

Stanko Piplović

Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu nakon Careve smrti

Stanko Piplović
Kaštelanska 2
HR, 21000 Split
stanko.piplović@gmail.com

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Dioklecijanova je palača po mnogočemu jedinstveno graditeljstvo ostvarenje kasne antike u Europi. Njezinom je istraživanju i uređenju u posljednjih 150 godina posvećena posebna pozornost. Bio je to svojevrsni poligon za iskušavanje novih teoretskih postavka i metoda rada. U povijesti umjetnosti Palača i danas zauzima istaknuto mjesto. Njezina osnovna obilježja već su dulje vrijeme poznata, ali novija istraživanja s neobičnim otkrićima bitno mijenjaju sliku o njezinu prostornom ustroju i temeljitim preinakama koje su se na njoj događale na samim počecima. To će zasigurno tražiti preispitivanje postavka o prvoj promjeni namjene još u doba postojanja Rimskog Carstva, kada se Dioklecijanova vila preobražavala u grad. Nov pristup objašnjenju njezinih funkcija zahtijevaju osobito nalazi dvaju sklopova terma u Palači podignutih naknadno, za koje se prije nije znalo, a čije je istraživanje započelo prije pedesetak godina.

Cljučne riječi: Split, kasna antika, Dioklecijanova palača, terme, sumporne vode, Basilicae pictae, Riva

Diocletian's Palace in Split after the Emperor's death

Stanko Piplović
Kaštelanska 2
CROATIA, 21000 Split
stanko.piplović@gmail.com

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In many ways, Diocletian's Palace was a unique architectural achievement in Europe during Late Antiquity. Over the past 150 years, considerable attention has been dedicated to research into it as well as its upkeep. It has served as something of a testing ground for new theoretical postulates and methods for work. Today the Palace has a distinguished place in art history. Its features have been known for some time now, but new research yielding unusual discoveries have essentially altered the picture of its spatial organization and fundamental adaptations which occurred therein at its very beginnings. This will certainly necessitate a re-examination of theories on the first changes to its use when the Roman Empire was still extant, when Diocletian's villa was transformed into a city. A new approach to explanations of their function is necessitated by two subsequently-built bath complexes in the Palace, which were previously unknown and which only began to be studied roughly fifty years ago.

Key words: Split, Late Antiquity, Diocletian's Palace, baths, sulphur water, Basilicae pictae, waterfront

Uvod

Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu najznačajnije je arhitektonsko ostvarenje kasne antike u Hrvatskoj, koje zauzima istaknuto mjesto u svjetskoj umjetnosti. Njezinim su se proučavanjem u starijoj prošlosti bavili talijanski manirist Andrea Palladio, austrijski barokni arhitekt Fischer von Erlach, slikar Charles Louis Clérisseau, britanski arhitekt klasicist Robert Adam i drugi, a u novije vrijeme posebno prof. Branimir Gabričević, arhitekt Jerko Marasović i prof. Tomislav Marasović.

U XIX. je stoljeću srednjovjekovna povijesna jezgra Splita s ostatcima Dioklecijanove palače bila potpuno zapuštena. Tek sredinom stoljeća otpočela je sustavna skrb o istraživanju i zaštiti rimske carske građevine. U to je vrijeme osnovano Središnje povjerenstvo za istraživanje i održavanje umjetničkih i povijesnih spomenika u Beču, kao najviše stručno tijelo za zaštitu spomenika, u upravnom smislu podređeno Ministarstvu za bogoštovlje i nastavu. Znanstveni naponi rezultirali su objavljivanjem dviju reprezentativnih monografija. Prva je objavljena godine 1910., a autor joj je austrijski arhitekt George Niemann; druga je objavljena godine 1912., a njezin je autor francuski arhitekt Ernest Hébrard. Time su razriješeni glavni teoretski problemi oko položaja Palače u povijesti umjetnosti i njezine funkcije. U oba kapitalna djela tlocrtna rješenja i organizacija unutrašnjeg prostora prilično su slični. Na osnovi prijašnjeg i njihovog rada definitivno je utvrđeno da Palača ima četvrtasti tlocrt, s kulama po vanjskom obodu. Presijecaju je dvije glavne ulice, kardo i dekuman, koje se sastaju na središnjem otvorenom prostoru, Peristilu (Tab. 1, br. 1, 2 i 3). U sjevernom dijelu Palače bile su smještene Careva pratnja, posluga i straža (Tab. 1, br. 10). U središnjem prostoru nalazile su se kultne građevine, tri hrama i Dioklecijanov mauzolej, dok se na južnoj strani, prema moru, nalazio Carev stan (Tab. 1, 4 i 5). S unutrašnje strane obodnih zidova nalazili su se nizovi skladišta, do kojih su vodili obodni opskrbni putovi (Tab. 1, br. 6). Organizacija unutrašnjeg rasporeda zgrada i odvijanje prometa bili su po ranijim saznanjima vrlo logični i funkcionalni. Strogo se poštivalo odvajanje pojedinih sadržaja kao i njihove međusobna povezanost.¹

Novija istraživanja provedena u Palači bitno su, međutim, promijenila ranije utvrđeni raspored, otkrivanjem ostataka drugih velikih zgrada do tada nepoznate namjene, koje pobuđuju promišljanja o pregradnjama koje su nastale još u antici. Ta činjenica navodi na potrebu revidiranja i novu interpretaciju ranijih

Introduction

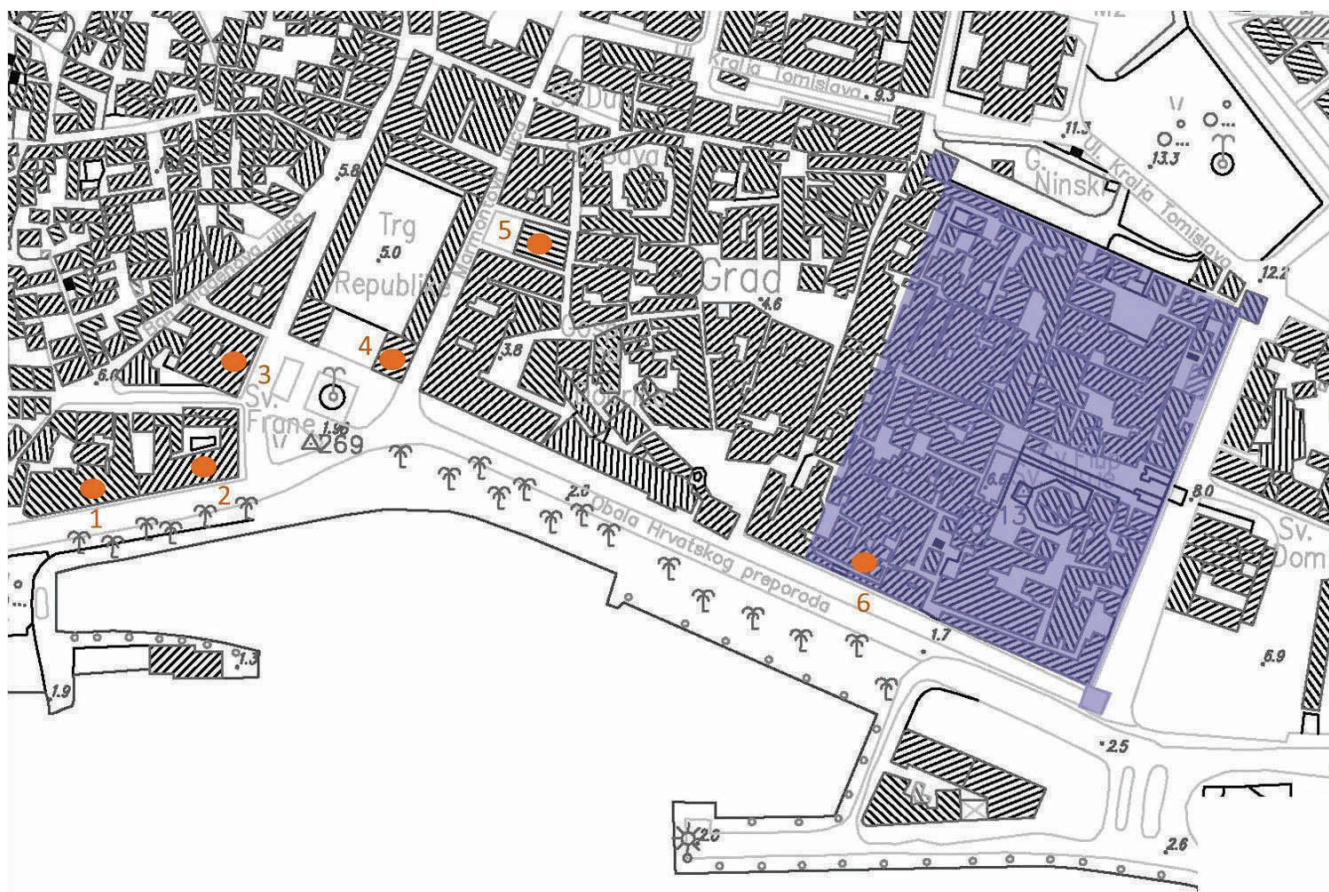
Diocletian's Palace in Split is the most significant architectural achievement of Late Antiquity in Croatia, which has a distinguished place in world art. It was studied in the more distant past by Italian Mannerist architect Andrea Palladio, Austrian baroque architect Fischer von Erlach, painter Charles Louis Clérisseau, British neoclassical architect Robert Adam and others, while in more recent times it has been studied by Prof. Branimir Gabričević, architect Jerko Marasović and Prof. Tomislav Marasović in particular.

In the 19th century, the medieval historical core of Split with the remains of Diocletian's Palace had been entirely neglected. It was only in the middle of that century that systematic care for research into and conservation of this Roman imperial structure began. At that time, the Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments was established in Vienna as the highest expertise-based body for the protection of monuments. It was administratively subordinate to the Ministry of Religion and Education. These efforts resulted in the publication of two comprehensive monographs. The first, written by Austrian architect George Niemann, was published in 1910; the second, published in 1912, was written by French architect Ernest Hébrard. These books resolved the main theoretical problems concerning the Palace's place in art history and its functions. In both of these major works, the ground-plan solutions and the organisation of interior spaces are rather similar. Based on previous work, as well as their own, these authors definitively established that the Palace had a rectangular layout, with towers on the external perimeter. It was intersected by two main streets, the *cardo* and *decumanus*, which met at the central outdoor space, the Peristyle (Pl. 1, no. 1, 2 and 3). The emperor's entourage, servants and sentries were accommodated in the northern section of the Palace (Pl. 1, no. 10). Cult structures were situated in the central area: three temples and Diocletian's mausoleum. The emperor's living quarters were located on the southern side facing the sea (Pl. 1, 4 and 5). The insides of the exterior walls accommodated a series of storage facilities, to which external supply paths led (Pl. 1, no. 6). The organization of the internal arrangement of buildings and the flow of traffic was – based on earlier findings – quite logical and functional. The separation of individual facilities as well as their mutual connections were strictly observed.¹

More recent research conducted in the Palace has, however, essentially altered the earlier-established

1 Niemann 1910, str. 1-112; Hébrard 1912, str. 1-132.

1 Niemann 1910, pp. 1-112; Hébrard 1912, pp. 1-132.



Sl. 1. Plan povijesne jezgre Splita s naznačenim položajem Dioklecijanove palače. Ucertani su najvažniji izvori sumporne vode: Piškera, u predjelu lučice Matejuške (1); samostan sv. Frane na obali (2); Bajamontijeva palača (3); Prokurative, Trg Republike (4); Sumporne toplice, u današnjoj Marmontovoj ulici (5); tragovi u podrumima Dioklecijanove palače (6).

Fig. 1. Map of the historical core of Split with the position of Diocletian's Palace indicated. The most important sulphur springs are marked: Piškera, at the small harbour of Matejuška (1); St. Francis Monastery on the seashore (2); Bajamonti's Palace (3); Prokurative, Trg Republike (4); sulphur spa, in today's Marmontova street (5); traces in the cellars of Diocletian's Palace (6).

saznanja te tumačenja znatnih preinaka prostornog ustroja i korištenja još u ranoj fazi postojanja Palače. Poznato je da Palača nikada nije u potpunosti završena; neki su se radovi vjerojatno nastavili i u vrijeme kad je Car već boravio u njoj, a posebno nakon njegove smrti, prilagođavanjem novim potrebama.² O tome svjedoče tragovi pregradnja na njezinom sjevernom dijelu, i to na današnjoj Carrarinoj poljani i kod sjeveroistočne ugaone kule.³ Radikalne promjene dogodile su se i na južnom dijelu Palače, naknadnom interpolacijom zgrada u slobodne prostore. U posljednjih pedesetak godina posebno je neobično

layout, as the remains of other large structures of indeterminate purpose have been discovered. The latter have spurred speculation about partitioning which was erected already during Antiquity. This fact necessitates a revision and new interpretation of earlier knowledge, as well as interpretations of the considerable modifications to spatial organization and its use already in the earlier phases of the Palace's existence. It is known that the Palace was never entirely finished; some works very likely continued even when the emperor was residing in it, and particularly after his death to adapt it for new needs.² Traces of partitioning in its northern section, at the present-day locale called Carrarina poljana, and at the north-eastern corner tower testify to this.³ Radical changes also

2 Piplović 1997, str. 5-14.

3 Godine 2005. na Carrarinoj poljani provedena su manja istraživanja. Na sjevernom zidu zgrade koja je zauzimala sjeveroistočni kvadrant Dioklecijanove palače pronađena su vrata koja su već u antici zazidana. Alduk 2005, str. 399.

2 Piplović 1997, pp. 5-14.

3 Minor research was conducted at Carrarina poljana in 2005. A doorway which had already been walled

otkriće postojanja dvaju sklopova terma za koje se ranije nije znalo. Glavni radovi na istraživanju pojedinih njihovih dijelova odvijali su se u vremenu od 1970. do 2008. godine, a nastavljaju se i dalje.⁴

Istočne terme

Godine 1969. i 1970. istraživao se prostor u istočnom dijelu Palače, blizu Srebrnih vrata, uz samu južnu stranu dekumana.⁵ Ondje je otkriven pravokutni kasnoantički atrij koji prije nije bio poznat, osim u tragovima (Tab. 2, br. 17). Njegovu površinu danas presijeca Bulićeva ulica iz kasnijeg vremena. Bio je obrubljen trijemom na stupovima čiji je pod pokriven mozaicima s geometrijskim motivima. Neobično je da je taj pod za čak oko 2 metra ispod razine dekumana, s kojim neposredno graniči. Pretpostavlja se da se u atrij, kojeg namjena nije poznata, stupalo sa sjevera iz dekumana, a da se, s obzirom na visinsku razliku, s te strane u njega spuštalo stubama.⁶ To nije provjereno iskopavanjem na terenu, a u sadašnjem, nedovršenom stanju istraživanja ne nazire se eventualno rješenje. Na istočnoj strani atrija tri su četvrtasta pilona, koji su tvorili dio niza obodnih skladišta uz unutrašnju stranu istočnog obrambenog zida Palače. Takvi boksovi postojali su i na drugim stranama uokolo (Tab. 1, br. 6). Istraživanja na tom mjestu nisu do kraja provedena niti je iznesena detaljnija interpretacija onoga što je već pronađeno.

To novo i neobično otkriće otvara neka važna pitanja koja još nisu do kraja razjašnjena. Prvo je da atrij smještajem, površinom i denivelacijom potpuno poništava antičku obodnu ulicu koja je vodila od istočnih vrata Palače prema jugu. Time je spriječen kolski pristup skladišnim boksovima na istočnoj strani atrija, zbog znatne visinske razlike. Drugi, još veći problem je u tome što je prekinuta ta antička ulica za koju se može pretpostaviti da je vodila na jug sve do kuhinjskog bloka Dioklecijanova stana. Naime, s obzirom

occurred in the southern section of the Palace with the subsequent interpolation of a building in the previously empty spaces. A particularly unusual discovery in the past fifty years was the existence of two bath complexes of which nothing had been known previously. The primary works on research into their individual parts proceeded from 1970 to 2008, and they are still ongoing.⁴

Eastern baths

In 1969 and 1970, research was being conducted in an area in the eastern section of the Palace near the Silver Gate right along the southern side of the decumanus.⁵ A rectangular Late Antique atrium was discovered; it had only been known in traces previously (Pl. 2, no. 17). Its surface is today intersected by Bulićeva street, constructed in a later period. It was bordered by an arched portico which had a floor covered by mosaics with geometric motifs. An unusual fact is that this floor is roughly 2 meters below the level of the decumanus, which it directly bordered. It has been assumed that this atrium—the purpose of which is not known – was accessed from the decumanus on its northern side, while, given the height difference, steps descended to it on this side.⁶ This has not been verified by field excavations, and no solution can be discerned in the current, incomplete phase of research. There are three rectangular pylons on the atrium's eastern side which created part of a row of peripheral storage rooms along the inside of the Palace's eastern defensive wall. Such units also existed on the other surrounding sides (Pl. 1, no. 6). Research at this site has not been fully conducted, nor

shut during Antiquity was found on the northern wall of building that occupied the north-eastern quadrant of Diocletian's Palace. Alduk 2005, p. 399.

