

SL. 1. E. HÉBRARD: IZVORNI IZGLED DIOKLECIJANOVE PALAČE, 1912.

FIG. 1 E. HÉBRARD: ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, 1912

TOMISLAV MARASOVIĆ, TOMISLAV ALUJEVIĆ

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DIOKLECIJANOV STAN U SPLITSKOJ PALAČI

THE APARTMENTS OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE IN SPLIT*

DIOKLECIJANOVA PALAČA
HRVATSKA
KASNA ANTIKA
SPLIT

DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE
CROATIA
LATE ANTIQUITY
SPLIT

Autori raspravljaju o rezidencijalnom bloku unutar Dioklecijanove palače. U prvom dijelu donose postupni porast znanja o carevu stanu od prvih informacija u srednjem vijeku do sustavnih istraživanja i restauracija krajem 20. stoljeća. U drugom dijelu razmatraju raspored stana u cjelini, opisujući i pojedinačno njegove najvažnije prostore.

The authors of the article discuss the residential block within Diocletian's palace. In the first part they present a gradual increase in the knowledge about the emperor's apartments from the earliest accounts of the palace in the Middle Ages to systematic research and restoration work at the end of the 20th century. In the second part of the article they examine the disposition of the apartments.

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UVOD

U bogatoj graditeljskoj i umjetničkoj baštini Hrvatske nekoliko je istaknutih spomenika i spomeničkih cjelina najvećeg značenja kojima je vrijednost dokazana i upisom u Uneskov popis svjetske kulturne baštine. Među njima je i najstarija jezgra grada Splita s Dioklecijanovom palačom, sagrađenom u naselju Spalatum nedaleko od Salone na prijelazu 3. u 4. stoljeće poslije Krista. U njoj je veliki car-reformator proveo posljednje godine života – od svojevoljnog napuštanja prijestolja u Nikomediji (305.) do smrti (vjerojatno 316. godine). Najveća je vrijednost splitske palače u stupnju njezine sačuvanosti. Ona je bez dvojbe najbolje u svijetu sačuvani primjer antičkih carskih rezidencija pa je, prema tome, ključna građevina za proučavanje svoje arhitektonske kategorije u cjelini i u pojedinim svojim dijelovima (Sl. 2).

Uspješnu sintezu raskošne carske vile i utvrđenoga dvorca pokazuje pravokutni tlocrt građevine, uokvirene jakim zidovima, pojačanim kulama. Ulice obrubljene kolonadama, hramovi i zdanja namijenjena vojnoj posadi davali su citavoj građevini izgled ne samo raskošne carske rezidencije nego i cijeloga maloga grada helenističkog tipa (Sl. 1 i 5a). Po vrijednostima sačuvane antičke arhitekture ističu se u splitskoj palači nekoliko cjelina: zidovi s kulama i vratima, središnji kompleks Peristila i hramova te carski rezidencijalni blok u južnoj četvrtini. Istraživanja u posljednjih pola stoljeća bila su najviše usmjerena na re-

zidencijalni blok južno od Peristila pa su u tome prostoru postignuti i najvažniji rezultati. Sa stajališta funkcije, to je najvažniji dio carskoga dvorca koji daje osnovni smisao cijeloj građevini. Taj dio splitske palače želimo ovdje raspraviti imajući u vidu nove rezultate istraživanja koji se djelomično odražavaju i na novu interpretaciju stambenog sklopa.

Dioklecijanov stan u južnoj četvrtini njegove splitske palače jedino je područje sa supstrukcijama u cijelom carskom dvorcu. Dvostratnost su nametnuli topografski uvjeti zemljišta na kojem je sagrađena palača, tj. razlika u visini između sjevernog, kopnenog zida i južnog pročelja sagrađenog nad obalom. Da bi se izravnala ta razlika, bilo je potrebno u južnom dijelu sagraditi supstrukcije, svojevrstne podupirače gornjega, rezidencijalnog kata, kojima su carevi stambeni prostori istodobno izolirani od vlage. Tako je splitska palača u svojoj južnoj četvrtini imala dva gotovo istovjetna rasporeda dvorana u prizemlju i u gornjem katu. U ovom slučaju takvo je rješenje od izvanrednog arheološko-arhitektonskog značenja jer je prizemni kat uglavnom ostao sačuvan, a gornji većim dijelom porušen. Kako se raspored dvorana iz prizemlja ponavlja u gornjem katu, to je – zahvaljujući rasporedu otkrivenom istraživanjima tijekom posljednjih pola stoljeća – poznat i izgled gornjega kata. U dosadašnjem proučavanju i uređenju Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu znatna je pozornost istraživača i restauratora bila posvećena carevu stanu u južnoj četvrtini, ali je postupno povećanje znanja o supstrukcijama i carskoj rezidenciji u cjelini bio dugotrajan postupak.

PREGLED ISTRAŽIVAČKIH I RESTAURATORSKIH RADOVA NA PROSTORU DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

Prve podatke o tome prostoru dao je bizantski car-pisac Konstantin VII. Porfirogenet (905.-959.) kada je, opisujući Split, naveo: „Grad Split, što znači mala palača, osnovao je car Dioklecijan; tamo je imao vlastiti stan, unutar kojeg je sagradio dvor i palaču, od kojih je najveći dio porušen... Ispod toga su obli svodovi, koji sasvim prekrivaju grad; palača i sve stambene četvrti grada sagrađeni su nad tim svodovima, ... a sve građevine grada iznad tih obli svodova podigne u visini od dva i tri kata.”¹ Opis se, bez sumnje, odnosi na supstrukcije Dioklecijanova stana u južnoj četvrtini palače.

Tri stoljeća poslije spomenuo je carev stan (odnosno njegove supstrukcije) splitski kroničar Toma Arhidakon (1200.-1268.) u svojem spisu „Historia Salonitana”.² Opisujući po-

1 PORPHYROGENITUS, 1967.

2 ARHIDAKON, 2003: 45

INTRODUCTION

In the rich architectural and artistic heritage of Croatia, there are several prominent monuments and sites whose importance has been demonstrated by their inscription onto UNESCO's World Heritage List. The list also contains the oldest core of the town of Split with Diocletian's palace which was built at Spalatum not far from Salona at the turn of the 4th century AD. The palace was the place where the great emperor – reformer spent the last days of his life, from his voluntary abdication in Nicomedia (in 305 AD) to his death (probably in 316 AD). The greatest significance of the palace is in its state of preservation. It is without doubt the best surviving example of ancient imperial residences in the world, which makes it an essential building for studying the architectural category it belongs to, both in its entirety and individual parts (Fig. 2).

A successful combination of a luxurious imperial villa and fortified castle is shown in the rectangular plan of the building which was encircled with strong walls reinforced with towers. The streets lined with colonnades, temples and structures intended for a garrison gave the entire complex an appearance of not only a splendid imperial residence but also a small Hellenistic town (Fig. 1, 5a). According to the importance of the surviving ancient architecture of the palace, prominence was given to several units: perimeter walls with towers and gates, the central complex comprising the Peristyle and temples, and the

imperial residential block in the south quarter of the palace. During the last fifty years, research was mostly directed to the residential block south of the Peristyle thus yielding the most important results concerning that area specifically. From a functional point of view the area makes the most important part of the palace which gives meaning to the whole building. It is exactly that part we want to discuss in this article bearing in mind latest research results which also partly reflect on a new interpretation of the residential block.

Diocletian's apartments in the south quarter of his palace in Split present the only segment of the entire imperial residence that was built on substructures. The existence of two floors was conditioned by the topography of the land on which the palace was built, that is, by the difference in level between the north landward wall and the south façade built over the shore. In order to eliminate the difference, it was necessary for the south quarter to be given substructures, that is, a specific supporting structure for the upper, residential level, which could at the same time provide protection of the emperor's private rooms against damp penetration. Consequently, the disposition of upper level halls in the south quarter of the palace was almost identical to those at ground level. In this case, such an arrangement is of extraordinary architectural and archaeological importance because the ground floor has almost entirely survived whereas the upper floor has for the most part been destroyed. The plan of the upper level is known today owing to the research conducted in the last fifty years which revealed that the arrangement of the halls at ground level was repeated at the upper level. During research and restoration work of Diocletian's palace undertaken so far, considerable amount of attention was paid by researchers and conservators to the emperor's apartments in the south quarter. However, gradual acquisition of knowledge about the substructures and the imperial residence was on the whole a long term process.

AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH AND RESTORATION OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS

The first account of the apartments was given by the Byzantine emperor and writer Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959) in his description of Split: "The town of Split, which means 'little palace' was founded by the Emperor Diocletian; there he had his own dwelling-place within which he built a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed... Beneath it are arching vaults which cover the entire city; the palace and all residential quarters of the city were built on those



SL. 2. DIOKLECIJANOVA PALAĆA, JEZGRA GRADA SPLITA
FIG. 2. DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, THE CORE OF SPLIT

stupak naseljenja palače, ispričao je: „Među Salonitancima, koji su se bili povukli na obližnje otoke, bijaše neki čovjek po imenu Sever... On stade sokoliti svoje sugrađane da se vrata u domovinu. Ali nije bilo sigurno podizati nastambe u ruševinama drevnoga grada te im je savjetovao da se privremeno povuku u Dioklecijanovo zdanje gdje će moći sigurnije boraviti i obrađivati barem neki djelić svoje zemlje bez velikog straha sve dok ne bude moguće, ako se prilike poprave, obnoviti Salonu. I svidio se taj savjet plemićima i svim pučanima te su se međusobno dogovorili da bogati sagrađe kuće na vlastiti trošak, drugi koji nisu imali dosta imutka za gradnju kuća uzet će okolne kule za stanovanje, a ostali puk neka stanuje pod svodovima i u kriptama.” U tim su riječima Tomina teksta prepoznate supstrukcije u južnome dijelu palače, koje se upravo ističu svodovima što natkrivaju pedesetak međusobno povezanih dvorana. Čini se da je takvo korištenje supstrukcija ipak bilo privremeno jer se već od rana srednjeg vijeka pa nadalje prostor pod carevim stanom počinje sve više zasipati svakojakim otpadnim i urušenim materijalom te izljevom kanalizacije. Osim središnje dvorane, koja je služila kao gradska ulica na komunikaciji prema morskim vratima, svi su ostali prostori bili zatrpani u najvećem dijelu svog obujma.

Bila su prošla još tri stoljeća dok se opet nisu pojavili poneki podaci o Dioklecijanovu stanu. Godine 1549. mletački slikar Girolamo da Santacroce naslikao je poliptih za franjevačku crkvu na Poljudu i u njoj prikazao model Splita u ruci gradskog zaštitnika sv. Dujma. Taj je detalj najstariji grafički dokument o iz-

gledu južnoga pročelja Dioklecijanove rezidencije³ (Sl. 3). Nekoliko godina kasnije (1553.) u svome opisu Splita mletački posebni izaslanik (*sindico*) Giambattista Giustiniano spomenuo je presvođene podrumske dvorane. „Palača je imala velike prazne dijelove podjednake zapremnine u donjim kao i u gornjim prostorima. One su, međutim, nakon rušenja i nakon gradnje kuća bile ispunjene zemljom.”⁴ Očito, pisac tada nije mogao znati da supstrukcije zapremaju samo južnu četvrtinu palače pa je prenio mišljenje koje je vjerojatno tada vladalo – da su se podzemni prostori sa svodovima protezali pod cijelom površinom palače.

Približno u isto doba (1558. godine) Antonio Proculiano, *kancelir* splitske općine, u svome je govoru splitskim gradskim vijećnicima, oslanjajući se vjerojatno na jedan stariji (a danas nepoznat) predložak, iznio opis careve palače.⁵ U dijelu njegova teksta prepoznajemo prostore koji se odnose upravo na carevu rezidenciju: „Bila su četiri izvrsna i vrlo prostrana krova dvorana, dapače palača, koja su znatno nadvisivala zidove i kule, tako da se s gornjih tavanica zbog velikih i čestih prozora vidio čitav teritorij uz more, a primale su u vrućim danima osvježavajuće vjetrove, a u hladnim vremenima bile su izložene sunčevim zrakama i toplini. Te su palače bile čudno udobne, sve četiri nad veoma smjelim lukovima i stupovima, koji su pri dnu tvorili vrlo prostrane i lijepe trijemove, gotovo teatre. Jedna od tih dvorana bila je posebna soba cara Dioklecijana, druga njegovih ženskih osoba, treća boravište raznih vitezova i baruna, a četvrta za primanje stranih izaslanika s najvećim počastima...”

U prvoj rekonstrukciji izvornog izgleda Dioklecijanove palače, koju je 1721. godine objavio austrijski arhitekt Fischer von Erlach (na temelju podataka što mu je iz Splita slao Ivan Petar Marchi s crtežima Vicka Peterne) ucrtano je južno pročelje s nizom kontinuiranih otvora koji su pripadali Dioklecijanovu stanu, što ga oblikuju tri velika pravokutna bloka s unutrašnjim dvoristima.⁶ Taj detalj u rekonstrukciji, kao i pojedine druge dijelove palače, valja protumačiti više kao rezultat mašte negoli stvarnih podataka kojima je autor crteža raspolagao (Sl. 4).

Iz sredine 18. stoljeća (1748.) potječe naredba mletačkog magistrata 'delle rason vecchie' da se poruše kuće podignute ispred i iznad južnoga zida Dioklecijanove palače.⁷

SL. 3. JUŽNO PROČELJE PALAĆE NA MODELU GRADA SPLITA, DETALJ POLIPTIHA G. DA SANTACROCE (1549.)

