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PROMIŠLJANJA O MUNIFICIJENCIJSKI FLAMERA BOŽANSKOGA KLAUDIJA U ASERIJI

*SOME THOUGHTS ON THE EUERGETISM MADE
BY THE FLAMEN OF DIVUS CLAUDIUS IN ASSERIA*

Apstrakt

U radu se razmatra munificijencijski L. Kaninija Frontona, flamera Božanskoga Klaudija, poznata samo preko jedne epigrafske arhitravne grede pronađene na prostoru foruma Aserije. Arhitrav je mogao pripadati jedino manjoj građevini, vrlo vjerojatno hramu, i to prije skromnom prostilnom distilu nego distilu in antis. Taj bi hram trebalo povezati sa štovanjem carskoga kulta, i to, možda upravo sa štovanjem Božanskoga Klaudija.

Ključne riječi: Asseria, hram in antis, prostilni distil, carski kult, flamen Divi Claudii

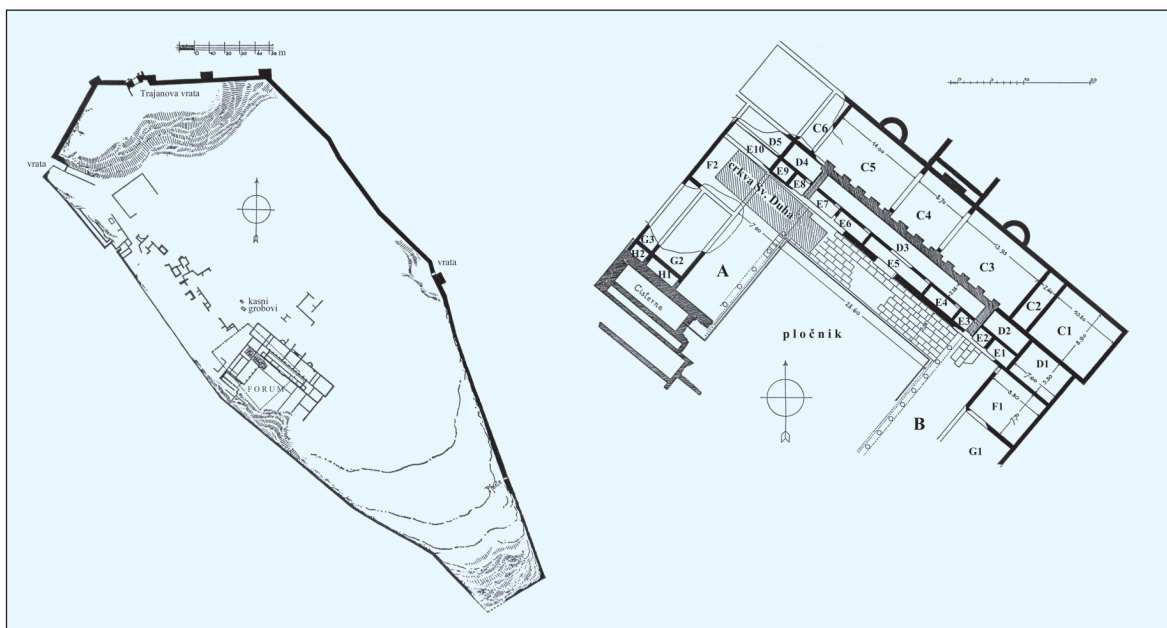
Abstract

The euergetism made by L. Caninius Fronto, flamen of Divus Claudius, is considered in the paper, known only from an epigraphic architrave beam found at the forum of Asseria. Architrave could have belonged to a smaller object, very likely a temple, more probably modest prostyle distyle than distyle in antis. This temple should be related to the honouring of the Imperial cult, possibly the cult of Divus Claudius.

Keywords: Asseria, temple in antis, prostyle distyle, imperial cult, flamen Divi Claudii

Početak 20. stoljeća uz forum Aserije /Sl. 1/ nađen je mali arhitrav, polomljen u tri dijela, na kojemu je lijepom kapitalom uklesano: *L. Caninius T. f. Cla(udia) Fronto, II vir, flamen Divi Claudii, II vir quinq(ennalis)* /Sl. 2/.¹

In the beginning of the 20th century a small architrave, broken in three pieces, was found near the forum of Asseria, with an inscription, in fine *scriptura capitalis*: *L. Caninius T. f. Cla(udia) Fronto, II vir, flamen Divi Claudii, II vir quinq(ennalis)* /Fig. 2/.¹



Sl.1. Tloris Aserije i njezina foruma (prema A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Sl. 1-2).

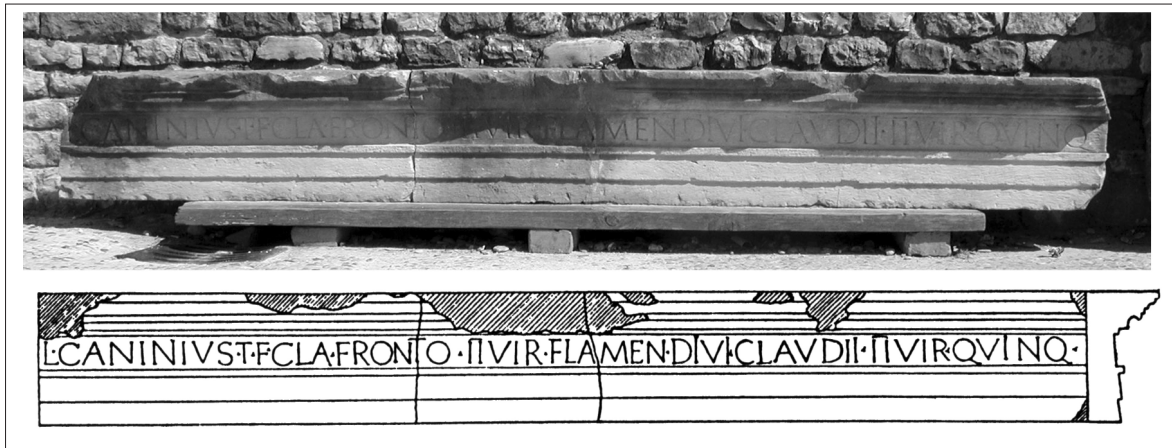
Fig. 1. Ground-plan of Asseria and of its forum (after A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Fig. 1-2).

¹ *AE* 1908, 192; *ILLug* 2833. Natpis se danas nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru (inv. br. KAG64). Od novijih publikacija toga natpisa, v. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, br. 3, 49 i d. (ondje je slučajno došlo do propusta, te u transkripciji teksta nije navedena prva magistratura – duovirat, što je drugdje inače ispravno napisano), gdje je navedena i starija relevantna literatura. Nakon tog rada, spomenikom su se bavili još i A. KURILIĆ, 2006, br. 3, 14 i d. i K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (i str. 152, br. 1).

¹ *AE* 1908, 192; *ILLug* 2833. The inscription is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (inventory number KAG64). For one of the latest publications of the inscription see A. KURILIĆ, 2004, n. 3, 49 (in the transcription of the text the first magistrature – Ilvir was omitted accidentally which was properly written elsewhere), where earlier references were quoted. After that article, there were two more works about the inscription: A. KURILIĆ, 2006, n. 3, 14, and K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (and p. 152, no. 1).

S obzirom na svoju prirodu arhitravne grede, natpis pripada nekoj munificijenciji, no nije poznato kojoj. Tekst svjedoči da je dobročinitelj bio visoki gradski civilni dužnosnik (*II vir* i *II vir quinquennalis*) i svećenik (flamen Božanskoga Klaudija), i na osnovi te svećeničke službe spomenik se može datirati u vrijeme neposredno nakon Klaudijeve smrti (iza 54. g. po Kr.).² Fronton je bio pripadnik aserijatske municipalne elite i član istaknute – najvjerojatnije došljačke italske – familije *Caninii* koja je potvrđena na još nekim spomenicima Aserije. Aserijatski *Caninii* pripadaju najranijim spomenima toga imena u Liburniji (Fronton je možda najraniji među njima), tako da nije nemoguće da su među njihovim potomcima i zadarski Kaniniji iz 2. stoljeća.³

As the inscription was found on the architrave beam, it is related to some euergetism, but it is still unknown to which one. The text testifies that the benefactor was a distinguished civilian official (*II vir* and *II vir quinquennalis*) and a priest (flamen of Divus Claudius). On the basis of this sacerdotal position the monument can be dated to the period immediately after Claudius' death (after 54 AD).² Fronto was a member of the Asserian municipal elite and he was also one of the members of the distinguished family *Caninii* who were probably Italic settlers and were also mentioned on some other monuments found in Asseria. *Caninii* from Asseria present one of the earliest records of that name in Liburnia (Fronto might be the earliest among them), so that it's not impossible that *Caninii* from Zadar from the 2nd century might be their descendants.³



Sl. 2. Arhitrav L. Kaninija Frontona (A. KURILIĆ, 2006, Sl. 5).