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- 4 Mirković 1972, str. 3. Te su godine u zgradi u Buvinoj ulici br. 2, preko puta hotela *Slavije*, privatni poduzetnici namjeravali otvoriti restoran. Prilikom radova na preuređenju otkriveni su ostatci terma. To je zapravo bio dio sklopa kupatila koji je ranije utvrđen ispod samog hotela.
 - 5 Marasović T. 1969, str. 4; Marasović T. 1970, str. 3. U članku autor opisuje nastavak istraživanja podnog mozaika kod Srebrnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače 1968. i 1969. godine. Radi se zapravo o atriju u sastavu istočnih terma, što se u tadašnjoj fazi slabijeg poznavanja stanja u međuprostoru između kulturnoga središnjeg dijela Palače i Careva stana nije moglo podrobnije zaključiti. Marasović T. 1994, str. 57-58.
 - 6 Marasović J. *et al.* 1972, str. 13-16.

- 4 Mirković 1972, p. 3. In that year, private entrepreneurs intended to open a restaurant in the building in Buvina no. 2, across the street from the Hotel Slavija. During renovation works, the remains of baths were discovered. This was actually a part of the bathing facilities which had earlier been ascertained under the hotel.
- 5 Marasović T. 1969, p. 4; Marasović T. 1970, p. 3. In his article, the author described the continuation of research into the floor mosaic at the Silver Gate of Diocletian's Palace in 1968 and 1969. This was actually the atrium in the eastern bath complex, which could not be discerned in great detail at that phase, when less was known about the state of the intervening space between the cult section of the Palace and the emperor's living quarters. Marasović T. 1994, pp. 57-58.
- 6 Marasović J. *et al.* 1972, pp. 13-16.

na položaj triklinija, prostorija za gozbe i zabave, kuhinja je svakako trebala biti u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini, a to je jedino moguće u krajnjem jugoistočnom kutu Palače (Tab. 2, br. 14 i 15). Sigurno su se tamo morale dovoziti veće količine hrane za brojne goste te je ondje bio gospodarski ulaz. Novootkriveni atrij to je onemogućio pa se kuhinjskim prostorima ni s koje strane nije moglo prići kolima, a i pješački pristup osoblja za pripremu i posluživanje bio je vrlo otežan. Za tu nelogičnu situaciju do sada nije dano objašnjenje. Prva pomisao je da se radi o kasnijim radovima.

Još je neobičnije što produbljenje rubnog dijela prostora za novi atrij nije izvedeno do njegova poda. U unutrašnjosti uz obodne zidove iz tla viri kamena litica na kojoj su njegovi ogradni zidovi sagrađeni. Tako podni mozaici širinom ne pokrivaju trijem do kraja, već dolaze do litice. Taj postupak siguran je dokaz da je atrij izveden u antici, ali naknadno. Još jedna okolnost navodi na promišljanje o ranim promjenama na tom prostoru. Dio tog atrija otkriven je još u razdoblju od 1925. do 1928. godine. Iznad podnog mozaika duboko u zemlji nađena su tada dva ulomka ranokršćanskih pilastrica s uklesanim karakterističnim križevima. Prema njihovim dimenzijama moglo bi se pretpostaviti da su pripadali nekoj oltarnoj pregradi. Možda su bili dio prvoga kamenog namještaja obližnje katedrale. Ako se to prihvati kao vjerojatnost, odbačeni su u rupu iza crkve kada je u njoj prvi namještaj zamijenjen ranosrednjovjekovnim. S takvoga gledišta i na osnovi položaja ulomaka opet bi slijedilo da je tek negdje u XI. stoljeću atrij zatrpan velikim slojem zemlje i tlo se na tom mjestu izravnalo s okolišem. Ljubu Karamana, povjesničara umjetnosti i konzervatora, sve je to navelo na zaključak da je podnica atrija naknadno snižena. U to ga je dodatno uvjerila činjenica da je mozaik napravljen dosta nemarno, što je odraz opadanja zanatske vještine.⁷ Isto stajalište podupiru i prof. dr. Ivančica Dvoržak-Schrunk te prof. dr. Jasna Jeličić Radonić.⁸

Otprilike istodobno s radovima u atriju, jugozapadno od njega, u prostoru između središnjega kulturnog bloka i Careva stana otkriven je godine 1970. manji dio termalnog sklopa zgrada kupatila. Sastoji se od piscine polukružnog bazena s toplom vodom, dijela veće prostorije kaldarija (oba prostora s podnim grijanjem) i ložišta sustava grijanja toplim zrakom. Ostaci te građevine šire se dalje uokolo, ali nisu se mogli istraživati zbog kuća u gusto izgrađenom prostoru današnjega grada (Tab. 2, br. 18). Nadalje, godine 2002.,

have there been any detailed interpretations of what has already been found.

This new and unusual discovery opened certain vital questions which have not been entirely clarified. The first is that the atrium, by its location, surface and delevelling, completely devastates the original peripheral street which led southward from the Palace's eastern gate. This blocked carriage access to the storage units on the atrium's eastern side due to the height difference. A second, even greater problem is that it disrupted the street which may be assumed to have led southward up to the kitchen section of Diocletian's living quarters. Given the position of the triclinium (the feasting and entertainment room), the kitchen certainly had to be in its immediate vicinity, and this could have only been in the extreme southeastern corner of the Palace (Pl. 2, no. 14 and 15). Large quantities of food for the numerous guests certainly had to be delivered to a service entrance there. The newly-discovered atrium prevented this, so the kitchen facilities could not be accessed by cart on any side, while even pedestrian access for the cooking and service staff was rendered quite difficult. No explanation has yet been proffered for this illogical situation. The first impression is that this was a result of subsequent works.

Even more unusual is that the deepening of the edge section for the new atrium was not rendered to its floor. Solid rock from the ground juts out in the interior, along the peripheral walls, on which its partition walls were built. The floor mosaics thus do not cover the entire width of the portico, rather they reach up to the protruding stone. This is certain evidence that the atrium was made in Antiquity, albeit subsequently. Another circumstance prompts speculation on earlier changes to this space. A part of this atrium had already been discovered in the period from 1925 to 1928. At the time, two fragments of small Early Christian pilasters with typical crosses carved onto them were found beneath the floor mosaic, deep in the ground. Based on their dimensions, it may be assumed that they belonged to an altar screen. They may have been part of the first stone furnishings of the nearby cathedral. If this is accepted as a possibility, then they were discarded in a hole behind the church when the original furnishings were replaced in the Early Middle Ages. From this standpoint, and based on the position of the fragments, it would again follow that only sometime in the 11th century was the atrium buried by a large layer of soil, which was then levelled with the surrounding terrain. This all led Ljubo Karaman, an art historian and preservationist, to the conclusion that the flooring of the atrium was lowered at some later point. He was further convinced of this by the fact that the mosaic was made rather unartfully, which

7 Karaman 1940, 422-423.

8 Dvoržak-Schrunk 1989, str. 91-92; Jeličić-Radonić 2000, str. 61.

u neposrednoj blizini, na prostoru između atrija i ranije pronađenih ostataka terma, otkriveni su ispod jedne zgrade pod zemljom novi dijelovi terma (Tab. 2, br. 19). Prilikom istraživanja na toj lokaciji pronađeno je dosta dekorativnog materijala, mramornih obloga i kockica mozaika presvučenih zlatnim listićima. Većina ih međutim nije bila na zidovima *in situ*, nego u visokom sloju nasutog materijala koji se taložio odozgo od IV. stoljeća i kasnije. O tome da su neke prostorije služile kao kaldarij i apoditerij samo se nagađa, jer nisu pronađeni nikakvi ostatci kupališne opreme bazena, klupa svlačionica. Nađeni su ostatci samo jednog malog bazena. Zidovi i podovi bili su obloženi nepravilnim pločama, a instalacije grijanja otkrivene su samo u tragovima i zasigurno su služile za dovod toplog zraka iz ložišta u podrumu u prostorije u prizemlju koje je trebalo zagrijavati.

Nalazi sedre i jedne ranokršćanske lucerne iz V. stoljeća u nasipu ukazuju da su prostorije bile nadsvođene i da su se u to vrijeme urušile. Utvrđeno je da se i ovaj dio terma širio dalje na zapad sve do istočnog zida temena (*temenos*), ograđenoga posvećenog prostora, Careve grobnice, ali nije istražen.

Budući da se radi o mračnim i neuglednim prostorijama sklopa kupatila na dubini od 3 metra pod zemljom i njihovoj skromnoj opremi, može se zaključiti da se radilo o pomoćnim podrumskim pogonima terma. Ondje nema uobičajenih bazena, kada za kupanje. Nema ni zidova obloženih šupljim opekama kroz koje bi strujao topli zrak i grijao prostore. S druge strane, urušeni materijal i sitni nalazi u njemu ukazuju da su u prizemlju iznad kupatila bile glavne reprezentativne dvorane sa sadržajima za korisnike. Tragovi zidova tog gornjeg dijela do sada nisu pronađeni. Ipak, na osnovi iznesenog, dosadašnja interpretacija nalaza ispod zemlje kao prostora za posjetitelje nije uvjerljiva.⁹

Koliko se može zaključiti iz svih iznesenih činjenica, sva tri sačuvana dijela na istočnoj strani Palače, uključujući i atrij, tvore ostatke jedinstvenoga prostranog termalnog kompleksa. Budući da su dosad otkriveni njegovi manji i odvojeni prostori, još uvijek nema dovoljno podataka da bi se mogla u potpunosti sagledati cjelina. U terme se možda ulazilo sa sjeverne strane, s dekumana, najprije u atrij, odakle su se prema jugu nizale ostale prostorije. Zatim se smjer mijenjao i protezao prema zapadu, niz današnju Arhidakonovu ulicu ispod niza kasnije izgrađenih kuća koje su prislonjene s vanjske strane južnog zida temena mauzoleja. Nove prostore terma trebat će tražiti ispod njihovih prizemlja kada se budu izvodili neki radovi u zgradama. Terme završavaju pred

reflected a decline in craftsmanship.⁷ This same opinion was backed by Prof. Ivančica Dvoržak-Schrunk, Ph.D. and Prof. Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Ph.D.⁸

At roughly the same time as the works in the atrium, in 1970, a minor part of the thermal complex of the bath building were discovered to its south-west, in the space between the central cult block and the emperor's living quarters. It consists of the basin of a semi-circular warm-water pool, part of a larger caldarium (both rooms had underfloor heating) and the furnace for the warm-air heating system. The remains of this building extend farther in all directions, but they could not be examined due to the houses in this densely developed section of the modern city (Pl. 2, no. 18). Furthermore, in 2002, new sections of the baths (Pl. 2, no. 19) were found in the immediate vicinity, in the area between the atrium and the earlier discovered bath remains. During research at this location, a considerable quantity of decorative materials, marble cladding and mosaic tiles covered with gilded sheets were found. Most of these were not, however, on the walls *in situ*, but rather in a higher layer of filling material which had accumulated from the bottom up from the 4th century onward. That some of these rooms may have served as a caldarium and apodyterium is mere speculation, because no remains of bathing pool furnishings nor benches for changing rooms have been found. Only the remains of a small pool were found. The walls and floors were lined with irregular tiles, while the heating installations have only been discovered in traces and they certainly served to bring warm air from the cellar furnace to the rooms on the ground floor which required heating.

Finds of tufa and an Early Christian oil-lamp from the 5th century in the fill indicate that the rooms were vaulted and that they had collapsed at the time. It has also been ascertained that this part of the baths spread farther to the west up to the eastern wall of the *temenos*, a fenced dedicated area, the emperor's tomb, but it has not been researched.

Since these are dark and nondescript rooms in the bath complex at a depth of 3 meters below ground level, with modest furnishings, one may conclude that these were the ancillary bath utility facilities in the cellar. None of the customary pools, or bathing tubs, can be found there. There are not even walls made of hollow bricks through which warm air could circulate and heat the rooms. On the other hand, the rubble and tiny finds in it indicate that the ground floor above the bathing rooms accommodated the main halls with

7 Karaman 1940, pp. 422-423.

8 Dvoržak-Schrunk 1989, pp. 91-92; Jeličić-Radonić 2000, p. 61.

9 Rismondo 2005, str. 153-155.

supstrukcijom Vestibula (Tab. 2, br. 11), gdje je danas Bulićeva poljana. Tu je na zemlji godine 1963. pronađen rimski mozaik s geometrijskim motivima koji se širi i na jug ispod ranosrednjovjekovne kuće (Tab. 2, br. 20). Otkrivena površina mozaika iznosila je 60 metara četvornih, ali je jedan dio propao. Radi se o jednoj velikoj prostoriji bogato ukrašenoj koja je također vjerojatno pripadala istočnim termama.

Zapadne terme

U razdoblju od 1960. do 1963. godine na zapadnoj je strani Dioklecijanove palače, u današnjoj Buvinovoj ulici, ispod sadašnjeg hotela *Slavije* pronađen drugi sklop terma (Tab. 2, br. 21). Ostaci njihovih zidova sačuvani su u priličnoj visini.¹⁰ I one su naknadno umetnute u slobodni prostor između središnjega i južnog dijela Palače. Položajem su znatno suzile prvobitnu opskrbnu ulicu koja je i na toj strani vodila od zapadnih vrata Palače prema jugu, i time umnogome otežale promet i veze.

Za naknadno tumačenje sklopa zapadnih terma iskorišten je otvoreni prostor između zapadnog perimetralnog zida Palače, Careva stana na jugu i ogradnog zida temena hramova na sjeveroistoku. Sklop se osnovnim rasporedom dobro uklopio u raspoloživu površinu, formiran u dva međusobno okomita kraka. Tu su otkrivene uobičajene prostorije za takvu vrstu građevina: apoditerij, frigidarij, tepidarij i kaldarij s bazenima. Kompleks je samostalna građevina i ni na jednome mjestu nije organski vezan ni prislonjen na ostale okolne dijelove Palače. Potpuno je slobodan sa svih strana i plastičnim manjim volumenima tlocrtno razveden prema van. Terme su prilično velike u odnosu na raniju pretpostavku da su služile Caru, a raspored im je jednostavan, u skladu s raspoloživim prostorom.

Pojedine prostorije tih terma južnim su krakom usporedne sa sjevernim zidom podruma Dioklecijanove palače. Između je samo uzak slobodni prostor prema kojem je okrenut niz prozora podruma Palače, koji su služili za osvjetljavanje i provjetravanje prostora. Blizina zgrada svakako je to otežavala. Može se naslutiti da su se neke prostorije terma nastavljale dalje prema istoku, ali tu je situacija dosta nejasna. I visinski odnosi su neobični. Razina poda terma viša je od one u podrumima, ali je niža od prostorija Careva stana iznad njih. I to jasno ukazuje na potpunu neovisnost gradnje tih dijelova Palače. Istraživanja zapadnih terma nastavljena su 2008. i 2009. godine, pa i dalje.¹¹

facilities for users. The traces of walls in the upper section have not yet been found. Nonetheless, based on what has been found, the previous interpretations of the below-ground finds as rooms for visitors are not convincing.⁹

Based on all of the aforementioned points, all three preserved components on the Palace's eastern side, including the atrium, constitute the remains of a single, spacious thermal complex. Since only smaller and isolated parts thereof have been discovered thus far, there are still insufficient data to form a complete picture of the entire structure. The baths may have been entered from the north, from the decumanus, first into the atrium, whence the remaining rooms continued southward. Then this direction changed and extended westward, down present-day Arhiđakonova street below the row of subsequently built houses which lean against the external side of the southern wall of the mausoleum *temenos*. The new rooms of the baths will have to be sought below their ground floors when works are conducted in these buildings. The baths end before the substructure of the Vestibule (Pl. 2, no. 11), where Bulićeva poljana is today. In 1963, a Roman mosaic with geometric motifs was found on the ground here, and it spreads southward as well below an early medieval house (Pl. 2, no. 20). The discovered mosaic covers a surface of 60 square meters, but one part was devastated. This was a large, richly-decorated room which was also probably a part of the eastern baths.

Western baths

In the period from 1960 to 1963, another bath complex (Pl. 2, no. 21) was discovered on the western side of Diocletian's Palace, in today's Buvinina street, below the present-day Hotel Slavija. The remains of their walls were preserved up to a considerable height.¹⁰ These were also subsequently inserted into the unoccupied space between the central and southern sections of the Palace. Based on their position, they considerably narrowed the initial supply avenue which also ran southward from the Palace's western gate on this side and thereby greatly impeded traffic and communications.