FIG. 3 SOUTH FAÇADE OF PALACE ON MODEL OF SPLIT, DETAIL OF POLIPTYCH BY G. DA SANTACROCE (1549)



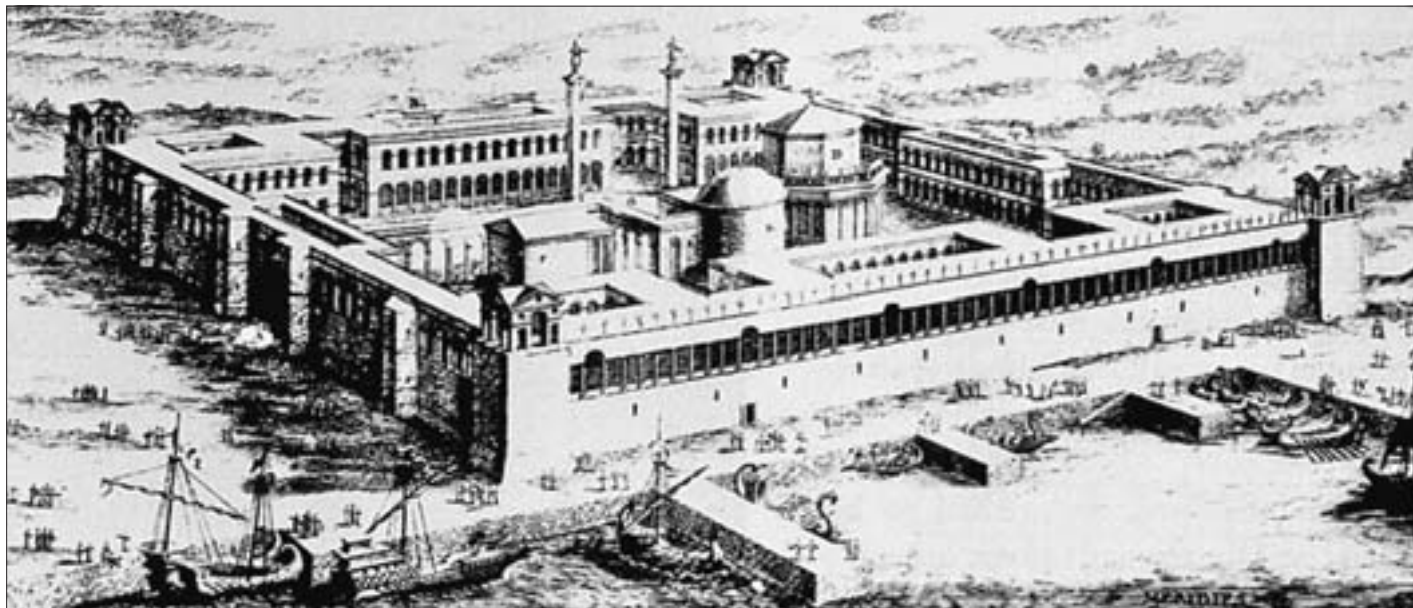
3 MARASOVIĆ, J., 1996.

4 LJUBIĆ, 1976.-1980, II: 12-15

5 MARASOVIĆ-ALUJEVIĆ, 1984.

6 FISCHER VON ERLACH, 1721.

7 Naredba očito nije provedena jer su stare kuće pred pročeljem zabilježene u Cassasovu crtežu iz 1782. godine.



SL. 4. FISCHER VON ERLACH: DIOKLECIJANOVA PALACA, IZVORNI IZGLED, 1721.

FIG. 4 FISCHER VON ERLACH: DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, ORIGINAL APPEARANCE, 1721

vaults... and all buildings of the city on the arching vaults (were) erected to a height of two and three stories."¹ The description doubtlessly refers to the substructures of Diocletian's apartments in the south quarter of the palace.

Three centuries later, the Split chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon mentioned the emperor's apartments (that is, the substructures) in his writings *Historia Salonitana*.² Describing how the palace was settled he wrote: "Among the people from Salona who had taken refuge in the nearby islands, there was a man named Severus... He started encouraging his fellow townsmen to return to the mainland. However, it was not safe to build houses in the wreckage of the ancient town so he advised them to settle temporarily into Diocletian's palace where they could lead a sheltered life and farm a piece of their own land with no great fears until it was possible, if the circumstances improved, to rebuild Salona. The advice appealed to the nobility and plebeians and they all reached a common decision that the rich should build houses at their own expense, those who lacked the means for the construction of new houses would live in the towers, whereas the rest of the commoners could live under the vaults and in crypts." It is clear that Thomas' lines related to the substructures in the south quarter of the palace which were remarkable exactly for

the vaults that spanned about fifty interconnected chambers. It seems that such a use of the substructures was temporary after all, since from the Middle Ages on, the area under the emperor's apartments started to be covered with waste, rubble and sewage. Apart from the central hall which served as a street leading to the sea gate all other chambers were in large part covered up.

Three centuries passed by until occasional accounts of Diocletian's apartments were again brought to light. In 1549, the Venetian painter Girolamo da Santacroce painted a polyptych for the Franciscan church in Poljud, in which he depicted a model of Split in the hand of the town's patron saint St. Domnius. That detail presents the oldest pictorial document showing the south façade of Diocletian's residence.³ (Fig. 3) Several years later (1553), Giambattista Giustiniano, a special Venetian emissary (*sindico*) mentioned vaulted basement halls in his description of Split. "The palace had big empty chambers of the same capacity at ground as well as at the upper level. However, they were after destruction and construction of houses filled with earth."⁴ Obviously, the author could not have known that the substructures took up only the south quarter of the palace, so he expressed the opinion most likely widespread at the time that the vaulted basement chambers extended under the entire surface of the palace.

Approximately at the same time, in 1558, Antonio Proculiano, administrative secretary of Split municipality, described the emperor's palace in his address to city councillors relying most probably on an earlier (today unknown) model.⁵ In one part of his writings we

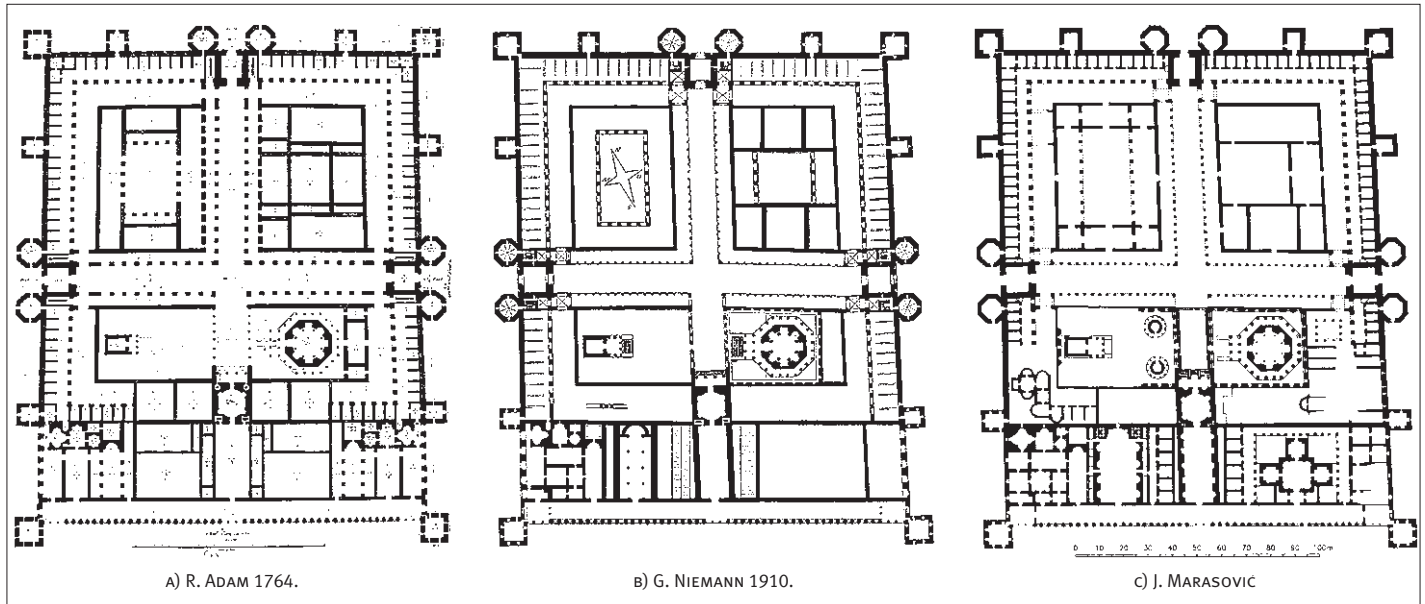
1 PORPHIROGENITUS, 1967

2 ARHIDAKON, 2003: 45

3 MARASOVIĆ, J., 1996

4 LJUBIĆ, 1976-1980, II: 12-15

5 MARASOVIĆ-ALUJEVIĆ, 1984



Sl. 5. DIOKLECIJANOVA PALAČA U SPLITU:

- A) TLOCRT SA SIMETRIČNIM RASPOREDOM CAREVA STANA U IDEJNOJ REKONSTRUKCIJI R. ADAMA (1764.)
 B) IZVORNI TLOCRT (PREMA G. NIEMANNU 1910.)
 C) PRETPOSTAVLJENI IZVORNI TLOCRT (PREMA J. MARASOVIĆU)
 FIG. 5 DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE IN SPLIT:
 A) GROUND PLAN WITH SYMMETRICAL ARRANGEMENT OF APARTMENTS, RECONSTRUCTION BY R. ADAM (1764)
 B) RESTORED PLAN (BY G. NIEMANN, 1910)
 C) SUPPOSED ORIGINAL GROUND PLAN (BY J. MARASOVIĆ)

U prvomu sustavnom istraživanju splitske palače, koje je 1757. godine poduzeo sa svojim suradnicima britanski arhitekt Robert Adam, samo su manjim dijelom bili točno protumačeni Dioklecijanov stan i njegove supstrukcije. Osim vestibula, kriptoportika i skupine zapadnih dvorana sve je drugo proizvoljno interpretirano, polazeći od pogrešnog zaključka o potpunju simetričnosti carskoga rezidencijalnog bloka⁸ (Sl. 5b). Iz razdoblja kraja mletačke uprave u Splitu (1791. godine) potječe pismo u kojem generalni providur Dalmacije Angelo Diedo skreće pozornost duždu u Veneciji na problem uzurpiranja javnoga dobra u Dioklecijanovoj palači, navodeći kao primjer pokušaj privatnoga korištenja i pregradivanja podrumskih prostora za javna skladišta. Najraniji pokušaji istraživanja i čišćenja supstrukcija Dioklecijanove stana vezani su za djelovanje arhitekta Vicka Andrića, prvoga službenoga konzervatora Splita i Dalmacije, koji je prema dostupnim mu mogućnostima izradio i prvu arhitektonsku snimku podrumskih dvorana (Sl. 6). Njegovi prijedlozi čišćenja podrumskih dvorana i njihova pretvaranja u vinarsku kantu, isto kao i projekt purifikacije južnoga pročelja i izgradnje nad njim glomaznoga hotela kojim bi se namakla sredstva za uređenje palače – nisu bili prihvaćeni.⁹

Na početku 20. stoljeća došlo je do dotad najtemeljijeg proučavanja Dioklecijanove palače, koje je uključilo i istraživanje careva stana u južnom dijelu. Bio je to dio istraživačkog programa dviju arhitektonsko-arheoloških ekipa koje su gotovo usporedno, ali sasvim odvojeno, radile na iscrpnoj monografskoj obradi tada već glasovitoga zdanja u Splitu. Prvu je u organizaciji austrijskog Arheološkog instituta

predvodio austrijski arhitekt Georg Niemann, koji je zajedno sa suradnicima tijekom pet godina terenskoga rada (1904.-1909.), koristeći se i katastarskim planom, snimio sve vidljive ostatke i izradio studije prvobitnog izgleda cjeline i pojedinih dijelova, a svoj je rad objelodanio 1910. godine.¹⁰ U njemu je prvi put objavljena egzaktna arhitektonska snimka cjeline palače i svih tada vidljivih dijelova, uključujući carev rezidencijalni sklop i njegove supstrukcije u južnoj četvrtini. Unatoč teskim uvjetima zatrpanoga područja, u kojem je samo zapadni dio bio prohodan, postao je u znatnom dijelu poznat tlocrt prizemnih dvorana zahvaljujući snimkama geodeta Morpurga. Druga ekipa radila je pod vodstvom francuskih istraživača, arhitekta Ernesta Hébrarda i povjesnika Jacquesa Zeillera, koji su također poslije višegodišnjega terenskoga istraživanja 1912. godine objelodanili svoj zajednički rad.¹¹

Kada danas – stotinu godina poslije proučavanja palače koje su poduzele ove dvije ekipe – ocjenjujemo njihov rad, ne možemo zatajiti divljenje prema njihovim rezultatima – postignutim u složenim uvjetima povijesne jezgre Splita na početku 20. stoljeća i bez mogućnosti većih arheoloških iskopavanja. Obje se monografije odlikuju točnim arhitektonskim snimkama i vrlo uvjerljivim tumačenjem prvobitnog izgleda. Niemannova se studija ipak više ograničila na tumačenje izvornoga stanja samo onih dijelova za koje su zatečeni ostaci pružali sigurne podatke, pa stoga u njegovu

⁸ ADAM, 1764.

⁹ KECKEMET, 1993.; BELAMARIC, 2006: 42

¹⁰ NIEMANN, 1910.

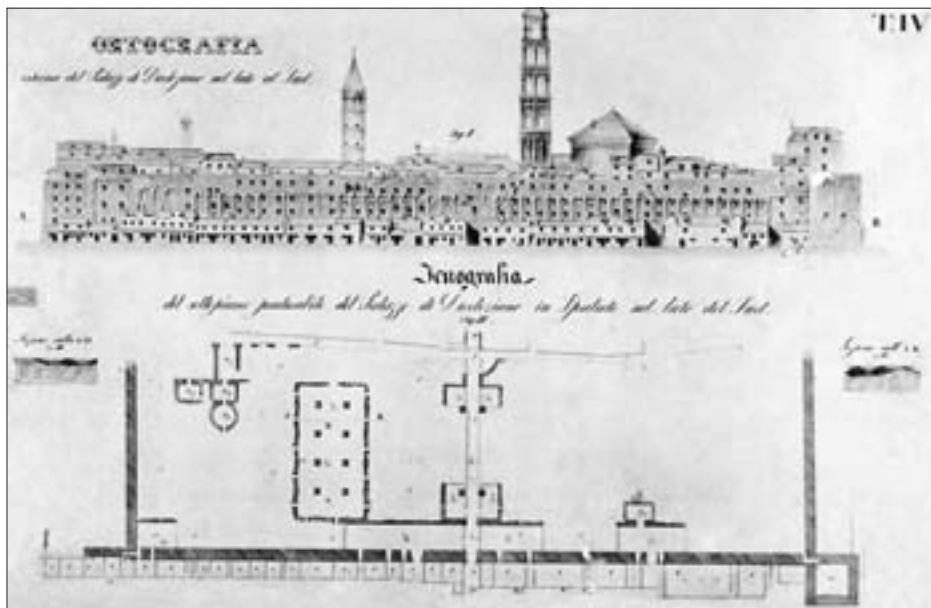
¹¹ HÉBRARD, ZEILLER, 1912.

can recognize the chambers that corresponded to the emperor's residence: "There were four extraordinary and very spacious roofs of halls, even palaces, that considerably extended the height of the walls and towers so that the upper rooms allowed the view of the entire territory along the sea shore through big and numerous windows which admitted refreshing winds in hot days and warmth and sun rays in cold days. Those palaces were marvellously comfortable, all four of them supported by sturdy arches and columns which formed at the bottom very spacious and beautiful porches, almost theatres. One of these chambers was a special room of Diocletian, the second belonged to his women, the third was a private dwelling of various knights and barons and the fourth was for receiving foreign emissaries with highest honours..."