Fig. 2. Architrave of L. Caninius Fronto (A. KURILIĆ, 2006, Fig. 5).

² A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 51 i 63 (gdje je navedena starija literatura); usp. još i K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (i str. 152, br. 1).

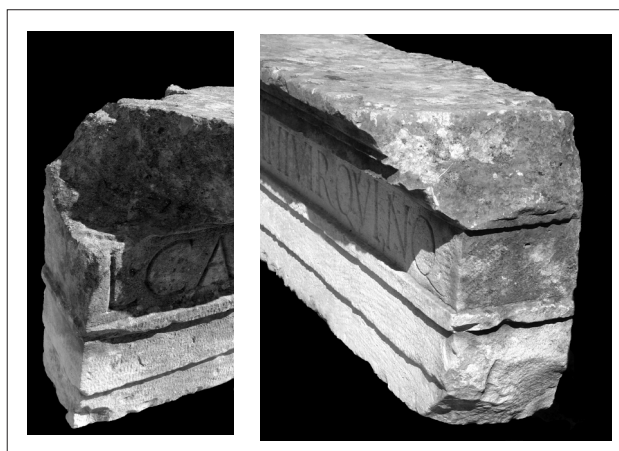
³ A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15-19.

² A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 51 and 63 (where earlier references were quoted); cf. also K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (and p. 152, no. 1).

³ A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15-19.

Natpis je isklesan na elegantnoj arhitravnoj gredi čije glatke površine raščlanjuju tek jednostavna profilacija u gornjem dijelu i dvije fascije ispod natpisa /Sl. 2/.⁴ Budući da se profilacija i fascije nastavljaju i na bočnim stranama grede /Sl. 2 i Sl. 3, a–b/, jasno je da je duljina ove grede ujedno i duljina cijele entablature, ali i da je natpis cjelovito sačuvan.⁵ K tomu, greda je na oba kraja sužena na stražnjoj strani /Sl. 4, a–b/, najvjerojatnije upravo za spoj s gredama, (ili drugim konstruktivnim elementima) na nju okomito postavljenim, s duže strane građevine /Sl. 5/.

The inscription was inscribed in an elegant architrave beam with simple moulding in its upper part and two fasciae beneath the inscription /Fig. 2/.⁴ As the moulding and fasciae continue on the lateral sides of the beam /Fig. 2 and Fig. 3, 1-2/, it is clear that the length of the beam presents the length of the entire entablature, and also that the inscription was preserved completely.⁵ In addition, the beam was narrowed on both ends on its back side /Fig. 4, 1-2/, probably to facilitate joining with vertical beams (or other constructive elements) of the longer side of the object /Fig. 5/.



Sl. 3. a–b Bočne strane arhitrava L. Kaninija Frontona (A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Sl. 10a-10b).

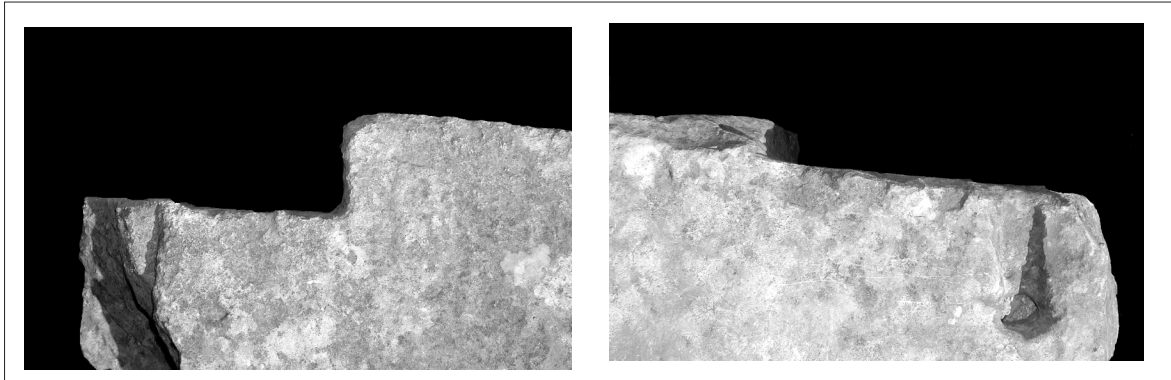
Fig. 3. Lateral sides of the architrave of L. Caninius Fronto (A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Fig. 10a-10b).

⁴ Detaljan opis spomenika v. kod A. KURILIĆ, 2004, br. 3, 49 i dalje.

⁵ Naglašavam cjelovitost natpisa jer se i dalje povremeno u literaturi zna prikazivati kao da mu nije sačuvan kraj (v. npr. Ž. MILETIĆ, 2007, bilj. 39 na str. 184-185). Iznenaduje da su već Liebl i Wilberg, koji su prvi objavili ovaj spomenik, pogrešno napisali da nedostaje kraj teksta natpisa (“...der Schluß der Inschrift fehlt...”, H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 70 = H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 234), kao da spomenik uopće nisu vidjeli.

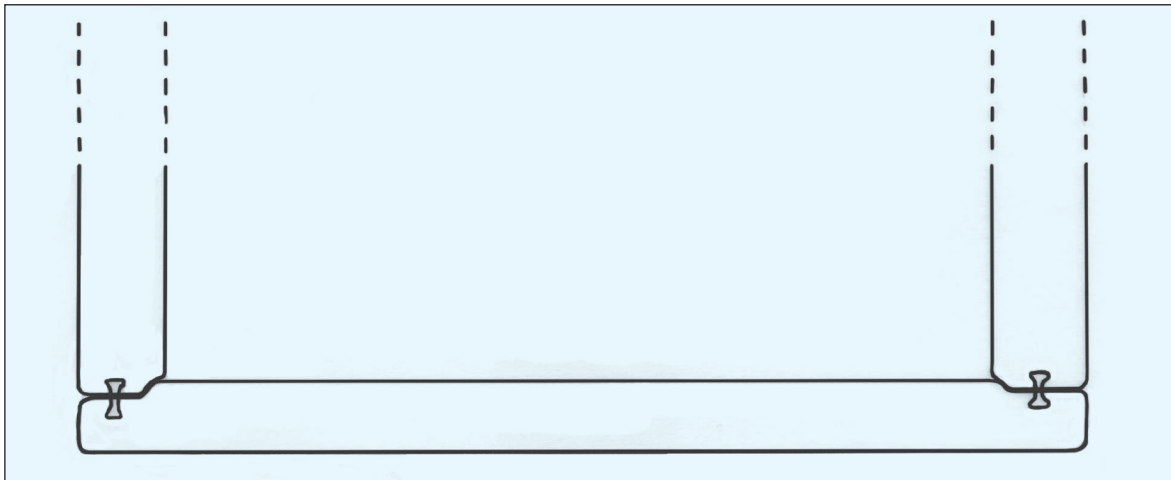
⁴ For a detailed description of the monument see A. KURILIĆ, 2004, no. 3, 49f.

⁵ I must emphasize that the inscription is complete because occasionally there is some false information that its end was not preserved (e.g. Ž. MILETIĆ, 2007, footnote 39, pp.184-185). It is surprising that Liebl and Wilberg who published the monument first also wrote that the end of the text was missing (“...der Schluß der Inschrift fehlt...”, H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 70 = H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 234), as if they did not see the monument at all.



Sl. 4. a–b Pogled odozgo na suženja na stražnjoj strani arhitrava (A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Sl. 11a-11b).

Fig. 4. View from above at the narrowings on the back side of the architrave (A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Fig. 11a-11b).



Sl. 5. Prijedlog načina spoja arhitrava s konstruktivnim elementima duže strane Frontonove građevine.

Fig. 5. Proposition of a way of joining architrave with constructive elements of the longer side of the Fronto's building.

