

PROSTORNA TERMINOLOGIJA S NINSKOG NATPISA (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴)*



SPATIAL TERMINOLOGY FROM THE NIN INSCRIPTION (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴)*

U radu se analizira ninski natpis (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴) u kojem se najviše pozornosti posvećuje upotrijebljenoj prostornoj terminologiji i njezinu značenju. Tri prostorna termina (*taberna*, *pergula*, *maenianum*) s ninskog natpisa uspoređuju se s prostornom terminologijom s dva pompejska natpisa (*CIL* 4, 138; *CIL* 4, 1136). Cilj je rada ukazati na to da je upotreba tih naziva u antičkom Ninu bila odraz rane i intenzivne romanizacije u kojoj su upotrijebljeni termini korišteni u javnoj, a onda zasigurno i u privatnoj gradnji. Takvi nalazi izuzetno su rijetki, što povećava značenje ninskog natpisa, a koji se zahvaljujući tome može smjestiti uz bok spomenutoj pompejskoj epigrafskoj baštini.

Ključne riječi: epigrafija; prostorna terminologija (*taberna*, *pergula* i *maenianum*); forum; Nin; Pompeji; romanizacija

This paper analyses and focuses primarily on the spatial terminology from the Nin inscription (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴) and its meaning. Three spatial terms (*taberna*, *pergula*, *maenianum*) from the Nin inscription are compared with the spatial terminology from two Pompeii inscriptions (*CIL* 4, 138; *CIL* 4, 1136). The aim of the paper is to indicate that the use of these terms in ancient Aenona (present-day Nin) was a reflection of early and intensive romanisation in which the terms were used in public, and most likely in private construction. Such findings are extremely rare, which increases the significance of the Nin inscription, which therefore can be placed “side by side” with the aforementioned epigraphic heritage of Pompeii.

Keywords: epigraphy; spatial terminology (*taberna*, *pergola* and *maenianum*); forum; Nin; Pompeii; Romanisation

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1. UVOD

U proučavanju rimskodobnog prostora važnu ulogu imaju materijalni i pisani izvori. Među pisanim izvorima dominira literarna građa, no određenu vrijednost u upoznavanju rimskodobnih gradnji imaju epigrafski i numizmatički nalazi. U ovom radu naglasak će biti na epigrafiji i podacima koje ona pruža u upoznavanju javnog i privatnog prostora. U tu svrhu analizirat će se ninski natpis (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴) koji će se usporediti s dva pompejska natpisa o iznajmljivanju nekretnina (*CIL* 4, 138; *CIL* 4, 1136). Mogućnost njihove usporedbe proizlazi iz činjenice da sva tri natpisa sadrže prostornu terminologiju. Cilj je rada da se razmatranjem upotrijebljenih višeznačnih prostornih termina pokuša preciznije odrediti njihovo značenje, a pozornost će se pritom prvenstveno usmjeriti na one termine koji su zajednički svim razmatranim natpisima. Analizirani natpisi pripadaju različitim prostornim kategorijama, u sklopu kojih je ninski vezan za javni, a oni pompejski za privatni prostor, a razlikuju se i u samoj daljnjoj kategorizaciji natpisa. Tako ninski ulazi u kategoriju onoga što bismo nazvali munificijencijama, a oba pompejska dana su u ne-standardnoj formi oglasa. Neovisno o razlikama na njima ispisana zajednička prostorna terminologija opravdava međusobno uspoređivanje.

Osim pisanih izvora u radu će se iskoristiti i dostupne spoznaje o samoj materijalnoj građi, što će najviše doći do izražaja kod pompejskih natpisa. Povezivanje pompejskih natpisa i konkretnih materijalnih ostataka posljedica je činjenice da su ovdje analizirani natpisi iz Pompeja bili usmjereni na oglašavanje nekretnina. Zahvaljujući tome što su Pompeji sačuvani bilo je moguće usporediti natpise i objekte na kojima su bili zabilježeni, naravno pod pretpostavkom da je njihovo položaj točno identificiran. Ipak, ako je i identifikacija mjesta nalaza natpisa valjana, upitno je jesu li se oni izravno odnosili na objekte na kojima su nađeni. Razmatrani pompejski natpisi pisani su u formi oglasa, odnosno vlastoručno te su bili dostupni velikom broju ljudi – o čemu će još kasnije biti govora. Upravo forma natpisa, a to je oglas, omogućava da se krene od pretpostavke da su takve obavijesti bile zabilježene na više frekventnih gradskih lokacija.

1. INTRODUCTION

Material and written sources play an important role in the study of spaces from the Roman period. Written sources are dominated by literary materials but epigraphic and numismatic findings have a certain value in learning more about the Roman period construction. This paper will focus on epigraphy and the data it provides about learning more about the public and private space. For this purpose the Nin inscription (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴) will be analysed and compared with two Pompeii inscriptions about property renting (*CIL* 4, 138; *CIL* 4, 1136). The possibility of comparing these inscriptions is facilitated by the fact that all three contain spatial terminology. The aim of this paper is to analyse, and offer a precise meaning of the used polysemous spatial terms, and it will focus primarily on those terms that are common to all analysed inscriptions. The analysed inscriptions pertain to different spatial categories, where the one from Nin is related to the public space, and those from Pompeii to the private space, and they also differ in the further categorisation of the inscriptions. Thus, the inscription from Nin falls into the category of euergetisms, and both inscriptions from Pompeii are written in a non-standard form of advertisement. Regardless of their differences, the common spatial terminology found on these inscriptions justifies their comparison.

In addition to written sources, the paper will use available knowledge about the physical materials, which will be most evident with the inscriptions from Pompeii. The connection between the Pompeian inscriptions and the actual remains is a consequence of the fact that the Pompeian inscriptions analysed in this paper were focused on advertising properties. Thanks to the circumstances in which Pompeii was preserved, it was possible to compare the inscriptions and the objects on which they were recorded, naturally, assuming that they were correctly identified in terms of their location. However, even if the identification of the place where the inscriptions were found was valid, it is questionable whether they referred directly to the buildings in which they were found. The analysed Pompeian inscriptions were written in the form of advertisements, i.e. they were handwritten and therefore available to a large number of people - which will be discussed later. The very form of the inscription, which is an advertisement, allows us to start from the assumption that such notices were recorded in several busy city locations.

2. NATPIS IZ ENONE: *CIL* 3, 14322⁴

Q(uintus) Baebius [---] / f(ilius) Zupri[us?] / aedilis, ta[bern]/am pergu[lam] maenianu[m---] / r(ei) p(ublicae) d(edit) /

Kvint Bebije [---] / sin, Zuprik(?),/ edil, tabern/u, pergulu, menijan[---], / dao je zajednici (gradu).

Ninski natpis kao dokaz munificijencije spada u potkategoriju građevinskih natpisa jer mu je primarna namjena izvijestiti o gradnjama koje naručitelj podiže u skladu sa svojim dužnostima, a radi vlastite promidžbe (v. Sl. 1).¹ Konkretni natpis ima oblik kamene ploče (*tabula*), a prema podacima iz *CIL*-a našao ga je Sticotti u dvorištu stanovitog Jake Kuzmara u Ninu davne 1895. godine i restituirao.²

Spomenik je oštećen na desnom rubnom dijelu natpisnog polja.³ Njegov je tekst uklesan u šest redova i u skladu s normama karakterističnim za natpise tog tipa, a što je dodatna potvrda snažne romanizacije grada jer u Ninu egzistiraju ljudi koji se očito dobro služe latinskim jezikom i uopće pravilima latinske epigrafije vezanima za izradu i osmišljavanje natpisa. Natpis se najčešće datira u prvu polovinu 1. st.,⁴ što bi išlo u prilog rane romanizacije Nina. Međutim, postoje i drugačija promišljanja prema kojima se on može datirati i u drugu polovinu 1. st.,⁵ u doba flavijejske dinastije, o čemu će biti još govora.

Spominjanje municipalnih magistrata na ninskim spomenicima potvrđuje da je antički Nin bio organiziran kao rimski grad. On je rano stekao municipalni status, što potvrđuje natpis *CIL* 3, 2973 na kojem je jasno da je gradsko vijeće Enone podiglo kip namjesniku provincije Ilirik i patronu grada Publiju Siliju Nervi.⁶ Upravo taj podatak svjedoči da je Nin imao status municipija

2. THE INSCRIPTION FROM AENONA: *CIL* 3, 14322⁴

Q(uintus) Baebius [---] / f(ilius) Zupri[us?] / aedilis, ta[bern]/am pergu[lam] maenianu[m---] / r(ei) p(ublicae) d(edit) /

Quintus Baebius [---]'s / son, Zupri[us?], aedile, gave a *taberna*, / *pergula*, *maenianum* / to the community (city).

The inscription from Nin, as an euergetism, belongs to the subcategory of architectural inscriptions, because its primary purpose is to report on the buildings that the donor erected in accordance with his duties, and for the purpose of his own publicity (see Fig. 1).¹ The inscription is in the form of a stone tablet (*tabula*), and according to information from the *CIL*, Sticotti found it in the yard of a certain Jako Kuzmar in Nin in 1895, and he read it.²

The monument is damaged on the right edge of the inscription field.³ The text is engraved in six lines and in accordance with the norms characteristic of inscriptions of this type, which is an additional confirmation of the strong Romanisation of the city, because there were people in Nin who were obviously well versed in Latin, and generally the rules of Latin epigraphy related to the creation and design of inscriptions. The inscription is most often dated to the first half of the 1st century⁴ which supports the early Romanisation of Nin. However, there are other considerations according to which the inscription can also be dated to the second half of the 1st century,⁵ during the Flavian dynasty, which will be discussed further on.

The mention of municipal magistrates on monuments from Nin confirms that ancient Aenona was organised as a Roman city. It acquired municipal status early on, which is confirmed by the inscription

¹ O kategoriji graditeljskih natpisa v. Matijašić 2002: 141–156.

² *CIL* 3, 14322⁴. Usp. Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 279; Kurilić 1999: kat. br. 2498.

³ Sačuvane dimenzije su: vis. 51 cm, dulj. 42 cm, deblj. 41 cm; vis. slova varira od 2,5 (6. r.) do 5 cm (1. r.); v. Kurilić 1999: kat. br. 2498, prema podacima iz Inventarne knjige antičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru, br. 1.

⁴ Medini 1969: 53.

⁵ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 196.

⁶ Wilkes 1969: 205.

¹ On the category of architectural inscriptions see Matijašić 2002: 141–156.

² *CIL* 3, 14322⁴. Cfr. Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 279; Kurilić 1999: cat. no. 2498.

³ The preserved dimensions are: height 51 cm, length 42 cm, thickness 41 cm; the height of letters varies from 2.5 (6th l.) to 5 cm (1st l.); see Kurilić 1999: cat. no. 2498, according to data from the Inventory book of the ancient collection of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, no. 1.

⁴ Medini 1969: 53.

