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# AUGUSTOV HRAM OD RANOKRŠĆANSKE CRKVE DO MUZEJA

## THE TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS FROM AN EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO A MUSEUM

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*Uz detaljnu analizu i kritičko preispitivanje dosadašnjih spoznaja o sekundarnoj namjeni Augustovog hrama u Puli kroz stoljeća, kao i uz prezentiranje dosad neobjavljenih dokumenata, prati se društvena, namjenska i arhitektonska preobrazba hrama od ranokršćanske crkve preko stambene zgrade, gradskog fontika pa lapidarija do muzeja. Pritom se ispravljaju pojedina dosadašnja opažanja ili povijesna tumačenja. Sredinom 18. stoljeća pulski antički spomenici postaju nezaobilazan predmet interesa mnogih proučavatelja antike: arhitekata, arheologa i slikara. Samim time su nezaobilazno povijesno vrelo za proučavanje Augustovog hrama - osim pisanih - i likovni povijesni izvori.*

*With a detailed analysis and a critical review of former perceptions regarding the secondary use of the Temple of Augustus in Pula through the centuries, and the presentation of previously unreleased documents, we follow the social, actual and architectural transformation of the temple from an Early Christian church, dwelling house, town granary, lapidarium, to a museum. At the same time certain observations or historical interpretations from the past have been corrected. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Pula's ancient monuments became an unavoidable object of interest to many researchers of antiquity: architects, archaeologists and painters. Thus, in addition to written materials, historical sources from the field of fine arts also figure prominently in the study of the Temple of Augustus.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** Augustov hram, Pula, ranokršćanska crkva, fontik, lapidarij, muzej, likovni povijesni izvori

**KEYWORDS:** Temple of Augustus, Pula, Early Christian church, granary, lapidarium, museum, historical sources from the field of fine arts

## UVOD

Sudbinu antičkih arhitektonskih spomenika Pule obilježio je urbani razvoj, poimanje grada i umjetnosti kroz stoljeća, ali i ratovi i razaranja. Dok su pojedini reprezentativni spomenici s vremenom izgubili svoju prvotnu namjenu, transformacija Augustovog hrama išla je ukorak s funkcionalnim promjenama Komunalne palače na glavnom gradskom trgu. Arhivsko gradivo koje se dotiče Augustovog hrama kroz minula stoljeća izrazito je oskudno, što indirektno govori o tadašnjoj društvenoj važnosti samog zdanja. Stoga nezamjenjiv povijesni izvor za proučavanje historiografije, arhitekture, kulture i društvenog života općenito, čine odjeci živog renesansnog humanizma i zanimanje za antičku baštinu. Od 15. do 19. stoljeća daleka su putovanja, osim putopisno-religioznog karaktera i avanturizma, imala za osnovni cilj i proučavanje antičkog graditeljstva. Crteži su renesansnim i klasicističkim arhitektima bili glavni izvor informacija o pojedinim građevinama te samim time i vrelo ideja. Upravo taj pomak u poimanju kulture usmjerava veću pozornost na antička zdanja Pule. Stoga podjednaku važnost za ovaj rad čine pisani izvori i nacrti Augustovog hrama.

## PREOBRAZBA ANTIČKOG HRAMA U KRŠĆANSKO SAKRALNO ZDANJE

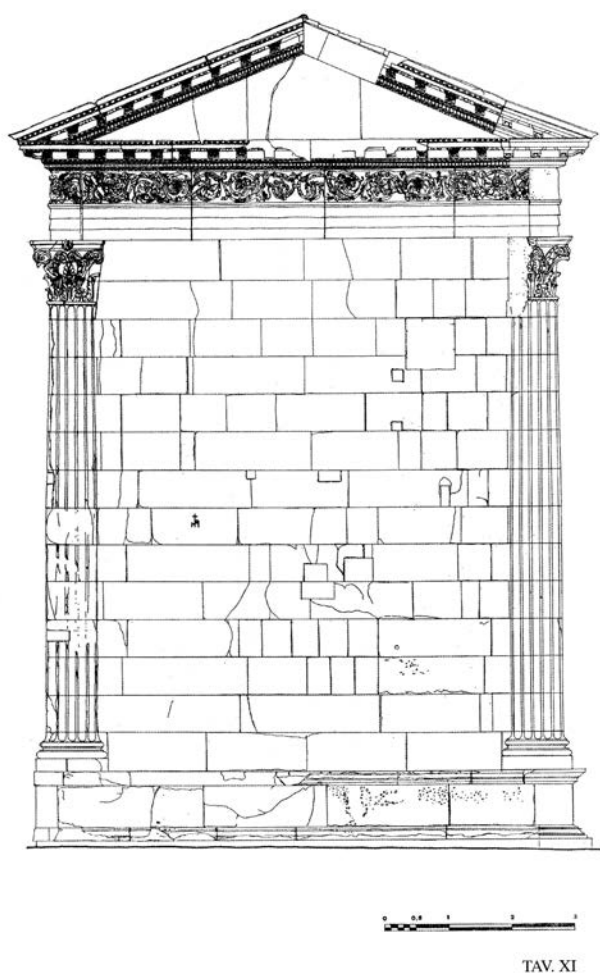
Premda je arheološka dokumentacija nedostatna za preciznu dataciju o tome kada je ranokršćanska Crkva preuzela Augustov hram, mnogobrojni primjeri u ranome kršćanstvu ukazuju da su tijekom 4. i 5. stoljeća, dokidanjem poganskog kulta, ranokršćanske zajednice preuzele cjelovite hramske prostore (Pavan 2000, 148; Starac 2004, 11). U prijelazno-kontinuitetnom razdoblju sakralni objekt se posvećuje uklesanim križevima i monogramima pa na to razdoblje podsjeća ranokršćanski monogram na vanjskom začelju Augustovog hrama, na visini od pet metara (sl. 1, sl. 2). Gnirs u svom vodiču kroz kulturne znamenitosti Pule iz 1915. godine navodi da je Augustov hram preimenovan i pretvoren u ranokršćansku crkvu posvećenu Madoni te da je zbog toga ostao sačuvan od potpunog uništenja (Gnirs 1915, 61). Možemo ustvrditi da su sakralna zdanja u pravilu bila sastavni dio javnih, komunalnih palača, što je u konačnici presudno za integralnu očuvanost Augustova hrama (Krizmanić 1988, 128). U razdoblju romanike (11. – 13. st.) između Augustovog i “Dijaninog” hrama izgrađene su tri zasebne zgrade (Krizmanić 1988, 118). U središnjoj je bila privatna kuća aristokratske obitelji koja je vladala Pulom (Gnirs 1915, 60), dok je uz istočnu, bočnu stranu hrama prislonjeno zdanje koje je s Augustovim hramom bilo povezano na drugom katu, o čemu i danas svjedoče

## INTRODUCTION

The fate of the ancient architectural monuments in Pula was marked by urban development, the conception of the city and art through the centuries, as well as wars and destruction. While some representative monuments eventually lost their original purpose with the passage of time, the transformation of the Temple of Augustus was in step with the functional changes in the Communal Palace on the main city square. Archival sources dealing with the Temple of Augustus in the past centuries are extremely rare, which indirectly refers to the then social importance of the building itself. Echoes of a vivid Renaissance humanism and interest in the ancient heritage are therefore an indispensable historical source for the study of historiography, architecture, culture and social life in general. In the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the main goal of long journeys, in addition to their adventuresome aspect and descriptive or religious character, was the study of ancient architecture. Renaissance and classicist architects depended on drawings as the main source of information about a particular structure, and as such they were also a source of ideas. And it was this shift in the perception of culture that drew more attention to the ancient structures in Pula. Thus, written documents and drafts of the Temple of Augustus were equally important for this work.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ANCIENT TEMPLE INTO A CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE

Although archaeological documentation is insufficient to provide a precise dating when the Early Christian church took over the Temple of Augustus, there are many examples in Early Christianity, which indicate that during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the elimination of the pagan cult, the Early Christian communities took over entire temples (Pavan 2000, 148; Starac 2004, 11). The religious structure was consecrated with carved crosses and monograms in the transitional period, and an Early Christian monogram on the exterior side of the back wall of the Temple of Augustus, hewn on a height of five meters, is reminiscent of that period (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). Gnirs, in his 1915 guide to the cultural sights of Pula, states that the Temple of Augustus was renamed and transformed into an Early Christian church dedicated to the Madonna, which was eventually the reason why it was saved from total destruction (Gnirs 1915, 61). We can add that, as a rule, religious structures were an integral part of public, municipal palaces, which was in the end of crucial importance for the preservation of the Temple



Sl. 1 Crtež začelja Augustovog hrama s ranokršćanskim monogramom (Pavan 2000., tab. XI).

Fig. 1 A drawing of the back wall of the Temple of Augustus, with an Early Christian monogram (Pavan 2000, Tab. XI).

vidljivi obrisi zazidanih prozora ili vrata (Krizmanić 1988, 118; Starac 2004, 11). Možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o palači patrijarha (De Franceschi 1902, 289). Akvilejski patrijarh Gregorije di Montelonga došao je 1252. u Pulu i dao podignuti zidine srušene u ratu s Venecijom 1242. godine (Benussi 2002, 179). *Obnovio je dio pulskih zidina što ih je netom bila porušila mletačka vojska i proširio je kaštel tog grada prekrasnom kulom podignutom na ruševinama koje je zamjenom vlasništva dobio od biskupa* (Manzano 1858, 376). Kula je bila uz istočni zid današnje Komunalne palače (Krizmanić 1988, 119). Godine 1258. patrijarh Gregorije kupio je u Puli jednu kuću na lokaciji zvanj "Naufora", a 1263. komad zemljišta u blizini javnog trga, ne bi li proširio svoju palaču (Benussi 2002, 179; Manzano 1860, 54). Vjerojatno se tada hramski prostor dijeli i po horizontali putem novih stropnih konstrukcija, o čemu svjedoče utori za nosače podova (Krizmanić 1988, 118). U doba Venecije unutrašnji zidovi hrama oslikani su freskama



Sl. 2 Monogram na začelju Augustova hrama (snimio A. Bader).

Fig. 2 A monogram on the back wall of the Temple of Augustus (photography A. Bader).

of Augustus in its entirety (Krizmanić 1988, 128). In the Romanesque period (11<sup>th</sup> - 13<sup>th</sup> century), three separate buildings were erected between the temples of Augustus and Diana (Krizmanić 1988, 118). The central one was used as a private house of an aristocratic family that ruled Pula (Gnirs 1915, 60). A structure was leant along the eastern lateral side of the temple, which was connected with the Temple of Augustus on the second floor, as can be seen by the still visible contours of walled in windows or doors (Krizmanić 1988, 118; Starac 2004, 11). We can assume that it was the residence of the patriarch (De Franceschi 1902, 289). Gregorio di Montelonga, the patriarch of Aquileia, arrived at Pula in 1252 and ordered the restoration of the city walls that were destroyed in the war with Venice in 1242 (Benussi 2002, 179). *He rebuilt a section of Pula's defensive wall that had been demolished by the Venetian army, and expanded the fortified castle of that city by adding a beautiful tower erected on the ruins that he obtained from the bishop by swapping their ownership* (Manzano 1858, 376). The tower stood alongside the eastern wall of the present-day Municipal Palace (Krizmanić 1988, 119.) In 1258, Patriarch Gregorio bought a house in Pula on a site called "Naufora", and in 1263, a plot of land in the vicinity of a public square, in order to expand his palace (Benussi 2002, 179; Manzano 1860, 54). It was probably at that time that the volume of the temple was divided horizontally with the help of new floor structures, as evidenced by the slots in the wall, which served to support the floor structures (Krizmanić 1988, 118). The interior walls of the temple were decorated with frescoes during the Venetian period (Pavan 2000, 148). After the construction of the Municipal Palace in 1296, in the area next to the Temple of Augustus, a stately loggia was erected, which featured a stone staircase that went in a semicircle from the square and approached the hall of the Municipal assembly (Krizmanić 1988, 128). One historical source

(Pavan 2000, 148). Nakon izgradnje Komunalne palače 1296. godine, na prostoru do Augustovog hrama izgrađena je gospodska loža s kamenim stubištem koje je u vidu polukruga polazilo s trga te prilazilo dvorani vijećnice (Krizmanić 1988, 128). Jedan povijesni izvor svjedoči o ovim arhitektonskim preinakama u 14. stoljeću. Kandler je objavio 1845. godine povijesno-kulturni vodič kroz Pulu *Cenni al forestiero che visita Pola* ("Napomene strancu koji posjećuje Pulu"). U vodiču Kandler podjednaku pažnju pridaje antičkim i srednjovjekovnim spomenicima, a uvrstio je i tekst *Dialoghi sulle antichità di Pola del 1600.*, preuzet iz tršćanskog muzeja, čija se verzija izvornika nalazi u knjižnici Marciana u Veneciji (Gudelj 2014, 137). Iz teksta saznajemo da je fontik, gradsko spremište za brašno i žito, koncem 16. stoljeća bio ispred Augustovog hrama. Prekrasne polukružne stepenice vodile su do dvorane vijećnice i Augustovog hrama, čije su prostorije bile uništene (Kandler 1845, 112). Nije poznato kada je hram prestao služiti vjerskoj svrsi.