The open space between the Palace's western perimeter wall, the emperor's living quarters and the partition wall of the temple *temenos* in the north-east were used for the subsequent interpretation of the western bath complex. In terms of its basic layout, the complex fit well into the available surface, formed in two

10 Marasović J., Marasović T. 1965, str. 32.

11 Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u Buvinovoj ulici provela je tvrtka *Trade pisa* iz Solina 2008. i 2009. godine.

9 Rismondo 2005, pp. 153-155.

10 Marasović J., Marasović T. 1965, p. 32.

Bila su ograničena pa ni ona nisu dala konačan odgovor o rasprostranju i veličini terma te svim njihovim sadržajima. Stoga se ni o njima ne može dati konačan sud. Tijekom godine 2013. obavljali su se radovi na njihovom uređenju i prezentaciji prema projektu arhitekta Ive Vojnovića.¹²

Te neobične pojave neusklađenosti obaju sklopova terma s rasporedom Palače kao cjelinom nisu sustavno objašnjene, a u vezi s njima neminovno se nameću i bitna pitanja na koja do sada nije odgovoreno. Nagađa se samo da su zapadne terme eventualno služile osobno Caru, a istočne ostalim stanovnicima Palače. Teško je ipak zamisliti da su samome Caru bile namijenjene toliko velike i brojne prostorije. Prihvatljivija je ipak stara Niemannova pretpostavka da je, s obzirom na svoj božanski status, poodmakle godine i bolest, Car za kupanje koristio nekoliko manjih prostorija unutar samog stana (Tab. 2, br. 14). Uostalom, između stana i terma nema ni izravnog spoja pa bi Car ako bi se njima služio morao izići i prolaziti otvorenim prostorom.

Istočne terme navodno su služile stanovnicima sjevernog dijela Palače, no položajem one nikako ne odgovaraju toj namjeni. Svakako su i one bile prevelike za ograničeni broj stalnih stanovnika i udaljene od mjesta njihova boravka. Ni raspored prostorija kupatila, naročito onih na zapadu, ne odgovara uobičajenom rasporedu terma. I iz toga se može pretpostaviti da su naknadno umetnute u neke vanjske slobodne prostore. Dobro ih je usporediti s najbližom rimskom kupališnom zgradom, Velikim termama u Saloni.¹³ Kod ovih potonjih odnos prostorija različite namjene i logika njihova korištenja posve su usklađeni. To se ne može tvrditi za termalne sklopove u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Skućenost prostora uvjetovala je neke kompromise.

Sjeverni kvadrant Dioklecijanove palače

Neki noviji nalazi u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Palače upućuju na zaključak da su i ondje izvedene neke pregradnje još u doba antike, vjerojatno nakon Careve smrti. Pretpostaviti je da se to radilo u sklopu prenamjene tih zgrada iz stambenih u gospodarske. Godine 2005., prilikom obnove pločnika na jugozapadnom dijelu današnje Carrarine poljane, provedena su manja istraživanja. Na sjevernom zidu rimskog sklopa

mutually vertical branches. The customary rooms for this type of building were discovered here: an apodyterium, frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium with pools. The complex was a stand-alone building not architecturally attached to nor resting against the surrounding parts of the Palace. It was entirely free on all sides with a layout that was outwardly articulated by small sculpted elements. The baths were rather large in relation to the earlier assumption that they served the emperor's needs, and their layout was simple, in line with the available space.

Individual rooms in these baths in its southern branch ran parallel to the northern wall of the cellar of Diocletian's Palace. There was only a narrow space between them. A row of windows on the Palace cellar used to light and air its room faced this space. The proximity of the buildings certainly rendered this difficult. It seems likely that some rooms in the baths continued farther eastward, but this situation is rather ambiguous. Even the height relations are unusual. The floor level of the baths is higher than that of the cellars, but it is lower than the rooms in the emperor's living quarters above them. This also clearly indicates the independent construction of these parts of the Palace. Research into the western baths continued in 2008 and 2009, and even beyond.¹¹ These works were limited, however, so even they did not yield a definitive answer on the layout and size of the baths and all of their facilities. So no final assessment thereof can be made. During 2013 works were done to repair and present them based on a project drafted by architect Ivo Vojnović.¹²

These unusual phenomena of incongruities between both bath complexes and the layout of the Palace as a whole have not been systematically explained, and some essential questions have inevitably arisen to which no answers have yet been found. All that has been surmised is that the western baths possibly served the emperor's personal needs, while the eastern baths were for the remaining residents of the Palace. Even so, it is difficult to imagine that such large and numerous facilities were intended for the emperor alone. More acceptable is Niemann's hypothesis that, given his divine status, advanced years and illness, the emperor used several smaller rooms

Mrduljaš 2008, str. 617-621; Mrduljaš, Penović 2009, str. 645-648. Istraživanje zapadnih terma i uređivanje izvodilo se i kasnije.

12 Vojnović 2009, *Konzervatorski elaborat za zapadne terme Dioklecijanove palače*. Vojnović 2013, str. 305-324.

13 Piplović 1980, str. 89-102.

11 Rescue archaeological research in Buvinova street was conducted by the company Trade pisa from Solin in 2008 and 2009. Mrduljaš 2008, pp. 617-621; Mrduljaš, Penović 2009, pp. 645-648. Research into the western baths and restoration works were conducted later as well.

12 Vojnović 2009, *Konzervatorski elaborat za zapadne terme Dioklecijanove palače*. Vojnović 2013, pp. 305-324.

zgrada pronađena su široka vrata koja su već u antici zazidana. Ondje su otkriveni i ostatci peći, vjerojatno iz kasne antike. Kako nalazi nisu detaljnije publicirani, teško je nešto određenije zaključiti. U svakom slučaju, radi se o prenamjeni tog dijela Palače za nove potrebe.¹⁴

Na krajnjem sjeveroistočnom uglu Dioklecijanove palače, u današnjoj Andrićevoj ulici, istražene su godine 2008. za potrebe novogradnje dvije prostorije. Prislunjene su s unutrašnje strane perimetralnih zidova Palače. Ondje su pronađeni dijelovi pregradnih zidova rimskih skladišta, taberna.¹⁵ Na ostacima prvobitne građevne strukture tog dijela Palače uočeni su tragovi naknadnih intervencija i popravaka lica zidova. Izvedene su tehnikom *opus mixtum*, što ukazuje da su nastale već u kasnoj antici.¹⁶

Riva

U posljednje vrijeme bilo je i drugih arheoloških otkrića koja se ne uklapaju u dotad ustaljene pretpostavke. Godine 2006. i 2007. provedena su zaštitna istraživanja dijela Rive ispred zapadne polovice južnog pročelja Dioklecijanove palače.¹⁷ Prema nepotpunim nalazima zaključeno je da je istovremeno s gradnjom Palače sagrađena Careva šetnica uz more, a pretpostavlja se da je tako bilo i u produženju ispred zapadnog dijela koji nije istražen, dakle po čitavoj dužini od preko 180 metara. Od toga je otkriven samo 41 metar obalnog zida, manje od četvrtine.¹⁸

Osnovno tumačenje nalaza, iako temeljeno na nedostatnim činjenicama, moglo bi se uglavnom prihvatiti. Da je uređena obala na čitavoj dužini ispred

in his actual living quarters for bathing (Pl. 2, no. 14). After all, there was no direct connection between the living quarters and the baths, so the emperor would have had to exit his quarters and walk through an outdoor area if he wanted to use them.

The eastern baths allegedly served the residents of the northern section of the Palace, but their location was not suited to this purpose at all. They were certainly also too large for this limited number of residents and too distant from their residences. Even the layout of the bathing facilities, especially those in the west, do not correspond to the standard layout of baths. This also points to the hypothesis that they were subsequently inserted into some unoccupied outdoor spaces. It would be worthwhile to compare them to the nearest Roman bathing structure, the Grand Baths in Salona.¹³ In the latter case, the relationship between the rooms of differing purposes and the logic of their use are in complete harmony. This cannot be stated for the thermal complexes in Diocletian's Palace. The closed quarters necessitated compromises.

Northern quadrant of Diocletian's palace

Certain more recent finds in the north-eastern section of the Palace point to the conclusion that certain rebuilding works had been done there already in Antiquity, likely after the emperor's death. It may be assumed that these involved the modification of these buildings from residential to commercial/economic use. In 2005, during renovation of the pavement in the south-western section of today's Carrarina poljana, minor rescue research was conducted. A wide door that was walled shut by bricks in Antiquity was found on the northern wall of the Roman-era building complex. The remains of an oven, probably from Late Antiquity, were also discovered there. Since these finds have not been published in great detail, it is difficult to draw any specific conclusions. In any case, this involved a modification of this part of the Palace to meet new needs.¹⁴

Two rooms in the extreme north-eastern corner of Diocletian's Palace, in today's Andrićeva street, were examined in 2008 for the needs of new construction works. They rest against the Palace's perimeter walls. Parts of the partition walls of Roman storage chambers, *tabernae*, were found there.¹⁵ Traces of

14 Alduk 2005, str. 399.

15 Penović 2008, str. 621-622. Arheološka istraživanja sklopa zgrada između Hrvojeve i Andrićeve ulice u Splitu vodila je 2008. godine Anita Penović, a idejni projekt za rekonstrukciju sklopa zgrada napravio je Ivo Vojnović godine 2010. Rezultati nalaza samo su šturo objavljeni.

16 Vojnović 2009, str. 54. *Konzervatorski elaborat za rekonstrukciju sjeveroistočnog ugla Dioklecijanove palače.*

17 Delonga 2007a, str. 513-515. Arheološki radovi na splitskoj Rivi provedeni su u organizaciji Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika iz Splita pod vodstvom dr. sc. Vedrane Delonge.

18 Delonga, 2007b, str. 5-6. Istraživanja starih obalnih građevina na Rivi izvedena su u sklopu preuređenja tog prostora. S obzirom na opsežne građevinske zahvate i kratke rokove njihova završetka radovi su se morali provesti pod vrlo složenim i nepovoljnim okolnostima, što se odrazilo i na rezultate, koji nisu detaljnije publicirani. Stoga istraživači smatraju da neke indicije treba potvrditi daljnjim arheološkim iskopavanjima.

13 Piplović 1980, pp. 89-102.

14 Alduk 2005, p. 399.

15 Penović 2008, pp. 621-622. Archaeological research into the building complex between Hrvojeva and Andrićeva streets in Split was conducted in 2008 by Anita Penović, and the preliminary design for its



Sl. 2. Dio grafičkog lista iz monografije R. Adama na kojem je prikazana monumentalna fontana s obilatim mlazovima vode, a nalazila se u predjelu Matejuške na zapadnom kraju Rive (foto: V. Vidan).

Fig. 2. Part of the graphic plate from the monograph by Robert Adam which shows the monumental fountain with copious flows of water that was situated in the Matejuška section at the western end of the waterfront (Riva) (photo: V. Vidan).

južnog pročelja sagrađena istovremeno s Dioklecijanovom palačom, dosta je nesigurno. I na onom dijelu koji se istraživao utvrđen je samo kraći segment. Iako je gradnja nesumnjivo antička, pitanje je kad je točno to učinjeno. S obzirom na sve ono što je izneseno, vjerojatnije je da je to napravljeno tek nakon Dioklecijanove smrti, kad se formirao grad te je takva obala bila potrebna novim stanovnicima za pristajanje većeg broja lađa. Jer, postavlja se pitanje zašto bi Caru bila potrebna još jedna šetnica ako je već postojala ona na kriptoportiku, trijemu široko rastvorenom lučnim otvorima u jednakoj dužini, s pogledom na pučinu i obližnje otoke.

Tome u prilog ide i nepoznanica kuda je Car uopće silazio na rivu uz more kako bi se ondje šetao ili ukrcavao na lađu. Car se u tom slučaju morao s Peristila spustiti u veliku dvoranu u suterenu, no postojeće stube koje onamo vode vrlo su strme te ih je Car u godinama teško mogao svladati pješice. Ako je pak nošen u nosiljci, tuda se ona nije mogla spustiti zbog tjesnoće prostora. Ako bi se i ta teškoća nekako svladala, Car bi došao do nedovršene dvorane, čiji svod nije bio obrađen, a pod vjerojatno nije bio popločan. Produžujući dalje kroz tako nedoličan prostor, na jugu se otvarala još jedna rustična slika. S obje strane pružali su se neuređeni i neugodni dugački hodnici ispod

subsequent interventions and repairs to the face of the walls were noted on the remains of the original building structure of this part of the Palace. They were done in the *opus mixtum* techniques, which indicates that they already appeared in Late Antiquity.¹⁶

Waterfront

Other archaeological discoveries have been made in recent years which do not comport with established assumptions. In 2006 and 2007, rescue research was conducted on a part of the city's waterfront (*Riva*) in front of the western half of the southern façade of Diocletian's Palace.¹⁷ Based on incomplete finds, it has been concluded that the emperor's promenade to the sea was built parallel to construction of the Palace, and it has been assumed that this was also the case in the extension in front of the western section which has not yet been researched, thus along the entire length of over 180 meters. Of this, only 41 meters of the shoreline wall, less than a fourth, has been discovered.¹⁸

The basic interpretation of the find, although it rests on insufficient data, can generally be accepted. It is rather uncertain as to whether the shoreline along the entire length in front of the southern façade was built at the same time as Diocletian's Palace. Even in that part that was examined, only a shorter segment was ascertained. Even though the construction was undoubtedly done in Antiquity, there is some question as to exactly when. Given all of the aforementioned points, it is likelier that it was done only after Diocletian's death, when the city was being formed and when such a shoreline was needed by the new residents to berth a higher number of boats. For the question arises as to why the emperor would have needed another promenade if one had already existed in the

reconstruction was drafted by Ivo Vojnović in 2010. The finds were rather scantily published.

- 16 Vojnović 2009, p. 54. *Konzervatorski elaborat za rekonstrukciju sjeveroistočnog ugla Dioklecijanove palače.*
- 17 Delonga 2007a, pp. 513-515. Archaeological works on Split's waterfront were organized by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split under the supervision of Vedran Delonga, Ph.D.
- 18 Delonga, 2007b, pp. 5-6. Research into the older coastal structures on the waterfront were conducted as a part of the reconstruction works there. Given the extensive construction undertakings and the short deadline for their completion, these works had to be conducted under very demanding and unfavourable circumstances, and this was also reflected in the results, which have not been published in greater detail. The researchers therefore believe that certain indications should be confirmed by further archaeological excavations.

kriptoportika. Izlaz iz njih, pak, tvorio je neugledan portal, bez ikakva ukrasa, koji se ni po čemu ne može usporediti s ostalima, posebno ne s raskošnim portalom sjevernog ulaza u Palaču. Sve to čini neuvjerljivom pretpostavku da se moćni Car uopće služio takvim prilazom na nekakvu šetnicu.

Postoji još jedan argument koji ukazuje na neuvjerljivost takvog razmišljanja. Već ranije je izneseno jedno logičnije rješenje. Radi se o tome da je sa zapadne strane Dioklecijanove palače, na današnjem Trgu braće Radića, u antici postojala morska uvala koja je dopirala sve do zapadnih vrata Palače. Postojanje duboke uvale potvrđuju i nalazi morskog pijeska prilikom istraživanja i uređenja ostataka crkve sv. Mihovila 1979. godine, koja se nalazila pred zapadnim obodnim zidom Dioklecijanove palače.¹⁹ Prema nekim podacima i tu su otkriveni tragovi antičkog gata, pa se Car na tome mjestu mogao jednostavnije ukrcavati na lađu. Sve to navodi na zaključak da riva duž južnog pročelja Palače Dioklecijanu uopće nije bila potrebna, te da je sagrađena u vrijeme nakon njegove smrti, kad je dobila potpuno drugu namjenu. Uz nju su pristajale trgovačke i putničke lađe.

Rasprava

Svi ti novi i značajni nalazi unijeli su veliku promjenu u nekadašnje logično zamišljeno tlocrtno rješenje Dioklecijanove palače i prouzročili dosta nejasnoća glede funkcioniranja i namjene građevine. U vrijeme otkrića terma i prvom razdoblju njihova istraživanja pretpostavljalo se da su one građene istovremeno kad i ostali dijelovi Palače i da su sastavni dio njezina izvornog rješenja.²⁰ Nije se pokušavalo objasniti to neobično otkriće. Ali kako su se nalazi povećavali, rasla je i sumnja u takvu postavku. Još godine 1997. pisac ovih redaka prvi je put izrazio mišljenje da su terme naknadni umetak u Palaču. Kako su nova istraživanja donosila daljnje potvrde takve mogućnosti, istraživači terma su se također tome priklanjali, te je u novije vrijeme to mišljenje uglavnom prevladalo. Za zapadne terme postoje uvjerljivi argumenti kasnije gradnje. Radi se o drukčijoj tehnici zidanja, zidovi terma nisu organski spojeni sa sjevernim zidom podruma Palače koji su u neposrednoj blizini, a južni dijelovi kupatila zaklanjaju prozore podruma.²¹

cryptoporticus, a portico with broadly articulated arched openings over an equal length with a view of the sea and the nearby islands.