⁵ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 196.

u vrijeme dok je Ilirik još bio senatska provincija, konkretno 17. ili 16. godine pr. Kr., a kada je njime upravljao spomenuti prokonzul Nerva.⁷

Na ninskom natpisu koji se razmatra u ovom radu zabilježeni su ime i služba osobe koja je naručila gradnju. U pitanju je Kvint Bebije Zuprik (?) čije imenovanje svjedoči o romanizaciji u onomastičkom smislu jer je uz italski prenamen i gentilicij ovdje zadržan neitalski kognomen Zuprik (Sl. 1).⁸ Njegov *praenomen Quintus* jedan je od najčešće korištenih u rimskom svijetu.⁹ Italski gentilicij *Baebius* javlja se i u drugim liburnskim sredinama.¹⁰ Ipak, najvažniji spomen tog nomena vezuje se za Zadar u Liburniji, gdje je zabilježen u imenovanju namjesnika senatskog Ilirika Gneja Bebija Tamfila Vale.¹¹ Potonje je imenovanje poznato zahvaljujući građevinskim zahvatima na zadarskom forumu.¹² Gentilicij Bebije pripadao je rimskoj plebejskoj konzularnoj porodici koja se često spominje u literarnim izvorima tijekom 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr.¹³ Rimska gentilna imena prenosila su se na nove rimske građane, a osobe koje su preuzimale nov način imenovanja obično su posezale za imenima rimskih porodica s kojima su blisko surađivale.¹⁴ Moguće je da je domorodačka elita uzimala u svoj sustav imenovanja najuglednija gentilna imena, što je posljedica njihova visokog društvenog položaja koji im je omogućavao kretanje među uglednim doseljenim pripadnicima rimske vlasti. Zbog toga nije neuobičajeno da je to ime nađeno u liburnskim gradovima u bliskoj vezi s tamošnjom elitom (npr. u Aseriji su bili povezani s uglednom porodicom *Oppii*).¹⁵ Ovaj gentilicij javlja se tako, osim u Zadru i Ninu (CIL 3, 14322⁴, CIL 3, 14322⁷), i u drugim antičkim sredinama Liburnije (Osor / *Apsorus* CIL 3, 10138; Rab / *Arba* CIL 3,

CIL 3, 2973 which clearly states that the city council of Aenona erected a statue of the governor of the province of Illyricum and the patron of the city, Publius Silius Nerva.⁶ This fact proves that Nin had the status of a municipium at the time when Illyricum was still a senatorial province, specifically in 17 or 16 BC when it was governed by the aforementioned proconsul Nerva.⁷

The inscription from Nin analysed in this paper records the name and the position of the person who ordered the construction. It concerns Quintus Baebius Zupri(cus) (?) whose nomenclature is a testament to Romanisation in the onomastic sense, because in addition to the Italic praenomen and nomen gentilicium, the non-Italic cognomen Zupri(cus) is retained here (Fig. 1).⁸ His praenomen *Quintus* is one of the most commonly used in the Roman world.⁹ The Italic nomen gentilicium *Baebius* also appears in other Liburnian regions.¹⁰ However, the most important mention of this nomen is connected to Iaderin Liburnia, where it was recorded in the nomenclature of the governor of the senatorial Illyricum, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus Vala.¹¹ The latter nomenclature is known thanks to the construction interventions at the forum of Iader.¹² The gentilicium *Baebius* belonged to a Roman plebeian consular family that is often mentioned in literary sources during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.¹³ The Roman gentilicia were passed on to new Roman citizens, and the persons who took on a new nomenclature usually resorted to the names of Roman families with whom they had close work ties.¹⁴ It is to be expected that the indigenous elite used the most respectable gentilicia in their naming system, which is a consequence of their high social position that enabled them to move among the distinguished and settled members of the Roman rule. Therefore, it is not uncommon that this name appeared in Liburnian

⁷ Hoti 1992: 139; Kurilić & Serventi 2015: 236.

⁸ Kurilić 1999: 143; 168–169.

⁹ Matijašić 2002: 59.

¹⁰ Kurilić 2010: 194–195.

¹¹ Fadić 2006: 77.

¹² Kurilić 2010: 194–195.

¹³ Fadić 2006: 78.

¹⁴ Kurilić 1999: 271.

¹⁵ Wilkes 1969: 311.

⁶ Wilkes 1969: 205.

⁷ Hoti 1992: 139; Kurilić & Serventi 2015: 236.

⁸ Kurilić 1999: 143; 168–169.

⁹ Matijašić 2002: 59.

¹⁰ Kurilić 2010: 194–195.

¹¹ Fadić 2006: 77.

¹² Kurilić 2010: 194–195.

¹³ Fadić 2006: 78.

¹⁴ Kurilić 1999: 271.

10121,¹⁶ *CIL* 3, 13293,¹⁷ Karin / *Corinium* *CIL* 3, 9733, *CIL* 3, 02890; Nadin / *Nedinum* *ILJug* 2875, *CIL* 3, 14001; Podgrađe kod Benkovca / *Asseria* *CIL* 3, 15030¹, *CIL* 3, 15036¹, *EDCS-57200183*¹⁸). Frekvencija pojavljivanja tog gentilicija još je veća ako se zajedno s objavljenim natpisima sagledaju i oni neobjavljeni. U tom smislu korisno je spomenuti jedan od takvih neobjavljenih natpisa sa stele o kojoj podatak nalazimo u inventarnoj knjizi Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, dok je sam natpis iz Bribira.¹⁹ U pitanju je spomenik u kojem je komemorator signifer *Horatius Nepos*²⁰ podigao spomenik svom „bratu po oružju“, nositelju gentilicija *Bebije*. Ako je doista riječ o signiferu XI. legije,²¹ onda bi se natpis mogao otprilike datirati između 9. i 68./69., što bi potvrdilo prisutnost nomena *Baebius* na području Liburnije u 1. st.

Sudeći prema vremenu u kojem djeluje prvi u nas poznati zabilježeni pripadnik familije *Bebija*, smatra se da je taj gentilicij domaće stanovništvo vjerojatno primilo još u Augustovo vrijeme, odnosno od trenutka kada je dužnost namjesnika provincije obavljao prokonzul Gnej *Bebije Tamfil Vala*. To ime u Liburniji uz italske doseljenike nose i pripadnici domorodačke elite, a dobrim dijelom i njihovi oslobođenici.²² Tako u sigurne pripadnike domorodaca s tim nomenom ulazi naš *Zuprik (?)* (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴).²³ Zaključno, nomen *Bebije* rasprostranjen

cities in close connection with the local elite (e.g. in *Asseria* they were connected to the prominent *Oppii* family).¹⁵ In addition to *Iader* and *Aenona* (*CIL* 3, 14322⁴, *CIL* 3, 14322⁷), this gentilicium occurs in other ancient areas of Liburnia (*Osor* / *Apsorus* *CIL* 3, 10138; *Rab* / *Arba* *CIL* 3, 10121,¹⁶ *CIL* 3, 13293;¹⁷ *Karin* / *Corinium* *CIL* 3, 9733, *CIL* 3, 2890; *Nadin* / *Nedinum* *ILJug* 2875, *CIL* 3, 14001; *Podgrađe* near *Benkovac* / *Asseria* *CIL* 3, 15030¹, *CIL* 3, 15036¹, *EDCS-57200183*¹⁸). The appearing frequency of this gentilicium is even higher if the published and unpublished inscriptions are analysed together. In this sense, it is useful to mention one such unpublished inscription from the stele that bears this gentilicium. Information about the stele can be found in the inventory book of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, while the inscription is from *Bribir*.¹⁹ It is a monument that the commemorator *signifer Horatius Nepos*²⁰ erected to his “brother in arms”, the bearer of the gentilicium *Baebius*. If it is indeed a *signifer* of the XI legion²¹, then the inscription could be roughly dated between 9 and 68/69 years, which would confirm the presence of this nomen *Baebius* in the area of Liburnia in the 1st century.

Judging by the time in which the first known member of the *Baebius* family was active in our country, it is believed that the local population probably received this gentilicium during the time of Augustus,

¹⁶ Tu se primjerice spominje *L. Baebius Opiavi f. Oplus Malavicus* (*CIL* 3, 10121) za kojeg nema dvojbe da je bio domorodačkog podrijetla; v. Kurilić 1999: 439 (usp. i 60, 116, 124, 156, 169); Kurilić 2002: 131.

¹⁷ Ovaj natpis pripada tipu ugradbenih grobnih reljefa, a postavio ga je gradski vijećnik *Tit Bebius Just* sebi, svojoj ženi *Tetiji* i sinu *T. Bebiju Justu* (ili *Justinu*), v. Glavičić 2003: 85 i d., 88 i d.; usp. Maršić 2009: 29–30, 76–77. Isti nomen nalazimo i na još jednom spomeniku s *Raba*. U pitanju je liburnski cipus iz *Banjola* na kojem ime *Bebije* nosi ženska osoba kojoj spomenik podiže sin, v. *Lazinica & Maršić* 2017: 193 i dalje.

¹⁸ Liburnski cipus iz *Aserije* koji je podigla *Julia Jadestina Bebius Saturnini*. Sigurno je da su obje žene bile rimske građanke, ali se ne može tvrditi da je riječ zasigurno o domorotkinjama, v. Kurilić 2010: 195.

¹⁹ Inv. knjiga antičke zbirke Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, br. 141, v. Kurilić 1999: kat. br. 2889.

²⁰ Kurilić 1999: 172,432.

²¹ Takvu mogućnost dopušta Kurilić 1999: kat. br. 2889.

²² Fadić 2006: 86.

²³ Kurilić 1999: 341; Kurilić 2010: 194–195.

¹⁵ Wilkes 1969: 311.

¹⁶ For example, *L. Baebius Opiavi f. Oplus Malavicus* (*CIL* 3, 10121) is mentioned there, for whom there is no doubt that he was of indigenous origin; see Kurilić 1999: 439 (cf. also 60, 116, 124, 156, 169); Kurilić 2002: 131.

¹⁷ This inscription belongs to the type of immured tombstone reliefs, and it was erected by the city councillor *Titus Baebius Iustus* for himself, his wife *Tettia* and his son *T. Baebius Iustus* (or *Iustinus*), see Glavičić 2003: 85 ff., 88 ff.; cf. Maršić 2009: 29–30, 76–77. The same nomen is found on another monument from *Rab*. It is a Liburnian cippus from *Banjol*, on which the name of *Baebius* is borne by a woman whose monument is erected by her son, see *Lazinica & Maršić* 2017: 193 ff.

¹⁸ A Liburnian cippus from *Asseria* erected by *Julia Iadestina* for *Baebia Saturnina*. It is certain that both women were Roman citizens, but it cannot be claimed with certainty that they were indigenous women, see Kurilić 2010: 195.

¹⁹ Inv. book of the ancient collection of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, no. 141, see Kurilić 1999: cat. no. 2889.

²⁰ Kurilić 1999: 172,432.