## PUTOPIS KAO POVIJESNI IZVOR

Vrlo važne povijesne izvore o Augustovom hramu tijekom srednjeg i novog vijeka predstavljaju geografski priručnici, putopisi i putna izvješća. Istarski je poluotok tijekom čitavog srednjeg vijeka bio nezaobilazna komunikacijska točka prema istočnom Sredozemlju i Svetoj zemlji. Nesigurnost putovanja kopnom i druge teškoće s kojima su se susretali naveli su ljude da se koriste morem, što je u Istri zbog njezinih zemljopisnih značajki bilo osobito izraženo pa je zapadna obala poluotoka bila na važnom trgovačkom i hodočasničkom pravcu. Pomorske rute brodova koji su prevozili hodočasnike poklapale su se s glavnim trgovačkim plovidbenim pravcem koji je od Venecije do Konstantinopola vodio uz istočnu obalu Jadrana (Pavić 2007, 33). Putnici i hodočasnici su u svojim zapisima sačuvali brojne povijesne opservacije: političko stanje, demografske i etnografske značajke te podatke o kulturnim znamenitostima i sakralnim prostorima na dotičnom području. Nakon gubitka Svete zemlje (1291. godine), kršćanski hodočasnici neko su vrijeme bili nepoželjni, no budući da je uočena velika materijalna korist od njihovog dolaženja, već u prvoj polovici 14. stoljeća oni ponovno počinju pristizati u Palestinu. Poboššavanjem mletačko-egipatskih, odnosno mletačko-osmanskih političkih i gospodarskih odnosa u 15. stoljeću dolazi do intenziviranja hodočasničkih aktivnosti. Putovi su bili vrlo dobro isplanirani, s nizom prihvatilišta. Prvi vodič za hodočasnike *Codex Calixtinus*, s praktičnim informacijama, napisao je 1139. godine Aymeric Picaud (Nadal 2002, 16). Premda putopisi daju opću sliku koja je djelomično

corroborates these architectural modifications that were executed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1845, Kandler published a historical-cultural guide of Pula *Cenni al forestiero che visita Pola* (Notes for the foreigner who is visiting Pula). In this guide Kandler bestowed an equal amount of attention to both ancient as well as medieval monuments, and he also included a text titled *Dialoghi sulle antichità di Pola del 1600*, which was borrowed from the museum at Trieste, and whose original is kept in the Marciana Library in Venice (Gudelj 2014, 137). From this text we learn that the city's granary, where flour and grain were stored, was located in front of the Temple of Augustus by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. A beautiful semicircular staircase led to a hall in the municipal assembly and the Temple of Augustus, whose premises were destroyed (Kandler 1845, 112). It is not known when the temple ceased to serve a religious purpose.

## A TRAVELOGUE AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Geographical manuals, travelogues and travel-records are very important historical sources for the Temple of Augustus during the medieval and modern periods. The Istrian Peninsula served as an unavoidable communication route towards the eastern Mediterranean and the Holy Land throughout the entire period of the Middle Ages. The uncertainties associated with land routes as well as other difficulties awaiting travelers have led people to use the sea, which was particularly pronounced in Istria, given its geographic features, making the western coast of the Peninsula an important trade and pilgrimage route. The maritime routes of ships carrying pilgrims matched the main commercial sea route that went from Venice, along the eastern shores of the Adriatic, all the way to Constantinople (Pavić 2007, 33). Passengers and pilgrims alike, preserved many historical observations in their notes: the political situation, demographic and ethnographic features, and information about cultural monuments and religious structures in the area under consideration. After the loss of the Holy Land (1291), Christian pilgrims were undesirable for a certain period of time, but because there were huge material gains to be made from these pilgrimages, already in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century pilgrims were again on their way to Palestine. With the improvement of Venetian-Egyptian and Venetian-Ottoman political and economic relations in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, pilgrimage activities intensified. The routes

nejasna, djelomično iskrivljena, ponekad štura i obojena predrasudama ili olako prihvaćenim uopćavanjima, u cjelini sadrže korisne i zanimljive podatke. Takav oblik povijesnih izvora određuje subjektivan pristup autora, koji se najbizarnije očituje u opisu Augustovog hrama iz 1440. godine. U putopisu *Viaggio in Oriente di un nobile del Quattrocento: Il pellegrinaggio di Milliaduse d'Este* opisana su hodočašća dvojice predstavnika ferrarske kuće d'Este. Vojvoda Nicolò posjetio je Pulu za svog hodočašća u Svetu zemlju 1413. godine, a njegov sin Milliaduse stigao je u grad 1440. godine. Milliaduseov kapelan don Domenico, unatoč činjenici što daje najdetaljniji opis tadašnje Pule, antičke hramove na Forumu i kneževu palaču naziva džamijama (Rossabestiano 2005, 135). Taj nevjerodostojni pomak u putopisu teško je shvatljiv pa ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li riječ o svjesnom obmanjivanju da bi djelo bilo uzbudljivije ili je pak doista riječ o neznanju.

## CRTEŽI RENESANSNIH ARHITEKATA

Od 16. stoljeća nezaobilazni dio putopisa postaju crteži koji se bave dokumentiranjem, bilježenjem izgleda antičkih spomenika, što je velik zaokret od srednjovjekovnih pisanih ili usmenih opisa. Najstariji do danas pronađeni crtež Augustovog hrama, nepoznatog autora, bio je u posjedu talijanskog slikara i arhitekta Baldassarea Peruzzija (Gudelj 2014, 188). Presudnu pak ulogu u istraživanju pulske antičke arhitekture odigrao je mletački arhitekt i teoretičar Andrea Palladio. Premda ne postoje dokazi da je Palladio osobno posjetio najjužniji istarski grad, povijesni izvori datiraju njegov dolazak u period između 1546. i 1547. godine (Pavan 2000, 70). Palladijevi crteži Augustovog hrama dodatno su zanimljivi jer njihova preciznost dugo neće biti nadmašena. Tri njegova nacrti Augustovog hrama danas se nalaze u Kraljevskom institutu britanskih arhitekata u Londonu, dva u Gradskom muzeju Vicenze, a tri je objavio u djelu *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, ili cjelovita naslova, u prijevodu: *Četiri knjige o arhitekturi u kojima se govori o četiri stila i o onim uputama koje su nužne u gradnji; govori se o privatnim kućama, o putovima, mostovima, gradovima, vježbalištima i o hramovima*. Ovo najznačajnije renesansno teoretsko djelo o arhitekturi, tiskano u Veneciji 1570. godine, u četvrtoj knjizi daje nacрте, mjere i opise Augustova hrama u Puli (Pavan 2000, 109). No, njegovi su crteži i prvi poznati pokušaj idealizirane rekonstrukcije izvornog stanja (Gudelj 2014, 87). Palladio reproducira stupove hrama kao kanelirane, bez obzira što oni to nisu, prednju stranu podija hrama kao jedinstvenu, bez stepenica koje postoje na tom mjestu, te pogrešno prenosi natpis na arhitravu. Imaginarij Augustovog hrama zaokružio je dodajući ukras nad vratnika i tri figure nad zabatom

were well planned and featured a series of reception centers. Aymeric Picaud wrote in 1139 the first guidebook for pilgrims titled *Codex Calixtinus*, which included practical information (Nadal 2002, 16). Although travel books give an overall picture that is partly unclear, partly distorted, incomplete and sometimes seasoned with prejudices or trivial generalizations, they nonetheless provide useful and interesting information. This type of historical source stipulates a subjective approach by the author, which reflects itself in a most bizarre manner in a description of the Temple of Augustus from 1440. The travel-report titled *Viaggio in Oriente di un nobile del Quattrocento: Il pellegrinaggio di Milliaduse d'Este* describes the pilgrimages of two members of the house of d'Este from Ferrara. Duke Nicolò visited Pula on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1413, and his son Milliaduse arrived to the city in 1440. Milliaduse's chaplain, Don Domenico, despite the fact that he gave a most detailed description of Pula in those times, referred to the ancient temples on the Forum, and to the princely palace, as mosques (Rossabestiano 2005, 135). This unbelievable shift in the travel-report is hard to understand, and it raises a question whether it was not a deliberate deception to give it a more exciting character, or, is it simply a product of ignorance.

## DRAWINGS OF RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTS

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, an essential part of travel-reports were drawings that documented and recorded the appearance of ancient monuments, which represents a great turnaround from medieval written or oral descriptions. The oldest drawing of the Temple of Augustus that was discovered to date is that of an unknown author, and it was in the possession of Baldassare Peruzzi, an Italian painter and architect (Gudelj 2014, 188). But it was Andrea Palladio, the Venetian architect and theorist, who played a pivotal role in the exploration of Pula's ancient architecture. Although there is no evidence that Palladio personally visited the southernmost city in Istria, historical sources date his arrival into the period between 1546 and 1547 (Pavan 2000, 70). Palladio's drawings of the Temple of Augustus are all the more interesting on account of their unequalled precision that will not be exceeded for a long time to come. Three of his plans of the Temple of Augustus are nowadays kept in the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, two are in the Municipal Museum at Vicenza, and another three were published in the work titled *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, or, with the full translated title: *The four books on architecture, which deal with the four styles, and the instructions necessary for*

hrama (Kečkemet 1969, 553). Sam Palladio je u svojoj knjizi napisao da su ulazna vrata na celi Augustova hrama izmišljena (Pavan 2000, 102), što može ukazivati da zdanje više nema sakralnu namjenu.

## DEVASTACIJA HRAMA TIJEKOM RATNIH RAZARANJA

Od 1597. godine Pula i njena okolica svjedoci su i žrtve uzastopnih gusarskih prepada, koji su kulminirali 2. svibnja 1608. godine kada su uskoci napali, zauzeli i opljačkali grad, zauzevši i Komunalnu palaču (Benussi 2002, 374). Stoga 1630. godine Venecija počinje graditi novu tvrđavu na vrhu pulskog brežuljka, radi obrane grada. Tvrđava je dovršena 1633. godine, po projektu inženjera Antoinea De Villea (Benussi 2002, 380). Po završetku radova De Ville je objavio djelo *Descriptio portus et urbis Polae*, u kojem opisuje tadašnji izgled i stanje luke, gradskih utvrda, stambenih kuća i rimskih graditeljskih spomenika, s nizom crteža. Na veduti grada Pule prikazan je Augustov hram bez krova, a komunalnog tornja više nema (De Ville 1633, 12), što ukazuje na posljedice ratnih razaranja s početka 17. stoljeća. Iako, moguće je da je hram izgorio i kasnije, jer sam De Ville piše o rumenkastim nagorjelim zidovima. *Na gradskom trgu stoje dva dosta cjelovito sačuvana hrama, posve slična, jedan od njih ugrađen je u Knežev dvor pa mu je vidljivo samo stražnje pročelje, drugi je gotovo čitav, izuzevši krov koji je uništen požarom, kako to pokazuju rumenkasti i nagorjeli zidovi* (De Ville 1633, 26). Od 1602. godine sanira se Komunalna palača, no sanacija je izgleda bila bezuspješna, jer se knez s Velikim vijećem od 1636. godine sastajao u skladištu fontika (Caprin 1905, 211). Osamnaestog srpnja 1651. godine urušilo se pročelje palače i krov. Rekonstrukcija je započela 1697. godine, a za obnovu palače koristio se jedan zid napuštenog samostana sv. Marije Formoze (Caprin 1905, 212). Komunalna palača bila je 64 godine urušena, bez namjene od 1634. do 1698.