This view is further backed by the ambiguity as to where the emperor even descended to the waterfront in order to take a stroll or embark on a boat. In this case, the emperor would have had to descend from the Peristyle to the large hall in the basement, but the existing stairs that lead to it are very steep, so that in his later years the emperor would have had difficulty negotiating them on foot. If he had been carried on a litter, it could not pass through here because of the narrowness of the space. Even if this difficulty had somehow been overcome, the emperor would have arrived in an unfinished hall, in which the vault had not yet been finalized and the floor had not yet been lined with tiles. Moving further through such an unsuitable space, yet another rustic picture would have emerged to the south. The unfinished and unpleasant long corridors beneath the cryptoporticus would have extended on both sides. The exit from them was then framed by an unsightly portal, without adornment, which could not be compared to the others in any way, particularly not the luxurious portal at the Palace's northern entrance. All of this indicates that it was unlikely that the powerful emperor would have made use of such an access route to a promenade.

There is another argument which illustrates how unconvincing such conjecture is. A more logical solution was already put forth earlier. This is the fact that in Antiquity there was a marine inlet on the western side of Diocletian's Palace, at today's Braće Radića square, which reached to the Palace's western gate. The existence of a deep cove has also been confirmed by the discovery of sea-sand during research during the examination and repair of the remains of the Church of St. Michael in 1979, which was in front of the western peripheral wall of Diocletian's Palace.¹⁹ According to some data, the remains of a Roman-era pier were also discovered here, so the emperor could have embarked on boats here with greater ease. All of this leads to the conclusion that a constructed waterfront all along the southern façade of Diocletian's Palace was not even necessary, and that it was built in the time after his death, which it acquired an entirely different purpose. Merchant and passenger vessels berthed there.

19 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 55; Marasović T. 1982, str. 72; Marasović T., Zekan M. 1982, str. 111, 121. U povijesnim izvorima položaj crkve sv. Mihovila označavao se često odrednicom *in ripa maris*, na obali mora.

20 Marasović T. 1976, str. 230.

21 Perojević *et al.* 2009, 51-94.

19 Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 55; Marasović T. 1982, p. 72; Marasović T., Zekan M. 1982, pp. 111, 121. In the historical sources, the location of the Church of St. Michael was often designated as being *in ripa maris*, 'on the seashore'.

S obzirom na sve iznesene činjenice, može se s velikom sigurnošću zaključiti da su dva sklopa terma u Dioklecijanovoj palači na prostoru između njezinoga središnjeg sakralnog dijela i Careva stana sagrađena naknadno, nakon Careve smrti. Istočne terme zauzimale su razmjerno velik prostor. Protezale su se od istoka na zapad sve do Vestibula. Na tom kraju bila je još jedna prostorija s mozaikom. Od nje su na bočnoj strani Vestibula postojala vrata koja su omogućavala pješaćku vezu kroz središnju podrumsku prostoriju do mora. Ako se prihvati pretpostavka da su dijelovi čiji su temelji pronađeni iznad imali i prizemlje, onda je njihov kapacitet zaista bio razmjerno velik. Nije potpuno jasan visinski odnos pojedinih dijelova, jer teren ispod Palače ne samo što je padao od sjevera prema jugu, tj. prema moru, nego je pad postojao i od istoka prema zapadu. Toj činjenici do sada nije pridavana potrebna pozornost, a važna je za odnos i vezu pojedinih do sada pronađenih prostora terma koje su na različitoj razini.

Sva nova otkrića navode na potrebu da se pokuša odrediti što se stvarno dogodilo nakon Careve smrti u južnom dijelu Palače. Za njegova života, dok je desetak godina boravio u njoj, tako opsežni građevinski zahvati u neposrednoj blizini njegovih stambenih prostorija teško su zamislivi. Osnovno polazište za razmatranje je činjenica da je nakon Dioklecijanove smrti njegova Palača ostala čitava. Stara je uvjerljiva teza da je postala državno dobro te da su u njezinom sjevernom dijelu bile radionice. Njezino naseljavanje započelo je još u antici, o čemu svjedoče mnogi materijalni ostatci iz ranokršćanskog doba. Već tada su sagrađene prve crkve, a nekropole Kristovih sljedbenika postojale su u Palači i oko nje.²² U novije vrijeme sve je više nalaza starokršćanskih spolija. Tako su godine 1908. prilikom arheoloških istraživanja na sjeveroistočnom uglu Dioklecijanove palače nađeni dijelovi stupca s urezanim karakterističnim križem, prikazom dupina na ulomku sarkofaga te dijelovi stupa i imposta vjerojatno iz istog vremena.²³

Nije potpuno jasno što je bilo sa Carevim stanom nakon njegove smrti i čemu je on služio. U tom smislu zanimljivo je svjedočenje Tome Arhidakona iz XIII. stoljeća. On navodi da su se stanovnici Salone nakon njezina razaranja tek u VII. stoljeću naselili u bivšu

Discussion

All of these new and significant finds brought major changes to the formerly logically conceived layout solution for Diocletian's Palace, and led to considerable uncertainties with regard to the functioning and purpose of the structure. At the time when the baths were discovered and during the first explorations of them, it was assumed that they were constructed at the same time as the remaining parts of the palace and that they were components of its original layout plan.²⁰ No attempts were made to explain this unusual discovery. But when the number of finds began to grow, so too did doubts over the initial assumptions. Already in 1997, the author of this paper first expressed the opinion that the baths were inserted into the Palace subsequently. Since new research has yielded further confirmations of such a possibility, researchers into the baths also backed this view, and more recently this opinion has generally prevailed. There are convincing arguments for the later construction of the western baths. They exhibit a different masonry style, the walls of the baths are not organically attached to the northern wall of the Palace's cellar which are in the immediate vicinity, and the southern parts of the bathing rooms block the cellar's windows.²¹

Given all of the facts stated above, it may be concluded with great certainty that these two bath complexes in Diocletian's Palace in the space between its central sacral section and the emperor's living quarters were constructed subsequently, after the emperor's death. The eastern baths occupied a relatively large space. They extended from east to west up to the Vestibule. At this end there was another room with a mosaic. There was a door on the lateral side of the Vestibule which facilitated pedestrian access through the central cellar area to the sea. If one accepts the hypothesis that those parts for which foundation were found had a ground floor above them, then their capacity was certainly immense. The height relations between individual parts are still not entirely clear, because the terrain under the Palace not only slopes from north to south, i.e., toward the sea, for there is also a slope from east to west. This fact has not thus far been accorded the requisite attention, but it is vital to the relationship and connection between individual rooms in the baths found thus far which are at different levels.

All new discoveries point to the need to attempt to determine what actually happened in the southern section of the Palace after the emperor's death. It is

22 O tome u literaturi postoji dosta podataka. Navode se samo neki: Fisković 1979, str. 10-15; Belamarić 1991, str. 8, 12; Marasović J. *et al.* 1995, str. 88; Oreb 1982, str. 125, gdje se također na str. 10 navode ranokršćanski nalazi.

23 Vojnović 2009, str. 56. Ovaj elaborat sadrži i izvješće Anite Penović, *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u prizemlju zgrade u Hrvojevoj i Andrićevoj ulici u Splitu*, Split, 1908, str. 1-10.

20 Marasović T. 1976, p. 230.

21 Perojević *et al.* 2009, pp. 51-94.

Carevu palaču.²⁴ Bogatiji su navodno sagradili kuće, drugi, nešto manje imućni, za stanovanje su zauzeli okolne kule, a običan puk je koristio stare svodove i kriptu. Neki su se smjestili u onom dijelu koji gleda na more. Još uvijek, međutim, postoje različite prosudbe o utemeljenosti onoga što je Toma napisao.²⁵ Neki istraživači smatraju da je Arhiđakonovo pripovijedanje zasnovano na kasnijem viđenju događaja i miješanju činjenica, pa ga ne bi trebalo u potpunosti slijediti. Toma je ipak bio čovjek drugog vremena i drukčije sredine i s tog je aspekta iznosio mišljenja o pojedinim događajima iz daleke prošlosti.²⁶ Sve upućuje na to da proces naseljavanja bivše Dioklecijanove palače od strane Salonitanaca nije bio organiziran odjednom. Dogodio se ranije i ne na onako dramatičan način kako je to zapisao Toma, već postupno. Još je car Teodorik na razmeđu V. i VI. stoljeća dopustio da se dio stanovnika smjesti u carsku vilu.²⁷

Osobito je upitan Tomin dramatičan opis pada Salone.²⁸ Postoje utemeljena mišljenja da ta razaranja nisu bila tako drastična, da je Salona zapravo tijekom kasnijih stoljeća služila kao kamenolom. I sam konzervator Frane Bulić navodi da su ono što u početku

difficult to conceive of such extensive construction works proceeding during his lifetime, while he lived there for roughly a decade. The basic point of departure for consideration is the fact that after Diocletian's death his palace remained intact. The old and convincing hypothesis is that it became state property and that there were workshops in its northern section. Its settlement already began in Antiquity, to which many physical remains from the Early Christian era testify. The first churches had already been built then, and necropolises for the followers of Christ existed inside and around the palace.²² In more recent times, there has been an increasing number of finds of Early Christian spolia. Thus, in 1908, during archaeological research in the north-eastern corner of Diocletian's Palace, pieces of columns bearing typical engraved crosses, images of a dolphin on a sarcophagus fragment and parts of a column and impost were probably from the same period.²³

It is not entirely clear what happened to the emperor's living quarters after his death, and to what use it was put. In this sense, the testimony provided by Thomas the Archdeacon in the 13th century is interesting. He asserted that the residents of Salona took up residence in the emperor's palace after their own city was destroyed in the 7th century.²⁴ The wealthier residents built new houses, others, somewhat less wealthy, occupied the surrounding towers, while the common people used the old vaults and crypts. Some found accommodation in that section which looks upon the sea. There are still considerably divergent assessments of

24 Ni to nije potpuno točno. Postoje materijalna svjedočanstva koja nedvosmisleno ukazuju da su se u Dioklecijanovu palaču stanovnici uselili još u kasnoj antici. Sačuvani su ostaci nekoliko ranokršćanskih crkava u Palači i oko nje te brojni spoliji ugrađeni u zidove zgrada s uklesanim tipičnim križevima iz tog razdoblja. Ako su se stanovnici Salone nakon smirivanja prilika pod vodstvom građanina Severa vratili s obližnjih otoka i uselili u Palaču, kako navodi Toma, ona nije bila prazna, već je postojalo organizirano naselje. Piplović 2007, str. 156-162. I u samostanu sv. Klare na Lučcu čuva se mali kameni relikvijar s uklesanim ranokršćanskim križevima. Duplančić 2013, str. 207.

25 Toma je zasigurno vidio neke starije dokumente kada je pisao svoje djelo. Treba međutim imati u vidu da je ono nastalo oko 6 stoljeća nakon događaja koje opisuje pa su se u međuvremenu o tom dalekom vremenu ispreplele mnoge legende i pretjerivanja u iskazima onoga što se stvarno dogodilo. Katić 1952, str. 99-100; Budak 2012, str. 158-159.

26 Rapanić 2007, str. 119-120. Autor iznosi primjere Tominih brkanja događaja, nepoznavanja činjenica i neuvjerljivosti; Katičić 2004, str. 109. I taj autor naglašava da je Toma u svom radu iznosio neka mišljenja sa stajališta svog vremena s kojima se danas teško složiti.

27 Ivić 2004, str. 139-140.

28 Ostaci Salone bili su ostali dosta dobro očuvani nakon što su grad osvojili Avari i Slaveni. O tome svjedoči njihovo današnje stanje, a i podatci da su mnoge zgrade razorene tek kasnije, kako bi se njihov kamen upotrijebio za gradnje u Solinu, Splitu pa i u Veneciji. I sami Venecijanci su ih rušili kako se među zidinama ne bi učvrstili Turci. Fisković, 1952, str. 197-204.

22 There are considerable data on this in the relevant literature. Only some will be cited here: Fisković 1979, pp. 10-15; Belamarić 1991, pp. 8, 12; Marasović J. *et al.* 1995, p. 88; Oreb 1982, p. 125, where Early Christian finds are also cited on p. 10.

23 Vojnović 2009, p. 56. This study also contains the report by Anita Penović, *Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u prizemlju zgrade u Hrvojevoj i Andrićevoj ulici u Splitu*, Split, 1908, 1-10.

24 Even this is not entirely accurate. There is physical evidence which unambiguously shows that people had moved into Diocletian's Palace already during Late Antiquity. The remains of several Early Christian churches in the Palace and around it have been preserved, as well as numerous spolia built into the walls of buildings bearing the typical engraved crosses of that period. If the residents of Salona returned from the nearby islands after circumstances had calmed and moved into the Palace under the leadership of Severus, as Thomas claimed, an organized settlement had already existed there. Piplović 2007, pp. 156-162. Even the Convent of St. Clare in Lučac holds a small reliquary with a small Early Christian cross carved onto it. Duplančić 2013, p. 207.

nije porušeno učinili Solinjani, Splitski i stanovnici okolnih sela koji su raznosili staro kamenje kao građu za nove zgrade. Donosili su se u grad i kameni sarkofazi, koji su se upotrebljavali kao korita za vodu u lazaretu i kod bunara na Dobrome ili kade u sumpornom kupalištu.²⁹ Čak je i pri izgradnji romaničkog zvonika splitske katedrale u njega umetnuto više rimskih kamenih ulomaka, kao obični građevni materijal, i dosta stupova. Osobito se za razne potrebe uzimalo kamenje amfiteatra.³⁰ Stoga postaje uvjerljivom novija postavka da u Tominu opisu ne treba u svemu vidjeti točan tijek događaja.

Kako bilo, utvrđena Palača preživjela je sve napade barbara i Careve su odaje sačuvane. U središtu naše pozornosti upravo su promjene i događaji u razdoblju od oko tri stoljeća od Careve smrti do konačnog pada Rimskog Carstva. Teorije da su tamo boravili prognani dostojanstvenici, treba uzimati s oprezom i nije jasno koliko su dugo pojedinci ondje stanovali.³¹ Povijesni izvori o tome su skromni. Nedostaju pisani podatci i arheološki ostatci koji bi o tome svjedočili.³² Koliko se zna, u Palači su boravili Julije Nepot, Gala Placidija te još neki uglednici, ali samo na kraće vrijeme. Ni oko toga nema jedinstvenog stajališta. Postoje mišljenja da azil izgnanicima nije pružila Dioklecijanov palača, nego nedaleki grad Salona.³³ Ako je to bilo tako, čemu su onda služile raskošne Dioklecijanove odaje? Pitanje je jesu li pregrađivane u novu svrhu, kao što se to dogodilo u nekim drugim dijelovima Palače, nakon što Cara više nije bilo. To će biti teško sa sigurnošću utvrditi, jer od Carevih odaja gotovo ništa nije sačuvano. One su gotovo u potpunosti uništene i od njih je preostalo tek nešto manjih ostataka zidova na nekoliko mjesta. Njihov osnovni tlocrtni raspored,

what Thomas had written.²⁵ Some researchers believe that the archdeacon's stories were based on retrospective views of these events and muddled facts, so that they should not be given too much credence. Thomas was, after all, a man from a different time and place, and it was from that perspective that he formulated his opinions on individual events from the distant past.²⁶ By all indications, the process of settlement in Diocletian's former palace by the natives of Salona was not organized all at once. It proceeded earlier and not in the dramatic fashion described by Thomas, but rather gradually. Even Theodoric the Great allowed some residents to move into the imperial villa at the turn of the 5th into the 6th century.²⁷

Thomas' dramatic description of the fall of Salona is particularly questionable.²⁸ There are well-backed views that the destruction was not that extreme, and that Salona actually served as a quarry during the ensuing centuries. Even preservation expert Frane Bulić noted that what had not been initially demolished was done by the residents of Solin, Split and surrounding villages who took away old stones for use as materials on new buildings. Even stone sarcophaguses were brought to the city and then used as water basins in the lazaretto and at the well at Dobro, or as tubs at the sulphur-water bathing area.²⁹ Numerous Roman stone fragments, used as ordinary construction material, and a considerable number of columns were even used in the construction of the Romanesque campanile of Split's cathedral. The stones from the

29 Duplančić 2014.

30 Bulić 1986, str. 32, 73; Kečkemet 1957, str. 51-57; Kečkemet 1963, str. 205.

31 Spominje se da je u V. stoljeću prognana Gala Placidija, kći cara Teodozija, pa je možda kraće vrijeme boravila u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Kao stanovnici Palače u kraćem razdoblju navode se i Glicerij te Julije Nepot, zbačeni rimski carevi. Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 181.

32 Karaman 1962, str. 5-10. Autor se kritički osvrće na starije tvrdnje da su u Dioklecijanovoj palači na duže vrijeme boravili prognani rimski carevi i patriciji. Smatra da za to nema pouzdanih podataka i da se radi o nagađanjima. Rapanić 2007, str. 113-115.

