojnih teorija dosadašnjih istraživača u pogledu moguće namjene ovog lokaliteta u posve novom svjetlu. Pripisivane su mu funkcije promatračnice, svjetionika, ilirske gradine, grčke kule, kule koju je sagradio Demetrije Faranin, dijela obrambenog sustava grčkog Farosa, signalnog tornja, hrama ili oltara posvećenog šumskom božanstvu, dijela utvrđenog naselja koje je bilo izgrađeno ili planirano za izgradnju, rimske utvrde te kule izgrađene u najranijem razdoblju grčke nazočnosti u Dalmaciji i datirane već u 8. ili 7. stoljeće pr. Kr.

POLOŽAJ LOKALITETA

Tor je oko 1,5 km udaljen od gradića Jelse i smješten na brijegu (235 m nadmorske visine)¹ koji je s južne strane² malom i uzanom zaravni povezan s glavnim, puno višim gorskim masivom koji se strmo spušta prema južnoj strani otoka. I i Z od Tora dvije su duboke i uske klisure koje se spuštaju prema Jelsi. S lokaliteta se pruža veličanstven pogled na jelšansku i starogradsku ravnicu sve do otokâ Šolte na zapadu i Brača na SZ te, na SI, na kopneno priobalje od Promajne kraj Makarske do Igrana (sa sjevera zaklonjenih masivnim i impresivnim Biokovom (sl. 1.a i 2). Oko 130 m iza kule, na putu prema Gradu/Gališniku, gdje počinje I klisura (sl. 3), nalazi se manje plodno područje s brojnim suhozidima i većim gomilama kamenja koje danas prekriva raslinje.³ To područje danas čini prirodnu granicu iz-

1 In various papers cited below, Tor's elevation ranges between 180 to 260 masl. Google Earth specifies 226. The official 1:5000 map states 235.
2 Abbreviations used herein: **E** = East, **W** = West, **N** = North, **S** = south, **G/H** = Greek and Hellenistic.

1 U raznim člancima koji se spominju u nastavku navodi se da je nadmorska visina uzvisine na kojoj je smješten Tor od 180 do 260 m. Google Earth navodi 226. Službeni zemljovid 1:5000 navodi 235.
2 Korištene kratice: **I** = istok, **Z** = zapad, **S** = sjever, **J** = jug, **G/H** = grčko-helenistički.
3 Dva su prilaza Toru. Krene li se **J** od središta Jelse, dođe se do crkve Gospe od Zdravlja. Osamdesetak metara od crkve prema **J** prijeđe

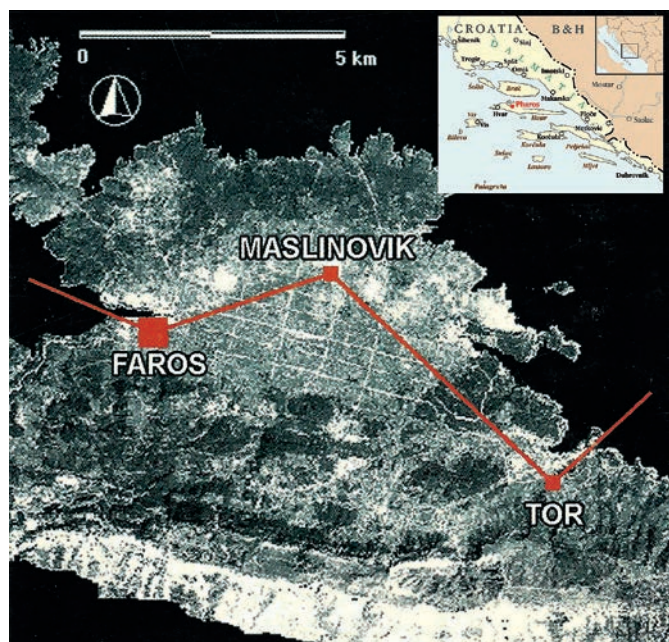


Fig. 1. Satellite image of the Stari Grad plan with clear traces of Greek land division. The red line indicates the visual communication between Pharos and the towers at Maslinovik and Tor. From: Kirigin 2003, 21 fig. 16.

Sl. 1. Satelitski prikaz starogradskog polja sa jasnim tragovima grčke parcelacije. Crvena linija ukazuje na vizualnu komunikaciju između Farosa i kula na Maslinoviku i Toru. (Preuzeto iz Kirigin 2003., str. 21, sl. 16.)



Fig. 1a. View from above Tor on the Jelsa and Stari Grad planes. Source: Google Earth. Modified by B. Kirigin and T. Ivančić.

Sl. 1a. Pogled iznad Tore na jelšansko i starogradsko polje. Izvor: Google Earth, doradili B. Kirigin i T. Ivančić.

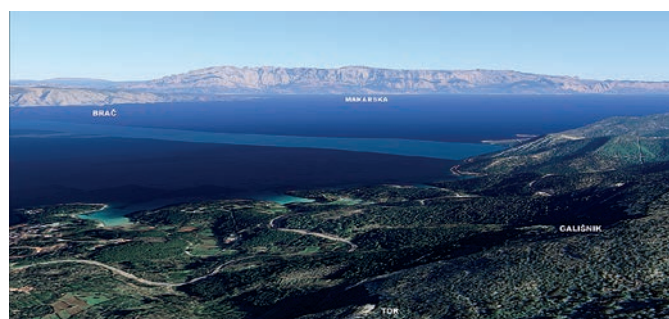


Fig. 2. View from above Tor towards NE overlooking the E part of the island of Brač and the Makarska litoral. Source: Google Earth. Modified by B. Kirigin and T. Ivančić.

Sl. 2. Pogled iznad Tora prema SE odakle se vidi I dio otoka Brača i Makarsko primorje. Izvor: Google Earth, doradili B. Kirigin i T. Ivančić.

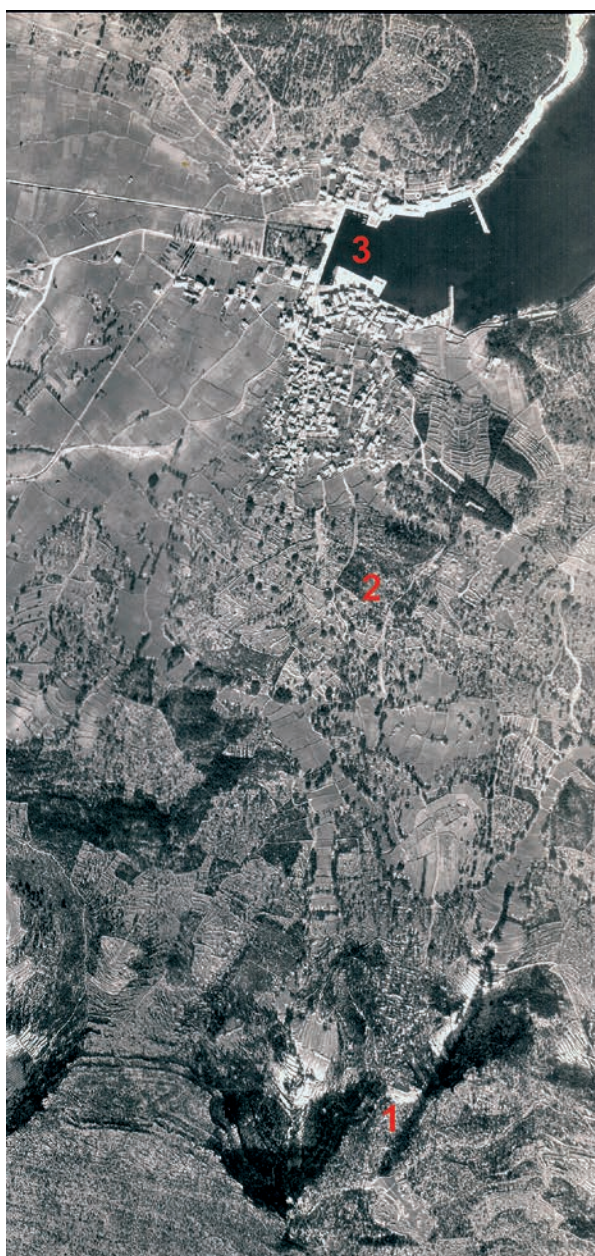


Fig. 3. Insert from RAF aerial photo made 1944 with the position of Tor (1), Vela gomila (2) and Jelsa (3).

Sl. 3. Izvadak iz zračnog snimka RAF iz 1944. godine s položajima Tor (1), Vela gomila (2) i Jelsa (3).

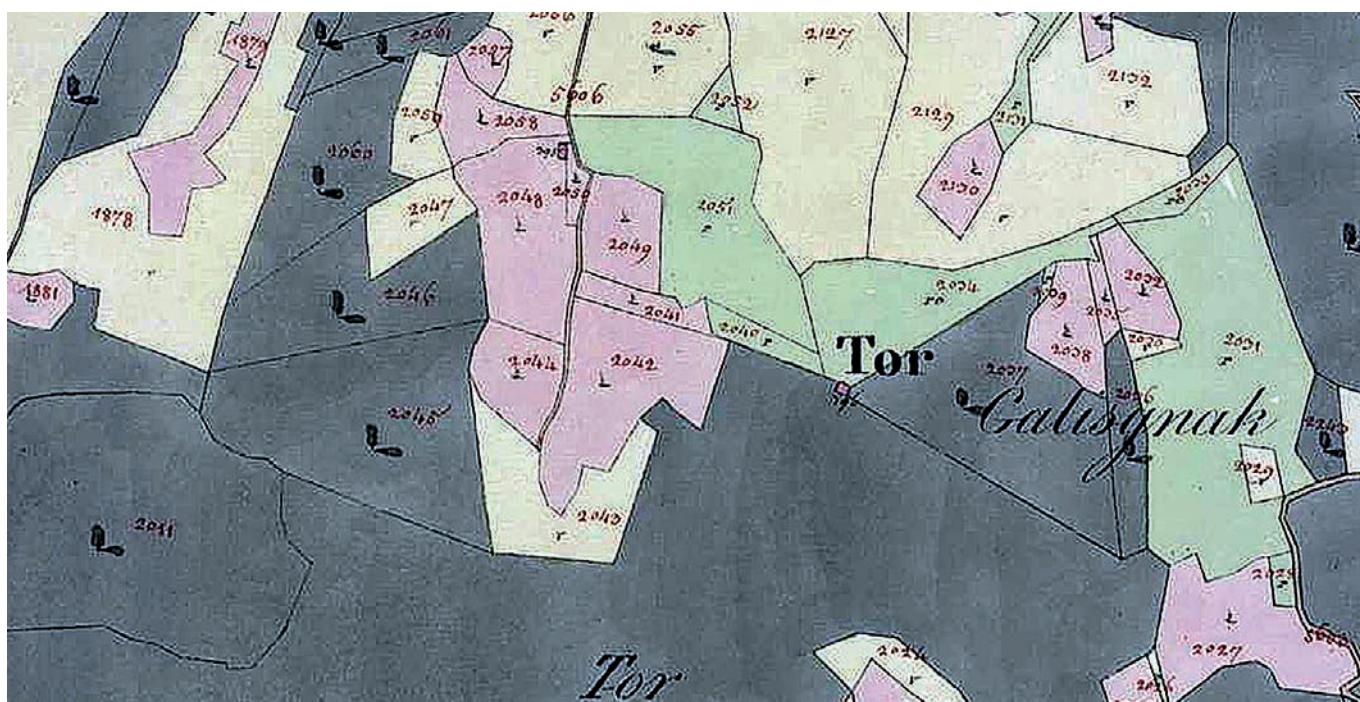


Fig. 3a.
Section from the Austrian cadastral map from 1834. (See note 4).

Sl. 3a.
Izvadak iz austrijskog katastrskog plana iz 1834. godine (vidi bilj. 4).

3).³ This area forms a natural boundary line between the most fertile part of Hvar and the long and narrow mountain range running toward the E end of the island, known as Plame.

The site's proper name – Tor – was first recorded in the cadastral map from 1834 (Fig. 3a).⁴ Luigi Maschek⁵ and Giuseppe

među najplodnijeg dijela Hvara i dugog, uskog planinskog lanca koji se prostire do krajnje I predjela otoka, poznatog pod nazivom Plame.

Naziv lokaliteta, Tor, prvi put je zabilježen u katastarskom zemljovidu iz godine 1834. (sl. 3a).⁴ Luigi Maschek⁵ i Giuseppe Modrich⁶ lokalitet su zvali Gor (v. dolje). Anonimni autor⁷ nazvao ga je Thor. Kako navodi Richard Francis Burton,⁸ “Slaveni

3 There are two possible approaches to Tor. Setting off just south of Jelsa's centre, one arrives at a church, *Gospa od zdravlja* (Our Lady of Health). About 80 m from this church to the S is the main island road that has to be crossed and after 100 meters westward on a gravel road one arrives at a V-shaped intersection of two similar roads. The left one passes by the prehistoric stone barrow called *Vela gomila* (Fig. 3, 2), first identified by Niko Duboković Nadalini (1972). After roughly 280 meters southward there is another crossroads. The road on the left leads to a T-junction after approximately 450 m. From here two trails lead to Tor. The one on the right is a 640 m long, serpentine and steep trail that leads to the site. This trail passes an area where, according to Zaninović (see below), a prehistoric settlement existed. The second trail starts to the left of the crossroads. It is 1,340 m long and has a less steep ascent. It leads to the fortified site of Grad/Gališnik. About 120 m before reaching Grad/Gališnik, a path on the right leads to Tor. It takes approximately 1 to 1.5 hours to walk from Jelsa to Tor. Other approaches are extremely difficult (Fig. 3).

4 <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1858347.3819805856%2C5334428.927327569%2C1859254.4745271888%2C5334766.922312017>. Accessed on 11 Jan. 2022.

5 Maschek 1873.

se glavna otočna cesta te se stotinjak metara prema Z, šljunčanim putem, dođe do raskrižja na kojem se dva slična puta križaju u obliku slova V. Put koji vodi lijevo prolazi pokraj pretpovijesnog lokaliteta Vela gomila (sl. 3, 2) koji je prvi uočio Niko Duboković Nadalini (1972.). Nakon nekih 280 metara prema J, dolazi se do još jednog raskrižja. Putem koji vodi nalijevo nakon približno 450 m dolazi se do raskrižja u obliku slova T. Odande do Tora vode dvije staze. Desna staza, koja vodi do lokaliteta, dužine je 640 m, serpentinasta je i strma. Ta staza prolazi područjem u kojem je, kako navodi Zaninović (v. dolje), postojala pretpovijesna naseobina. Početak druge staze je lijevo od raskrižja. Staza je duga 1340 m i uspon je manje strm. Vodi do utvrde Grad/Gališnik. Nekih 120 m prije Grada/Gališnika staza zdesna vodi do Tora. Od Jelse do Tora potrebno je otprilike sat do sat i pol pješice. Ostali prilazi su krajnje teški (sl. 3).

4 <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1858347.3819805856%2C5334428.927327569%2C1859254.4745271888%2C5334766.922312017>. Pristupljeno 11. siječnja 2022.

5 Maschek 1873.

6 Modrich 1892, str. 141.

7 Nepoznati autor 1876.

8 Burton 1875, str. 293.

Modrich⁶ named it Gor (see below). An anonymous writer⁷ called it Thor. According to Richard Francis Burton,⁸ ‘...the Slavs call it “Tor”, or sheep-fold (e.g. ú-Tor, nell’ovile)’. However, Don Vice Gamulin⁹ disagreed with Burton and was the first to associate this name with the Italian word *torre* – meaning a tower. More recently, Mate Suić has stated that it comes from the Latin noun *turris*,¹⁰ and his interpretation has been accepted by all subsequent scholars.¹¹ Josip Bervaldi¹² notes that there are no stories or legends – social memory – about Tor preserved in written or any oral form,¹³ which is rather odd, considering its monumental appearance.

EARLY SCHOLARSHIP ON THE TOR SITE

The first scholar who mentioned the tower at Tor (albeit without giving its name), was Vincentius Priboevius (Vinko Pribojević), a well-educated Dominican monk from the town of Hvar. In a famous speech delivered in Hvar in 1525, titled *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (On the Origin and Glory of the Slavs) and published in Venice in 1532, he described the ancient ruins of the central area of the island of Hvar with its fertile plain. In it he stated:

So let no one be surprised, that on that plain there were two towns with excellent ports, one on the east side, and the other,¹⁴ which I mentioned earlier, on the west. The ruins themselves show their former splendour, because the remains of many large buildings can still be seen here today, as well as the truncated and eroded statues of heroes made of Parian marble and stone floors with figures of various animals and constellations. These could only be the remnants of some rich town. And in the middle of that plain one can see the ruins of spacious buildings razed to the ground, and among the numerous piles of square stones are wells with drinkable water

ga zovu Tor, što znači nastamba za ovce (npr. *u tor, nell’ovile*)⁹. Međutim, don Vice Gamulin⁹ ne slaže se s Burtonom te je prvi koji je ime povezo s talijanskom riječi *torre* – kula. Nedavno je Mate Suić ustvrdio da potječe od latinske imenice *turris*¹⁰ te su svi kasniji istraživači prihvatili njegovu tumačenje.¹¹ Josip Bervaldi¹² ističe kako ne postoji kolektivno sjećanje – ni pisani trag ni usmena predaja – nikakve priče ni legende o Toru,¹³ što je neobično s obzirom na monumentalni izgled kule.

RANA ISTRAŽIVANJA NA LOKALITETU TOR

Prvi koji je spomenuo kulu Tor (ali ne navodeći njezino ime) bio je Vinko Pribojević, učeni dominikanski svećenik iz Hvara. U poznatom govoru održanom u Hvaru 1525. pod naslovom *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena), objavljenom u Veneciji 1532., opisuje antičke ruševine u središnjem dijelu otoka Hvara i njegovoj plodnoj ravnici. U njemu navodi:

„Stoga neka se nitko ne čudi, da su u tom polju postoja- la dva grada s izvrsnim lukama, jedan na istočnoj strani, a drugi,¹⁴ koji sam prije spomenuo, na zapadnoj. Već same ruševine pokazuju njihov negdašnji sjaj, jer se tu još i danas vide ostaci mnogih velikih zgrada, zatim okrnjeni i nagrizeni kipovi heroja od parskog mramora i kameni podovi s likovima različitih životinja i zvijezda. To mogu biti ostaci samo nekog bogatog grada. I po sredini tog polja vide se ruševine prostranih zgrada sra- njenih sa zemljom, a među brojnim gomilama četverouglastog kamenja nalaze se bunari pitke vode i mnogi drugi ostaci, koji jasno pokazuju, da se tu nekoć dizao velik i znamenit grad. Još i danas postoji među brdima gotovo neoštećena gradina dižu- ći se nad gradom, koji je zapremao istočni dio polja. Na domet strijele od nje [utvrde Grad/Gališnik – *opaska autora*] **nalazi se kula od četverouglastog kamenja neobične veličine s jednim jedinim uskim ulazom, na kojoj se zbog starine ne vidi nika- kav trag morta**” (*istaknuo autor; za prijevod s latinskog na hr-*

6 Modrich 1892, p. 141.

7 Anonymous 1876.

8 Burton 1875, p. 293.

9 Gamulin 1907b.

10 Suić 1977, p. 162.

11 Tor is a Slavic word meaning a fold for livestock, but this word with that meaning is not known in the local Dalmatian language (čakavian) which is the common speech on the island of Hvar. Sheep and goats on Hvar were never kept in such enclosures.

12 Bervaldi 1914, p. III.

13 Vice Gamulin, the local pastor from Jelsa, mentioned that a peasant told him that on a rainy day he had seen some Greek person walking around with a map looking for treasure, and that these Greeks often wandered around Jelsa looking for buried treasure (Gamulin 1907a).

14 An allusion to Jelsa and Stari Grad towns that Pribojević does not mention at all by name in his lengthy and eloquent speech (Novak and Gortan 1951), the first Pan-Slavic narrative from today’s Croatia. His main aim was to equate the Illyrians with the Slavs. The third part of his speech was dedicated to the island of Hvar.

9 Gamulin 1907b.

10 Suić 1977, str. 162.

11 *Tor* je slavenska riječ koja znači sklonište za stoku, ali ta riječ u tom značenju nije poznata u lokalnom dalmatinskom (čakavskom) narječju kojim se govori na Hvaru. Na Hvaru se ovce i koze nikad nisu držale u takvim skloništima.

12 Bervaldi 1914, str. III.

13 Vice Gamulin, jelšanski župnik, navodi kako mu je neki seljak rekao da je jednoga kišnog dana vidio nekog Grka kako hoda sa zemljovidom tražeći blago i da su ti Grci često šetali Jelsom u potrazi za skrivenim blagom (Gamulin 1907a).

14 Aluzija na Jelsu i Stari Grad, gradove čija imena Pribojević uopće ne spominje u svojem dugačkom i rječitom govoru (Novak i Gortan 1951), prvom panslavenskom tekstu s područja današnje Hrvatske. Glavni mu je cilj bio izjednačiti Ilire i Slavene. Treći dio njegova govora posvećen je otoku Hvaru.

and many other remains, which clearly show that once a large and famous town stood here. Even today, there is an almost undamaged hillfort among the hills, rising above the town that occupied the eastern part of the plain. Within an arrow shot from it [the Grad/Gališnik fortification – *author's note*] **is a tower made of quadrangular stones of unusual size, with a single narrow entrance, in which, because of its antiquity, there is no trace of mortar**(*author's emphasis; author's translation*).¹⁵

In 1834 the Austrian Empire issued the first cadastral map of Dalmatia. The rectangular plan of Tor tower and cadastral parcel 396 that has been preserved to the present day is shown (Fig. 3a).¹⁶ Some 39 years later Jakov Boglić, a historian, also from the town of Hvar, after writing about the ancient walls at Stari Grad, stated:

Furthermore, the tower, which rises from a pile of rocks on a hill situated south of Jelsa, exhibits all features of the ruins of Cittavecchia (Stari Grad); only the boulders are roughly hewn, their workmanship could be regarded as more ancient. Some of them are two feet and eight Viennese inches tall,¹⁷ five inches long. **At the time of Pribojević (1525), there was a small door on the south side, which later collapsed** [*author's emphasis*], and only three sides remained, which would be worth preserving better. Shepherds destroyed one part, gradually tearing down the blocks, which had been placed one above the other without mortar, so that they could more easily be moved. The sides of the tower, which are still visible, are about sixteen Viennese feet high, twenty-two on the north,

vatski vidi Novak i Gortan 1951, 201).¹⁵

Godine 1834. Austrijsko Carstvo objavljuje prvi katastarski zemljovid Dalmacije. Prikazan je četverokutni tloris kule Tor i katastarska čestica 396 koja je očuvana do danas (sl. 3a).¹⁶ Nekih 39 godina kasnije, povjesničar Jakov Boglić, također iz grada Hvara, nakon što je pisao o antičkim zidinama u Starom Gradu, ustvrđuje:

„I kula koja se uzdiže iz kamene gomile na brijegu južno od Jelse ima sve odlike ruševina Staroga Grada, samo su gromade grublje klesane pa bi se njihova izrada mogla smatrati starijom. Neke od njih visoke su dvije stope i osam bečkih cola,¹⁷ duge pet cola. **U Pribojevićevo vrijeme (1525.) postojala su omanja vrata na južnoj strani koja su se kasnije urušila** [*istaknuo autor*] te su preostale samo tri strane koje bi vrijedilo bolje očuvati. Pastiri su uništili jedan dio, postupno odvaljujući blokove koji su bili naslagani jedni na druge bez morta pa ih se moglo lakše pomaknuti. Strane kule koje su još vidljive visoke su oko šesnaest bečkih stopa, na sjeveru dvadeset i dvije, na zapadu i istoku devetnaest”.¹⁸

15 „Quapropter neminem capiat admiratio duas olim, alteram ab oriente, alteram ab occidente, cuius supra meminimus, egregios sortitas portus hoc in agro urbes exstitisse, ipsa ruina pristinam earum dignitatem prodente, apparentibus ibidem adhuc pluribus magnis edificiis et ex Pario lapide truncatis et semicorrosis horeum imaginibus necnon et lithostratis uarias bestiarum et syderum formas prae se ferentibus. Quae non nisi praestantis uestigia sunt ciuitatis. Visuntur et in medio huius agri solo aequata ampla aedificia exstantque ibi, inter frequentes quadratorum lapidum acaruos, dulcium aquarum putei multaque alia magnum et novile oppidum olim ibi fuisse indicanti. Est et unum adhuc fere integrum inter montes oppidum urbi quae orientalem agri huius regionem obtinebat, superemines, iuxta quod ad iactum sagittae ex quadratis mirae magnitudinis lapidibus turris est unicum habens angustum hostiolum, in quae ob antiquitatem nullum cementi uestigium apparet” (Apud Novak and Gortan 1951, p. 97, p. 201; see also Boglić 1873, pp. 11-12; Burton 1875, pp. 294-295; Gamulin 1907b; Bervaldi 1914). The Latin texts in Burton and Novak/Gortan differ in some details, while Bervaldi used the Italian translation published in Venice in 1595 (*Della origine et successi degli Slavi oratione di M. Vicento Proboevo*). Novak and Gortan used the original book from 1532 held in the Marciana Library in Venice and noted that they could not find any other original edition elsewhere (Novak and Gortan 1951, p. 5).

16 <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1858645.7969978626%2C5334551.653950491%2C1858759.1835661882%2C5334593.903323547>. Accessed 11 Jan. 2022.

17 1 Vienna foot = 31,6 cm, 1 Vienna inch = 2,63 cm.

15 „Quapropter neminem capiat admiratio duas olim, alteram ab oriente, alteram ab occidente, cuius supra meminimus, egregios sortitas portus hoc in agro urbes exstitisse, ipsa ruina pristinam earum dignitatem prodente, apparentibus ibidem adhuc pluribus magnis edificiis et ex Pario lapide truncatis et semicorrosis horeum imaginibus necnon et lithostratis uarias bestiarum et syderum formas prae se ferentibus. Quae non nisi praestantis uestigia sunt ciuitatis. Visuntur et in medio huius agri solo aequata ampla aedificia exstantque ibi, inter frequentes quadratorum lapidum acaruos, dulcium aquarum putei multaque alia magnum et novile oppidum olim ibi fuisse indicanti. Est et unum adhuc fere integrum inter montes oppidum urbi quae orientalem agri huius regionem obtinebat, superemines, iuxta quod ad iactum sagittae ex quadratis mirae magnitudinis lapidibus turris est unicum habens angustum hostiolum, in quae ob antiquitatem nullum cementi uestigium apparet” (apud Novak i Gortan 1951, str. 97, str. 201; v. i Boglić 1873, str. 1112; Burton 1875, str. 294–295; Gamulin 1907b; Bervaldi 1914). Latinski tekst kod Burtona, odnosno kod Novaka/Gortana razlikuje se u nekim pojedinostima, dok se Bervaldi koristio talijanskim prijevodom objavljenim u Veneciji 1595. (*Della origine et successi degli Slavi, oratione di M. Vicento Proboevo*). Novak i Gortan crpili su iz izvorne knjige iz 1532. koja se čuva u knjižnici Marciana u Veneciji, istaknuvši kako nisu pronašli nijedno drugo izvorno izdanje (Novak i Gortan 1951, str. 5).

16 <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/cadastral/?layers=3%2C4&bbox=1858645.7969978626%2C5334551.653950491%2C1858759.1835661882%2C5334593.903323547>. Pristupljeno 11. siječnja 2022.

17 1 bečka stopa = 31,6 cm, 1 bečki col = 2,63 cm.

18 „Anche una torre, che surge da un cumulo di sassi sul monte posto mezzogiorno di Jelsa, offre tutti i caratteri dei ruderi di Cittavecchia; soltanto i massi sono battuti più rozzamente, ed il lavoro potrebbe credersi più antico. Alcuni di questi sono alti due piedi ed otto pollici Viennesi, lunghi cinque. Ai tempi del Priboevo (1525) nel lato di mezzodi vi era una porticina, che poscia minò, e non restano che soli tre lati, che varrebbe la pena di meglio conservare. I pastori ne distrussero una parte, atterrandolo poco a poco le pietre, che sovrapposte le une alle altre senza cemento, più facilmente si potevano smuovere. I lati della torre che ancora restano, sono alti sedici piedi Viennesi circa; lunghi a settentrione ventidue, diciannove ad

and nineteen on the west and east (*author's translation*).¹⁸

Boglić was the first to specify some measurements for the tower (see note 18). He also noted that the S side was destroyed and that, according to Pribojević, there was a narrow entrance on this side. Although Pribojević did not mention the “single narrow entrance” on the S side (see above), Boglić probably had other sources that confirmed that the door was on this side. This was accepted by all scholars, and in fact this imagined conjectural narrow entrance was made in 1912 and still exists today (see below).¹⁹ Boglić did not name the site, but mentioned that the tower was built by the Illyrians, rather than the Pelasgians, as some writers had suggested. He also noted that the Illyrians built the tower with enormous blocks because they had no knowledge of mortar.²⁰

The Boglić-Božić Family Archives from the town of Hvar contain two rough sketches of the W side of the tower at Tor with a barely legible handwritten text and dimensions (Fig. 4).²¹ In the same year that Boglić's book was published, an article by Luigi Maschek²² also appeared. According to Maschek:

Two interesting ancient buildings are located in the vicinity of Gelsa, both located on the hills on the south side of the village and at a distance of less than a mile from it. The oldest is situated on a hilltop. This building, or to put it better, this remnant of an ancient monument, is commonly referred to as Gor in the Slavic language. This building constitutes a structure made in a cyclopean manner, and among the three construction methods, it exhibits the one consisting of regular rectangularly shaped boulders that are set one over the other without mortar. And the interior of the building has a regular shape, almost wholly a quadrangle. To reassemble its origin, it is necessary to go back to the times of *Cyclopean* constructions, which, as we know, are several centuries older than the common era. The purpose of this building cannot be clearly determined; isolated, placed on a hill with severe and strenuous access, not too large, it would not be possible to reconcile it with the idea of an inhabited place, or even a fortification,

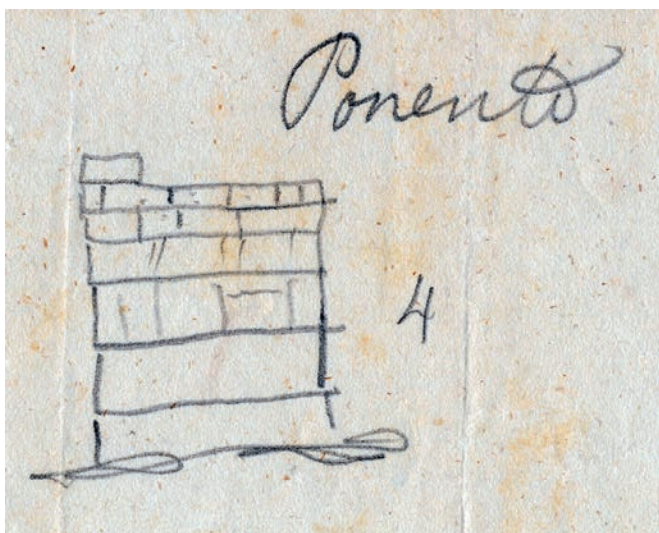


Fig. 4.
Drawing of the W wall of Tor from the Boglić-Božić Archive in Hvar. Courtesy of MHB (unpublished).