²¹ Kurilić allows such a possibility 1999: cat. no. 2889.

je u Dalmaciji gdje ga nose uglavnom Italicima, dok ga u Liburniji nalazimo uvelike kod romaniziranih uglednih domorodačkih familija.²⁴

Glede kognomena, J. J. Wilkes čitao je ime Zuprik²⁵ kao grčko, *Zyprius* (?).²⁶ No takvo čitanje nije dosljedno onome što piše u natpisu jer se jasno vidi da je na njemu, na mjestu drugog slova ubilježeno slovo V, dakle nema donje haste koja bi upućivala na slovo Y. Osim toga J. J. Wilkes predlaže i da se sufiks čita kao *-ius* iako bi ovdje prije pristajalo *-cus* jer se na natpisu jasno razabire polukružna linija slova koja se jedino može još pripisati slovima C, O i, eventualno, Q. Za razliku od J. J. Wilkesa, G. Alföldy iščitavao je to ime u obliku *Zupricus* (?) te ga je tretirao kao venetsko. No on je pod venetskim imenom podrazumijevao prvo sva imena sjevernojadranske skupine imena, a ne samo imena koja pripadaju narodu Veneta.²⁷ Kasnije, kada je postalo jasno da se venetskim imenom ne mogu označavati i histarska i liburnska imena, to se ime počinje tretirati kao liburnsko zbog sufiksne tvorbe na *-cus* koja je karakteristična za Liburne.²⁸ Takvo stajalište o raznolikosti sjevernojadranske skupine imena prihvatili su i drugi autori.²⁹ S obzirom na to da dio natpisa nedostaje, postoji mogućnost da je sufiks kognomena izgledao i drugačije od Alföldyjeva prijedloga, pa držim da nije nemoguće, iako je manje vjerojatno, da je na natpisu stajalo *Zupricus*, iz čega bi se mogla napraviti paralela s imenom *Hostucius* s jednog zadarskog natpisa (CIL 3, 10003).³⁰ A. Kurilić, koja se u nas najviše bavila antroponimijom Liburna i uopće antroponimijom rimskog svijeta, navodi da je ime Zuprik zasad jedina uopće poznata potvrda ovdje razmatranog kognomena.³¹

Imenski obrazac Kvinta Bebija Zuprika zahvaljujući zadržavanju domorodačkog imena jasno

i.e. from the moment when the proconsul *Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus Vala* was the governor of the province. In addition to the Italic settlers, this name in Liburnia is also borne by the members of the indigenous elite, as well as a large part of their freedmen.²² Thus, our *Zupri(cus)*(?) surely belongs to the group of natives with this nomen (CIL 3, 14322⁴).²³ Finally, the nomen *Baebius* is widespread in Dalmatia, where it is borne mainly by Italics, while in Liburnia it is found mostly in respectable indigenous Romanised families.²⁴

Regarding the cognomen, J. J. Wilkes interpreted the name *Zupri(cus)*²⁵ as Greek, *Zyprius*(?)²⁶. But this interpretation is not consistent with what is written in the inscription, because it is clearly visible that the letter V is carved in the position of the second letter, so there is no lower line that would indicate the letter Y. In addition, J. J. Wilkes also suggests that the suffix should be read as *-ius*, although *-cus* would be more appropriate here, because the semi-circular line of the letters is clearly visible on the inscription which can only be attributed to the letters C, O, and possibly Q. Unlike J. J. Wilkes, G. Alföldy interpreted this name in the form *Zupricus*(?) and treated it as a Venetic name. However, at first he treated all the names of the northern Adriatic group of names as Venetic names, and not only the names that belonged to the Veneti people.²⁷ Later, when it became clear that the Venetic name could not denote both Histrian and Liburnian names, this name began to be treated as Liburnian, according to the *-cus* suffix formation, which is characteristic of the Liburni.²⁸ This point of view about the diversity of the North Adriatic group of names was also accepted by other authors.²⁹ Given that a part of the inscription is missing, there is a possibility that the suffix of the cognomen looked different from the one proposed in Alföldy, so I believe that it is not impossible, although it is less likely, that the inscription read *Zupricus*, and

²⁴ Maršić 2009: 77.

²⁵ U daljnjem tekstu članka za ovaj kognomen koristi se oblik Zuprik, unatoč njegovoj nesigurnosti, da bi se olakšalo praćenje teksta.

²⁶ Wilkes 1969: 311.

²⁷ Alföldy 1969: 353 i 356.

²⁸ Kurilić 2010: 136, bilj. 10; Kurilić 2002: 128, bilj. 43.

²⁹ Suić 2003: 191; Kurilić 1999: 311.

³⁰ Za kolektivno ime *Hostucius* v. Kurilić 2002: 138.

³¹ Kurilić 1999: 43.

²² Fadić 2006: 86.

²³ Kurilić 1999: 341; Kurilić 2010: 194-195.

²⁴ Maršić 2009: 77.

²⁵ To ease the following of the text, the rest of the article uses the form *Zupricus* for this cognomen despite its uncertainty.

²⁶ Wilkes 1969: 311.

²⁷ Alföldy 1969: 353 and 356.

²⁸ Kurilić 2010: 136, note 10; Kurilić 2002: 128, note 43.

²⁹ Suić 2003: 191; Kurilić 1999: 311.

pokazuje da je u pitanju osoba čija se obitelj relativno nedavno uklopila u rimsku upravnu strukturu jer se u romaniziranih osoba vrlo brzo gubio trag podrijetla zabilježen u imenovanju. Nije poznato u kojoj je dobi Zuprik zabilježio ovaj natpis, no s obzirom na zadani slijed službenih dužnosti (*cursus honorum*) u rimskom svijetu vjerojatno je bio stariji od 25 godina.³² Ako tome dodamo da je bio prilično imućan, što se zrcali u munificijenciji, to bi samo išlo dodatno u prilog zrelijoj dobi.³³ Obično su gradski dužnosnici svoju obvezu prema zajednici ispunjavali podizanjem kipova koji su imali vrijednost između 1000 i 5000 sestercija.³⁴ Spomenuta je gradnja s obzirom na svoj sadržaj znatno premašivala taj iznos. Ovdje ne možemo decidirano reći da je podignuta prilikom preuzimanja edilske časti jer se to iz natpisa ne može iščitati. No dužnost je edila usko bila isprepletena s građevinskim aktivnostima te je kao takva posvjedočena u literarnim izvorima i epigrafiji.³⁵ Ti su dužnosnici imali važnu ulogu u izgradnji, uređenju i održavanju gradova,³⁶ a tome u prilog ide i ovdje razmatran natpis, odnosno Zuprikov dar zajednici. Možemo pretpostaviti da su munificijencije bile učestalije s približavanjem novih izbora u gradu jer su donosile političke bodove važne za reizbor ili daljnje napredovanje.

U radu će najviše pozornosti biti posvećeno vrstama građevina koje je Zuprik podigao, a to su taberna, pergula i menijan (Sl. 1). Nakon analize prostorne terminologije uslijedit će usporedba s istom terminologijom prisutnom u pompejskim natpisima, a s ciljem uočavanja međusobnih sličnosti i razlika.

a parallel could be drawn with the name *Hostucius* found in an inscription from Zadar (*CIL* 3, 10003).³⁰ A. Kurilić, who mostly dealt with the anthroponymy of the Liburnians and the anthroponymy of the Roman world in general, states that the name *Zupricus* is currently the only known confirmation of the cognomen analysed here.³¹

The name pattern of *Quintus Baebius Zupricus*, thanks to the retention of his indigenous name, clearly shows that he was a person whose family was relatively recently integrated into the Roman administrative structure, because the recorded trace of origin was quickly lost from the names of the Romanised persons. It is unknown at what age *Zupricus* recorded this inscription, but considering the default sequence of official duties (*cursus honorum*) in the Roman world, he was probably older than 25.³² If we add to that that he was quite affluent, which is reflected in the euergetism, this only goes further in the favour of a more mature age.³³ Usually, the city officials fulfilled their obligation to the community by erecting statues that were worth between 1,000 and 5,000 sestertii.³⁴ Considering its contents, the aforementioned construction significantly exceeded that amount. It cannot be definitively said that it was erected when he assumed the aedile honour because this cannot be read from the inscription. However, the duty of an aedile was closely intertwined with construction activities and it is attested as such in literary sources and epigraphy.³⁵ These officials played an important role in the construction, as well as the arrangement and maintenance of the cities,³⁶ and the inscription discussed here, i.e., *Zupricus*' gift to the

³⁰ For a collective name *Hostucius* see Kurilić 2002: 138.

³¹ Kurilić 1999: 43.

³² More on the succession of offices in the Roman world in Matijašić 2002: 117 ff.

³³ J. Medini believes that the construction that *Zupricus* erected is a confirmation that the donor was very "well off"; see Medini 1969: 54.

³⁴ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 195.

³⁵ For example *Liv.* IX. 40,16 for literary sources, and for epigraphical sources the inscription from Alvona: *CIL* 3, 3047 (see Medini 1969: 46). While analyzing the inscription materials from Liburnia, Medini observed that the title of aedile appears on it as many as 25 times, which indicates the frequency of this service, during which buildings were erected intensively, see Medini 1974: 43.

³⁶ Medini 1974: 44.

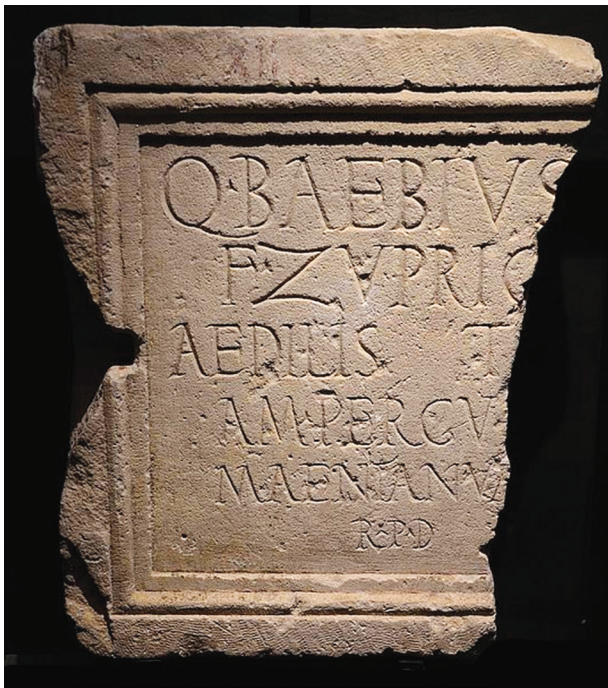
³² Opš. o slijedu časti u rimskom svijetu Matijašić 2002: 117 i d.

³³ J. Medini smatra da konstrukcija koju Zuprik podiže potvrđuje solidne „potkoženosti“ darovatelja v. Medini 1969: 54.

³⁴ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 195.

³⁵ Npr. *Liv.* IX. 40,16 za literatne izvore, a za epigrafske natpis iz Alvone: *CIL* 3, 3047 (v. Medini 1969: 46). Medini je uočio dok je analizirao natpisnu gradnju Liburnije da se titula edila na njoj pojavljuje čak 25 puta, što ukazuje na učestalosti ove službe, u kojoj su se intenzivno podizale gradnje, v. Medini 1974: 43.

³⁶ Medini 1974: 44.



Slika 1. Ninski natpis CIL 3, 14322⁴ (preuzeto s [https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?s_language=en&bild=\\$JL_EDCS-31300290.jpg;pp&nr=1](https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?s_language=en&bild=$JL_EDCS-31300290.jpg;pp&nr=1)) © Jona Lending, Livius; pristupljeno 17/01/2023).

Figure 1. Inscription from Nin CIL 3, 14322⁴ (downloaded from [https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?s_language=en&bild=\\$JL_EDCS-31300290.jpg;pp&nr=1](https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?s_language=en&bild=$JL_EDCS-31300290.jpg;pp&nr=1)) © Jona Lending, Livius; accessed 17/01/2023).

2.1. Taberna

Prvi termin spomenut na ninskom natpisu je *taberna*. On je, poput većine drugih prostornih termina, imao više značenja. Mogao je označavati trgovinu, radionicu, štand, ali i krčmu,³⁷ a važno je obilježje da je ta prostorija najčešće bila smještena uz ulicu ili se pak nalazila na otvorenim javnim prostorima poput foruma. Smatra se da je termin *taberna* izvorno označavao skromni objekt za stanovanje,³⁸ ali je tijekom povijesti u globalnom smislu mijenjao značenje te je prešao put od stambenog preko stambeno-poslovnog do poslovnog objekta.³⁹ Taj razvojni put taberne pokazatelj je postupnog razvoja i specijalizacije rimskog društva.

³⁷ Lewis & Short 1879: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=taberna> (pristupljeno 17/01/2023).

³⁸ OLD 1982: s. v. *taberna*, 1898.