The first reconstruction of the original appearance of the palace, which was in 1721 published by the Austrian architect Fischer von Erlach (the reconstruction was based on the records which Ivan Petar Marchi sent from Split together with Vicko Peterna's drawings) contained a drawing of the south façade with a succession of openings which belonged to Diocletian's apartments and formed by three big rectangular blocks with inner courtyards.⁶ That detail of the reconstruction, as well as other parts of the palace should be interpreted more as a result of imagination than facts which the author of the drawing had at his disposal (Fig. 4).

In the middle of the 18th century the Venetian magistrate "delle rason vecchie" stated that the houses built in front and above the south wall of Diocletian's palace were to be taken down.⁷

During the first systematic research of the palace conducted by the British architect Robert Adam and his collaborators in 1757, Diocletian's apartments and the substructures were only in small part correctly interpreted. Apart from the Vestibule, the cryptoporticus (space beneath the gallery of the south façade) and the group of west chambers, everything else was given an arbitrary interpretation based on the wrong assumption that the residential block was completely symmetrical⁸ (Fig. 5b). At the very end of Venetian administration in Split (1791), the governor of Dalmatia, Angelo Diedo, wrote a letter to the Venetian Doge directing his atten-



tion to the problem of usurpation of public property in Diocletian's palace exemplifying the statement with an attempted use of the palace for private purposes and conversion of the basement chambers into public warehouses. The earliest attempt at researching and clearing the substructures of Diocletian's apartments were related to the activities of the architect and first official conservator in Split and Dalmatia, Vicko Andrić, who made the first architectural survey of the basement halls in the given circumstances (Fig. 6). His proposal to clear the basement halls and turn them into a wine selling canteen, as well as to clear the south façade and build a big hotel above it which could help obtain funds for renovation of the palace was rejected.⁹

At the beginning of the 20th century the most thorough research conducted at the time on Diocletian's palace included the emperor's apartments in the south quarter. It was part of a research programme of two archaeological – architectural teams that worked separately but almost simultaneously on preparations for extensive monographs on the already renowned structure in Split. The first team, organized by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, was headed by the Austrian architect Georg Niemann. During the five years of field work, from 1904 to 1909, Niemann and his collaborators recorded all visible parts by using cadastral surveys and made studies of the original appearance of the complex and its individual parts. Niemann's work, which was made public in 1910,¹⁰ contained the first published exact architectural survey of the entire palace and all visible parts at the time, including the emperor's residential block and the

SL. 6. V. ANDRIĆ: JUŽNO PROCELJE DIOKLECIJANOVE PALAČE I TLOCRT POZNATIH SUPSTRUKCIJA CAREVA STANA SREDINOM 19. STOLJEĆA

FIG. 6. V. ANDRIĆ: SOUTH FAÇADE OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE AND PLAN OF SUBSTRUCTURES OF APARTMENTS KNOWN IN MID-19TH CENTURY

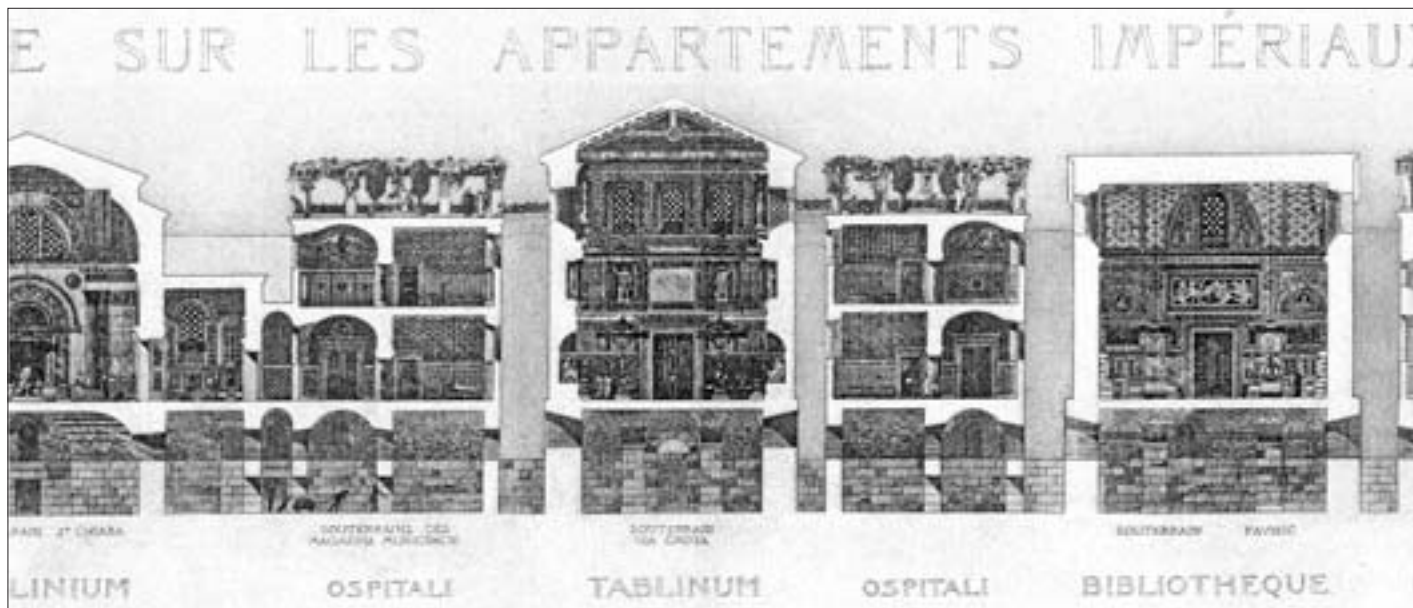
6 FISCHER VON ERLACH, 1721

7 The ordinance was obviously not followed since a record of the old houses in front of the facade could be found in Cassas' drawing of 1782.

8 ADAM, 1764

9 KEČKEMET, 1993; BELAMARIĆ, 2006: 42

10 NIEMANN, 1910



Sl. 7. E. Hébrard: Presjek kroz središnji dio Dioklecijanovog stana, rekonstrukcija 1912.

FIG. 7 E. HÉBRARD: CROSS SECTION OF CENTRAL PART OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS, RECONSTRUCTION 1912

tlocrtu careva stana istočni dio ostaje uglavnom nedefiniran (Sl. 5c). U Hébrardovim je idejnim rekonstrukcijama, naprotiv, ponudeno tumačenje izgleda pojedinih zgrada, najviše upravo na prostoru careve rezidencije, za koje zatečeno stanje nije ostavljalo dovoljno podataka, pa su se autorovi zaključci morali temeljiti na komparativnoj građi (Sl. 7). Dok su trajala spomenuta terenska istraživanja palače, poduzeti su i neki restauratorski radovi na prostoru careva stana poput potpune rekonstrukcije jugozapadne lože (na kući Savo) ili konsolidacije svoda vestibula.

Godine 1913. austrijska je vlada pozvala splitsku općinu da poduzme iskopavanje i uređenje podrumskih dvorana. Umjesto da se odazove tome pozivu, gradsko je poglavarstvo prihvatilo ponudu V. Jurasca koji je o svome trošku očistio nekoliko zapadnih dvorana i upotrijebio ih za svoja skladišta. U isto su se doba splitski konzervatori suočili s vrlo osjetljivim problemom uređenja južnoga zida palače. Državno povjerenstvo za Dioklecijanovu palaču bilo je već 1912. godine zauzelo stajalište očuvanja malih kućica ispred pročelja careva stana, s time da eventualna nova izgradnja ne dosegne donji vijenac otvora portikata. Unatoč tome, porušen je veći dio tih kućica, pa se problem pokušao riješiti međunarodnim natjecanjem, u kojem je kao najbolji ocijenjen rad austrijskog arhitekta A. Kellera. Prema tome projektu, ispred zapadnoga dijela pročelja započela je 1924. godine izgradnja novih kućica s elementima mediteranske arhitekture, koje su se visinom podredile zahtjevima konzervatora. Približno u isto doba Dioklecijanov se palača, i posebno južno pročelje careva stana, našla u žarištu

interesa K. Swobode, koji ju je prepoznao kao ključni spomenik u razvitku kasnoantičke i srednjovjekovne rezidencijalne arhitekture, izražen u tipu 'vile' (kako autor definira carski rezidencijalni blok) s portikatom i ugaonim rizalitima.¹² U tom je smislu, a oslanjajući se na onodobne teorije u znanosti umjetnosti, analizirao palaču u Splitu i njezin južni dio istaknuti hrvatski povjesničar umjetnosti Ljubo Karaman u sklopu zajedničke monografije koju je pretežito napisao don Frane Bulić.¹³

Nastojanja konzervatora, kao i državnih i općinskih vlasti, da se pristupi iskopavanju supstrukcija Dioklecijanovog stana ostvarila su se tek poslije završetka Drugoga svjetskog rata. Godine 1946. pokrenuti su zamašni radovi na istraživanju i obnovi Dioklecijanove palače, uključujući i iskopavanje 'podrumskih' dvorana. Vodio ih je Komunalni odjel gradske uprave uz stručni nadzor Konzervatorskog zavoda za Dalmaciju, a rezultate je objavio tadašnji ravnatelj Zavoda Cvito Fisković.¹⁴ Tom je prilikom sasvim iskopana velika dvorana u zapadnom dijelu supstrukcija, a zatim i prostor oko središnje dvorane (Sl. 9).

Nakon što je 1954. godine Urbanističkom zavodu Dalmacije, odnosno njegovu Odjelu za povijest graditeljstva (poslije nazvan Odjel za graditeljsko naslijeđe), povjereno istraživanje i uređenje povijesne jezgre Splita s Dioklecijanovom palačom, započela je sustavna akcija iskopavanja i uređenja prizemnih dvorana, koja je s povremenim prekidima trajala sve do kraja stoljeća. Pri tim je radovima, pod

Sl. 8. Velika zapadna dvorana u prizemnom dijelu Dioklecijanovog stana

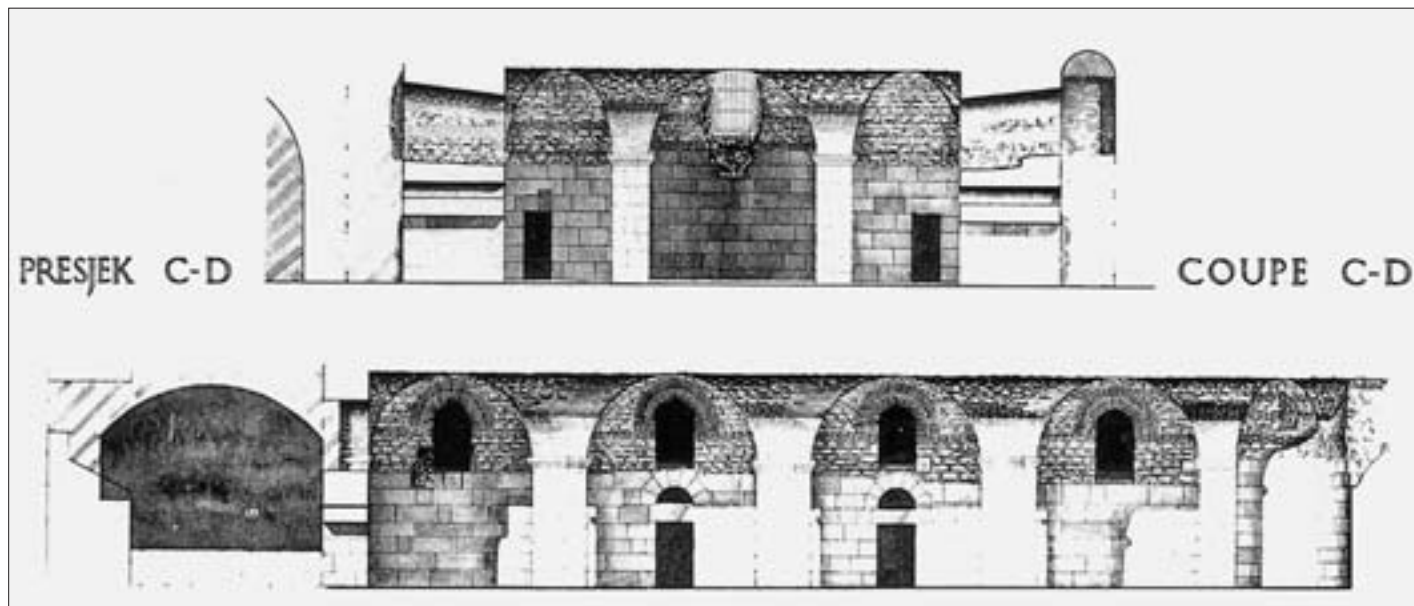
FIG. 8 GROUND FLOOR OF BIG HALL AT WEST END OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



¹² SWOBODA, 1919.