Sl. 4.
Crtež Z zida kule Tor iz arhiva Boglić-Božić u Hvaru. Dobrotom MHB (neobjavljeno).

Boglić je prvi naveo neke mjere kule (v. gore i bilj. 18). Za-bilježio je i da je južna strana bila uništena te da je prema Pribojeviću s te strane bio uzani ulaz. Iako Pribojević nije izrije-kom spomenuo “omanja vrata” na južnoj strani (v. gore), Bo-glić je vjerojatno imao druge izvore koji su potvrdili da su vrata bila na toj strani. To su prihvatili svi ostali te je zapravo 1912. iz-građen tako koncipiran uzani ulaz koji postoji do danas (v. do-lje).¹⁹ Boglić nije spomenuo ime lokaliteta, ali je spomenuo da je, protivno pretpostavkama nekih autora, veća vjerojatnost da su kulu sagradili Iliri nego Pelazgi. Primijetio je i da su Iliri kulu izgradili od golemih blokova jer nisu poznavali mort.²⁰

Arhiva obitelji Boglić-Božić iz grada Hvara sadržava dvije grube skice zapadne strane kule Tor s jedva čitljivim rukom pi-sanim tekstom i dimenzijama (sl. 4).²¹ Godine kad je objavlje-na Bogličeva knjiga, izašao je i članak Luigija Mascheka²². Pre-ma Mascheku:

„U blizini Jelse nalaze se dva zanimljiva povijesna objekta; oba su smještena na brdima južno od mjesta, na manje od jed-ne milje. Najstariji je na vrhu brijega. Taj objekt ili, bolje reče-no, ostatak povijesnog spomenika obično se na slavenskom je-ziku naziva Gor. Konstrukcija je izgrađena u kiklopskom stilu pri čemu je ovdje, od tri načina gradnje, primijenjen način sla-

18 ‘Anche una torre, che sorge da un cumulo di sasi sul monte posto mezzogiorno di Jelša, offre tutti i caratteri dei ruderi di Cittavecchia; soltanto i massi sono battuti più rozamente, ed il lavoro potrebbe credersi più antico. – Alcuni di questi sono alti due piedi ed otto pollici viennesi, lunghi cinque. Ai tempi del Priboevo (1525) nel lato di mezzodi vi era una porticina che poscia ruinò, e non restano che soli tre lati, che varrebbe la pena di meglio conservare. I pas-tori ne distrussero una parte, atterrando poco a poco le pietre, che sovrapposte le une alle altre senza cemento, più facilmente si pote smuovere. I lati della torre, che ancora restano, sono alti sedici piedi viennesi circa, lunghi a settentrione ventidue, diciannove al occiden-te ed a levante’ (Boglić 1873, pp. 11-12).

19 It may be that Boglić had heard local lore about the narrow en-trance formerly on this side.

20 Boglić 1873, pp. 10-12.

21 Kovačić 2002, p. 197, no. 62.

22 Maschek 1873, p. 103.

occidente e levante.” (Boglić 1873, str. 11–12).

19 Moguće da je Boglić o nekadašnjem uskom ulazu s ove strane sa-znao iz lokalne predaje.

20 Boglić 1873, str. 10–12.

21 Kovačić 2002, str. 197, br. 62.

22 Maschek 1873, str. 103.

because there are no arguments favouring a defensive purpose. Perhaps more acceptable would be the idea that it was a very ancient temple. In any case, the monument remains very interesting to curiosity as well as archaeological and historical investigations.²³

Two years after Boglić and Maschek, R.F. Burton published a paper based on his visit to Stari Grad and Tor at the end of December 1874.²⁴ He was well apprised by local scholars and appreciated their help and support.²⁵ Burton, who visited Tor on Dec. 29th, wrote:

I was delighted; my rough and rainy walks had not been in vain. The site is singular; the peaks of a rocky arête, utterly without water, except from rain, and apparently isolated, although large cut-stones, which may have belonged to it or to its outworks, were scattered around. The inside is filled up with earth; externally it showed from four to five isodomic lower courses of large ashlar, calcaire from the mountain on which it stood, and nowhere was there a trace of mortar. The largest parallelipedon measured 2.06 meters (= 6 feet 9 inches) by 0.75 (= 2 feet 59 inches) in height. The angles, especially the north-eastern, showed the draught extending through the courses from the lowest to the highest. The western exterior consisted of four lower courses of large stones,²⁶ capped by three modern, or, at least, smaller layers; and the empletor, or “old English bond”, popularly called “headers and

ganja pravilnih pravokutnih blokova jednih na druge bez morta. Unutrašnjost objekta oblika je gotovo pravilnog kvadranta. Za rekonstrukciju njegova izvornog oblika treba se vratiti u prošlost, u vrijeme kiklopskih građevina. Nije moguće jasno utvrditi namjenu ovog objekta; s obzirom na njegovu izoliranost, položaj na teško pristupačnoj uzvisini i ne prevelike dimenzije nije moguće pripisati mu funkciju naselja, pa čak ni utvrde, jer nema dokaza njegove obrambene svrhe. Prihvatljivije tumačenje možda bi bilo da je riječ o veoma drevnom hramu. Funkcija spomenika u svakom je slučaju iznimno zagonetna te ostavlja neutaženom znatiželju arheologa i povjesničara.”²³

Dvije godine nakon Boglića i Mascheka članak o svojem posjetu Starome Gradu i Toru krajem prosinca 1874. objavio je R. F. Burton.²⁴ O svemu su ga uputili lokalni učenjaci kojima je bio zahvalan na pomoći i podršci.²⁵ Burton je o svom obilasku Tora 29. prosinca napisao:

„Bio sam oduševljen; moje šetnje po grubom i kišovitom vremenu nisu bile uzaludne. Lokalitet je jedinstven; vrhovi stjenovite arête, potpuno bez vode osim od kiše, zacijelo je izoliran, iako veliki obrađeni blokovi, koji su mogli pripadati samom nalazištu ili gradnji izvan njega, su bili uokolo porazbacani. Unutrašnjost je ispunjena zemljom; izvana je vidljivo četiri do pet izodornih donjih redova velikih kamenih vapnenačkih blokova ubranih iz okolnog gorja, pri čemu nigdje nema ni traga morta. Dimenzije najvećeg paralelopipeda su 2,06 m (= 6 stopa i 9 inča) × 0,75 m (= 2 stope 59 inča) u visinu. Na uglovi, osobito na sjeveroistočnom, vidljivo je užljebljenje koje se

23 ‘Due vetusti interessanti fabbricati trovansi nelle vicinanze di Gelsa, entrambi posti sopra eminenza a mezzogiorno della borgata ed alla distanza di meno d’un miglio da essa. - Il più antico posto a cavaliere d’un monte. Questo edificio, o a dirsi meglio questo avanzo di antico monumento, viene comunamente denominato *Gor* in lingua Slava. La fabbrica presenta un’ opera di lavoro *ciclopico*, e fra i tre generi di tali lavori quello che veniva costituito di massi regolari di forma quadrilunga già sovrapposti un all’altro senza cemento. Anche l’intero fabbricato è di forma regolare, quasi pienamente quadrilatero. Per rimontare alla sua origine, bisogna ascendere ai tempi di *costruzioni ciclopiche*, che, come si sa, sono anteriori di più secoli all’ era volgare. Lo scopo di tale fabbrica non può ben determinarsi; isolata, posta sopra un monte di accesso aspro ed arduo, di non troppa estesa, non saprebbe conciliare in essa un’ idea di abitato, e nemmeno di fortificazione, perchè senza argomenti di difesa. Forse più accettabile sarebbe l’idea, che si trattasse d’un tempio antichissimo. Ad ogni modo il monumento rimane interessantissimo alla curiosità ed alle ricerche archeologiche e storiche.’ (Maschek 1873, p. 113). (The other ancient building mentioned by Maschek is Grad/Gališnik, a Late Roman and medieval fortification some 500 m in a straight line to the east of Tor: Site number JE162.00 in Gaffney et al. 1997, p. 152.) See also Burton 1875, pp. 276-277.

24 Burton 1875, pp. 275-297.

25 He cited the aforementioned works by Maschek, Boglić and Pribojević, as well as a work by Ljubić, who did not write about Tor but mostly about the Greek colony of Pharos, which according to him was at the town of Stari Grad and not the town of Hvar as was advocated by Pribojević and Boglić (Ljubić 1873).

26 On his Fig. 3 (opposite p. 293) there are at least eight courses, ca. 5 m in height (Fig. 5, A).

23 „Due vetusti interessanti fabbricati trovansi nelle vicinanze di Gelsa, entrambi posti sopra eminenze a mezzogiorno della borgata ed alla distanza di meno d’un miglio da essa. Il più antico e posto a cavaliere d’un monte. Questo edificio, o a dirsi meglio questo avanzo di antico monumento, viene comunemente denominato *Gor* in lingua Slava. La fabbrica presenta un’opera di lavoro *ciclopico*, e fra i tre generi di tali lavori quello che veniva costituito di massi regolari di forma quadrilunga già sovrapposti un all’altro senza cemento. Anche l’intero fabbricato è di forma regolare, quasi pienamente quadrilatero. Per rimontare alla sua origine, bisogna ascendere ai tempi di *costruzioni ciclopiche*, che, come si sa, sono anteriori di più secoli all’ era volgare. Lo scopo di tale fabbrica non può ben determinarsi; isolata, posta sopra un monte di accesso aspro ed arduo, di non troppa estesa, non saprebbe conciliare in essa un’idea di abitato, e nemmeno di fortificazione, perchè senza argomenti di difesa. Forse più accettabile sarebbe l’idea, che si trattasse d’un tempio antichissimo. Ad ogni modo il monumento rimane interessantissimo alla curiosità ed alle ricerche archeologiche e storiche.” (Maschek 1873, str. 113). (Druga povijesna građevina koju spominje Maschek jest Grad/Gališnik, kasnorimska i srednjovjekovna utvrda koja se nalazi nekih 500 m u ravnini s Torom u smjeru istoka: broj lokaliteta JE162.00 u Gaffney et al. 1997, str. 152). V. i Burton 1875, str. 276-277.

24 Burton 1875, str. 275-297.

25 Citirao je prethodno spomenuta djela Mascheka, Boglića i Pribojevića, kao i Ljubića koji nije pisao o Toru, nego uglavnom o grčkoj koloniji Faros, koja je po njegovu mišljenju bila u Starome Gradu, a ne u Hvaru kako su smatrali Pribojević i Boglić (Ljubić 1873).

stretchers”, were apparently not unknown to the builders. The stones were all boldly bossed; like those at Salona,²⁷ with chiselled draughts, and the height of the projection might have been 6 to 8 inches. The magnetic meridian passes through the angels, and the slope was oblong rather than square. The northern side measures 7.25 meters (= 23 feet 9 inches); the southern 7.14, the eastern and the western 6.66 (21 feet 10 inches).

Burton then went on to say that his sketch was spoiled by rain and that the mayor of Jelsa, “Capitano Nikolò Dubokovich” (who was Burton’s host) sent him a new one (Fig. 5, A).²⁸ Burton then made comparisons to Pantelleria’s “Sesi”, with the Nuraghi on Sardinia, the Talajot on the Balearic Isles, and garrison-stations on the “Roman highroads” in the Near East, and added:

‘I found no traces of a highway, and the site, commanded on the southern side, and occupying the roughest of rocky ground, where enemies might everywhere lie in ambush, and where half a dozen square yards of tolerably level surface cannot be had, renders it equally unfit for a refuge place and for a settlement. It might perhaps be an outwork and a look-out commanding the sea; still there remains the curious contrast of elaborate finish with an object for which the simplest building would suffice’.

Burton then reported what Pribojević and Boglić thought about Tor (see above). He asserted that Boglić was right not to attribute the building’s construction to the Pelasgians but disagreed with Boglić’s claims that the ruins at Stari Grad and Tor ‘were the works of the later Illyrians’. Near the end of his paper (p. 296), he wrote that:

The walls of Cittavecchia certainly belonged to a Greek colony, as is proved by the thousand remains found within them, to say nothing of their shape, and the form which they enclose. The Tor di Gelsa does not appear to me a ruder or a more primitive form than the defences of Pharia, although having been exposed for long ages to the violent Bora, it has been more mutilated by time and weather (...) Finally the remarkable resemblance, amounting almost to identity of shape, between the two Lesina ruins and those of the “Murrazzo” or long wall of Salona, the subject to which the first part of this paper was devoted, naturally suggests that all three were the work of a single people, and that people not the barbarous Illyrians, but the comparatively civilised Greeks.

proteže kroz sve redove, od najnižega do najvišega. Zapadna vanjska strana uključuje četiri donja reda velikog kamena nad kojim su tri novodobna ili u najmanju ruku manja sloja,²⁶ a graditeljima zacijelo nisu bili nepoznati ni *emplectori* odnosno blokovski ili ‘staroengleski vez’, takozvani dužnjaci i vežnjaci (*headers and stretchers*). Svaki je kamen bio izrazito izbočen, kao u Saloni,²⁷ s uklesanim užljebljenjima, a visina projekcije mogla je biti 6 do 8 inča. Kroz kutove je prolazio magnetski meridijan, a nagib je bio prije duguljast nego kvadratičan. Sjeverna strana je bila dugačka 7,25 m (= 23 stope i 9 inča); južna 7,14 m, a istočna i zapadna 6,66 m (21 stopu i 10 inča).”

Burton zatim nastavlja opisivati kako se crtež zapadnog zida smočio na kiši pa mu je gradonačelnik Jelse, “capitano Nikolò Dubokovich” (Burtonov domaćin), poslao novi (sl. 5, A).²⁸ Zatim Burton povlači usporedbe sa sesima na Pantelleriji, nura ghima na Sardiniji, talajotima na Balearima i garnizonima uz rimske ceste na Bliskom istoku te dodaje:

„Nisam naišao na tragove ceste, a lokalitet, koji dominira južnom stranom, smjestivši se na najgrubljem dijelu stjenovita terena, na mjestu gdje bi neprijatelj mogao posvuda čekati u zasjedi i gdje se ne može naći ni pet kvadratnih metara razmjerno ravnoga tla, doimlje se podjednako neprikladnim kao utočište i kao naselje. Moguće da je riječ o vanjskoj utvrdi i osmatračnici s koje se nadzire more; ipak, neobičan je kontrast između pažljivo izrađene građevine kojoj bi sasvim dovoljno bilo i najjednostavniji način gradnje.”

Burton zatim prenosi mišljenje Pribojevića i Boglića o Toru (v. gore). Navodi kako Boglić s pravom smatra da izgradnju objekta ne treba pripisati Pelazgima, no ne slaže se s Boglićevom tvrdnjom da su ruševine u Starom Gradu i Tor djelo starih Ilira. Pred kraj članka (str. 296) navodi:

„Zidine Cittavecchije zacijelo su pripadale grčkoj koloniji, o čemu svjedoči na tisuće ostataka pronađenih unutar njih, kao i način na koji su oblikovane te oblik koji okružuju. Tor pored Jel-se mi se ne čini grubljim niti primitivnijim oblikom u odnosu na obrambene zidine Farije koje su, iako vjekovima izložene silovitoj buri, više oštećene zubom vremena i vremenskim prilikama (...). Naposljetku, zamjetna sličnost koja se svodi na gotovo identičan oblik tih dviju hvarskih ruševina i *Murazzo-a* odnosno dugačkog salonitanskog zida, teme kojoj je posvećen prvi dio ovog rada, prirodno navodi na pomisao da su sve tri građevine djelo istoga naroda te da taj narod nisu bili barbarski Iliri, nego razmjerno civilizirani Grci.”

27 He described these and illustrated them earlier in his paper (pp. 253-263).

28 This quite accurate drawing of the north-west wall of Tor has some problems. The scale is not correct: it should be 6 m not 3 m, and the line of the “bare limestone rocks” creates the impression that the tower was built on a slope, which is not the case. A line represents the slope of the limestone rocks of the long and high dry stone piled in front of the tower.

26 Na njegovoj sl. 3. (nasuprot str. 293) najmanje je osam redova, visine oko 5 m (sl. 5 A).

27 Opisao ih je i ilustrirao ranije u istom članku (str. 253–263).

28 Ovaj poprilično točan crtež SZ zida Tora djelomično je problematičan. Mjerilo je netočno: trebalo bi biti 6 m, a ne 3 m, a red “golog vapnenačkog stijena” stvara dojam da je kula sagrađena na padini, što nije slučaj. Taj red predstavlja vapnenačko stijenje dugačkog i visokog suhozida naslaganog ispred kule.

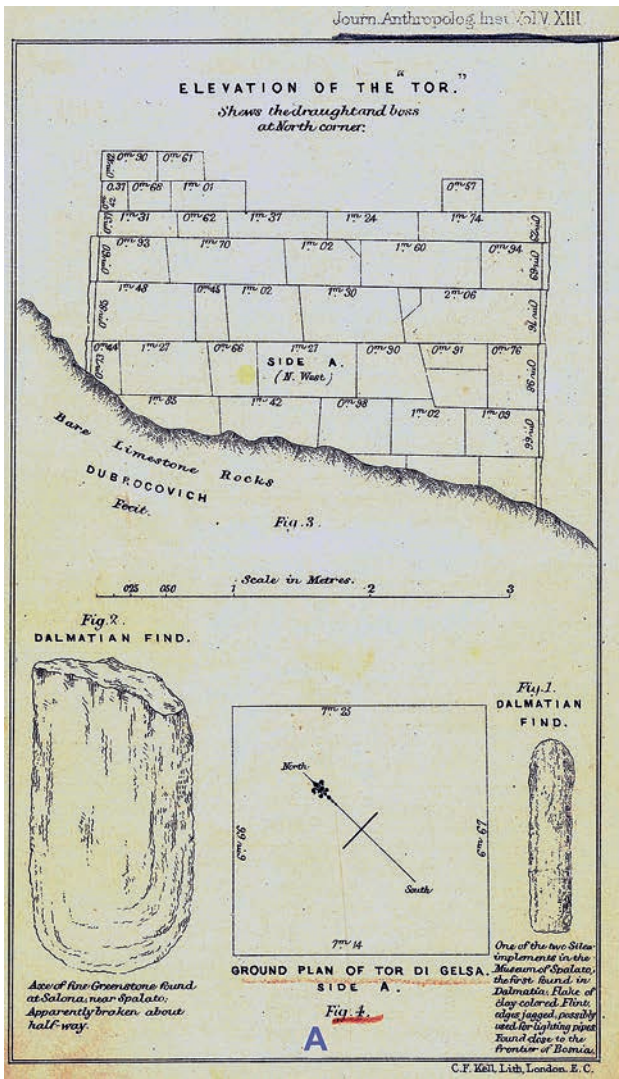


Fig. 5a.
A. W wall of Tor (Fig. 3), and the ground plan and orientation (Fig. 4). From: Burton (1876); **B.** The E wall of Tor and the fallen block in front of it before reconstruction in 1912. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy of KOS.

Sl. 5a.
A. Z zid Tora (sl. 3.) i tloris s orijentacijom (sl. 4.). Izvor: Burton (1876.). **B.** I zid Tora i popadali blokovi ispred njega-prije rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Nepoznati autor. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom KOS-a.

It is interesting that Boglić, Maschek and Burton did not comment on the long and high deposit of limestone rubble that lies in front of the N side of the tower, a feature that is still rather very enigmatic.

In 1876 an anonymous author²⁹ wrote an article under the headline “Il Purčinkuk di Cittavecchia” which was published in the newspaper *Il Dalmata*. In it, he described the site of Purčinkuk (Purkin kuk), located on a hill just S of Stari Grad where a large prehistoric stone barrow and a square tower (“una Torre quadrata”) 15 × 15 m was built on the W side of the barrow. The author briefly noted the similarities between this tower and the towers at Maslinovik and “Thor”, as he called

Zanimljivo je da se ni Boglić, ni Maschek, ni Burton nisu osvrnuli na još uvijek prilično zagonetnu pojavu dugačke i visoke nakupine lomljenog vapnenca ispred sjeverne strane kule.

Nepoznati autor²⁹ 1876. je napisao članak pod naslovom “Il Purchinkuk di Cittavecchia” objavljen u novinama *Il Dalmata*. U njemu je opisao lokalitet Purkin kuk smješten na uzvisini J od Staroga Grada, gdje je izgrađena velika pretpovijesna kamena gomila i kula kvadratična tlorisa (*una torre quadrata*) dimenzija 15 × 15 m na zapadnoj strani gomile. Autor se nakratko osvrće na sličnosti između ove kule i kulâ Maslinovik i “Thor”, kako naziva građevinu.³⁰

29 Most likely Gian Antonio Botteri, a lawyer and politician from Stari Grad.

29 Najvjerojatnije Gian Antonio Botteri, odvjetnik i političar iz Staroga Grada.

30 Anonimni autor 1876. Mnogo je toga napisano o Purkinom kuku,

the latter.³⁰

In 1892, Don Frane Bulić, the director of the AMS, in a general monograph on Dalmatia, provided a brief description of the remains of the Greek settlements in Dalmatia and wrote the following about Tor:

‘Several so-called “cyclopean” buildings remind us of these Greek settlements, for example in Stari Grad on Hvar, and the best preserved one at the hillfort of “Tor” near Jelsa on the same island. This square fortification is an actual example of a building from the Illyrian-Greek era. The walls are built of huge carved rectangular stones, and the building has the shape of a tower. I would say that this tower served as a watchtower opposite the primeval neighbouring town of Pharia (Stari Grad and its environs)’ (*author’s translation*).³¹ Bulić’s text is illustrated with an engraving, a collage of Greek monuments from Dalmatia in which the E wall of the tower at Tor is presented quite accurately (Fig. 6).³² This was made by Hugo Charlemont, an Austrian painter.³³ In the same year Giuseppe Modrich also mentioned Gor (Tor) in his travels through Dalmatia, explaining that it could be an ancient temple and that in any case it was worthy of historical and archaeological research.³⁴

In 1897, Gian Antonio Botteri published another important paper in which he dealt with the Greek ruins and the finds from Stari Grad. Here he again described (see above and note 29) the walls at Purkin Kuk, Maslinovik and Tor. Interestingly, he mentioned for the first time an inscription that was found: ‘...above Jelsa at Tor, a fairly well-preserved monument with archaic letters, which, if Mr. B. V.³⁵ describes them accurately, should be Greek with suggestions of Greek, Etruscan or Phoenician, written from right to left and which could be read

Godine 1892. don Frane Bulić, ravnatelj AMS-a, u monografiji Dalmacije donosi kratak opis ostataka grčkih naseobina u Dalmaciji te o Toru piše sljedeće:

„Na ove grčke naseobine sjećaju nas jošte nekolike takozvane ‘ciklopske’ građevine, tako na pr. u Starom Gradu na Hvaru, a ponajbolje Gradina Tor blizu Jelse na istom otoku. Četverokutna ova gradina pravi je građevni uzorak iz ilirsko-grčkog doba. Zidovi su građeni od ogromnih sječenih učtvođenih kamenâ, a zgrada je u obliku kule. Ova tvrđja rekao bi da je služila za stražarnicu naspram prastarom susjednom gradu Pharia (Starigrad i njegova okolica).”³¹ Bulićev tekst potkrijepljen je gravurom koja donosi kolaž grčkih spomenika s tla Dalmacije koji uključuje prilično točan prikaz istočnog zida kule Tor (sl. 6).³² Gravuru je izradio Hugo Charlemont, austrijski slikar.³³ Iste godine Gor (Tor) spominje i Giuseppe Modrich u opisu svojih putovanja Dalmacijom, ističući kako bi mogla biti riječ o antičkom hramu te kako bi ga u svakom slučaju trebalo istražiti s povijesnog i arheološkog gledišta.³⁴

Godine 1897. Gian Antonio Botteri objavio je još jedan važan članak u kojem je pisao o grčkim ruševinama i nalazima iz Staroga Grada. I tu opisuje (v. gore i bilj. 29) zidove s lokaliteta Purkin kuk, Maslinovik i Tor. Zanimljivo je da prvi put spominje pronađeni natpis: “...ponad Jelse na lokalitetu Tor prilično dobro uščuvan spomenik s arhaičnim pismom koje bi, ako ga je gospodin B. V.³⁵ točno opisao, moglo biti grčko, pri čemu podsjeća na grčko, etruščansko ili feničko, pisano zdesna nalijevo, a moglo bi se transliterirati kao *Kinad* (...)” (sl. 7).³⁶ Navodi se da je visina slova od 7 do 8,5 cm. Prema Gamulinu (1907b), natpis je pronađen u jugoistočnom kutu kule, no nije bio siguran da su to slova te je napisao kako

„još nisu pročitana premda je otisak nadpisa vidjelo dosta učenih arheologa po Europi. Natpis nije na vanjskoj strani ka-

30 Anonymous 1876. Much has been written about Purkin Kuk, which was partly excavated by Šime Ljubić and much later by Marin Zaninović, who was not aware of this important article. For references on Purkin Kuk, see Gaffney *et al.* 1997, pp. 189–190, site code SG0015.01-02. The context of the article indicates that its author was Gian Antonio Botteri. I will write about this site in greater detail elsewhere.

31 Bulić 1892a; 1892b.

32 The base of this engraving was most probably in the photo on Fig. 5, B herein. This same illustration was later printed in Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894 a and b, Tav. XIV (between pp. 112–113) but without any comment thereon.

33 Bulić (1892a, p. 61): ‘Na ove grčke naseobine sjećaju nas jošte nekolike takozvane “ciklopske” građevine, tako na pr. u Starom Gradu na Hvaru, a ponajbolje Gradina Tor blizu Jelse na istom otoku. Četverokutna ova gradina pravi je građevni uzorak iz ilirsko-grčkog doba. Zidovi su građeni od ogromnih sječenih učtvođenih kamenâ, a zgrada je u obliku kule. Ova tvrđja rekao bi da je služila za stražarnicu naspram prastarom susjednom gradu Pharia (Starigrad i njegova okolica)’. See also Bulić 1892b, p. 53, fig. on p 55 (German edition).

34 Modrich 1892, p. 141.

35 Most probably Belizar Vranković, a 19th century notary public from Hvar, a Hellenist and antiquarian.

koji je djelomično istražio Šime Ljubić te puno kasnije Marin Zaninović, koji nije bio upoznat s tim važnim člankom. Za upućivanja na literaturu o Purkinom kuku v. Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 189–190, oznaka lokaliteta SG0015.01-02. Iz konteksta članka moguće je zaključiti da je autor bio Gian Antonio Botteri. O tom ću lokalitetu podrobnije pisati zasebno.

31 Bulić 1892a; 1892b.

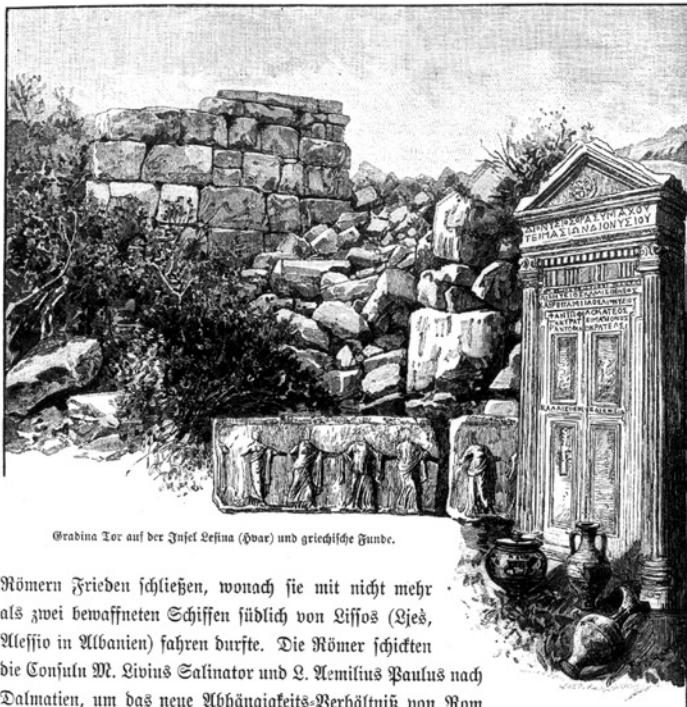
32 Gravura je najvjerojatnije rađena prema fotografiji na sl. 5, B u ovom članku. Kasnije je ilustracija otisnuta u Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894. a i b, T. XIV (između str. 112 i 113), no bez ikakva komentara.

33 Bulić (1892a, str. 61); “v. i Bulić 1892b, str. 53, sl. na str. 55 (njemačko izdanje).

34 Modrich 1892, str. 141.

35 Najvjerojatnije Belizar Vranković, hvarski javni bilježnik, helenist i antikvar iz 19. stoljeća.

36 Botteri 1897: “...sopra Gelsa nel Tor, monumento abbastanza ben conservato e con lettere arcaiche, le quali, se espone esatto il signor B. V. dovrebbero essere Greche con reminiscenze Greche, etrusche o fenicie, scritte da destra a sinistra e che si potrebbero leggere *Kinad*.” Slično zapažanje iznio je i Bervaldi (1914, str. VIII). Botteri je bio upoznat s Burtonovim člankom te je objavio recenziju, iznijevši nekoliko kritičkih napomena: Botteri 1876, str. 188–189.



Grabina Tor auf der Insel Lesina (Hvar) und griechische Gunde.

Römern Frieden schließen, wonach sie mit nicht mehr als zwei bewaffneten Schiffen südlich von Lissos (Lješ, Alessio in Albanien) fahren durfte. Die Römer schickten die Consuln M. Livius Salinator und L. Aemilius Paulus nach Dalmatien, um das neue Abhängigkeits-Verhältnis von Rom zu ordnen. Die Stadt Pharos wurde erobert und zerstört und Issa ergab sich endgültig im Jahre 219. Der darauffolgende Krieg mit Hannibal hinderte die Römer an der gänzlichen Eroberung Illyriens. Erst nachdem sich König Gentius mit Perseus von Macedonien verbunden hatte und beide besiegt worden waren (168), büßte auch Illyrien seine Selbstständigkeit ein. Von nun an waren die Römer bemüht, das Land südlich von der Narenta

Fig. 6. Engraving by Hugo Charlemont showing a collage of Greek monuments from Dalmatia. In the background the E wall of Tor. From Bulić 1892b.

Sl. 6. Gravira Huga Charlemonta s prikazom kolaža grčkih spomenika iz Dalmacije. U pozadini I zid Tora. Preuzeto iz: Bulić, 1892b.