Istraživači su složni da je ova arhitravna greda svjedočanstvo neke munificijencije koju je poduzeo na njoj spomenuti magistrat; vrsta spomenika i *cursus honorum* L. Kaninija Frontona ukazivali bi na to da bi se tu munificijenciju moglo povezati s gradnjom nekog objekta vezanoga uz održavanje carskoga kulta (možda upravo štovanja Božanskoga Klaudija čiji je Fronto bio flamen). Iako to

Most authors agree that this architrave confirms some euergetism undertaken by the mentioned magistrate; the type of the monument and L. Caninius Fronto's *cursus honorum* point that this euergetism might be associated with building of some object related to the Imperial cult (maybe honouring Divus Claudius as Fronto was his flamen). It seems very likely that this building was

nije izriječno navedeno u natpisu, čini se vrlo vjerojatnim da je dotična gradnja bila izvedena privatnim Frontonovim sredstvima, jednako kao i ostale munificijencije u Aseriji.⁶

Skromne dimenzije grede (duga je tek 2,79 m), a samim time i pročelnoga dijela građevine, ukazuju na to da je Frontonova gradnja bila skromnih dimenzija. Kao prva pomisao odmah se javila ideja da je pripadala trabeaciji nekoga manjeg svetišta *in antis*,⁷ iako pomnija analiza proporcija i odnosa prema ostalim dijelovima pročelja takvog tipa građevine upućuje na to da bi se možda radije moglo raditi i o još skromnijoj građevini – jednostavnom prostilnom distilu. Naime, ako pretpostavimo da je debljina zidova cele bila oko stope i pol (tj. oko 45 cm), i tomu dodamo još ukupno oko pola stope za proširenje samih anta (odnosno 1/4 stope za svaku antu), već se samim time prostor između pretpostavljenih anta sužava na oko 1,75 m. Ukoliko je pročelni dio građevine bio organiziran kao distil *in antis*, u taj bi prostor još trebala stati dva stupa i tri

financed by Fronto's private means, just as other euergetisms in Asseria, although it is not explicitly mentioned in the inscription.⁶

The modest dimensions of the beam (it measures only 2,79 m in length), and of the front part of the object, point that Fronto's building was rather small. The first idea was that the beam belonged to trabeation of some smaller temple *in antis*,⁷ though more detailed analysis of proportions and relations towards other parts of the such type of object's elevation shows that it might have been even more modest building – simple prostyle distyle. Namely, under the supposition that cella's walls were foot and a half thick (about 45 cm) and if we add half foot for expansion of antis (i.e. 1/4 of a foot per each anta), that narrows the area between the supposed antae to about 1,75 m. If the front part of the object was organized as distyle *in antis*, two more columns and three intercolumniations should fit into that space. The intercolumniations should be wide enough for a person of normal stature to pass, at least through the central one. If the

⁶ A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15 (gdje se nalazi i starija literatura); usp. i A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 51; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144.

⁷ V. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 63 i A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15. Tu ideju prihvaća i K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (međutim, ne navodi odakle ju je preuzela, jednako kao što to ne čini ni u legendi ispod slike 4 [ilustracija je ondje preuzeta iz A. KURILIĆ, 2006, Sl. 5. na str. 15], i kao što u legendama ispod nekih slika [Sl. 2-3.] netočno navodi odakle su preuzete [ilustracije su ondje preuzete iz A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Sl. 1-2 na str. 42-43]).

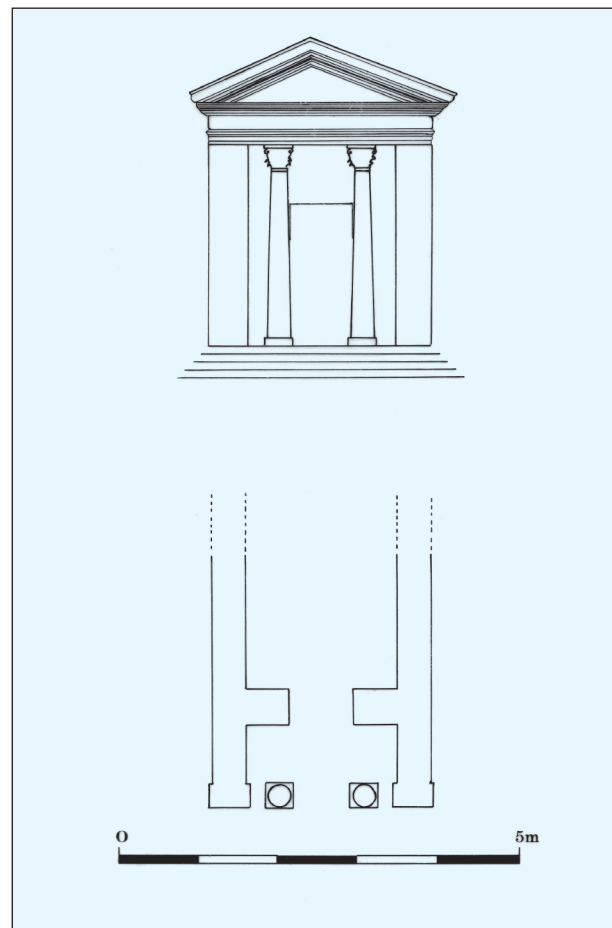
⁶ A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15 (with the earlier sources); cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 51; K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144.

⁷ See A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 63 and A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 15. The idea is accepted by K. A. GIUNIO, 2007, 144 (however, it is not mentioned where it came from as well as in the text beneath the Fig. 4 [illustration taken from A. KURILIĆ, 2006, Fig. 5 p.15], also some figures (Figs 2-3) are wrongly attributed [illustrations taken from A. KURILIĆ, 2004, Fig. 1-2 p. 42-43]).

interkolumnija, i to toliko široka da barem kroz onaj srednji uspije proći osoba normalne stature. Kad bi stupovi bili promjera oko 30-ak cm, tada bi već samo oni oduzeli još 60 cm, čime se prostor predviđen za sve interkolumnije smanjuje na ukupno jedva oko 1,15 m. Pod pretpostavkom da je prosječnoj osobi potrebno barem 70-ak cm za nesmetani prolaz, tada bi lijevi i desni interkolumniji mogli iznositi jedva malo više od dvadeset cm svaki /Sl. 6/.

columns' diameter was 30 cm, they would take 60 cm more which would reduce the intercolumniation space to merely 1,15 m. If we assume that the average person needs at least 70 cm for normal passage, then the left and the right intercolumniations would measure a little more than 20 cm each /Fig. 6/.

If we would apply Vitruvius' recommendations about ideal proportions of eustyle temple, with the proportion between the column's diameter and



Sl. 6. Pretpostavljeni izgled Frontonove građevine ukoliko je bila distil *in antis*.

Fig. 6. Possible reconstruction of the Fronto's object if it had been distyle *in antis*.

Kada bismo se, pak, pridržavali Vitruvijeve preporuke o idealnim proporcijama eustilnog hrama, kod kojega je odnos između debljine stupa i interkolumnija 1 : 2,25 (a za srednji interkolumnij čak 1 : 3),⁸ tada bi mjere pročelja Frontonove građevine iznosile: 67,5 + 30 + 90 + 30 + 67,5 cm, što bi ukupno zahtijevalo 285 cm, tj. mnogo više od 1,75 m koliko je ostalo prostora između pretpostavljenih anta. Vrsta hrama s najužim interkolumnijem – piknostil – ima odnos između debljine stupa i interkolumnija 1 : 1,5.⁹ Tada bi – i dalje pod pretpostavkom da su stupovi ove aserijatske munificijencije imali promjer od 30-ak cm,

intercolumniation 1 : 2,25 (and for the central intercolumniation even 1 : 3),⁸ then the measurements of the Fronto's object's elevation would be 67,5 + 30 + 90 + 30 + 67,5 cm making the total of 285 cm, much more than 1,75 m which is the distance between the supposed antae. Temple type with the narrowest intercolumniation, pyknostyle, has the column's diameter – intercolumniation proportion 1 : 1,5.⁹ In that case, still under the supposition that columns of this Asserian euergetism had diameter of about 30 cm, and that the central intercolumniation was wider than

⁸ Vitr., 3, 3, 1 i 3, 3, 6-8. Iako Vitruvije preporuča eustil ("On se najviše može preporučiti s obzirom na pogodnost i ljepotu, a i za čvrstoću ima opravdanih razloga." - Vitr. 3, 3, 6 u prijevodu M. LOPAC – V. BEDENKO, 1999, 59), kaže da u Rimu nema niti jednog njegovog primjera, već u Aziji (3, 3, 8). Međutim, u Rimu ima eustilnih hramova, i možda je jedan od najljepših Portunov hram s kraja 2. st. pr. Kr. Kod njega odnos promjera stupa i interaksijalnog razmaka iznosi 85 : 270 cm (v. J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 62-64); prema tome, interkolumnij pročelne strane treba mjeriti 1,87 m.