¹³ BULIĆ, KARAMAN, 1927: 115 i dalje

¹⁴ Fisković, 1950.



substructures in the south quarter. Despite the difficult condition of the covered area where only the west part was unobstructed, the plan of the ground floor halls became to a considerable degree known owing to the geodetic surveying of the Austrian surveyor Morpurgo. The second team was headed by two French researchers, the architect Ernest Hébrard and the historian Jacques Zeiller who published their joint work in 1912, after long-term field research.¹¹

When we evaluate the work of two mentioned teams today, a hundred years after the research of the palace, we cannot suppress admiration for the results achieved in the complex conditions of the historic core of Split at the beginning of the 20th century which raised no possibilities for extensive archaeological excavations. Both monographs are characterised by precise architectural surveys and very convincing interpretation of the original appearance. However, Niemann's study was centred more on the original state of only those parts for which the found remains provided factual information. Thus, in his plan of the imperial apartments the south section remained for the most part undefined (Fig. 5c). Hébrard's reconstruction, on the other hand, offered an interpretation of certain buildings, mostly in the area of the imperial apartments, whose remains did not provide enough information, so his conclusions had to be based on comparative material (Fig. 7). During aforementioned field research of the palace, certain restoration work was conducted in the

imperial apartments, such as the complete reconstruction of the southwest loggia (on the Savo house) and consolidation of the Vestibule vaults.

In 1913, the Austrian government recommended that Split municipality carry out excavations and renewal of the basement halls. Rather than adopt the recommendation, the city authorities accepted an offer made by V. Juras who cleared several west chambers at his own expense and used them as his private warehouses. At the same time, Split conservators faced a complicated problem of how to renew the south façade of the palace. Already in 1912, the position of the National Committee for Diocletian's Palace was that small houses in front of the south façade should be preserved provided that possible new structures did not exceed the height of the gallery's lower cornice.

Despite that, a great number of the houses were taken down so the solution of the renovation problem had to be dealt with by an international competition. The work judged best in the competition was the one by the Austrian architect A. Keller. According to Keller's project, the western part of the south façade saw in 1912 the construction of new houses with elements of Mediterranean architecture whose height was subject to the requirements of conservators. Approximately at the same time, Diocletian's palace, especially the south façade, attracted great attention of K. Swoboda who recognized it as an essential monument in the development of medieval and late antique residential architecture, embodied in the type of 'villa' (as Swoboda defined the imperial residential block) with a gallery and corner blocks projecting outwards.¹² Relying on the art theo-

SL. 9. PRESJEKI VELIKE DVORANE, SUPSTRUKCIJA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 9 CROSS SECTIONS OF GREAT HALL, SUBSTRUCTURES OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS

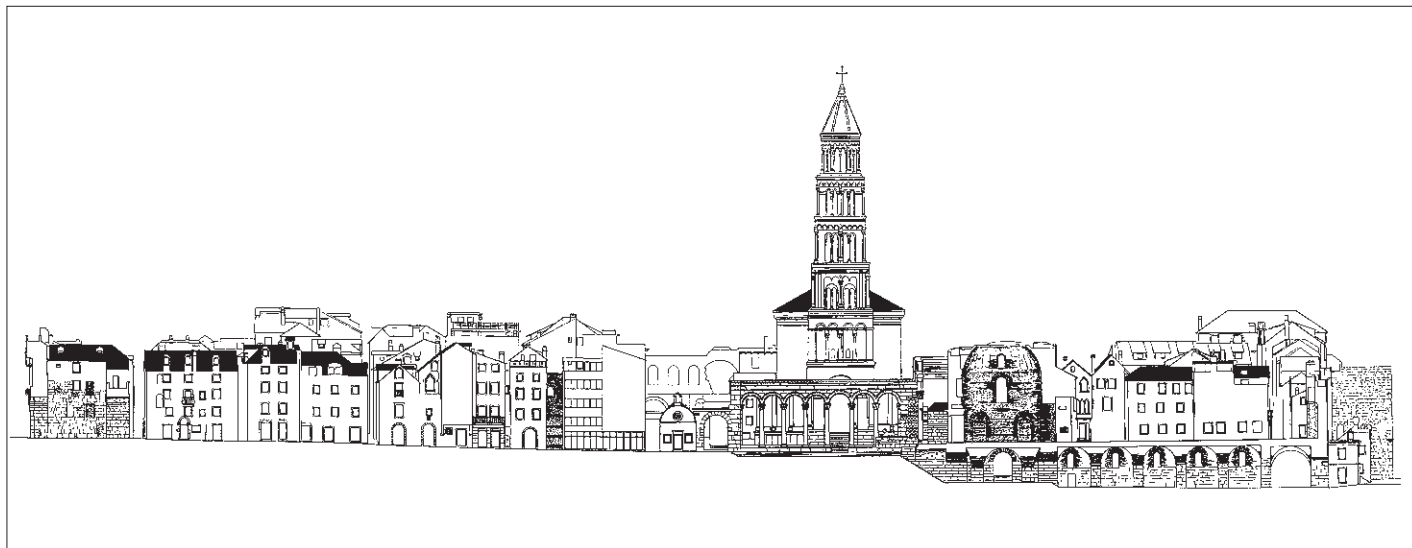
SL. 10. DVORANA S EKSEDROM U ZAPADNOME PRIZEMNOM DIJELU DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 10 GROUND FLOOR HALL WITH APSE AT WEST END OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



11 HÉBRARD, ZEILLER, 1912

12 SWOBODA, 1919



SL. 11. UZDUŽNI PRESJEK KROZ DIOKLECijanovu PALAČU, STANJE 1975. (ZAVOD ZA ZAŠTITU SPOMENIKA KULTURE U SPLITU)

FIG. 11 LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF DIOKLECijan'S PALACE, 1975 (INSTITUTE FOR PROTECTION OF CULTURAL MONUMENTS, SPLIT)

vodstvom arhitekta Jerka Marasovića, najprije iskopano i uređeno gotovo cijelo područje zapadnih podruma (osim nekoliko krajnje zapadnih dvorana koje nisu mogle biti do kraja istražene i uređene iz razloga sigurnosti gornjih zgrada). Već 1. svibnja 1959. otvorena je za javnost zapadna polovica Dioklecijanovih podruma, pa su tada građani Splita mogli prvi put razgledati dotad nepoznate im presvodene prostore koji su vjekovima bili zasuti urušenom građom, fekalijama i svakojakim smećem, a predstavljaju jednu od najbolje sačuvanih cjelina presvodene rimske arhitekture uopće. Iskopane su tom prilikom manje pravokutne prostorije uz središnju dvoranu; ponovno je očišćena velika dvorana po sredini zapadne polovice, koja je s polukružnom ekседrom podsjećala na baziliku (Sl. 8), zatim jedna manja uzdužna dvorana s apsidom (Sl. 10) te niz manjih prostora pravokutnog, kružnog, križnog i četverolisnog oblika, presvodenih različitim svodnim tipovima – bačvastim, kupolnim, križnim i polukalotnim (Sl. 14). Zapadno od središnje dvorane i sa svake strane velike zapadne 'bazilikalne' dvorane pronađeni su uski hodnici koji izvorno nisu bili pokriveni pa su protumačeni kao svjetlici, tj. prostori za dovod svjetla u supstrukcije. Osim iskopavanja poduzeti su tada i radovi uređenja istraženoga prostora mjestimičnim restauracijama zidova i svodova te uređenjem poda. Time su ostvareni osnovni preduvjeti i za suvremeno korištenje tih prostora. Od tada nadalje zapadni podrumski prostori upotrebljavaju se za arheološke i likovne izložbe, predavanja, te kazališne, glazbene i druge priredbe.

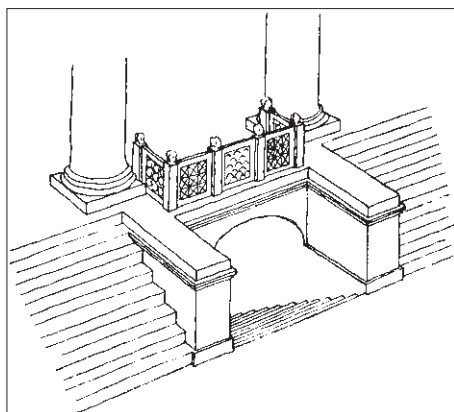
U razdoblju od 1957. do 1963. godine poduzeti su opsežni i vrlo osjetljivi radovi u središnjem prostoru Dioklecijanovog stana i njegovih supstrukcija, između Peristila i obale. Tamo je ta-

kođer došlo do novih važnih spoznaja – najprije u supstrukciji vestibula, gdje su djelomično sačuvani piloni pokazali da je ta dvorana imala križni tlocrt i da je stubištem bila izravno spojena s Peristilom. Nakon obnove svodova donjega prostora vestibula i restauracije stubišta prema Peristilu uređen je i gornji prostor izradom poda i kružnoga zida s restauriranim nišama. Obnova je zatim zahvatila središnju dvoranu, gdje su otkriveni i obnovljeni ostaci njezina dva reda od četiri pilona, restaurirani svodovi, a pod spušten do izvorne razine. Time je obnovljena izvorna funkcija središnjega trakta Dioklecijanove palače, tj. izravna veza između Peristila i obale, kao jedna od najvažnijih dionica u programu revitalizacije povijesne jezgre Splita (Sl. 11).

Voditelji istraživanja postupno su u zemlji i inozemstvu objavljivali rezultate koji se odnose na Dioklecijanov stan i njegove supstrukcije.¹⁵ Usporedno s tim izvješćima svojim su se priložima, a polazeći od objavljenih nalaza, javljali i ugledni inozemni istraživači. Među njima je danski arhitekt E. Dyggve, slijedeći recentne nalaze pod vestibulom, predložio novo tumačenje ulaza u carev stan s carskom ložom (tribunalom) između dvaju središnjih stupova protirona,¹⁶ i to u skladu sa svojim ranijim proučavanjem tzv. aksijalnoga ceremonijalnog sklopa u kasnoantičkim palačama¹⁷ (Sl. 12). Francuski je arheolog Noël Duval u svojem proučavanju položaja splitskoga carskog dvorca u antičkoj dvorskoj arhitekturi raspravljao, među ostalim, o ulozu i tipologiji najvažnijih dvorana Dioklecijanovog

SL. 12. E. DYGGVE: TRIBUNAL U PROTIRONU DIOKLECijanOVE PALAČE

FIG. 12 E. DYGGVE: TRIBUNAL IN PROTIRON OF DIOKLECijan'S PALACE



¹⁵ MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1965.; MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1968.; MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1994.; MARASOVIĆ, J. i sur., 1979.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1969.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1994.

¹⁶ DYGGVE, 1962.; DYGGVE, 1965.

¹⁷ DYGGVE, 1941.

ries of the period, the renowned Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman analysed Diocletian's palace and its south quarter in a similar fashion as Swoboda which was published in a joint monograph largely written by Frane Bulić.¹³

Efforts made by conservators as well as the central and local authorities to begin renovating the substructures of Diocletian's apartments came to fruition only after the Second World War. The year of 1946 saw the beginning of research and restoration of Diocletian's palace, including excavations of the basement halls. They were carried out by the Community Services Department of the city government under the professional supervision of the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia and the results were published by the then director of the Institute, Cvito Fisković.¹⁴ On that occasion, the great hall in the west part of the substructures and the area around the central hall were fully excavated (Fig. 9).

In 1954, after the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia, that is, its Department of the History of Architecture (later named Architectural Heritage Department) was entrusted with research and renovation of the historic core of Split with Diocletian's palace, a systematic excavation and renovation programme was conducted in ground level halls and it lasted with intermittent breaks to the end of the century. The works, supervised by the architect Jerko Marasović, comprised the excavation and renovation of the entire western section of the basement (except for the several most westerly chambers that could not be completely explored and renovated due to the stability of the upper structures. Already on the 1st May 1959, the west end of Diocletian's basement opened for public so the citizens of Split could see for the first time, up to then, the unknown vaulted chambers that had for centuries been covered with debris, human and other waste. They represent one of the best surviving ensembles of vaulted Roman architecture in general. Excavations were on that occasion conducted in the small chambers along the central hall, and a lot of chambers were cleared, namely, the great hall in the centre of the west end whose semi-circular apse (exedra) recalled a Roman Christian basilica (Fig. 8), a small longitudinal hall with an apse (Fig. 10), and a number of small rectangular, circular, cruciform and quatrefoil chambers spanned by various types of vaults, such as barrel, dome or groin vaults or half domes (Fig. 14). Narrow



SL. 13. OŠTACI SREDSIŠNJE DVORANE DIOKLECIJANOVE BLAGOVAONICE

FIG. 13 REMAINS OF CENTRAL HALL OF DIOCLETIAN'S DINING ROOM

corridors which had not originally been covered and thus interpreted as light – wells that provided the substructures with light were discovered to the west of the central hall and on each side of the big west basilican hall. Apart from the excavations, the explored area also underwent renovation work. Restoration of certain parts of walls and vaults as well as renovation of the floor created basic preconditions for a modern use of the space. From then on, the west basement chambers have been used for archaeological and art exhibitions, lectures, theatre plays, concerts and other events.

In the period from 1957 to 1963, extensive and very sophisticated works were carried out in Diocletian's apartments and the substructures between the Peristyle and the shore. New important insights were gained in that area, primarily in the substructures of the Vestibule where partly surviving pillars showed that the hall had been cruciform in plan and that it had been directly connected with the Peristyle by a stairway. After the vaults beneath the Vestibule were renewed, the upper space received renovated floor and a circular wall with restored niches. Renovation was then carried out to the central hall whose vaults were restored, the found remains of two rows of four pillars renewed and the floor lowered to its original level. As a result, the original function of the central hall of Diocletian's palace, that is, a direct link between the Peristyle and the shore was restored marking one of the most important elements in the revitalisation programme of the historic core of Split (Fig. 11).