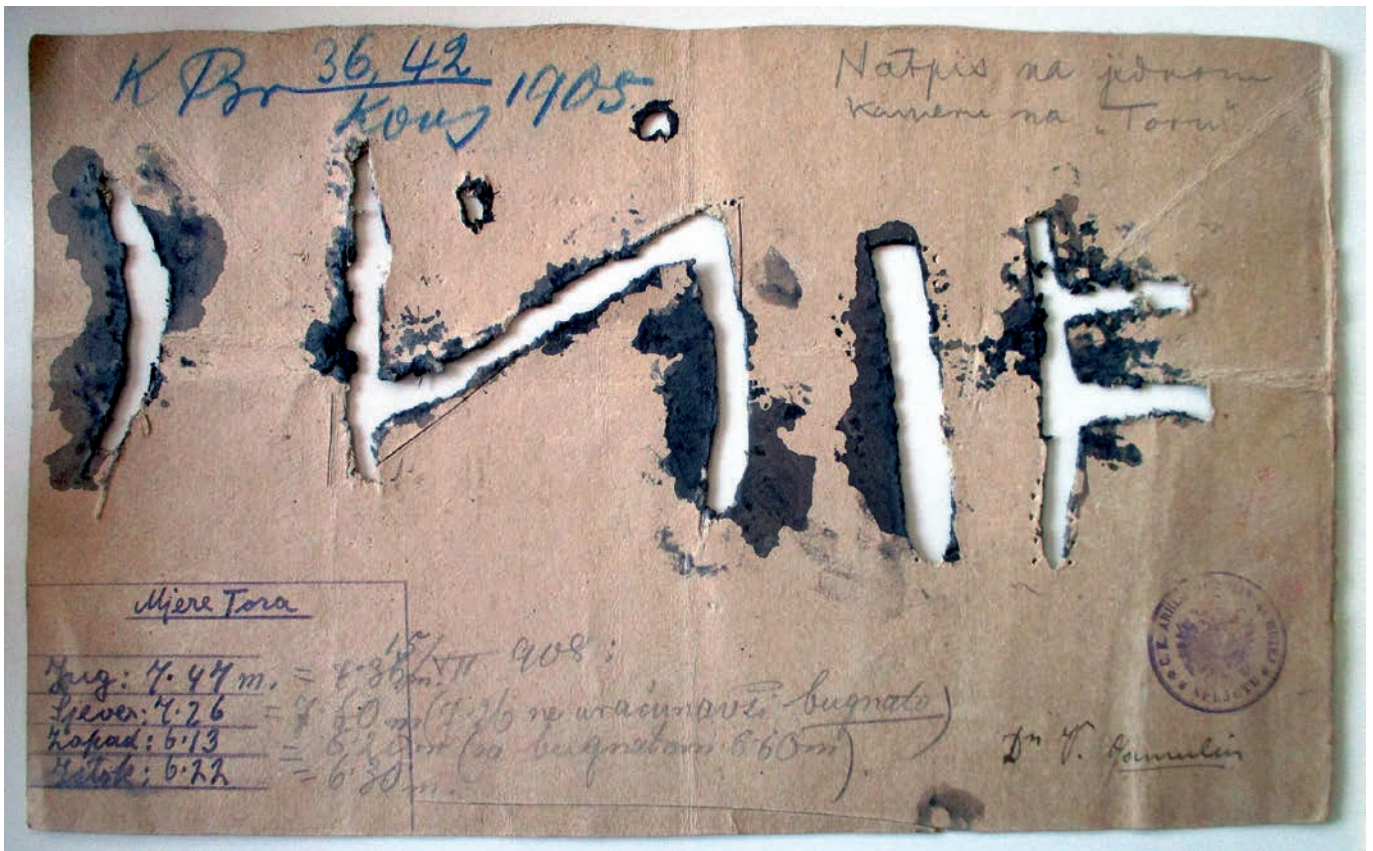


Fig. 7. The inprint of the inscription from Tor including the measures of the tower by Vice Gamulin. Courtesy of KOS (unpublished).

Sl. 7. Otisak natpisa sa Tora s njegovim mjerama. Autor Vice Gamulin. Dobrotom KOS-a (neobjavljeno).

as *Kinad (...)* (*author's translation*) (Fig. 7).³⁶ The height of the letter is said to range from 7 to 8.5 cm. According to Gamulin (1907b), this inscription was found in the SE corner of the tower, but he doubted that these could be letters and wrote

‘that [they] are not yet understood, although a cast of the inscription was seen by many learned archaeologists in Europe. The inscription is not on the outer face of the stone, but on the upper side above which some 3-4 stones were placed. So the inscription is hidden. Why did the builders hide it? The archaeologist Monsignor Bulić, our Dalmatian De Rossi, thinks that the letters are ancient Greek’ (*author's translation*).³⁷

In 1905, Bulić, acting on the initiative of Gamulin, his pupil, had initiated a seven-year correspondence with the town of Jelsa and the Zentralkommission in Vienna, requesting funds for the renovation and restoration of the Tor tower. In fact, as early as 1889 Bulić informed the mayor of Jelsa that something had to be done to save the tower, because blocks from the tower were being pulled down by youngsters and shepherds; he begged the Jelsa authorities to put a stop to this and find ways to protect this unique building.³⁸ In 1906 a photo of the tower (Fig. 8, C) was published in *Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentralkommission*, accompanied by a brief note:

‘Conservator BULIĆ reports an old square tower to the south of the village of Gelsa (Jelša) on the island of Lesina, which dates from the time of the Greek colonization of Dalmatia in the 4th century BC and requires restoration work that would be limited to cleaning the walls, securing individual stone blocks by fixing and replacing stone blocks that have collapsed and are missing. Furthermore, the tower should be protected from intentional damage by a wall or with metal clamps. Z. K. agrees with this and seeks a state subsidy for these works’ (*translation by Maja Bonačić Mandinić*).³⁹

Bulić also announced that he was preparing a paper on

mena, već na gornjoj, povrhu koje ležahu još 3-4 kamena. Dakle natpis bio nevidljiv jer skriven. Čemu ga graditelji sakriše?“ Ističe kako arheolog monsijor Bulić, dalmatinski De Rossi, smatra da je pismo starogrčko.³⁷

Na inicijativu svojeg učenika Gamulina Bulić godine 1905. pokreće prepisku s općinom Jelsom i bečkom Centralnom komisijom, koja će potrajati sedam godina, tražeći sredstva za obnovu i restauraciju kule Tor. Bulić je zapravo već 1889. izvijestio načelnika Jelse kako je potrebno poduzeti korake kako bi se sačuvala kula jer mladići i pastiri bacaju kamenje s kule; preklinjao je jelšanske vlasti da tome stanu na kraj i iznađu načina kako bi se zaštitilo ovo jedinstveno zdanje.³⁸ U Priopćenjima carske i kraljevske Centralne komisije (*Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentralkommission*) 1906. je objavljena fotografija kule (sl. 8, C) uz kratku bilješku:

„Konzervator BULIĆ izvješćuje o drevnoj kuli četvorinastorisa JZ od mjesta Gelse (Jelse) na otoku Lesini koja potječe iz razdoblja grčke kolonizacije Dalmacije u 4. stoljeću pr. Kr. i traži da se obave restauratorski radovi koji bi bili ograničeni na čišćenje zidina, učvršćivanje pojedinih kamenih blokova spojnica i zamjenu urušenih blokova; nadalje, kulu bi zidom ili ogradom trebalo zaštititi od namjernog oštećivanja. Z. K. se slaže s time i traži državnu potporu za te radove“ (*prijevod s njemačkog Maja Bonačić Mandinić*).³⁹ Bulić je isto tako najavio da priprema članak o Toru.⁴⁰ Iz Gamulinova pisma Buliću od 1. prosinca 1905. (KOS br. 36/1905) saznajemo da je vlasnik Tora raščistio biljni pokrov oko kule, osobito s njezine J strane, gdje je bila najviše oštećena, te je zahvaljujući tome izvođač radova mogao procijeniti da bi posao mogao odraditi u 15 dana sa 20 radnika za 400 kruna. Također je istaknuo kako u Jelsi nije uspio pronaći osobu koja bi mogla napraviti tloris Tora.⁴¹

36 Botteri 1897: ‘...sopra Gelsa nel Tor, monumento abbastanza ben conservato e con lettere archaiche, le quali, se espone esstto il signor B. V. dovrebbero essere Greche con reminiscenze Greche, etrusche o fenicie, scritte da destra a sinistra e che si potrebbbero leggere *Kinad*’. A similar observation was made by Bervaldi (1914, p. VIII). Botteri was aware of Burton’s paper and published a review of it with some critical comments: Botteri 1876, pp. 188-189.

37 Gamulin 1907b. In a letter to the town hall of Jelsa dated 20 Nov. 1905, Bulić wrote that these might be ancient Greek letters (KOS no 36/1905).

38 HDA no. 2606/1905; KOS no. 36/1905

39 ‘Konzervator BULIĆ berichtet über den alten viereckigen Turm in Südsten des Dorfes Gelsa (Jelša) auf der Insel Lesina, einen Überrest der griechischen Kolonisation Dalmatiens im IV. Jh. und beantragt Erhalungsarbeiten, welche sich auf die Reinigung der Mauerwerkes, Sicherung einzelner Steine durch Klammern, Aufsetzung herabgefallener Steine zu beschränken hätten; ferner wäre der Turm durch eine Mauer oder einen Zaun gegen mutwillige Beschädigung zu schützen. Die Z. K. erklärt sich einverstanden und beantragt eine Staatssubvention für diese Arbeiten’: Dalmatien 1906, col. 44.

37 Gamulin 1907b. U pismu gradskom poglavarstvu Jelse od 20. studenoga 1905. Bulić piše da bi mogla biti riječ o starogrčkom pismu (KOS br. 36/1905).

38 HDA br. 2606/1905; KOS br. 36/1905.

39 ‘Konzervator BULIĆ berichtet über den alten viereckigen Turm im Südosten des Dorfes Gelsa (Jelsa) auf der Insel Lesina, einen Überrest der griechischen Kolonisation Dalmatiens im IV. Jh. und beantragt Erhaltungsarbeiten, welche sich auf die Reinigung des Mauerwerkes, Sicherung einzelner Steine durch Klammern, Aufsetzung herabgefallener Steine zu beschränken hätten; ferner wäre der Turm durch eine Mauer oder einen Zaun gegen mutwillige Beschädigung zu schützen. Die Z. K. erklärt sich einverstanden und beantragt eine Staatssubvention für diese Arbeiten’: Dalmatien 1906, redak 44.

40 KOS br. 36/1905. U svojem osvrtu na njihovu vremensku pripadnost, Bulić (1910, str. 7–11, bilj. 1, T. VI) je dugačke salonitanske zidine (*murazzo*) usporedio s drugim sličnim zidinama (*muro ciclopico*) u Dalmaciji (Pharos, Tor, Asseria, Varvaria, Epetion), ustvrdivši da znanstvenici sve takve građevine svrstavaju više-manje u isto razdoblje, 3. stoljeće pr. Kr. Članak na kojem je Bulić radio nije objavljen, a, koliko mi je poznato, nije niti sačuvan.

41 Crtež koji je objavio Burton (sl. 5, A) nastao je zahvaljujući gradonačelniku Jelse, “kapetanu” Nikoli Dubokoviću, s kojim je Bulić bio u

Tor.⁴⁰ In a letter dated 1 Dec. 1905 from Gamulin to Bulić (KOS no. 36/1905), we learn that the owner of Tor had cleared the vegetation around the tower and especially the S side where the tower was mostly damaged, so the contractor was able to estimate that he could do the job in 15 days with 20 workmen for 400 Krone. He also remarked that he could not find a person in Jelsa who could draw a plan of Tor.⁴¹

A year later (in 1907), a daily newspaper published a paper written in Croatian by Gamulin which provided important details mostly about the S wall (Fig. 8, A) and the door that Boglić had assumed to be on that side.⁴² Gamulin suggested that the collapse on this side of the tower had happened after Pribojević's description in 1525 (see above) because if a small door had existed here in the early 16th century AD it would have disappeared during the collapse. Gamulin, Vladimir Šuklje and Ivan Krstitelj Machiedo cleared the S deposits of fallen stones but did not find any traces of the door. He thus concluded that if it had existed, it must have been at a higher level that had collapsed. He added that Pribojević could have wrongly recorded the position of the door and that the door could have been located on the N, seaward side. He explained this by pointing out that a 200 m (*sic*) long heap of stones, oriented E-W, was in front of the tower. The feature is 15 m wide⁴³ and could have protected the tower as

“an exit, *doksat* (belvedere), or as a defence toward the north. Since a 1.5 m wide ditch lies between “Tor” and this mound of stones, thus “Tor” was “*vallo atque fossa cinitur*” from the north.⁴⁴ Above this ditch there is a finely chiselled lower portion of stone of “Tor” – and this is the only one on the whole building – that juts out, and it could have served as a support for a bridge from “Tor” to the mound. Above this projecting stone one can see on “Tor” a hole – also the only one on the building – in which there could have been a beam for lifting and lowering the bridge (?). Wasn't Pribojević's door on top of that bridge? But wherever this small door was, the

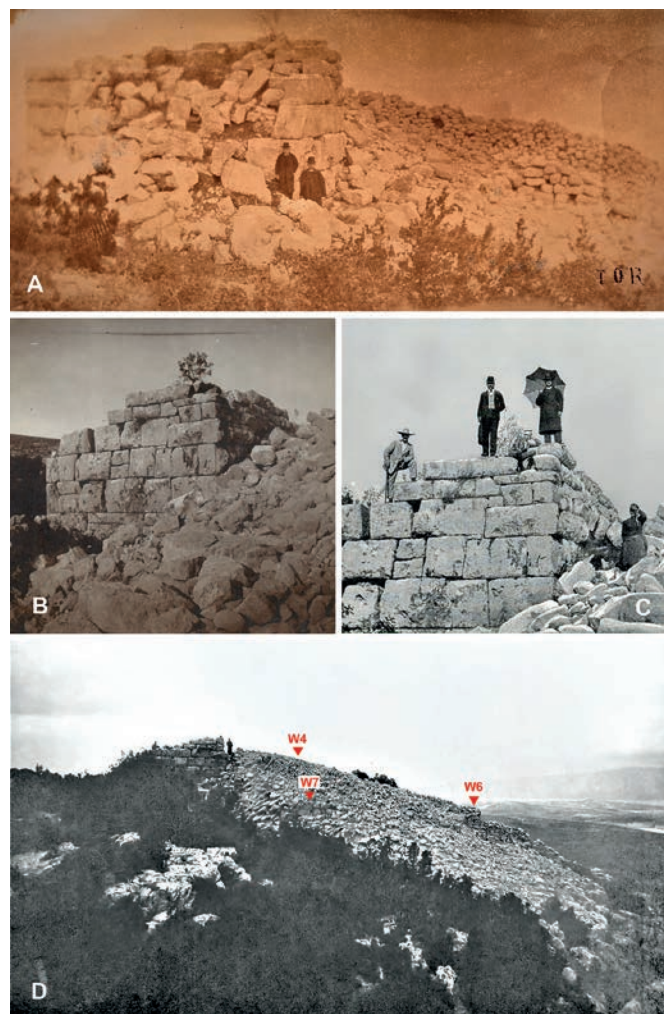


Fig. 8.
8. **A.** The ruins of Tor before the reconstruction in 1912. Unknown author. First publish by Kirigin in 2003, p. 44, Fig. 54. Kirigin's private property (a gift by NDN); **B.** The N and E walls of Tor before the reconstruction in 1912. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy from AMS; **C.** The N and E walls of Tor with Bulić under umbrella, two gentleman, a boy and a woman. Unknown author. Published in Dalmatien 1906; **D.** The E side of the site of Tor before reconstruction in 1912. **W4.** Drystone wall of irregular smaller stones on the “rampart”; **W6.** Front curtain of a wall of large blocks; **W7.** Front curtain of a wall of larger blocks. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy of KOS (inv. no. 1808).

Sl. 8.
A. Ostaci ruševina Tora prije rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Nepoznati autor. Prva objava u: Kirigin 2003, str. 44. Privatno vlasništvo B. Kirigina (poklon NDB). **B.** S i l zidovi Tora prije rekonstrukcije 1912. Nepoznati autor. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom AMS-a. **C.** S i l zidovi Tora s Bulićem ispod kišobrana, dva gospodina, dječak i žena. Nepoznati autor. Objavljeno u : Dalmatien 1906. **D.** I dio nalazišta prije rekonstrukcije iz 1912. **W4.** - suhozidina od nepravilnih manjih kamenih blokova “bedema”. **W6.** - vanjsko lice zida od velikih blokova. **W7.** - vanjsko lice zida od velikih blokova. Nepoznati autor. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom KOS-a (Inv. br. 1808).

40 KOS no. 36/1095. Bulić (1910, pp. 7-11, note 1, Pl. VI), when discussing the date of the long wall at Salona, the so-called “Murazzo”, briefly compared it to other similar (“*muro ciclopico*”) walls in Dalmatia (Pharos, Tor, Asseria, Varvaria, Epetion), stating that according to learned scholars, all of them more or less belong to the same period, i. e. the 3rd century BC. The paper that Bulić was working on has neither been published nor, as far as I know, preserved.

41 The drawing published by Burton (Fig. 5, A) was made thanks to the mayor of Jelsa, “Captain” Nikola Duboković, with whom Bulić was in contact during these restoration works.

42 Gamulin 1907b. In his paper, Gamulin cited Boglić, Burton, Maschek and Bulić. I obtained this article from the National and University Library in Zagreb (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu), which is the only institution that has it. I am grateful to Marta Kovač for sending it to me.

43 It is in fact ‘ca. 46 m. in length, 16.4 m. wide and 3.6 m. high’: Gaffney et al. 1997, p. 151 (site codes: JE0157.01 and JE0157.02).

44 ‘Is surrounded by a wall and a ditch’.

question arises: why the small door if “Tor” was filled with soil and stones from the beginning? Perhaps the answer will be given by “Tor” itself when it gets repaired and when the soil would be taken out’ (*author’s translation*).⁴⁵

Gamulin also mentioned that the quarry was very close to the tower and that traces of grooves and holes cut with iron (tools?) wedges are seen not only on the tower blocks, but also at the quarry.

At the end of his paper Gamulin said that

‘... the shepherds found a horse with a rider made in one piece, which unfortunately they lost again; then a small lion made of white metal and with one ring. But it is more likely that these are connected to Venetian rule on the island. The two last objects are in Jelsa’s town hall. Sherds of tiles and broken pots were excavated’ (*author’s translation*).⁴⁶ Gamulin also mentioned financial support from Vienna in an amount of 400 Krone or crowns (1 US dollar = 5.08 Kr in 1914) for the restoration work at Tor:

‘During these works it is intended that the interior of Tor should be cleared in the hope that something may be found which will show who built it and for what purpose’ (*author’s translation*).⁴⁷ Unfortunately, there is no mention of any work that was done inside the tower or around the bedrock on which the tower rests in the only more extensive report on these works that was written after 1912(see below).⁴⁸

In 1908 (3 March), the Dalmatian government from Zadar notified the district authorities in the town of Hvar that 400 Krone had been sent for work on the tower.⁴⁹ Bulić wrote to the municipality of Jelsa that he had visited Tor on 15 July with Bervaldi and Gamulin and that they inspected the site with a

45 ‘...kao ishod, doksat (belvedere), a možda i kao njegova obrana prema sjeveru. Između “Tora” i gomile nalazi se jarak metar i po širok – tako “Tor” sa sjeverne strane “vallo atque fossa cingitur”. – Povrh toga jarka liepo klesani donji dio jednog kamena “Tora” – a to jedini u čitavoj gradjevini – viri vanka, te je mogao služiti kao podporanj mostu sa “Tora” na gomilu. Povrh toga virećeg kamena vidi se na “Toru” jedna rupa – također jedina u čitavoj gradini – u kojoj je mogla stati greda za dizanje i spuštanje mosta. Niesu li povrh toga mosta (?) bila Priboeva vrata? Nego bila ta vrata gdjemudrago, nastaje pitanje: čemu vratašca, ako je “Tor” od iskona bio napunjen zemljom i kamenjem? Možda i na to pitanje sam “Tor” odgovori, kad ga se popravi i zemlja iz njega iznese.’ (Gamulin 1907b)

46 ‘...pastiri nadjoše konja sa konjanikom u jednom komadu, što na žalost opet izgubiše; za tim jednog lavića od bijele kovine i jedan prsten. Nego sva je prilika, da sve to ne zalazi preko mletačkog vladanja na hvarskom otoku. Ova dva zadnja predmeta nalaze se u jelšanskoj općini. Iskopano je još komadića opeka, criepova, te razlupanih gnjilenih posuda’ (Gamulin 1907b).

47 ‘Pri popravljanju prokopat će se nutrina “Tora”, te prilika, da se štogod nadje, što bi razbistrilo od koga je “Tor” sagrađen i koja mu je svrha bila’ (Gamulin 1907b).

48 Bervaldi 1914.

49 KOS 24/1908.

Godinu kasnije (1907.) u jednim je dnevnim novinama objavljen članak koji je na hrvatskom jeziku napisao Gamulin i koji donosi važne pojedinosti pretežito o J zidu (sl. 8, A) i vratima za koje je Boglić pretpostavio da se nalaze na toj strani.⁴² Gamulin upućuje na mogućnost da je do urušavanja na ovoj strani kule došlo nakon Pribojevićeva opisa 1525. (v. gore) jer, da su početkom 16. stoljeća po. Kr. na tom mjestu bila omanja vrata, zacijelo bi se i ona bila urušila. Gamulin, Vladimir Šuklje i Ivan Krstitelj Machiedo očistili su nakupine urušena kamenja na J strani, no nisu pronašli trag vrata. Shodno tome zaključuje da, ako su vrata postojala, mora da su se urušila s višeg sloja. Dodaje kako je moguće da je Pribojević pogrešno zabilježio položaj vrata te da su vrata bila na S strani koja gleda na more. Argumentira to ističući kako je ispred kule bila kamena gomila dugačka 200 m (*sic!*), orijentirana u smjeru I-Z. Struktura je široka 15 m⁴³ te je moguće da je štitila kulu

‘...kao ishod, doksat (belvedere), a možda i kao njegova obrana prema sjeveru. Između “Tora” i gomile nalazi se jarak metar i po širok – tako “Tor” sa sjeverne strane *vallo atque fossa cingitur*.⁴⁴ – Povrh toga jarka liepo klesani donji dio jednog kamena “Tora” – a to jedini u čitavoj gradjevini – viri vanka, te je mogao služiti kao podporanj mostu sa “Tora” na gomilu. Povrh toga virećeg kamena vidi se na “Toru” jedna rupa – također jedina u čitavoj gradini – u kojoj je mogla stati greda za dizanje i spuštanje mosta. Niesu li povrh toga mosta (?) bila Priboeva vrata? Nego bila ta vrata gdjemudrago, nastaje pitanje: čemu vratašca, ako je “Tor” od iskona bio napunjen zemljom i kamenjem? Možda i na to pitanje sam “Tor” odgovori, kad ga se popravi i zemlja iz njega iznese.”⁴⁵

Gamulin spominje i da se veoma blizu kule nalazio kamenolom te da su na blokovima kule, kao i u kamenolomu, vidljivi tragovi žljebića i rupa usječenih željeznim klinovima.

Na kraju svojeg rada Gamulin navodi kako

‘... pastiri nadjoše konja sa konjanikom u jednom komadu, što na žalost opet izgubiše; za tim jednog lavića od bijele kovine i jedan prsten. Nego sva je prilika, da sve to ne zalazi preko mletačkog vladanja na hvarskom otoku. Ova dva zadnja predmeta nalaze se u jelšanskoj općini. Iskopano je još komadića opeka, criepova, te razlupanih gnjilenih posuda”⁴⁶

Gamulin spominje i financijsku potporu iz Beča koja je iznosila 400 kruna (pri čemu je 1914. godine 1 američki dolar vrijedio 5,08 kruna) za obnovu Tora:

kontakta za vrijeme trajanja spomenutih restauratorskih radova.

42 Gamulin 1907b. U svojem članku Gamulin citira Boglića, Burtona, Mascheka i Bulića. Članak sam dobio od Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu, jedine ustanove koja ga posjeduje. Zahvaljujem Marti Kovač što mi ga je poslala.

43 Zapravo joj je “dužina oko 46 m, širina 16,4 m, a visina 3,6 m”: Gaffney *et al.* 1997, str. 151 (oznake lokaliteta: JE0157.01 i JE0157.02).

44 „okružen zidinama i jarkom”.

45 Gamulin 1907b.

46 Gamulin 1907b.

contractor named Novak Giorjem (?) (Trombetta) and that he and another contractor demanded, before the mayor Duboković, 1,200 Krone for this project, three times more than the previous estimate!

In 1910, Bulić published a paper dealing with his excavations at the W necropolis of Salona where the famous “Murazzo” wall stands.⁵⁰ Describing this wall, he noted that Burton provided the most serious account on this wall, calling it *muro ciclopico*. Bulić noted that this wall has similarities to those of Pharos, Tor, Asseria, Varvaria and Epetion and that scholars more or less date them to the 3rd century BC.⁵¹ In the first footnote in this paper, Bulić provided all references about Tor known to him, including Gamulin’s paper, and the archival data held in the Conservation Department in Split.⁵² At the end of his note, he mentioned that 400 Krone were received from the Zentralkommission in Vienna and 100 from the municipality of Jelsa for the restoration work on the tower, but that they could not find a contractor willing to do the work for that amount.⁵³

Thanks to the few extant photographs from this period, three sides of the tower are documented: the W (Fig. 5, A), S (Fig. 8, A) and E sides (Fig. 5, B; 8, B-D). The N side is barely visible on two of these photographs (Fig. 8, B and C). If a photograph or drawing of the N wall existed, we would probably see the blocks of the “bridge” and the “hole” mentioned above by Gamulin. Thanks to Mayor Duboković, the W side is rather well documented. A photograph (Fig. 5, A) shows a heap of loose stones on the N half of the mound, and minimally eight rows of the tower’s blocks (c. 5 m in height). Unfortunately, in none of available documentation can one see how the lowest rows of blocks were laid on the bedrock. The S side and part of the E side of the tower give a clear picture of the collapsed tower blocks (Fig. 8, A). The SW quoin is preserved

“Pri popravljanju prokopat će se nutrina ‘Tora’, te prilika, da se štogod nadje, što bi razbistrilo od koga je ‘Tor’ sagrađen i koja mu je svrha bila.”⁴⁷ Nažalost, u jedinom ponešto detaljnijem izvješću o tim radovima, napisanom nakon 1912., ne spominju se nikakvi radovi unutar kule ili oko žive stijene na kojoj kula počiva (v. dolje).⁴⁸

Dana 3. ožujka 1908. dalmatinske vlasti iz Zadra obavještavaju lokalnu upravu grada Hvara da je poslano 400 kruna za radove na kuli.⁴⁹ Bulić piše jelšanskoj općini da je 15. srpnja obišao Tor s Bervaldijem i Gamulinom, da su pregledali lokalitet s izvođačem Novakom Giorjem (?) (Trombettom) te da su on i još jedan izvođač pred gradonačelnikom Dubokovićem za taj projekt tražili 1200 kruna, što je trostruko više nego što je prethodno procijenjeno!

Godine 1910. Bulić objavljuje rad o svojim iskopavanjima zapadne salonitanske nekropole, na mjestu gdje se nalazi poznati *murazzo*.⁵⁰ U svojem opisu ističe kako je najozbiljniji opis tih zidina donio Burton, nazvavši ih *muro ciclopico*. Bulić napominje kako te zidine imaju sličnosti sa zidinama Farosa, Tora, Asserije, Varvarije i Epetiona te kako ih učenjaci najčešće datiraju u 3. stoljeće pr. Kr.⁵¹ U bilješci br. 1 tog rada Bulić je pobrojao sva spominjanja Tora koja su mu poznata, uključujući i Gamulinov članak, kao i arhivske podatke koji se čuvaju na Konzervatorskom odjelu u Splitu.⁵² Na kraju svoje bilješke navodi kako je za restauratorske radove na kuli pristiglo 400 kruna od bečke Centralne komisije i 100 kruna od općine Jelse, ali da nisu mogli naći izvođača koji bi bio spreman odraditi posao za taj iznos.⁵³

Zahvaljujući očuvanim fotografijama iz tog razdoblja dokumentirane su tri strane kule: Z (sl. 5, A), J (sl. 8, A) i I (sl. 5, B; 8,

50 Bulić 1910.

51 In a relatively recently published paper on the “Murazzo” by Željko Miletić, it was clearly shown that it belongs to the walls of the western necropolis of Salona and dates to the first two decades of the 1st century AD (Miletić 1989).

52 Bulić 1910, p. 9, note 1: ‘n. 36 ex a. 1905; n. 19, 21, ex a 1906; n. 64, 66, 75 ex a 1907; n. 24 ex a. 1908; n. 11 ex a. 1909 e n. ex a. 1911.’ Next to these documents in the HDA, there are also documents regarding the reconstruction of the tower. Under the title ‘Ruine “TOR” (romerturn) the following documents are held in Fond 958. c.k. Ured za zaštitu spomenika, Dalmatien, box 7, map 49 Gelsa (Jelsa): 2606/1905; 1002/1907; 1766/19 entrepreneur 07; 637/1908; 2323/ 1911; 3150/1911; 5099/1912; 5435/1912; 6047/1912; 6620/1912; 66592/1914; 6618/1914; 6716/1914 and 480/1915.

53 ‘Dietro proposta dell’ i. r. Conservatore venne dell’ i. r. Commissione Centrale dei monumenti antichi data una sovvenzione di Cor. 400, al quale importo la Comune di Gelsa aggiunse altre 100 Cor., onde mettere meglio in assetto questo fortilizio. Pero fino ad ora non si potè trovare un imprenditore, il quale volesse assumersi questo lavoro per questo importo. Su una pietra di questa torre vennero trovate sigli finora indecifrabili.’

47 Gamulin 1907b.

48 Bervaldi 1914.

49 KOS 24/1908.

50 Bulić 1910.

51 U razmjerno novijem članku o *murazzo* autora Željka Miletića jasno je prikazano kako pripada zidinama zapadne salonitanske nekropole i kako se datira u prva dva desetljeća 1. stoljeća po. Kr. (Miletić 1989).

52 Bulić 1910, str. 9, bilj. 1: ‘n. 36 ex a. 1905; n. 19, 21, ex a 1906; n. 64, 66, 75 ex a 1907; n. 24 ex a. 1908; n. 11 ex a. 1909 e n. ex a. 1911.’ Osim tih isprava u HDA-u se nalaze i isprave koje se odnose na obnovu kule. Sljedeće isprave se čuvaju pod nazivom ‘Ruine ‘TOR’ (Römerturm)’ Fond 958. c.k. Ured za zaštitu spomenika, Dalmatien, sanduk 7, zemljovid 49 Gelsa (Jelsa): 2606/1905; 1002/1907; 1766/19 poduzetnik 07; 637/1908; 2323/ 1911; 3150/1911; 5099/1912; 5435/1912; 6047/1912; 6620/1912; 66592/1914; 6618/1914; 6716/1914 i 480/1915.

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to the height indicated on Duboković's elevation plan (Fig. 5, A), and in front of it all the way to the SE quoin, where two priests are standing (Fig. 8, A), one sees at the ground level the fallen blocks and soil inside the tower that starts at the top level all the way to the ground level to a height of ca. 3-4 m. In the background on the right side of this photograph (Fig. 8, A), one sees a long dry stone wall designated W4 (see Fig. 8, D and Fig. 16) made of smaller irregular stones, ca. 1.5 m high, and in front of it the stones of the rubble "rampart" mixed with the tower's blocks.⁵⁴ At the very right end of the photograph are 4-5 rows of somewhat carelessly stacked blocks, some 5 m in length, which are visible even today (Fig. 21). These may represent the S wall (W5) of the "rampart". The picture also shows that the tower was filled with soil, as mentioned by Burton and Gamulin (see above), and that there are no traces of a door mentioned by Boglić and others. The E side, and partly the N side, are visible to a height of at least 6 courses and 7 courses on the N wall (Bulić is shown standing with an umbrella on the highest course of blocks: Fig. 8, C). Behind them the vegetation growing inside the tower can be seen.