⁹ Vitr., 3, 3, 1-3. Vitruvije ne preporuča hramove s takvim omjerom; ipak, oni su postojali, pa i on sam kao njihove primjere u Rimu navodi hram Božanskog Julija i Venerin hram na Cezarovom forumu. Međutim, ti su hramovi bili daleko veći od ovoga u Aseriji, jednako kao i njihovi interkolumniji; tako da, npr., u hramu Božanskog Julija promjer stupova iznosi 1,16 m, a interaksijalni razmak 2,92 m (v. J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 126, Table 7.1, a usp. ondje i str. 109 i d.); interkolumnij je, prema tome, trebao biti širok 1,76 m. Interkolumnij Venerinog hrama bi, prema mjerama donesenim u navedenoj Stamperovoj tablici, trebao biti tek nešto malo manji – 1,7 metara.

⁸ Vitr., 3, 3, 1 i 3, 3, 6-8. Although Vitruvius recommends eustyle ("It can be highly recommended considering its appropriateness and beauty, and its strength is also well justified." - Vitr. 3, 3, 6 translation into Croatian by M. LOPAC – V. BEDENKO, 1999, 59), he mentions that there is not a single eustyle temple in Rome, but only in Asia (3, 3, 8). However, there are eustyle temples in Rome, and maybe one of the most beautiful examples is the Temple of Portunus dated to the late 2nd century BC. Its relation of column's diameter to interaxial distance is 85 : 270 cm (see J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 62-64); accordingly, intercolumniation of the front side should measure 1,87 m.

⁹ Vitr., 3, 3, 1-3. Vitruvius does not recommend temples with such proportion; however they existed, and he mentions examples in Rome such as the Temple of the Divus Julius or the Temple of Venus at Caesar's forum. These temples were far bigger than this one in Asseria, as well as their intercolumniations, so that in the Temple of the Divus Julius column's diameter measures 1,16 m and the interaxial distance 2,92 m (see J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 126, Table 7.1, also cf. p. 109); accordingly intercolumniation was supposed to measure 1,76 m in width. Intercolumniation of the Temple of Venus should be just a little bit shorter – 1,7 m, according to the measures listed in the mentioned Stamper's table.

i da je srednji interkolumnij bio veći od bočnih – mjere prostora između anta iznosile: 45 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 45 (= ukupno 220 cm). Kao što se vidi iz izloženoga, čak i s minimalnim mjerama (zidova, stupova i interkolumnija) čini se da greda s natpisom L. Kaninija Frontona nije mogla stajati na pročelju hrama *in antis*.

Prema tomu, valja promišljati o rješenju koje ne iziskuje toliko puno prostora. Ako se iz razmatranja isključe specifični tipovi, poput kružnih hramova (npr. Okrugli hram na Forum Boarium uz Tiber u Rimu,¹⁰ Hram B na Largo Argentina u Rimu,¹¹ ili Vestin hram u Tivoliju¹² i u Rimu,¹³ i dr.)¹⁴ ili hramova sa celom širom od pronaosa, koji su vrlo rijetki (npr. Veioveov hram u Rimu¹⁵ ili Konkordijin hram u Rimu¹⁶), čini mi se da u obzir može doći još jedino jednostavan hram s dva naprijed postavljena stupa – prostilni distil.

Takvi su hramovi također prilično rijetki.¹⁷ Pretražujući dostupnu mi literaturu, pronašla sam tek nekoliko njih, i to, isključivo na umjetničkim i numizmatičkim

the lateral ones, the measurements of the space between the antae would be 45 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 45 (= total of 220 cm). As we can see from the aforementioned, even with minimal measures of walls, columns and intercolumniations, it seems that the beam with L. Caninius Fronto's inscription could not have stood on the elevation of the temple *in antis*.

Therefore, we need to consider some option that does not take so much space. If we eliminate some specific types, such as circular temples (e.g. Round Temple in the Forum Boarium by the Tiber in Rome,¹⁰ Temple B in Largo Argentina in Rome,¹¹ or the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli¹² and in Rome¹³ etc.)¹⁴ or temples with cella that is wider than pronaos, which are exceptionally rare (the Temple of Veiove in Rome¹⁵ or the Temple of Concordia in Rome¹⁶), the only plausible solution seems to be a simple temple with two columns in the front – prostyle distyle.

This type of the temple is also quite rare.¹⁷ In available scholarly literature I was able to find few such temples, only in

¹⁰ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 68 i d., Figs 48-53

¹¹ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 75-78, 81, Figs 57-59 i Fig. 62.

¹² J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 75 i d., Figs 54-55.

¹³ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 78 i d., Figs 60-61.

¹⁴ Dva kružna hrama poznata su i na istočnoj obali Jadrana, i to oba u ambijentu Dioklecijanove palače; v. N. CAMBI, 1994, 20, 22; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 417-419.

¹⁵ L. CREMA, 1959, 47 i Fig. 33 na str. 40.

¹⁶ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 141 i d., Figs 103-105.

¹⁷ L. CREMA, 1959, 42.

¹⁰ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 68, Figs 48-53.

¹¹ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 75-78, 81, Figs 57-59 and Fig. 62.

¹² J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 75, Figs 54-55.

¹³ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 78, Figs 60-61.

¹⁴ There are two circular temples on the eastern Adriatic coast, both within the Diocletian's Palace: cf. N. CAMBI, 1994, 20, 22; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 417-419.

¹⁵ L. CREMA, 1959, 47 and Fig. 33 p. 40.

¹⁶ J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 141, Figs 103-105.

¹⁷ L. CREMA, 1959, 42.

prikazima.¹⁸ Na reljefu koji se čuva u Museo di Ostia antica prikazane su svete guske ispred prostilnog distila Junone Monete kako upozoravaju na galsku opasnost /Sl. 7/.¹⁹ Prostilni distil prikazan je i na novcima, kao npr. na denaru monetarnog magistrata Maksuma (*Cn. Egnatius Maxsumus*) iz 75. g. pr. Kr. /Sl. 8/²⁰ i na denaru trijumvira Marka Antonija iz 42. g. pr. Kr. /Sl. 9/.²¹

Pod pretpostavkom da je Frontonova munificijencijska u Aseriji bila takvog tipa, mnogo bi se lakše mogle uskladiti dimenzije arhitrava i ostalih elemenata pročelja. I dalje pod istom pretpostavkom da je promjer stupova bio oko 30 cm, nastao bi vrlo širok ulaz (2,19 m), koji bi, kao interkolumnij, bio čak i preširok.²² Stoga bi promjer stupova mogao biti i nešto veći – možda podjednak kao debljina zidova cele (vj.

artistic and numismatic scenes.¹⁸ In the relief kept in the Museo di Ostia antica, holy geese warning of Gallic danger are represented in front of the prostyle distyle of Juno Moneta /Fig. 7/.¹⁹ Prostyle distyle is also represented on coins, e.g. on a denarius of a monetary magistrate Maxsumus (*Cn. Egnatius Maxsumus*) from 75 BC /Fig. 8/²⁰ and on a denarius of triumvir Marc Antony from 42 BC /Fig. 9/.²¹

Under the assumption that Fronto's euergetism in Asseria was of that type, it would be much easier to interpret the dimensions of architrave and other elements of the elevation. Still assuming that the columns' diameter was about 30 cm, entrance would be quite wide (2,19 m), even too wide when regarded as an intercolumniation,²² which is why columns' diameter might be

¹⁸ Budući da je sva ta literatura usredotočena poglavito na velike hramove i na grad Rim, nedostaje uvid u hramove malih dimenzija, osobito one smještene u provincijama. Stoga vjerujem da bi se moglo naći još analogija, osobito u manjim središtima Italije i provincija.

¹⁹ http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/index4.html (15. siječnja 2009.). Smatra se da taj reljef prikazuje hram u rekonstrukciji iz vremena između 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr. kao "... una traduzione in pietra del tempio italo di Camillo'." (L. CREMA, 1959, 42).

²⁰ A. VARESI, 1994, 44, br. 273 (= Cr. 391/2).

²¹ A. VARESI, 1994, 116, br. 746 (= Cr. 496/1).