The heads of research gradually published the results referring to Diocletian's apartments and the substructures in Croatia and abroad.¹⁵ Alongside the research reports, var-

SL. 14. SUPSTRUKCIJA JEDNE PROSTORIJE DIOKLECIJANOVE POČASNE GARDE

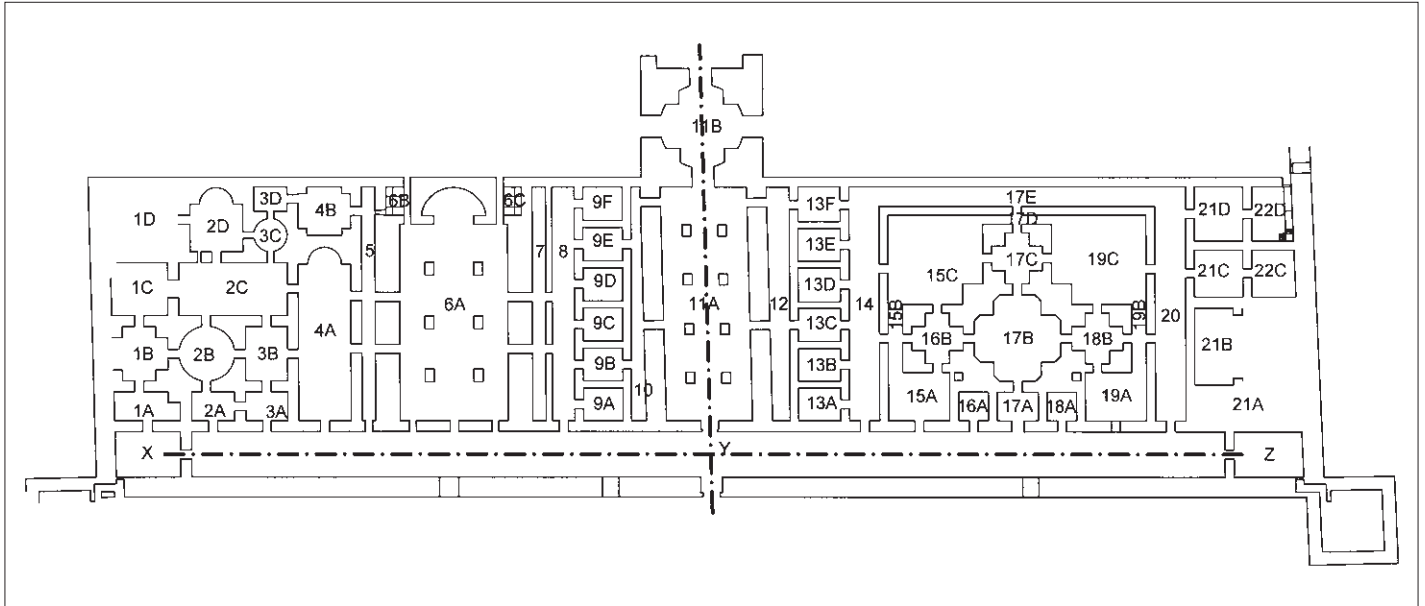
FIG. 14 SUBSTRUCTURES OF ONE CHAMBER THAT HOUSED DIOCLETIAN'S GUARD OF HONOUR



¹³ BULIĆ, KARAMAN, 1927: 115 ff.

¹⁴ FISKOVIĆ, 1950

¹⁵ MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1965; MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1968; MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1994; MARASOVIĆ, J. ET AL., 1979; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1969; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1994

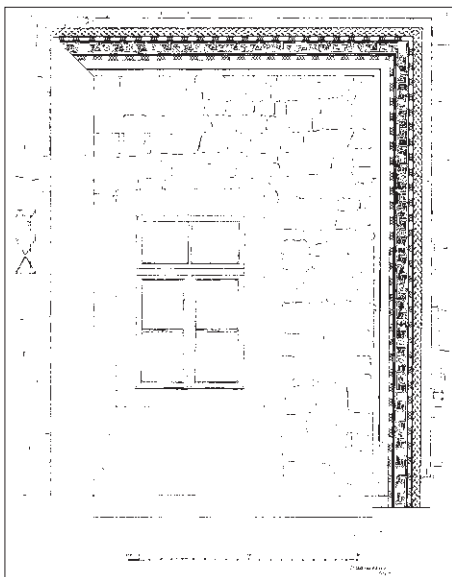


SL. 15. DVIJE GLAVNE OSI DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA, NAZNACENE NA TLOCRTU SUPSTRUKCIJA

FIG. 15 TWO MAIN AXES OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS, MARKED ON GROUND PLAN OF SUBSTRUCTURES

SL. 16. JUŽNA VRATA SREDIŠNJE DVORANE DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 16 SOUTH OPENING OF CENTRAL HALL OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



stana¹⁸ (Sl. 24, 26 i 30), a njemački arheolog Heinz Kähler u usporednoj studiji o splitskoj palači i carskoj vili u Piazza Armerini na Siciliji raspravio je funkciju pojedinih dvorana u dvjema gotovo istodobnim carskim rezidencijama.¹⁹

Od šezdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća nadalje radovi su bili usredotočeni na istočnu polovicu prizemnih dvorana. Osim niza od šest manjih pravokutnih prostorija uz samu središnju dvoranu, na tom su prostoru otkopane dvorane posve drukčijeg rasporeda, nesimetričnoga u odnosu na zapadni dio supstrukcija. U središnjem dijelu toga prostora otkopano je prostrano područje omeđeno hodnicima sa svih strana, unutar kojeg je arhitektonski sklop sa središnjom dvoranom vanjskoga četvrtastog i unutrašnjeg kriznog tlocrta te još dvije manje dvorane istoga oblika na zapadu i na sjeveru (dok je treća dvorana u tome sklopu sasvim porušena u srednjem vijeku). Između te središnje kompozicije i hodnika sto je okružuje otkrivena su četiri veća otvorena prostora, također u funkciji svjetlika, ali drukčijeg oblika od spomenutih svjetlika u zapadnom dijelu 'podruma' (Sl. 13). Tom središnjem sklopu istočnoga područja konačno je potvrđena funkcija careve blagovaonice (tzv. *tricliniuma*) u gornjem katu, za koji je upravo karakterističan oblik srednje dvorane i triju manjih dvorana što je okružuju. Da se tu doista radi o blagovaonici, potvrdio je jedan važan nalaz do kojeg je došlo u kasnijem nastavku istraživanja toga područja 1996. godine. Tada je, naime, u kriptortiu (Y) ispred supstrukcija blagovaonice otkriven mramorni stol (*mensa*) za blagovanje, znakovitoga polukružnog oblika, koja je do-

bro poznata po likovnim reprodukcijama antičkih triclinija, ali je rijetko gdje tako dobro sačuvana kao ovdje u Splitu (Sl. 17).

Krajnji istočni dio supstrukcija djelomično je istražen u jednoj međunarodnoj arheološkoj kampanji. Naime, od 1968. do 1974. godine ostvaren je zajednički istraživački projekt koji su vodili stručnjaci iz Urbanističkog zavoda Dalmacije i američkog Sveučilišta Minnesota iz Minneapolisa. Radovi u tom zajedničkom projektu uglavnom su bili usredotočeni na jugoistočni kvadrant Dioklecijanove palače pa su tom prilikom istražene i najvećim dijelom iskopane dvorane prislonjene uz istočni zid palače.²⁰ Tom je prilikom došlo i do značajnog nalaza koji se odnosi na gornji kat careva stana. Pronađeni su tada veći komadi zida Dioklecijanovih apartmana, koji su se urušili u prizemni prostor, a na sebi su sačuvali freske – jedine dosad poznate ostatke antičkih zidnih slika u palači²¹ (Sl. 20). Blizu ostataka careve blagovaonice pronađena je olovna cijev – jedini dosad poznati ostatak vodovodnog sustava u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Jugoistočna kula djelomično je istražena prilikom radova na njezinu privođenju novoj namjeni 1968. godine, kada su otkriveni ostaci jugoistočne trodijelne lože.²² Prizemni prostor lože, prije do vrha zasut otpadnom i urušenom građom,

¹⁸ DUVAL, 1961.; DUVAL, 1965.; DUVAL, 1985.

¹⁹ KÄHLER, 1965.

²⁰ MARASOVIĆ, J. i sur., 1972.

²¹ Freske iz jugoistočnoga kvadranta različito su datirane. Dok je MARASOVIĆ, T. (1989.) u ostacima fresaka prepoznao izvorni ukras zidova, američki su partneri nalaz pripisali kasnom srednjem vijeku.

²² MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1978.

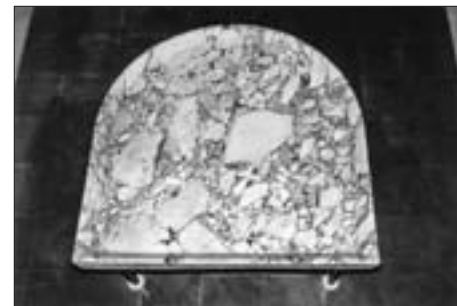
ious contributions based on the published finds came from respectable international researchers. Among them was the Danish architect E. Dyggve. According to the latest finds beneath the Vestibule and in accordance with his earlier research on the so called axial ceremonial complex in late antique palaces,¹⁶ he proposed a new interpretation of the entrance to the emperor's apartments with the imperial loggia (tribunal) between the two central columns of the great porch (Prothyron);¹⁷ Fig. 12). In his studies of the imperial castle in Split within the context of ancient castle architecture, the French archaeologist Noël Duval discussed, among other things, the role and typology of the most important chambers in Diocletian's apartments¹⁸ (Fig. 24, 26, 30), and the German archaeologist Heinz Kähler made a comparative study of the palace in Split and the imperial villa in Piazza Armerina, Sicily in which he discussed the function of individual chambers in the two almost identical imperial residences.¹⁹

From the 1960s on, excavations were centred at the east end of the basement halls. Apart from a sequence of chambers along the central hall, the east end revealed chambers of different, unsymmetrical disposition when compared to the west end of the substructures. Excavations of the central part of that section uncovered a spacious area surrounded on every side by corridors. The enclosed area comprised a group of chambers with a central hall rectangular on the outside and cross-shaped on the inside, and another two smaller chambers of the same shape to the west and north of the central hall (whereas the third small chamber was completely destroyed in medieval times). Between the central group of chambers and the corridors that surrounded it there were four considerably big, open structures, also serving as light-wells but different in form from the mentioned light-wells at the west end of the basement (Fig. 13). It was ultimately determined that the central complex at the upper level of the east end served as the emperor's dining room (*triclinium*) for which it was characteristic to have a shape of central hall and three smaller halls surrounding it. That this hall was a dining room was confirmed by another important object found in later ex-

cavations of the area in 1996. On that occasion the cryptoporticus (Y) in front of the substructures of the dining room revealed a marble dining table (*mensa*) of a significant semicircular shape that is well known from art reproductions of ancient dining rooms, but hardly anywhere as preserved as in Split (Fig. 17).

The most easterly part of the substructures was partly researched during an international archaeological campaign. Specifically, in the period from 1968 to 1974, a joint research project was carried out by experts from the Dalmatian Urban Planning Institute and the American University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. As part of the project, works were conducted mainly in the southeast quadrant when the halls adjoining the east wall of the palace were researched and for the most part excavated.²⁰ On that occasion significant finds that pertain to the upper level of the apartments were unearthed. They comprise considerably big fragments of frescoes – so far the only known remains of ancient wall paintings in the palace²¹ (Fig. 20). A lead pipe found near the remains of the emperor's dining room has up to now been the only known surviving element of the water supply system in Diocletian's palace. Southeast tower was partially explored during works on its re-adaptation in 1968, when remains of the tripartite south loggia were found.²² The ground floor of the loggia, which had earlier been filled with waste and rubble, was excavated and renovated also as part of the joint project with the American partners (Fig. 18). Taking earlier research of the problem as a starting point, Sheila McNally, the head of the American team, published in 1989 her text on the research of Diocletian's palace as a summary of the joint project.²³ Describing the residential block she singled out nine units, namely the Vestibule at the north entrance to the apartments, seven architectural complexes divided by light-wells and corridors, and the cryptoporticus. She also included a summary of the comparative material in ancient Roman architecture for each unit.

From the point of view of restoration, works at the east end of the basement were much more complex than those at the west end because the structures at the upper level were there mainly founded on an embankment. Thus, it was necessary to intervene in a technical sense into the upper structures, or in many other cases, to remove dilapidated houses, all of which was related to considerable financial investments. The original arcades also underwent restoration with which it was intended to enhance the significance of the south façade gallery. The restoration was part of a years-long programme of renovation carried out to the dining room which also comprised the west hall and partially the wall



SL. 17. MENZA IZ DIOKLECIJANOVE BLAGOVAONICE
FIG. 17 DINING TABLE FROM DIOCLETIAN'S DINING ROOM

SL. 18. JUGOISTOČNA KULA DIOKLECIJANOVE PALAČE
FIG. 18 SOUTHEAST TOWER OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE



16 DYGGVE, 1962; DYGGVE, 1965

17 DYGGVE, 1941

18 DUVAL, 1961; DUVAL, 1965; DUVAL, 1985

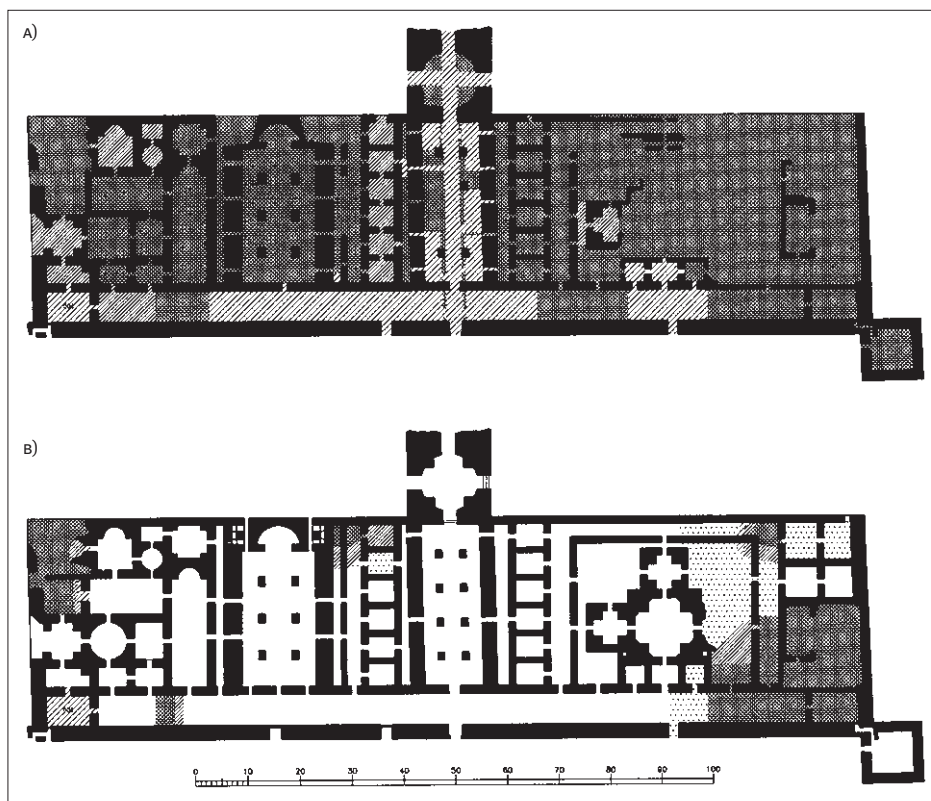
19 KÄHLER, 1965

20 MARASOVIĆ, J. ET AL., 1972

21 Frescoes from the southeast quadrant were differently dated. While MARASOVIĆ, T. (1989) recognized in the frescoes an original wall decoration, American partners dated the frescoes to the late Middle Ages.