Little can be learned about how the tower was reconstructed from the available documentation.⁵⁵ Bervaldi was the only author who gave us some information in an unpublished report dated to 1914:

Various financial difficulties impeded the prompt implementation of this program (see above). Finally, with the help of the government and the municipality of Gelsa, it was possible to start the restoration in 1912 and finish it in four months.⁵⁶ During the work it was noted that on parts on the south side some stones tended to fall off, dragging with them not only that part but also the other blocks. It was necessary to remove these stones and, by levelling the ground and pulling out the roots of some trees, put them back in their place. At the same time, the stones that lay around the tower were raised and during the removal of the soil there were several stones which were not visible at the beginning of the work. The municipality of Gelsa has laudably assisted at this unforeseeable expense. Thus the work was finished in the second half of September 1912. (...) In this way this rare monument from our province was saved and the work has raised two courses on all sides and in some place more stones were placed so that the tower rises over a meter higher than it was before repairs. (...) The tower has a quadrangular shape: the

B-D). Sjeverna je strana na dvjema od tih fotografija jedva vidljiva (sl. 8, B i C). Kad bi postojali fotografija ili crtež sjevernog zida, vjerojatno bismo vidjeli blokove spomenutog "mosta" i "rupe" koje navodi Gamulin. Zahvaljujući gradonačelniku Dubokoviću, Z strana je poprilično dobro dokumentirana. Fotografija (sl. 5, A) prikazuje hrpu nepovezana kamenja na S polovici gomile te najmanje osam redova blokova kule (visine oko 5 m). Nažalost, iz dostupne dokumentacije nije vidljivo na koji su način najdonji redovi blokova postavljeni na živu stijenu. Južna strana i dio istočne strane kule pružaju jasnu sliku urušeni blokova kule (sl. 8, A). SZ ugao očuvan je do visine naznačene u Dubokovićevu crtežu (sl. 5, A), dok su ispred, sve do JI ugla gdje stoje dvojica svećenika (sl. 8, A), na razini tla vidljivi urušeni blokovi, kao i zemlja u kuli, koja počinje od najviše razine i ide sve do razine tla, do visine od oko 3 – 4 m. U pozadini s desne strane te fotografije (sl. 8, A) vidljiv je dugački suhozid koji nosi našu oznaku W4 (v. sl. 8, D i sl. 16), izrađen od manjeg kamenja nepravilna oblika, visok oko 1,5 m, dok je ispred njega kamenje "bedema" od lomljenog kamena pomiješano s blokovima kule.⁵⁴ Na krajnje desnom dijelu fotografije prikazano je 4 – 5 redova pomalo nehajno naslaganih blokova, u dužini od nekih 5 m, koji su vidljivi i danas (sl. 21). Moguće je da oni predstavljaju J zid (W5) "bedema". Iz slike je vidljivo i da je kula bila ispunjena zemljom kako su spomenuli Burton i Gamulin (v. gore) te da nema traga vratima koje su spominjali Boglić i drugi. Istočna, a djelomično i S strana vidljive su do visine od najmanje 6, odnosno na S zidu 7 redova (pri čemu na najvišem redu blokova stoji Bulić s kišobranom: sl. 8, C). Iza njih se vidi vegetacija koja raste unutar kule.

Iz dostupne dokumentacije ne može se saznati puno o tome kako je kula obnavljana.⁵⁵ Bervaldi je jedini autor koji je iznio neke podatke u neobjavljenom izvješću iz 1914.:

„Razne financijske teškoće ispriječile su se na putu provedbi programa (v. gore). Napokon se, zahvaljujući podršci vlasti općine Jelsa, 1912. uspjelo pristupiti obnovi i radove privesti kraju unutar četiri mjeseca.⁵⁶ Na nekim je dijelovima s južne strane, kako je zamijećeno u tijeku radova, neko kamenje prijetilo da će pasti te povući za sobom i ostale blokove. Stoga je bilo potrebno ukloniti to kamenje, a zatim poravnati teren i počupati korijenje nekih stabala te vratiti kamenje na mjesto. Istodobno je podignuto kamenje koje je ležalo porazbacano oko kule i uklonjena zemlja te je pritom otkriveno nešto kamenja koje nije bilo vidljivo na početku radova. Općina Jelsa ljubazno je priskočila u pomoć oko tih nepredvidivih izdataka. Tako su radovi završeni drugom polovicom rujna 1912. (...) Za-

54 See also Fig. 8, B and D.

55 According to Zaninović, Gamulin and Bervaldi were in charge of the reconstruction works under Bulić's supervision (Zaninović 1978, p. 26; 1980, p. 203) although this is not explicitly stated (see note 60 below).

56 Interestingly, not a single artefact (or part thereof) of anything connected to these works was recorded.

54 V. i sl. 8, B i D.

55 Prema Zaninoviću, Gamulin i Bervaldi bili su zaduženi za radove obnove pod Bulićevim nadzorom (Zaninović 1978, str. 26; 1980, str. 203), iako to nije izričito navedeno (v. dolje bilj. 60).

56 Zanimljivo je da nije zabilježen nijedan predmet (niti njegov dio) niti išta drugo što bi bilo povezano s tim radovima.

northern and southern walls are longer than the eastern and the western ones. The northern wall is 7.4 m, the south 7.43, the east is 6.2 m and the west 6.17 m long... After the restoration works the highest level of the tower is 6.85 m. The walls are 1.00-120 cm wide. The stones in the foundations and the first courses are larger than those of the upper courses. No doubt other courses were atop these, and perhaps there was a roof above them (*author's translation*).⁵⁷

After citing the writings of Pribojević, Boglić and Burton, Bernaldi briefly notes that:

'The remains of unusually shaped tiles were found around the tower, but there are also Roman tiles. The tower that was probably already covered with tiles by the first constructors was demolished and the Romans built a new one, but it also collapsed over time' (*author's translation*).⁵⁸

In his report, Bernaldi also delved into the possible function of the tower: "why was this tower built?" He then lists different assumptions without mentioning who made them:

'Tor was a look-out site, a Roman station, a fortification for the defence of Pharos, a building dedicated to forestall divinity, or a temple' (*author's translation*).

He summarily rejected all of them and suggested that the tower was part of a settlement or a part of a settlement meant to be built. Yet he admitted that this is difficult to believe, as almost no remains of this settlement are extant.⁵⁹

The Hvar Heritage Museum has three well-preserved and well-rendered profiles of the tower of Tor made after the reconstruction works in 1912 (Fig. 9, A-C) as well the ground plan and a section (Fig. 9, D).⁶⁰ When comparing these drawings to

hvaljujući tome spašen je veoma rijedak spomenik iz naše regije koji je u okviru radova podignut za dva reda sa svih strana, a na neka mjesta je dodano kamenje te se kula uzdiže više od metra iznad razine do koje je sezala prije obavljenih popravaka. (...) Kula je četverokutna oblika: sjeverni i južni zid duži su od istočnoga i zapadnoga. Sjeverni je zid dugačak 7,4 m, južni 7,43 m, istočni 6,2 m, a zapadni 6,17 m... Nakon restauratorskih radova, najviša razina kule je 6,85 m. Širina zidina je 100 – 120 cm. Kamenje temelja i donjih redova veće je od onoga gornjih redova. Bez sumnje je povrh postojećih bilo još redova, a nad njima je možda bio krov."⁵⁷

Nakon navođenja tekstova Pribojevića, Boglića i Burtona, Bernaldi kratko primjećuje:

„Oko kule su pronađeni ostaci crijepova neobična oblika, ali i oni iz rimskog doba. Kulu su vjerojatno crijepom pokrili njezini prvi graditelji, no uništena je te su Rimljani podigli novu, no i ta se s vremenom urušila.”⁵⁸

U svojem izvješću, Bernaldi se bavi i mogućom funkcijom kule: "s kojom je namjenom kula izgrađena?" Zatim iznosi različite pretpostavke, ne spomenuvši čije su:

„Tor se smatrao osmatračnicom, rimskom postajom, obrambenom utvrdom Farosa, građevinom posvećenom kakvom božanstvu šume, ili hramom.”

Odrješito ih redom sve odbija te iznosi svoje mišljenje kako je kula bila dio postojećega ili planiranoga naselja. Međutim, priznaje kako je u to teško povjerovati jer od tog naselja nije preostalo gotovo ni traga.⁵⁹

U Muzeju hvarske baštine tri su dobro ušćuvana i vjerna prikaza profila kule Tor (sl. 9, A-C) kao i tlocrt i presjek kroz

57 'Varie difficoltà pecuniarie si opposero alla sollecita realizzazione di questo programma. All' ultimo coll' aiuto del governo e del comune di Gelsa si poté nel 1912 incominciare col restauro e in quattro mesi finirlo. Durante il lavoro si constatò che nella parte di mezzogiorno nelle soli fragmenta alcuni pietre minacciavano di spostarsi trascinando seco non solo quella parte ma anche le altre. Si dovette perciò smovere queste pietre e appianando il terreno ed estirpando le radici di alcuni alberi metterle di novo al proprio posto. Nello stesso tempo alzandone le pietre che giacevano intorno alla torre e regolando il terreno attiguo si trovano parecchie pietre, de quali al principio del lavoro non erano visibili. A queste spese imprevedibili viene lodevolmente in aiuto il comune di Gelsa. Così il lavoro venne finito nella seconda metà di settembre del 1912.... Così fu salvato un monumento rarissimo della nostra provincia e coi lavori sunnominati fu venne egli alzato da tutti le parti per due corsi ed in qualche luogo furono messe più pietre così che torre si eleva oltre un metro di quello che era prima delle riparazioni.... Le pietre delle fondamenta e dei primi corsi sono più grandi e dei quelli dei corsi superiori. Senza dubbio sopra di questi venivano degli altri e poi probabilmente sopra di loro il tetto' (Bernaldi 1914, p. II -III).

58 'Intorno alla torre furono trovati avanzi di tegole di una forma insolita ma anche quelle di epoca Romana. Probabilmente la torre era coperta dai primi costruttori di essa e più tardi distrutto che fu il tetto eressero i Romani il secondo il quale col tempo ruinò.'

59 Bernaldi 1914, pp. V-VI.

60 These original profile drawings were acquired by the Historical Ar-

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59 Bernaldi 1914, str. V-VI.

the extant photographs (Fig. 10, A; 11-13) and the W tower wall published by Burton (Fig. 5, A) made prior to reconstruction, one can see that on the W wall four courses of stones were added, while on the S side of E wall eight courses were added. On the N end of the same wall five courses were added. The S wall underwent a major reconstruction, especially at its central part, where a narrow doorway was inserted (Fig. 9, B; 10, A; 11). It would appear that the plan was for the height of all walls to be the same. The N-S profile of the tower shows that N wall was built on bedrock (*temelj*) in contrast to the S wall that was visible, at least in its central part, to a height of some 3 m (Fig. 9, D), indicating that the bedrock was not reached. The N-S profile also shows that the interior of the tower was filled (*zasuto*). Above this fill, pavement at the same level as that of the doorway was drawn. Some of this can be seen on Fig. 16, 2.⁶¹ On Fig. 10, A; 11-13, made after the reconstruction in 1912, one can see heaps of stones around the W, S and E sides of the tower that were later removed.

The long limestone rubble heap in front of the tower, mentioned by Gamulin, was also mentioned by Bervaldi. He said:

And in truth, while removing the stones on the northern part of the tower, two courses of walls made of irregular stones were discovered (see Pl. I⁶²). Examining everything around, one could see that the tower was joined to said walls at both ends (and that the sixth course of the tower has a slightly protruding block, as if it were possible to place a beam with which the tower could be connected to the aforementioned walls).⁶³ This wall in a straight line stretches westward for 15.66 m. Parallel to it runs another wall at a length of 30 m. From the tower to the east it goes into an irregular wall which ends in a straight line and measures a total of 18.8 m. About twenty meters to the north-west one would also discover irregularly built walls. The walls, as I have already mentioned, are made of irregular stones and are not very large, the largest does not exceed 1.3 m in length, 0.75 in height, and 0.5 in

kulu (sl. 9, D), izrađena nakon radova na obnovi 1912.⁶⁰ Iz usporedbe tih crteža sa sačuvanim fotografijama (sl. 10, A; 11–13) i Z zidom kule kako ga je objavio Burton (sl. 5, A) iz razdoblja prije obnove vidljivo je da su na Z zidu dodana četiri reda kamenja, a na J strani I zida dodano je osam redova. Na S kraju istoga zida dodano je pet redova. Južni je zid temeljito obnovljen, osobito u središnjem dijelu, gdje je umetnut uzak otvor za vrata (sl. 9, B; 10, A; 11). Čini se da se nastojalo postići jednaku visinu svih zidova. Iz profila kule S-J vidi se kako je S zid izgrađen na živoj stijeni (temelj), za razliku od J zida, koji je, barem u središnjem dijelu, bio vidljiv do visine od neka tri metra (sl. 9, D), ukazujući da se nije došlo do žive stijene. Osim toga, iz profila kule S-J vidi se kako je i taj unutrašnji dio kule bio zasut. Preko ispu-
ne je nacrtano popločenje na istoj razini na kojoj je i otvor za vrata. Dio se vidi na sl. 16, 2.⁶¹ Na sl. 10, A; 11–13, izrađenoj nakon obnove 1912., prikazane su hrpe kamenja oko Z, J i I strane kule, koje je kasnije uklonjeno.

Dugačku hrpu lomljenog vapnenca ispred kule koju je spomenuo Gamulin spominje i Bervaldi. O tome piše:

„Zapravo su prilikom uklanjanja kamenja na sjevernom dijelu kule otkrivena dva reda zidova izgrađena od kamenja nepravilna oblika (v. T. I⁶²). Istraživanje okoliša pokazalo je kako su se oba kraja kule naslanjala na spomenute zidove (i kako je u šestom redu blago izbočeni blok koji je mogao pridržavati gredu koja je kulu povezivala s tim zidovima).⁶³ Taj se zid po ravnoj liniji proteže prema zapadu u duljini od 15,66 m. Paralelno s njime se duljinom od 30 m prostire još jedan zid. Od kule prema istoku prelazi u zid nepravilna oblika koji završava ravnom linijom i dugačak je ukupno 18,8 m. Dvadeset metara prema sjeverozapadu našlo bi se još nepravilno građenih zidova. Zidovi su, kao što sam već istaknuo, građeni od nepravilnog kamenja i nisu osobito veliki; tako najveći ne premašuje 1,3 m u duljinu ni 0,75 m u širinu te nije deblji od 0,5 m. Zidovi dosežu visinu od 4 m. Sudeći prema obliku kamenja i strukturi zidova veoma je vjerojatno da ni u antičko doba nisu bili impresivne visine. Izradom se ti zidovi izrazito razlikuju od zidova kule. (...) Na teme-

chive of Hvar that was established by Niko Duboković Nadalini in 1950 (later MHB). A document from the HDA (in German) dated 1914 (no. Z428) and signed by Bulić indicates that Bervaldi was in charge of the works, M. Sušan was the contractor, and the chief engineer was Stainberger, and that later Kramarž replaced him and made plans and drawings of the tower for publication. These could be the missing Pls. II – V mentioned in the text by Bervaldi (1914, pp. II-III). From the same document, we learn that the during the reconstruction of the S wall the area behind it was filled with soil to provide support.

- 61 The interior was partly excavated by Miroslavljević and later by Visković (see below).
62 There were 8 plates (photographs) that accompanied his report, numbered I to VIII. Unfortunately, only Pl. II-V (Fig. 9 here (MHB) and the inscription, Fig. 7 here), as well as 3 photographs marked as A, B and C (Fig. 10, B and C here) are preserved (KOS).
63 The text in parentheses has been crossed out in his report. A similar feature was mentioned by Gamulin 1907b.

60 Te izvorne crteže profila nabavio je Historijski arhiv Hvara koji je bio osnovao Niko Duboković Nadalini 1950. (kasnije MHB). Isprava iz HDA-a (na njemačkom) iz 1914. (br. Z428) koji potpisuje Bulić, ukazuje na to da je Bervaldi bio zadužen za radove, da je izvođač bio M. Sušan, a glavni inženjer Stainberger, kojeg je kasnije zamijenio Kramarž, koji je uzradio nacrt i crteže kule za objavu. To bi mogle biti nedostajuće table II–V koje spominje Bervaldi (1914, str. II–III). Iz iste isprave saznajemo da je za vrijeme obnove južnoga zida ispunjen prostor iza njega kako bi ga se poduprlo.

- 61 Unutrašnjost je djelomično istražio Miroslavljević, a kasnije Visković (v. dolje).
62 Njegovo je izvješće potkrijepljeno s osam tabli (fotografija) od I do VIII. Nažalost, očuvane su samo T. II–V (sl. 9 (MHB) te natpis na sl. 7 uz ovaj članak), kao i tri fotografije označene slovima A, B i C (sl. 10, B i C uz ovaj članak) (KOS).
63 U njegovu je izvješću tekst prenesen u zgradama bio precrtan. Sličan objekt spominje Gamulin 1907b.

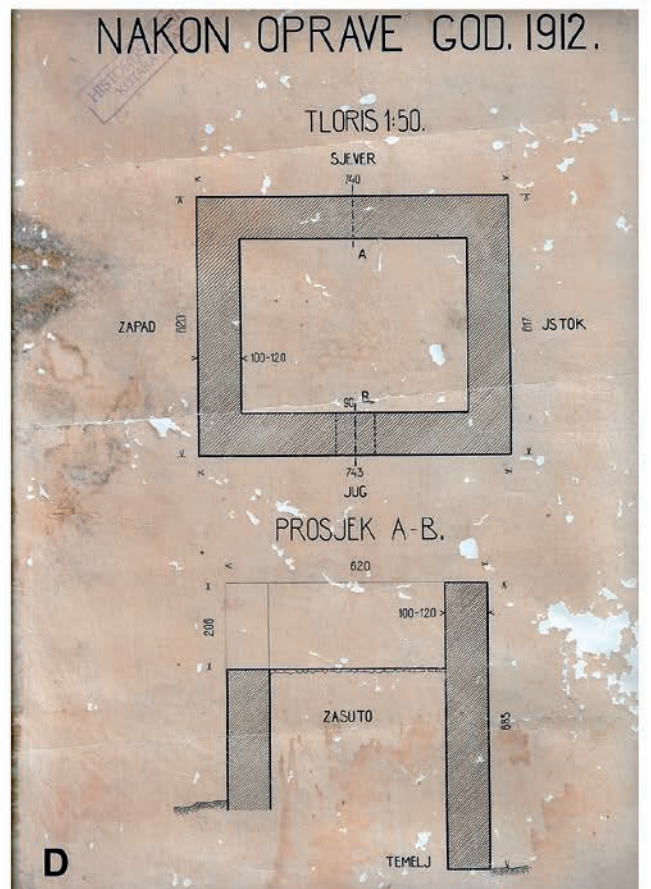
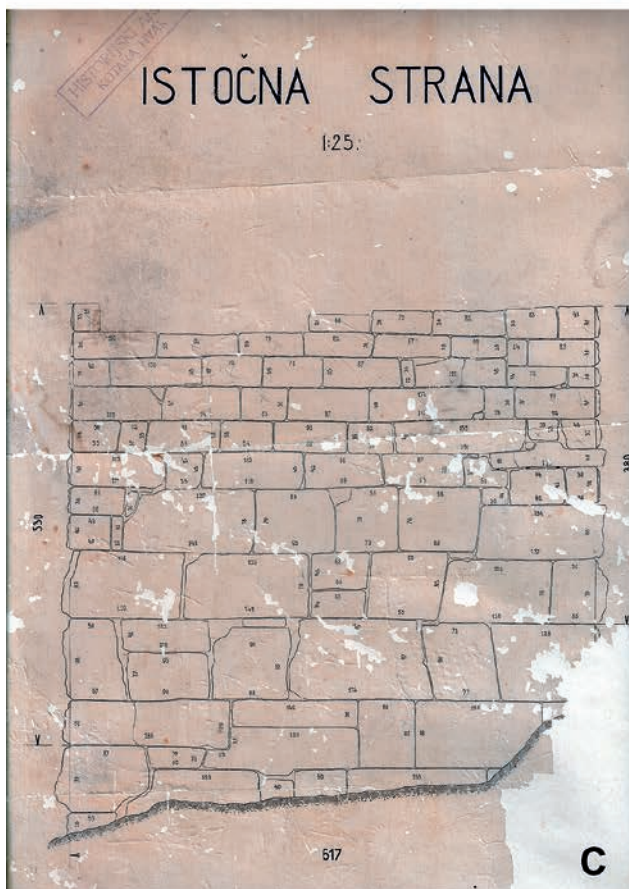
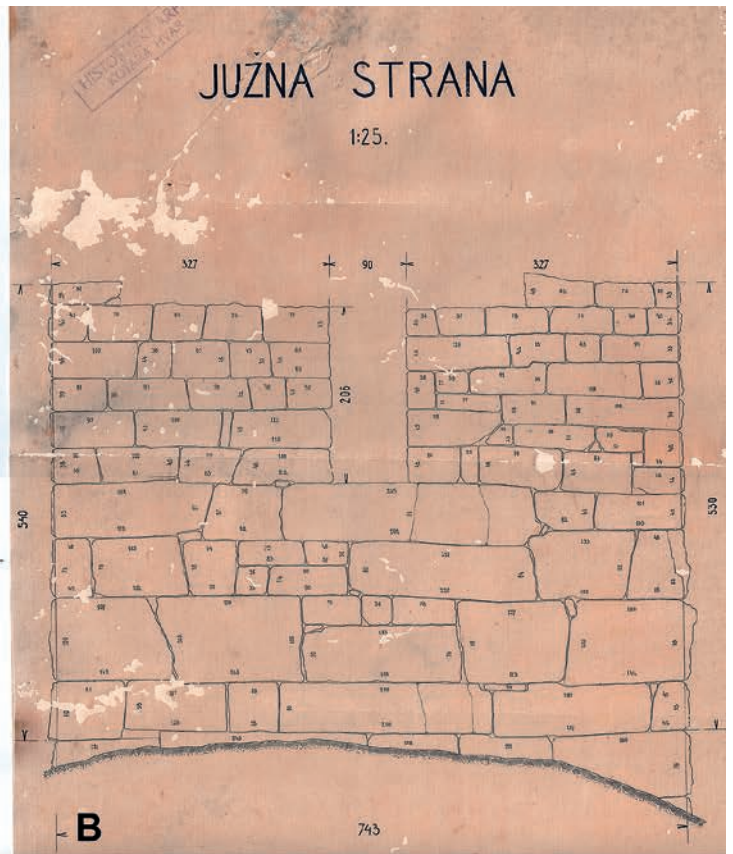


Fig. 9. Walls, ground plan and section of Tor drawn by an anonymous author after the reconstruction in 1912. **A.** W wall; **B.** S wall; **C.** E wall; **D.** Ground plan and N – S section. Unpublished. Courtesy of MHB.

Sl. 9. Zidovi, tloris i presjek Tora nakon rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Nepoznati autor. **A.** Z zid. **B.** J zid. **C.** I zid. **D.** Tloris i S-J presjek. Dobrotom MHB.



Fig. 10.

A. View of Tor from south after the reconstruction in 1912. To the left of the tower on a pile of stones with some dislocated tower blocks (now all removed) a priest and a gentleman stand. Behind them Gradina cemetery of Jelsa, Jelsa to the left and Brač in the background. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy of KOS; **B.** Probably the E part of the large stone deposit with a row of tower (?) blocks. Early 20th century. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy of DAH. **C.** Probably the NW part of the large stone deposits with dislocated tower blocks. Early 20th century. Unknown author. Unpublished. Courtesy of DAH.

Sl. 10.

A. Pogled na Tor s juga nakon rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Lijevo od kule je hrpa kamenja s nekoliko dislociranih blokova kule (naknadno uklonjenih). Na kamenju stoje svećenik i nepoznati gospodin. Iza njih je groblje Gradina u Jelsi, Jelsa s lijeve strane i otok Brač u pozadini. Nepoznati autor. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom KOS-a. **B.** Vjerojatno I dio velikog kamenog nanosa s redom blokova kule(?). Nepoznati autor iz ranog 20. stoljeća. neobjavljeno. Dobrotom DAH-a. **C.** Vjerojatni SZ dio velikog kamenog nanosa s dislociranim blokovima kule. Nepoznati autor iz ranog 20. stoljeća. Dobrotom DAH-a.

thickness. The height of the walls reaches 4 m. Judging by the shape of the stones and the structure of the walls, it is very likely that even in ancient times their height was not impressive. The workmanship of these walls contrasted greatly to

lju tih razlika nije moguće razlikovati razdoblja njihove izgradnje. U primitivnom razdoblju Grčke, gradski zidovi su se, kao što se često može primijetiti, razlikovali konstrukcijom: kamenje od kojeg su građene kule uvijek su bili kvalitetniji nego ostali zidovi, zatim su slijedile snažne funkcionalne gradske zi-



Fig. 11.
 View on the S and E walls of Tor after the reconstruction in 1912. To the left a priest, most probably Bulić and a gentleman (probably the same ones as on Fig. 10, A) stand on a heap of stones and soil (now all removed). Made by Ivan Znidarčić on Nov. 27th 1913. Unpublished. Curtesy of KOS.

Sl. 11.
 Pogled na J i I zid Tora nakon rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Lijevo je svećenik, najvjerojatnije Bulić i neki gospodin (vjerojatno isti na slici 10.A. koji stoje na hrpi kamenja i zemlje. Naknadno uklonjeni. Foto: Ivan Znidarčić, 27. 11. 1913. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom KOS-a.

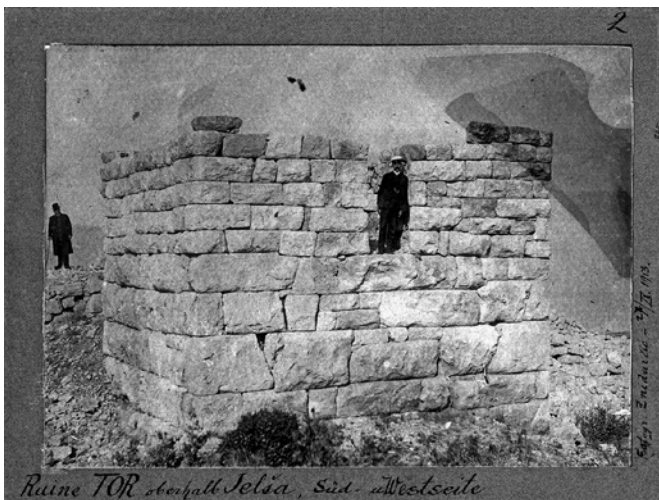


Fig. 12.
 View on the S and W walls of Tor after reconstruction in 1912. To the left most probably Bulić. At doorway a civilian. Made by Ivan Znidarčić on Nov. 27th 1913. Unpublished. Curtesy of KOS.

Sl. 12.
 Pogled na J i I zid Tora nakon rekonstrukcije iz 1912. S lijeve strane je najvjerojatnije Bulić. Na vratima kule je nepoznati gospodin. Foto: Ivan Znidarčić 27. 11. 1913. Neobjavljeno.

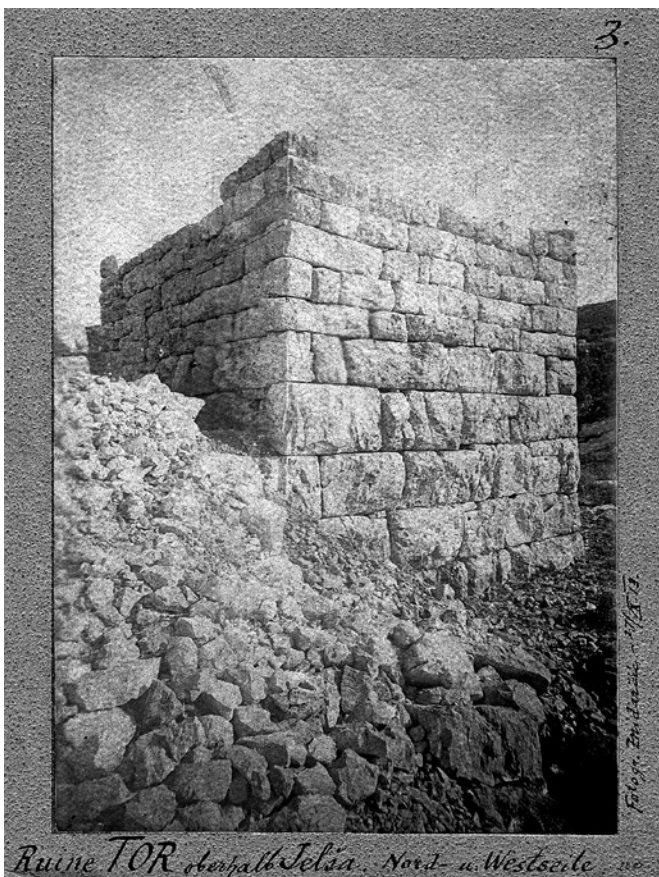


Fig. 13.
 View on the N and W walls of Tor after reconstruction in 1912. Made by Ivan Znidarčić on Nov. 27th 1913. Unpublished. Curtesy of KOS.