33 Rapanić 1971, str. 16. Za razliku od Karamana Rapanić je sklon mišljenju da su se u Dioklecijanovu palaču tijekom V. stoljeća često sklanjali članovi carske obitelji. Rješenje tog pitanja iznimno je važno za konačan sud o njezinoj namjeni nakon Careve smrti. Rapanić 2007, str. 113-115.

25 Thomas had certainly seen certain older documents when he wrote his chronicle. However, it should be recalled that this work appeared roughly six centuries after the events being described, so that in the meantime many legends and embellishments on this remote time became intermingled with testimony on what had actually occurred. Katić 1952, pp. 99-100; Budak 2012, pp. 158-159.

26 Rapanić 2007, pp. 119-120. The author cited examples of Thomas confusing events, as well as his unfamiliarity with the facts and his general unpersuasiveness; Katičić 2004, p. 109. This author also stressed that Thomas expressed some views from the perspective of his own time with which it is difficult to agree in the present.

27 Ivić 2004, pp. 139-140.

28 The remains of Salona truly remained well preserved after the city was conquered by the Avars and Slavs. Their current state testifies to this, as well as the fact that many buildings were only demolished later so that their stone could be used to build Solin, Split and even Venice. The Venetians tore them down so that the Ottomans could not fortify themselves among the walls. Fisković 1952, pp. 197-204.

29 Duplančić 2014.

oblik i veličina mogu se zamisliti samo prema prostora podruma ispod njih.

O tome što se događalo na južnom dijelu carske palače neposredno nakon Careve smrti, može se pretpostaviti iz nekih činjenica. Naime, čitav prostor na kojem je izgrađena Palača i njezina neposredna okoliša obiluje podzemnim vodama, potocima, bunarima te izvorima običnih, bočatih, ali i ljekovitih voda bogatih sumporovodikom. Spominju se još u XVII. i XVI-II., a posebno u XIX. stoljeću. U grafikama Pierrea Mortiera, ing. Giuseppea Santinija, mjernika Grgura Fradelića Gale i G. Justera iz tog razdoblja ucrtane su vode koje se spuštaju sa sjevera prema moru udolinom na mjestu današnje Marmontove ulice i lučice Matejuške.³⁴

Pretpostaviti je da je slično bilo i u antici pa čak i da je upravo to jedan od razloga zbog kojih je ostarjeli i bolesni Dioklecijan upravo na tom mjestu dao podignuti Palaču. Takvih voda ima na više mjesta oko Palače, a osobito s njezine zapadne strane.

U podrumu Palače ispod kriptoportika, zapadno od južnih vrata kojima se izlazi na more, nalaze se dva zdenca. Izgrađena su još u helenističko doba, prije negoli je podignuta Dioklecijanova palača. Ozidani su kamenim blokovima. Otkriveni su godine 1959. i iz njih još uvijek izbija voda na maloj dubini.³⁵

Posebno je u tom pogledu zanimljiva srednjovjekovna zgrada franjevačkog samostana iz XIII. stoljeća, na obali zapadno od Palače, današnje Rive. Kako je bila trošna, početkom XX. stoljeća odlučeno je da se poruši i na istome mjestu podigne nova. Prilikom iskopa za temelje godine 1907. na više se mjesta nalazilo na sumporna vrela, te se čak govorilo da će fratri s vremenom ondje napraviti kupalište.³⁶ Ta sumporna voda izvirala je većim dijelom zapadno od već postojećeg izdanka ispod drvenog stubišta samostana. Kako je tu bilo čak osam izvora sumporne vode, i dr. J. Marušić je godine 1914. namjeravao ondje urediti moderne sumporne banje. Navodno su franjevci bili već otkazali najam vlasniku *Hrvatske tiskare*, koja se nalazila u njihovim prostorima. Bit će da je Prvi svjetski rat, koji je izbio nekoliko mjeseci kasnije, zaustavio taj naum.³⁷ U razdoblju od 1987. do 1995. godine temeljito su obnovljeni samostan i crkva. Nije

amphitheatre in particular were taken for various needs.³⁰ Thus, the more recent postulate that an accurate account of events was not provided by Thomas' descriptions becomes more convincing.

In any case, the fortified Palace survived all attacks by barbarians and the emperor's chambers were preserved. The attention herein will be placed on precisely those changes and events which occurred during the roughly three centuries from the emperor's death to the final collapse of the Roman Empire. Theories to the effect that exiled dignitaries lived there should be taken with some caution, for it is not even clear how long certain individuals resided there.³¹ Historical sources on this are quite meagre. Data and archaeological remains that would testify to this are lacking.³² It is known that Julius Nepos, Gallia Placidia and certain other dignitaries stayed there, but only for briefer periods, and even here opinions diverge. There are views that asylum for these exiles was not offered by Diocletian's Palace, but rather the city of Salona.³³ If this had in fact been the case, then how were Diocletian's luxurious quarters put to use? The is some question as to whether they were remodelled for a new purpose, as happened in certain other parts of the Palace after the emperor was no longer there. This will be difficult to ascertain with any certainty, because almost none of the emperor's chambers have been preserved. They have been almost entirely destroyed, and only some minor remains of walls at a few places remain. Their basic layout, shape and size can be conceived only on the basis of the cellar rooms beneath them.

As to what transpired in the southern section of the imperial palace after the emperor's death, one may speculate based on certain facts. Namely, the entire area on which the Palace was constructed, as well

34 Duplančić 2007, str. 16-28.

35 Marović 1959, str. 119-121.

36 *Sumporno vrelo*, Naše Jedinstvo, Split, 20. VII. 1907., str. 2.

37 *Nove sumporne banje*, Naše Jedinstvo, Split, 18. IV. 1914. Piplović 1985, str. 72.

30 Bulić 1986, pp. 32, 73; Kečkemet 1957, pp. 51-57; Kečkemet 1963, p. 205.

31 It has been mentioned that in the 5th century, Galla Placidia, the daughter of Emperor Theodosius, was exiled, so she may have briefly resided in Diocletian's Palace. Glycerius and Julius Nepos, deposed Roman emperors, have also been cited residents of the Palace for short periods. Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 181.

32 Karaman 1962, pp. 5-10. He rather critically viewed older claims that exiled Roman emperors and patricians resided in Diocletian's Palace for extended periods. He believed that there were no reliable data on this and that it was all speculation. Rapanić 2007, pp. 113-115.

33 Rapanić 1971, p. 16. As opposed to Karaman, Rapanić favoured the view that Diocletian's Palace often sheltered members of the imperial family in the 5th century. A solution to this problem is exceptionally vital to a definitive assessment of its use after the emperor's death. Rapanić 2007, pp. 113-115.

poznato jesu li tada ponovno otkrivena vrela sumporne vode, jer nalazi o tome nisu objavljeni.³⁸

Zapadno od samostana, u lučici Matejuški, nalazi se sumporni izvor Piškera. Voda je izbijala iz tri procjepa u kamenu. Služila je od davnina kao perilište stanovnicima obližnjeg Velog varoša. Sumporna voda pogodovala je bijeljenju rublja. Piškera je bila u upotrebi sve do 1930. godine, kada je izvor kanaliziran.³⁹

U današnjoj Marmontovoj ulici, kod zgrade Ribarnice, nalaze se tri izvora mineralne vode, od kojih je jedan bio prilično izdašan. U njima je znatna koncentracija sumporovodika, najveća u Europi.⁴⁰ Brzo se pronio glas o ljekovitost te vode. Voda je visoko mineralizirana, hipotermna, karakterizirana natrijem i klorom. Najčešće se preporučuje za liječenje reumatskih bolesti.⁴¹ Stoga je u blizini godine 1821. podignuta zgrada kupališta. U početku je to bila skromna građevina. Ali kako je zanimanje za liječenjem raslo, godine 1903. sagrađena je velika zgrada u oblicima secesije, prema projektu inženjera Kamila Tončića.⁴² O učinkovitosti splitskih sumpornih voda dovoljno govori činjenica da se ondje i danas nalazi lječilište za mnoge zdravstvene probleme, nakon operacija i ozljeda lokomotornog sustava, u slučajevima psorijoze i raznovrsnih ekcema.⁴³ Nedaleko odatle, na obali, tijekom godine 1910. gradio se dio istočnog krila trga Prokurativa, današnjeg Trga Republike. Radove je vodio inženjer Dane Matošić. Pri iskopima za temelje i ondje su se pojavili izvori slane te vrele slatke i sumporne vode.⁴⁴

Godine 1954. u podrumima Palače, na mjestima koja su tada bila očišćena, nađena je velika količina

as the immediate vicinity, abounds in groundwater, streams, wells and sources of fresh, brackish and even medicinal waters rich in hydrogen sulphide. They were mentioned as far back as the 17th and 18th centuries, but particularly in the 19th century. In the maps by Pierre Mortier, engineer Giuseppe Santini, surveyors Grgur Fradelić Gale and G. Juster from that period, waters were drawn descending from the north to the sea down a depression at the site of today's Marmontova street and the small harbour called Matejuška.³⁴

It may be assumed that the situation was similar in Antiquity, and that this was precisely why the aged and ill Diocletian chose this site to erect his Palace. Such waters can be found at several locations around the Palace, and especially to its western side.

There are two wells in the Palace's cellar below the cryptoporticus, west of the southern gate leading to the sea. They had already been built during the Hellenistic era, long before Diocletian's Palace was built. They are lined with stone blocks. They were discovered in 1959, and water still springs from them at a small depth.³⁵

Particularly interesting in this regard is the medieval building of the 18th-century Franciscan monastery on the shore west of the Palace, on the present-day waterfront (*Riva*). Since it was dilapidated, at the beginning of the 20th century the decision was made to demolish it and build a new one at the same site. During excavations for its foundations in 1907, sulphur springs were found at several places, and it was even said that the friars would eventually make a spa there.³⁶ These sulphur waters mostly sprang west of the already existing spring beneath the monastery's wooden stairwell. Since there were as many as eight sulphur springs here, even Dr. J. Marušić intended to set up modern sulphur baths here in 1914. The Franciscans had allegedly already cancelled the lease of the owner of the printing company Hrvatska tiskara, which had been accommodated in their facilities. It is likely that these plans were halted by the First World War, which broke out several months later.³⁷ In the period from 1987 to 1995, the monastery and church were thoroughly renovated. Whether or not sulphur springs were found again is not known, as the finds on these works were not published.³⁸

38 Marasović D. 2009, str. 126-127. Autor ne donosi tekst ni komentar o tome što je sve učinjeno, već samo 5 slika. Projekt obnove i radova vodio je Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Split.

39 Piplović 1988, str. 81.

40 Prema međunarodnoj klasifikaciji splitska sumporna voda svrstava se u visokomineralizirane sumporne hipotermne vode. Istraživanjem vrela tijekom 1952. i 1953. godine utvrđeno je da mu je izdašnost dosta kolebljiva, u ovisnosti o količini oborina. Voda se sastoji od morske vode, mineralne vode s dosta sulfata i slatke vode kišnice. Štambuk-Giljanović 1997, str. 67, 71; Buljan 1955, str. 23.

41 Štambuk-Giljanović 2002, str. 513-520; Štambuk-Giljanović 2006, str. 419-429. U svojim radovima autorica je iznijela podatke o današnjem stanju splitskoga sumpornog ljekovitog vrela te hidrološkim značajkama i podrijetlu sumpornog kupališta.

42 Ivanović 1981, str. 95-102.

43 Novak 1970, str. 30. Današnje stanje sumpornih kanala utvrđeno je snimanjem 2007. i 2008. godine. O tome vidjeti Vidović 2009 i Vidović 2013.

44 Piplović 2009, str. 98.

34 Duplančić 2007, pp. 16-28.

35 Marović 1959, pp. 119-121.

36 "Sumporno vrelo", *Naše Jedinstvo*, Split, 20 July 1907, p. 2.

37 "Nove sumporne banje", *Naše Jedinstvo*, Split, 18 Apr. 1914. Piplović 1985, p. 72.

38 Marasović, 2009, pp. 126-127. The author did not provide a text nor commentary on what had been done, rather only five photographs. The renewal and works

taloga sumporne vode, istog kemijskog sastava kao i voda u Marmontovoj ulici. Postoje neki navodi da i voda u bunaru kripte Dioklecijanova mauzoleja ima prirodna ljekovita svojstva. Možda je to bilo razlogom što je ondje uređena kapela posvećena sv. Luciji, zaštitnici oboljelih od očnih bolesti.⁴⁵

Osobito je područje zapadno od povijesne jezgre obilovalo podzemnim i nadzemnim vodama. Na tom je mjestu prema današnjoj Marmontovoj ulici padao teren s istoka i zapada pa su tom udolinom na jug otjecale otvorene vode potoka i ulijevale se u more. Potok je ucrtan na starom planu još iz sredine XVII. stoljeća. Na dnu blizu obale, na položaju gdje je poslije načelnik Bajamonti izgradio svoju palaču, bila je još u XVIII. stoljeću fontana s ljekovitim vodom, a čitav je predjel bio blatnjav i smrdljiv od sumpora.⁴⁶ Uokolo su se nalazili mnogi javni i privatni bunari te podzemne tekuće vode kojima su se građani služili od davnina, ali one često nisu bile dobre, jer su sadržavale sumpor. Pri istraživanju pojedinih starih vodnih objekata rijetko se ispitivao kemijski sastav vode, što bi zasigurno moglo biti vrlo korisno za razumijevanje onoga što se događalo u samoj Dioklecijanovoj palači.⁴⁷ Godine 2003. izvodili su se radovi rekonstrukcije i preuređenja Male Papalićeve palače, djela Jurja Dalmatinca, u današnjoj Šubićevoj ulici. Tom prilikom utvrđeni su stalni i ravnomjerni dotoci podzemne vode ispod zgrade. Ondje se ulijevala u cisternu i odatle tekla dalje kanalima prema moru na jugu. I taj nalaz ukazuje na obilnost voda u starom središtu grada, posebno zapadno od Dioklecijanove palače, što je moglo utjecati na njezinu prenamjenu u kasnoj antici.⁴⁸

A sulphur spring called Piškera was located west of the monastery, in the small harbour called Matejuška. The water springs out of three fissures in the stone. It had been used for centuries as a laundry for the residents of nearby Veli varoš. The sulphurous waters helped bleach fabrics. Piškera was in use until 1930, when the spring's runoff was routed to sewers.³⁹

In today's Marmontova street, near the fish market building, there are three mineral water springs, of which one was rather copious. They had a high concentration of hydrogen sulphide, the highest in Europe.⁴⁰ Word of this water's medicinal properties spread rapidly. The water was highly mineralized, hypothermal, characterized by sodium and chlorine. It was most often recommended for the treatment of rheumatic ailments.⁴¹ A spa building was thus raised around the year 1821. This was initially a modest structure. But as interest in treatment grew, in 1903 a large building was constructed with Art Nouveau features, based on the designs of architect Kamilo Tončić.⁴² The best testimony to the effectiveness of Split's sulphur waters is the fact that even today there is a spa there to treat many health problems, such as post-operative conditions and musculoskeletal injuries, as well as cases of psoriasis and various types of eczema.⁴³ Not far from there, on the seashore, the eastern wing of the square formerly called Prokurative, today Republike square, was built in 1910. The works were led by architect Dane Matošić. During excavations there, sources of saltwater, as well as fresh and sulphur water springs appeared.⁴⁴

In 1954, high quantities of sulphur water sediment were found in the Palace's cellars, which had been cleaned at the time. Their chemical composition was

45 Peko 2008, str. 19.

46 Kečkemet 1993, str. 146-147; Kečkemet 2003, str. 168. I Bartolozzijeva veduta u knjizi Roberta Adama, u kojoj su maštovito komponirani dijelovi raznih antičkih građevinama, ukazuje na obilje vode na zapadnom kraju splitske Rive. Uz ostalo tu je prikazana i jedna monumentalna ukrasna fontana jakih mlazova sa skulpturom lava na vrhu na položaju izvora ljekovite sumporne vode. Adam 1764, tab. IV.

47 Kod novijih radova u povijesnoj jezgri Splita gdje su se pojavljivale vode ili građevina koje su nekoć imale vodovodne uređaje nije se provodilo ispitivanje sastava vode. Rezultati analiza koje bi pokazale je li se u nekim slučajevima radilo o običnoj vodi ili tragovima sumpora, bili bi od posebne važnosti za zaključke o funkcijama Palače od izgradnje i njezine prenamjene u antičko vrijeme. Takvi propusti učinjeni su kod istraživanja obaju sklopova terma, rekonstrukcije samostana sv. Frane, preuređenja Rive i adaptacije male Papalićeve palače u Šubićevoj ulici.

48 Vojnović 2005, str. 263-264. Za radove na Maloj Papalićevoj palači projekt je izradio ovlašteni arhitekt Ivo

project was conducted by the Monument Protection Department in Split.