22 MARASOVIĆ, J.; MARASOVIĆ, T., 1978

23 McNALLY, 1989



Sl. 19. Tlocrt supstrukcija Dioklecijanova stana: A) prije iskopavanja, B) stanje 1996.

FIG. 19 PLAN OF SUBSTRUCTURES OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS: A) BEFORE EXCAVATIONS, B) IN 1996

iskopan je i ureden također u sklopu zajedničkoga projekta istraživanja u suradnji s američkim partnerom (Sl. 18). Kao sažetak tih istraživanja, a polazeci i od svih ranijih proučavanja toga problema, 1989. godine Sheila McNally, voditeljica američkog tima u zajedničkom projektu, objavila je svoj tekst o istraživanju Dioklecijanove palače.²³ U opisu rezidencijalnog bloka ona je izdvojila devet cjelina – počevši od vestibula na sjevernom prilazu stanu, preko sedam arhitektonskih sklopova, odvojenih međusobno svjetlicima i hodnicima, do kriptoportika uz južno pročelje – sažimajući za svaku jedinicu i podatke o komparativnoj građi u rimskom graditeljstvu.

Radovi u istočnoj polovici 'podruma' s tehničko-restauratorskog stajališta bili su mnogo složeniji nego oni u zapadnom dijelu, jer su tamo kuće gornjega kata uglavnom temeljene na nasipu, pa je bilo potrebno poduzeti složene tehničke zahvate ili, u mnogim slučajevima, ukloniti trošne stambene zgrade, a taj je posao bio vezan i za veća financijska ulaganja. Restauratorski radovi u tome sektoru obuhvatili su i obnovu izvornih arkada, kojima je bio cilj vrednovanje prostora portikata. Oni su izvedeni u sklopu višegodišnjeg zahvata uređenja triklinija, kojim je restaurirana zapadna dvorana te djelomično obnovljeni zidovi središnje i sjeverne dvorane sklopa blagovaonice. U nastavku radova na tom području obnov-

ljen je veći sklop dvorana zapadno i sjeverozapadno od triklinija za Etnografski muzej.²⁴ Tom je prilikom obnovljena jedna od dvorana Dioklecijanove počasne straže, koja je još u ranom srednjem vijeku preuređena u predromaničku crkvu sv. Andrije 'de fenestris'.²⁵ Restauratorskim radovima uspješno je valoriziran rano-srednjovjekovni sloj te dvorane. Iskopavanjem tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća i restauratorskim radovima koji su pratili iskopavanja uglavnom je istraženo cijelo područje supstrukcija careva stana s ukupno 62 prostora različitih oblika i dimenzija.

Godine 2000. izrađena je iscrpna studija jugoistočnoga dijela Dioklecijanove palače, koja uključuje sve povijesne slojeve, pa i izvorno stanje iz Dioklecijanova doba,²⁶ a pojedini rezultati koji se odnose i na Dioklecijanov stan prezentirani su na Međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu održanom u Splitu 2005. godine u povodu obilježavanja 1700. obljetnice izgradnje Dioklecijanove palače. Istom su prilikom V. Delonga i M. Bonacić izvijestile o arheološkom istraživanju iz 1992. godine kojim su se potvrdili i neki zaključci o prostornoj analizi dijela Dioklecijanove rezidencije.²⁷

IZVORNI IZGLED REZIDENCIJALNOG BLOKA I FUNKCIJE NJEGOVIH DIJELOVA

Kao supstrukcije careve rezidencije, prizemni prostori pod Dioklecijanovim stanom nisu u izvornom stanju palače imali utilitarnu funkciju. Samo je središnja prizemna dvorana, koja je od prizemlja vestibula vodila do Južnih vrata, imala ulogu komunikacije do južnih vrata na obali. Na malom pristaništu ispred pročelja – koje je bilo naslućeno još potkraj prošloga stoljeća, ali je konačno utvrđeno recentnim istraživanjem u vezi s aktualnim uređenjem splitske Rive početkom 2007. godine – pristajala je careva lađa. Njome je umirovljeni vladar, nakon burnog i vrlo sadržajnog života, mogao koristiti blagodatno izvanredno privlačnog položaja središnjeg Jadrana, njegove razvedene obale, otoka i ugodne mediteranske klime. Svi ostali prostori, osim konstrukcijske, nisu imali nikakvu drugu praktičnu namjenu, kako se to zaključuje i po okolnostima da su, primjerice, podovi bili neuređeni, kanali otpadnih voda neograđeni, prirodna litica što

²³ McNALLY, 1989.

²⁴ Radove je vodio Ured za povijesnu jezgru grada Splita pod vodstvom Duška Marasovića, a pod nadzorom R. Bužančića iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Splitu.

²⁵ BUŽANČIĆ, 2004.

²⁶ MARASOVIĆ, J. i sur., 2000.

²⁷ Autorice su svoje rezultate opširnije objavile u katalogu izložbe: DELONGA, V.; BONACIĆ, M. (2005.), 17 u 8, *Arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače 1992. godine*, Split.

of the central and north chamber of the dining complex. In the following stages, the group of halls to the west and northwest of the dining room were also renovated for the purposes of the Ethnographic Museum.²⁴ On that occasion, renovation was carried out to one of the halls of Diocletian's guard of honour, which was in the early Middle Ages converted into the Pre-Romanesque church of St. Andrew "de fenestris".²⁵ Restoration work successfully enhanced the significance of the early medieval layer of the hall. In the second half of the 20th century, the entire area beneath the emperor's apartments, having altogether 62 chambers of different shapes and dimensions, was researched during excavations and the following restoration work.

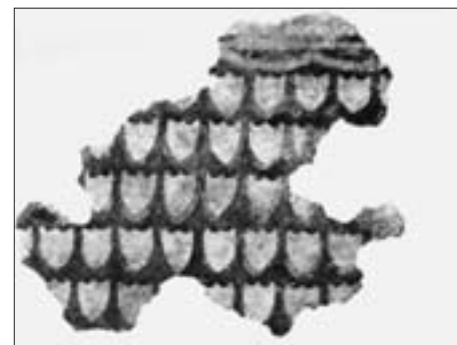
A detailed analysis of the south part of Diocletian's palace was made in 2000, and it included all historical layers together with the original state from Diocletian's period.²⁶ Certain results that also relate to Diocletian's apartment were presented in 2005 at the International Scientific Convention in Split that marked the 1700th anniversary of the construction of Diocletian's palace. On that occasion, V. Delonga and M. Bonacić reported on the 1992 archaeological research which confirmed some of the conclusions on the spatial analysis of one part of Diocletian's residence.²⁷

THE ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF THE EMPEROR'S RESIDENCE AND THE FUNCTION OF ITS PARTS

As substructures of the emperor's residence, the chambers at ground level beneath Diocletian's apartments had originally no utilitarian purpose. The central hall at ground level which stretched between the Vestibule and the South gate served as a link to the gate on the shore. A small jetty in front of the façade, which was indicated already at the end of the 19th century but ultimately confirmed by recent research during the regulation of the Split waterfront (Riva) at the beginning of 2007, was a place where the emperor's boat came ashore. After a turbulent and full life, the retired ruler could use the boat to enjoy the benefit of an exceptionally appealing location of the central

Adriatic, its indented coast, islands and a mild Mediterranean climate. All other chambers had no additional practical use which was concluded from the fact that the floors were unpaved, sewage pipes unenclosed, a natural cliff that was at some places higher than the ground level remained rough and uneven and not a single opening among numerous doors and windows could close. Since archaeological research revealed no traces of any other function (such as warehouse or similar), it can be concluded, on the whole, that the chambers at ground level (except for the central hall) actually served only to support the emperor's apartments thus ensuring certain protection against damp, which was necessary due to the immediate vicinity of the sea. When the palace developed into a proper town, Split, at the beginning of the early Middle Ages, the substructures had other functions. Since people of the destroyed Salona needed accommodation, the town people probably of lower classes settled at least temporarily in the ground level chambers of Diocletian's apartments.

Unlike the substructures whose original ancient walls have to a large extent survived due to the fact that they became very early a site for disposing debris and waste, the upper floor of the apartments has during seventeen centuries of the town's development mostly been destroyed. The halls of the emperor's dwelling place were in that area demolished as a consequence of house building in medieval and modern Split. The surviving remains of walls belong to the Vestibule, that is, the hall at the very entrance to the emperor's apartments (Fig. 21) and parts of several smaller chambers well to the rear of the west end. All other chambers were completely destroyed but in some placed their foundations were found exactly there where the researches expected them, in other words, above the corresponding walls of the substructures. However, even the meagre material evidence was important because it confirmed congruity in the arrangement of the ground and upper levels, but also brought to light some technical details and elements of decoration which could not have been found only in the excavated substructures. The finds comprised remains of marble plates which had covered all upper floor walls. Above the marble plates were in some places mosaics described by various authors but also by Marko Marulić, renowned poet of Split and the Father of Croatian literature.²⁸ Elaborately carved frames of the openings survived in the Vestibule and the south end of the central hall, and the decoration of the south portal of the central hall was comprised of meander and similar motifs (Fig. 16). Already mentioned *mensa* from the emperor's dining room also belonged to the residential upper level and it ended up on the floor of the



SL. 20. OSTACI ZIDNE FRESKE IZ JEDNE OD ISTOČNIH DVORANA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA
FIG. 20 FRESCO REMAINS IN ONE OF EAST CHAMBERS OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS

SL. 21. VESTIBUL DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA
FIG. 21 VESTIBULE OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



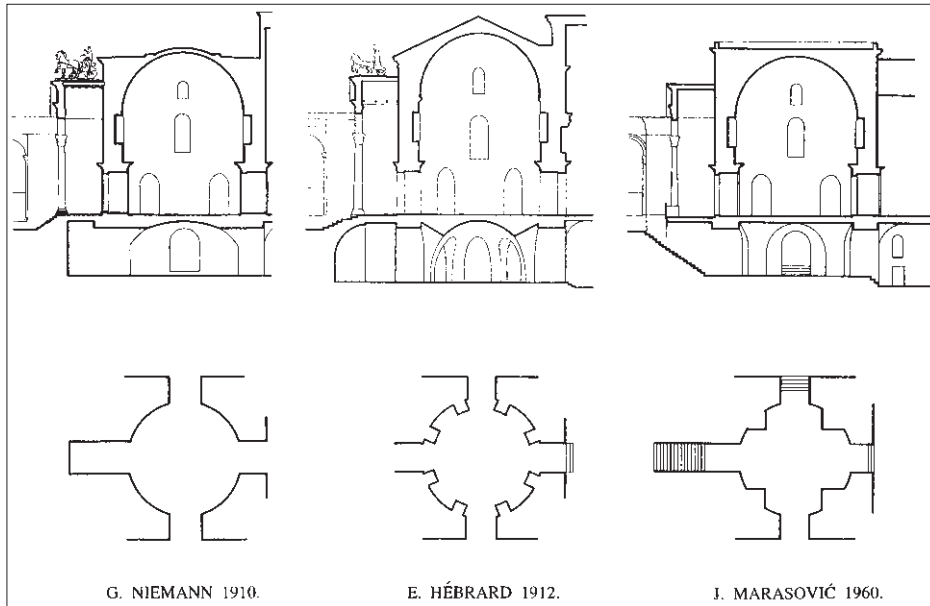
²⁴ The works were carried out by the Agency for the Split Historic Core, headed by Duško Marasović and supervised by R. Bužančić from the Croatian Conservation Institute, Conservation Department in Split.

²⁵ BUŽANČIĆ, 2004

²⁶ MARASOVIĆ, J. ET AL., 2000

²⁷ The authors of the report published the results in greater detail in the exhibition catalogue: DELONGA, V.; BONACIĆ, M. (2005.), 17 u 8, *Arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače 1992. godine* (17 in 8, *Archaeological Research in Southeast Part of Diocletian's Palace 1992*), Split

²⁸ *** (2005), *Description of Split by Marulić*, Split, 26-27 (translated and edited by B. Lucin)



SL. 22. G. NIEMANN, E. HÉBRARD I J. MARASOVIĆ:
PRESJEK I TLOCRT KROZ VESTIBUL
FIG. 22 G. NIEMANN, E. HÉBRARD AND J. MARASOVIĆ:
CROSS SECTION AND GROUND PLAN OF VESTIBULE

je mjestimično prelazila podnu razinu ostala je neotklesana i nepravilna, a ni jedan otvor među mnogobrojnim vratima i prozorima nije se zatvarao. Budući da se arheološkim istraživanjima nije pronašao nikakav trag neke druge funkcije (skladišta i sl.), moglo se zaključiti da su prizemne dvorane, u cjelini gledajući, uistinu imale (s izuzetkom središnje dvorane) samo ulogu konstrukcijskog nosača careva stana iznad njih, osiguravajući i stanovitu izolaciju od vlage, potrebnu zbog neposredne blizine mora. Pretvaranjem palače u pravi grad Split na početku ranoga srednjeg vijeka supstrukcije su dobile druge funkcije. Trebalo je osigurati smještaj za znatan broj stanovnika porušene Salone pa su građani toga grada, vjerojatno oni niži društveni slojevi, barem privremeno bili naselili prizemne dvorane Dioklecijanova stana.