²² Odnos promjera stupa i interkolumnija bio bi 1 : 7,13 što je dvostruko više od najmanjeg omjera za areostilne hramove (1 : 3,5 i više); v. J. W. STAMPER, 2008, 52, Table 4.1; usp. Vitruv., 3, 3, 1 i 3, 3, 5.

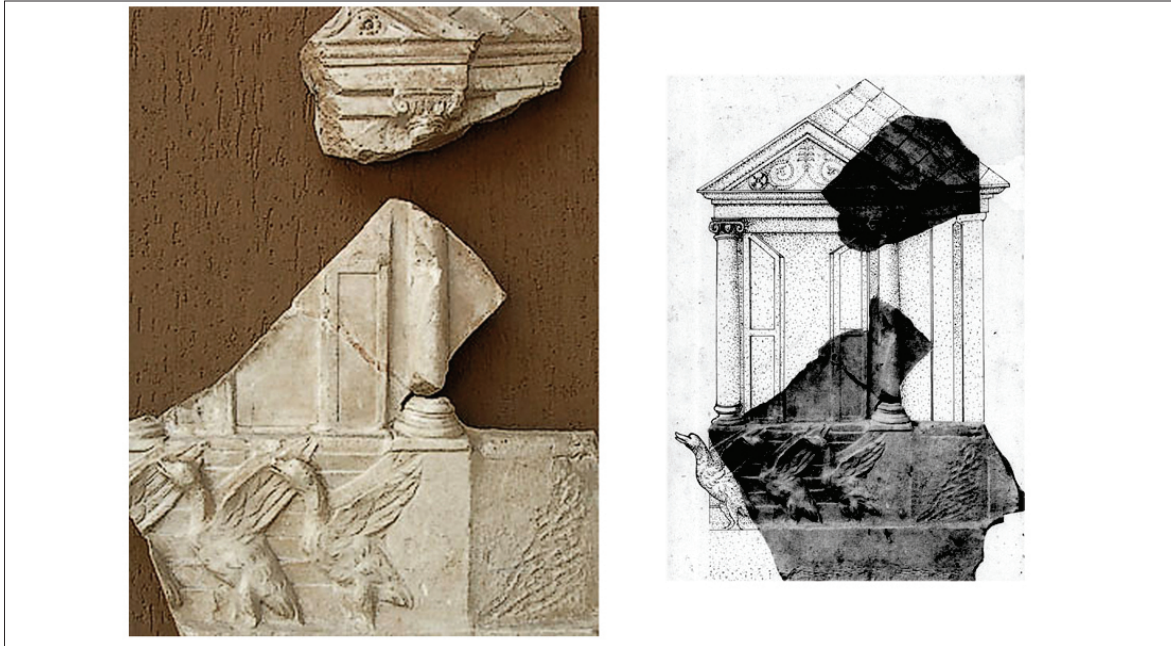
¹⁸ Most of these texts deal with big temples and the city of Rome, which is why there is not enough information about smaller temples, especially the ones in the provinces. That is why I believe that there could be more analogies, especially in the smaller centres in Italy and in the provinces.

¹⁹ http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/index4.html (15th January 2009). This relief is believed to present reconstructed temple from the period between the 2nd and the 1st centuries BC as "... una traduzione in pietra del tempio italo di Camillo'." (L. CREMA, 1959, 42).

²⁰ A. VARESI, 1994, 44, no. 273 (= Cr. 391/2).

²¹ A. VARESI, 1994, 116, no. 746 (= Cr. 496/1).

²² The proportion between column's diameter and intercolumniation would be 1 : 7,13 which is twice as much as the smallest proportion for areostyle temples (1 : 3,5 and more); see W. STAMPER, 2008, 52, Table 4.1; cf. Vitruv., 3, 3, 1 and 3, 3, 5.



Sl. 7. Reljefni prikaz prostilnog distila (hram Junone Monete) na reljefu u Museo di Ostia antica (slika lijevo rad je Ann Raia i preuzeta je s http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/capitoline4.jpg, a rekonstrukcija na slici desno preuzeta je s <http://vernondent.blogspot.com/search?q=moneta>).

Fig. 7. Relief representation of the prostyle distyle (the Temple of Juno Moneta) on the relief in Museo di Ostia antica (photo to the left is by Ann Raia and it was taken from http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/capitoline4.jpg, and the reconstruction to the right is taken from <http://vernondent.blogspot.com/search?q=moneta>).

oko 45-60 cm) – a da interkolumnij i dalje bude dovoljno širok da omogući ugodan prolazak čak i dvjema osobama. U slučaju da je promjer stupova bio 45 cm, tada bi interkolumnij od 1,89 m bio i dalje vrlo širok (a omjer promjera stupa i interkolumnija velik – 1 : 4,2 – pa bi hram i dalje bio areostilni), a u slučaju da je promjer stupova bio 60 cm, tada bi odnos između njih i interkolumnija bio bliži preporučenom Vitruvijem idealu (1 : 2,65); doduše, taj bi omjer bio nešto malo veći od eustila, ali ipak manji od već “širokog” dijastila. Te proporcije prikazuje Slika 10 i ondje se jasno vidi da

somewhat bigger, maybe close to cella’s walls thickness (cca 45-60 cm). Intercolumniation would still be wide enough to provide easy passage for two persons. If the columns’ diameter was 45 cm, intercolumniation of 1,89 m would still be very wide (and the proportion column’s diameter : intercolumniation would be 1 : 4,2 which would still make the temple areostyle). If the columns’ diameter was 60 cm, proportion between them and intercolumniations would be closer to Vitruvius’ ideal (1 : 2,65). However that proportion would be somewhat bigger than eustyle, but still



Sl. 8. Denar iz 75. g. pr. Kr. s prikazom prostilnog distila (A. VARESI, 1994, 44, br. 273).

Fig. 8. Denarius from 75 BC with the presentation of prostyle distyle (A. VARESI, 1994, 44, no. 273).