Sl. 13.
 Pogled na S i Z zidove Tora nakon rekonstrukcije iz 1912. Foto: Ivan Znidarčić, 27. 11. 1913. Neobjavljeno. Dobrotom KOS-a.

that of the tower (...). When their different features are taken into account, the epochs in which these walls were erected cannot be distinguished. In the primitive era of Greece, the construction city walls differed as often observed: the stones of the towers are always of a higher quality compared to other walls, then there are the strong functional walls of the city, and finally walls that surrounded it to a height of a few meters and which were designed to make it difficult for enemies to enter. These were the least well-made walls and are very similar to the walls of Gelsa (Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire dell'arte dans l'antiquité*, V. "L'architecture civile", p. 659 ff).⁶⁴

Bervaldi also touched on the tower's chronology. Using the classification of G. Perrot and C. Chipiez (1890, 659 ff), he came to the conclusion that the tower of Tor had to be much older than the walls of Pharos and even older than the "Murazzo" wall at Salona and the walls of Ephesos, quoting Keil (1912), which he dated to the early 3rd century BC. He also believed that the decipherment of the inscription (Fig. 7) would help to date the tower and ended his report by dating Tor '...*ancor nel settimo, od ottavo secolo avanti Cristo*'.⁶⁵

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON THE TOR TOWER

There is no mention of Tor in the period between the two World Wars.⁶⁶ News about the tower is found in a letter written in 1947 by Niko Duboković Nadalini, the most distinguished heritage scholar from Hvar. In this letter to the AMS, he wrote that in 1943 the Italian occupying forces bombarded the tower and demolished the upper parts of its E, N and W walls, while the S side remained intact.⁶⁷ On the enclosed two photographs taken on 24 Nov. 1947 (Fig. 14 and 15)⁶⁸ one can see both the damage done to the E and N walls and the intact S wall.⁶⁹

In July 1948, AMS director Mihovil Abramić visited Jelsa and Tor. He wrote that Tor was damaged by the occupying forces on three sides by artillery shells and that 'unfortunately, the local People's Committee did not report this vandalism as a

dine te naposljetku zidovi koji su ih okruživali do visine od nekoliko metara čija je namjena bila otežati ulazak neprijatelju. Ove su zidine bile najlošije kvalitete te su veoma slične zidina-ma Jelse (Perrot – Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, V. "L'architecture civile", str. 659 i d.)⁶⁴

I Bervaldi se dotiče kronologije kule. Na temelju klasifikacije G. Perrota i C. Chipieza (1890, 659 i d.) zaključuje da kula Tor mora biti znatno starija od zidina Farosa, pa čak i od salonitanskog *murazza* te zidina Efeza, citirajući Keila (1912), koji ih kronološki smješta na početak 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. Osim toga, smatra da bi datiranju kule pomoglo tumačenje natpisa (sl. 7), zaključujući svoje izvještaj tvrdnjom kako Tor pripada ...*ancor nel settimo, od ottavo secolo avanti Cristo*.⁶⁵

NOVIJA SAZNANJA O KULI TOR

U razdoblju između dva svjetska rata nema spomena kule Tor.⁶⁶ Novosti o kuli nalazimo u pismu Nike Dubokovića Nadalinija, najrenomiranijeg istraživača baštine s Hvara, iz 1947. U tom dopisu upućenom AMS-u piše da su 1943. talijanske okupatorske snage bombardirale kulu, razorivši gornje dijelove njezina I, S i Z zida, dok je J strana ostala cijela.⁶⁷ Na priloženim dvije fotografije snimljene 24. studenoga 1947. (sl. 14 i 15)⁶⁸ vide se oštećenja I i S zida, kao i J zid koji je ostao pošteđen.⁶⁹

U srpnju 1948. Jelsu i Tor je obišao ravnatelj AMS-a Mihovil Abramić. Piše kako su Tor s tri strane razorile okupatorske snage topničkom paljbom i kako mjesni Narodni odbor taj vandalizam nažalost nije prijavio kao ratnu štetu. Abramić se raspitivao i o crtežu (slici?) Tora koji je postojao u općinskom uredu, ali ga nije mogao naći. Navodi kako mu je rečeno da je crtež tamo od oslobođenja i kako je pisao mjesnom Narodnom odboru ne bi li saznao što se s njim dogodilo. Osim toga informira Odbor o zakonu kojim se regulira zaštita spomenika kulture donesenom 4. listopada 1946.⁷⁰

Na prvom popisu spomenika otoka Hvara, objavljenom 1958., čitamo kako je Tor zaštićeni lokalitet, kako se prostire na području od 40 m² koje nosi katastarski broj KB 369.⁷¹ U istoj

64 Bervaldi 1914, p. VI–VII.

65 Bervaldi 1914, pp. VI–VII.

66 There is a photograph of the south wall of Tor and its surroundings taken in 1934 by Većeslav Hennenberg, see: <http://fototeka.min-kulture.hr/hr/Predmet/286/3>. Accessed 18 Jan. 2022.

67 This was done on 1 May because the partisans raised a red flag on the tower (Zaninović 1981, p. 206; 1982, p. 63). Nikolanci (1958, p. 57) believed that the destruction was done by the German occupying forces, while Duboković Nadalini mentioned that it was in 1943 (Duboković's Nadalini's letter from Nov. 24th 1947, AMS archive no. 447).

68 See also: Novak 1961, Pl. IV and V; Zaninović 1978/1979, p. 205, Fig. 3.

69 Photo archive of the AMS.

64 Bervaldi 1914, str. VI–VII.

65 Bervaldi 1914, str. VI–VII.

66 Postoji fotografija J zida Tora i okolice koju je snimio Većeslav Hennenberg 1934., v.: <http://fototeka.min-kulture.hr/hr/Predmet/286/3>. Pristupljeno 18. siječnja 2022.

67 To je bilo 1. svibnja jer su partizani bili na kuli izvjesili crvenu zastavu (Zaninović 1981, str. 206; 1982, str. 63). Nikolanci (1958, str. 57) je vjerovao da su za razaranje bile zaslužne njemačke okupatorske snage, dok je Duboković Nadalini spomenuo godinu 1943. (pismo Dubokovića Nadalinija od 24. studenoga 1947., AMS-ov arh. br. 447).

68 V. i: Novak 1961, T. IV i V; Zaninović 1978/1979, str. 205, sl. 3.

69 Fotoarhiv AMS-a.

70 Dokumenti iz arhiva AMS-a, br. 352 i 353 iz 1948.

71 Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, str. 41, br. 11. V. i www.geportal.dgu.hr. Pristupljeno 18. siječnja 2022. Danas je Tor kao ar-



Fig. 14.
View on the E and the N walls of Tor after the bombing by the Italian occupying forces in 1943. Photo from Nov. 24th 1947 by Niko Duboković-Nadalini. Courtesy of AMS.

Sl. 14.
Pogled na l i S zidove Tora nakon bombardiranja talijanske okupacijske vojske iz 1943. Snimio Niko Duboković Nadalini 24. 11. 1947. Dobrotom AMS-a.



Fig. 15.
Pogled na neoštećeni južni zid Tora. Snimio Niko Duboković Nadalini 24. 11. 1947. Dobrotom AMS-a.

Sl. 15.
View on the undamaged S wall of Tor made on Nov. 24th 1947 by Niko Duboković-Nadalini. Courtesy of AMS.

war damage' (*author's translation*). Abramić had also inquired about the fine drawing (painting?) of Tor that existed in the town office, but could not find it. He had been told that it was there after the liberation and he had written to the local People's Committee to find out what had happened to it. He also informed them about the new law governing protection of cultural monuments that was enacted on 4 Oct. 1946.⁷⁰

In the first list of monuments on the island of Hvar published in 1958, we read that Tor is a protected site, that it covers an area of 40 m² and that its cadastral number is KB 369.⁷¹ In the same book, Mladen Nikolanci stated only that Tor is a Greek watchtower that overlooks the sea and the Stari Grad

knjizi Mladen Nikolanci iznosi tek da je Tor grčka promatračnica s koje se pruža pogled na more te na Starogradsko i Jelšansko polje⁷² i da je sagrađen u razdoblju neprijateljskih odnosa između novopridošlih Grka i autohtonog ilirskog stanovništva otoka te "simbolizira njihovu međusobnu netoleranciju".⁷³ To je objašnjenje kasnije odbacio Zaninović.⁷⁴

U svojoj monografiji otoka Hvara iz 1960. i svojem iscrpnom radu o Grcima na Jadranu iz 1961. godine Grga Novak kaže tek kako kula Tor potječe iz 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. te kako su zidine Farosa, Isse, Aserije, Varvarije i Salone izgrađene pod snažnim utjecajem tehnike korištene pri izgradnji sirakuških utvrda koje je dao sagraditi Dionizije Stariji.⁷⁵

70 Documents from the AMS archives, nos. 352 and 353 for 1948.

71 Berić, Duboković Nadalini, Nikolanci 1958, p. 41, no. 11. See also www.geoportal.dgu.hr. Accessed 18 Jan. 2022. Today Tor is protected as an archaeological site by the Ministry of Culture under register code Z-7416.

heološki lokalitet pod zaštitom Ministarstva kulture pod reg. br. Z-7416.

72 Nikolanci 1958, str. 57.

73 Nikolanci 1973, str. 92–93; 1976, str. 150.

74 Zaninović 1980, str. 204; 1982, str. 71.

75 Novak 1960, str. 29; 1961, str. 191, T. IV–V.

and Jelsa plains⁷² and that it was built during hostile relations between the newly arrived Greeks and the Illyrian natives on the island and as ‘a symbol of mutual intolerance’.⁷³ This explanation was later rejected by Zaninović.⁷⁴

In his 1960 monograph on the island of Hvar and his exhaustive 1961 paper on the Greeks in the Adriatic, Grga Novak only said that the tower at Tor dates to the 4th century BC and that the walls of Pharos, Issa, Asseria, Varvaria and Salona were constructed under the strong influence of the technique used for the Syracusan fortifications built by Dionysius Elder.⁷⁵

Mate Suić, in his influential 1976 book dealing with Iron Age, Greek and Roman urbanism on the Eastern Adriatic coast, noted that the fortification walls of Pharos and Tor are similar and that these walls, together with those at Issa, Stobreč, Ulcinj, Medum and Ošanići, belong (according to G. Lugli’s classification) to a masonry type consisting of polygonal, either rectangular or trapezoidal, blocks. He also noted that the influence came from Greece via Epirus and S Illyria.⁷⁶ In 1977, Suić suggested that Tor could be a lighthouse, albeit admitting that the function and the date of this building are still unclear. In his opinion, Tor was used as a lighthouse (*turris pharia*) to guide ships sailing through the Hvar canal to and from the mouth of the Naron River at night toward Pharos and Issa and to warn them in case of danger, especially from the 2nd century BC onward.⁷⁷ However, Suić’s suggestion that this tower functioned as a lighthouse was convincingly rejected by Zaninović.⁷⁸

The archaeologist who has written most extensively about Tor is Marin Zaninović, who has published several papers⁷⁹ on this subject and also referred to it in a book (2015). He is aware of the works by Pribojević, Boglić, Burton, Bulić, Nikolanci and Suić, but failed to include the other sources mentioned above. Zaninović’s reports are based primarily on the excavations and restoration works that were conducted periodically without substantial funding by Vladimir Mirosavljević from 1960 to 1974 and ceased altogether after Mirosavljević died unexpectedly in 1975.⁸⁰ Zaninović, who was his associate, did not continue

Mate Suić u svojoj utjecajnoj knjizi iz 1976. u kojoj piše o urbanizmu željeznodobnih, grčkih i rimskih naseobina na istočnojadranskoj obali ističe kako su fortifikacijske zidine Farosa i Tora slične te kako te zidine, uz one u Issi, Stobreču, Ulcinju, Medumu i Ošanićima pripadaju (prema klasifikaciji G. Luglija) vrsti zidina izgrađenih od poligonalnih četverokutnih ili trapezoidnih blokova. Također iznosi mišljenje da je grčki utjecaj stigao preko Epira i južne Ilirije.⁷⁶ Suić 1977. iznosi tezu da je Tor mogao biti svjetionik, priznajući da su namjena i datacija te građevine još uvijek nejasni. Po njegovu mišljenju Tor je služio kao svjetionik (*turris pharia*) kako bi vodio brodove koji su noću plovili hvarskim kanalom do i od ušća rijeke Naron prema Farosu i Issi i kako bi ih upozorio na opasnost, osobito od 2. stoljeća pr. Kr.⁷⁷ Međutim, Suićevu tezu da je kula služila kao svjetionik uvjerljivo je odbacio Zaninović.⁷⁸

Arheolog koji je najiscrpnije pisao o Toru je Marin Zaninović, koji je objavio nekoliko radova⁷⁹ na tu temu, a spominje ga i u svojoj knjizi (2015). Upoznat je s radovima Pribojevića, Boglića, Burtona, Bulića, Nikolancija i Suića, no propustio je uključiti ostale gore spomenute izvore. Zaninovićeva izvješća temelje se u prvom redu na arheološkim iskopavanjima i radovima obnove koje je periodički bez dostatnih financijskih sredstava provodio Vladimir Mirosavljević od 1960. do 1974. i koja su u potpunosti prekinuta Mirosavljevićevom neočekivanom smrću 1975. godine.⁸⁰ Zaninović, njegov suradnik, nije nastavio raditi na lokalitetu, iako je prvotno izjavio da će to učiniti.⁸¹ Namjesto toga, od 1978. do 1980. je istraživao lokalitet Purkin kuk iznad Staroga Grada (Farosa), u ponečemu sličan Toru.⁸²

Kako god bilo, Zaninović je iznio nekoliko napomena o kuli, ustvrdivši da 40 m dugačka masivna nakupina lomljenog vapnenca na vrhu brijega predstavlja ilirsku gradinu koja je branila pretpovijesnu naseobinu u podnožju, na S padini. Naseobina se prostirala oko 300 m prema dolje. Iako je područje bilo (te je i sad) dobro zaraslo u makiju, Zaninović smatra kako su neke terase prirodne, a neke umjetne i podzidane ili izgrađene u tehnici suhozida, od blokova jednakih onima u bedemu ispred kule. Po njegovu mišljenju neki su blokovi “kiklopski”, odnosno masivni, što ukazuje na njihovo pretpovijesno podrijetlo. Bilo

72 Nikolanci 1958, p. 57.

73 Nikolanci 1973, p. 92-93; 1976, p. 150.

74 Zaninović 1980, p. 204; 1982, p. 71.

75 Novak 1960, p. 29; 1961, p. 191, Pls. IV-V.

76 Suić 1976, p. 17, p. 107.

77 Suić 1977, pp. 162-163.

78 Zaninović 1980, p. 204; 1982, p. 71.

79 Zaninović 1966, p. 74; 1973a, pp. 207-209; 1973b, p. 193; 1978a, pp. 23-27; 1978/1979; 1980, pp. 34-36; 1982; 1984, p. 42; 1995, pp. 154-155.

80 Mirosavljević worked at the Archaeology Department of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb. The current director, Željko Tomičić, told me in an e-mail message (15 Sept. 2021) that they have no documentation or finds from Tor. Thanks to Zaninović, the published pottery finds from excavations in 1967 and 1968 are held in MHB in the town of Hvar.

76 Suić 1976, str. 17, str. 107.

77 Suić 1977, str. 162-163.

78 Zaninović 1980, str. 204; 1982, str. 71.

79 Zaninović 1966, str. 74; 1973a, str. 207-209; 1973b, str. 193; 1978a, str. 23-27; 1978/1979; 1980, str. 34-36; 1982; 1984., str. 42; 1995, str. 154-155.

80 Mirosavljević je radio na Odsjeku za arheologiju Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu. Trenutačni voditelj Odsjeka, Željko Tomičić, napisao mi je u poruci e-pošte od 15. rujna 2021. da ne posjeduju dokumentaciju ni nalaze iz Tora. Zahvaljujući Zaninoviću, objelodanjeni nalazi keramike iz istraživanja provedenih 1967. i 1968. čuvaju se u MHB-u u gradu Hvaru.

81 Zaninović 1978/1979, str. 203.

82 Zaninović 1978b; 1981; 1995, str. 53 uz sl. na str. 141.

working at the site, despite initially stating that he would do so.⁸¹ Instead he excavated the Purkin kuk site above Stari Grad (Pharos), which is somewhat similar to Tor, from 1978 to 1980.⁸²

Zaninović nevertheless made some remarks about the tower, stating that the 40 m long massive deposit of limestone rubble on the hilltop represents an Illyrian hillfort that protected the prehistoric settlement on the N slope below it. This settlement extended downhill for approximately 300 m. Although the area was (and is) highly overgrown with maquis, Zaninović said that some of the terraces are natural, some artificial and underpinned or built with drystone walls that included blocks that are the same as those in the walls of the rampart in front of the tower. In his view, some of the blocks are 'Cyclopean', or massive, an indication of their prehistoric origin. There were dozens of dwellings. Numerous prehistoric handmade calcite gritted potsherds as well as fragments of Hellenistic pottery and tiles were recorded, especially on the lowest terraces, where they had accumulated due to slope erosion.⁸³ He also noted that about 100 m below these terraces, graves containing pots and bronze buckles were discovered during soil cultivation next to a dry stone wall in a plot owned by L. Batoš. These were found some 50 years before Miroslavjević's excavations at Tor began. Unfortunately, these materials were lost before Zaninović could study them. He assumed that they came from an Illyrian necropolis that included tombs with Hellenistic offerings.⁸⁴ He also mentioned the presence of at least four or five large stone barrows which according to him are without doubt connected to the Tor hillfort. These barrows are spread along the inlets from Jelsa to Carkvica/Sveti Luka Bay.⁸⁵

According to Zaninović, right to the S side of the prehistoric rampart in its central part a rectangular tower with cyclopean walls was built with blocks in horizontal rectangular and trapezoidal courses and drafted edges at their corners. To accomplish this, the plateau was artificially modified in part after the blocks for building the tower were extracted from this spot.⁸⁶ About 2 m in front of the N side of the tower (i.e., the central S part of the earlier rampart) were also cleared to enable the tower's construction. The length of the rampart is 50 m⁸⁷ but the extent of the clearing works is unknown. This narrow area between the tower and the rampart was un-

je na desetke nastambi. Izdvojeni su brojni ulomci pretpovijesne prostoručne lončarije sa zrcnima kalcita kao i ulomci helenističke keramike i opeke, osobito na terasama u samom podnožju, gdje su ih nanijele atmosferilije.⁸³ Osim toga, ističe kako su oko 100 m ispod tih terasa pri obrađivanju zemlje na zemljištu u vlasništvu L. Batoša otkriveni grobovi koji su sadržavali posude i brončane kopče. Ti su nalazi otkriveni pedesetak godina prije nego što su započela Miroslavjevićeva iskapanja Tora. Nažalost, građa je izgubljena prije no što ju je Zaninović mogao proučiti. Pretpostavlja da potječe iz ilirske nekropole koja je uključivala grobove s helenističkim prilozima.⁸⁴ Spominje i postojanje najmanje četiriju ili pet golemih kamenih gomila koje su po njegovu mišljenju bez sumnje povezane s gradinom Tor. Gomile su rasprostranjene uz uvale od Jelse do Carkvice / Svetog Luke.⁸⁵

Prema Zaninoviću, uz J stranu pretpovijesnog bedema, u njegovu središnjem dijelu, podignuta je četverokutna kula ciklopskih zidina od blokova složenih u vodoravne pravokutne i trapezoidne redove, s obrađenim rubovima na uglovima. U tu je svrhu dio brijega umjetno zaravnat nakon vađenja kamenih blokova za gradnju kule na licu mjesta.⁸⁶ Kako bi se omogućila izgradnja kule, raščišćena su i otprilike 2 m površine ispred S strane kule (odnosno u središnjem S dijelu starijeg bedema). Duljina bedema je 50 m⁸⁷, ali nisu poznati razmjeri radova raščišćavanja. Taj je uski prostor između kule i bedema sa S strane podzidan suhozidom izrađenim od većih blokova, koji se oblikom razlikuju od blokova kule. Graditelji su prostor između kule i suhozida ispunili kamenjem, koje uključuje i neke blokove koji su se koristili pri izgradnji kule. Njihova boja čak ima isti sivi ton.⁸⁸ I u Z ugao kule bili su povezani s bedemom suhozidima izgrađenima jednostavnijim načinom gradnje (W8 na sl. 16a i 21). Po Zaninovićevu mišljenju nekadašnji pretpovijesni bedem bio je niži, ali je povišen (do 4 m u vis) zahvaljujući nasipu kamenjem raščišćenim pri izgradnji kule.⁸⁹

Početak 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća provedena su iskapanja sa svih strana kule. Iskopane su sonde u širini od jednog metra. Sondom s J strane došlo se do kamenih temelja s dubinom od 60 cm. U njoj nije bilo nikakvih nalaza. Jednaka je si-

81 Zaninović 1978/1979, p. 203.

82 Zaninović 1978b; 1981; 1995, p. 53 with Fig. on p. 141.

83 Zaninović 1973, p. 208; 1978a, p. 25; 198/1979, p. 201, p. 203, p. 204; 1982, p. 62.

84 Zaninović 1973a, p. 209; 1980, p. 204.

85 Zaninović 1973a, p. 209; 1973b, p. 193.

86 Zaninović 1978a, p. 23; 1982, p. 62. He also stated that the blocks were extracted nearby as the recess marks of tools are seen on them and on some tower blocks.

87 Zaninović 1995, p. 154.

83 Zaninović 1973, str. 208; 1978a, str. 25; 198/1979, str. 201, str. 203, str. 204; 1982, str. 62.

84 Zaninović 1973a, str. 209; 1980, str. 204.

85 Zaninović 1973a, str. 209; 1973b, str. 193.

86 Zaninović 1978a, str. 23; 1982, str. 62. Također navodi kako su blokovi vađeni na licu mjesta, što je vidljivo po udubljenjima od klinova kojima su blokovi cijepani koja su vidljiva na njima i na nekim blokovima kule.

87 Zaninović 1995, str. 154.

88 To nema smisla. Zašto bi graditelji ispunjavali nešto što su iskopali? Vjerojatno su željeli napraviti prolaz oko kule kako bi je mogli graditi i kretati se oko nje. Blokovi slični onima na kuli zapravo su se mogli odroniti s kule (kao što je slučaj s onima u Maslinoviku).

89 Zaninović 1978a, str. 25; 1980, str. 204.

derpinned on the N side with a dry stone wall made of larger blocks that are shaped differently than the tower blocks. The builders filled the space between the tower and the dry stone wall with stones which include some of the same blocks that were used for the construction of the tower. They even had the same grey colour.⁸⁸ The E and the W quoins of the tower were connected to the rampart by dry stone walls that were made with even less care than the others (W8 on Fig. 16a and 21). In Zaninović's view, the former prehistoric rampart was lower and it became higher (up to 4 m in height) due to the fill of stones that were cleared when the tower was built.⁸⁹

In the early 1960s, excavations were conducted on all sides around the tower. The trench was one meter wide. On the S side the bedrock emerged at a depth of 60 cm. No artefacts were found. A similar situation was recorded also on the E and W sides. On both of these sides the bedrock slopes down northward and the foundation level closer to the N wall is not visible due to the presence of large blocks that could not be removed and thus hide the tower's foundation blocks. Given the size of the blocks laying against the N side, Zaninović noted that it was impossible to excavate to the level of the tower's foundations. He observed that despite the fact that the N wall is 1 m deeper than the S one, its lowest course is still not visible. This prompted Zaninović to conclude that the N slope is very steep and that the rampart in front of the tower was built to prevent the eventual collapse of the tower on this side. He stated that there were no finds. No documentation regarding the bedrock around the tower was provided. Similarly, these investigations failed to produce a cross section of the excavation trenches.

Inside the tower, excavations were conducted to a depth of 2-3m.⁹⁰ No significant finds were reported: only loose stones and soil were found. Safety precautions did not allow extending the depth of the excavation. Nothing is mentioned about the original interior face of the tower other than a brief comment that the 'walls on the inside are made of smaller stones'.⁹¹ From his report, it is unclear how wide the walls are, how the inner and outer faces of the walls were interconnected, and whether any artefacts were found.⁹² Zaninović

tuacija bila s I i Z strane. S obje strane stijene temelja prema S kao i bliže S zidu skrivaju veliki blokovi koje nije bilo moguće ukloniti. S obzirom na veličinu blokova na spoju S zida, Zaninović napominje kako nije bilo moguće kopati do razine temelja kule. Primjećuje kako, unatoč činjenici što S zid ide više od jednog metra dublje od J, i dalje nije vidljiv njegov najdonji red. Na temelju toga Zaninović zaključuje da je S padina veoma strma, a bedem ispred kule izgrađen da bi zaštitio zid s te strane kule od klizanja. Ustvrdio je kako nije bilo nalaza. Tijekom ovih iskopavanja nisu dokumentirani ostaci živca. Isto tako, u sklopu istraživanja nisu napravljeni presjeci sonde.

Iskopavanja unutar kule provedena su do dubine od 2 do 3 m.⁹⁰ Nisu zabilježeni značajniji nalazi: otkriveno je tek sitnije kamenje i humus. Iz sigurnosnih razloga, iskopavanja nije bilo moguće provesti na većoj dubini. Ne spominje se izvorni izgled unutrašnjosti kule, iznosi se tek kratko zapažanje o tome kako su unutrašnji zidovi izrađeni od manjeg kamenja.⁹¹ Iz njegova izvještaj nije jasno kolika je širina zidova, kako su unutarnja i vanjska površina zidova bile međusobno povezane te je li bilo nalaza.⁹² Zaninović također tvrdi kako dimenzije blokova i tehnika gradnje fortifikacijskih zidova Tora i Farosa nisu slični.⁹³

Glavna iskopavanja na lokalitetu provedena su 1967. i 1968., kad je u "bedemu" ispred kule otvorena sonda veličine 7,5 × 1,5 (oko 11 m²). Nalazila se 11,4 m od SI ugla kule (sl. 16 i 16a, br. 3).⁹⁴ Na pojedinim mjestima iskopavanja su dosegla dubinu od 2 m. Zabilježena su tri sloja. Najviši sloj sadržavao je veće i manje kamenje. Bio je dubok 0,5 m. Sljedeći se sloj opisuje kao "kulturni sloj s nalazima" na dubini od 50 do 80 cm, otkriven po sredini sonde u dužini od oko 3 m. Ispod njega nalazi se sterilni sloj s većim i manjim kalcificiranim kamenjem.⁹⁵ Na JI dijelu je bila je neka vrsta kamenog suhozida.⁹⁶ U spomenutom kulturnom sloju, koji je karakteriziran sitnijim kamenjem i sivo-smeđim pepeljastim humusom, po sredini je pronađeno "izrazito vatrište"⁹⁷ ili "sloj ognjišta površine 6,2 m"⁹⁸ Sloj je sadržavao kosti, prostoručnu i helenističku keramiku, par kremenova, brojne lupare, morske puževe, kamenice i metalne predmete. "Posebno je radi kronologije važan nalaz, tako-

88 This is unreasonable. Why would the builders fill up something that they had excavated? They probably wanted to make a passage around the tower so they could build it and walk around it. The blocks said to be similar to those on the tower could in fact have fallen from the tower (as is the case at Maslinovik).

89 Zaninović 1978a, p. 25; 1980, p. 204.

90 Zaninović 1980, p. 35 (2 m); 1978/79, p. 207 (3 m). It is not stated from which level this depth was measured and whether it was taken before or after reconstruction in 1974. What we see now are the rebuilt interior walls made during the restoration works in 1912 and 1974. It looks as if no original interior wall is visible.

91 Zaninović 1980, p. 35.

92 Only their approximate width of 1 m could be calculated using the

90 Zaninović 1980, str. 35 (2 m); 1978/79, str. 207 (3 m). Ne navodi se od koje razine je izmjerena ta dubina, kao ni je li izmjerena prije ili nakon obnove 1974. Ono što vidimo danas su unutrašnji zidovi obnovljeni u sklopu radova 1912. i 1974. Čini se da nije vidljiva izvorna unutrašnjost.

91 Zaninović 1980, str. 35.

92 Na temelju objavljenih tlorisa kule moglo bi se izračunati tek približnu širinu od jednog metra (Zaninović, 1981, str. 201; 1982, str. 65).

93 Zaninović 1973a, str. 208.

94 Zaninović 1982, str. 64. U jednom od svojih radova Zaninović (1981, str. 203) izvještuje kako je na tom nasipu otvoreno nekoliko sonde.

95 Sličan je sloj otkriven u kuli na Maslinoviku: Kirigin, u tisku.

96 Zaninović 1982, str. 71.

97 Zaninović 1982, str. 64.

98 Zaninović 1982, str. 71.

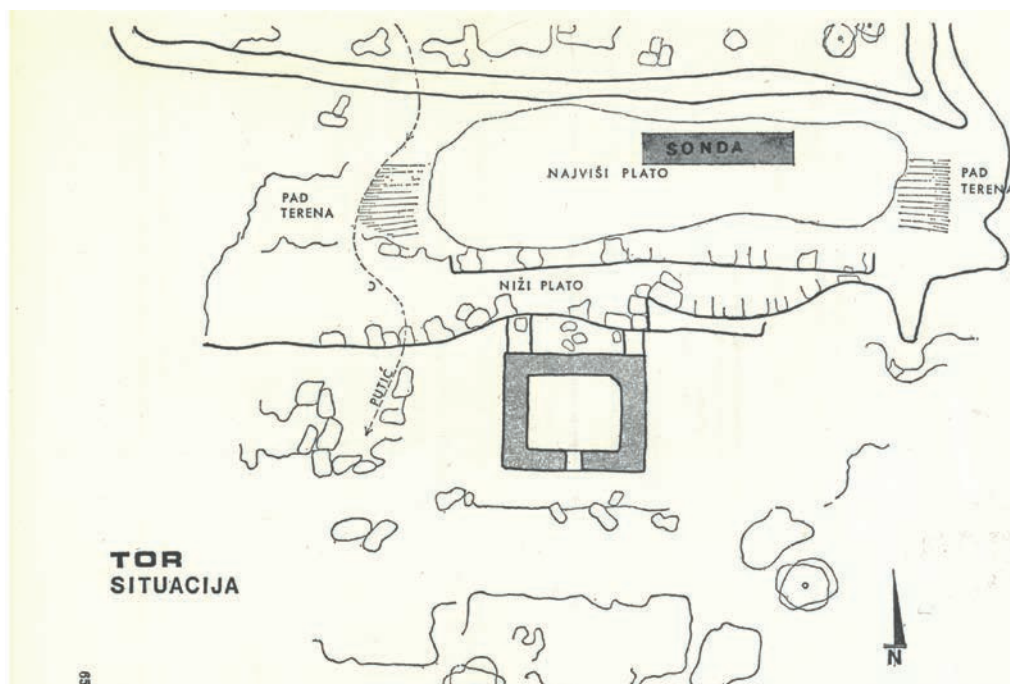


Fig. 16.
Zaninović's plan of the site of Tor (1982,
p. 63)

Sl. 16.
Zaninovićeva skica nalazišta na Toru
(1982., str. 63.).



Fig. 16a.
Vertikalni snimak dronom "bedema"
i kule. Snimio Edvard Visković 2019. 1.
Sonda 1. -iskopao Visković. 2. Sonda 2.
- iskopao Visković. 3. Sonda iskopao
Miroslavljević. W4. Dugački suhozid na
"bedemu". W5 Dugački zid napravljen
od velikih kamenih blokova. W6 Zid od
velikih kamenih blokova. W7 Blokovi na
sjeveroistočnom kraju. W8 Suhozid koji
spaja kulu sa W5. W9 Novija suhozidina.
Modificirao B. Kirigin. Dobrotom E.
Viskovića.

Sl. 16a.
Dron vertical view of the "rampart" and
the tower at Tor made by Edvard Visković
in 2019. 1. Trench 1 excavated by Visković;
2. Trench 2 excavated by Visković; 3.
Trench excavated by Miroslavljević; W4.
The long drystone wall on top of the
"rampart"; W5. The long wall made of
lager stone blocks; W6. Wall of large
stone blocks; W7. Blocks at the north-
east end; W8. Drystone walls that
connect the tower with W5. W9. Recent
drystone wall. Nos. 3 to 9 inserted by B.
Kirigin. Courtesy of Edvard Visković.

also maintained that the dimensions of the blocks and the construction technique for the fortification walls of Tor and Pharos are not similar.⁹³

đer unutar samoga vatrišta, novčića Farosa i Isse."⁹⁹ Među "naročito brojnim" komadima kostiju goveda, ovaca, koza te jele-
na ističe se šilo izrađeno od kosti ovce ili koze dužine 5,5 cm.¹⁰⁰
Zaninović je smatrao da su ognjište izradili i koristili graditelji

published ground plans of the tower (Zaninović, 1981, p. 201; 1982,
p. 65).