39 Piplović 1988, p. 81.

40 According to the international classification, Split's sulphur water is categorized as a highly-mineralized hypothermal sulphur water. Research into the springs in 1952 and 1953 ascertained that its volume fluctuates depending on the quantity of precipitation. The water consists of seawater, mineral water and fresh precipitation water. Štambuk-Giljanović 1997, pp. 67, 71; Buljan 1955, p. 23.

41 Štambuk-Giljanović 2002, pp. 513-520; Štambuk-Giljanović 2006, pp. 419-429. In her works, the author cited data on the current status of Split's medicinal sulphur spring and the hydrological features and origin of the sulphur baths.

42 Ivanović 1981, pp. 95-102.

43 Novak 1970, p. 30. The current state condition of the sulphur gullies was ascertained by surveys in 2007 and 2008. On this, see Vidović 2009, and Vidović 2013.

44 Piplović 2009, p. 98.

Iz činjenice o obilju ljekovitih vrela, postojanju dvaju naknadno izgrađenih zgrada terma i sačuvanih stambenih prostora neposredno uz njih moglo bi se zaključiti da su južni dijelovi Palače kasnije neko vrijeme služili za zdravstvene i rekreativne potrebe, možda kao neko lječilište. Sumporna voda ima terapijski učinak kod liječenja reumatskih bolesti, tegoba psorijaze, sklerodermije i reumatskog artritisa.⁴⁹ Terme su mogli koristiti stanovnici Salone, glavnoga grada prostrane provincije Dalmacije, i drugih krajeva, a nekadašnji Carev stan mogao je služiti za njihov smještaj. Za tu pretpostavku nema izravnih dokaza, ali svi noviji nalazi ukazuju na to.

Druga okolnost koja također podupire takve postavke, jesu noviji nalazi na lokaciji *Basilicae pictae* u današnjoj Ulici Domovinskog rata. Na tom mjestu otkriveno je kasnoantičko groblje koje nije do kraja istraženo. Prema dosadašnjim saznanjima ono se prostiralo na velikoj površini, na što ukazuju brojni otkriveni pojedinačni ukopi. Prilikom ograničenog istraživanja godine 1999. pronađeni su ostatci 14 osoba. Antropološkom analizom na Odsjeku za arheologiju HAZU utvrđeno je da se radi o 13 muškaraca i jednoj ženi. Forenzičari pretpostavljaju da se na tom mjestu nalazilo ukopište posebne zajednice, možda samostanske, ili čak nekog lječilišta. Nadalje se pokazalo da su u mlađim godinama mnogi patili od reumatskih bolesti. Ako se uzme u obzir da su posebno legionari tijekom dugogodišnje vojničke službe u teškim prilikama bili izloženi takvim tegobama, to bi moglo poduprijeti tezu o zdravstvenom objektu u blizini. Općenito je poznato da su u antičkom Rimskom Carstvu građani bili veliki ljubitelji termalnih kupališta i rado ih posjećivali kao mjesta susreta i odmora pa su se u većim naseljima terme redovito gradile. Treba se podsjetiti da su i u današnjim našim krajevima postojale slične toplice. To opet ukazuje na mogućnost da su i u prenamijenjeni i pregrađeni dio Dioklecijanove palače dolazili ljudi iz raznih krajeva na liječenje i rekreaciju. Za to je izgrađena primjerena građevinska infrastruktura.⁵⁰

Na osnovi dosad nepotpunih podataka može se zaključiti da su istočne terme sagrađene tijekom IV. stoljeća. Postojale su možda stotinjak godina, jer je u njihovim ruševinama nađena lucerna s kršćanskim oznakama. To bi značilo da ih tada više nije bilo. Uostalom, prvi kršćani nisu cijevali ljudske fizičke odlike ni svjetovna zadovoljstva pa su u to vrijeme i terme

the same as the water in Marmontova street. There are some claims that the water from the well in the crypt of Diocletian's mausoleum also had naturally medicinal properties. This may be the reason why a chapel dedicated to St. Lucy was set up there, as she is deemed the patron saint of those who suffer from ailments of the eyes.⁴⁵

The area west of the historical core abounded in below- and above-ground waters. At this site west of today's Marmontova street, the terrain sloped downward from east to west so the above-ground waters from a stream ran southward down this depression into the sea. The stream was drawn into an old map from the mid-17th century. At the bottom near the seashore, at the place where Mayor Bajamonti later built his palace, there was still a fountain with medicinal water in the 18th century, and the entire area was muddy with the stench of sulphur hanging over it.⁴⁶ Many public and private wells, as well as underground water flows, were situated all around, and residents long made use of them, even though they were often not good because they contained sulphur. When researching individual old water facilities, the chemical composition of the water was rarely tested, which would have certainly been useful for an understanding of what happened in Diocletian's Palace itself.⁴⁷ In 2003, the Mala Papalićeva Palace in today's Šubićeva street, originally the work of Juraj Dalmatinac (Georgius Mathaei Dalmaticus), was reconstructed and renovated. At this time, constant and uniform flows of groundwater beneath the building were ascertained. They poured into a cistern there, whence they flowed

45 Peko 2008, p. 19.

46 Kečkemet 1993, pp. 146-147; Kečkemet 2003, p. 168. Even Bartolozzi's vistas in the book by Robert Adam, in which he imaginatively composed parts of various ancient structures, indicate an abundance of water at the western end of Split's waterfront. Among other things, a monumental decorative fountain is depicted with voluminous gushes and a sculpture of a lion at the top at the location of the sulphur water spring. Adam 1764, pl. IV.

47 During more recent works in Split's historical core, where waters or structures that once had water conveyance installations appeared, the composition was the water was not tested. The results of analysis that would show whether it was a matter of ordinary water or water with traces of sulphur in specific cases would be of particular value to conclusions on the Palace's functions since its construction and its modifications in Antiquity. Such oversights were committed during research into both bath complexes, the reconstruction of the St. Francis Monastery, the remodelling of the waterfront and the adaptations to Mala Papalićeva Palace in Šubićeva street.

Vojnović, a izvelo ih je nekoliko specijaliziranih tvrtki.

49 Štambuk-Giljanović 1997, str. 71.

50 Oreb *et al.* 1999, str. 7-33; Piplović 1999, str. 691-698; Šlaus 1999, str. 60-65.

zapuštene. Treba se samo sjetiti Velikih terma u nedalekoj Saloni, koje su pretvorene u kršćanski kulturni objekt. Danas se općenito preispituju ustaljena stajališta o Palači. Istraživanja su ipak ograničena jer se radi o gusto izgrađenom dijelu grada. Međutim, još uvijek se ne posvećuje dostatna pozornost interpretaciji novih neobičnih nalaza. Naša arheologija i povijest arhitekture još su pod određenim utjecajem starijih ustaljenih postavka.⁵¹

on by gullies southward to the sea. This discovery also demonstrates the abundance of water in the old core of the city, particularly to the west of Diocletian's Palace, which may have influenced its repurposing in Late Antiquity.⁴⁸

Based on this abundance of medicinal springs, the existence of two subsequently constructed bath buildings and the preserved residential structures in the immediate vicinity, it may be concluded that the southern sections of the Palace subsequently served health and recreational needs, perhaps as some manner of spa. Sulphur water has therapeutic value in the treatment of rheumatic ailments and difficulties arising from psoriasis, scleroderma and rheumatic arthritis.⁴⁹ The thermal baths could have been used by the residents of Salona, the capital of the spacious province of Dalmatia, and other regions, and the emperor's former quarters could have accommodated them. There is no direct evidence for this hypothesis, but all more recent finds would seem to back it.

Another circumstance which also supports this hypothesis is the new find at the *Basilicae pictae* site in today's Domovinskog rata street. A cemetery from Late Antiquity which has not been entirely researched was discovered there. Based on previous knowledge, it covered a large surface, which is shown by the numerous discoveries of individual burials. During the course of limited research conducted in 1999, the remains of 14 individuals were found. Anthropological analysis at the Archaeology Department of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Science established that these are the remains of 13 men and one woman. Forensic specialists assume that this was the burial site of a specific community, perhaps monastic, or even of a sanatorium. Moreover, it has been ascertained that these individuals suffered from rheumatic ailments in their youth. If one takes into consideration that legionnaires in particular were exposed to such ailments during their long service under arduous conditions, this may back the hypothesis about a health-care facility in the vicinity. It is a generally known fact that the citizens in the ancient Roman Empire were great lovers of thermal spas and they gladly visited them as a place to socialize and rest, so baths were regularly constructed in larger settlements. It is worthwhile recalling that similar thermal spas also existed today's regions of Croatia and beyond. This once more points to the possibility that people from various regions came to the

51 Još je godine 2006. autor ovog rada upozorio da bi nova otkrića u Dioklecijanovoj palači mogla imati radikalne posljedice na tumačenje njezina preobražaja neposredno nakon Careve smrti. Posebno se to odnosi na južni dio Palače: Piplović 1972, str. 3. Piplović 2006, str. 21. Isto tako novine su obavijestile javnost o novim nalazima u Dioklecijanovoj palači: Piplović 1972, str. 3

48 Vojnović 2005, pp. 263-264. For the works at Mala Palićeva Palace, the project was drafted by the authorized architect Ivo Vojnović, and it was implemented by several specialized companies.

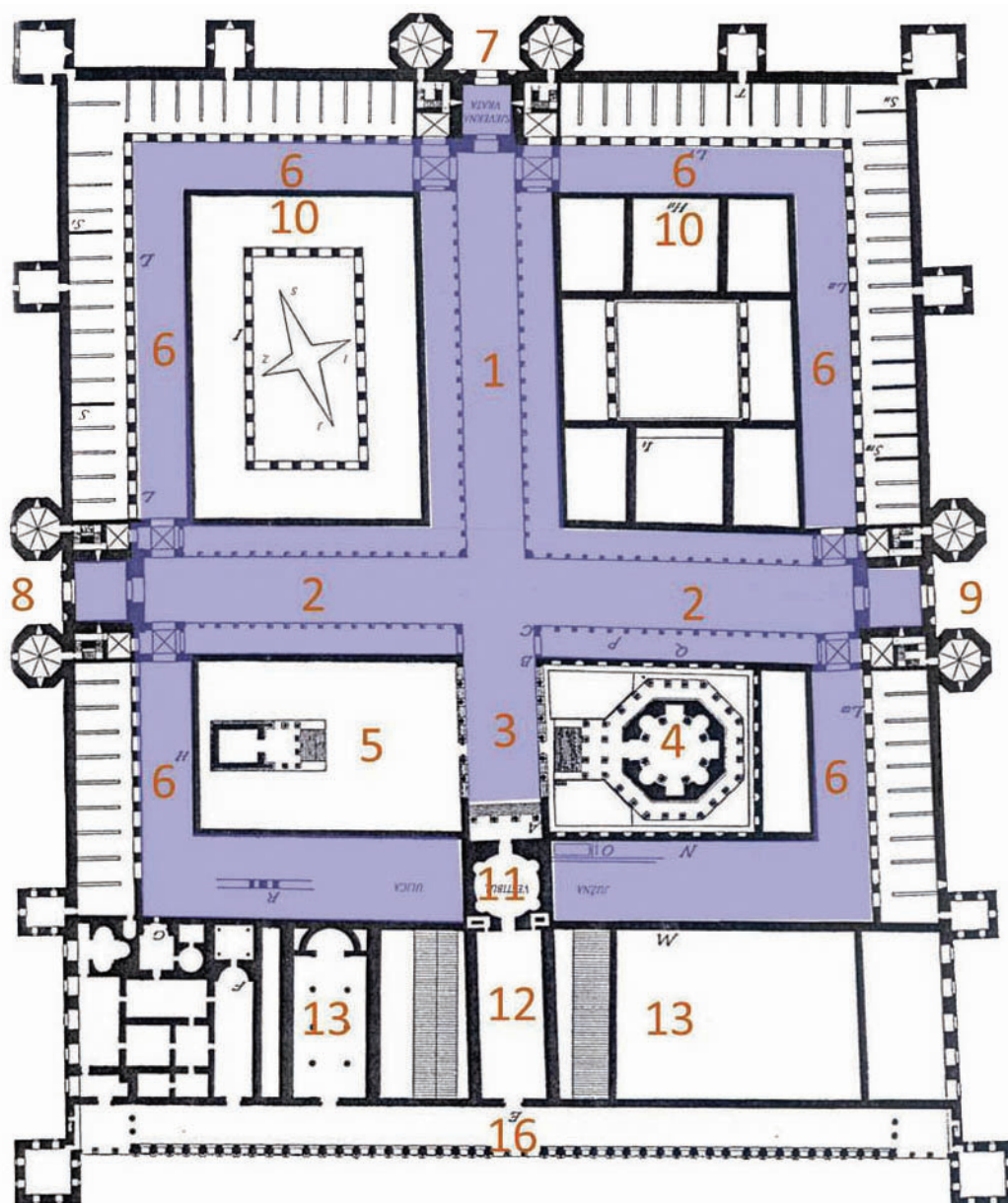
49 Štambuk-Giljanović 1997, p. 71.

remodelled and rebuilt section of Diocletian's Palace for treatment and recreation. A suitable architectural infrastructure was built for this purpose.⁵⁰

Based on the thus far incomplete data, it may be concluded that the eastern baths were constructed during the 4th century. They perhaps existed for roughly a century, because oil-lamps bearing Christian symbols were found in their ruins. This would mean that they no longer existed at that point. After all, genuine Christians did not value human physical qualities nor worldly pleasures, so the baths were abandoned at that time. One only need recall the Grand Baths in nearby Salona, which were transformed into a Christian cult structure. Today the long-established views about the Palace are generally being questioned. Research is nonetheless limited, because this is a densely-developed part of the city. However, sufficient attention is still not being accorded to an interpretation of newer unusual finds. To some extent, Croatian archaeology and architectural history are still under the influence of older, established assumptions.⁵¹

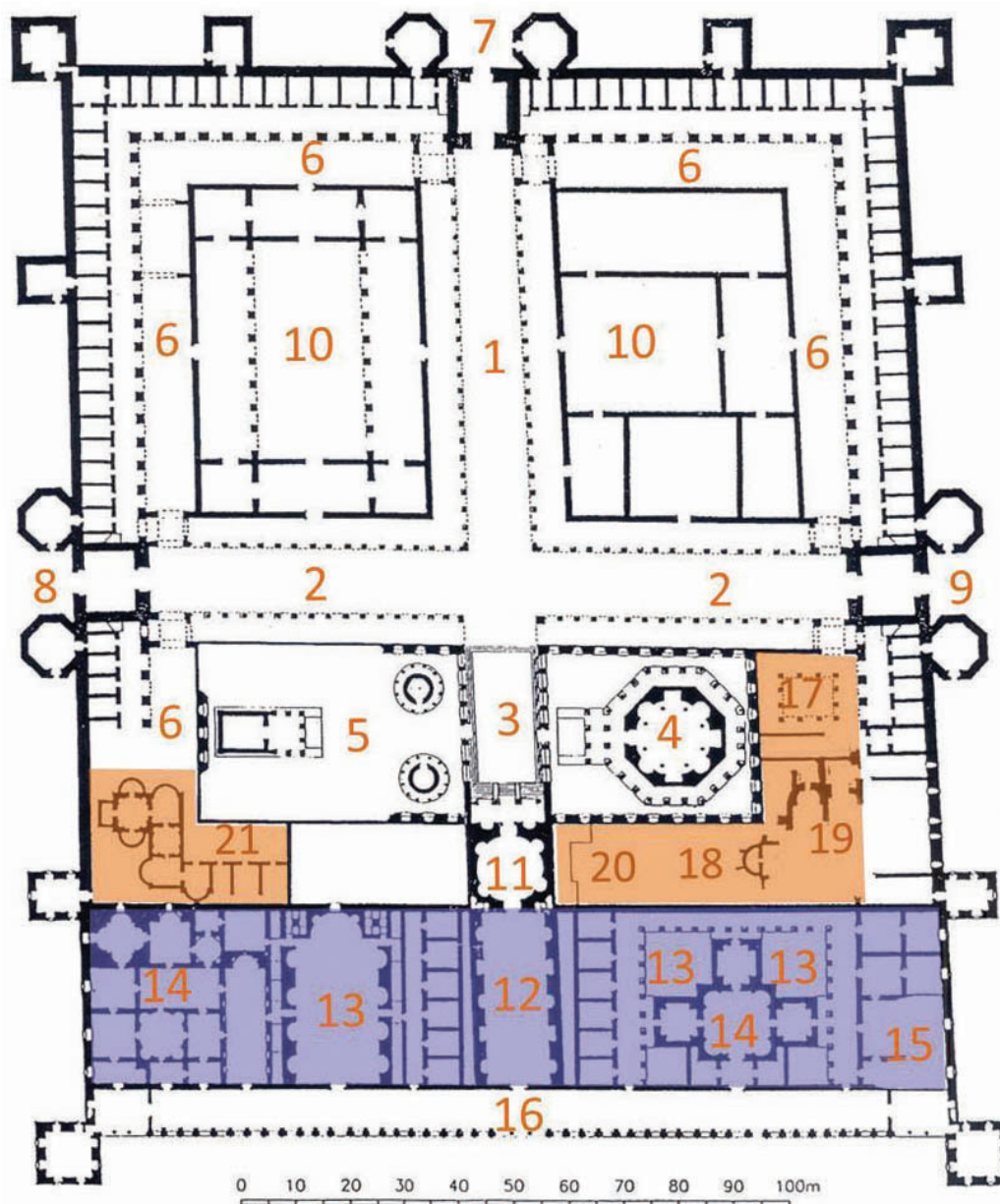
50 Oreb *et al.* 1999, pp. 7-33; Piplović 1999, pp. 691-698; Šlaus 1999, pp. 60-65.