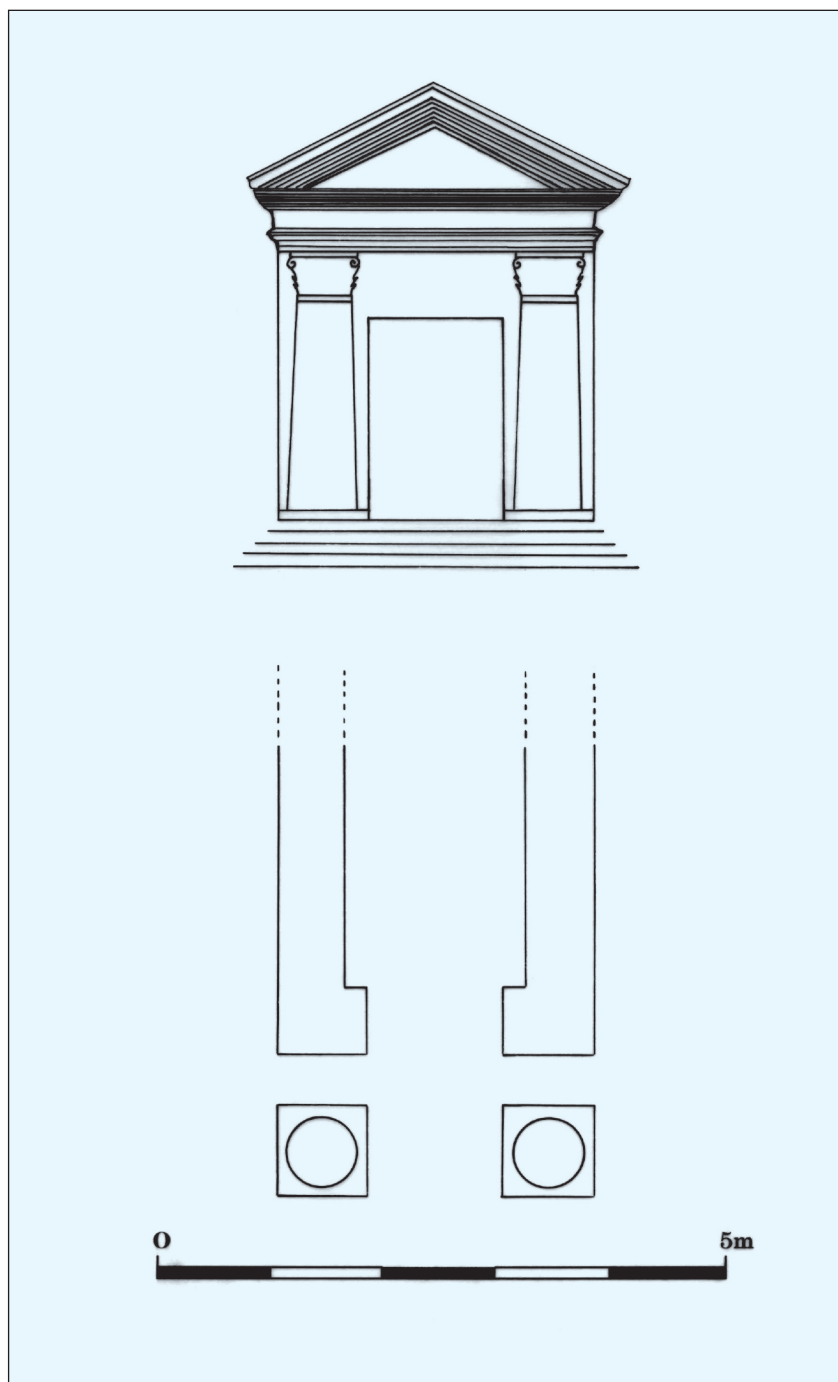


Sl. 9. Denar trijumvira M. Antonija iz 42. g. pr. Kr. s prikazom prostilnog distila (A. VARESI, 1994, 116, br. 746).

Fig. 9. Denarius of triumvir M. Antony from 42 BC with the presentation of prostyle distyle (A. VARESI, 1994, 116, no. 746).

bi promjer stupova čak trebao biti i manji – čini se da bi optimalan bio promjer od 50-ak cm; uzevši u obzir eleganciju arhitravne grede, teško je zamisliti ovako zdepastu kompoziciju pročelja i nerazmjernu debljinu stupova u odnosu na vitkost arhitrava. U prilog promjera od 50-ak cm govori i mala visina slova kojima je isklesan Frontonov natpis (samo 6 cm!): da bi se natpis mogao pročitati, građevina nije smjela biti pretjerano visoka pa se nije moglo na taj način kompenzirati veći promjer stupova

smaller than the “wide” diastyle. Figure 10 shows these proportions and it is clear that the columns’ diameter should be even smaller, it seems that diameter of 50 cm would be optimal. Considering the elegance of the architrave beam it is difficult to imagine such an awkward composition of the elevation and disproportionate columns in relation to slim architrave. Small letters of the Fronto’s inscription (only 6 cm high!) are another argument in favour of columns’ diameter of 50 cm; in order to make the



Sl. 10. Pretpostavljeni izgled Frontonove građevine ukoliko je bila prostilni distil s promjerom stupova od 60 cm.

Fig. 10. Possible reconstruction of the Fronto's building if it had been prostyle distyle with the column's diameter measuring 60 cm.

i ostvariti sklad koji bi pristajao eleganciji arhitrava.²³

Naravno, sve je to vrlo spekulativno, jednako kao što su Vitruvijeve preporuke tek približni okviri postojećih modula. Ipak, dva poznata čimbenika – duljina Frontonova arhitrava (a, samim time, i pročelnog dijela građevine) i potreba za prolazom kojim može nesmetano proći osoba normalne tjelesne građe²⁴ – omogućuju stjecanje određenih predodžbi o onome što je fizički bilo moguće i nemoguće. Kao što je prikazano u prethodnoj bilješci, najmanji interkolumnij koji sam registrirala je onaj od

²³ Prema rezultatima vlastitog malog eksperimenta, ne vjerujem da je građevina mogla biti viša od 5-6 m, s obzirom na to da već na oko 5 m daljine jedva vidim slova te veličine, čak i uz pomoć naočala.

²⁴ Vitruvije (3, 3, 3) vrlo živo opisuje jednu od mana piknostila i sistila, kod kojih su stupovi gusto raspoređeni, pa su i prolazi među njima uski: “Kad se, naime, časne gospođe stubama popnu na molitvu, ne mogu između stupova proći ispod ruke, nego u redu, jedna za drugom.” (prijevod M. LOPAC – V. BEDENKO, 1999, 59). A ti “uski” prolazi su u hramovima u gradu Rimu, kao što se vidi iz bilj. 9, mogli biti široki i malo manje od dva metra (1,75 u hramu Božanskog Julija; v. ovdje, bilj. 9). Usporedna analiza koju sam napravila prema tablicama u J. W. STAMPER, 2008. (Tab. 2,1 na str. 26, Tab. 3,1 na str. 43, Tab. 4,2 na str. 62, Tab. 5,1 na str. 80) pokazuje da su najmanji interkolumniji oni od oko 1,6-1,8 m (najmanji je među njima, ipak, uvjerljivo, onaj od 1,28 m u hramu božice Spes na Forum Holitorium u Rimu; v. Tab. 4,2), a najveći – s iznimkom grčkih kolosalnih hramova (Artemidin hram u Efezu – interkolumnij od 7,11 m, Herin hram na Samosu – 6,54 m; v. Tab. 2,1) – imaju interkolumnije od oko 5 m (npr. Belvedere u Orvietu – 5,22 m ili Jupiterov hram u Cosi – 5 m; v. Tab. 3,1).

inscription legible, the building could not have been too tall so it was impossible to compensate the bigger columns' diameter in that way and achieve harmony that would suit the architrave's elegance.²³

All of this is quite speculative of course, just as Vitruvius' recommendations represent only approximate framework of the existing modules. However, two known factors – the length of Fronto's architrave (and of the front part of the object) and the need for passageway for a person of normal stature²⁴ – give us an opportunity to conclude what was

²³ It seems to me that the building should not have surpassed 5-6 m in height, since a small experiment of mine has shown that I could not read the letters of that height - even with the eye-glasses - when they were 5 m distant.

²⁴ Vitruvius (3, 3, 3) vividly describes one of the disadvantages of picnostyle and systyle which have densely distributed columns and therefore narrow passages between them: “When honourable ladies climb the stairs for a prayer they cannot pass between the columns arm in arm, but they have to go in a row, one after the other.” (translation into Croatian by M. LOPAC – V. BEDENKO, 1999, 59). These “narrow” passages in the temples in Rome, as mentioned in footnote 9, could have measured little bit less than 2 m in width (1,75 m in the Temple of the Divus Julius; see footnote 9). Comparative analysis that I made using the tables from J. W. STAMPER, 2008. (Tab. 2,1 p. 26, Tab. 3,1 p. 43, Tab. 4,2 p. 62, Tab. 5,1 p. 80) shows that the smallest intercolumniations were about 1,6-1,8 m (the one from the Temple of Spes in the Forum Holitorium in Rome is definitely the smallest – it measures only 1,28 m; see Tab. 4,2). The biggest temples, with the exception of Greek colossal temples (the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus – intercolumniation 7,11 m, the Temple of Hera on Samos – 6,54 m; see Tab. 2,1) have intercolumniations measuring about 5 m (e.g. Belvedere in Orvieto – 5,22 m or the Temple of Jupiter in Cosa – 5 m; see Tab. 3,1).

1,28 m, a zatim dolaze oni od 1,44 m²⁵ i veći. I današnji arhitekti, kad projektiraju ulazne prostore i hodnike, u pravilu ne idu ispod 70-100 cm za prolaze i vrata, odnosno 120 cm za hodnike i stubišta.

Na istočnoj obali Jadrana do sada su poznata dva hrama *in antis*, i to oba u Dokleji. Gotovo su identičnih dimenzija i prostorne dispozicije. Široki su 9,5 m, a dugi 14,2 m (dimenzije cele su 9,5 x 9,5 m),²⁶ a interkolumniji iznose oko 1,5 - 2,3 - 1,5 m.²⁷

Brojniji su prostilni hramovi, koji su češće tetrastilni²⁸ nego heksastilni.²⁹

²⁵ To su interkolumniji na okruglim hramovima – Okruglom hramu kraj Tibera (= na Forum Boarium) i Vestinom hramu u Rimu; usp. J. W. STAMPER, 2008, Tab. 5,1 na str. 80.

²⁶ M. SUIĆ, 1976, 152-154, 193, Sl. 89-90. Čini se da je i treći dokleatski hram, manjih dimenzija (5,1 x 5,1 m), također bio *in antis*; v. K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 449-450. Osim toga, u Ninu se pretpostavlja i postojanje jednog tetrastila *in antis* ("stariji hram"), ispod građevine Vespazijanova hrama; v. K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 272, 277-278.