Dijeli li istu sudbinu i Augustov hram? Izvješće koparskog podestata, kapetana Agostina Barbariga od 13. travnja 1669. godine, ide u prilog toj tvrdnji: *Što se ostaloga tiče, Pula je sva uništena, u njoj nema više od 400 do 500 duša, crkve i samostani kojih je, kako tvrde, ovdje bilo, svi su srušeni, i čini se da su neprijatelji uništili sve oko sebe* (Benussi 2002, 465). Nakon urušavanja krova hrama ne postoji nikakav spomen o ovom zdanju do Spon-Whelerovog putopisa iz 1675. godine.

Pojava britanskih, talijanskih, njemačkih i francuskih geografa i putopisaca u Istri od sredine 17. stoljeća može se tumačiti kao dio kulture otkrivanja istočnog

*construction; mentioned are private homes, roads, bridges, cities, training camps and temples.* This most important Renaissance theoretical work on architecture, published at Venice in 1570, in the fourth book brings the plans, dimensions and descriptions of the Temple of Augustus in Pula (Pavan 2000, 109). His drawings also represent the first known attempt at an idealized reconstruction of the original state of the temple (Gudelj 2014, 87). Palladio reproduced the columns of the temple as fluted, in spite of them being plain, the front side of the temple podium devoid of stairs that actually exist in this place, and he also portrayed the inscription on the architrave incorrectly. He rounded off an imagined Temple of Augustus by adding a decoration on the lintel and three figures over the gable of the temple (Kečkemet 1969, 553). Palladio himself stated that the entrance doorway to the cella of the Temple of Augustus was fictitious (Pavan 2000, 102), which may indicate that the structure no longer had a religious function.

## THE DEVASTATION OF THE TEMPLE DURING THE RAVAGES BROUGHT BY WAR

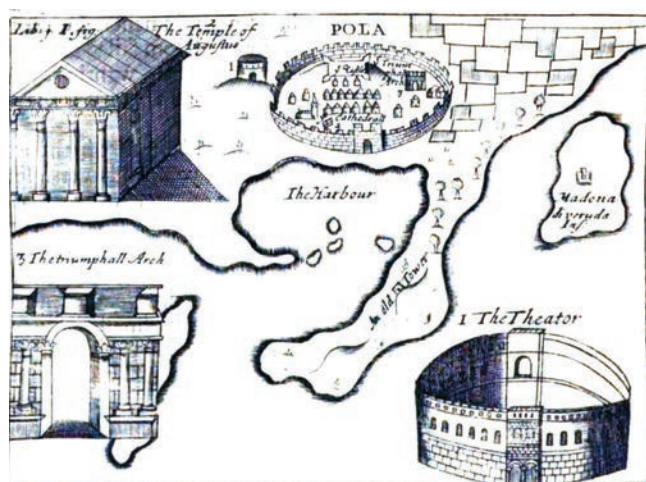
From 1597, Pula and its environs witnessed a series of pirate raids which culminated on May 2, 1608, when the uskoks (renegades) attacked, captured and ransacked the city, also occupying the Municipal Palace (Benussi 2002, 374). As a result of this, in 1630, Venice began to build a new fortification atop one of the hillocks of Pula in order to defend the city. The fortress that was designed by Antoine De Ville, an engineer, was completed in 1633 (Benussi 2002, 380). Having completed the fortress, De Ville published a work titled *Descriptio portus et urbis Polae*, in which, with a series of drawings, he described the appearance and condition of the port, and the fortifications, residential houses and Roman architectural monuments in the city. Portrayed on a veduta of the city of Pula is the Temple of Augustus without a roof, and the municipal tower is missing altogether (De Ville 1633, 12), which indicates the consequences of destruction brought by war from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The possibility exists that the temple burned down at a later date, because De Ville himself mentions the yellowish walls that have been marked by fire. *There are two temples on the city square, which are on the whole quite preserved and similar, one of which is built into the Conte's Palace, hence only its posterior façade is visible, while the other is almost intact except for the roof that was destroyed by fire, as can be seen from the yellowish, burned walls* (De Ville 1633, 26). From 1602, works on the improvement of the sanitary conditions in the Municipal Palace had been

Sredozemlja, kulture putovanja i antikvarnih studija kroz povijest umjetnosti i kasnije arheologiju. Engleski svećenik, prirodoslovac i putopisac George Wheler te francuski liječnik i antikvar iz Lyona Jacob Spon došavši u Pulu 1675. godine (Wheler 1682, 1) pišu kako su tri antičke znamenitosti obilježje veličanstvenosti: amfiteatar, slavoluk i hram posvećen Romi i Augustu Cesaru (Wheler 1682, 4). Kuriozitet je kako je njihovo putovanje objavljeno u dva različita putopisa, koja se u svojim iskazima i priloženim crtežima znakovito razlikuju. Nakon zajednički potpisanog Spon-Whelerova putopisa iz 1678. godine, George Wheler je 1682. godine samostalno objavio još jedan pogled na zajedničko putovanje. Ta su djela u vrlo kratkom vremenu doživjela veći broj reizdanja pa su idući naraštaji pogrešno zaključili da je riječ o jednom putopisu. Spon i Wheler svjedoče da je lokalno stanovništvo koristilo netočan naziv za Augustov hram – nazivali su ga Dijaninim hramom. *U blizini trga postoji jedan maleni hram s četiri korintska stupa na pročelju, ukupno s osam, i s jednim dobro izrađenim frizom s lišćem što se proteže oko njega. Narod govori da je to bio Dijanin hram, ali moje mi oči dokazuju drugačije, jer sam pod zabatom vidio natpis posvete Romi i Augustu* (Spon, Wheler 1678, 82). Putopisi se razlikuju i po nacrtima. U prvom djelu priložena su dva prikaza: bakrorez pročelja hrama Rome i Augusta kojemu ne vidimo temelje i bakrorez pročelja slavoluka s antičkim natpisima s obje strane (Spon, Wheler 1678, 83, 84). Wheler u svojoj knjizi objavljuje crtež antičkog postolja za kip imperatora Severusa, pronađenog u dvorištu katedrale, koji je umalo bio uzidan u temelj zvonika (Spon, Wheler 1678, 80), te vedutu grada (sl. 3.), koja vjerodostojno prikazuje Pulu unutar gradskih zidina, s pravilnim rasporedom nove tvrđave na brežuljku,

going on, but rather unsuccessfully, because the *conte* had been meeting with his Grand Council in the warehouse of the granary from 1636 (Caprin 1905, 211). On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, 1651, the façade of the palace, together with the roof, collapsed. Reconstruction began in 1697, and for the restoration of the palace one of the walls of the abandoned monastery of St. Mary Formosa was used (Caprin 1905, 212). The Municipal Palace stood ravaged and useless for a period of 64 years, from 1634 to 1698.

Did the Temple of Augustus share the same fate? A report compiled by captain Agostino Barbarigo, the *podesta* from Koper, seems to favor this assertion: *For the rest, Pula is totally destroyed, with not more than 400 to 500 souls living in it; the churches and monasteries that, as it is claimed, once existed, have all been destroyed, and it seems that the enemies destroyed everything else around them* (Benussi 2002, 465). After the roof of the temple caved in, there is no mention of this structure until the advent of Spon-Wheler's travelogue in 1675.

The appearance of British, Italian, German and French geographers and travel writers in Istria from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, can be interpreted as part of a culture of discovering the Eastern Mediterranean, a culture of travel and antiquarian studies through history of art, and, subsequently, archaeology. The English clergyman, naturalist and travel writer George Wheler, and Jacob Spon, the French physician and antiquarian from Lyon, after having arrived to Pula in 1675 (Wheler 1682, 1), wrote that three ancient sights are characteristic for the grandeur of the place: the Amphitheatre, the Triumphal Arch, and the Temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus Caesar (Wheler 1682, 4). It is indeed curious that their journey that was published in two different travelogues was on the basis of their descriptions and accompanying drawings markedly different from one another. After the publication of the jointly authored Spon-Wheler's travelogue in 1678, George Wheler published independently another view of their common journey in 1682. In a very short period of time these works experienced a greater number of editions, and future generations erroneously concluded that this was in fact a single travelogue. Spon and Wheler both state that the local population used the wrong name for the Temple of Augustus, calling it the Temple of Diana. *In the vicinity of the square is a small temple with four Corinthian columns on its façade, and a total of eight of them, which also features a well-made frieze with leaves that extend around it. People say that this was the Temple of Diana, but my eyes prove otherwise, because I saw an inscription devoted to Roma and Augustus under the gable* (Spon, Wheler 1678, 82). Both travelogues also vary with respect to the plans presented. Shown in the first part are two views. One



Sl.3 Veduta Pule 1675. godine (Wheler 1678).  
Fig. 3 A view of Pula from 1675 (Wheler 1678).

slavoluka, Foruma, katedrale te amfiteatra izvan gradskog prstena. U Pulskom zaljevu ucrtana su četiri otoka, poluotok Muzil s Orlandovim tornjem i otok Veruda s crkvom sv. Marije. Tri znamenitosti uvećane su na samoj veduti: amfiteatar, slavoluk Sergijevaca i Augustov hram s krovom. Premda Whelerov crtež hrama djeluje uvjerljivo i pouzdano, zbog svih ostalih elemenata koji su točni, tršćanski horograf i liječnik Prospero Petronio svojim djelom *Delle memorie dell'Istria sacre e profane con la più essata topografia, ò sia descrizione de' luoghi, che sino hora s' habbia veduto: il tutto tratto dall'opere de migliori scritti, et in spetie dalli scritti dell'eruditissimo Monsignor Giacomo Filippo Tomasini fù Vescovo di Città Nova col parte seconda* (1681) demantira mogućnost da je Augustov hram do 1681. godine obnovljen: *Na trgu se vide ruševine dva hrama, jedan od njih je zauzimao Kneževu palaču, koja je pola porušena, a ostala je polovica u ruševnom stanju pa se vidi unutrašnja strana. Drugi hram ima još dobre bočne zidove, ali je bez krova, koji je izgorio tako da zidovi još nose tragove požara...* (Petronio 1968, 264). Obnovom Komunalne palače i gradnjom manje jednokatne zgrade koja je bila na mjestu lože, razdvaja se jedinstvena arhitektonska cjelina koja je povezivala palaču s Augustovim hramom (Krizmanić 1988, 153).