51 Already in 2006, the author of this paper pointed out that new discoveries in Diocletian's Palace could have radical repercussions to the interpretation of its transformation immediately after the emperor's death. This pertained in particular to the Palace's southern section: Piplović 1972, p. 3; Piplović 2006, p. 21. This newspaper similarly informed the public of new finds in Diocletian's Palace: Piplović 1972, p. 3.



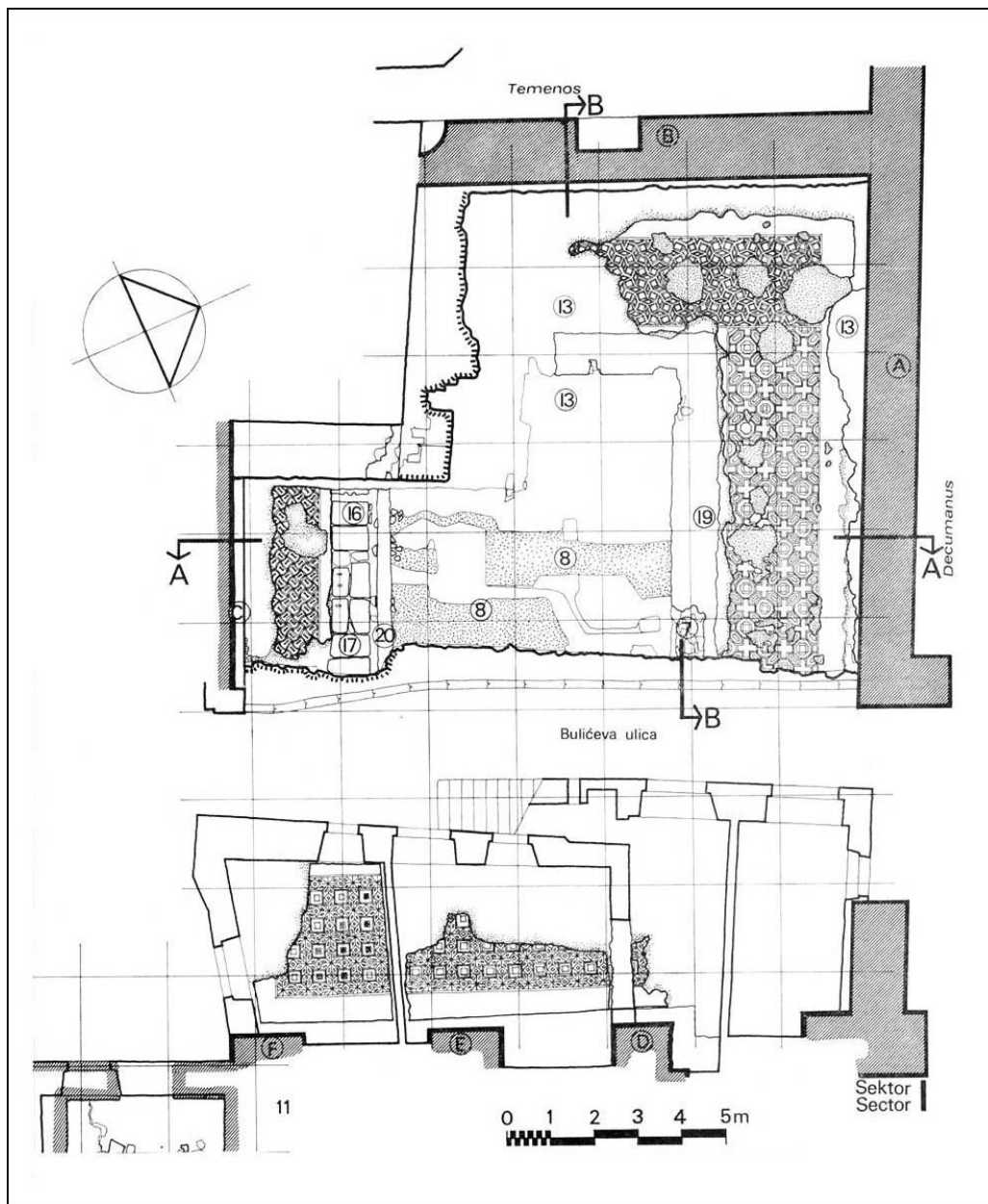
Tab. 1. Rekonstrukcija tlocrta Dioklecijanove palače prema austrijskom arhitektu Georgu Niemannu iz 1910. godine. Posebno je označen logičan sustav unutrašnjih glavnih komunikacija, karda (1) i dekurmana (2), koje se sijeku na središnjem prostoru, Peristilu (3). Uokolo su opskrnbne ulice (6), uz niz boksova koji su služili kao spremišta. Ostali dijelovi Palače su: ulazna vrata (7, 8 i 9); sjeverni dio za smještaj Careve pratnje, posluge i straže (10); središnji sakralni prostor, s mauzolejom (4) i hramom (5), te južnim dijelom, gdje je bio Carev stan: Vestibul (11), središnja dvorana (12), Careve privatne odaje (13) i kriptoportik, šetnica nad morem (16).

Pl. 1. Reconstruction of the layout of Diocletian's Palace according to the Austrian architect Georg Niemann from 1910. The logical system of the main internal communications are particularly designated, the *cardo* (1) and *decurmanus* (2), which intersect in the central area, the *Peristyle* (3). Supply avenues (6) surround them, with a series of units that were used for storage. The remaining parts of the Palace are: entry gates (7, 8 and 9); northern section to accommodate the emperor's entourage, servants and guards (10); the central sacral area with the mausoleum (4) and temple (5), and the southern section, which accommodated the emperor's living quarters: *Vestibule* (11), central hall (12), emperor's private chambers (13) and the *cryptoporticus* and seaside promenade (16).



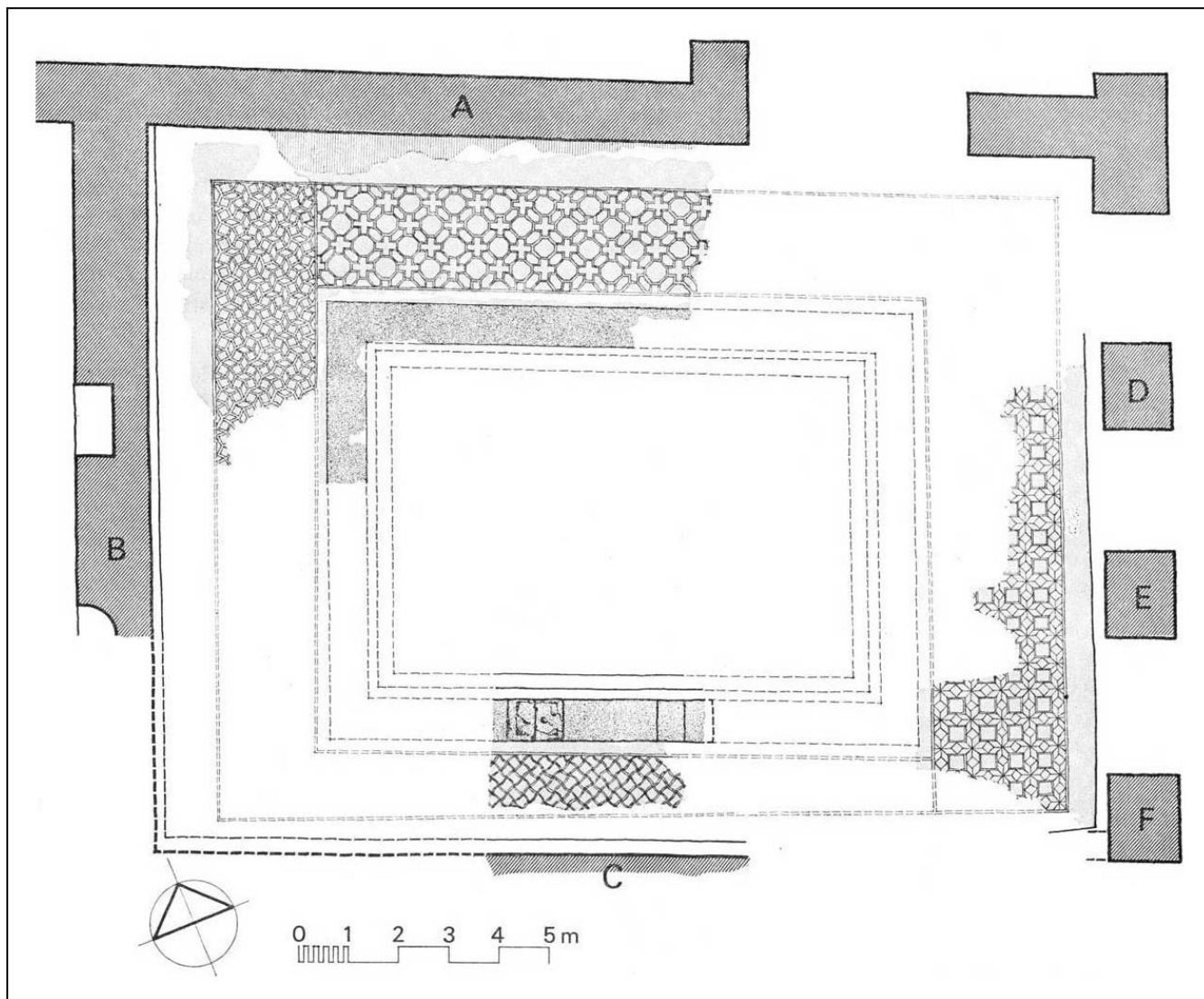
Tab. 2. Novi tlocrt Dioklecijanove palače s ucrtanim sklopovima istočnih (17, 18, 19 i 20) i zapadnih terma (21). Posebno su označene prostorije Dioklecijanova privatnog stana (13), u sklopu kojeg su manje prostorije na zapadu za koje se pretpostavlja da su zapravo služile kao Carevo kupatilo (14). Na istočnom dijelu stana je Triklinij, prostor za gozbe i zabave (14) te kuhinjski blok (15). Rekonstrukcija J. Marasovića, uz interpretaciju autora ovog članka. (Preuzeto od Rismondo 2005.)

Pl. 2. New ground plan of Diocletian's Palace with the indicated complexes of the eastern (17, 18, 19 and 20) and western baths (21). The facilities of Diocletian's private quarters (13) are particularly marked, which included small rooms in the west which were assumed to have served as the emperor's bathing chamber (14). The eastern section of these quarters housed the Triclinium, the room for feasts and entertainment (14) and the kitchens (15). Reconstruction by J. Marasović, with interpretation by this author. (From Rismondo 2005.)



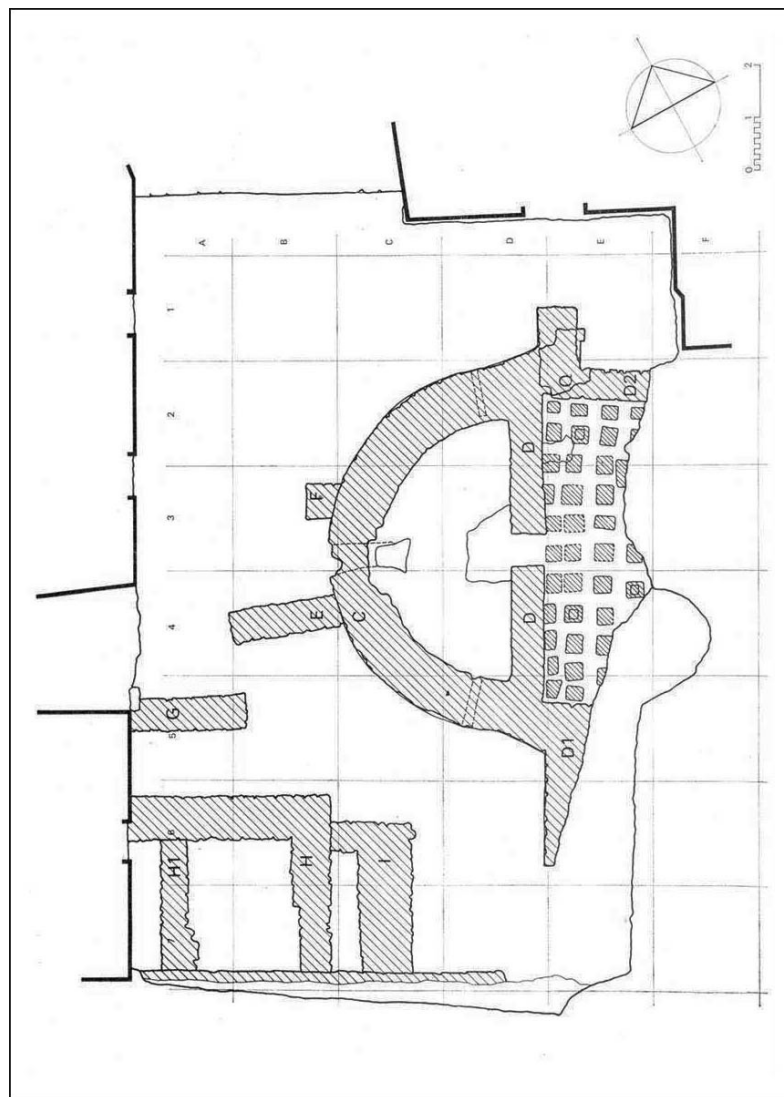
Tab. 3. Dijelovi atrija koji su 1969. i 1970. istraživali stručnjaci Urbanističkog zavoda u Splitu i Sveučilišta Minnesota na istočnoj strani Dioklecijanove palače kod ulaznih vrata, s ostacima podnih mozaika (17). Prostor nije do kraja istražen zbog okolnih zgrada u gusto izgrađenom dijelu grada. (Preuzeto od Marasović 1972.)

Pl. 3. Parts of the atrium that were researched in 1969 and 1970 by experts from the Urban Planning Department in Split and the University of Minnesota on the eastern side of Diocletian's Palace at the entry gate, with the remains of floor mosaics (17). The area has not been entirely researched due to the surrounding buildings in a densely-developed part of the city. (From Marasović 1972.)