Za razliku od supstrukcija koje su, zbog toga što su vrlo rano postale prostorom odlaganja otpadne i urušene građe, ipak u najvećem dijelu sačuvala izvorne antičke zidove – gornji prostor Dioklecijanova stana najvećim je dijelom porušen tijekom sedamnaest stoljeća razvitka grada. Zbog gradnje stambenih kuća srednjovjekovnoga i novovjekovnoga Splita uglavnom su porušene dvorane carevih apartmana na tome prostoru. Ostao je u većem dijelu svojih zidova sačuvan samo vestibul, ulazna dvorana na samom ulazu u carev stan (Sl. 21), te dijelovi nekoliko manjih dvorana u krajnjem zapadnom dijelu. Svi ostali prostori posve su porušeni ili su samo ponegdje otkriveni njihovi temelji upravo na mjestima gdje su ih istraživači i očekivali, tj. iznad odgovarajućih zidova supstrukcija. Pa ipak, i ti skromniji nalazi bili su vrlo značajni jer su potvrdili

podudarnost rasporeda gornjega i donjega kata, a i zato što su donijeli na vidjelo i neke tehničke i ukrasne potankosti koje se nisu mogle saznati samo istraživanjem supstrukcija. Našli su se, naime, mjestimični ostaci marmornih ploča kojima su bili obloženi svi zidovi u gornjem katu. Iznad mramornog obloga ponegdje su se nalazili mozaici, o kojima, među ostalima piše i Marko Marulić, glasoviti splitski pjesnik i otac hrvatske književnosti.²⁸ U vestibulu i na južnoj strani središnje dvorane sačuvani su okviri ulaza, kiparski bogato obrađeni, a ukras južnoga portala središnje dvorane čini meandar i srodni motivi (Sl. 16). Već spomenuta menza iz careve blagovaonice također je pripadala gornjem rezidencijalnom katu, a dospjela je na pod kriptoportika, kao i urušeni dijelovi zida s freskama iz istočnih dvorana, na kojima je motiv zavjesa u obliku štitova.

Dosadašnja istraživanja Dioklecijanova stana i njegovih supstrukcija pružila su dovoljno podataka za zaključke o tome kako su izgledale carske stambene odaje u splitskoj palači, o čemu danas znamo mnogo više negoli u doba kada su početkom prošlog stoljeća objavljene dvije spomenute temeljne studije o palači. Povećanje znanja o izgledu Dioklecijanova stana, koji najbolje pokazuje usporedba tlocrta supstrukcija prije početka sustavnih iskopavanja s današnjim prikazom očišćenih 'podrumskih' dvorana (Sl. 19-a,b), najveći je doprinos istraživanju careva stana do kojeg se došlo tijekom minulih pola stoljeća. S obzirom na okolnost da je splitska palača najbolje sačuvan primjer antičke vladarske rezidencije na svijetu, to zaključci o prvobitnom izgledu Dioklecijanova apartmana imaju i šire značenje.

OPĆI RASPORED STAMBENOG SKLOPA

U općem rasporedu carskih apartmana u Splitu prevladavaju dvije osi (Sl. 15). Uzdužna os, koja se poklapa s uzdužnom simetralom palače u cjelini, proteže se od Sjevernih vrata te kroz glavnu ulicu (*Cardo*) izbija na Peristil i odatle preko protirona ulazi u vestibul, da bi kroz središnju dvoranu izbila na južno pročelje. To je ujedno i tzv. ceremonijalna os kroz koju je careva počasna garda pratila posjetitelje i vodila ih u glavnu prijamnu dvoranu na zapadnoj strani Dioklecijanova stana. Poprečna os careva stana zapravo je duga šetnica uz južno pročelje palače (portikat). To je glavni distribucijski prostor iz kojeg se prilazi svim dvoranama.

S jedne i druge strane središnje dvorane niza se su pravokutne prostorije, po šest na svakoj strani, vezane za zajednički hodnik, a pretpostavka da su to odaje za počasnu care-

SL. 23. KASNOANTIČKA CARSKA LOŽA NA RELJEFU
BJELOKOSNOGA LAMPADIJEVA DIPTIHA IZ BRESCIE
FIG. 23 LATE ANTIQUE IMPERIAL LOGGIA ON RELIEF
OF LAMPADI'S IVORY DIPTYCH FROM BRESCIA



28 *** (2005.), *Marulićev opis Splita* (priredio i preveo B. Lucin), 26-27, Split

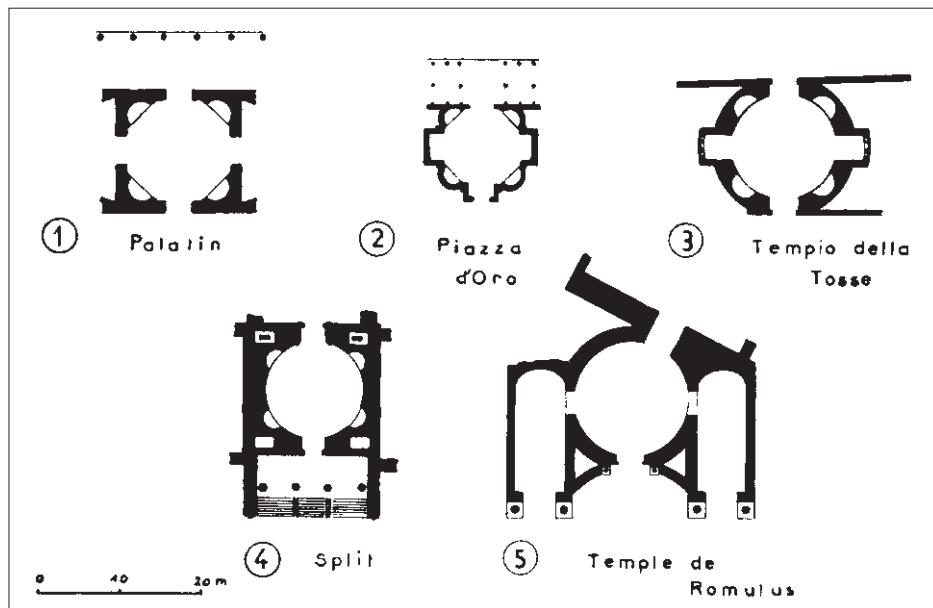
cryptoporticus together with destroyed parts of the walls of east chambers with frescoes showing a motif of drapery in the shape of shields.

Excavations of Diocletian's apartments and the substructures conducted to date have offered enough information to come to the conclusion about what the imperial dwelling rooms in the Split palace looked like, which is far more known today than in the beginning of the last century when the two mentioned extensive studies of the palace were published (those of Niemann's and Hébrard's). Increased knowledge about the appearance of Diocletian's apartments, which has best been shown by the comparison between the plan of the substructures before systematic excavations and the current representation of the cleared basement chambers (Fig. 19-a,b), is the biggest contribution to the research of the emperor's apartments carried out in the last 50 years. Considering the fact that the Split palace represents the best surviving example of ancient imperial residences, the conclusions about the original appearance of Diocletian's apartments assume even greater importance.

A GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE RESIDENTIAL BLOCK

A general arrangement of the imperial apartments in Split was dominated by two axes (Fig. 15). The longitudinal axis that corresponded to the central axis of the whole palace stretched from the North gate through the main street (*Cardo*) to the Peristyle, from where it ran through the great porch (Protyron), entered the Vestibule, cut the central hall and ended in the south façade. That was at the same time the so called ceremonial axis along which the emperor's guard of honour escorted visitors and took them to the main reception room at the west end of Diocletian's apartments. The transversal axis of the apartments was actually a long walkway along the south façade (*Portikat*) which provided access to every chamber.

Both sides of the central hall were flanked by a row of rectangular chambers, six on each side and connected to a joint corridor. Their interpretation as chambers for the emperor's guard of honour seems most convincing.²⁹ The disposition of the emperor's apartments east and west of this central complex was completely unsymmetrical. The east side was dominated by the big dining room complex, next to



SL. 24. N. DUVAL: USPOREDBA TLOCRTA POZNATIH ANTICKIH KRUŽNIH GRAĐEVINA

FIG. 24 N. DUVAL: JUXTAPOSED PLANS OF FAMOUS ANCIENT CIRCULAR BUILDINGS

which there was a group of east chambers of still undefined function. At the west end the situation is completely different. That part was dominated by a big reception complex formed by a great hall with a semicircular apse (exedra) and two smaller chambers one of which also had an apse. Well to the west end of the apartments were the private dwelling rooms of the emperor's family which were surrounded by the southeast loggia in the south and by the so called west baths (*thermae*) located outside the zone of the apartments³⁰ in the north. Excavations of the most westerly complex of Diocletian's apartments resulted in important corrections and additions to earlier conclusions. One of them refers to the hall 2B (Fig. 15) that was, contrary to earlier claims, circular in plan and covered with a domed ceiling. That led to the conclusion that the hall was an internal entrance (vestibule) on the way towards the emperor's bedroom (1B), the most private part of the apartments. A pier standing out to the south of the hall, which contained a vertical soil opening of the latrine, had also remained unnoticed.³¹

Some of the mentioned parts of the emperor's apartments such as the loggia on the protyron (tribunal), vestibule, central hall, dining room (triclinium), great hall in the reception complex and gallery of south façade, deserve to be closely observed given the latest research results.

Tribunal – Remains of the imperial loggia in the centre of the great porch (Protyron) were unearthed during the 1957 excavations of the Peristyle above the vaults of the stairwell leading to the Vestibule basement. The loggia was recognised as tribunal by E. Dyggve (Fig.

SL. 25. SUPSTRUKCIJA SREDIŠNJE DVORANE DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA U SPLITSKOJ PALACI

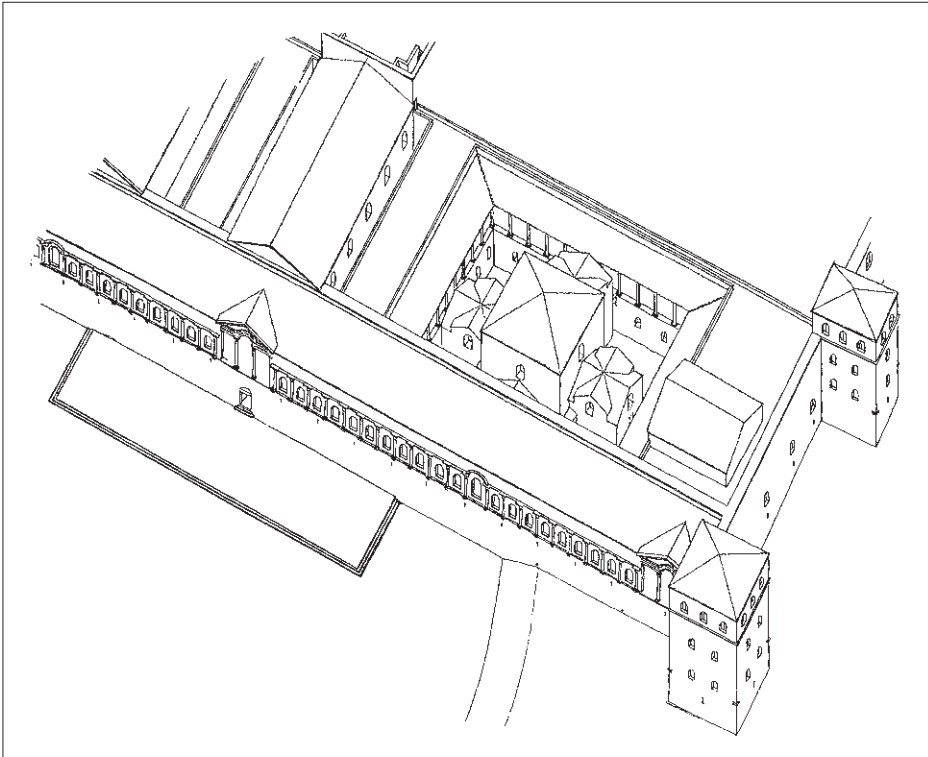
FIG. 25 SUBSTRUCTURES OF CENTRAL HALL OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



29 KÄHLER, 1961-1962

30 MARASOVIĆ, T., 1976

31 Similar opening within the sewerage block was also found in the east substructures underneath the dining room



SL. 26. J. MARASOVIĆ: IZVORNI IZGLED ISTOČNOGA DIJELA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 26 J. MARASOVIĆ: ORIGINAL APPEARANCE OF EAST END OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS

SL. 27. RESTAURIRANI OSTACI TRIKLINIJA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 27 RESTORED REMAINS OF TRIKLINIUM OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS



vu gardu čini se uvjerljivom.²⁹ Raspored carevih apartmana istočno i zapadno od toga središnjeg sklopa postaje posve nesimetričan. Istočnim prostorom dominira velik sklop blagovaonice, uz koju je i skupina istočnih dvorana, zasad još neidentificirane funkcije. Na zapadnoj strani sadržaji su sasvim drukčiji. Tim dijelom stana dominira velik prijamni sklop što ga čini velika dvorana s eksedrom i još dvije manje odaje, od kojih je jedna također s eksedrom. U krajnjoj zapadnoj četvrti stana nalazile su se intimne odaje cara i njegove obitelji, kojima je na južnoj strani pripadala jugozapadna loža, a sa sjeverne strane, izvan zone apartmana, s tim su prostorima bile neposredno vezane tzv. zapadne terme.³⁰ Pri istraživanju toga krajnjega zapadnog kompleksa Dioklecijanov stana došlo je i do nekih bitnih korekcija i nadopuna ranijih zaključaka. Jedna od njih odnosi se na dvoranu 2B (Sl. 15) u kojoj su istraživanja, nasuprot prijašnjim tvrdnjama, ustanovila kružni oblik i kupolni svod, upućujući na zaključak da se radi o internom ulaznom prostoru (vestibulu) na prilazu carevoj spavaonici (1B) kao najintimnijem dijelu stana. Prije nije bio uočen ni istaknuti pylon južno od te dvorane, unutar kojeg se nalazio vertikalni kanalizacijski saht latrine.³¹

Neki od spomenutih dijelova carskih apartmana, kao što su tribunal, vestibul, središnja dvorana, triklinij, velika dvorana u prijamnom

sklopu i portikat, zaslužuju da ih se поближе razmotri s obzirom na novije rezultate proučavanja.