²⁷ Interkolumnije sam izračunala na osnovi tlorisa prikazanih kod M. SUIĆ, 1976, Sl. 89-90.

²⁸ Prostilni tetrastili su Augustov hram u Puli (a takav je morao biti i tzv. "Dijanin hram" u Puli), hramovi u Saloni (bočni hramovi kapitolijuskog kompleksa i hram južno od teatra), Augusteum u Naroni, Jupiterov hram u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu, tri hrama u Uvali Verige na Velom Brijunu, a možda i sva tri hrama u Nezakciju i hram na Cvijinoj gradini kod Obrovca; v. M. SUIĆ, 1976, 145-154; N. CAMBI, 1994, 20, 22-25; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 245-246, 331-332; G. ROSADA, 1999, 61-62; G. BODON, 1999, 74-75, Fig. 76; M. ČORIĆ – B. PENĐER, 2004, 37-46.

²⁹ Prostilni heksastili su hramovi u Ninu, Zadru i Poreču (tzv. "veliki" hram na trgu Marafor); a možda i srednji hram u Saloni; v. M. SUIĆ, 1976, 145-154; M. SINOBAD, 2008, 248-250.

physchically possible or impossible. The smallest intercolumniation which I found was the one of 1,28 m, then 1,44 m²⁵ and bigger, as mentioned in previous footnote. Present-day architects project 70-100 cm for passages and doors, and 120 cm for halls and stairways.

Two temples *in antis* are known on the eastern Adriatic coast, both in Doclea having almost identical dimensions and spatial disposition. They are 9,5 m wide, and 14,2 m long (cella's dimensions are 9,5 x 9,5 m),²⁶ and the intercolumniation is about 1,5 - 2,3 - 1,5 m.²⁷

Prostyle temples are more numerous, usually tetrastyle,²⁸ and sometimes hexastyle.²⁹ They are similar to Doclean temples

²⁵ Those are intercolumniations on circular temples – Round Temple by the Tiber (on the Forum Boarium) and the Temple of Vesta in Rome; cf. J. W. STAMPER, 2008, Tab. 5,1 p. 80.

²⁶ M. SUIĆ, 1976, 152-154, 193, Figs 89-90. It seems that the third temple of Doclea, of smaller dimensions (5,1 x 5,1 m), was also *in antis*; see K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 449-450. Further more, it is possible that a tetrastyle *in antis* ("older temple") existed under the Vespasian's temple in Nin; see K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 272, 277-278.

²⁷ I determined the intercolumniations on the basis of ground-plans represented in M. SUIĆ, 1976, Figs 89-90.

²⁸ Prostyle tetrastyles are the Temple of Augustus in Pula (the so-called "Temple of Diana" in Pula must have also been of the same type), temples in Salona (both lateral temples of the Capitoline complex and the temple south of the theatre), the Augusteum in Naroni, the Temple of Jupiter in Diocletian's Palace in Split, three temples in the Bay of Verige on the island of Veli Brijun, maybe all three temples in Nesactium and the temple on Cvijina gradina near Obrovac; see M. SUIĆ, 1976, 145-154; N. CAMBI, 1994, 20, 22-25; K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, 245-246, 331-332; G. ROSADA, 1999, 61-62; G. BODON, 1999, 74-75, Fig. 76; M. ČORIĆ – B. PENĐER, 2004, 37-46.

²⁹ Prostyle hexastyle are the temples in Zadar, Nin, and Poreč (so-called "big" temple at Marafor Square); and maybe also the central temple in Salona; see M. SUIĆ, 1976, 145-154; M. SINOBAD, 2008, 248-250.

Većinom su dimenzijama slični doklejskima: širine im se kreću između 7,6 i 10,5 m, a duljine između 14,85 i 18,9 m, osim kod vrlo velikih hramova, kao što su onaj ninski – najveći hram na istočnoj obali Jadrana – koji je širok 21,3 m i dug 24,9 m, i tzv. “veliki” porečki hram (širok 15,5 m, a dug 30 m). Nešto veći od prosjeka bio bi pretpostavljeni “stariji” hram u Poreču (širok 13 m i dug 17,5 m).³⁰ Prema crtežu prostilnog tetrastila južno od teatra u Saloni,³¹ interkolumniji njegova prostila su 1,5-2-1,5 m. Podudarnih je osobina bio i Augustov hram u Puli.³² Prema njihovim dimenzijama, ta dva hrama bili bi najmanji na istočnoj obali Jadrana (s iznimkom za oko 0,45-0,78 m užih bočnih hramova u Nezakciju) i imali bi najmanje interkolumnije.³³ Pa ipak, ako usporedimo širine njihovih pročelja, svi su oni barem oko 3 puta veći od Frontonove građevine, neovisno o tomu jesu li bili *in antis*, prostilni tetrastili ili heksastili.

Gdje se je mogla nalaziti ta Frontonova građevina, taj pretpostavljeni prostilni distil namijenjen štovanju carskoga kulta? Istraživači ovako opisuju

in dimensions as their widths range from 7,6 to 10,5 m, and they are from 14,85 to 18,9 m long, except for very big temples, as the one from Nin, the biggest temple on the eastern Adriatic coast, which measures 21,3 m in width and 24,9 m in length, and so-called “big” temple in Poreč (15,5 m wide and 17,5 m long). The “older” temple in Poreč would be somewhat bigger than the average (13 m wide and 17,5 m long).³⁰ According to the drawing of the prostyle tetrastyle south of the theatre in Salona,³¹ intercolumniations of its prostyle are 1,5-2-1,5 m. The Temple of Augustus in Pula had corresponding characteristics.³² According to their dimensions these two temples were the smallest ones on the eastern Adriatic coast (with the exception of the approximately 0,45-0,78 m narrower lateral temples in Nesactium) and they would have the smallest intercolumniations.³³ However if we compare the widths of their elevations, all of them are at least three times bigger than the Fronto’s building, no matter whether they were *in antis*, prostyle tetrastyle or hexastyle.

The exact location of the Fronto’s object, the supposed prostyle distyle intended for honouring of the Imperial cult, is still an open question. The researchers

³⁰ Dimenzije hramova donosim prema: M. SUIĆ, 1976, 193; G. ROSADA, 1999, 61-62; M. SINOBAD, 2008, 240-241, 248, 250; usp. i K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, Katalog.

³¹ M. SUIĆ, 1976, Sl. 92 na str. 155.

³² M. SUIĆ, 1976, 154, 193.

³³ Interkolumniji manji od ovih nisu mi poznati (usp. i ovdje, bilj. 24 i 25).

³⁰ Dimensions of the temples taken from: M. SUIĆ, 1976, 193; G. ROSADA, 1999, 61-62; M. SINOBAD, 2008, 240-241, 248, 250. also cf. K. A. GIUNIO, 1997, Catalogue.

³¹ M. SUIĆ, 1976, Fig. 92, p. 155.

³² M. SUIĆ, 1976, 154, 193.

³³ These are the smallest intercolumniations that I know of (cf. footnotes 24 and 25).

okolnosti i mjesto nalaza: “An der Außenwand des linken Seitenbaues (Sp. 45 f.) nach Einstellung der Grabung 1903, von Bauern gefunden: (...)“.³⁴ Takav njihov opis, na žalost, nije od prevelike pomoći, jer je previše općenit.

Jedna je od mogućnosti da se pod lijevom bočnom prostorijom (“linken Seitenbaues”) mislilo na sjeverozapadne prostorije građevnog kompleksa na sjeveroistočnoj strani foruma /Sl. 1/; u obzir bi mogle doći veća prostorija s apsidom /Sl. 1, C5/ ili malena prostorija C6.³⁵ Prema planu Liebla i Wilberga, širina prostorije C6 iznosi 2,60 m, što je tek malo uže od širine arhitrava od 2,79 m, pa bi se ona zbog tih 20-ak cm razlike trebala isključiti iz daljnjeg razmatranja kao potencijalna lokacija Frontonove građevine.

S druge strane, ako se pretpostavi da su Liebl i Wilberg u svom izvješću s istraživanja natpise navodili nekim redom, tada bi mjesto nalaza Frontonova arhitrava trebalo tražiti u jako slabo sačuvanim prostorijama jugozapadno od crkve Sv. Duha,

describe the findspot and the circumstances of the finding in the following words: “An der Außenwand des linken Seitenbaues (Sp. 45 f.) nach Einstellung der Grabung 1903, von Bauern gefunden: (...)“.³⁴ Unfortunately such is too general to be of any help.