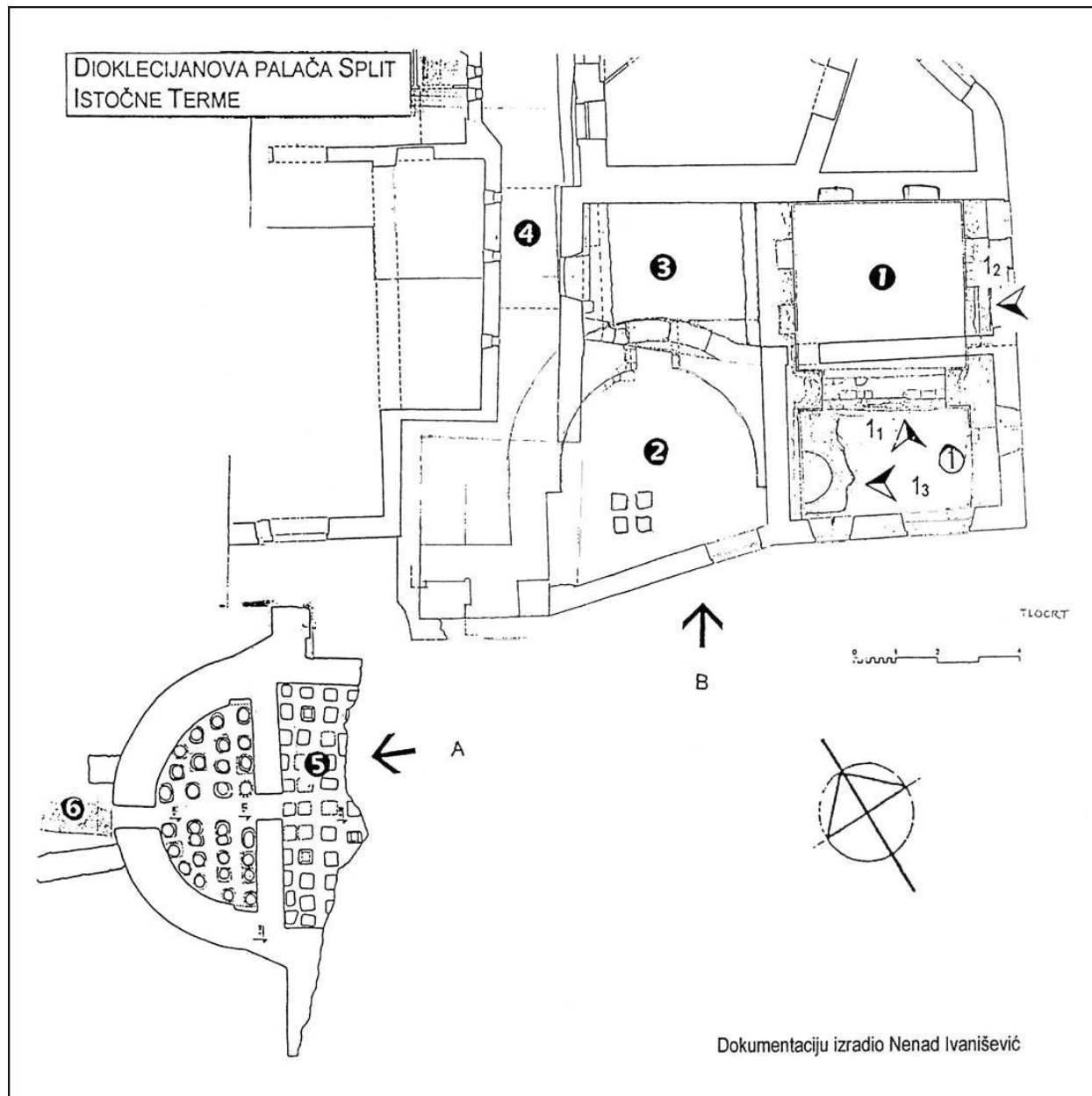
Tab. 4. Četvrtasti atrij (17). Prostor je okružen na sjeveru zidom trijema dekumana (A), zidom temena mauzoleja na zapadu (B) i pilonima skladišta prema obodnom zidu Palače (D, E, F). Uokolo atrija je trijem na stupovima s podnim mozaicima. Položaj naknadno izgrađenog atrija nakon Careve smrti prekinuo je opskrbnu komunikaciju prema jugu u pravcu kuhinjskog bloka i poremetio neke osnovne funkcije u Palači. (Preuzeto od Marasović 1972.)

Pl. 4. The fourth atrium (17). The area is surrounded by the wall of the decumanus portico to the north (A), the wall of the mausoleum temenos to the west (B) and the pylons of the storage rooms toward the Palace's peripheral walls (D, E, F). All around the atrium is a portico with columns and floor mosaics. The position of the subsequently constructed atrium after the emperor's death cut off the supply line to the south in the direction of the kitchen facilities and it impeded certain basic functions in the Palace. (From Marasović 1972.)



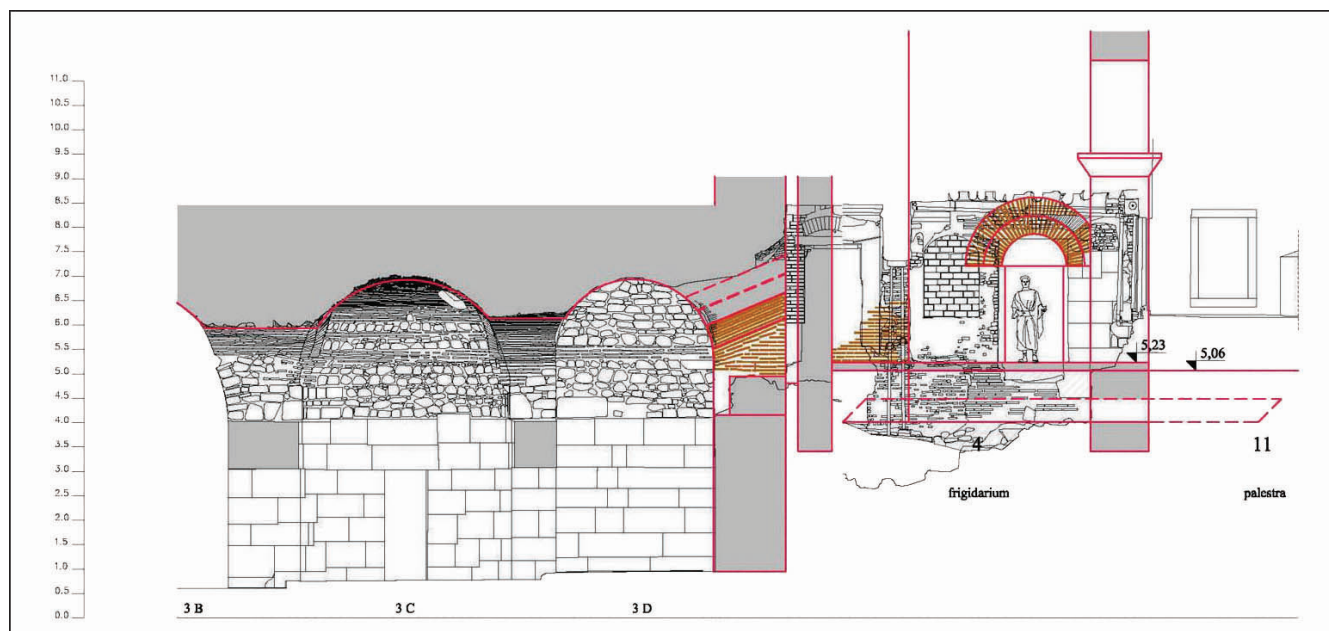
Tab. 5. Dio istočnih terma (18) otkrivenih 1970. godine jugozapadno od atrija (17), s polukružnom piscinom i caldariumom s podnim grijanjem. Njihovi dijelovi prostirali su se i u neposrednoj okolici, ali nisu istraženi. (Preuzeto od Marasović 1972.)

Pl. 5. A part of the eastern baths (18) discovered in 1970 southwest of the atrium (17), with a semi-circular bathing pool and caldarium with underfloor heating. Their parts extended into the immediate surroundings, but they have not been researched. (From Marasović 1972.)



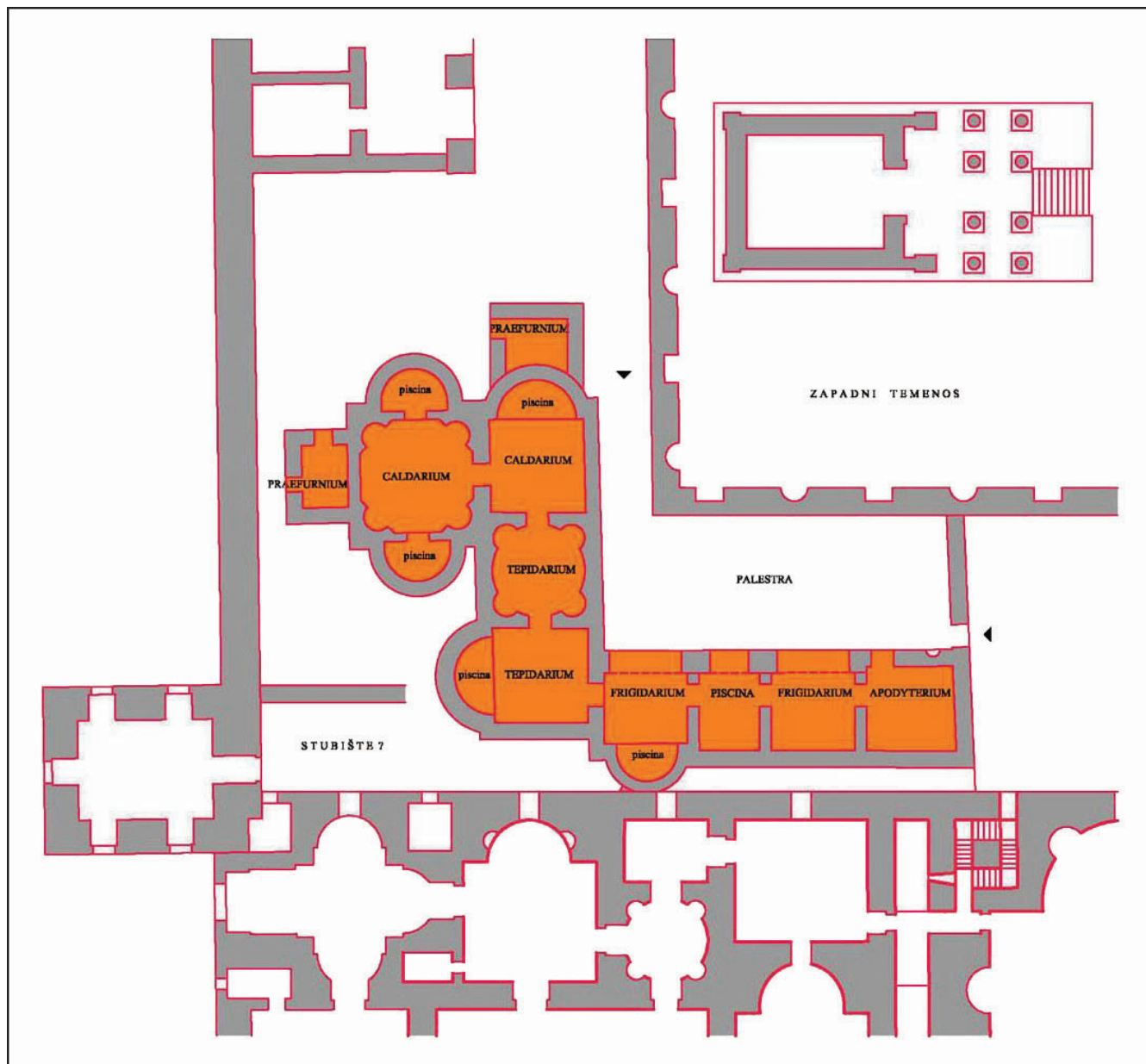
Tab. 6. Dio istočnih terma otkriven 2002. godine, s ostacima podzemnih prostorija (19). Svi nalazi na zapadu očito su predstavljali dio jedinstvenog sklopa jednog većeg kupališta (17, 18 i 19). Vjerojatno se protezalo na zapad do prostorije istočno od Vestibula (11) u kojoj su sačuvani podni mozaici (20). (Preuzeto od Rismondo 2005.)

Pl. 6. Part of the eastern baths discovered in 2002, with the remains of underground rooms (19). All finds in the west obviously constituted a part of the unified complex of one larger bath (17, 18 and 19). It probably extended to the west to the area east of the Vestibule (11) in which floor mosaics had been preserved (20). (From Rismondo 2005.)



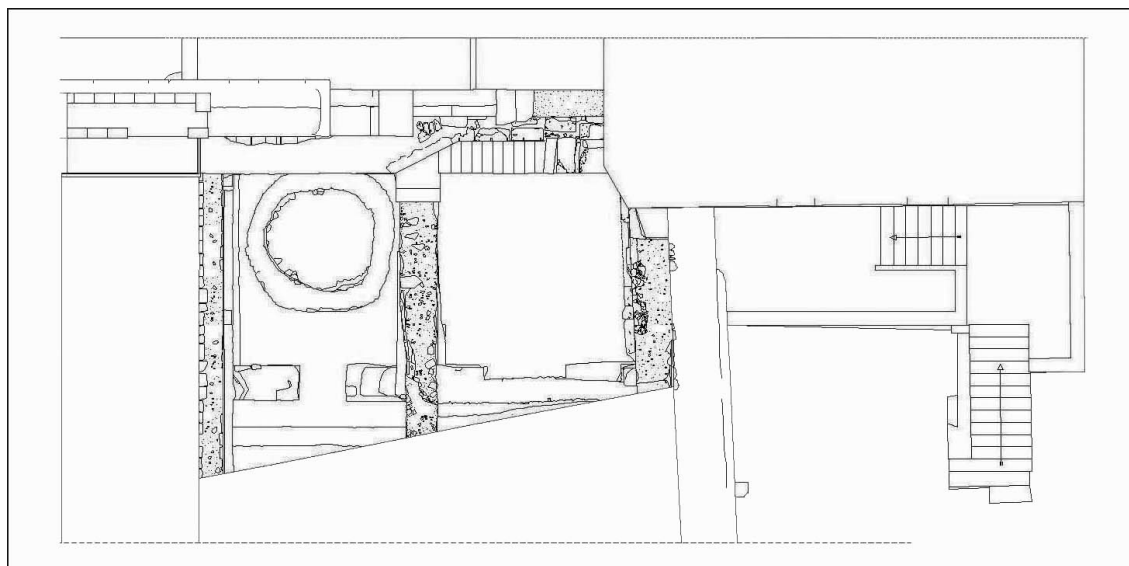
Tab. 7. Vertikalni presjek kroz zapadne terme Dioklecijanove palače na kojem se vidi prostorni i visinski odnos pre-svođenih podrumskih dvorana i Careva stana iznad njih s prostorima terma. Radi se o dva vrlo bliska, ali potpuno fizički i funkcionalno neovisna sklopa. (Preuzeto od Vojnović 2009.)

Pl. 7. The vertical cross-section through the western baths in Diocletian's Palace at which the spatial and height relations of the vaulted cellar halls and the emperor's living quarters above them with the rooms in the baths can be seen. These are two very close, but physically and functionally entirely independent structures. (From Vojnović 2009.)



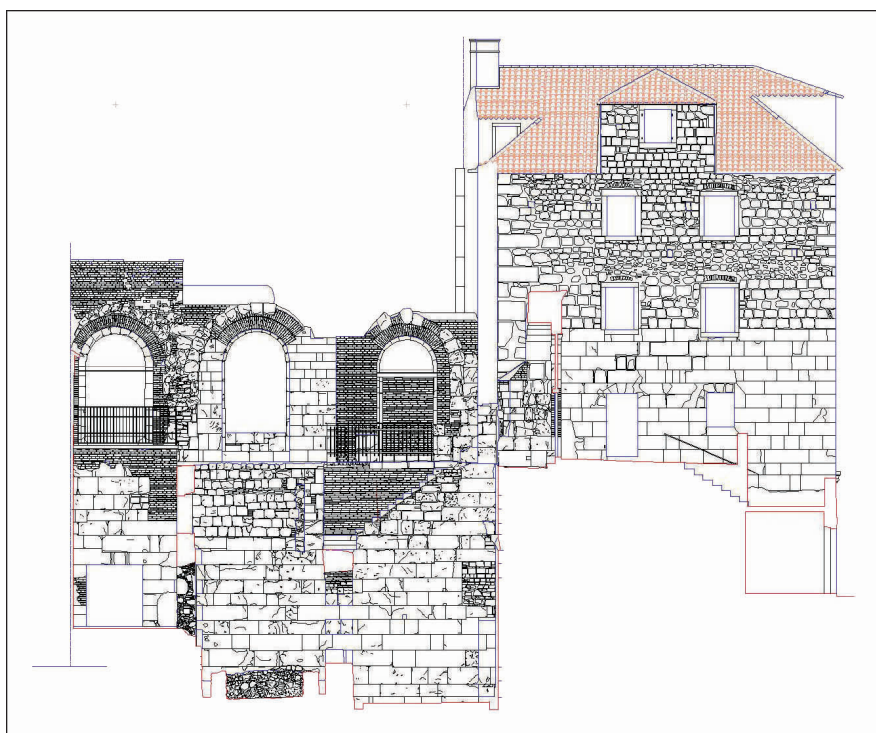
Tab. 8. Istraženi dio zapadnih terma Dioklecijanove palače umetnutih naknadno u prostor između središnjeg sakralnog dijela Palače i Careva stana (21). Rekonstrukcija dr. J. Marasovića s dopunama arh. I. Vojnovića 2009.

Pl. 8. The researched part of the western baths of Diocletian's Palace subsequently inserted into the space between the central sacral part of the Palace and the emperor's living quarters (21). Reconstruction by J. Marasović with supplements by architect I. Vojnović 2009.



Tab. 9. Arheološki nalazi u sjeveroistočnom kutu Dioklecijanove palače. Vidljive su kasnije pregradnje rimske građevine. Arheološka istraživanja Anita Penović, dokumentacija ing. Ivo Vojnović 2009.

Pl. 9. Archaeological finds in the south-eastern corner of the Diocletian palace. Subsequent remodelling of the roman structure is visible. Archaeological exploration Anita Penović, documentation Ivo Vojnović C.E., 2009.



Tab. 10. Arheološki nalazi u sjeveroistočnom kutu Dioklecijanove palače. Pogled prema istoku, crtež ing. Ivo Vojnović 2009.

Pl. 10. Archaeological finds in the south-eastern corner of the Diocletian palace. A view towards east, drawing Ivo Vojnović C.E. 2009.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

HAG	Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak, Zagreb
KB	Kulturna baština, Split
SD	Slobodna Dalmacija, Split
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb, Split
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Zagreb
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split

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