³⁹ Storey 2004: 50–51.

community, supports this. It can be assumed that the euergetisms were more frequent with the approach of new elections in the city because they brought political points important for the re-election or further advancement.

The paper will focus on the types of buildings erected by *Zupricus*, namely *taberna*, *pergula* and *maenianum* (Fig. 1). The analysis of the spatial terminology will be followed by a comparison with the same terminology present in the inscriptions from Pompeii, with the aim of observing mutual similarities and differences.

2.1. Taberna

The first term mentioned on the Nin inscription is *taberna*. This term, like most other spatial terms, had several meanings. It could denote a shop, a workshop, a stand, but also a tavern,³⁷ and an important feature of this establishment is that it was usually located on the street or in open public spaces such as the forum. It is believed that the term *taberna* originally denoted a modest building intended for housing,³⁸ but throughout the history in a global sense it changed its meaning and shifted from a residential building to a residential-business one, and finally to a business building.³⁹ The development of *taberna* is an indicator of the gradual development and specialisation of the Roman society. Although business premises also exist in other cultures, especially in the Greco-Hellenistic world, the *tabernae* are understood as a primary feature of Roman society which, due to the economic boom, experienced the greatest commercialization among the cultures of that period.⁴⁰ Generally, the literary sources most often use the term *taberna* to denote shops.⁴¹ Since the literary sources do not provide firm architectural data about the residential and business premises, the recent architectural typology is based only partly on textual analogy, and it mostly rests on assumptions, which is why it is also uncertain.

³⁷ Lewis & Short 1879: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=taberna>

³⁸ OLD 1982: s. v. *taberna*, 1898.

³⁹ Storey 2004: 50–51.

⁴⁰ More on *tabernae* in Ostia - Flohr 2012: http://www.mikoflohr.org/working_papers/archaeology_and_the_pompeian_labour_market/ (accessed 29/01/2023).

⁴¹ Allison 2004: 174.

Iako poslovni prostori postoje i u drugim kulturama, osobito u grčko-helenističkom svijetu, taberne se smatraju primarnom odlikom rimskog društva koje je zbog gospodarskog uzleta doživjelo najveću komercijalizaciju među tadašnjim kulturama.⁴⁰ U cjelini, literarni se izvori tim terminom najčešće služe za označavanje trgovina.⁴¹ Budući da literarni izvori ne daju konkretne arhitektonske podatke o stambenim i poslovnim prostorima, recentna arhitektonska tipologija utemeljena je samo dijelom na tekstualnoj analogiji, a najvećim dijelom počiva na pretpostavkama, zbog čega je i nesigurna.

Taberne su se mogle nalaziti u javnom i u privatnom vlasništvu.⁴² S rastom komercijalizacije njihov se broj povećavao. Sve veća komercijalizacija gradova dovela je do grupiranja taberna na središnjim gradskim lokacijama i najznačajnijim komunikacijama.⁴³ Više je taberna bilo smješteno uz važne ulice, odnosno one koje su u gradskom tijelu imale veće značenje.⁴⁴ To ne znači da nisu postojale na sporednim ulicama, već samo da su u ulicama manjeg značenja bile manje atraktivne, a i onda manje profitabilne. Najatraktivnije taberne mogle su se očekivati na području foruma, kao i na drugim važnijim lokacijama u blizini javnih objekata, na kojima se kretao veći broj ljudi, poput tržnica, a o čemu svjedoči natpisna građa.⁴⁵ U manjim gradovima tržnice su bile sastavni dio forumskog prostora, dok su u većim sredinama postojale i zasebne tržnice. Danas je prema situaciji u Ostiji napravljena podjela na taberne smještene uz glavne ceste, one uz ceste manjeg značenja i slijepe ulice, zatim taberne u sklopu glavnih javnih zgrada te one na tržnicama.⁴⁶

U taberne koje su vezane za glavne gradske objekte ubrajamo i one na forumu antičkog Zadra.⁴⁷ One su u drevnom Zadru bile raspoređene uzduž sjeverne i istočne strane foruma, dok su se ulazi u njihove

Tabernae could be publicly or privately owned.⁴² With the growth of commercialisation, their number increased. The increasing commercialisation of cities has led to the grouping of *tabernae* in central city locations and the most important communications.⁴³ Several *tabernae* were located along important streets, that is, those that had greater significance for the city.⁴⁴ This does not imply that the *tabernae* did not exist on the backstreets merely that they were less attractive and less profitable in less important streets. The most attractive *tabernae* could be expected in the forum, as well as in other important locations near public buildings with a greater number of people, such as markets, which is evidenced by the inscriptions.⁴⁵ In smaller cities, the markets were an integral part of the forum, while in larger areas there were also separate markets. Today, according to the situation in Ostia, a division has been made into *tabernae* located along main roads, as well as those along minor roads and cul-de-sacs, and also *tabernae* within the main public buildings, as well as those in markets.⁴⁶

Tabernae that are connected to the main city buildings include those on the forum of ancient Iader.⁴⁷ In ancient Iader, they were arranged along the northern and eastern sides of the forum, and the entrances to their premises could only be reached from the forum itself.⁴⁸ In ancient Mursa, the *tabernae* built by the city decurion *Homulinus* fall into the same category. He surrounded the forum with porticos and *tabernae*, i.e. a trading space.⁴⁹ The existence of at least an improvised trading space can be expected even before *Homulinus*' construction, which then acquired its more representative characteristics after he constructed it.

The opulence of the forum depended on the size and the economic strength of the city, so wealthier areas had a larger number of *tabernae*. There were as

⁴⁰ Opš. o tabernama u Ostiji – Flohr 2012: http://www.mikoflohr.org/working_papers/archaeology_and_the_pompeian_labour_market/ (pristupljeno 29/01/2023).

⁴¹ Allison 2004: 174.

⁴² Richardson 1992: 375.

⁴³ Npr. možda su se taberne nalazile u okolici crkve Sv. Križa u Ninu.

⁴⁴ Mau 1907: 276.

⁴⁵ Npr. *CIL* 1, 3186

⁴⁶ Flohr 2018: 143.

⁴⁷ Suić 2003: 244.

⁴² Richardson 1992: 375.

⁴³ For example, the *tabernae* were possibly located in the vicinity of the church of the Holy Cross in Nin.

⁴⁴ Mau 1907: 276.

⁴⁵ E.g. *CIL* 1, 3186

⁴⁶ Flohr 2018: 143.

⁴⁷ Suić 2003: 244.

⁴⁸ Suić 1981: 206.

⁴⁹ Suić 1986: 60-61.

prostore nalazili samo s unutrašnje strane.⁴⁸ U antičkom Osijeku u istu kategoriju taberni ulaze i one koje je sagradio gradski dekurion Homulin. On je forum okružio trijemovima i tabernama, odnosno prostorom za trgovanje.⁴⁹ Vjerojatno je tu i prije postojao barem improvizirani prostor za trgovanje koji je potom, Homulinovom gradnjom, dobio svoja reprezentativnija obilježja.

Raskoš foruma ovisila je o veličini i gospodarskoj snazi grada, pa su bogatije sredine imale veći broj taberni. Na forumu antičkog Osijeka bilo ih je čak 50 (CIL 3, 3289). Taberne su se smještale prema raspoloživosti prostora pa su u manjim sredinama mogle biti udvojene, odnosno sastavljene od vanjskog i unutrašnjeg niza taberni da bi se što bolje iskoristio raspoloživi prostor. M. Suić smješta gradnju taberne spomenute u ovdje razmatranom ninskom natpisu na prostor foruma.⁵⁰ Za razliku od njega B. Ilakovac vjerovao je da se ona nalazila na području tržnice uz gradski zid,⁵¹ što nije nemoguće. No budući da su taberne bile neizostavan dio foruma, a u konkretnom natpisu imamo munificijenciju koja je darovatelju davala veći ugled ako je predmet darovanja bio smješten na značajnijoj lokaciji, krećemo od pretpostavke da se ona prije nalazila na forumu. Taberna na forumu ulazila bi u kategoriju onih u sklopu glavnih gradskih objekata. Na osnovi ostataka elemenata portikata nađenih iza ninskog hrama smatra se da je prostor uokolo njega, a možda i čitav forum, bio okružen trijemom,⁵² što je očito ostatak iz kasnijeg razdoblja, odnosno iz vremena monumentalizacije foruma. Dubolnić Glavan smatrala je da se niz taberni vjerojatno nalazio na jugoistočnom dijelu monumentalnog foruma.⁵³

Taberne visokih stropova često su imale polukat, odnosno nosivu konstrukciju nazvanu *pergula*. Ta je konstrukcija mogla imati balustradu iz sigurnosnih razloga, kao i stubište koje je vodilo na nju iz prizemlja.⁵⁴ No vjerojatnije je da se na većinu tih polukatnih prostora dolazilo ljestvama jer je tako

many as 50 of them in the forum of ancient Mursa (CIL 3, 3289). The *tabernae* were placed according to the available space, so in smaller areas they could be doubled or composed of an outer and an inner row of *tabernae* in order to make better use of the available space. M. Suić places the construction of the *taberna*, which is mentioned in the Nin inscription discussed in this paper, in the forum.⁵⁰ Unlike him, B. Ilakovac believed that it was located in the market area next to the city wall, which is not impossible.⁵¹ However, since the *tabernae* were an indispensable part of the forum, and in the specific inscription we have euergetism that would raise the prestige of the patron if the donated object was located in a more significant location, we start from the assumption that it was most likely located in the forum. The *taberna* on the forum would fall into the category of those located within the main city facilities. Based on the remains of portico elements found behind the Aenona temple, it is believed that the area around it, and perhaps the entire forum, was surrounded by a portico,⁵² which is obviously a remnant from a later period, i.e. the period of monumentalisation of the forum. Dubolnić Glavan believes that a series of *tabernae* were probably located in the south-eastern part of the monumental forum.⁵³

Tabernae with high ceilings often had a mezzanine, i.e. a load-bearing structure called a *pergula*. This structure could have a balustrade for safety reasons, as well as a staircase leading to it from the ground floor.⁵⁴ But it is more likely that the majority of these mezzanine spaces were accessed by ladders, as it was simpler and somewhat more practical, since the staircases due to their bulkiness occupied a useful part of the space and thus made it difficult to manipulate the goods. Of course, an important reason for the greater use of ladders was also of financial nature, because they were much cheaper than a staircase. *Tabernae* were used differently, and their organization depended on the type of work for which a particular space was used. Space is a variable category, so *tabernae*,

⁴⁸ Suić 1981: 206.

⁴⁹ Suić 1986: 60–61.

⁵⁰ Suić 1969: 91.

⁵¹ Ilakovac 1996: 7.

⁵² Suić 1968: 46–49; Sinobad 2008: 248.

⁵³ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 66.

⁵⁴ Mau 1907: 276.

⁵⁰ Suić 1969: 91.

⁵¹ Ilakovac 1996: 7.

⁵² Suić 1968: 46–49; Sinobad 2008: 248.

⁵³ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 66.