93 Zaninović 1973a, p. 208.

99 Zaninović 1982, str. 64, str. 70.

100 Kovačić 1982, str. 66, T. 1, br. 3.

The principal excavation of the site took place in 1967 and 1968 when a trench measuring 7.5 × 1.5 (c. 11 m²) was dug in the rampart in front of the tower. It was located 11.4 m from the SI quoin of the tower (Fig. 16 and 16a, no. 3).⁹⁴ In some place the excavations reached a depth of 2 m. Three layers were recorded. The top layer consisted of smaller and larger stones. It was 0.5 m deep. The next layer is described as a “cultural layer with finds” from 50 to 80 cm deep that was discovered in the central part of the trench and is 3 m large. Below, a sterile layer with smaller and larger calcified stones was documented.⁹⁵ In the SE part there is something like a built dry stone wall.⁹⁶ In this cultural layer, characterised by smaller stones and grey-brown ashy humus, in the central part a “distinct hearth”⁹⁷ or ‘a hearth layer covering an area of 6.2 m.’⁹⁸ was found. It contained ‘bones, handmade and Hellenistic pottery, several flints, numerous limpet shells, sea snails, oysters and metal objects. For chronological reasons especially important finds from the heart are the coins of Pharos and Issa. (*author’s translation*).⁹⁹ Among the “especially numerous” bones he distinguished a 5.5 cm long awl made of goat or sheep bone, and bones of cattle, sheep, goats, and deer.¹⁰⁰ Zaninović thought that the hearth was made and used by the builders of the tower or that ‘it may be a sacrificial area but the artefacts that were found do not support this.’¹⁰¹ He concluded:

‘Thus the human activity or the event that created or conditioned the existence of this hearth and the cultural layer at the top of the hillfort occurred sometime during the third century (i.e., BC),¹⁰² but he also added that

‘Its range and thickness attest to a certain length of time’ and that ‘afterward it was covered with a fill of stones.’¹⁰³ According to him the upper part of the long massive rampart was a result of clearing the area where the tower stands.¹⁰⁴ His opinion was that the builders were local Illyrians and that

‘The iron chisel (?) belonged to these builders. After that the hearth or the provisional dwelling were destroyed and filled with stones from the area that was cleared and remained as such until our research began.’¹⁰⁵

Zaninović sets the chronological range of these finds ‘from

kule ili da je možda služilo za prinošenje žrtava, što, međutim, kako ističe, tamošnji nalazi ne potvrđuju.¹⁰¹ Zaključuje:

„Prema tome ljudska djelatnost ili zbiljanje, koje je stvorilo ili uvjetovalo postojanje ovoga ognjišta i kulturnoga sloja na vrhu gradinske gomile, odvijalo se negdje tijekom trećega stoljeća” (pr. Kr.),¹⁰² ali dodaje i:

„Njegov opseg i debljina govore za određeno vremensko trajanje i zatim ga prekriva nasip kamenja.”¹⁰³

Prema njegovu mišljenju gornji dio dugačkog masivnog nasipa bio je rezultat raščišćavanja područja na kojem stoji kula.¹⁰⁴ Po njegovu mišljenju graditelji su bili domaći Iliri, a

„željezni komadi (dlijeta?) pripadali su tim graditeljima. Nakon toga ognjište ili provizorna nastamba bila je likvidirana i zasuta kamenjem nakon čišćenja terena i tako ostala do istraživanja koje smo ovdje iznijeli.”¹⁰⁵

Vremenski okvir iz kojeg potječu nalazi Zaninović smješta od brončanog doba do 3. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁰⁶

Zaninović tvrdi kako je kula bila teško dostupna iz Farosa¹⁰⁷ te kako se tehnika primijenjena pri izgradnji Farosa razlikuje od one primijenjene pri izgradnji Tora.¹⁰⁸ Iznosi mišljenje kako je kula izgrađena u ilirsko-grčkoj tehnici gradnje megalitima¹⁰⁹ te da njezina funkcija ostaje nerazriješena.¹¹⁰

U razdoblju otkako je prvi put spomenuo kulu Tor (1966.) do svoje najnovije knjige (2015.) ovaj je objekt povezo s usponom ilirskih ardijskih država ili nestabilnim ilirskim savezom te osobito s vladavinom Demetrija Faranina od 229. do 219. g. pr. Kr.¹¹¹ Po njegovu je mišljenju kula bila kontrolna postaja ili početak većeg urbanističkog projekta sličnog onima od kraja 4. do kraja 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. u Epiru, Albaniji, Makedoniji, Crnoj Gori te Bosni i Hercegovini. Konkretno, predlaže datiranje:

„točnije 230. pr. Kr., kada započinje rimsko prodiranje, a s njima i propadanje ilirske moći.”¹¹²

Prema Zaninovićevu mišljenju recentnija obnova zidova kule 1972. uključivalo je tri reda blokova koji su dodani na S, I i Z stranu koje su bile razorene u Drugom svjetskom ratu,¹¹³ no spominje kako je na SZ uglu nedostajalo pet redova.¹¹⁴ Navodi kako su po završetku radova obnove 1974. sve strane kule imale jedanaest redova blokova uz dva dodatna reda na S stra-

94 Zaninović 1982, p.64. In one of his papers Zaninović (1981, p. 203) stated that several trenches were placed on this rampart.

95 A similar layer was found inside the tower at Maslinovik: Kirigin, in print.

96 Zaninović 1982, p. 71.

97 Zaninović 1982, p. 64.

98 Zaninović 1982, p. 71.

99 Zaninović 1982, p. 64, p. 70.

100 Zaninović 1982, p. 66, Pl. 1, no. 3.

101 Zaninović 1978/1979, p. 204. He does not mention any charcoal.

102 Zaninović 1982, p. 70.

103 Zaninović 1982, p. 71.

104 Zaninović 1978a, p. 25.

105 Zaninović 1982, p. 71.

101 Zaninović 1978/1979, str. 204. Ne spominje ugljen.

102 Zaninović 1982, str. 70.

103 Zaninović 1982, str. 71.

104 Zaninović 1978a, str. 25.

105 Zaninović 1982, str. 71.

106 Zaninović 1995, str. 154.

107 Zaninović 1982, str. 69.

108 Zaninović 1973a, str. 208.

109 Zaninović 1980, str. 36.

110 Zaninović 1978/1979, str. 204.

111 Zaninović 1966, str. 74; 1984, str. 42. Tom se mišljenju priklonio Branimir Gabričević (1974, str. 19 i bilj. 30).

112 Zaninović 1980, str. 204–205; 1982, str. 70–72.

113 Zaninović 1978a, str. 26.

114 Zaninović 1980, str. 206.

the Bronze Age to the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁶

Zaninović claimed that the tower was apparently out of reach of Pharos¹⁰⁷ and that the building technique employed at Pharos is different than the one used at Tor.¹⁰⁸ According to him the tower was built in the Illyrian-Greek megalithic technique,¹⁰⁹ and the function of the tower remains controversial.¹¹⁰

Between his first mention of the tower at Tor (1966) up to his latest book (2015), he connected this building with the rise of the Illyrian Ardiaean states, or a labile Illyrian alliance, and particularly to the reign of Demetrius of Pharos from 229 to 219 BC.¹¹¹ His opinion is that the tower was a control station or the beginning of a larger urban planning venture similar to the ones that date from the late 4th to the end of the 3rd century BC in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. More accurately, he suggested the date of

‘precisely in 230 BC, when Roman penetration began, and when Illyrian power began to decline’.¹¹²

According to Zaninović, the new reconstruction of the tower walls in 1972 included three courses of blocks that were added on the N, E and W sides that were devastated in WW2,¹¹³ but he mentions that on the NW quoin five courses were missing.¹¹⁴ He stated that after the restoration works were completed in 1974, all sides of the tower showed eleven courses of blocks, with two additional courses on the N side. The maximum height attained is 8 m on the N side and 6 m on the S side.¹¹⁵ Zaninović did not say anything about the inscription that was said to have been found previously in the SE quoin of the tower (see above).

Zaninović has published three plans of Tor.¹¹⁶ The first one presents only the tower, and has no scale and no indication of the distance between the contour lines (isohypse) interval, and the orientation (like that on Burton’s drawing (Fig. 5, A) is incorrect. We do not know who made it and what the long narrow feature on the N side represents¹¹⁷ (a dry stone wall?). The other two plans are quite similar. One shows the position of the trench on the rampart (Fig. 16); the other does not. No cross sections (profiles?) were published, although one is indi-

ni. Maksimalna dobivena visina je bila 8 m sa S i 6 m sa J strane.¹¹⁵ Zaninović ne kazuje ništa o natpisu koji je pronađen prethodno na JI uglu kule (v. gore).

Zaninović je objavio tri shematska tlocrta Tora.¹¹⁶ Na prvom je prikazana samo kula te nema mjerila i nisu označene udaljenosti intervala konturnih linija (izohipse) te je netočna orijentacija kule (kao i na Burtonovu crtežu, sl. 5, A). Ne znamo tko ga je izradio ni što predstavlja dugačka uska struktura na S strani¹¹⁷ (suhozid?). Druga dva shematska prikaza prilično su slična. Na jednom je prikazan položaj sonde na bedemu (sl. 16); na drugom nije. Nisu objavljeni presjeci (profili?), iako je jedan neizravno prikazan na prvoj shemi (vjerojatno sonde). Najtočniji prikaz lokaliteta – pogled iz zraka – izradio je Eduard Visković 2019. u neobjavljenom izvještaju (sl. 16.a).¹¹⁸

Tor u dva članka spominje i Nikša Petrić. U prvom, koji se bavi tematikom grčkih nalaza u Jelsi, kazuje kako je prema Zaninoviću kula izgrađena u 3. stoljeću pr. Kr. i rezultat je suživota Grka i Ilira.¹¹⁹ U drugom, u kojem piše o pretpovijesnim gomilama na otoku Hvaru, iznosi kako je kula izgrađena na starijem objektu na zaravni, kako je pronađena brojna željeznodobna i antička keramika te kako su u podnožju sjeverne strane kule pod gomilama bili grobovi.¹²⁰

Najrecentnija arheološka iskopavanja manjih razmjera na Toru proveo je Eduard Visković u travnju i svibnju 2019., koja su trajala sedam dana. Bila su povezana s projektom čiji je cilj bio obnova i vrednovanje kule Tor uz financijsku potporu Općine Jelsa i Ministarstva kulture. Otvorene su dvije sonde (sl. 16.a, 1. i 2). Jedna je bila nekoliko metara Z od sonde koju je bio otvorio Mirosavljević, a druga u kuli. Prva (2 × 3 m) je otvorena do dubine od 1,2 m. U njoj je bilo samo kamenje uz nešto zemlje te su otkrivena samo četiri ulomka tijela lončarije domaće proizvodnje sa zrnima kalcita. Budući da je cilj bio pronaći kulturni sloj sličan onom otkrivenom u sondi koju je bio otvorio Mirosavljević (sl. 16. i 16. 3), zaključeno je da nije potrebno ići dublje s iskopavanjima. Druga sonda (2 × 2 m) otvorena je u nadi da će donijeti nalaze koji bi objasnili namjenu (funkciju?) kule te kako bi se dokumentirala razlika između izvornih dijelova kule i onih obnovljenih u 20. stoljeću.¹²¹ Ova je sonda iskopana do iste dubine i donijela je iste rezultate kao prva. Uz dva ulomka tijela lončarije domaće proizvodnje sa zrnima kalcita pronađen je i žeton za telefon iz Slovenije.

106 Zaninović 1995, p. 154.

107 Zaninović 1982, p. 69.

108 Zaninović 1973a, p. 208.

109 Zaninović 1980, p. 36.

110 Zaninović 1978/1979, p. 204.

111 Zaninović 1966, p. 74; 1984, p. 42. This was supported by Branimir Gabričević (1974, p. 19 and note 30).

112 Zaninović 1980, pp. 204-205; 1982, pp. 70-72.

113 Zaninović 1978a, p. 26.

114 Zaninović 1980, p. 206.

115 Zaninović 1978, p. 26; 1982, p. 63. For details about how the tower was originally built and the reconstruction works, see Zaninović 1978/1979; 1980; 1982.

116 Zaninović 1978, p. 26; 1978/1979, p. 201; 1982, p. 65.

117 If so, then it was not drawn correctly.

115 Zaninović 1978, str. 26; 1982, str. 63. Za detalje o izvornoj gradnji tornja i radovima obnove v. Zaninović 1978/1979; 1980; 1982.

116 Zaninović 1978, str. 26; 1978/1979, str. 201; 1982, str. 65.

117 Ako je tako, nije točno nacrtan.

118 Visković 2019. I on je u ovom izvješću prenio geodetski situacijski nacrt Tora i “bedema” koji se razlikuje od preciznije zračne snimke koju također donosi.

119 Petrić 1978, str. 22–23.

120 Petrić 1979, str. 73–74.

121 Smatralo se da nije bilo ranijih iskopavanja unutar kule.

rectly shown in the first (probably the excavated trench). The most accurate plans of the site – an aerial view – was made in 2019 by Eduard Visković in an unpublished report (Fig. 16a).¹¹⁸

Nikša Petrić also mentioned Tor in two papers. In the first, dealing with the problems of Greek finds in Jelsa, he said that according to Zaninović the tower was probably built in the 3rd century BC and that it represents a product of the symbiosis between the Greeks and Illyrians.¹¹⁹ In the second, dealing with prehistoric barrows on the island of Hvar, he stated that the tower was built over an earlier building on the plateau, that much Iron Age and ancient pottery was found, and that at the foot of the tower's N side there were graves under barrows.¹²⁰

The most recent small excavations at Tor were conducted by Eduard Visković for seven days in April and May 2019. These were linked to a project aimed at the reconstruction and valorisation of the Tor tower financed by the town of Jelsa and the Ministry of Culture. Two trenches were excavated (Fig. 16a, 1 and 2). One was located a few meters W of the trench excavated by Mirosavljević and the other was inside the tower. The first (2 × 3 m) was excavated to a depth of 1.2 m. It had only stones with some soil and yielded only four body sherds of local calcite gritted pottery. Since the goal was to find a cultural layer similar to that found in the trench excavated by Mirosavljević (Fig. 16 and 16, 3), deeper excavations were deemed unnecessary. The second trench (2 × 2 m) was excavated in the hopes of finding evidence of the tower's use (function?), and to document the difference between the original parts of the tower and those reconstructed in the 20th century.¹²¹ The excavation of this trench reached the same depth and had the same results as those of the first. A telephone token from Slovenia was also found next to two body sherds from local calcite gritted pottery.

REVISITING CURRENT VIEWS ON THE TOR TOWER

Eduard Visković generously shared his latest drone photographs of all sides of the tower walls. It was relatively easy to mark the division between the original parts of the tower and those that were reconstructed in 1912 and 1974, especially the W, N and E sides (cf. the red line on Fig. 17, A-C). The most problematic is the S wall, as it was the most damaged prior to the first reconstruction. Here it was not possible to indicate the distinction between the original and reconstructed

REVIZIJA POSTOJEĆIH MIŠLJENJA O KULI TOR

Eduard Visković velikodušno je ustupio svoje najnovije, dronom snimljene fotografije svih strana zidova kule. Bilo je razmjerno jednostavno označiti podjelu između izvornih dijelova kule i onih obnovljenih 1912. i 1974., osobito Z, S i I stranu (usp. crvenu liniju na sl. 17, A-C). Najproblematičniji je J zid jer je bio najviše oštećen još prije prve obnove. Tu nije bilo moguće prepoznati razliku između izvornih i rekonstruiranih dijelova, naročito u središnjem dijelu, gdje je danas otvor za vrata (usp. sl. 17, D i E).¹²²

Zanimljiva je situacija povezana sa JI uglom kule. Dva najdonja vidljiva reda sadržavaju blokove čiji uglovi nemaju vertikalna užljebjenja niti izbočene vanjske stranice poput blokova postavljenih na uglovima.¹²³

Prije ponovnog otkrića kule na Maslinoviku i ja sam, nastavljajući se na Zaninovića, vjerovao da je Tor izgrađen kako bi štitiio naselje koje je postojalo na padinama neposredno ispod kule, čije nastambe, isklesane u stijeni, još nisu istražene.¹²⁴ Međutim, ponovno otkriće slične grčke kule na Maslinoviku na sjevernom središnjem rubu Starogradskog polja (*chora Pharou*) ponukalo nas je da revidiramo to tumačenje. Sad se čini logičnim da je ponovno otkrivena kula, koja je bila zaboravljena 111 godina, zajedno s kulom Tor činila integrirani obrambeni sustav Farosa, obilježen izvrsnom međusobnom vidljivošću između ova tri lokaliteta (sl. 1. i 1.a).¹²⁵

Recentna iskopavanja pokazala su da su ostaci kvadratične kule na Maslinoviku – oko 7,5 × 7,5 m – očuvani samo do visine od 1 – 1,5 m sa zidovima širokim oko 1,1 m. I vanjsko i unutrašnje lice zidova čini suhozid s nekoliko trapezoidnih i pretežno dobro uklopljenih četverokutnih blokova s vertikalno obrađenim rubovima na vanjskim uglovima. Građeni su u pseudo-izodomnom stilu, a središnji izgled (između vanjskog i unutarnjeg zida) postignut je tehnikom pseudo-emplektona. Tek nekoliko blokova je duže od 1,20 m i više od 40 cm. U prizemlju se, točno u središtu kule, nalazi kvadratični blok, što je jedinstvena pojava među poznatim grčkim kulama. Smješten je neposredno na živoj stijeni i postavljen na sloju volaka. Čini se da je pridržavao velik drveni (?) potpornjak prvobitnog drvenog poda kata kule. Procjenjuje se da je kula bila visoka 10 – 12 m, a da je krovšte bilo prekriveno crijepom. Osim manje količine brončanodobne i kasne helenističke / rane rimske keramike velika većina nalaza može se datirati u razdoblje od sredine/kraja 4. do sredine/kraja 3. stoljeća pr. Kr. Iz toga proizlazi da se glavno razdoblje upotrebe kule može sa sigurnošću smjesti-

118 Visković 2019. In his report, he also presented a geodetic footage plan of Tor and the "rampart" that differs from the more accurate aerial view.

119 Petrić 1978, pp. 22-23.

120 Petrić 1979, pp. 73-74.

121 It was thought that there were no earlier excavations within the tower.

122 Današnja visina zidova je: Z = 6,35, J = 5,80, I = 6,90 i S = 4,00 m.

123 U Maslinoviku su uglovi najnižih redova izbočeni i također nemaju užljebjenja (Kirigin, u tisku).

124 Kirigin 1990, str. 301–302; 2004, 110–111, 2006, str. 87–88.

125 Kirigin 1987; Kirigin i Popović 1988; Kirigin 2006, str. 86–91; (Kirigin, u tisku).

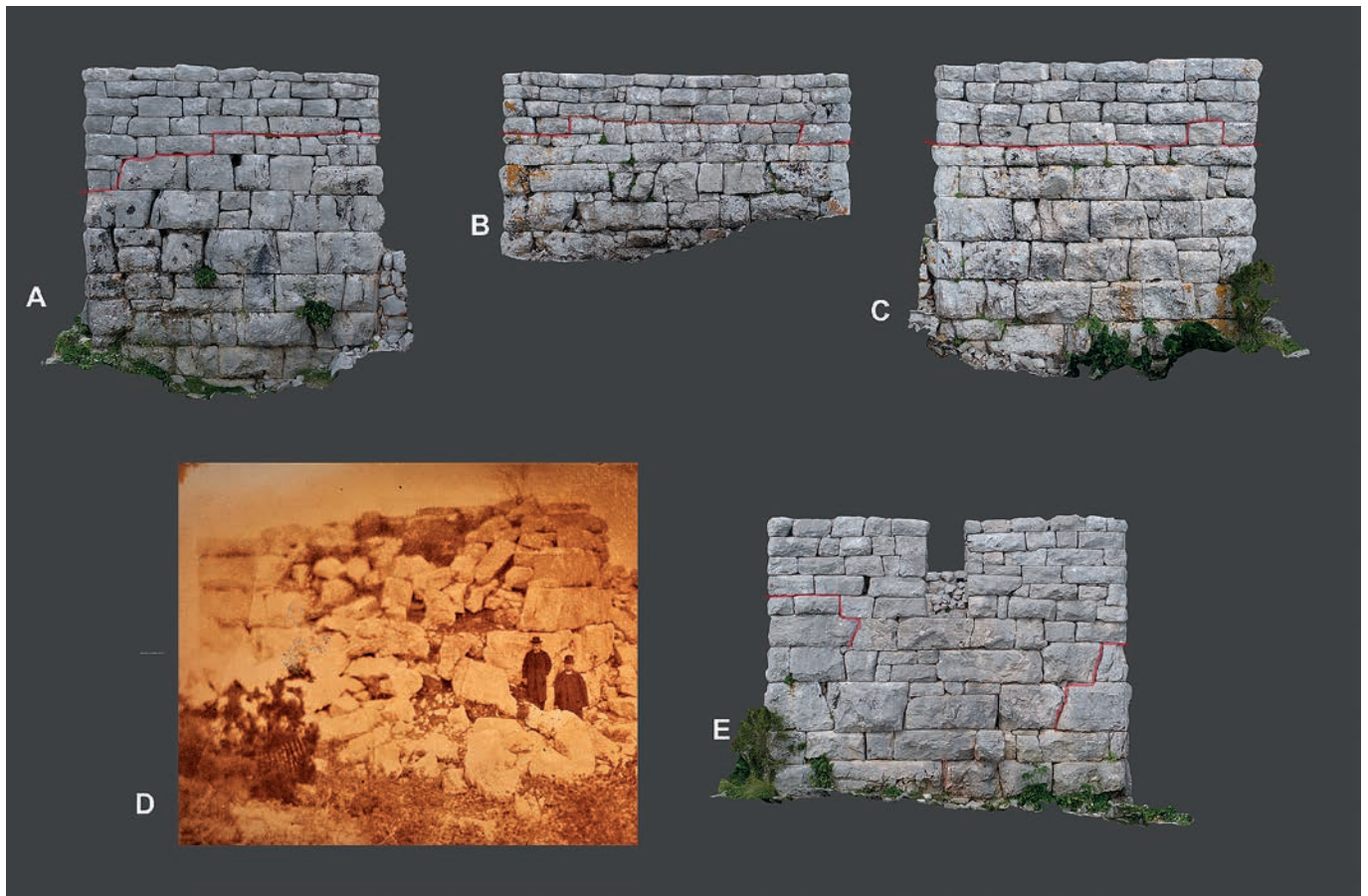


Fig. 17.
All walls of the tower at Tor. Photos by Eduard Visković made in 2019. **A.** E wall; **B.** N wall; **C.** W wall; **D.** Insert from Fig. 8, A here; **E.** S wall. The red line inserted by B. Kirigin. Courtesy of Edvard Visković.

Sl. 17.
Zidovi kule na Toru. Fotografije E. Viskovića iz 2019. **A.** I zid. **B.** S zid. **C.** Z zid. **D.** dio slike 8a (ovdje). **E.** J zid. Crvenu liniju umetnuo B. Kirigin. Dobrotom E. Viskovića.

portions, specifically in the central area where the doorway stands today (compare Fig. 17, D and E).¹²²

An interesting feature is related to the SE quoin of the tower. The two lowest visible courses have blocks without drafted edges that lack the bulging outer face seen on the rest of the blocks above them (Fig. 9, C; 18). These blocks are also smaller than those above, which have drafted edges.¹²³

Prior to the rediscovery of the tower at Maslinovik, I too, following Zaninović, believed that Tor was built to protect the settlement that existed on the slopes just below the tower, whose dwellings, which are cut into the cliff, have not yet been explored.¹²⁴ However, the rediscovery of a similar Greek tower at the Maslinovik site on the N central edge of the Starigrad plain – *chora Pharou*, has compelled us to revise this

ti u taj vremenski horizont. Funkcija kule nije bila samo zaštita stanovnika Farosa i dragocjenih poljoprivrednih proizvoda koje su uzgajali u polju/hori, već je zahvaljujući svojoj monumentalnosti i uočljivosti iz plodnog polja imala i simboličnu vrijednost: utjelovljavala je sigurnost koju je uživala grčka populacija i izražavala njihovu moć.¹²⁶

Većina artefakata s Maslinovika pronađena je u samoj kuli, dok su na nalazištu Tor, kako smo vidjeli, unutar kule otkrivena samo dva predmeta nejasnog konteksta.¹²⁷ Navodi se kako su na Toru ulomci crijepa i posuđa pronađeni oko kule i na sjevernoj padini, no većina keramike iz razdoblja klasičnog doba i helenizma otkrivena je u sondi iskopanoj ispred kule. Među G/H lončarijom ima analogija nalazima s Maslinovika. Ako se keramika pronađena oko kule može povezati s izgradnjom kule

122 The height of the walls are now: W = 6.35, S = 5.80, E = 6.90 and N = 4.00 m.

123 At Maslinovik the lowest layers at the quoins jut and also lack a drafted edge (Kirigin, in print).

124 Kirigin 1990, p. 301-302; 2004, 110-111, 2006, p. 87-88.

126 Kirigin, u tisku, uz odgovarajuća upućivanja.

127 Moguće zbog zapunjavanja nakon Mirosavljevićevih iskopavanja koja su išla do 2 ili 3 m u dubinu (Zaninović 1978/79, str. 207 (3 m); 1980, str. 35 (2 m).

interpretation. It can now be suggested that the rediscovered tower, which had been lost for 111 years, formed together with the tower at Tor the integrated defensive system of Pharos, marked by excellent mutual visibility between these three sites (Fig. 1 and 1a).¹²⁵

Recent excavations have shown that the remains of the square tower at Maslinovik – ca. 7.5 × 7.5 m – are preserved only to a height of 1-1.5 m with walls ca. 1.1 m in width. Both the outer and the inner faces of the walls are dry-built with a few trapezoidal and predominantly well fitted rectangular blocks that have drafted edges at the exterior quoins. They are built in a pseudo-isodomic style with a pseudo-emplekton interior appearance. Very few blocks exceed 1.20 m in length and 40 cm in height. There is a square block on the ground floor situated at the very centre of the tower, a unique feature among known Greek towers. It is located just above the bedrock and was placed on a layer of murex shells. It seems that it was placed here to hold a large wooden (?) pier that supported the tower's first wooden floor. It is estimated that the tower was ca. 10-12 m high and roofed with tiles. Apart from a small amount of Bronze Age and late Hellenistic/early Roman pottery, the vast majority of the finds can be placed within the period from the mid/late 4th to the mid/late 3rd century BC. This suggests that the main period of use can be firmly placed within this chronological horizon. The tower did not have only a protective function for the Pharians and the valuable agricultural produce that they grew; its monumentality and visibility from the *chora* also gave it symbolic value: it was a signifier of the safety enjoyed by the Greek inhabitants and an expression of their power.¹²⁶

Most of the artefacts at Maslinovik were found inside the tower, while at Tor, as we have seen, only two residual items were recorded inside the tower.¹²⁷ At Tor, sherds of tiles and pots are said to have been found around the tower and on the N slope, but most of the Late Classical and Hellenistic pottery was found in the trench that was excavated in front of the tower. Among the G/H pottery there are similarities with the finds from Maslinovik. If the pottery found around the tower can be associated with the construction of the tower at Tor, then it is possible that both towers were built concurrently, i.e. as part of the same defensive project.

There are differences in the shape and size of the towers. One is square and the other rectangular. Moreover, the lower five courses of blocks at Tor are much larger than those at Maslinovik. Similarly, the outer face of the blocks at Tor bulges

na lokalitetu Tor, moguće da su obje kule izgrađene istodobno, kao dio istog obrambenog sistema.

Kule se razlikuju oblikom i dimenzijama. Jedna je četvrtasta, a druga pravokutna. K tome, donjih pet redova blokova Tora puno je veće od onih na Maslinoviku. Usto, u odnosu na blokove na Maslinoviku, vanjsko lice blokova Tora je izbočenije, a vertikalno isklesani rubovi na uglovima širi su i finije izrade. Čini se da je stil građenja isti, osim što na Toru ne znamo kako je izgledala unutrašnja strana zidova, iako je sačuvana debljina zidova vrlo slična. Blokovi od kojih su izgrađene obje kule ubrani su u blizini samih lokaliteta.¹²⁸

Orijentacija kule na Maslinoviku je približno S-J, uz odstupanje od 12 stupnjeva prema SI, a na Toru je oko 15 stupnjeva u istom smjeru. Crta vidljivosti između Maslinovika i Tora nije slučajna posljedica topografskih datosti, već rezultat svjesne odluke. Dakle, izgradnja kule na Toru može se povezati s nastojanjem da se u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri ostvari pregled nad teritorijem Farosa i na taj način osigura njegova zaštita, što je trebalo postići i zahvaljujući vizualnoj povezanosti s kulom na Maslinoviku. Budući da teritorij Farosa i nije bio toliko velik, čini se da nije bilo potrebe za više kula. Nasuprot oskudnim povijesnim i epigrafskim izvorima predmetne dvije kule uvjerljiva su arheološka potvrda o postojanju sustava teritorijalne obrane.

Tor je, kako je istaknuto, veoma malen. Nije služio kao utočište većoj skupini ljudi. Nema ni tekuće vode ni plodne zemlje u krugu od petstotinjak metara. Teško mu je pristupiti i veoma je izložen snažnim S i I vjetrovima tramontani (S), buri (SI) i levantu (I). A kako je već primijetio Maschek (1873), “nema razloga za obranu”. Osim toga, kako smo vidjeli, Zaninović je pretpostavio da se na strmoj sjevernoj padini Tora nalazila željeznodobna naseobina. To nije moguće potvrditi. Lončarija (lokalna i G/H) i crijepovi, kao i kameni blokovi pronađeni na toj strmoj padini Tora mogli su nastati uslijed erozije.¹²⁹ Prikladnije mjesto za naselje bilo bi J od “bedema”, no kako smo vidjeli, niti ima puno prostora, niti ičega što bi ukazivalo na to da je ono ikada postojalo. Nadalje, pretpostavljenu pretpovijesnu naseobinu na sjevernoj padini ispod “bedema” gotovo je nemoguće napasti s J, JZ ili JI strane brda na kojem je Tor, kako je iznio Zaninović.¹³⁰ Fortifikacijske zidine imale bi više smisla ispred nego iznad pretpostavljenog naselja.

Da je mjesna starosjedilačka zajednica željela gradinsku naseobinu, puno bolji položaj bio bi lokalitet Grad/Gališnik, koji se nalazi petstotinjak metara prema istoku i na sličnoj je visini (252 m nadmorske visine). I vizualni pregled koji se pruža s Grad/Galešnik usporediv je s onim s Tora. Grad/Gališnik (ili Ca-

125 Kirigin 1987; Kirigin and Popović 1988; Kirigin 2006, pp. 86-91; Kirigin, in print.

126 Kirigin, in print, with relevant references.

127 These could be due to refilling after Mirosavljević's excavations that went to a depth of 2 or 3 m (Zaninović 1978/79, p. 207 (3 m); 1980, p. 35 (2 m)).