## ARHITEKTONSKE I NAMJENSKE PREINAKE

Prva polovica 18. stoljeća u znaku je daljnjeg propadanja grada, ali i prve sigurne svjetovne prenamjene Augustova hrama. Veronski povjesničar i dramaturg, markiz Scipione Maffei, poslije 1720. godine dolazi u Pulu te sugerira premještanje slavoluka Sergijevaca u Veneciju i daje indirektno podatke o hramovima na Forumu: *Čuo sam u Veneciji neke koji bi htjeli dopremiti pulsku Arenu, onako kako sam ja predložio, u slučaju premještanja u Torino slavoluka iz Suse. No ovako opsežan zahvat ja ne bih savjetovao iz više razloga: usudit ću se reći da bi bilo prihvatljivije premjestiti slavoluk, koji je bolje očuvan od malih hramova, o kojima se nimalo ne brinu malobrojni stanovnici koji su većinom stranci...* (Maffei 1728, 319). Engleski svećenik i antropolog Richard Pococke na svom dugogodišnjem putovanju Europom proputovao je 1740. godine Istru te je pokazao interes za antičke spomenike u Umagu, Poreču, Rovinju i Puli, gdje ga je općinio amfiteatar, koji je smatrao jednim od najljepših na svijetu (Pococke 1745, 263). Richard Pococke daje kratak, ali vrlo značajan osvrt na Augustov hram. Prvi put se spominje da je hram korišten kao stambena zgrada – *dwelling house* (Pococke 1745, 264). Tijekom pisanja putopisa hram je već u ruševnom stanju, no autor nam

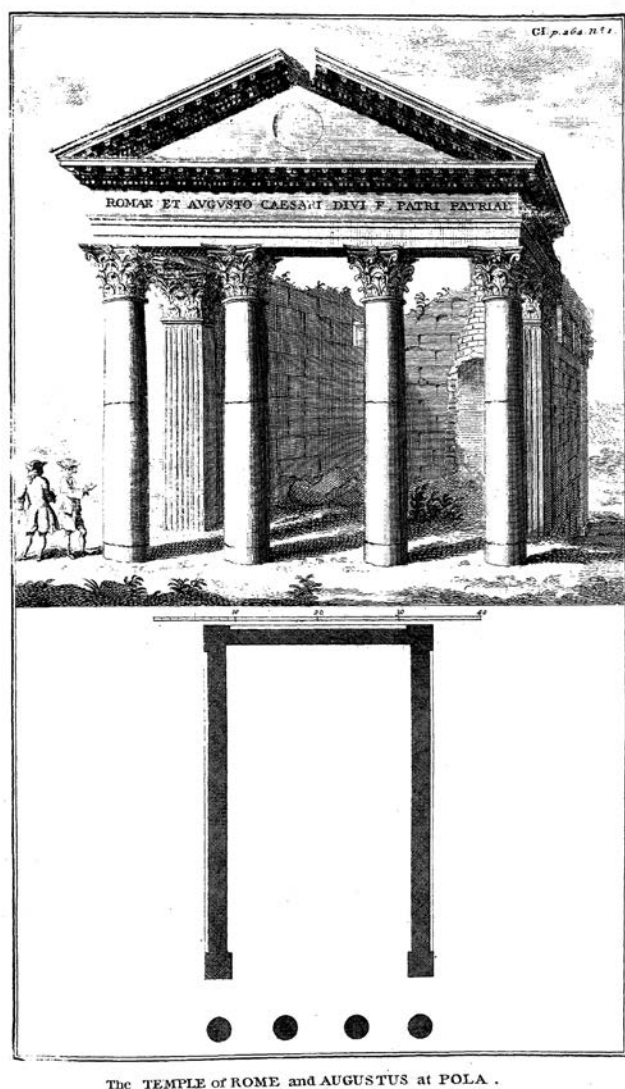
engraving shows the façade of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, but without its foundations, the other, the façade of the arch with its ancient inscriptions on both sides (Spon, Wheler 1678, 83, 84). In his book, Wheler published a drawing of the ancient pedestal for the statue of Emperor Severus, found in the courtyard of the cathedral, which was almost built into the foundations of the belfry (Spon, Wheler 1678, 80), as well as a cityscape (Fig. 3) that presents an accurate view of Pula within its defensive walls, featuring a correct arrangement of the new fortress on the hill with respect to the triumphal arch, Forum, cathedral, and the Amphitheater located outside of the city ring. Four islands are charted in Pula Bay, as well as the Muzil Peninsula with Orlando's tower, and the island of Veruda with the Church of St. Mary. Three sites have been enlarged on the cityscape: the Amphitheater, the Arch of the Sergii, and the Temple of Augustus with roof. Although Wheler succeeded in presenting a convincing and reliable drawing of the temple thanks to all the other elements that have been portrayed correctly, Prospero Petronio, the orographer and physician from Trieste, in his work titled *Delle memorie dell'Istria sacre e profane con la più essata topografia, ò sia descrizione de' luoghi, che sino hora s' habbia veduto: il tutto tratto dall'opere de migliori scritti, et in spetie dalli scritti dell'eruditissimo Monsignor Giacomo Filippo Tomasini fù Vescovo di Città Nova col parte seconda* (1681), refutes the possibility that the Temple of Augustus had been renovated by 1681: *The ruins of two temples can be observed on the city square, one of which was part of the Conte's palace that is half destroyed, the other half being in a ruinous state so that the interior side can be seen. The other temple has well-preserved lateral walls but no roof because a fire destroyed it, traces of which can still be seen on the walls...* (Petronio 1968, 264). With the restoration of the Municipal Palace and the construction of a smaller one-story building that was on the site of the loggia, the unique architectural ensemble that connected the Palace with the Temple of Augustus was separated (Krizmanić 1988, 153).

## ARCHITECTURAL AND SPECIFIC MODIFICATIONS

The first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a further deterioration of the city, but also the first reliable secular conversions of the Temple of Augustus. The Veronese historian and playwright, marquis Scipione Maffei, arrived to Pula sometime after 1720 and suggested that the Arch of the Sergii be moved to Venice, giving some indirect data about the temples on the Forum: *I heard some people in Venice, who would like to translocate the amphitheater from Pula, in the same way that I have suggested for the relocation*



ostavlja crtež i tlocrt ovog antičkog zdanja. POCOCKE-ovi odnosi veličina gornje i donje zone neproporcionalno su prikazani. I na crtežu i na tlocrtu predstavljena su četiri stupa s korintskim kapitelima, na pročelju bez dva bočna. Prednjeg, ulaznog zida cele više nema, kao ni krova. Iako se autoru potkrao čitav niz pogrešaka i njegov rad je ostao na znanstvenoj margini, ovo je za sada jedini crtež koji prikazuje u samom hramu kamin, ognjište s dimnjakom uz istočni zid (sl. 4), koji se vidi i na slici začelja dvaju pulskih hramova britanskog slikara Jamesa Stuarta iz 1750. godine. Nakon što je ostao bez krova i stropa, na Augustovom hramu podiže se visoka mansarda, “ali tako da su se friz i strešni vijenac sačuvali u izvornom obliku u cijeloj dužini vidljivog perimetra hrama” (Matijašić 1980, 14).



Sl. 4 Pogled na pročelje i unutrašnjost s kaminom te tlocrt Augustova hrama (Pococke 1745.).

Fig. 4 A view of the façade and of the interior with the fireplace, and the ground plan of the Temple of Augustus (Pococke 1745).

of the *Triumphal Arch of Susa to Torino*. However, I would not recommend such a complex task for a variety of reasons: I dare say that it would be more acceptable to move the *Triumphal Arch* that is better preserved in comparison with the smaller temples that are totally neglected by the small number of inhabitants that are for the most part foreigners... (Maffei 1728, 319). The English priest and anthropologist Richard Pococke, on his long journey across Europe, which lasted several years, traveled through Istria in 1740, when he expressed some interest for the ancient monuments in Umag, Poreč, Rovinj and Pula, where he was captivated by the amphitheater that he considered one of the most beautiful in the world (Pococke 1745, 263). Richard Pococke also provides a brief but very important review of the Temple of Augustus. In it, mentioned for the first time, is the fact that the temple was used as a residential building – *dwelling house* (Pococke 1745, 264). The temple was already in ruins at the time this travelogue was written, but the author also included a drawing and ground plan of this ancient structure. Pococke’s depictions are not proportional, particularly as regards the volume of the upper and lower zones. Both the drawing and the ground plan show four columns with Corinthian capitals on the façade, without the two lateral ones. The front entrance wall of the cella, and the roof, are no longer there. Although the author committed a whole series of errors thanks to which his work was condemned to scientific margins, this is so far the only drawing that shows a fireplace in the temple itself, complete with a chimney alongside the eastern wall (Fig. 4). This fireplace can also be seen on a depiction of the back wall of these two temples from Pula, made by British painter James Stuart in 1750. Having lost its roof and ceiling, a high mansard was added to the Temple of Augustus, but in a way “that both the frieze and the roof cornice were preserved in their original form along the entire length of the visible perimeter of the temple” (Matijašić 1980, 14).

The storey added onto the Temple of Augustus was recorded by two artists from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, one of the foremost Venetian printmakers, probably stayed at Pula during his two-year stay in Venice, from 1743 to 1745 (Matijašić 1980, 15), and it is during this period that two of his views of the Temple of Augustus were created. The first engraving shows the back wall of the Municipal Palace and the two temples. Along the Temple of Augustus is a narrow building with no roof and an arched window. The other drawing by Piranesi, although it is an architectural and historical document about the temple, was freely conceived and shows the vaulted arches to the left of the ancient structure, which don’t exist on the previous drawing. The roof structure

Nadogradnju na Augustovom hramu zabilježila su dva umjetnika 18. stoljeća. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, jedan od najistaknutijih venecijanskih grafičara, vjerojatno je boravio u Puli za vrijeme svog dvogodišnjeg boravka u Veneciji, od 1743. do 1745. godine (Matijašić 1980, 15), pa u tom periodu nastaju njegove dvije vedute Augustova hrama. Prvi bakrorez prikazuje začelje Komunalne palače i dvaju hramova. Uz nadograđeni Augustov hram nalazi se uska zgrada bez krova, s lučnim prozorom. Drugi Piranesijev crtež, iako je arhitektonski i povijesni dokument o hramu, istodobno je slobodan pa vođen maštovitim perom donosi lijevo od antičkog zdanja nadsvođene lukove, kojih na prethodnom crtežu nema. Mogući razlog sanacije i podizanja krovne konstrukcije zbog prenamjene tavanskog prostora na Augustovom hramu još je zorniji kod britanskog slikara Jamesa Stuarta, koji je s arhitektom Nicolasom Revettom došao u Pulu u srpnju 1750. godine. Ljubitelji antičke arhitekture zadržali su se u gradu tri mjeseca te podrobno istražili i likovno predstavili Pulu sredinom 18. stoljeća (Kečkemet 1969, 558). Drugo poglavlje četvrte knjige *The Antiquities of Athens* posvetili su Augustovom hramu, kojeg su predstavili u deset ilustracija (tabli), kojima prethode opisi hrama i Foruma. *Suvremeni trg ili tržnica ovog grada zauzima dio antičkog foruma; od njega mi još vidimo ruševine dvaju hramova korinškog stila, najljepše ostatke starog sjaja Pule. Po njihovom današnjem izgledu vidljivo je da oni točno sliče jedan drugome, kako mjerama, tako i ukrasima; vrata obaju hramova nalaze se na istoj liniji i bila su jednom glavni ukras te strane foruma bliže luci. Bili su međusobno udaljeni 70 stopa, a danas je taj razmak ispunjen jednom nevažnom građevinom u kojoj boravi providur i koja se naziva njegovom palačom. Jedan od hramova bio je posvećen Romi i Augustu, drugi, sad pretvoren u providurovu*

was possibly renovated and raised due to the conversion of the attic space on the Temple of Augustus, and this is even more vividly portrayed by British painter James Stuart, who came to Pula together with architect Nicolas Revett in July of 1750. These lovers of ancient architecture remained in the city for three months during which they explored Pula thoroughly, making an artistic presentation of the city as it appeared in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Kečkemet 1969, 558). The second chapter of the fourth volume titled *The Antiquities of Athens* was dedicated to the Temple of Augustus that was presented with ten illustrations (tables) preceded by descriptions of the temple and the Forum. *The modern square or marketplace of this city occupies part of the ancient forum; what is still visible of it are the ruins of two temples built in the Corinthian style, the most beautiful remains reflecting the former glory of Pula. As can be seen by their present appearance, they resemble one another as regards both dimensions and decorations; both temples feature doors that are located on the same line and were once the main decoration of this side of the forum nearer to the port. They stood 70 feet from one another; nowadays this space is filled by an unimportant structure that serves to house the Proveditor and is hence called his palace. One of the temples was dedicated to Roma and Augustus, the other, nowadays converted into the Proveditor's kitchen and stables, was dedicated to Diana according to local tradition (Stuart, Revett 1816, 11). The authors depicted the vaulted space above the roof of the Temple of Augustus on Table II, calling it: *A view of the rear wall of the two temples* (Fig. 5). *The Temple of Augustus is the nearer one. The structure between the temples is the back wall of the Proveditor's palace. The door, alongside which a Slavic guard can be seen, belongs to the sentry building. The man standing next to him is playing with balls. The other characters portrayed are Slavic soldiers talking to a young woman; another woman is portrayed as she leads an ass* (Stuart, Revett 1816, 12). The aforementioned drawings of both Giovanni Battista Piranesi and James Stuart were realized in the period from 1744 to 1750. Besides undoubtedly showing the space that has been added on the back side of the Temple of Augustus, both are likewise showing the façade of the temple with no roof and ceiling structure. Stuart and Revett also mention that the building to the right of the front façade of the temple is the city jail (Stuart, Revett 1816, 12). The structure that has been added to the temple probably caused the collapse of the western wall of the cella on April 15, 1751. After this collapse, the podesta and captain of Koper ordered the municipal authorities to collect and save the stone blocks until the necessary repairs of the wall are carried out (Atti 1901, 61). The reconstruction of the Temple of Augustus began a year*