⁵⁴ Mau 1907: 276.

bilo jednostavnije i donekle praktičnije s obzirom na to da su stubišta zbog glomaznosti zauzimala i koristan dio prostora te tako otežavala manipulaciju robom. Naravno, važan razlog veće učestalosti ljestava bio je i materijalne naravi, jer su one bile kudikamo jeftinije od izgradnje stubišta. Taberne su se različito koristile, a njihova organizacija ovisila je i o vrsti posla za koju se upotrebljavao pojedini prostor. Prostor je promjenjiva kategorija pa taberne, kao i svi drugi objekti, mijenjaju svoj izgled i namjenu tijekom vremena.⁵⁵

O unutrašnjosti tih prostorija slabo se piše,⁵⁶ no naglašena društvena hijerarhija rimskodobnog svijeta ide u prilog prilagođavanju poslovnih prostora osobama različitog statusa. Nalazi s područja Nina, koje je pronašao L. Jelić, pokazuju da su taberne na atraktivnijim lokacijama bile dekorirane i u eksterijeru da bi se, između ostalog, naznačila funkcija poslovnog prostora. Jelić je u blizini Medovićeve vrta, dakle blizu ninskog foruma, našao dva kamena bloka dekorirana u visokom reljefu. Na jednom od njih prikazane su boca i zdjela, a na drugom zubača, što se povezuje s poslovnom namjenom tako dekoriranih objekata.⁵⁷ Ti su elementi, čini se, krasili pročelja taberni i tako doprinosili njihovoj reprezentativnosti. Položaj taberni u gradskom tijelu zajedno s drugim obilježjima ukazivao je na status njihovih vlasnika (ili unajmljivača) i korisnika usluga. Dolazak elite u određeni poslovni prostor utjecao je na porast značenja onih u čijem su vlasništvu bili posjećeni objekti, a što je utjecalo i na ugled ostalih potrošača i uzdizalo ih na društvenoj ljestvici. Očito je utjecaj atraktivnih poslovnih prostora i njihovih posjetitelja morao bio međusoban.

Arhitektonski ostatci taberni najčešće se „prepoznaju“ po širokim ulazima koji su imali višestruku ulogu.⁵⁸ Otvori taberni služili su privlačenju kupaca jer su izvana prolaznici mogli vidjeti dio ponude i odlučiti se i na neplansku kupnju. Zbog takvog pristupa može se slobodno reći da su stari Rimljani bili začetnici marketinških strategija u

like all other objects, changed their appearance and purpose over time.⁵⁵

Little has been written about the interior of these rooms,⁵⁶ but the emphasized social hierarchy of the Roman world favours the adaptation of business premises according to people of different status. The findings from Nin, which were discovered by L. Jelić, show that the *tabernae* in more attractive locations were also decorated on the exterior to indicate, among other things, the function of the business premises, as well as its status. Jelić found two stone blocks decorated with high relief in the area near Medović's garden, i.e. near the Nin forum. One of them shows a bottle and a bowl, and the other shows a denticulate chisel, which relates to the business purpose of the decorated building.⁵⁷ Perhaps these elements decorated the facades of the *tabernae* and thus contributed to their prestige. The position of the *tabernae* within the city, together with other features, indicated the status of their owners (or renters) and service users. The arrival of the elite in a certain business premises automatically increased the importance of the owners of the visited facilities, which also affected the reputation of other consumers and raised them on the social scale. Obviously, the influence of the attractive business premises and their visitors must have been mutual.

The architectural remains of the *tabernae* are most often “recognized” by the wide entrances which had multiple roles.⁵⁸ The openings in the *tabernae* served to attract customers because the passers-by could see a part of the offer from the outside and they could decide to make an unplanned purchase. Because of this approach, it can be safely said that the ancient Romans invented the marketing sale strategies. The wide openings also had a practical purpose because they facilitated the functioning of business premises, both for loading and unloading goods, and for ensuring light and airing of these premises.⁵⁹ According to the preserved examples from Ostia, it is

⁵⁵ Flohr 2012: http://www.mikoflohr.org/working_papers/archaeology_and_the_pompeian_labour_market/ (pristupljeno 29/01/2023).

⁵⁶ Npr. Allison 2004: 112 i 174.

⁵⁷ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 62.

⁵⁸ Allison 2004: 112.

⁵⁵ Flohr 2012: http://www.mikoflohr.org/working_papers/archaeology_and_the_pompeian_labour_market/ (accessed 29/01/2023).

⁵⁶ E.g. Allison 2004: 112 and 174.

⁵⁷ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 62.

⁵⁸ Allison 2004: 112.

⁵⁹ Holleran 2012: 111.

prodaji. Široki otvori imali su i praktično značenje jer su olakšavali funkcioniranje poslovnih prostora: služili su za utovar i istovar robe te su osiguravali svjetlost i prozračnost.⁵⁹ Prema sačuvanim primjerima iz Ostije vidljivo je da su se ti široki otvori zatvarali uz pomoć drvenih panela i da su za njihovo postavljanje postojali utori u podu. Obično se iznad ulaza u tabernu, ako je prostor bio dovoljno visok, nalazio i prozor da bi unutra bilo više svjetlosti.⁶⁰

Većina taberni sastojala se od jedne veće prostorije sa širokim otvorom prema ulici, ali često se iza ili iznad nje nalazio jedan sporedni prostor ili čak više njih.⁶¹ U tim je prostorima nalažen raznovrstan inventar koji pokazuje različite poslovne, ali i stambene aktivnosti koje su se u njima odvijale.⁶² No, kako se čini, trgovina je često izlazila na ulice i živo se trgovalo upravo u sferi otvorenog prostora, a ne samo u tabernama.

Razlika u funkciji taberni morala je doći do izražaja u njihovu imenovanju, pa su se imenovala prema vrsti robe koja se u njima nudila: knjižara (*taberna libraria*), vinarija (*taberna vinaria*) i sl.⁶³

Zuprik kao edil sigurno nije darovao svojoj zajednici tabernu na nekom neatraktivnom mjestu jer bi to bio uludo bačen novac, a zbog njegova statusa jasno je da se ovdje radi o gradnji koja se pozicionirala na važnoj gradskoj lokaciji, najvjerojatnije forumu.⁶⁴

2.2. Pergula

Nakon termina *taberna* u ninskom se natpisu spominje *pergula*. Ona se dovodi u vezu s latinskim glagolom *pergo* koji označava da je nešto pomaknuto naprijed.⁶⁵ U antici se pod terminom *pergula* često podrazumijeva povišena konstrukcija ispred zgrade, koja se koristila kao

evident that these wide openings were covered with the help of wooden panels, which were inserted in the grooves in the floor. Usually, if the space was high enough, there was also a window above the entrance to the *taberna* to let in more natural light.⁶⁰

Most *tabernae* consisted of one large room with a wide opening towards the street, but also often one or even more side rooms behind or above the main one.⁶¹ A diverse inventory was found in these spaces, showing the various business and residential activities that took place there.⁶² But it seems that the trade often stepped onto the streets, and lively trading took place precisely in the sphere of an open space, and not only in *tabernae*.

The difference in the function of the *tabernae* was expressed in their title, so the *tabernae* were named according to the type of goods they sold, such as bookstores (*taberna libraria*), wineries (*taberna vinaria*) and so forth.⁶³

Zupricus, as an *aedile*, certainly did not provide his community with the *taberna* in an unattractive location, because that would be a waste of money, and due to his status, it is clear that this building was built in an important city location, most likely the forum.⁶⁴

2.2. Pergula

A *pergula* is mentioned in the Nin inscription after the term *taberna*. It is related to the Latin verb *pergo*, which means that something was moved forward.⁶⁵ In antiquity, the term *pergula* often referred to an elevated structure in front of a building that was used as a trading stall, and also for other purposes, but sometimes it also refers to a half-story structure inside of a building.⁶⁶ It can also denote one or more rooms above the *taberna*.⁶⁷ This additional space was used by

⁵⁹ Holleran 2012: 111.

⁶⁰ Roman Port 2020: <https://www.romanports.org/en/articles/human-interest/687-tabernae-at-ostia.html>. (pristupljeno 11/03/2023).

⁶¹ Flohr 2018: 143.

⁶² Croom 2007: 174–175.

⁶³ Lewis & Short 1879: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=taberna> (pristupljeno 07/01/2023).

⁶⁴ Opš. Suić 1969: 61–104.

⁶⁵ Holleran 2012: 103.

⁶⁰ Roman Port 2020: <https://www.romanports.org/en/articles/human-interest/687-tabernae-at-ostia.html>. (accessed 11/03/2023).

⁶¹ Flohr 2018: 143.

⁶² Croom 2007: 174–175.

⁶³ Lewis & Short 1879: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=taberna> (accessed 07/01/2023).

⁶⁴ More in Suić 1969: 61–104.

⁶⁵ Holleran 2012: 103.

⁶⁶ OLD 1982: s. v. *pergula*, 1340; Holleran 2012: 103.

⁶⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 132.

nadstrešnica za trgovanje, ali i u druge svrhe, no ponekad se odnosi i na polukatnu konstrukciju unutar objekta.⁶⁶ Može označavati i jednu ili više prostorija iznad taberne.⁶⁷ Taj je dodatni prostor služio za život obitelji koja je unajmljivala takav objekt.⁶⁸ Plinije višekratno spominje pergulu, a u jednom je primjeru (*Nat. hist.* XIV, 3) jasno da je riječ o vrtnoj perguli, odnosno konstrukciji obrasloj vinovom lozom koja je stvarala hlad pri šetnji. U drugom je navodu Plinije spomenuo nekog Fulvija (*Nat. hist.* XXI, 5), bankara koji je gledao na forum sa svoje pergule (što se tumači kao prostorija iznad taberne⁶⁹). On spominje i pergulu u kontekstu izlaganja slika.⁷⁰ Moguće je da je u zadnjem primjeru mislio na nadstrešnicu koja je zaštićivala prostor za izlaganje i prodaju slika.

Suić pergulu s ninskog natpisa tumači kao trijem,⁷¹ no da je u pitanju trijem, vjerojatno bi ga se na natpisu nazvalo *porticus*. B. Ilakovac tumači ju pak kao nadstrešnicu.⁷² Upravo zbog upotrijebljene terminologije manje razine važnosti i prestiža vjerojatnije je da na ninskom forumu u tom trenutku nema trijemova. Trijem bi samo povećao važnost osobe koja je tu gradnju podigla. U konkretnom slučaju čini se da bi pergula na tom natpisu prije podrazumijevala prostoriju iznad taberne jer se spominje i menijan koji sam po sebi podrazumijeva nosivu konstrukciju na pročelju, a zbog čega bi nadstrešnica izgubila svoj smisao pa pergulu prije možda možemo tražiti unutar taberne odnosno iznad nje.⁷³ Naravno, moguća su i drugačija tumačenja.

2.3. Menijan

Nakon pergule u ninskom je natpisu zabilježen termin *menijan* (*maenianum*), koji je prema pisanju antičkih autora najčešće imao značenje balkona

the family that rented such facility.⁶⁸ Pliny mentions a *pergula* several times, and in one example (*Nat. hist.* XIV, 3) it is clear that he refers to a garden *pergula*, that is, a structure overgrown with vines that created shade during walks. In another statement, Pliny mentioned a certain *Fulvius* (*Nat. hist.* XXI, 5), a banker who had a view of the forum from his *pergula* (which is interpreted as a room above the *taberna*).⁶⁹ He also mentions the *pergula* in the context of exhibiting paintings.⁷⁰ It is possible that in the final mentioned example he was referring to the canopy that protected the space for exhibiting and selling paintings.

Suić interprets the *pergula* from the Nin inscription as a portico,⁷¹ but if it was indeed a portico, it would probably be termed *porticus* on the inscription. B. Ilakovac, on the other hand, interprets it as a canopy.⁷² Precisely because the used terminology had a lower level of importance and prestige, it is more likely that there were no porticos at the Nin forum at that moment. The portico would only give additional “weight” to the person that erected the building. In the specific case, it seems that the *pergula* on this inscription rather refers to the room above the *taberna*, because the *maenianum* is also mentioned here, which implies a load-bearing structure on the facade, and because of that the canopy would lose its meaning here, so perhaps we can look for the *pergula* inside the *taberna*, or rather above it.⁷³ Of course, different interpretations are also possible.