One of the possibilities is that the left lateral room (“linken Seitenbaues”) was actually some of the north-western rooms of the building complex on the north-eastern side of the forum /Fig. 1/; maybe the larger room with an apse /Fig. 1, C5/ or the small room C6.³⁵ According to the Liebl and Wilberg’s plan room C6 measures 2,60 m in length, which is just a little bit narrower than the architrave’s width of 2,79 m which is enough to eliminate it from the further discussion as a potential location of Fronto’s object.

If we assume that Liebl and Wilberg listed the inscriptions in certain order in their excavation reports, then the findspot of Fronto’s architrave should be looked for in poorly preserved rooms situated south-western of the Church of the Holy Spirit, i.e. between the church and the cistern /Fig. 1, G2-

³⁴ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 70 (uz br. 12), usp. i prijevod na hrvatski (H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 233; ondje se izraz “nach Einstellung” prevelo kao “kad se započelo”; međutim, radije prevodim kao “završetak” u duhu češćih značenja njemačkih izraza “einstellen”, odnosno “Einstellung” kad se koriste u sličnim frazama: “die Arbeit einstellen - obustaviti posao”; “Einstellung der Arbeit” – obustava (prekid *m*) rada i sl.; v. G. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, 1978⁷, 304; usp. i A. HURM, 1989⁶, 159); v. i intepretaciju tog opisa kod A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 49 (osobito bilj. 28).

³⁵ Usp. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 49.

³⁴ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 70 (next to no. 12), cf. translation into Croatian (H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 233; the expression “nach Einstellung” was translated as “after the start”; however, I would rather translate it as “ending” as German expressions “einstellen” and “Einstellung” can have that meaning when used in phrases like “die Arbeit einstellen – to stop the work”; “Einstellung der Arbeit” – stopping of the work” etc; see G. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, 1978⁷, 304; A. HURM, 1989⁶, 159); for the interpretation of that description see also A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 49 (especially footnote 28).

³⁵ Cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2004, 49.

odnosno između nje i cisterne /v. Sl. 1, **G2-G3** i **H1-H2**/. Naime, Liebl i Wilberg najprije prikazuju natpise uzidane u kutove Sv. Duha (i to, prvo "istočni" pa zatim "sjeverni")³⁶, potom one nađene "sjeveroistočno" od Sv. Duha, pa one nađene izvan groblja (moguće i dalje u pravcu "sjeveroistoka", odnosno istoka?); zatim mijenjaju pravac i vraćaju se na natpise nađene "južno" i "jugoistočno" od Sv. Duha (u "zapadnom portiku", tj. portiku označenim slovom **A** na Sl. 1). Nakon tih natpisa opisuje se ovaj arhitrav, a kao sljedeće mjesto nalaza navodi se okolica cisterne (dakle, prostor koji s jugozapadne strane omeđuje Portik **A** i slabo sačuvane prostorije **G2-G3** i **H1-H2**); zatim se skreće na prostor "sjeverozapadno" od Sv. Duha (kod glavnog ulaza) da bi se opet izašlo izvan zidova recentnog groblja i završilo kod Trajanovih vrata i njihove okolice.³⁷ Drugim riječima, čini se da su kao polazišnu točku uzeli istočni kraj crkve Sv. Duha i da su se kretali u smjeru kazaljke na satu, najprije na sjever-sjeveroistok, zatim na istok, te lučno u pravcu jug-jugozapad, dok se nisu vratili do ulaza u crkvu Sv. Duha i potom napustili prostor foruma. Ukoliko je ta pretpostavka točna, tada je Frontonov arhitrav doista morao biti nađen između crkve Sv. Duha i

G3 i **H1-H2**/. Namely Liebl and Wilberg firstly present the inscriptions used as building material for the corners of the church (first the "eastern" and then the "northern")³⁶, then those found "north-east" of the church, then they mention the inscriptions found outside the cemetery (possibly further in the "north-eastern" or eastern direction?); then they change direction and get back to the inscriptions found "south" and "south-east" of the Church of the Holy Spirit (in the "western portico", i.e. portico marked with letter **A** in the Fig. 1). After these inscriptions there is a description of this architrave, and the following findspot is the area around the cistern (area flanked by the Portico **A** and poorly preserved rooms **G2-G3** and **H1-H2**); then they mention the area "north-west" of the Church of the Holy Spirit (near the main entrance), the area outside of recent cemetery's walls and finally reaching the Trajan's gate and its surroundings.³⁷ In other words it seems that they took the eastern end of the Church of the Holy Spirit as a starting point and then moved clockwise, firstly N-NE, then eastwards, and semicircularly in the direction S-SW, finally returning to the entrance of the Church of the Holy Spirit and leaving the area of forum. If this assumption is correct, then Fronto's architrave really had to be found between the

³⁶ Strane svijeta – onako kako su ih naveli Liebl i Wilberg – najčešće ne označavaju stvarno stanje na terenu, pa su zato i stavljani u navodnike. O tom pitanju više v. kod A. KURILIĆ, 2004, bilj. 15 na str. 44.

³⁷ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 63-72 (i d.), usp. i prijevod na hrvatski (H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 229-235 [i d.]).

³⁶ Cardinal points, as Liebl and Wilberg use them, usually do not reflect the actual situation which is why I used the quotation marks. More about this issue in A. KURILIĆ, 2004, footnote 15 p. 44.

³⁷ H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 1908, Bb. 63-72 [ff.], cf. translation into Croatian (H. LIEBL – W. WILBERG, 2006, 229-235 [ff.]).

cisterne, a ne, kako se ranije mislilo, oko prostorija **C5** ili **C6** ili u nekoj od njih.

Najmanje je vjerojatno da se to pretpostavljeno svetište nalazilo daleko od mjesta nalaza arhitrava. Također, podjednako malo vjerojatnim mi se čini da se je moglo nalaziti na mjestu crkve Sv. Duha, jer bi se tada moglo očekivati da su ulomci bili iskorišteni kao njezin građevni materijal (poput drugih ulomaka arhitrava s obližnjih portika) ili da su se bar nalazili u najneposrednijoj okolini crkve (što bi onda sigurno istraživači i bili naveli u svom izvješću).

Najteže je pokušati odgonetnuti na koji su točno zid mislili Liebl i Wilberg kad su rekli da je arhitrav nađen “na vanjskom zidu” (“An der Außenwand”), ili što su mislili kad su napisali da su ga na tom mjestu našli seljaci (“von Bauern gefunden”) i zacijelo to nikad ne ćemo moći pravilno rastumačiti, osim ako nekim slučajnim obratom sudbine ne pronađemo *in situ* sačuvane materijalne ostatke koji će se savršeno složiti s Frontonovim arhitravom.

Prema svemu do sada izloženomu, može se zaključiti da mali arhitrav na kojem je sačuvan natpis jednog od pripadnika aserijatske municipalne elite, L. Kaninija Frontona, duovira, kvinkvenalnog duovira i flamena Božanskoga Klaudija, najvjerojatnije svjedoči o postojanju malenoga hrama, i to jednostavnog prostilnog distila koji se je mogao nalaziti negdje na prostoru između crkve Sv. Duha i cisterne ili eventualno negdje na sjevernom kraju prostorija koje sa sjeveroistoka omeđuju forum Aserije.

Church of the Holy Spirit and the cistern, and not near the rooms **C5** or **C6** or in one of them as it was believed previously.

The least plausible hypothesis is that this supposed sanctuary was located far from the architrave’s findspot. It seems just as unconvincing that it might have been at the place of the Church of the Holy Spirit because then we would expect that all its fragments were used as building material (like other architrave fragments from the nearby porticos) or at least that they could have been found in the church’s closest surrounding, which would be mentioned by the researchers in their report.

The most difficult task is to find out which wall was in question when Liebl and Wilberg mentioned that the architrave was found “on the outer wall” (“An der Außenwand”), or what they meant when they said that the peasants found it (“von Bauern gefunden”). Probably we will never be able to solve these issues unless we find, by some accidental twist of fate, material remains *in situ* which would perfectly fit in with Fronto’s architrave.

On the basis of the previous discussion we can conclude that the small architrave with an inscription of a member of Asserian municipal elite, L. Caninius Fronto, who was a duumvir, duumvir quinquennalis, and flamen of divus Claudius most likely confirms the existence of a small prostyle distyle temple which could have been located somewhere between the Church of the Holy Spirit and the cistern or maybe at some place at the northern end of the rooms which flank the forum of Asseria from the north-east.

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