Sl. 5 Pogled na začelje dvaju hramova s prikazom nadograđene krovne konstrukcije s dimnjakom na Augustovom hramu (Stuart-Revett 1816.).  
Fig. 5 A view of the back wall of the two temples, with a depiction showing the roof structure and chimney which have been added onto the Temple of Augustus (Stuart-Revett 1816).

kuhinju i štale, bio je, ako možemo vjerovati tradiciji tog mjesta, posvećen Dijani (Stuart, Revett 1816, 11). Nadsvođeni prostor iznad krova Augustovog hrama autori prikazuju na II. tabli pod nazivom *Pogled na začelje dvaju hramova* (sl. 5.). *Bliži je hram Augustov. Građevina između hramova je začelje providurove palače. Vrata do kojih stoji slavenski stražar pripadaju zgradi straže. Čovjek do njega igra se kuglama. Ostali likovi su slavenski vojnici koji razgovaraju s jednom mladom ženom, jedna Puljanka vodi magarca* (Stuart, Revett 1816, 12). Spomenuti crteži i Giovannija Battiste Piranesija i Jamesa Stuartha ostvareni su u periodu od 1744. do 1750. godine. Osim što nedvojbeno prikazuju nadograđeni prostor na začelju Augustova hrama, oba donose pročelje hrama bez krovne i stropne konstrukcije, pri čemu Stuart i Revett napominju da je građevina desno od pročelja hrama gradski zatvor (Stuart, Revett 1816, 12). Vjerojatno je nadogradnja hrama uzrokovala rušenje zapadnog zida cele 15. travnja 1751. godine. Nakon rušenja podestat i kapetan Kopra zadužuje pulsku gradsku vlast da pokupi i spremi kamene blokove dok se ne počne s potrebnim popravkom zida (Atti 1901, 61). Obnova Augustova hrama počinje godinu dana kasnije, 3. kolovoza 1752., kada je mletački senat poslao knezu i providuru Pule 800 dukata za restauriranje antičkog zdanja (Atti 1901, 63). Prilikom rekonstrukcije zapadnog zida cele ne koriste se masivni kameni blokovi, već nepravilno lomljeni kamen vezan žbukom (Starac 2000, 1). Na sjeverozapadnoj, stražnjoj strani hrama tada je zbog statičkog osiguranja sagrađen vanjski ugaoni kontrafor, koji će biti uklonjen tek 1924. godine (Krizmanić 1988, 154, 174).

Bilo bi pogrešno ustvrditi da se istodobno obnavlja krov hrama. Francuski arhitekt Julian David Le Roy na svom je proputovanju do Grčke došao 1754. godine u Pulu te načinio crtež Augustovog hrama s obnovljenim zapadnim zidom, ali bez krova i stropne konstrukcije. Crtež je objavljen u knjizi *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* 1758. godine. Francuski slikar Charles Louis Clérisseau ostavio je niz crteža Augustova hrama tijekom svojih proputovanja Pulom 1757. i 1760. godine. Osnovne arhitektonske preinake vidljive na njegovim crtežima nedvojbeno ukazuju da je u periodu između 1754. i 1757. godine sagrađen zid između stupova na pročelju. Prednjeg zida cele još uvijek nema, no obnovljena je krovna i stropna konstrukcija. U prosincu 1766. godine prihvaća se prijedlog pulskog kneza i providura da Augustov hram posluži za potrebe skladišta (Atti 1901, 224) umjesto gradskog fontika koji je izgorio 1725. (Atti 1901, 8), uz uvjet da ga se čuva i sada i u budućnosti kao objekt izuzetne arhitektonske vrijednosti što se tiče konstrukcije i oblika (Atti 1901, 224). Tada se obnavlja i prednji zid cele “s prozorima u prizemlju

later, on August 3, 1752, when the Venetian Senate sent a sum of 800 ducats to the conte and proveditor of Pula, for the restoration works on the ancient structure (Atti 1901, 63). The massive stone blocks were not used for the reconstruction of the western wall of the cella, but rather, freely hewn stones bound with mortar (Starac 2004, 11). It was then that an exterior corner buttress was added to the northwestern posterior side of the temple, to ensure static stability, which will be removed only in 1924 (Krizmanić 1988, 154, 174).

It would be wrong to state that the roof of the temple was renewed at the same time. On his journey to Greece, the French architect Julian David Le Roy arrived to Pula in 1754. He made a drawing of the Temple of Augustus with a renewed western wall, but without a roof or ceiling structure. The drawing was published in the book *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* in 1758. The French painter Charles Louis Clérisseau left a series of drawings of the Temple of Augustus during his journeys around Pula in 1757 and 1760. The basic architectural modifications visible on his drawings show clearly that a wall between the columns on the façade was erected in the period between 1754 and 1757. The front wall of the cella is still missing, but the roof and ceiling structures were renovated. In December of 1766, a proposal put forward by the conte and proveditor of Pula was accepted, whereby the Temple of Augustus was to serve as a storage for grain (Atti 1901, 224) in lieu of the granary that was destroyed by fire in 1725 (Atti 1901, 8), provided that it is well kept both at present and in the future, as a structure of exceptional architectural worth in terms of its construction and form (Atti 1901, 224). The front wall of the cella was likewise renewed at that time “with windows on the ground floor and on two upper floors, with a relatively small entrance door, and a built-in relief of the lion of St. Mark above the door. In order to gain some space, the entrance wall was moved forward in relation to the original position, occupying thus a portion of the forecourt” (Starac 2004, 12). The interior of the temple was divided into three floors. In 1782, Louis-François Cassas, having arrived to Pula, noted the following about the Temple of Augustus: *The façade was not all that badly treated, but the pedestals of the columns are nevertheless almost buried, and there are no visible traces of the stairs that most probably had to exist in order to access the portico* (Cassas 1802, 68). His paintings corroborate the removal of the partition walls that connected the columns on the façade. In 1795, Bartolommeo Vergottin authored a guide to Pula, in which he noted that the Temple of Augustus served as a warehouse for grain (Vergottin 1795, 35), while Giuseppe Caprin, in his work *L'Istria*

i na dva kata, s razmjerno malim ulaznim vratima i ugrađenim reljefom lava sv. Marka iznad vrata. Kako bi se dobilo na prostoru, ulazna stijena je pomaknuta unaprijed u odnosu na prvobitni položaj zauzimajući dio predvorja” (Starac 2004, 12). Unutrašnjost hrama bila je podijeljena u tri etaže. Godine 1782. Louis-François Cassas stigavši u Pulu bilježi o Augustovom hramu: *Pročelje je mnogo manje propatilo, ipak su podnožja stupova gotovo zatrpana, a ne zamjećuju se ni tragovi stubišta, koje je, po svoj prilici, trebalo postojati da bi se moglo popeti na trijem* (Cassas 1802, 68). Njegove slike svjedoče da su uklonjeni pregradni zidovi kojima su bili spojeni stupovi na pročelju. Bartolommeo Vergottin je 1795. godine napisao vodič kroz Pulu te u njemu bilježi da je Augustov hram skladište za žito (Vergottin 1795, 35), dok Giuseppe Caprin u svom djelu *L'Istria nobilissima* iz 1905. godine ukazuje da je koncem 18. stoljeća došlo do prenamjene hramskog prostora: *U posljednjim godinama Republike knez je stanovao u stražnjem dijelu palače, štalu je držao u Augustovom hramu, a kuhinja se nalazila u Dijaninom hramu* (Caprin 1905, 2015).

## AUGUSTOV HRAM NA SPOMEN-MEDALJI

Tijekom prve austrijske vladavine, od 1797. do prosinca 1805. godine, Augustov hram i dalje ima neprimjerenu namjenu. Tako nam je arhitekt Karl Friedrich Schinkel u svom putopisu iz 1803. godine, naslovljenom *Reisen nach Italien*, ostavio u trajno nasljeđe grafičke prikaze pulskih kulturnih znamenitosti, ali i podatak da je Augustov hram štala za magarce (Gentile 1956, 169). Nakon Trećeg koalicijskog rata između Austrije i Francuske, nekadašnja mletačka Istra postaje dio Napoleonove Kraljevine Italije. Zauzimanje Istre 1806. godine obilježeno je spomen-medaljom. Na aversu je Napoleonov portret (gleda udesno) s natpisom *NAPOLEONE EMP. ET ROI.*, a manjim slovima su zabilježeni autori profila Denon i Droz, *DROZ FECI, DENON DIREXI MDCCCVI*. Revers je ukrašen pročeljem Augustovog hrama s natpisom *TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE A POLA, L'ISTRIE CONQUISE AN MDCCCVI* te malim slovima autori naličja Brenet i Denon, *BRENET F. i DENON D.*, nadahnuti najvjerojatnije Cassasovim grafikama.

Schönbrunnskim mirom 1809. godine čitava Istra postaje dio Ilirskih provincija, a guvernerom provincija imenovan je maršal Marmont. Za vrijeme svoje službe, od 25. prosinca 1809. do 9. travnja 1811. godine, Marmont se pokazao ne samo izuzetno učinkovitim vojnikom, već i promicateljem naprednih ideja te ljubiteljem antičke umjetnosti. Osobitu pažnju posvetio je izgradnji cesta. U vrijeme trasiranja prometnica u Istri istaknutu ulogu

*nobilissima* from 1905, points out that towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a conversion of the temple premises: *In the last years of the Republic, the conte lived in the posterior section of the palace, the stables were in the Temple of Augustus, and the kitchen was in the Temple of Diana* (Caprin 1905, 2015).

## THE TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS ON A MEMORIAL MEDAL

During the first period of Austrian rule from 1797 to the month of December of 1805, the Temple of Augustus was still improperly used. Architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, in his travelogue *Reisen nach Italien* from 1803, left several graphic depictions of Pula's remarkable cultural sights, together with a piece of information revealing that the Temple of Augustus was used as a stable for asses (Gentile 1956, 169). After the Third Coalition War between Austria and France, the Venetian section of Istria became part of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy. The taking of Istria in 1806 was marked with a memorial medal. On the obverse is a portrait of Napoleon (looking to the right) with an inscription *NAPOLEONE EMP. ET ROI.*, while the authors of his depiction in profile, Denon and Droz, were mentioned with smaller letters as follows *DROZ FECI, DENON DIREXI MDCCCVI*. The reverse is decorated with the façade of the Temple of Augustus and the inscription *TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE A POLA, L'ISTRIE CONQUISE AN MDCCCVI*; Brenet and Denon, the authors of the reverse, who were most probably inspired by the prints made by Cassas, are mentioned with small letters, *BRENET F. and DENON D.*

With the Schönbrunn Peace Accord from 1809, the whole of Istria became a part of the Illyrian provinces, and marshal Marmont was named the governor general of these provinces. While performing this function in the period from December 25, 1809, to April 9, 1811, Marmont proved to be not only an extraordinarily efficient military man but also a promoter of progressive ideas and a lover of ancient art. He devoted special attention to road-building. While these roads were traced in Istria, Pietro Nobile, the Head Engineer for Construction, Roads and Bridges in the Illyrian Littoral, played a very prominent role (Bradanić 2012, 20). Marmont was an avid researcher of history, and it was recorded that in 1810 he performed archaeological excavations in the amphitheater at Pula, the costs of which he personally financed (Stancovich 1822, 11).

ima glavni inženjer za graditeljstvo, ceste i mostove Ilirskog primorja - Pietro Nobile (Bradanić 2012, 20). Marmont je strastveno proučavao povijest te je ostao zabilježen podatak o arheološkim iskapanjima koje je o vlastitom trošku proveo u pulskom amfiteatru 1810. godine (Stancovich 1822, 11).