2.3. *Maenianum*

The term *maenianum* was recorded after *pergula* in the Nin inscription, which according to the writings of ancient authors most often had the meaning of a balcony (Vitruv. *De arch.* V, 1,2.). These spaces are often associated with watching of the gladiator games,⁷⁴ especially where there were no particularly built amphitheatres.

⁶⁶ OLD 1982: s. v. *pergula*, 1340; Holleran 2012: 103.

⁶⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 132.

⁶⁸ Ellis 2002: 78.

⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 130, 132.

⁷⁰ Plin. *Nat. hist.* XXXV, 36.

⁷¹ Suić 2003: 241.

⁷² Ilakovac 1997: 5–7.

⁷³ Pod izrazom *pergula* se u kombinaciji s terminom *taberna* obično podrazumijeva prostor koji se nalazio iznad taberne i koji se davao u najam zajedno s trgovinom, v. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 132.

⁶⁸ Ellis 2002: 78.

⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 130, 132.

⁷⁰ Plin. *Nat. hist.* XXXV, 36.

⁷¹ Suić 2003: 241.

⁷² Ilakovac 1997: 5–7.

⁷³ *Pergula*, in combination with the term *taberna*, usually referred to the space that was located above the *taberna* and that was rented along the shop, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 132.

⁷⁴ OLD 1982: s. v. *maenianum*, 1060.



Slika 2. Casa a Graticcio (Izvor: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_a_Graticcio.jpg Author Yulia Kuznetsova; pristupljeno 17/01/2023).

Figure 2. Casa a Graticcio (Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_a_Graticcio.jpg Author Yulia Kuznetsova; accessed 17/01/2023).

(Vitruv. *De arch.* V, 1,2.). Menijan se često povezuje s promatranjem gladijatorskih igara,⁷⁴ ponajprije tamo gdje nije bilo posebno izgrađenih amfiteatara. Balkoni su na udarnim lokacijama bili namijenjeni zabavi i promatranju važnijih događanja,⁷⁵ što potvrđuje i ranije spomenuti Vitruvijev navod.⁷⁶

Pokazatelji postojanja tih balkona, kao i lođa, sačuvani su u Herkulaneju gdje se još uvijek mogu lijepo vidjeti rupe u zidovima koje su nosile njihovu konstrukciju.⁷⁷ Pod pojmom *menijan* u konkretnom ninskom natpisu misli se na balkon. Ta je potporna

Balconies in prime locations were reserved for entertainment and watching of important events,⁷⁵ which is confirmed by the aforementioned Vitruvius' statement.⁷⁶

Indicators of the existence of these balconies, as well as the loggia, have been preserved in Herculaneum, where the holes in the walls that supported the balcony construction are still visible.⁷⁷ The term *maenianum* in the specific Nin inscription refers to a balcony. This supporting wooden structure could rest on columns made of different materials. In Herculaneum, on the street side of the *Casa a Graticciona*,

⁷⁴ OLD 1982: s. v. *maenianum*, 1060.

⁷⁵ Opš. Smith 1875: s. v. *Maenia'num*, 723; L. Richardson 1992: 375; Wallace-Hadrill 2011: 262.

⁷⁶ Vitruv. *De arch.* V, 1,2.

⁷⁷ Odličan primjer možemo vidjeti na pročelju *Casa del Bicentario* u Herkulaneju, v. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 109, 5.9.

⁷⁵ More in Smith 1875: see *Maenia'num*, 723; L. Richardson 1992: 375; Wallace-Hadrill 2011: 262.

⁷⁶ Vitruv. *De arch.* V, 1,2.

⁷⁷ An excellent example can be seen on the facade of the *Casa del Bicentenario* in Herculaneum, see. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 109, 5.9.

drvena konstrukcija mogla počivati na stupovima izrađenim od različitog materijala. U Herkulaneju u *Casa a Graticcio* na uličnoj strani vidljiv je i danas balkon koji nose stupovi (v. Sl. 2). Tako je nekako mogla izgledati i Zuprikova gradnja. Moguće je taj menijan sa Zuprikova natpisa imao funkciju okupljanja elite i promatranja svih važnih zbivanja u gradu.

M. Suić Zuprikov je menijan identificirao kao lođu.⁷⁸ Neovisno o tome je li ovdje riječ o lođi ili pak o balkonu, u antičkom Ninu u prvoj polovini 1. stoljeća nemamo još raskošan forumski prostor.

3. POMPEJSKI NATPISI *CIL* 4, 138 I *CIL* 4, 1136

***CIL* 4, 138:** *Insula Arriana / Polliana Gn(aei!) Al<le=IF>i Nigidi Mai / locantur ex <K=I>(alendis) Iuli(i)s primis tabernae / cum pergulis suis et c{o} enacula / equestria et domus condutor(is) /^s convenito Primum Gn(aei) Al<le=IF>i / Nigidi Mai ser(vum).*⁷⁹

Insula Arijana Polijana, (u vlasništvu) Gneja Aleja Nigidija Maja, iznajmljuju se od prvih srpanjskih kalendi taberne s njihovim pergulama i ekvesterska cenakula te kuća/kuće. Najmoprimac neka kontaktira Prima, roba Gn. Aleja Nigidija Maja.

***CIL* 4, 1136:** *In praediis I[uli]ae Sp. f. Felicis / locantur / balneum venerium et nongentum⁸⁰, tabernae, pergulae, / cenacula, ex idibus Aug. primis in idus Aug. sextas, anno[s co]ntinuo[s qu]inque. / s(i) q(uinquennium) d(ecucurrit) l(ocatio) e(rit) n(udo) c(onsensu)*⁸¹

Na posjedu Julije Feliks, Spurijeve kćeri, iznajmljuju se: Venerine kupelji za ugledne ljude (?), taberne, pergule, cenakula, od idućih kolovoških

a balcony supported by columns is still visible today (see Fig. 2). Zupricus' construction could have been similar. It is to be expected that the *maenianum* from Zupricus' inscription was intended for gathering the elite so that they could watch all the important events in the city.

M. Suić identified Zupricus' *maenianum* as a loggia.⁷⁸ Regardless if it was a loggia or a balcony, the ancient Nin in the first half of the 1st century still did not have a luxurious forum.

3. POMPEII INSCRIPTIONS *CIL* 4, 138 AND *CIL* 4, 1136

***CIL* 4, 138:** *Insula Arriana / Polliana Gn(aei!) Al<le=IF>i Nigidi Mai / locantur ex <K=I>(alendis) Iuli(i)s primis tabernae / cum pergulis suis et c{o} enacula / equestria et domus condutor(is) /^s convenito Primum Gn(aei) Al<le=IF>i / Nigidi Mai ser(vum).*⁷⁹

Insula Arriana Polliana, (owned by) Gnaeus Alleius Nigidus Maius, tabernae with pertaining pergulae and equestrian *coenacula* as well as a house/houses are available for rent from the first calends of July. The tenant should contact *Primus*, the slave of Gn. Alleius Nigidus Maius.

***CIL* 4, 1136:** *In praediis I[uli]ae Sp. f. Felicis / locantur / balneum venerium et nongentum⁸⁰, tabernae, pergulae, / cenacula, ex idibus Aug. primis in idus Aug. sextas, anno[s co]ntinuo[s qu]inque. / s(i) q(uinquennium) d(ecucurrit) l(ocatio) e(rit) n(udo) c(onsensu)*⁸¹

The following is available for rent on the property of *Iulia Felix*, daughter of *Spurius*: Venus baths for distinguished people (?), *tabernae*, *pergulae*, *cenacula*, from the following ides of August⁸² to

⁷⁸ Suić 1981: 241.

⁷⁹ There is a minor difference in the interpretation of the inscription *CIL* 4, 138 published in *EDCS* (*EDCS-27700385*) and Van Buren, and it comes down to the fact that *EDCS* started from the assumption that the stone mason mistakenly omitted a part of the text that mentions the calends, while Van Buren makes no such assumption. In any case, it is clear that it refers to July 1 and the calends, whether it is written or not.

⁸⁰ *Nongentum* is difficult to explain closely, see Wallace Hadrill 1994: 226. It is also discussed by Maiuri, see Maiuri 1948.

⁸¹ Possible interpretation according to Fiorelli see Wallace Hadrill 1994: 226. That abbreviation would mean the following: "If five years pass, the lease will be extended by bare consent (?)."

⁸² That is, from August 13.

⁷⁸ Suić 1981: 241.

⁷⁹ Postoji manja razlika u tumačenju natpisa *CIL* 4, 138 donesenog u *EDCS*-u (*EDCS-27700385*) i u Van Burenu, a svodi se na to da se u *EDCS*-u krenulo od pretpostavke da je klesar greškom ispustio dio teksta u kojem se spominju kalende, dok kod Van Burena te pretpostavke nema. U svakom slučaju, jasno je da je riječ o 1. srpnju i kalendama, pisalo to ili ne.

⁸⁰ *Nongentum* je teško precizno objasniti, v. Wallace Hadrill 1994: 226. O njemu raspravlja i Maiuri, v. Maiuri 1948.

⁸¹ Moguće razrješenje prema Fiorelliju v. Wallace Hadrill 1994: 226. Ta bi kratica podrazumijevala iduće: „Ako prođe pet godina, zakup će se produžiti na temelju gole suglasnosti (?).“

ida⁸² do kolovoških ida šeste godine, pet uzastopnih godina.⁸³

Ta dva pompejska oglasa postavljena su radi oglašavanja i ostvarivanja zarade, stoga su i zabilježena na frekventnim lokacijama – da bi ih vidjelo što više ljudi. To što na njima nije upisana adresa na kojoj se nekretnine iznajmljuju može se objasniti navođenjem imena osobe čije su nekretnine, a koja je očito toliko poznata da adresa nije potrebna. Naravno, moguće je da je to i zbog toga što je natpis oglašen na odgovarajućem mjestu, odnosno na pravoj adresi. Iz današnje perspektive bilo bi logičnije da je oglas bio ubilježen na više mjesta jer je trebao doprijeti do što većeg broja ljudi, ali tome i nije moralo biti tako. Jedan od ta dva pompejska natpisa postavio je Gnej Alej Nigidije, za kojeg znamo da se uspinjao u karijeri i da je tijekom života vršio niz prestižnih gradskih funkcija, svojevremeno i onu edilsku,⁸⁴ baš poput Zuprika. No njegova edilska služba završila je znatno prije nego što je oglasio svoje nekretnine ovim oglasom. Spomenuti je pripadnik elite popularnost postigao munificijencijama poput organiziranja gladijatorskih igara i drugih događanja, odnosno njihova sponzoriranja. Te su nam činjenice poznate jer je iza spomenutog dužnosnika i imućnog čovjeka ostao veći broj natpisa.⁸⁵ Upravo zahvaljujući brojnim natpisima zna se da je imenovanje Gneja Aleja Nigidija Maja imalo dva gentilicija, uz prenamen i kognomen. Njegov se prvi zabilježeni gentilicij (*Alleius*) tumači kao adoptivni, odnosno preuzet od ugledne kampanijske familije dok je drugi (*Nigidius*) stečen rođenjem.⁸⁶

Drugi pompejski natpis postavila je žena koja je zabilježena kao Julija Feliks, Spurijeva kći.

the ideo of August of the sixth year, for five consecutive years.⁸³

These two Pompeii advertisements were posted for advertising and profit purposes. These inscriptions were posted in busy locations precisely for the sake of profit, so that as many people as possible could see them. That the addresses of the properties being rented were not written on the advertisements can be explained by the fact that the owners names of the property were stated, and they were obviously so well known that giving an address was unnecessary. Of course, it is possible that this is also due to the fact that the advertisement was placed in the appropriate place, that is, at the right address. From today's perspective, it would have been more logical if the advertisement had been posted in multiple places because it should have reached as many people as possible, but that did not have to be the case. One of these two Pompeii inscriptions was placed by *Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius*, for whom it is known that he moved up in his career and held a number of prestigious city functions during his life, including at one time that of an aedile,⁸⁴ just like *Zupricus*. But his aedile service ended long before he advertised his property with this advertisement. The aforementioned member of the elite achieved his popularity with euergetisms such as organizing gladiatorial games and other events, or sponsoring them. These facts are known because a large number of inscriptions was left by the aforementioned wealthy official.⁸⁵ Precisely thanks to the numerous inscriptions, it is known that the name of *Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius* had two gentilicia, in addition to a praenomen and a cognomen. His first recorded gentilicium (*Alleius*) is interpreted as adoptive, i.e. taken from a distinguished

⁸² Odnosno od 13. kolovoza.