128 Za ostale usporedbe v. Kirigin, u tisku.

129 U nekoliko obilazaka tog lokaliteta također smo naišli na pretežno helenističku keramiku i crjepove.

130 Zaninović 1978/1979, str. 203.

more and their drafted edges are wider and more elaborate than those of the blocks at Maslinovik. The masonry style seems to be the same except that at Tor we do know nothing about the appearance of the interior of the walls, although the present thickness of the walls is quite similar. The blocks for both towers were quarried locally, on site.¹²⁸

The orientation of the tower at Maslinovik is approximately N-S, with 12 degrees of deviation to the NE, while at Tor it is ca. 15 degrees in the same direction. The line-of-sight between Maslinovik and Tor is not an accident of topography, but rather the result of a deliberate decision. Thus the construction of the tower at Tor may be associated with the maximisation of the widest possible view over the territory of Pharos that was to be protected and at the same time may have a visible connection with the tower at Maslinovik. As the territory of Pharos was not so large, there was apparently no need for more towers. Both of these towers constitute strong archaeological evidence for a system of territorial defence that stands in contrast to the scant ancient historical and epigraphic sources.

The site of Tor is, as noted, very small. It was not a place of refuge for a large group of people. It has no running water, and there is no fertile land within a radius of ca. 500 m. It is hardly accessible and highly exposed to strong N and E winds: the tramontana (N), bora (NE) and levante (E). And as Maschek (1873) remarked, ‘there is no reason for defence’. Also, as we have seen, Zaninović suggested that an Iron age settlement was located on the steep N slope of Tor. This cannot be confirmed. The pottery (local and G/H) and tiles as well as stone blocks found on this steep slope could be the result of slope erosion from Tor.¹²⁹ A settlement would be more appropriate to the S of the “rampart”, but as we have seen there is not much space and nothing indicates that it ever existed. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to attack the supposed prehistoric settlement on the N slope below the “rampart” from the S, SW and SE side of Tor hill, as Zaninović argued.¹³⁰ A fortification wall would be more appropriate in front of the presumed settlement, rather than above it.

If the local indigenous community wished to have a hill-fort/settlement, a much better position was the Grad/Gališnik sites, which is ca. 500 m eastward in a straight line and is situated at a similar elevation (252 masl). It also has the same visibility potential as Tor. Grad/Gališnik (or *Castrum Vetus, quod vocatur Galicnich*¹³¹) is well protected ‘with very steep slopes on three sides and with a narrow access from the south-west’, and has a flat summit area of approximately 75 × 25 m, an easier approach, and a small spring just below it. Although

*strum Vetus, quod vocatur Galicnich*¹³¹) dobro je zaštićen, “sa strmom padinom na tri strane i uskim prilazom s jugozapada” te ima zaravnjen vrh veličine približno 75 × 25 m, lakši pristup i omanji izvor u samom podnožju. Iako je malo toga poznato o ovom nalazištu, smatra se da je u pitanju ruševina kasnoantičke/srednjovjekovne utvrde.¹³² Toru je teško pristupiti ili ga osvojiti u napadu (vidi dodatak).

Veoma je vjerojatno da je dugačka i masivna pretpovijesna nakupina lomljenoga vapnenačkog kamenja koja je protumačena kao bedem¹³³ postojala prije izgradnje kule. Kulturni sloj u sondi koju je otvorio Miroslavjević javlja se na dubini od oko 50 cm te mu je debljina oko 30 cm. Ispod njega se nalazi sterilni sloj kamenja na dubini od najmanje jednog metra, ukazujući na postojanje tog “nasipa” prije početka formiranja kulturnog sloja. Raznorodni nalazi koje je Miroslavjević pronašao u kulturnom sloju u središnjem dijelu tog “bedema” potvrđuju da tu nije riječ o uobičajenoj nastambi, nego o nekoj drugoj strukturi, koja je postojala barem jedno ili dva stoljeća (v. dolje) prije izgradnje kule. “Bedem” nije služio kao grobni humak, iako je moguće da su nakit i lončarija ili grobni prilozci, poput sličnih nalaza iz željeznodobnih grobova na Ratu na susjednom otoku Braču.¹³⁴ Različiti kovinski nalazi (pretežno nakita), dva primjerka oruđa, tri novčića, kao i “osobito brojnih” životinjskih kostiju, morskih školjaka, indigene i G/H lončarije iz spomenute sonde mogli bi ukazivati na to da je na tome mjestu bio izgrađen neki objekt u obredne svrhe. Teško je povjerovati da bi unutar zida nasipa bilo veliko ognjište površine 6 m² i debljine 30 cm. Problem je u tome što je to ognjište pronađeno na samo 50 cm ispod površine, što ukazuje na postojanje nekog objekta na tom mjestu prije polaganja spomenutih artefakata. Teško je interpretirati ovaj masivni objekt bez dokaza proizašlih iz iskopavanja. No, čini se da nije riječ o fortifikacijskom zidu koji su izgradili pripadnici lokalne zajednice. Moguće da je to bio javni spomenik. Ako su stanovnici Farosa odlučili izgraditi kulu na Toru, vjerojatno su bili svjesni da ne mogu maknuti taj “bedem”. Stoga su ga iskoristili, sudjelovali i istodobno sačuvali lokalni spomen na značenje i funkciju tog objekta.

Kula naizgled nije narušila cjelovitost tog ranijeg objekta. Da su graditelji kule željeli izbjeći “bedem”, mogli su jednostavno smjestiti kulu nešto južnije, no čini se da to nisu smatrali ključnim. Još je uvijek nejasno zbog čega se kula nalazi gotovo jedan metar od južnog zida (W5) “bedema”. Dugačka J prednja strana zida “bedema” (W5) ne može se sa sigurno-

128 For other comparanda, see Kirigin, in print.

129 We also encountered predominantly Hellenistic pottery and tiles during several visits to this site.

130 Zaninović 1978/1979, p. 203.

131 As mentioned in the medieval Statute of Hvar from AD 1331.

131 Kao je spomenuto u srednjovjekovnom hvarskom statutu iz 1331. godine.

132 Gaffney *at al.* 1997, str. 152 (oznaka lokaliteta: JE0162.00).

133 Naše je trenutačno poznavanje utvrda domaćeg stanovništva Dalmacije u željeznom dobu prilično oskudno te nije razjašnjeno kako su gradili zidove. Nalazimo velik broj ruševina – hrpe lomljenog kamenja – čiji izvorni izgled nije moguće proniknuti bez iskopavanja.

134 Marović, Nikolanci 1977; Barbarić 2006.

not much is known about this site, it is thought to have been a late Roman/medieval fortified place.¹³² Tor is difficult to approach or seize with an attacking force (see attachment below).

It is very likely that the long and massive prehistoric deposit of limestone rubble, which has been interpreted as a rampart,¹³³ existed before the tower was built. The cultural layer in the trench excavated by Miroslavljević appears at the depth of ca. 50 cm and is ca. 30 cm thick. Beneath it is a sterile layer of stones at least 1 m deep, indicating the existence of this “rampart” prior to the beginnings of the cultural layer’s formation. The heterogeneous artefacts found by Miroslavljević in the cultural layer in the central part of this “rampart” show that we do not have an ordinary dwelling here, but another feature that existed for at least a century or two (see below) before the tower was built. The function of this “rampart” was not that of a burial mound, although the jewellery and pottery may have been grave offerings, like similar ones in the IA graves at Rat on the nearby island of Brač.¹³⁴ The presence of various metal finds (mostly jewellery), two tools, three coins, and “particularly numerous” animal bones, sea shells, local and G/H pottery that were found in the aforementioned trench may indicate that some structure was built here for ritual purposes. It is difficult to believe that a large hearth covering 6 m² and with a thickness of 30 cm would have been placed within a rampart wall. The problem is that this hearth was found only 50 cm below the surface, which suggests that some structure existed here before these objects were deposited. Without evidence from excavations, it is difficult to interpret this massive feature. But it seems as this was not a fortification wall built by the local community. It is possible that it was a public monument. If the Pharians decided to build a tower at Tor they probably knew that they could not remove this “rampart”. Thus they used it, participated and at the same time preserved the local memory of this feature’s meaning and function of this feature.

The tower apparently did not violate the integrity of this earlier construction. If the builders of the tower wished to avoid the “rampart”, they could have easily placed the tower more to the S, but it appears as though they did not deem this crucial. It is still unclear why the tower is located nearly 1 m away from the S wall (W5) of the “rampart”. The long S front of the “rampart” wall (W5) cannot be easily dated and it is also uncertain whether it was built before the construction of the

šču datirati, a osim toga nije sigurno ni je li podignuta prije ili za vrijeme izgradnje kule (v. dolje). Primamljivo zvuči Gamulinovo i Bervalldijevo tumačenje – da se na sjevernoj strani kule nalazio drveni “pokretni most” koji je povezivao prvi kat kule s “bedemom”, posebice s obzirom na to da je prizemlje unutrašnjosti kule, kako smo vidjeli, bilo zapunjeno zemljom i stijena-ma do visine “bedema”, odnosno do razine koja je bila očuvana prije obnove 1912. Stoga je vjerojatnije da se uski ulaz koji spominje Pribojević nalazio s te, a ne s J strane kule.

RASPRAVA

Kula Tor sagrađena je tehnikom koja je bila poznata u grčkome svijetu od kraja 5. do 3. stoljeća pr. n. e., osobito u drugoj polovici 4. stoljeća do približno 300. g. pr. n. e. Može se povezati s Randsborgovim tipovima gradnje br. 19 – 22 (skupina D) u pseudo-izodomnom stilu s trapezoidnim blokovima.¹³⁵ Nadalje, vidljivo je da je prvih pet redova kule na Z strani i sedam na I masivnije od preostala tri sloja (prije obnove 1912.). Iako je Burton držao kako su najviši slojevi “[tri] novodobna ili u najmanju ruku manja sloja”(v. gore), to nije nužno bila posljedica prirodnog pucanja lokalne stijene i/ili slaganja kombinacije masivnih i manje masivnih slojeva, kao što je slučaj s kulom Poros na otoku Lefkadi (Lefkas) u Jonskome moru.¹³⁶

Tor je vjerojatno bio ključni element obrambenog sustava grčkog *polisa* Farosa, najvećeg naselja na otoku u 4. stoljeću pr. n. e. Obrana Farosa zacijelo je bila tijesno povezana s nadzorom nad njegovim teritorijem, osobito nad njegovim poljoprivrednim površinama. Tor se nalazi na I rubu teritorija Farosa, području koje je bilo najranjivije jer su mogući pohodi s kopna mogli ugroziti polis i njegovu horu. Pogled s Tora je izniman, osobito s obzirom na to da obuhvaća istočni dio Brača i Makarsko primorje, odnosno ilirski teritorij (sl. 2). S Tora se vidi sve što se događa u tim vodama. Međutim, pogled s Tora na sam Faros, koji je na nekih 9 km zračne udaljenosti od Tora, priječi brijeg Hum (sl. 1.a). Za razliku od toga kula Maslinovik S od Huma s koje se pruža pogled na cijelu horu, a i dobro je povezana i vidljiva iz Farosa koji je udaljen samo 3 km, vidljiva je s Tora.¹³⁷

U vezi s nalazima iz sonde koju je bio iskopao Miroslavljević, a objavio Zaninović valjalo bi dodati nekoliko komentara.¹³⁸

132 Gaffney at al. 1997, p. 152 (site code: JE0162.00).

133 At present, we do not know much about the fortifications made by local Iron Age communities in Dalmatia, and it is unclear how their walls were built. What we see is a large number of ruins – heaps of rubble – whose original appearance cannot be discerned without excavation.

134 Marović and Nikolanci 1977; Barbarić 2006.

135 Randsborg 2002, str. 232–245; 2014, str. 139. Analogne tehnike gradnje poznate su i s lokaliteta Paleomanastiri u Kaoniji, nažalost bez datuma (Çondi 2007, str. 53–154, sl. 8.9).

136 Morris 2001, str. 291–306.

137 Kirigin 2006, str. 86–91; Kirigin, u tisku.

138 Te sam predmete pogledao 22. studenoga 2021. u Muzeju hvarske baštine kojem ih je Zaninović predao 6. travnja 1984.: inv. br.: M-692 – M-758 (artefakti); N-764-766 (novci).



Fig. 18.
 The SE quoin of the tower.
 Photo by B. Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 18.
 Jugoistočni ugao kule. Foto
 B. Kirigin 2021.



Fig. 19.
 W7 on the NE part of
 the “rampart” with Nikša
 Vujnović standing in front of
 it. Photo by B. Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 19.
 W7 na SI dijelu “bedema”
 ispred kojih stoji Nikša
 Vujnović. Foto: B. Kirigin
 2021.



Fig. 20.
 View from S on the W side
 of W5. In the background
 environs of Jelsa and the
 island of Brač. Photo by B.
 Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 20.
 Pogled s juga na zapadni dio
 W5. U pozadini okolica Jelse i
 otok Brač. Foto: B. Kirigin
 2021.



Fig. 21.
 View from S on the W wall
 of the tower, W8 and W5.
 Photo by B. Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 21.
 Pogled s juga na Z zid kule
 i W8 i W5. Foto: B. Kirigin
 2021.



Fig. 22.
 View from S on the E side of W5 and W4. In the background
 Makarska littoral. Photo by B. Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 22.
 Pogled sa J na I stranu W5 i W4. U pozadini Makarsko primorje.
 Foto: B. Kirigin 2021.

tower or while construction of the tower was in progress (see below). It is tempting to accept the ideas of Gamulin and Bervaldi, i.e., that a wooden “drawbridge” was made on the N side of the tower that connected its first floor with the “rampart”, especially since the ground floor of the interior of the tower was filled, as we have seen, with soil and rocks to the height of the “rampart”, i.e. to the level that was preserved before the reconstruction in 1912. Thus it is more likely that Pribojević’s narrow entrance was on this side of the tower rather than on the S side.

DISCUSSION

The tower of Tor was built using a technique that was known in the Greek world from the late 5th to 3rd centuries BC, particularly during the latter half of the 4th century to around 300 BC. It can be associated with Randsberg’s masonry types nos. 19-22 (group D) built in a pseudo-isodomonic manner with trapezoidal blocks.¹³⁵ It is also evident that the first five courses of the tower on the W side and seven on the E side are more massive than the remaining three (before reconstruction in 1912). Even though Burton believed that the uppermost courses are “modern or, at least, smaller layers”(see above), this may have been the result of the natural splitting of the local rock and/or a result of arranging a mixture of massive and less massive layers as in the case of the Poros tower on the island of Lefkada (Leukas) on the Ionian Sea.¹³⁶

Tor was probably a pivotal element in the defence system of the Greek *polis* of Pharos, the largest settlement on the island in the 4th century BC. The defence of Pharos must have been closely linked to control of its territory, particularly its agricultural land. Tor is located at the E edge of the territory of Pharos, an area which was most vulnerable because possible raids from the mainland could easily have endangered the polis and its *chora* from this side. The view from Tor is extraordinary, especially since it includes the E part of Brač and the Makarska littoral, i.e., Illyrian territory (Fig. 2). Tor overlooked everything that happened in that part of the sea. But the site of Pharos, which is some 9 km from Tor in a straight line, is not visible from Tor because of the intervening hill of Hum (Fig. 1a). In contrast, the Maslinovik tower to the N of Hum that overlooks the entire *chora*, and has an easy connection to Pharos which is only 3 km away, is visible from Tor.¹³⁷

A few comments should be added regarding the artefacts

Neki opisi predmeta iz Zaninovićevih tabli 1 – 6¹³⁹ ne poklapaju se s crtežima u tablama (odnosno T. 3 bi trebala biti T. 4 i obrnuto; nedostaje opis uz br. 4 u njegovoj T. 4; br. 7 – 9 u njegovu opisu na str. 68 za njegovu T. 4 trebao bi biti na njegovoj T. 3 itd.). Osim toga, većina mjera koje donosi nije posve točna. Njegovi su crteži zadovoljavajući, osim što su na njima neki profili lončarije širi nego u stvarnosti. Brus od svijetlosmeđeg pješčanika sa sitnim crnim dodatcima dužine 14,5 cm, presjeka oko 2,2 × 2,5 cm, dva ulomka helenističke crnopremazane lončarije fine fature, ručka amfore (tipa *Lamboglia* 2?), tri ulomka životinjskih kostiju, zubi životinja, dvije manje veprave kljove (sl. 23, 3) i dvije školjke (sl. 23, 1 i 2) još su neobjavljeni. Ipak, barem doznajemo da su ti predmeti pronađeni u spomenutoj sondi.

Zaninović navodi i da je lokalitet postojao od brončanog doba,¹⁴⁰ no uopće nema tragova iz tog razdoblja. Najraniji nalazi koje imamo su iz razdoblja mlađeg kamenog doba i starijeg željeznog doba.

Među “brojnim luparima, morskim puževima, kamenicama” koje spominje Zaninović, morski puževi pripadaju sljedećim vrstama: *Columbella rustica* (nejestiva) (sl. 23, 2), koristile su se u pretpovijesnom razdoblju kao perle za ogrlice ili privjesci, dok je podvrsta puža *Euthria cornea* (sl. 23, 1) u Jadranu relativno rijetka.¹⁴¹

Zaninović je objavio tri kremena artefakta: nožić s dvije sječive strane sive boje, strugalo sivkaste boje te ulomak oblutka bijele boje.¹⁴² Ističe kako su ih koristili graditelji te kako upućuju na koegzistenciju starosjedilačkog stanovništva s Grcima.¹⁴³ Ipak, reklo bi se da su i sječivo i strugalo neolitičke provenijencije.¹⁴⁴

Od metalnih nalaza Zaninović opisuje četiri fragmenta brončanih fibula, tri fragmenta brončanih igala – ukosnica, brončanu narukvicu, željezni prsten, dva brončana ukrasna dodatka za odjeću, brončanu žicu svinutu u kolut, željezno dlijeto (?) i brončani čavao.¹⁴⁵ Bio je svjestan da neki metalni predmeti pripadaju željeznom dobu¹⁴⁶, dok su drugi kasnije datacije. Međutim, novija istraživanja pokazala su da bi se jedino igla – ukosnica s dvije glavice i s pločicom između njih te s navojnicom na vratu (njegova T. 1, br. 13) mogla datirati u 8. i 7. stoljeće pr. Kr.¹⁴⁷ Tri lučne fibule (njegova T. 1, br. 5, 6, 11) mogle bi biti inačice kasnog tipa baške fibule, popularnog u razdoblju

139 Zaninović 1982, str. 66–69.

140 Zaninović 1995, str. 154.

141 Zahvaljujem Sanji Vrgoč iz Prirodoslovnog muzeja u Splitu na tim podacima.

142 Zaninović 1982, str. 66, 67, T. 1, 1–2, T. 2, 1.

143 Zaninović 1982, str. 69.

144 Forenbahe i Perhoč 2017. Slični su kremenim predmeti pronađeni na gomili Purkin kuk: Ljubić 1881.

145 Zaninović 1982, str. 66–67, str. 69; T. 1 i 6.

146 Zaninović 1982, str. 66–67, T. 1, br. 7, 9, 13.

147 Petrinc i Šeparović 1999; Blečić Kavur 2010.

135 Randsborg 2002, pp. 232–245; 2014, p. 139. Similarities to the building technique can also be seen at the Paleomanastiri site in Chaonia, unfortunately undated (Çondi 2007, pp. 53–154, Fig. 8.9).

136 Morris 2001, pp. 291–306.

137 Kirigin 2006, pp. 86–91; Kirigin, in print.



Fig. 23.
Two sea shells and a fang. Photo by B. Kirigin 2021.

Sl. 23.
Dvije školjke i kljova. Foto: B. Kirigin 2021.

from the trench excavated by Miroslavljević which were published by Zaninović.¹³⁸

Some of the descriptions of the artefacts on Zaninović's Pl. 1-6¹³⁹ do not match the drawings on the plates (i.e., Pl. 3 should be Pl. 4 and vice-versa; the description of no. 4 on his Pl. 4 is missing; nos. 7-9 in his description on p. 68 for his Pl. 4 should be on his Pl. 3, and so on). In addition, most of his measurements are not accurate. His drawings are satisfactory, except that certain ceramic profiles are wider than in reality. A whetstone of light brown sandstone with dark ingredients 14.5 cm long and ca. 2.2 × 2.5 cm in section, two sherds of Hellenistic BG fine ware, an amphora handle (Lamboglia 2 type?), three parts of an animal bone, animal teeth, two smaller boar tusks (Fig. 23, 3), and two sea shells (Fig. 23, 1 and 2) are still unpublished. Nevertheless, at least we know that these artefacts were found in the above mentioned trench.

Zaninović also asserted that the site had existed from the Bronze Age onward,¹⁴⁰ but there is no evidence at all from the Bronze Age. The earliest evidence we have is from the Neolithic and the early Iron Age.

Among the "numerous limpet shells, sea snails, oysters" mentioned by Zaninović, the sea snails are specifically from two species: *Columbella rustica* (inedible) (Fig. 23, 2), of which the shells were used as beads for necklaces or as pendants in prehistory, and a variety of *Euthria cornea* (Fig. 23, 1), which is relatively rare in the Adriatic.¹⁴¹

4. – 2. stoljeća pr. n. e., osobito u sjevernoj Dalmaciji.¹⁴⁸ Fibula srednjolatske sheme (njegova T. 1, br. 17) tipična je za dalmatinsko zaleđe i može se datirati u 2. – 1. stoljeće pr. Kr. Iglataenske fibule (njegova T. 1, br. 15) mogla bi potjecati iz 3. – 2. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁴⁹ Njegove dvojne igle oblika slova M (omega ukosnice) (njegova T. 1, br. 14 i 16) široko su rasprostranjene diljem Balkana i datira ih se od 8. do 2. stoljeća pr. n. e.; dataciju je moguće suziti na razdoblje između 5. i 4. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁵⁰ Sferično i ovalno dugme (njegova T. 1, br. 7 i 9) datiraju se u 3. – 2. stoljeće pr. n. e. te su karakteristični za zapadni dio Hrvatske i susjednu južnu Sloveniju.¹⁵¹ Jedino oružje u ovoj cjelini je korodirani željezni vrh koplja u dva dijela (njegova T. 6, br. 1 i 2). Budući da nema rebro u sredini, moglo bi potjecati iz kasnog željeznog doba.¹⁵² Brončani čavao, žicu, narukvicu i željezni prsten (njegova T. 1, br. 4, 8, 10) teško je datirati. Svi ti kovinski artefakti predstavljaju regionalnu modu te nisu grčke provenijencije. Tim je željeznim predmetima zajedničko to da ih je većina slomljena, deformirana ili svinuta. To signalizira da ne potječu iz grobova, nego možda iz nekog ritualnog konteksta.¹⁵³

U sklopu tih iskopavanja pronađena su dva brončana novčića Farosa i jedan Ise. Jedan od faroskih novčića je iz najranije serije Farosa (4. stoljeće pr. n. e.; drugi je kasnije kovan (3./2. stoljeće pr. n. e.). Isejski novčić može se datirati potkraj 3. sto-

138 I saw these artefacts on 22 Nov 2021 in the Hvar Heritage Museum, to which they were delivered by Zaninović on 6 April 1984 : Inv. nos.: M-692 – M-758 (artefacts); N-764-766 (coins).

139 Zaninović 1982, pp. 66-69.

140 Zaninović 1995, p. 154.

141 I am grateful to Sanja Vrgoč from the Natural-History Museum in Split for this information.

148 Blečić Kavur 2010. Nekoliko je primjeraka poznato iz središnje Dalmacije, v.: Paraman i Ugarković 2021, 78–79.

149 Marić 1968; Blečić Kavur 2010.

150 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 34–39; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012.

151 Blečić Kavur 2010. Sličan je pronađen u Farosu: Katalog Farosa 1995, str. 103, br. 70.

152 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, str. 63–64.

153 O pojedinačnim deformiranim kovinskim predmetima u željeznodobnim grobovima v. Čelhar i Ugarković 2021, 304 i upućivanja.

Zaninović published three flint artefacts: a grey prismatic blade, a greyish scraper, and a fragment of a white pebble.¹⁴² His comment is that these were used by the builders and that they indicate that the original inhabitants coexisted with the Greeks.¹⁴³ But both the blade and the scraper seem to be Neolithic in origin.¹⁴⁴

Among the metal finds, Zaninović described four fragments of bronze fibulae, three fragments of bronze hair pins, a bronze bracelet, an iron ring, two bronze decorative dress attachments, a twisted bronze cord, an iron chisel (?), and a bronze nail.¹⁴⁵ He knew that among the metal objects some belonged to the early Iron Age¹⁴⁶ and that others have a later origin. However, recent research has shown that only the double headed pin with a disk between them and incised strokes on the neck (his Pl. 1, no. 13) could be dated to the 8th and 7th centuries BC.¹⁴⁷ The three arched fibula (his Pl. 1, nos. 5, 6, 11) could be versions of the late type of Baška fibula that were popular during the 4th-2nd centuries BC, especially in northern Dalmatia.¹⁴⁸ The fibula of the Middle La Tène type (his Pl. 1, no. 17) is typical of the Dalmatian hinterland and may be dated to 2nd-1st centuries BC. The pin of a La Tène fibula (his Pl. 1, no. 15) could be from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.¹⁴⁹ The M-shaped (omega pins) double pins (his Pl. 1, no. 14 and 16) are widespread across the Balkans and are dated from the 8th to 2nd centuries BC: their dating can be narrowed between the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹⁵⁰ The spherical and oval buttons (his Pl. 1, no. 7 and 9) have been dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC and are typical of the western part of Croatia and neighbouring southern Slovenia.¹⁵¹ The only weapon in this assemblage is a corroded iron spearhead in two pieces (his Pl. 6, nos. 1 and 2). As it has no central rib, it could be of late Iron Age origin.¹⁵² The bronze nail, grommet, bracelet, and iron ring (his pl. 1, nos. 4, 8, 10) are difficult to date. These metal objects all exemplify a regional fashion and are not of Greek origin. A common feature of these iron artefacts is that most of them are broken, deformed or twisted. This indicates that they do not come from graves but possibly from a ritual context.¹⁵³

ljeća pr. Kr.¹⁵⁴ Zaninović je mišljenja da su novčići pripadali grčkim zarobljenicima koji su pomagali pri izgradnji kule. Kako navodi, “nije ništa neobično prisiliti zarobljenike da grade ovako tešku građevinu”.¹⁵⁵ Moguće da su ti novčići bili prilozima, kao i na drugim svetištima.¹⁵⁶

Lončariju koju prezentira Zaninović izbor je

“koji odražavaju statistički odnos keramičkih ulomaka, s nešto većom prevagom antičkih komada, pokazuju nam se otprilike iste relacije koje smo vidjeli kod metalnih nalaza”(?). Međutim, od desetaka primjeraka prostoručne grube lončarije sa zrcima kalcita domaće proizvodnje objavljena su samo četiri ulomka¹⁵⁷, uz dvadeset i devet primjeraka G/H fine i grube lončarije.¹⁵⁸ Navodi kako je ta distribucija potvrda da se radi “o izrazitoj koegzistenciji domaće i uvozne keramike”, također potvrđujući “kuhinjsku” funkciju cjelokupnoga ovoga sloja nalaza”.¹⁵⁹ Datira lončariju od 4. do 3. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁶⁰

Ulomci lokalne lončarije sa zrcima kalcita koje je objavio Zaninović¹⁶¹ pripadaju većim i dubljim ovalnim posudama za pohranu hrane, možda iz kasnoga brončanog ili ranoga željeznog doba.¹⁶² Slične posude za pohranu pronađene u Farosu povezuju se s G/H finom lončarijom s početka 4. st. pr. n. e.¹⁶³

G/H fina lončarija uključuje četiri dna i tri ruba skifosa, tri unguentarija, tri tanjura, dvije do tri zdjele, tri ulomka istog vrča (?), dvije ručke (jedna s čvorom), jedan vrh dna amfore, jedan rub grčko-italske amfore, dva prstenasta dna velike stolne amfore i neobjavljeni dio ručke vjerojatno amfore *Lamboglia 2*. Svi su ti oblici poznati u Farosu te je većina njih (osim unguentarija i grčko-italske amfore) pronađena i na Maslinoviku. Unguentariji su zanimljivi jer se njihova namjena povezuje više s prilozima u grobovima i svetištima.¹⁶⁴

Dva dna skifosa (njegova T. 3, br. 9 i T. 4, br. 1) imaju istrošene crnopremazane dijelove s ukrasom koji bi mogao upućivati na stil i fakturu lončarije *Alto-Adriatico* iz druge polovice 4. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁶⁵ U isto razdoblje može se datirati i ručka s čvorom (njegova T. 6, br. 6).¹⁶⁶

Čini se da dno skifosa (njegova T. 4, br. 2) od crvenkaste gli-

142 Zaninović 1982, pp. 66, 67, Pl. 1, 1-2, Pl. 2, 1

143 Zaninović 1982, p. 69.

144 Forenbaher and Perhoč 2017. Similar flint artefacts have been found at Purkin kuk mound: Ljubić 1881.

145 Zaninović 1982, pp. 66-67, p. 69; Pls. 1 and 6.

146 Zaninović 1982, pp. 66-67, Pl. I, nos. 7, 9, 13.

147 Petrinec and Šeparović 1999; Blečić Kavur 2010.

148 Blečić Kavur 2010. Few examples are known from Central Dalmatia, see: Paraman and Ugarković 2021, 78-79.

149 Marić 1968; Blečić Kavur 2010.

150 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, pp. 34-39; Blečić Kavur, Pravidur 2012.

151 Blečić Kavur 2010. A similar one was found in Pharos: Pharos catalogue 1995, p. 103, no. 70.

152 Blečić Kavur, Miličević-Capek 2011, pp. 63-64.

153 For individual deformed metal objects in IA graves, see Čelhar and Ugarković 2021, 304 with references.

154 Analogije tim izdanjima nalazimo u Bonačić Mandinić 2004a, str. 64, br. 102; str. 66, br. 102; str. 94, br. 173 – 175.

155 Zaninović 1982, str. 70, str. 71.

156 Primjerice na Diomedovu svetištu na otoku Palagruži (Bonačić Mandinić 2013) te na Rtu Ploča (Bonačić Mandinić 2004b). Održiva je i pretpostavka da su pripadali “vojnima” koji su stražarili u kuli.

157 Zaninović 1982, T. 2, br. 2-4, 3, br. 6.

158 Zaninović 1982, str. 66-70, T. 2-6.

159 Zaninović 1982, str. 69.

160 Zaninović 1982, str. 70.

161 Zaninović 1982, T. 2, br. 3 i 4, T. 4, br. 6.

162 Barbarić 2016, str. 133.

163 Kirigin i Barbarić 2019, str. 222, sl. 6.

164 Za više detalja v. Ugarković 2019, str. 116-117, uz odgovarajuću literaturu.

165 Ugarković 2019, str. 69 s upućivanjima.

166 Šešelj 2021, str. 145-146, sl. 9 na str. 154, s upućivanjima.