## SKLADIŠTE ZA ŽITO I SIR

Godine 1813. Istra je vraćena pod upravu Austrijskog Carstva (kasnije Austro-Ugarske) te postaje dio krunske zemlje Austrijskog primorja. Engleski arhitekt Thomas Allason na svom proputovanju za Grčku prošao je Pulu 1814. godine te je pet godina kasnije objavio knjigu *Picturesque Views Of The Antiquities Of Pola*. Augustov hram nacrtao je dva puta, s pročelja i začelja, i na obje je ilustracije vidljivo da je put sa zapadne strane hrama zatvoren, pregrađen zidom, dok se ponovila sudbina sa stupovima te su ponovno izgrađeni zidovi između stupova na zapadnom pročelju. Allason bilježi da je Komunalna palača sjedište austrijskog zapovjednika (Allason 1819, 16). Godine 1815. u Istru putuje Pietro Nobile "sa zadatkom verifikacije projekta obalne ceste Kopar - Pula te izgradnje lazareta", a vrijeme koristi i za samoinicijativna arheološka istraživanja antičkih znamenitosti (Bradanić 2012, 22). Livia Rusconi u svom radu *Pietro Nobile e i monumenti romani di Pola* objavljuje dva izvješća koja je Nobile podnio austrijskoj vladi o arheološkim iskapanjima i konzervatorskim radovima. Prvo izvješće je bez datuma, a drugo je od 7. srpnja 1818. godine, pa se može steći pogrešan dojam da je riječ o završnom, sveobuhvatnom izvješću o obavljenim radovima. No, prvo izvješće o pulskim starinama Pietro Nobile podnosi 22. prosinca 1815. godine. Iz njega je za ovaj rad posebno bitan dio o Augustovom hramu: *Ovaj hram izvanredne arhitekture trenutno je skladište za žito i sir. Prije je dugo vremena stajao sam. Ignorancija je do njega izgradila jedan zid i jednu kuću koja je služila kao zatvor, a sada je bez neke svrhe. Drugi dio je bio uvijek slobodan, no prije dvije ili tri godine jedan je privatnik nadogradio obuhvatni zid na stupove portika, prisvojio si je dio cestovnog zemljišta i uzeo je hramu i s te strane pogled njegove samostojnosti. Nobile je uzeo mjere i detalje ove zgrade s najvećom preciznošću, za istraživanje podnožja i temelja. Dao je izvršiti iskapanja, i to upravo zbog toga da vladi i svijetu umjetnosti predoči rad iscrpne cjelovitosti. Hram je loše očuvan, a grandiozni arhitravi se nalaze u tako zabrinjavajućem stanju da ako uskoro ne budu sanirani, prijeti opasnost od urušavanja. Strani umjetnici koji su se divili arhitekturi Augustovog hrama u obožavanju su otišli tako daleko da su čitave blokove dijelova vadili, pakirali i odvozili u Francusku i Englesku, kako naime priča i svjedoči čitava Pula. Nekoliko krhotina je ležalo još na*

## A STORAGE PLACE FOR GRAIN AND CHEESE

In 1813 Istria returned under the rule of the Austrian Empire (later Austria-Hungary) and became part of the crown land of the Austrian Littoral. The English architect Thomas Allason, on his way to Greece, passed through Pula in 1814, and five years later he published a book titled *Picturesque Views Of The Antiquities Of Pola*. He depicted the Temple of Augustus twice, showing the façade and the backside, and both illustrations show that the road on the western side of the temple is closed, cut by a wall. The fate of the columns seems to repeat itself, because the walls between the columns were again erected on the western façade. Allason also noted that the Municipal Palace served as the seat of the Austrian Commander (Allason 1819, 16). In 1815, Pietro Nobile arrived to Istria, his task being "the verification of the project for the coastal road between Koper and Pula, and the construction of a lazaretto", but he also spent time on self-initiated archaeological excavations of the ancient monuments (Bradanić 2012, 22). Livia Rusconi, in her work titled *Pietro Nobile e i monumenti romani di Pola*, published two reports compiled by Nobile for the Austrian government, regarding archaeological excavations and conservation works. The first report bears no date, while the other is dated July 7, 1818, which could lead us down the wrong path in believing that this is the final, all-encompassing report about the works performed. However, the first report about antiquities in Pula was compiled by Nobile on December 22, 1815. One section of the report is especially important for this paper, the one that deals with the Temple of Augustus: *This temple that features an extraordinary architecture serves currently as a storage place for grain and cheese. Before this it stood deserted for a long period of time. It was ignorance that erected a wall and a house next to it, which used to serve as a jail but is not in use at present. The other part was always free but two or three years ago a private individual erected an enclosure wall onto the columns of the portico, appropriating in the process some of the grounds on which runs the road, and depriving the temple of its independent appearance from this side. Nobile recorded the dimensions and other relevant details pertaining to this structure with the utmost care, in order to further explore the pedestal and the foundations. He ordered the excavations in order to present to the authorities and to the art world in general an all-encompassing work. The temple is poorly preserved and the grandiose architraves are in a truly precarious state, so that they may cave in if they are not renovated shortly. The foreign artists who were so impressed with the architecture of the Temple of Augustus went so far in their worship that they had whole blocks from it taken out and shipped*

zemlji i postojala je opravdana bojazan da će i ti dijelovi nestati zbog onih osoba koje su bile željne prisvojiti te arhitektonske elemente. Stoga ih je Nobile dao spremiti na čuvanje u jedan magazin. Palladio, ali i Le Roi, koji je bio poslan u Pulu o kraljevskom trošku da snimi zgradu i da predoči modele Pariškoj akademiji, objavili su planove ovoga hrama. Cassas je isporučio nekoliko veduta. Nobile je garantirao da može isporučiti nešto potpunije nego li je to pruženo do sada (Nobile 1815, 152) Na temelju izvješća koje je poslao Pietro Nobile, možemo zaključiti da je 1815. godine Augustov hram skladište za žito i sir, ima status gradskog fontika i u njemu nije uspostavljena zbirka arheoloških nalaza. Ulomci srednjovjekovnih i antičkih kamenih spomenika pohranjivali su se u općinskom skladištu iza Augustovog hrama. Premda se često u znanstvenim i publicističkim radovima pojavljuje 1802. kao godina osnutka arheološkog lapidarija na inicijativu maršala Marmonta, taj je podatak fundamentalno pogrešan. Naime, godine 1802. Istra je pod austrijskom upravom, a ne pod francuskom, hram je (kako Schinkel zorno opisuju) štala za stoku, ne arheološka zbirka, dok Marmont kao francuski maršal i guverner dolazi u Istru tek koncem 1809. godine. Podatak o izgradnji zida koji zatvara cestovno zemljište uz zapadnu celu hrama pomaže u datiranju tri crteža Pietra Nobilea. Kako je zid izgrađen dvije ili tri godine prije pisanja izvješća, crteži nisu mogli nastati prije 1812. godine, dok je gornja granica vrijeme prije rušenja nekadašnjeg zatvora i raščišćavanja iza Augustova hrama i Komunalne palače.

## ZAČETAK ARHEOLOŠKE ZBIRKE

U svibnju 1816. godine Pietro Nobile dolazi u pratnji austrijskog cara Franje I. u Pulu te na njegov zahtjev provodi iskapanja, restauraciju i rekonstrukciju lukova amfiteatra (Stancovich 1822, 11). Bruna Forlati Tamaro navodi da je upravo 1816. godina početka arheološke zbirke u Augustovom hramu (Tamaro 1930, 2), što se podudara s dolaskom carske delegacije i izdašnim sredstvima koje je odobrio sam Franjo I. za arheološke projekte (Rusconi 1926, 344). No, do četrdesetih godina 19. stoljeća Augustov hram je prvenstveno skladište, a ne arheološka zbirka rimskih, antičkih i srednjovjekovnih nalaza. Godine 1818. Pietro Nobile završio je sveobuhvatne radove u cilju raščišćavanja ruševina. Realizira se novi projektni pravac puta iza Augustovog hrama i Komunalne palače, koji uključuje rušenje ogradnih zidova dvorišta privatnih kuća i općinskog skladišta (Rusconi 1926, 348, 349; Krizmanić 1988, 155). Uklonjena je manja zgrada nekadašnjeg gradskog zatvora, budući da nije ucrtana na katastarskom planu iz 1818. godine (Krizmanić 1988, 84, 156). Srušen je zid sa zapadne strane hrama, kao

back to England or France, as can be heard and witnessed in Pula. A few fragments were still strewn on the ground and there was a justified fear that these fragments would likewise vanish due to those individuals who were keen on laying their hands on these architectonic elements. Hence Nobile had them stored in a warehouse. Palladio, as well as Le Roi who was sent to Pula with paid expenses in order to record the structure and present the models to the academy in Paris, both published the plans of this temple. Cassas delivered several vedute. Nobile vouched that he can provide something more complete in comparison with what had been offered to date (Nobile 1815, 152). On the basis of the report sent by Pietro Nobile, we can conclude that in 1815 the Temple of Augustus served as a warehouse for grain and cheese, and that it had the status of city granary and was not used as an exhibition venue for any collection of archaeological finds. The fragments of medieval and ancient stone monuments were kept in the municipal warehouse that stood behind the Temple of Augustus. Although the year 1802 is frequently mentioned in scientific and other published works as the year when the archaeological lapidarium was founded on the initiative of marshal Marmont, this piece of information carries a whole series of fundamental errors. Namely, in 1802 Istria was under Austrian and not French rule, the temple was used as a stable (as was particularly well described by Schinkel) and not to house an archaeological collection, while Marmont arrived in Istria as a French marshal and governor towards the end of 1809, and not seven years earlier. The information about the erection of a wall that cuts into a road along the western cella of the temple is also helpful in dating the three drawings of Pietro Nobile. As the wall was built two or three years before the report was written, the drawings couldn't have been made prior to 1812, the upper limit being the time before the demolition of the former jail and the clearing of the area behind the Temple of Augustus and the Municipal Palace.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION

In May of 1816, Pietro Nobile arrived in Pula in the company of Austrian Emperor Francis I, and at his request conducted excavations as well as restoration and reconstruction works on the arches of the Amphitheatre (Stancovich 1822, 11). Bruna Forlati Tamaro states that it was exactly in 1816 that the archaeological collection was opened in the Temple of Augustus (Tamaro 1930, 2), which coincides with the arrival of the imperial delegation and the abundant resources that were authorized by Francis I, personally, for archaeological projects (Rusconi 1926, 344). But until the forties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the

i pregradni zidovi između stupova. Zbog ugroženosti arhitrava hrama uklanjaju se dvije međukatne konstrukcije, a zidovi su učvršćeni željeznim sponama (Starac 2004, 12). Prvo dokumentirano objedinjavanje i prenošenje rimskih spomenika s natpisima iz amfiteatra u Augustov hram bilježi Stancovich 1821. godine (Stancovich 1822, 20, 42, 136). Predano istraživanje antičke povijesti Pule vezano je uz povjerenika za zaštitu spomenika i prvog imenovanog konzervatora Giovannija Carraru, koji je od 1828. godine prikupljao kamene spomenike u Augustovom hramu (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1593).