⁸³ Zadnji redak tumači se i ovako: *Si quis domi lenocinium exerceat non conducito* prema Bretonu 1870: <https://mediterranees.net/voyageurs/pompeia/intro/index.html> (pristupljeno 20/03/2023). To bi značilo nešto kao: „Ako tko bude žudio za prostitucijom, neka nikako ne unajmi iz tog razloga (?).“ Tumačenje te kratice na takav način i nije nevjerovatno ako se Julijin natpis dosta može povezati s lokacijom u blizini pompejskog amfiteatra.

⁸⁴ Van Buren 1947: 387.

⁸⁵ Npr. *CIL* 4, 1179; *CIL* 4, 7990; *CIL* 4, 7991 i dr.; opš. Franklin, 2001: 91.

⁸⁶ Franklin 2001: 91–92.

⁸³ The last line is also interpreted as follows: *Si quis domi lenocinium exerceat non conducito* according to Breton 1870: <https://mediterranees.net/voyageurs/pompeia/intro/index.html> (accessed 20/03/2023). This would mean something like: “If anyone desires prostitution, do not lease for this reason (?).” Interpreting this abbreviation in this way is not improbable if Julia's inscription can indeed be connected to the location near the Pompeii amphitheater.

⁸⁴ Van Buren 1947: 387.

⁸⁵ E.g. *CIL* 4, 1179; *CIL* 4, 7990; *CIL* 4, 7991 and other; see more in Franklin, 2001: 91.

Njezino je imenovanje doneseno na uobičajeni način za ženski rod, s gentilicijem, filijacijom i kognomenom. Zbog njezina kognomena *Felix*, koji se dovodi u vezu s robovima i nižim društvenim slojem, smatra se da je pripadala puku.⁸⁷ U prilog Julijinu nižem statusu mogla bi ići i (pseudo)filijacija koja bi upućivala na nepoznata oca ili, drugim riječima, na nju kao nezakonito dijete. Naime, u takvim slučajevima u filijaciji djece navodilo bi se *Sp. f.* za *Spuri filius* / *Spuri filia*, što bi značilo nezakonit sin / nezakonita kći.⁸⁸ Ta je praksa, čini se, egzistirala u 1. stoljeću u koje se natpisi i datira.⁸⁹ Iz Julijina primjera razvidno je da su žene poput muškaraca mogle posjedovati nekretnine i biti poslovno aktivne.⁹⁰ Julija Feliks je, sudeći prema mjestu nalaska natpisa, bila vlasnica još većeg broja nekretnina u odnosu na Nigidija, a koje je iznajmljivala baš poput njega uoči erupcije.

Ovdje razmatrani pompejski natpisi koji su komparirani s onim ninskim sadrže uz imena vlasnika i popise nekretnina. Vlasnici razmatranih pompejskih nekretnina pripadali su, sudeći prema objektima koje su davali u najam, imućnom sloju rimskog svijeta. Ipak, među njima je bila prisutna razlika u društvenom položaju.

Nigidije kao pripadnik društvene elite iznajmljivao je taberne s pergulama, cenakula (stanove) i kuću ili kuće, dok je imućna Julija Feliks davala u najam Venerino kupalište za ugledne ljude te taberne, pergule i cenakula. Nigidijev natpis obično se povezuje sa šestom regijom i šestom inzulom unutar Pompeja i luksuznom atrijsko-peristilnom kućom nazvanom *Casa di Pansa*.⁹¹ Upitno je, naravno, je li se taj oglas odnosio baš na tu kuću. Natpis je bio ispisan bojom na zidu (*titulus pictus*) kraj vrata br. 19.⁹² Upravo takav jeftin i jednostavan način bilježenja sugerira da su ti oglasi mogli biti zabilježeni na raznim lokacijama u gradu. Nigidijev natpis

Campanian family, while the second (*Nigidius*) was acquired by birth.⁸⁶

The second Pompeii inscription was posted by a woman who is recorded as *Iulia*, daughter of *Spuri, Felix*. She was named in the usual way for the female gender, with a gentilicium, filiation and a cognomen. Because of her cognomen *Felix*, which is associated with slaves and the lower social class, it is believed that she was plebeian.⁸⁷ *Iulia*'s lower status could also be supported by the (pseudo) filiation, which could point to an unknown father or, in other words, to her being an illegitimate child. Namely, in such cases, in the filiation of the children, the abbreviation *Sp. f.* for *Spuri filius* / *Spuri filia* was stated which would imply the illegitimate son / daughter of a father.⁸⁸ It seems that this practice existed in the 1st century, the same period to which this inscription is dated.⁸⁹ It is clear from *Iulia*'s example that women, like men, could own properties and be active in business.⁹⁰ Judging by the location of the inscription, *Iulia Felix* owned an even larger number of properties than *Nigidius*, which she rented before the eruption, just as he did.

The Pompeii inscriptions analysed here, which are compared with that from Nin, contain lists of properties in addition to the names of the owners. Judging by the buildings they rented, the owners of the analysed Pompeii properties belonged to the affluent stratum of the Roman world. However, there was a difference in social position between them.

Nigidius, as a member of the social elite, rented *tabernae* with *pergulae*, cenacles (apartments) and a house or houses, while the wealthy *Iulia Felix* rented Venus bath for respectable people, as well as *tabernae*, *pergulae* and cenacles. *Nigidius*' inscription is usually associated with the sixth region and sixth insula within Pompeii and the luxurious atrium-peristyle house called *Casa di Pansa*.⁹¹ Of course, it is questionable whether this advertisement referred to this particular house. The inscription was painted on

⁸⁷ Wilson 2004: 50.

⁸⁸ Matijašić 2002: 59.

⁸⁹ Wilson 2004: 50.

⁹⁰ Opš. Saller 1999: 182–197; Allison 2001: 181–208; Storey 2004: 61–62.

⁹¹ Postoje određene kontroverze oko inzule u kojoj je točno nađen natpis, v. Mau 1907: 489.

⁹² Storey 2004: 59.

⁸⁶ Franklin 2001: 91–92.

⁸⁷ Wilson 2004: 50.

⁸⁸ Matijašić 2002: 59.

⁸⁹ Wilson 2004: 50.

⁹⁰ More on this Saller 1999: 182–197; Allison 2001: 181–208; Storey 2004: 61–62.

⁹¹ There is some controversy about the insula where the inscription was found, see Mau 1907: 489.

danas više ne postoji jer je boja tijekom vremena izbljedadela i nestala. Budući da njegov oglas započinje navođenjem termina *insula*, zbog upotrijebljene terminologije smatra se da je cijela inzula bila u vlasništvu jedne osobe.⁹³ S obzirom na to da se uz taberne iznajmljuju i pergule, vjerojatno je riječ o tabernama koje su iznad ili iza sebe imale prostor za stanovanje.

Julijin pak natpis započinje terminom *praedis* (nom. sg. *praedium*), a koji je s obzirom na koncepciju samog posjeda najvjerojatnije korišten kao sinonim za veliki posjed sastavljen od čak dvije inzule spojene u jednu. Termin *praedium* primarno označava posjed koji je opet u vlasništvu jedne osobe.⁹⁴ Julijin natpis je, kako se čini, nađen u regiji 2 i inzuli 4, a između ulaza označenih brojevima 5 i 6, te se vezuje za tzv. *Casa di Iulia Felix*.⁹⁵ Njezin posjed smjestio se na periferiji grada, u blizini amfiteatra. Blizina amfiteatra kao mjesta za zabavu svjetine te okupljališta najrazličitijih slojeva nije bila najpoželjnija za stanovanje elite, što bi moglo dodatno ići u prilog Julijinu nižem statusu.⁹⁶ Ipak, tome nije moralo biti tako jer je ta lokacija bila itekako atraktivna za vođenje posla – zbog čega se može očekivati da su tamo svoje nekretnine imali i pripadnici elite koji su ih koristili za unosno iznajmljivanje i na taj način pragmatično ostvarivali veliku zaradu. Dakako, pripadnici visokog sloja nisu „prljali ruke“ takvim iznajmljivanjem, već su to drugi činili umjesto njih. Sama napomena na Nigidijevu natpisu da se najmoprimec treba obratiti robu najmodavca tome ide u prilog. Julijin posjed bio je osobito profitabilan s obzirom na blizinu amfiteatra koji je privlačio rijeke ljudi, kao i uostalom sve ono što je imalo predznak zabave.

4. ZAKLJUČNO O NATPISIMA I GRADNJAMA KOJE SPOMINJU

Već je na prvi pogled jasno da ninski natpis ulazi u drugačiju kategoriju natpisa u odnosu na one pompejske. Ta različitost proizlazi ne samo iz njegove namjene već i načina na koji je zabilježen. Tako je

the wall (*titulus pictus*) next to the door no. 19.⁹² Precisely this cheap and simple way of notation suggests that these advertisements could have been written in various locations in the city.

Nigidius' inscription today no longer exists as the colour has faded and disappeared over time. Since his advertisement begins with the term *insula*, the terminology suggests that the entire *insula* was owned by one person.⁹³ Since *pergulae* were also rented in addition to the *tabernae*, it is likely that these *tabernae* had living space above or behind them.

On the other hand, Iulia's inscription begins with the term *praedis* (nom. sg. *praedium*), which, considering the concept of property, was most likely used as a synonym for a large property composed of as many as two *insulae* joined into one. The term *praedium* primarily denotes property that is also owned by one person.⁹⁴ Iulia's inscription was apparently found in region 2 and *insula* 4, between the entrances marked with numbers 5 and 6, and it is connected with the so-called *Casa di Iulia Felix*.⁹⁵ Her property was located on the outskirts of the city, near the amphitheatre. The proximity of the amphitheatre as the place for mass entertainment and a meeting place for the most diverse classes was not the most desirable residential spot for the elite, which could further support Iulia's lower status.⁹⁶ However, this did not have to be the case because this location was very attractive for running a business – which is why it can be expected that members of the elite also had their properties there, which they used for lucrative renting, and which consequently and pragmatically enabled them high profits.

Of course, the members of the upper class did not “get their hands dirty” with this kind of renting, but had others do it for them. The very remark on Nigidius' inscription that the tenant should turn to the lessor's slave supports this. Iulia's property was particularly profitable considering the proximity of the amphitheatre that attracted rivers of people, as well as everything that had to do with entertainment.