Two bronze coins of Pharos and one of Issa were found during these excavations. One of the Pharian coins represents the earliest series of Pharos (4th century BC); the other one is of a later issue (3rd/2nd century BC). The coin of Issa can be dated to the late 3rd century BC.¹⁵⁴ Zaninović thought that the coins belonged to Greek captives who helped build the tower. In his words, ‘it was not unusual to force captives to build such a heavy structure.’¹⁵⁵ It is possible that these coins were offerings as they are at other sanctuaries.¹⁵⁶

The pottery that Zaninović presents is a sample ‘that represents their statistical relationship to the somewhat greater predominance of ancient fragments, that demonstrates approximately the same relationship that we saw with the metal finds’ (?) (*author’s translation*) (Zaninović 1982, 69). Yet, out of the dozens of examples of local handmade calcite gritted coarse ware, only four sherds are published¹⁵⁷ together with twenty-nine examples of G/H fine and coarse wares.¹⁵⁸ He described this assemblage as confirmation of “a distinct coexistence between domestic and imported ceramics...” and the “cooking function of the entire space...” (*author’s translation*).¹⁵⁹ He dated the pottery from the 4th to 3rd centuries BC.¹⁶⁰

The local calcite gritted sherds published by Zaninović¹⁶¹ belong to rather large and deep storage jars with ovoid bodies, possibly from the late BA or early IA.¹⁶² Similar storage jars have been found at Pharos associated with early 4th century G/H fine ware.¹⁶³

The G/H fine ware consists of four bases and three rims of skyphoi, three unguentaria, three plates, two to three bowls, three sherds of the same jug (?), two handles (one with a knot), an amphora toe, one rim of a Greco-Italic amphora, two ring bases of large table amphora and the unpublished part of a handle from what was probably a Lamboglia 2 amphora. All of these shapes are known at Pharos and most of them (except unguentaria and Greco-Italic amphora) have been found at the Maslinovik site. The unguentaria are interesting as their function is associated more with grave and sanctuary offerings.¹⁶⁴

ne pripada keramici tipa *Gnathia* kasnih kanuzijskih ili isejskih radionica od 3. st. do druge polovice 2. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁶⁷ Tanjuri /zdjele (njegova T. 4, br. 1 i 5, T. 5, br. 3–5) i posudica (njegova T. 5, br. 1, 2 i 7), kao i naš nedavni nalaz ulomka zdjele od žučkaste gline s crnopremazanim prugama (sl. 24, 1), također bi se mogli smjestiti u to razdoblje.¹⁶⁸

Štoviše, dno manjeg skifosa (njegova T. 3, br. 3) i tanjur/zdjelica od sive gline (njegova T. 3, br. 6) mogli bi upućivati na kasniji helenistički proizvod. Njegov unguentarij (T. 6, br. 3) također je izrađen od svijetlosive gline te bi mogao pripadati tipu 10b Ugarkovićeve domaće isejske lončarije, smještene u raspon od kraja 2. do 1. stoljeća pr. n. e.¹⁶⁹

Zaninović je objavio jedan ulomak oboda grčko-italske amfore od žučkaste gline (njegova T. 4, br. 7). Nedavno smo na “bedemu” pronašli i ulomak grčko-italskog oboda od crvenkaste gline (sl. 24, 2). Taj tip amfore nije poznat na Maslinoviku, gdje prevladavaju amfore tipa B.¹⁷⁰ Grčko-italske amfore su poznate u Farosu te ih se općenito smješta potkraj 4. stoljeća i u 3. stoljeće pr. n. e.¹⁷¹ Moguća ručka Lamboglia 2¹⁷² koju Zaninović nije objavio također bi mogla upućivati na kasni helenistički artefakt. Tu su i dva dna većih posuda (njegova T. 4, br. 4 i 8) koja bi mogla pripadati stolnim amforama koje su dobro poznate u Farosu.¹⁷³

Prilikom našeg nedavnog posjeta tik podno kule pronađen je manji ulomak tijela pitosa (maksimalne dimenzije: 6,5 × 6 cm, debljina 3,5 cm). Fine je fature, s primjesama relativno sitnog i gustog tinjca na vanjskoj površini te gdjegdje sitnog bijelog pijeska. Takva fatura nije poznata među ulomcima pitosa otkrivenih na Maslinoviku¹⁷⁴, ali poznata je u Farosu,¹⁷⁵ iako nema toliko udjela tinjca.

Među predstavljenom lončarijom s Tora nema G/H posuda za kuhanje.

Kako smo vidjeli, Bernaldi (1914) navodi kako su oko kule “pronađeni ostaci crijepova neobičnog oblika, ali i oni iz rimskog doba”. Zaninović je objavio samo jedan ulomak crijepa.¹⁷⁶ Prilikom našeg nedavnog obilaska lokaliteta naišli smo na nekoliko ulomaka neposredno podno kule. Čini se da je riječ o ravnim grčkim crijepovima takozvanog korintskog tipa, s ravnom okomitom unutrašnjom stranom plitke prirubnice s platformom.¹⁷⁷

154 These issues are similar to Bonačić Mandinić 2004a, p. 64, no. 102; p. 66, no. 102; p. 94 nos. 173-175.

155 Zaninović 1982, p. 70, p. 71.

156 For instance, at the sanctuaries of Diomedes on the island of Palagruža (Bonačić Mandinić 2013) and at Cape Ploča (Bonačić Mandinić 2004b). It is also plausible that they belonged to the “soldiers” who garrisoned the tower.

157 Zaninović 1982, Pl. 2, nos. 2-4, 3, no. 6.

158 Zaninović 1982, pp. 66-70, Pl. 2-6.

159 Zaninović 1982, p. 69.

160 Zaninović 1982, p. 70.

161 Zaninović 1982, Pl. 2, nos. 3 and 4, Pl. 4, no. 6.

162 Barbarić 2016, p. 133.

163 Kirigin and Barbarić 2019, p. 222, Fig. 6.

164 For more details see Ugarković 2019, pp. 116-117 with relevant references.

167 Miše 2015, str. 34.

168 Za oblik v. Marović i Nikolanci 1977, str. 23, br. 7, T. X, br. 3; Ugarković 2019, str. 94.

169 Ugarković 2019, str. 122.

170 Kirigin, u tisku.

171 Kirigin 2018.

172 MHB inv. br. M-718. Jedan ulomak vrata *Lamboglia 2* pronađen je Maslinoviku (Kirigin, u tisku).

173 Neobjavljeno.

174 Kirigin, u tisku.

175 Kirigin 2017, str. 62, br. 17 i 18.

176 Zaninović 1982, str. 67, T. 2, br. 6, pripisano dnu prostoručnog lonca.

177 Randsborg 2002, str. 149-152, tip Cor. 3a i Cor. 4a.

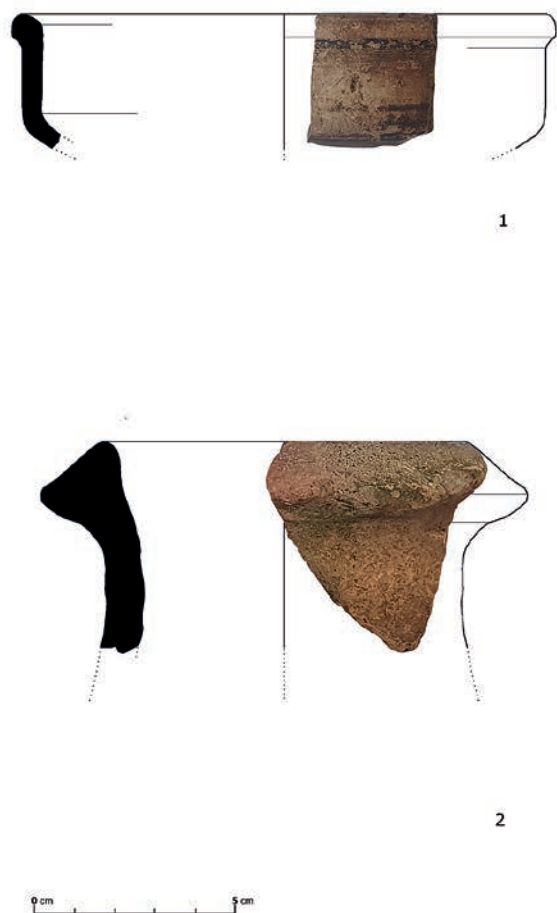


Fig. 24.
Most recent surface finds from around Tor tower. 1. Hellenistic fine ware bowl with out-turned rim and black gloss stripes on both sides. Clean buff clay. 2. Rim of a Greco-Italic amphora. Reddish fine clay. 3. Greek type tile sherd. Fine reddish clay with white inclusions. Drawings and photos by B. Kirigin. Kept at the Town Museum at Jelsa by I. Vukšić.

Two of the skyphoi bases (his Pl. 3 no. 9 and Pl. 4, no. 1) have worn BG parts with decoration that may indicate the Alto-Adriatico style and fabrics of the latter part of the 4th century BC.¹⁶⁵ Possibly also dated to this period is the knot handle (his Pl. 6, no. 6).¹⁶⁶

Another skyphos base (his Pl. 4, no. 2) of reddish clay appears to be the Late Canosan or Issaeian type of Gnathia ware from the 3rd to latter half of the 2nd century BC.¹⁶⁷ The plates/bowls (his Pl. 4, nos. 1 and 5, Pl. 5 nos. 3-5) and a jug (his Pl. 5,



Sl. 24.
Nedavni površinski nalazi uokolo kule Tor. 1. Helenistička fina zdjela sa izvučenim obodom i crno premazana s obje strane. 2. Obod Grčko-italske amfore od fine crvenkaste gline. 3. Ulomak grčke tegule. Fina crvenkasta glina s bijelim dodacima. Crteži i foto I. Vukšić. Čuvaju se u muzeju u Jelsi.

Nalazimo dvije vrste fakture: finu crvenkastu glinu s većim ili manjim bijelim dodacima i tamnije crvenim premazom (sl. 24, 3) te finu crvenkastu glinu bez primjesa. Prva faktura nije poznata na kuli Maslinoviku (Kirigin, u tisku), ali su obje fakture poznate u Farosu (Kirigin, u pripremi).

Moguće je da nalazi iz kulturnog sloja predstavljaju preklapanje domaćeg i G/H materijala od potkraj 4. st. do 2. stoljeća pr. n. e., svjedočeći o tolerantnim odnosima između domaćeg stanovništva i grčkih doseljenika na ovoj izvangradskoj lokaciji na istočnom rubu teritorija Farosa.

Preostaje nekoliko otvorenih pitanja povezanih s kulom. Buduća bi se istraživanja trebala usredotočiti na rješavanje sljedećih problema:

¹⁶⁵ Ugarković 2019, p. 69 with references.

¹⁶⁶ Šešelj 2021, pp. 145-146, Fig. 9 on p. 154 with references.

¹⁶⁷ Miše 2015, p. 34.

nos. 1, 2 and 7), as well as our recently found buff clay bowl sherd with BG stripes (Fig. 24, 1), may also date to this period.¹⁶⁸

Moreover, a small skyphos base (his Pl. 3, no. 3) and a grey clay plate/bowl (his Pl. 3, no. 6) could indicate a later Hellenistic product. His unguentarium (Pl. 6, no. 39) is also made of light grey clay and could belong to Ugarković's local Issaeian type 10b dated from the late 2nd to 1st centuries BC.¹⁶⁹

Zaninović published one rim sherd of a buff clay Greco-Italic amphora (his Pl. 4, no. 7). We have recently also found a Greco-Italic rim sherd made of reddish clay (Fig. 24, 2) on the "rampart". This type of amphora is not known at Maslinovik, where type B amphora are dominant.¹⁷⁰ Greco-Italic amphorae are known at Pharos and are generally dated to the end of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.¹⁷¹ A possible Lamboglia 2 handle¹⁷² that was not published by Zaninović may also indicate a late Hellenistic artefact. There are also two bases of larger pots (his Pl. 4, nos. 4 and 8) that may be table amphorae well known at Pharos.¹⁷³

During our recent visit, one small body sherd of a pithos (maximum dimensions: 6.5 × 6 cm and 3.5 cm thick) was found just below the tower. It is made of fine fabric with relatively tiny and dense mica on the outer surface and rare, small white tempers. This fabric is not known among the pithoi from Maslinovik¹⁷⁴ but is known at Pharos,¹⁷⁵ albeit not with such dense mica content.

No G/H cooking pots are among the pottery sherds found at Tor.

As we have seen, Bervaldi (1914) said that tiles of 'unusual shape were found around the tower, but there are also Roman tiles'. Only one tile sherd was published by Zaninović.¹⁷⁶ During our recent inspection of the site, we encountered several sherds just below the tower. They appear to be Greek flat tiles of the so-called Corinthian type with a straight vertical inner side of low flange with platform.¹⁷⁷ Two fabrics are present: one is fine reddish clay with larger and smaller white tempers and a darker reddish slip (Fig. 24, 3) the other fabric is fine reddish clay without tempers. The first fabric is not known at Maslinovik tower (Kirigin, in print), but both fabrics are known

- Još ne znamo točno: **a.** gdje je bila razina temelja cijele kule i **b.** odnos između zida W5 i sjevernog zida kule. Moguće je da su građeni u isto vrijeme, no to je potrebno potkrijepiti dodatnim dokazima.
- Ne znamo kako su točno zidovi kule izgledali iznutra. Današnji izgled unutrašnjosti zidova, s puno manjim nepravilno posloženim blokovima i kamenjem, ne može se dovesti u vezu s vanjskim izgledom. Gamulin i Bervaldi navode da su zidovi bili široki 1 – 1,2 m (slično kuli Maslinovik), no izvorni izgled unutrašnjosti nije poznat, za razliku od kule Maslinovik.
- Rekonstrukcija uzanih vrata na južnoj strani kule upitna je s obzirom na to da nema dokaza o tome da su izvorno bila tamo niti da su izvorno izgledala kako izgledaju sada.¹⁷⁸
- Kula je manjih dimenzija (unutrašnjost je oko 25 m²), dakle namjena kule nije bila pohrana dobara, već promatračnica u obrambene svrhe, drugim riječima vojni objekt. Prizemlje je najvjerojatnije ispunjeno za vrijeme izgradnje kule, a prvi je kat bio povezan s "bedemom" te je služio za pohranu opreme i hrane za stražu. Na temelju nalaza crjepova koje spominju Gamulin, Bervaldi (jedinu koji je rekao da je kula mogla imati krov) i Zaninović, moguće da je ispod krova, u unutrašnjosti kule, bio prazan prostor. Isto je tako moguće da se eventualni drugi kat koristio za smještaj čuvarske službe te da je potkrovlje iznad njega služio za promatranje. U tom slučaju kula je mogla biti visoka oko 12 m te time još uočljivija u krajobrazu.
- „Bedem” je položen u smjeru I – Z, lagano zakrivljen prema S na I kraju, te doseže rubove dvaju dubokih gudura. Dugačak je oko 45 m i širok 16 – 13 m. Visina varira te ju je teško procijeniti, no čini se da je u blizini kule bedem visok oko 3 – 4 m. Južno pročelje (W5) ove masivne nakupine može se pratiti dužinom od oko 35 m (sl. 8, A; 16, 4; 19–20). Nije strogo ravno postavljen, a neki dijelovi su se iskrivili, nedostaju ili su se urušili. Do SI ugla kule nalazi se oblik "koljena" koji označava suženje zida ili možda kut na kojem su se spajala dva zida (sl. 16a). Kako su zapazili drugi istraživači, taj je zid izgrađen od četvrtastih blokova koji nisu izrađeni tako precizno kao blokovi od kojih je građena kula.¹⁷⁹ Otprilike 2 – 2,5 m S od zida W5 i paralelno s njim nalazi se još jedan jednostrani zid, dužine oko 40 m (W4), građen od pretežno nepravilnih manjih kamenih blokova (sl. 8, A, D W4; 16a, W4). On je na nešto višoj razini te je s I strane viši od zida W5. Između ta dva zida je ravna površina ši-

168 For the shape see Marović and Nikolanci 1977, p. 23, no. 7, PL. X, no. 3; Ugarković 2019, p. 94.

169 Ugarković 2019, p.122.

170 Kirigin, in print.

171 Kirigin 2018.

172 MHB inv. no. M-718. One Lamboglia 2 neck sherd was found at Maslinovik (Kirigin, in print).

173 Unpublished.

174 Kirigin, in print.

175 Kirigin 2017, p. 62, nos. 17 and 18.

176 Zaninović 1982, p. 67, Pl. 2, no. 6, attributed to a handmade pot base.

177 Randsborg 2002, pp. 149-152, type Cor. 3a and Cor. 4a.

178 Na drugim grčkim kulama nisu poznati takvi uski ulazi: v. reference u: Kirigin, u tisku.

179 Neke paralele nalazimo u Randsborgovu tipu 18 (2002, str. 232–233, sl. IX. 36 (Hellinika, Kephallénia), ali taj tip nažalost nije datiran. Problem u korištenju samo klasifikacija zidova kako bi ih se moglo datirati čak i na regionalnoj razini dobro su predstavili Giorgi i Lepore (2020, str. 172–177).

at Pharos (Kirigin, in preparation).

It is possible that the finds from Zaninović's cultural layer represent an overlap of local and G/H materials in the late 4th to 2nd centuries BC and that this may attest to enduring relations between the indigenous and Greek communities at this exurban site on the E fringes of the territory of Pharos.

Several problems regarding the tower remain. Future research should focus on resolving the following questions:

- We still do not properly know: **a.** The foundation level of the entire tower and **b.** the relationship between W5 and the N wall of the tower. They could have been built concurrently but more evidence is needed.
- We do not know what exactly the interior walls of the tower looked like. The appearance of the inner walls today, with much smaller irregularly placed blocks and stones, has nothing to do with the way outer face was made. Gamulin and Bervaldi said that the walls were 1 – 1.2 m wide (similar to the Maslinovik tower), but the original appearance of the interior face is not known, in contrast to that of the tower at Maslinovik.
- The reconstructed narrow door on the S side of the tower is questionable, as no evidence exists that it was originally placed there or that it originally looked the way it does now.¹⁷⁸
- The size of the tower is small (the interior is ca. 25 m²) so it was not meant to be a tower for storing goods but was a lookout for defensive purposes which was a military installation. Most likely the ground floor was filled during the building of the tower and the first floor was connected to the “rampart” and served to store equipment and food for the garrison. Based on the finds of tiles mentioned by Gamulin, Bervaldi (the only scholar who said that the tower might have had a roof) and Zaninović, it is possible that below the roof there was an empty space inside the tower. It is also possible that the eventual second floor served as accommodation for the garrison and that the roofed attic above it was used for watchout activity. If this was the case, then the tower would be ca. 12 m high and thus even more visible in the landscape.
- The “rampart”, is positioned in the E-W direction slightly curving northward at the E end, and reaching the edges of two deep abysses. It is some 45 m long and ca. 16-13 m wide. The height varies and it is difficult to estimate it, but near the tower it looks as though it is approximately 3-4 m high. The S wall front (W5) of this massive deposit could be traced for some 35 m (Fig. 8, A; 16, 4; 19-20). It

rine 3 – 4 m (najviša točka objekta). S od te ravne površine je padina na kojoj se u dužini od oko 3 m nalazi lomljeno kamenje koje postaje ravno nekih 2,5 m te se naslanja na dugački suhozid širine oko 1 m, koji prati oblik S ruba nasipa (sl. 16a, W9). W9 je dugačak oko 40 m i djelomično je oštećen. Neki njegovi blokovi prilično su veliki te su mogli pripadati zidovima kule ili “bedema”, kao i mnogi drugi razbacani unaokolo. Na toj se ravnoj površini nalazila sonda koju je bio otvorio Mirosavljević (sl. 16 i 16a, 3). Nešto što je promaknulo pažnji drugih istraživača je mala, gotovo polukružna platforma na krajnjem SI dijelu koju podupiru blokovi visine oko 2,5 m, slični prethodno spomenutom J zidu (sl. 8, D, W6; 16a, W6; 19). Taj bi zid mogao biti isti kao W5 ispred kule, a blokovi vidljivi na sl. 8, D W7 mogli bi biti njihova poveznica.

- Teško je sa sigurnošću utvrditi jesu li nalazi iz Mirosavljevićeve sonde koji evociraju obrede povezani s funkcijom kule i s vremenom u kojem se kula koristila. Čini se da se gotovo svi kovinski predmeti (osim igle – s dvije glavice) ukļapaju u dataciju G/H lončarije pronađene u istom kulturnom sloju i vatrištu unutar njega, kako je taj objekt nazvao Zaninović. Kao što je prethodno istaknuto, ti predmeti svrstavaju se većinom od kraja 4. do 2. stoljeća pr. n. e., uz rijetke iznimke na početku i završetku tog vremenskog raspona (kao što su igla s dvije glavice iz 8. – 7. stoljeća pr. n. e. i fina keramika od sive gline s kraja 2. – 1. stoljeća pr. n. e., v. gore). Problem s tim kulturnim slojem (debljine 30 cm) i takozvanim vatrištem ili ognjištem unutar njega jest što nisu jasno definirani. Ne znamo što je otkriveno u kojem kontekstu, kao ni to je li bilo stratigrafije.
- “Bedem” ispred kule podsjeća na situaciju na nalazištu Purkin kuk, gdje je na zapadnoj strani pretpovijesne gomile ubačena veća građevina (oko 15 × 15 m). Ta građevina, koja daleko od toga da je dovoljno i adekvatno istražena, odlikuje se različitim načinima zidanja, s dijelovima sličnim blokovima kule Tor.¹⁸⁰
- Čini se da zidovi (sl. 16a, W8) koji povezuju SZ i SI ugao kule s južnim pročeljem zida W5 imaju samo vanjska lica te je očito da su izgrađeni nakon zida W5 “bedema” i kule. Građeni su drukčije, puno grublje i nepreciznije, te se naslanjaju na zid W5 “bedema” i sjeverni zid kule (sl. 21). Ne zna se kad je to napravljeno. Ti su zidovi bili poznati Bervaldiju i Zaninoviću (v. gore) (sl. 15).¹⁸¹ Sama ispuna između tih zidova sadržava blokove kule koji su, kako je zabilježio Zaninović, u nekom trenutku pali.¹⁸² Osim toga, treba spomenu-

¹⁷⁸ Such small narrow entrances are not known on other Greek towers see references in Kirigin in print.

¹⁸⁰ Anonimni autor 1876; Zaninović 1978b; 1981; 1995, sl. na str. 141; Gaffney *et al* 1997, str. 189–190; Kirigin 2006, str. 91.

¹⁸¹ Nacrtao ih je s dva lica.

¹⁸² Bilo bi zanimljivo saznati nalaze li se blokovi kule koji su pali u zidu “bedemu” (W5). Ako nisu ondje, to znači da je W5 izgrađen prije ili za vrijeme izgradnje kule.

is not in a strict straight line and parts have shifted, are missing, or have collapsed. Next to the NE tower quoin it has a “knee” shape that marks a narrowing of this wall or it may be the corner of two walls (Fig. 16a). As was noted by other scholars, this wall is made of rectangular blocks that are not so well fitted as the tower ones.¹⁷⁹ About 2-2.5 m N of the front of W5 and parallel to it, there is another single-faced, roughly 40 m long wall (W4) composed of mostly irregular smaller stone blocks (Fig. 8, A, D W4; 16a, W4). It is on a somewhat higher level and on its E part it is higher than W5. Between these two is an approximately 3-4 m wide flat area (the highest point of this feature). N of this flat area is a ca. 3 m. long stone rubble slope which becomes flat for some 2.5 m and leans on the long dry stone wall, ca. 1 m wide, that follows the shape of the N rubble end (Fig. 16a, W9). W9 is approximately 40 m long and is partially damaged. Some of its blocks are rather large and could have belonged to the tower or “rampart” walls as many others around could have been. The trench excavated by Miroslavjević was on this flat area (Fig. 16 and 16a, 3). Something that has escaped the attention of other investigators is a small almost semi-circular platform at the very NE part that is supported with roughly 2.5 m high blocks that are similar to the previously mentioned S wall (Fig. 8, D, W6; 16a, W6; 19). This wall could be the same as W5 in front of the tower and the blocks seen on Fig. 8, D W7 might be the ones that connect them.

- It is difficult to be certain if the artefacts that were found in Miroslavjević’s trench that recall rituals can be associated with the function of the tower and the time span the tower was in use. Almost all metal objects (except the double headed pin) seem to correspond to the dating of the G/H pottery found in the same cultural layer and the hearth within it, as Zaninović defined this feature. As noted above, these artefacts date mostly from the later 4th to 2nd centuries BC, with rare exceptions at both ends of this span of time (such as the double headed pin from 8th-7th centuries BC and fine grey clay pottery from late the 2nd -1st centuries BC: see above). The problem with this cultural layer (30 cm thick) and the so-called hearth within it is that neither of them is clearly defined. We do not know what was found in each context and whether there was any stratigraphy present.
- The “rampart” in front of the tower resembles the situation at the Purkin kuk site, where on the W side of the pre-

ti kako ta dva zida nisu dosegla visinu “bedema” W5 te su stoga vjerojatnije kasnijeg datuma.

- Kako smo vidjeli, nekoliko autora spominje sličnosti između zidova Tora i Farosa. U vezi s time javlja se problem što još uvijek ne znamo gdje su stajale izvorne fortifikacijske zidine Farosa iz 4. stoljeća, niti kako su izgledale.¹⁸³

Cilj ovog rada jest revidirati dosadašnja saznanja, predstaviti nepoznate arhivske dokaze koji se odnose na Tor i raspraviti o problemima koji okružuju ovo još uvijek zagonetno nalazište. Dokazi i nalazi koje sam pregledao u okviru ove retrospektive – iako nisu pretjerano značajni te ne počivaju ni na kakvoj pouzdanoj stratigrafiji niti na pouzdanim kontekstualnim podacima – mogli bi poslužiti kao smjernica za buduća istraživanja. Razvidno je da samo sustavna iskapanja mogu iznjedrati nove podatke. No, za to će biti potrebna znatna ulaganja. To predstavlja golem izazov s motrišta logistike te je istraživanje potrebno pažljivo isplanirati, baš kao što su to učinili i graditelji kule koja predstavlja dosad najreprezentativniji grčki spomenik u nas.

179 Some parallels can be found in Randsberg type 18 (2002, pp. 232-233, Fig. IX. 36 (Hellinika on Kephallénia), but, unfortunately, this type has no dates. The problem of using only the classification of walls as the way to date them even within a regional level is well presented by Giorgi and Lepore (2020, pp. 172-177) concerning the walls at Phonike and Butrint.

183 Za više detalja v.: Popović i Devlahović 2018; Kirigin i Barbarić 2019, str. 221.

historic barrow a larger building (c. 15 × 15 m) was inserted. This building, not at all sufficiently and adequately excavated, exhibits different masonry styles with parts similar to Tor's tower blocks.¹⁸⁰

- The walls (Fig. 16a, W8) that connect the NW and the NE quoins of the tower with the S face of W5 seem to have only outer faces and it is evident that they were built after W5 of the “rampart” and the tower. They are made differently in a much rougher and coarse manner and they lean on W5 of the “rampart” and on the N wall of the tower (Fig. 21). It is not known when was this done. These walls were known to Bervaldi and Zaninović (see above) (Fig. 15).¹⁸¹ The fill between these walls also contains tower blocks that fell off at some point, as Zaninović noted.¹⁸² It is further noteworthy that these two walls did not reach the height of the “rampart” W5 so they must be of a later date.
- As we have seen, several writers mentioned the similarities between the walls of Tor and those of Pharos. The problem in this instance is that we still do not know where the original 4th century fortification walls of Pharos stood, nor what they looked like.¹⁸³

The aim of this paper is to review the previous scholarship, to present the unknown archival evidence about the tower site at Tor and to discuss the problems surrounding this still enigmatic site. The evidence and finds that I have examined in this retrospective – although not very substantial and without any coherent stratigraphy or reliable contextual data could be a guideline for future investigations. It is evident that only systematic excavations may yield new data. But considerable investment will be required for this to happen. From a logistical standpoint, it is a great challenge and careful planning is necessary, as it was for the original builders of the tower, which is the most representative Greek monument in Croatia to date.

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous 1876; Zaninović 1978b; 1981; 1995, Fig. on p. 141; Gaffney et al 1997, pp. 189-190; Kirigin 2006, p. 91.

¹⁸¹ He drew them with two faces.

¹⁸² It would be interesting to know whether the fallen tower blocks go into the “rampart” wall (W5) or not. If not, then W5 was built earlier or during construction of the tower.

¹⁸³ For more details see: Popović and Devlahović 2018; Kirigin and Barbarić 2019, p. 221.

APPENDIX

On the difficulty of attacking Tor

Some time after I had completed this essay on Tor, Paolo Visonà brought to my attention an article by N. Stipissich, “Intorno al villaggio di Verbagno,” published in the well-known Zadar newspaper *Gazzetta di Zara*, vol. 91, Monday 18 November 1847, pp. 553-55. Here Nikola Stipišić, a local priest from Vrbanj, while describing his village (located only a few km W of Jelsa) recounted an interesting story about the brutal three-day Ottoman naval attacks against the island of Hvar in August 1571. After raiding the coastal towns of Hvar and Stari Grad and the villages of Vrboska, Jelsa and Pitve with a force of over 2,000 soldiers and 80 warships, the Ottomans began to hunt down local inhabitants, of whom approximately 2,500 were hiding in the nearby heights (G. Novak, *Hvar kroz stoljeća*, Zagreb 1961, 106-107). Stipišić added that some of the local residents found refuge at Tor, whence they withstood repeated Ottoman attacks by raining stones down on the enemy. The Ottomans could not dislodge the refugees because only one trail led to the summit, and the attackers could only climb the trail single file. So the Ottomans gave up and sailed away. The article also mentions the site’s original name, Samotvor.

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DODATAK

O teškoćama napada na Tor

Kratko nakon što sam bio priveo kraju pisanje ovog rada o Toru, Paolo Visonà mi je skrenuo pozornost na članak koji je napisao N. Stipissich, “Intorno al villaggio di Verbagno”, objavljen u poznatim zadarskim novinama *Gazzetta di Zara*, sv. 91, od ponedjeljka, 18. studenoga 1847., str. 553–555. U njemu Nikola Stipišić, lokalni svećenik iz Vrbanja, opisujući svoje selo (smješteno samo nekoliko kilometara zapadno od Jelse) prenosio zanimljivu predaju o brutalnom trodnevnom napadu Osmanlija s mora na otok Hvar u kolovozu 1571. Nakon što je sila koja je uključivala više od 2000 vojnika i 80 ratnih brodova poharala obalne gradove Hvar i Stari Grad te sela Vrbosku, Jelsu i Pitve, Osmanlije su se dali u pohod na mjesno pučanstvo koje se, njih oko 2500, krilo na obližnjim brdima (G. Novak, *Hvar kroz stoljeća*, Zagreb 1961, 106–107). Stipišić dodaje kako su neki mještani našli utočište na Toru, odakle su odolijevali uzastopnim osmanlijskim napadima zasipajući neprijatelja kišom kamenja. Osmanlijama nije uspjelo istjerati izbjeglice jer je do vrha vodila samo jedna staza kojom su se napadači mogli uspeti samo jedan za drugim. Tako su Osmanlije odustali i otplovili. U članku se spominje i izvorni naziv lokaliteta, Samotvor.

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