## ARHEOLOŠKI VRT

Austrijski car Ferdinand I. došavši u Pulu u rujnu 1844. godine izravno se zauzimao da se osiguraju novčana sredstva za daljnja arheološka iskapanja i popravak antičkih spomenika, pod upravom Pietra Kandlera i Giovannija Carrare (Kandler, 1846, 21). Godinu dana kasnije njih dvojica dali su obnoviti prilazne stepenice Augustovom hramu (Starac 2004, 14), a na temelju Carrarinog prijedloga i projekta podignuta je željezna ograda (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594) oko hrama do Komunalne palače i na začelju između dva objekta, pa u tom stanju ostaje do 1919. godine. Unutar ograđenog prostora smješteni su ulomci antičkih spomenika koji nisu mogli naći mjesto u Augustovom hramu. U pismu Kandleru 23. lipnja 1845. godine Carrara spominje: *Kako lijepo! Imat ćemo arheološki vrt! Niču toliki botanički vrtovi, a mi ćemo stvoriti novu modu. Svake godine rađat će se u njemu antički kameni spomenici. A onda s vremenom možemo vrt ukrasiti cvijećem i malim stabalcem, to će biti užitak. Stranac će ostati očaran...* (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594). Po svemu sudeći, ovaj nam indikativan podatak ukazuje da prije postavljanja ograde nije postojala praksa smještanja kamenih spomenika ispred Augustovog hrama (primjerice, nema ih na slikama Antona Augusta Tischbeina iz 1842.), već tek od 1845. godine. Giovanni Carrara namjeravao je urediti zbirku kamenih lapida u Augustovom hramu po razdobljima, s inventarnim popisom, te je započeo stvarati numizmatičku zbirku koju je želio smjestiti u hramu. No, u tomu nije uspio jer je 1850. godine preminuo (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1602).

Tijekom rekonstrukcije na Augustov hram postavljen je krov od olovnih ploča. Kotarski kapetanat Pula skrbio je do otvaranja Muzeja grada Pule 1902. godine o svim antičkim znamenitostima grada i njegovao je specifičan oblik (po današnjim parametrima) njihovog čuvanja i održavanja. Svakih šest godina Kotarski kapetanat je potpisivao ugovor s limarskim obrtom čiji je vlasnik bio dužan održavati krov hrama, mijenjati dotrajale olovne

Temple of Augustus served primarily as a warehouse and not as a venue for an archaeological collection of Roman, ancient and medieval finds. In 1818, Pietro Nobile finished the comprehensive works whose scope was to clear the ruins. A new road was designed and built behind the Temple of Augustus and the Municipal Palace, which also comprised the demolition of courtyard boundary walls belonging to private houses, and of the municipal warehouse (Rusconi 1926, 348, 349; Krizmanić 1988, 155). A small structure that once served as the city jail was removed, since it is not marked on the cadastral map from 1818 (Krizmanić 1988, 84, 156). The wall on the western side of the temple was demolished as well as the partition walls between the columns. Because of the vulnerability of the architrave of the temple, two floor structures were removed and the walls were strengthened by iron clamps (Starac 2004, 12). The first documented integration and translocation of Roman monuments with inscriptions from the Amphitheater to the Temple of Augustus was recorded by Stancovich in 1821 (Stancovich 1822, 20, 42, 136). A devoted study of the ancient history of Pula is associated with Giovanni Carrara, the commissioner for the protection of monuments and the first appointed conservator, who from 1828 collected stone monuments in the Temple of Augustus (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1593).

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL GARDEN

The Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I, having arrived to Pula in September of 1844, advocated directly to secure the financial means necessary for further archaeological excavations and repairs of ancient monuments under the direction of Pietro Kandler and Giovanni Carrara (Kandler 1846, 21). A year later, the two men ordered the renewal of the access stairs to the Temple of Augustus (Starac 2004, 14), and based on Carrara's proposal and project, an iron fence was erected (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594) around the temple, up to the Municipal Palace, and on the backside between the two structures, which remained in this position until 1919. Fragments of ancient monuments that could not be placed in the Temple of Augustus were put within this enclosure. In a letter to Kandler, dated June 23, 1845, Carrara writes: *How nice! We'll have an archaeological garden! So many botanical gardens have sprung up and we shall start a new trend. Each year, ancient stone monuments will be born in it. And as time goes by, we can decorate this garden with flowers and a small tree, and that will certainly be a pleasure. Foreigners will remain fascinated by this ...* (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594). This indicative piece of information apparently suggests that

ploče, ali i skrbiti o čitavom zdanju tijekom dogovorenog perioda (AMI 1881). Godine 1924. olovni se krov zamjenjuje keramičkim kanalicama (Krizmanić 1988, 174). Kao izdvojena ekspozitura u sklopu Kotarskog kapetanata postojala je funkcija konzervatora. Konzervatora imenuje Carsko i kraljevsko središnje povjerenstvo za proučavanje i zaštitu spomenika kulture i njegova je dužnost bila popisivati starine te brinuti se o nepokretnoj kulturnoj baštini. Nakon dužnosti gradonačelnika Pule, koju je obnašao do 1869. godine, funkciju konzervatora obavlja Nicoló Rizzi. Premda je funkcija bila savjetodavna, pa se njegove upute nisu morale nužno i provoditi, Gradsko poglavarstvo Pule nikada nije na Rizzijevo ukazivanje o propustima ili pak prijedloge odgovorilo negativno. Tako je 24. listopada 1888. godine poslao dopis u kojem iznosi svoje izrazito kritičko mišljenje o sanitarnim čvorovima koji se nalaze ispred i na začelju Augustovog hrama (AMI 1888, 11393). Na nedostojni kanal za odvod nečistoća i otpadnih voda koji se nalazio između forumskih hramova već je ukazivao Giovanni Carrara u svom pismu Kandleru 1845. godine (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594). Poseban je problem bio muški javni nužnik koji je bio inkorporiran u željeznu ogradu na pročelju između Komunalne palače i hrama. Osim što je sanitarni čvor izazivao javnu sablazan, njegov odvod je bio začepljen, što je čitavu situaciju činilo nepodnošljivom. Gradsko poglavarstvo je odmah reagiralo te su 8. studenog poslali pisani odgovor u kojem izvješćuju dr. Rizzija da je sanitarni čvor uklonjen. Na mjestu dojučerašnjeg javnog nužnika postavljen je natpis s upozorenjem *E vietato di lordare sotto pena di arresto o multa* (sl. 6).

## SREDNJOVJEKOVNI KAMENI SPOMENICI

Pod utjecajem općeg društvenog razvoja Pule, od sredine 19. stoljeća arheološku zbirku u Augustovom hramu sve češće će nazivati muzejskom, a hram postaje sinonimom za muzej, premda će od 1845. do 1902. godine po svom pojmu, funkciji i znanstvenom pristupu prema muzejskim predmetima hram ostati lapidarij. Prvi Augustov hram nazivaju muzejom Pietro Kandler 1846. i Wilkinson u svom putopisu iz 1849. godine (Kandler 1846, 27; Wilkinson 1849, 565). Godine 1876. prof. Enrico Maionica u svom izvješću spominje postojanje Gradskog muzeja, no odmah potom objašnjava da se radi o zbirci u Augustovom hramu (Matijašić 1994, 7.). Profesor Maionica je donekle uredio i klasificirao predmete koji su se nalazili u hramu i ispred njega, u ograđenom prostoru. Godine 1880. kotarski kapetan grof Benedetto Giovanelli predložio je osnivanje državnog muzeja u Puli, ali je njegova inicijativa bila bez odjeka

prior to the erection of the fence it was not customary to place stone monument in front of the Temple of Augustus (for example, they are nowhere to be seen on pictures of Anton August Tischbein from 1842), but only since 1845. Giovanni Carrara intended to set up a collection of stone monuments in the Temple of Augustus by periods, including an inventory list, and he also began to create a numismatic collection that he wanted to house in the temple. However, he was not able to realize this because he died in 1850 (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1602).

The roof of the Temple of Augustus was covered with lead plates during the reconstruction works. The District Captaincy at Pula was in charge of all ancient monuments in the city until the opening of the City Museum of Pula in 1902, and it had a specific way of dealing (by today's parameters) with issues concerning their safeguarding and maintenance. Every six years the District Captaincy would sign a contract with the local tinsmith, who was required not only to maintain the roof of the temple, changing worn-out lead plates whenever necessary, but also to take care of the whole structure during the agreed period (AMI 1881). In 1924, the lead plate roof was replaced with ceramic tiles (Krizmanić 1988, 174). A conservator functioned within the District Captaincy, who was appointed by the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Cultural Monuments, and his duty was to list all the antiquities and to take care of the immovable cultural heritage. After a tour of duty as the mayor of Pula, which he held until 1869, Nicoló Rizzi performed the function of conservator. Although this function was advisory in character, and its instructions were therefore not obligatory, the city government of Pula nevertheless always responded positively to Rizzi's suggestions, heeding all his indications of negligence. Thus, on October 24, 1888, he sent a letter expressing his utterly critical attitude towards the public toilets that were located in front and at the back of the Temple of Augustus (AMI 1888, 11393). Giovanni Carrara, in his letter to Kandler in 1845, had already mentioned the absolutely abominable waste-water drainage canal that existed between the temples on the Forum (La Provincia dell'Istria 1875, 1594). A men's public toilet that was incorporated into the iron fence at the front, between the Municipal Palace and the temple, was a problem of its own. In addition to the public scandal caused by this toilet, its drainage was clogged, which made the entire situation even more unbearable. The City Council reacted immediately, sending a written reply to Dr. Rizzi on November 8, informing him of the removal of the public toilet. A warning sign was placed on the spot of the former public toilet: *E vietato di lordare sotto pena di arresto o multa* (Fig. 6).





Sl. 6. Na mjestu sanitarnog čvora postavljen je natpis s upozorenjem (iz osobnog arhiva A. Badera).

Fig. 6 The warning sign that was placed on the spot where the public toilet used to stand (personal archives of A. Bader).

(Matijašić 1994, 8). Dolaskom dr. Wolfganga Reichela koncem 1890. godine, predmeti u arheološkoj zbirci klasificirani su i znanstveno sistematizirani. Reichel je svjestan ograničenosti prostora u antičkom zdanju te predlaže da se eksponate koji nisu iz rimskog perioda izmjesti na drugo, prikladnije mjesto, budući da imaju umjetničku vrijednost (AMI 1890, 15428). Na prijedlog dr. Rizzija i uz suglasnost Crkve, srednjovjekovni kameni spomenici se premještaju u park pored pulske katedrale (AMI 1890, 15883). Riječ je o jednom kipu Djevice Marije, svetojstaništu (tabernakulu) u boji, osam nadgrobničkih spomenika, četiri biskupska i jednom kneževom grbu, jednom oštećenom poprsju muškarca na postolju, bareljefu s dva poprsja, oštećenom frizu s bezglavom figurom, tri vučje glave te velikom broju dekorativnih, fragmentiranih kamenih ulomaka (AMI 1891, 5524). Nažalost, premda je riječ o kamenim spomenicima koji bi mogli pomoći u razjašnjavanju sekundarne namjene Augustova hrama, ni za jedan predmet ne može se ustvrditi je li bio od ranije u celi, u njoj neposrednoj blizini, ili su pak artefakti doneseni kada je ustanovljena arheološka zbirka. Premda se na nizu crteža tijekom 18. stoljeća mogu vidjeti detalji koji neupitno upućuju na to da je ispred i na začelju

## MEDIEVAL STONE MONUMENTS

From the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and under the influence of social developments in Pula in general, the archaeological collection in the Temple of Augustus was increasingly referred to as a museum collection, the temple thus becoming a synonym for a museum, although on the basis of its concept, function and scientific approach towards the displayed objects, the temple remained a lapidarium between 1845 and 1902. The first to refer to the Temple of Augustus as a museum were Pietro Kandler in 1846, and Wilkinson in his travelogue from 1849 (Kandler 1846, 27; Wilkinson 1849, 565). In 1876, Prof. Enrico Maionica mentioned the existence of a City Museum in a report, but immediately explaining that it is the collection in the Temple of Augustus (Matijašić 1994, 7). Professor Maionica is also credited for arranging and classifying to a certain extent the objects that were in the temple and in the enclosure in front of it. In 1880, the district captain, Count Benedetto Giovanelli, proposed the establishment of a State Museum in Pula, but his initiative fell on deaf ears (Matijašić 1994, 8). With the arrival of Dr. Wolfgang Reichel towards the end of 1890, the objects in the archaeological collection were classified and scientifically systematized. Reichel, aware of the limited space in the ancient structure, suggested that the exhibits that are not from the Roman period be relocated to another suitable place, because they have their own artistic value (AMI 1890, 15428). At the suggestion of Dr. Rizzi and with the consent of the Church, the medieval stone monuments were moved to the park next to the cathedral at Pula (AMI 1890, 15883). They include a single statue of the Virgin Mary, a tabernacle in color, eight funerary monuments, four bishops' and one ducal coats of arms, a damaged bust of a man on a pedestal, a bas-relief featuring two busts, a damaged frieze with a headless figure, three wolf's heads, and a large number of decorative stone fragments (AMI 1891, 5524). Unfortunately, even though these stone monuments could eventually help to clarify the secondary purpose of the Temple of Augustus, not a single one of these objects gives us any indications as to whether they were already in the cella or in its immediate vicinity prior to this, or whether they were brought there when the archaeological collection was established. Although a whole series of drawings from the 18<sup>th</sup> century feature details that unquestionably indicate that there were scattered stone monuments at the front and at the rear of the Municipal Palace and temple, only Cassas mentions two funerary stelae in written form, which were in front of the Temple of Augustus (Cassas 1802, 191), but they date back to the ancient period.