⁹³ Storey 2004: 59–60.

⁹⁴ Storey 2004: 61–62.

⁹⁵ Dunn & Dunn, s. v. *Pompeii Regio II (2) Insula 4*.

⁹⁶ Opš. o poveznici kuće i samog grada Hales 2003: 55–60.

⁹² Storey 2004: 59.

⁹³ Storey 2004: 59–60.

⁹⁴ Storey 2004: 61–62.

⁹⁵ Dunn & Dunn, s. v. *Pompeii Regio II (2) Insula 4*.

⁹⁶ More on the link between the house and the city Hales 2003: 55–60.

ninski natpis isklesan radi promidžbe osobe koja natpis podiže i koja tako potvrđuje svoj povlašteni društveno-imovinski status. Naime, zbog samopromidžbe taj je natpis bio uklesan u kamenu, dok su oglasi pisani slobodnom rukom, odnosno bojom na zidu.⁹⁷ Ninski je natpis s obzirom na svoju reprezentativnost morao biti smješten na vidljivijem mjestu podignutog objekta. Pompejski natpisi bili su u skladu sa svojom namjenom neugledni i kao takvi nezamjetni nezainteresiranom oku.

Kvint Bebije Zuprik bio je poput Gneja Aleja Nigidija Maja visokog društveno-imovinskog statusa i u skladu s tim svom je gradu darovao objekt čija je vrijednost bila proporcionalna funkciji koju je obavljao. Često se vjerojatno darivalo i više od onog što se financijski moglo podnijeti ne bi li se stvorio privid bogatstva, odnosno ne bi li se javnost uvjerilo da je osoba imućnija negoli je bila. Sam je takav čin davanja sugerirao da je darivatelj nesebičan u odnosu na zajednicu, što mu je, možemo pretpostaviti, donosilo izborne bodove. Nigidijev se natpis, poput Zuprikova, također nalazio na jednoj od važnijih gradskih lokacija (u blizini foruma), no u konkretnom primjeru on je povezan s privatnim posjedom i nije vezan za javnu investiciju. Nalaženje Nigidijeva natpisa na prestižnoj lokaciji nije čudno jer je riječ o uistinu moćnom pripadniku pompejske gradske elite, koji je s obzirom na svoj status mogao postavljati natpise gdje je poželio. Upitno je, ipak, je li se spomenuti oglas doista odnosio na objekt na kojem je zabilježen. Donekle se slična paralela može povući s propagandno političkim porukama koje su bilježene na različitim lokacijama u gradskom prostoru pri čemu prisutnost određene agitatorske poruke na nekom objektu nije značila da je on u vlasništvu osobe o kojoj se na zidu piše.

Na razmatranim se natpisima koristila rimska prostorna terminologija koja je prihvaćena na području antičkog Nina, a što ukazuje na intenzivnu romanizaciju u jezičnom, ali i urbanističkom smislu. Pompejski natpisi smatraju se mlađima od onog ninskog. Međutim, ninski se natpis različito datira, u prvu ili u drugu polovinu 1. st. Njegova ranija datacija vezuje se za činjenicu da je ninski

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON INSCRIPTIONS AND STRUCTURES THEY MENTION

It is clear at the first glance that the inscription from Nin belongs to a different category of inscriptions compared to those from Pompeii. This difference stems not only from the purpose of the Nin inscription, but also from the way it was recorded. Thus, the Nin inscription was carved for the purpose of promoting the person that erected it, and confirming their privileged socio-economic status. Namely, for the sake of publicity alone, this inscription was carved in stone, while the advertisements were written by hand, that is, painted on the wall.⁹⁷ Considering its prestige, the Nin inscription had to be placed in a more visible place on the erected building. The Pompeii inscriptions were, in accordance with their purpose, inconspicuous, and as such, imperceptible to the uninterested eye.

Quintus Baebius Zupricus, like *Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius*, had a high socio-economic status, and accordingly he donated to his city an object whose value was proportional to the function he performed. Some probably gave even more than they could financially sustain in order to give the appearance of wealth, that is, to convince the public that they were wealthier than they actually were. Such an act of donation suggested that the donor was selfless in relation to the community, which, we can assume, brought him electoral points.

Nigidius' inscription, like Zupricus', was also located in one of the city's most important locations (near the forum), but in the specific example it is tied to a private property and not a public investment. The finding of Nigidius' inscription in a prestigious location is not strange, because he was a truly powerful member of the Pompeian city elite, who, given his status, could place inscriptions wherever he wanted. But again, it is questionable whether the aforementioned advertisement really referred to the object on which it was written. To some extent, a similar parallel can be drawn with the propaganda and political messages that were recorded in different locations in the city, where the presence of a certain agitator message on a

⁹⁷ Opš. o kategoriji natpisa tzv. *tituli picti* v. Matijašić 2002: 168.

⁹⁷ More on the category of the so-called *tituli picti* inscriptions see Matijašić 2002: 168.

dužnosnik bio domorodačkog podrijetla,⁹⁸ a s obzirom na to da je Nin već municipalnu konstituciju imao u doba senatskog Ilirika, onda je asimilacija ovdašnje elite morala biti rana, što je i razlog ranog datiranja natpisa koji bi se u tom kontekstu mogao čak smjestiti i u rano prvo stoljeće. Međutim, postoji i drugo mišljenje prema kojem bi se gradnja spomenuta na Zuprikovu natpisu smjestila u kraj 1. st., u razdoblje flavijevske dinastije.⁹⁹ Takvo tumačenje posljedica je povezivanja Zuprikove gradnje s obnovom ninskog foruma koji je dobio monumentalna obilježja za vladavine Flavijevaca.¹⁰⁰ Zbog sličnosti ninskog foruma s onim zadarskim, ponajprije trijema koji je flankirao trg, još ga je M. Suić povezo s flavijevskom dinastijom.¹⁰¹

Iako, kako se maločas prikazalo, neki autori Zuprikovu gradnju smještaju u drugu polovinu 1. stoljeća, sklonija sam pretpostavci da je upravo ta kasnija monumentalizacija ninskog foruma argument za raniju dataciju Zuprikove gradnje. Naime, i prije rekonstrukcije foruma tamo je bilo središte grada, pa su morale postojati i trgovine koje su mogle imati vlastite balkone ili lođe. No termin *pergula* ovdje teško da se može povezati s trijemom i prije se odnosi, kako je to već učestalo u natpisnoj građi, na prostor iznad taberne iz kojeg se izlazilo na balkon. Balkon je morao imati svoju nosivu konstrukciju koja je mogla donekle nalikovati trijemu, no neovisno o tome kako je točno izgledala, bila je daleko od raskoši klasičnog trijema. Da je ovdje podignut standardni forumski trijem, već bi bio imenovan prikladnim terminom, što bi bilo logično s obzirom na to da je riječ o donaciji koja treba veličati donatora.

Prostorna terminologija u Zuprikovu natpisu može se različito interpretirati. Pergula u funkciji nadstrešnice ovdje gubi smisao jer je taberna imala menijan koji je služio i kao nadstrešnica. Znači da pergulu ovdje možemo tražiti u prostoru iznad taberne s izlazom na balkon. Budući da je cilj rimskog svijeta bio biti u središtu pozornosti, smije se pretpostaviti da je razmatrana Zuprikova

building did not imply that it was owned by the person mentioned on the wall.

The analysed inscriptions indicate the Roman spatial terminology was accepted in the area of ancient Nin, which indicates an intensive Romanisation in the linguistic, but also in the urbanistic sense. The Pompeii inscriptions are considered to be later than the one from Nin. However, the Nin inscription is dated differently, to the first or the second half of the 1st century. Its earlier dating is linked to the fact that the Nin official was of indigenous origin,⁹⁸ and since Nin already had a municipal constitution in the time of the senatorial Illyricum, then the assimilation of the local elite must have been early, which is the reason for the early dating of the inscription, which in this context could even be placed in the early first century.

However, there is another opinion according to which the construction mentioned on Zupricus' inscription can be placed at the end of the 1st century, during the period of the Flavian dynasty.⁹⁹ This interpretation is a consequence of connecting Zupricus' construction with the restoration of the Nin forum, which acquired monumental features during the reign of the Flavians.¹⁰⁰ Due to the similarities between the forum in Aenona and the one in Iader, especially the portico that bordered the square, M. Suić connected this forum to the Flavian dynasty.

Although, as it was shown a moment ago, some authors place Zupricus' construction in the second half of the 1st century, I am more inclined to assume that the later monumentalisation of the Nin forum is an argument for an earlier dating of Zupricus' construction. Namely, even before the reconstruction of the forum, this was the centre of the city, and accordingly, there had to be shops there that could have had their own balconies or loggias. However, the term *pergola* can hardly be connected with a portico, and it rather refers, as it is often the case with inscriptions, to the space above the *taberna* that led to a balcony. The balcony had to have its own load-bearing structure, which could somewhat resemble a portico, but regardless of its appearance, it was far from

⁹⁸ Medini 1969: 53; Kurilić 1999: 143, 168–169; Kurilić 2002: 128–136.

⁹⁹ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 219–220.

¹⁰⁰ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 65 i d.

¹⁰¹ Suić 1981: 281; Sinobad 2008: 228.

⁹⁸ Medini 1969: 53; Kurilić 1999: 143, 168–169; Kurilić 2002: 128–136.

⁹⁹ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 219–220.

¹⁰⁰ Dubolnić Glavan 2015: 65 ff.

munificijencija stajala na dominantnoj gradskoj poziciji. Vjerojatno ni najveća munificijencija ne bi bila osobito važna ako ne bi bila vidljiva. Navođenje termina *menijan* svakako ukazuje na vertikalnu organizaciju podignute prostorne konstrukcije. Mi ne znamo kako je prvotni ninski forum izgledao i vrlo je moguće da je upravo Zuprikova gradnja pokazatelj njegova izgleda. U osnovi, trebao se uklopiti u okolinu. Na forumu su se morale nalaziti taberne koje su nosile pergule, odnosno imale sličnu organizaciju prostora kao objekt iz Zuprikova natpisa. To što se na natpisu izrijekom ne spominje trijem, ide u prilog jednostavnijem izgledu foruma koji je prethodio flavijevskoj rekonstrukciji.

Konstrukcija Zuprikova objekta bila je prikladna za praćenje raznih događanja na forumu čime se taj gradski dužnosnik uistinu dodvorio svojim viđenijim sugrađanima.

the luxury of a classic portico. If a standard forum portico had been erected here, it would have already been named with a suitable term, which would be logical considering that it was a donation that should glorify its donor.

The spatial terminology in Zupricus' inscription can be interpreted differently. The *pergula* as an overhang loses its meaning here because the *taberna* had a *maenianum* that also served as an overhang. It means that we can look for a *pergula* in the space above the *taberna* with an access to the balcony. As the goal of the Roman world was to be in the centre of attention, it is to be expected that the analysed Zupricus' euergetism stood in a dominant location in the city. Probably even the largest euergetism would not be particularly important if it was not visible.

The mention of the term *maenianum* certainly indicates the vertical organization of the raised spatial construction. It is unknown how did the original Nin forum look like, and it is quite possible that Zupricus' construction is an indicator of its appearance. It basically had to blend in with the surroundings. There must have been *tabernae* on it that carried *pergulae*, that is, they had a similar spatial organization as the object from Zupricus' inscription. The fact that the portico is not directly mentioned in the inscription goes in favour of the simpler appearance of the forum that preceded the Flavian reconstruction.

The structural features of Zupricus' construction made this building a suitable place for observing various events at the forum, which truly endeared this city official to his more prominent fellow citizens.

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