Komunalne palače i hrama bilo razasutih kamenih spomenika, samo Cassas spominje dvije grobne stele koje su se nalazile ispred Augustovog hrama (Cassas 1802, 191), no one potječu iz antike.

## MUZEJ-LAPIDARIJ

Odlukom Carskog i kraljevskog Središnjeg povjerenstva za proučavanje i zaštitu spomenika kulture od 24. siječnja 1891. godine, Augustov hram dobio je pravni status muzeja te se dekretom nalaže ravnatelju Njemačke gimnazije u Puli dr. Franzu Swidu da imenuje kustosa koji će skrbiti o arheološkoj zbirci u Augustovom hramu (AMI 1891, 5447). Izabran je profesor antičke povijesti Georg Benedetti (AMI 1891, 5524). Razlog zbog kojeg se Središnje povjerenstvo obraća jednoj odgojno-obrazovnoj ustanovi te za imenovanje kustosa traži klasično obrazovanog profesora, leži u činjenici da je Njemačka državna gimnazija u Puli imala najkvalificiraniji kadar, a školovanih arheologa u gradu nije bilo. Iste godine zbog nadgledanja konzervatorskih radova na Dvojnim vratima, koje je izvodio inženjer Natale Tommasi, dolazi u Pulu arheolog i filolog dr. Rudolph Weißhäupl. Kao profesor u Njemačkoj gimnaziji i konzervator, postaje u studenom 1891. godine kustosom muzejske zbirke u Augustovom hramu (AMI 1891, 15877). Ministarstvo kulture usvojilo je izvješće od 15. rujna 1891. godine u kojem se navodi da je Augustov hram premalen i neadekvatan za muzejsku svrhu pa ponovno predlažu osnivanje suvremenog muzeja u Puli. No, Gradsko poglavarstvo, iako svjesno rastućeg zanimanja znanstvenih krugova za arheologiju Pule, istodobno priznaje da Grad nema sredstava u proračunu za izgradnju muzeja te će se zauzeti da se što prije stvore uvjeti za osnivanje takve ustanove, a do tada ostaje muzej-lapidarij Augustov hram (AMI 1891, 12626).

## ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Augustov hram u Puli, premda predstavlja rijedak primjer cjelovite antičke arhitektonske kulturne cjeline, nije kulturno-povijesno dokumentiran u skladu sa svojim dvije tisuće godina dugim trajanjem. Iako ne postoje prijepori o prenamjeni hrama u ranokršćansku crkvu, nema novih dokaza koji potvrđuju već iznesenu pretpostavku. Arheološki rezultati, usprkos činjenici da uspješno istražuju antičku urbanističku tradiciju prema ranosrednjovjekovnoj fazi grada, ne mogu dati odgovor o ranosrednjovjekovnoj namjeni Augustovog hrama, u vrijeme kad je činio dio jedinstvenog arhitektonskog kompleksa s Komunalnom palačom. Posebno je

## MUSEUM - LAPIDARIUM

By decision of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Cultural Monuments, dated January 24, 1891, the Temple of Augustus received the legal status of a museum, and the Director of the German Gymnasium at Pula, Dr. Franz Swid, was required by decree to appoint a curator who would take care of the archaeological collection in the Temple of Augustus (AMI 1891, 5447). Georg Benedetti, a professor of ancient history, was chosen for this post (AMI 1891, 5524). The reason why the Central Committee turned to an educational institution and required a classically educated professor to act as curator lies in the fact that the state-sponsored German Secondary School at Pula had the most qualified staff, and there were no trained archaeologists in the city. That same year, due to the supervision of conservation works at the Double Gate, which were performed by engineer Natale Tommasi, the archaeologist and philologist Dr. Rudolph Weißhäupl came to Pula. As a professor in the German secondary school and conservator, he became the curator of the museum collection in the Temple of Augustus in November of 1891 (AMI 1891, 15877). The Ministry of Culture adopted a report dated September 15, 1891, in which it was noted that the Temple of Augustus was too small and inadequate to serve for museum purposes, and in which a renewed proposal for the establishment of a modern museum in Pula was submitted. But the city authorities, although fully aware of the growing interest of scientific circles for the archaeology of Pula, at the same time recognized that there were no funds in the city budget for the construction of a museum. They likewise pledged to create the conditions for the establishment of such an institution as soon as possible, and until then the Temple of Augustus was to serve the city as a museum-lapidarium (AMI 1891, 12626).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Temple of Augustus in Pula, although it represents a rare example of an intact ancient architectural and cultural whole, is not culturally and historically documented in accordance with its existence that lasted two thousand years. Even though there are no controversies about the conversion of the temple into an Early Christian church, there is no new evidence to support the aforementioned assumption. Archaeological results, despite the fact that they successfully explore the ancient urban tradition towards the early medieval phase of the city, cannot give an answer about the early medieval use of the Temple of Augustus, while it was still a part of a unique architectural

otežavajuća okolnost što do polovice 15. stoljeća ne postoji niti jedan pisani povijesni izvor (a koji bi dosad bio pronađen) koji uopće spominje Augustov hram, što indirektno govori o tadašnjoj društvenoj važnosti samog zdanja. Od 15. do 19. stoljeća daleka su putovanja, osim putopisno-religioznog karaktera i avanturizma, za osnovni cilj imala proučavanje antičkog graditeljstva. Crteži su renesansnim i klasicističkim arhitektima bili glavni izvor informacija o pojedinim građevinama, a samim time i vrelo ideja. Upravo taj pomak u poimanju kulture usmjerava veću pozornost na antička zdanja Pule. Zato ovaj rad veliku pažnju posvećuje – osim pisanim – i likovnim izvorima te objedinjavanju istih u povijesno-društvenom kontekstu. Nakon stoljeća propadanja, koje je uslijedilo kao posljedica ratnih razaranja koncem 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća, Augustov hram dobiva svoju svjetovnu namjenu. Posebno je zanimljiva kratkotrajna arhitektonska intervencija kojoj je osnovni cilj bio podignuti krovnu konstrukciju zbog možebitne prenamjene tavanskog prostora. No, tu zasigurno ne možemo govoriti o nadogradnji još jednog kata na antičko zdanje. Vjerojatno je nadogradnja hrama uzrokovala rušenje zapadnog zida cele 15. travnja 1751. godine. U prosincu 1766. godine prihvaća se prijedlog pulskog kneza i providura da Augustov hram posluži za potrebe skladišta, umjesto gradskog fontika koji je izgorio 1725. godine. Tada se obnavlja i prednji zid cele, s prozorima u prizemlju i na dva kata, s razmjerno malim ulaznim vratima i ugrađenim reljefom lava sv. Marka iznad vrata. Unutrašnjost hrama bila je podijeljena na tri etaže. U posljednjim godinama Mletačke Republike te tijekom prve austrijske vladavine, Augustov hram je prenamijenjen u štalu. Putopisna građa iz 1803. godine, vremensko nepodudaranje državno-pravnih struktura te osnovna namjena samog hrama početkom 19. stoljeća, glavni su razlozi zbog kojih nije moguće da je 1802. godine uspostavljena arheološka zbirka u Augustovom hramu. Izvješće koje podnosi Pietro Nobile austrijskoj vladi o arheološkim iskapanjima i konzervatorskim radovima u prosincu 1815. godine temeljni je izvor za definiranje svrhovitosti hrama te za dataciju pulskog foruma na Nobileovim crtežima. Začeci arheološkog lapidarija sežu u 1816. godinu. No, do četrdesetih godina 19. stoljeća Augustov hram je prvenstveno mjesto na kojem se skladište rimski spomenici. Od 1845. godine arheološka zbirka sve je češće predmetom izučavanja i razgledavanja. Odlukom Carskog i kraljevskog Središnjeg povjerenstva za proučavanje i zaštitu spomenika kulture od 24. siječnja 1891. godine, Augustov hram je dobio pravni status muzeja. Uprkos činjenici da je hramska izložbena zbirka

complex with the Municipal Palace. A particularly aggravating circumstance is that up to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century there were no written historical sources that mentioned the Temple of Augustus, which were discovered to date, and this indirectly reflects the social importance of the structure itself. From the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the main goal for undertaking distant travels, except for the itinerary-religious character and adventure associated with them, was the study of ancient architecture. For Renaissance and classicist architects, drawings were the main source of information about a particular building, and thus a source of ideas. It was this shift in the concept of culture, which focused more attention on the ancient structures of Pula. This paper therefore pays great attention not only to written but also to artistic sources, pooling them together into the historical and social context. After centuries of decline, which followed as a consequence of war towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Temple of Augustus was given a secular purpose. Of particular interest is a short-term architectural intervention whose primary goal was to raise the roof structure in order to allow for an eventual conversion of the attic space. However, in this respect we cannot talk about an addition of an extra story to the ancient structure. The building of an additional story onto the temple probably caused the collapse of the western wall of the cella on April 15, 1751. In December of 1766, the proposal submitted by the conte and proveditor of Pula was accepted, whereby the Temple of Augustus was to be used as a storage place in lieu of the city granary that burned down in 1725. It was at that time that the front wall of the cella, with windows on the ground floor and on two upper floors, was renovated, featuring a relatively small entrance door and a built-in relief of the lion of St. Mark above the door. The interior of the temple was divided into three stories. The Temple of Augustus was turned into a stable in the last years of the Venetian Republic and during the initial Austrian period of rule. Travel reports from 1803, the temporal discrepancies in conjunction with state and legal structures, and the basic usage of the temple at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are the main reasons why it is impossible that the archaeological collection in the Temple of Augustus opened in 1802. The report submitted by Pietro Nobile to the Austrian government in December of 1815, which dealt with archaeological excavations and conservation works, is the basic source for defining the purpose of the temple, and for dating the Forum at Pula on drawings by Pietro Nobile. The origins of the archaeological lapidarium date back to the year 1816. But until the forties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Temple of Augustus was primarily a place

pravno definirana, Ministarstvo kulture u rujnu 1891. donosi odluku da je sam prostor premalen i neadekvatan za muzejsku svrhu pa se predlaže osnivanje suvremenog muzeja u Puli, dok Augustov hram do osnivanja Muzeja grada Pule 1902. godine ostaje muzej-lapidarij.

where Roman monuments were stored. Since 1845, the archaeological collection is more often the subject of studies and sightseeing tours. With the decree of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Study and Protection of Cultural Monuments, dated January 24, 1891, the Temple of Augustus was given the legal status of a museum. Despite the fact that the collection housed in the temple was legally defined, the Ministry of Culture, in September of 1891, decided that these premises were too small and as such inadequate for museum purposes, proposing at the same time the establishment of a modern museum in Pula, while the Temple of Augustus remained a museum-lapidarium until the founding of the City Museum of Pula in 1902.

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