Tribunal – Ostaci carske lože po sredini protirona otkriveni su istraživanjem Peristila 1957. godine, a prepoznao ih je E. Dyggve iznad svoda silaznoga stubišta (Sl. 23).³² Srednji dio protirona u Splitu može se usporediti s carskim ložama u drugim rezidencijama (npr. u Magdalenburgu),³³ a kao usporedba navedeni su i antički reljefi i crteži (primjerice Lampadijev diptih iz Brescie; Sl. 22) ili Misorij iz Madrida, obredni tanjur s prikazom cara u arhitektonskom okruženju vrlo sličnom splitskom protironu.³⁴ Na temelju tih analogija E. Dyggve predložio je idejnu rekonstrukciju carskoga tribunala u Splitu, omeđenog kamenim rešetkastim ogradama, a jednu od tih ograda prepoznao je na Clerisseauovu crtežu kada je ona još bila sačuvana u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća, ali na pomaknutom položaju na istočnoj kolonadi Peristila.

Vestibul – Prva dvorana južno od protirona odavna je nazvana vestibul (*vestibulum*) prema uobičajenom nazivu ulaznoga prostora u rimskim kućama. Bila je to građevina četvrtastoga vanjskog i unutrašnjeg kružnog tlocrta, raščlanjena u unutrašnjosti gornjega prostora s četiri polukružne niše i presvođena kupolom, od koje danas postoje djelomično sačuvani počeci svoda. Zid vestibula, građen kao i ostale dvorane stana karakterističnom tehnikom *opus incertum*, bio je obložen mramornim pločama, a svod kupole mozaikom, kojim je vjerojatno bio prekriven i pod. Ostatke zidnih mozaika zabilježio je, kako smo već spomenuli, i splitski književnik Marko Marulić.³⁵ Ništa se od te ukrasne obrade nije sačuvalo, kao ni skulpture koje su vjerojatno stajale u nišama. Zaključci o ravnom, terasastom krovu koji je nadvisivao kupulu temelje se na idejnoj rekonstrukciji J. Marasovića na dobro sačuvanom stubištu što vodi sve do vrha građevine (Sl. 24).

Supstrukcija vestibula križnoga je tlocrta, s četiri pilona na koje su se oslanjali unakrsni bacvasti svodovi, pronađeni i obnovljeni prilikom restauratorskih radova pedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Tako je osebujan arhitektonski oblik križnoga prizemlja i kružnoga gornjeg kata, poznat u povijesti graditeljstva po glasovitu Teodorikovu mauzoleju u Ravenni iz početka 6. stoljeća, prepoznat u ulazu Dioklecijanov stana na suprotnoj jadranskoj obali kao

29 KÄHLER, 1961.-1962.

30 MARASOVIĆ, T., 1976.

31 Sličan saht unutar kanalizacijskog bloka pronađen je i u istočnim supstrukcijama ispred sklopa triklinija.

32 DYGGVE, 1962.; DYGGVE, 1965.

33 VETTERS, 1965.

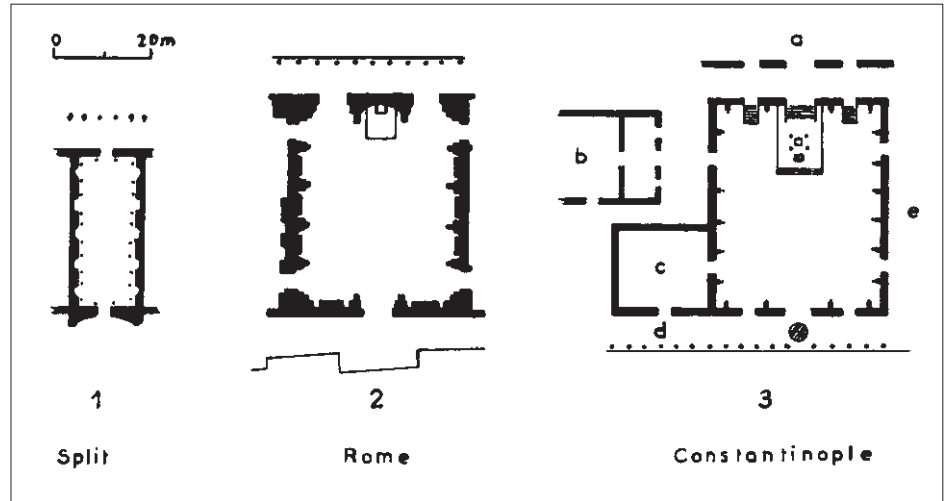
34 DYGGVE, 1962.; DYGGVE, 1965.

35 Usp. bilj. 28

23).³² The central part of the Protyron in Split can be compared to imperial loggias in other residences such as Magdalenburg,³³ and as a comparison Dyggve mentioned ancient reliefs and drawings, such as Lampadi's diptych from Brescia (Fig. 22) or the Madrid *misorium*, a ritual plate depicting an emperor in an architectural setting similar to the Protyron in Split.³⁴ Taking these analogies as a basis, E. Dyggve suggested a reconstruction of the imperial tribunal in Split, enclosed by a stone latticed balustrade, and he recognized one of such balustrades in Clerisseau's drawing when it was still extant in the second half of the 18th century, only dislocated on the east side of the Peristyle colonnade.

Vestibule – The first hall south of the Protyron was long before named Vestibule (*vestibulum*), according to the usual name for the entrance hall in Roman houses. It was a building square on the outside and cruciform on the inside whose interior walls at the upper level were articulated with four semi-circular niches, covered by the dome whose surviving remains are today reduced to its lower parts. The Vestibule walls were, as all other walls of the apartments, constructed in *opus incertum* building technique and coated with marble, whereas the dome was covered with mosaics which may have covered the floor as well. As we mentioned earlier, the mosaic remains were recorded by the Split writer Marko Marulić.³⁵ Today, nothing remains of the decorations, not even sculptures which probably stood in the niches. In his reconstruction, J. Marasović based the conclusion about the flat, terrace roof surmounting the dome on the surviving stairway which was leading to the top of the building (Fig. 24).

The Vestibule substructure was circular in plan, with four piers supporting the groin vaults found and restored in the 1950s. A distinctive architectural shape of cruciform ground floor and circular upper floor has been known to the history of architecture owing to the famous Theodoric's mausoleum in Ravenna dated in the beginning of the 6th century. However, the entrance to Diocletian's apartments, having the same shape and located on the other side of the Adriatic is dated to the period that is more than two centuries older. Such a shape is logical for the Vestibule in Split not only from the position of structure but also function, since the upper circular space is accessed only from the north or south, whereas the cruciform space communicates with rooms on all four sides. This in-



terpretation of the Vestibule substructure, with a stairway leading directly to the Peristyle, marks a considerably significant correction of earlier interpretations of Diocletian's apartments (Fig. 24). The upper circular space of the Vestibule in Split has its analogies in Roman architecture starting from the Domus Flavia on the Palatine hill in Rome and the Piazza d'Oro in Hadrian's villa in Tivoli to late antique rotundas such as the Tempio della Tosse in Tivoli, the temple of Romulus in the Roman Forum or circular structures in the villa of Maxentius (Fig. 25).

Tablinum – The main hall in Roman houses and palaces was called tablinum. In the earlier periods, researchers of Diocletian's palace used the same name for the central hall in Diocletian's apartments which linked the Vestibule and the gallery, thus comparing it to the main hall in the Roman imperial palace on the Palatine hill in Rome. Such interpretations have been by new research of Diocletian's apartments disputed primarily because the hall was a transitional space and it could never have been the main reception room of the emperor's apartments. Its function stems from the central position in the apartments as part of the axis of the ceremonial complex along which the guard of honour took visitors to the emperor's chambers at the west end of the residence. That hall, whose remains comprise the foundations of the walls and the south door, was longitudinal and covered with an open-timbered roof. It was covered with marble (whose remains were discovered), and the lateral walls were most likely articulated with niches and sculptures. The largely surviving south door frame had bas-relief ornamentation formed by the characteristic motifs of braids, beads and meanders. Two rows of four piers gave the corresponding hall at ground level an appearance

SL 28. N. DUVAL: USPOREDBA SREDIŠNJIH DVORANA KASNOANTIČKIH PALAČA

FIG. 28 N. DUVAL: JUXTAPOSED PLANS OF CENTRAL HALLS IN LATE ANTIQUE PALACES

SL 29. SUPSTRUKCIJA SREDIŠNJE DVORANE DIOKLECIJANOVA TRIKLINIJA S IZLOŽENOM MENZOM

FIG. 29 SUBSTRUCTURES OF CENTRAL HALL OF DIOCLETIAN'S TRICLINIUM WITH DINING ROOM TABLE

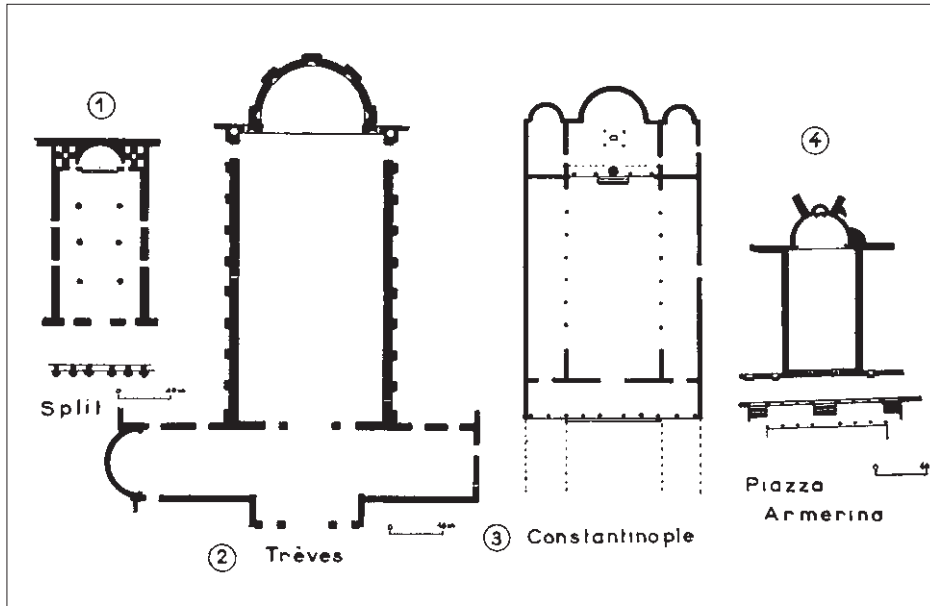


32 DYGGVE, 1962; DYGGVE, 1965

33 VETTERS, 1965

34 DYGGVE, 1962; DYGGVE, 1965

35 Cf. Note 28



SL. 30. N. DUVAL: USPOREDBA TLOCRTA GLAVNIH AULA KASNOANTIČKIH CARSKIH PALAČA

FIG. 30 N. DUVAL: JUXTAPOSED PLANS OF RECEPTION ROOMS IN LATE ANTIQUE IMPERIAL PALACES

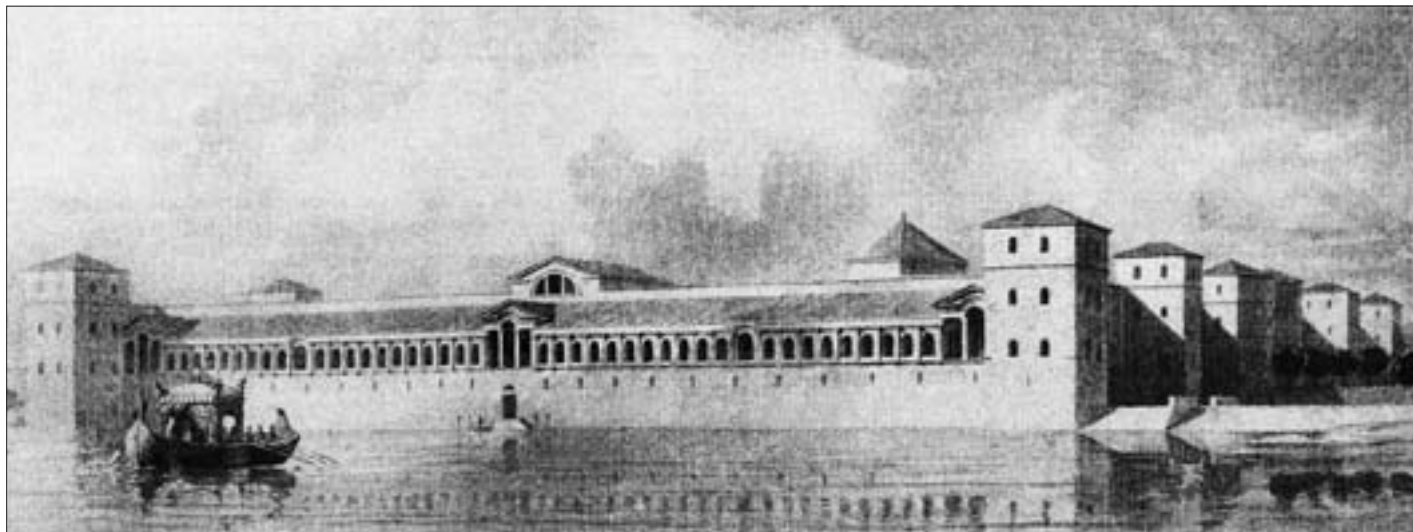
analogno rješenje, ali datirano više od dva stoljeća ranije. U splitskom je primjeru takvo rješenje logično ne samo s konstrukcijskog stajališta nego i funkcionalno jer, za razliku od gornjega kružnog prostora kojemu se pristupa samo sa sjevera ili s juga, kržna supstrukcija komunicira s prostorima na sve četiri strane. Taj oblik supstrukcije vestibula sa stubištem koje izravno vodi na Peristil pripada među znatnije ispravke ranijih tumačenja Dioklecijanove stana (Sl. 24). Za gornji kružni prostor splitskoga vestibula navedeni su u rimskoj arhitekturi analogni primjeri, počevši od Domus Flavia na rimskom Palatinu i Piazza d'oro u Hadrianovoj vili u Tivoliju do kasnoantičkih rotundi poput Tempio della Tosse u Tivoliju, Romulova hrama na rimskom Forumu ili kružne strukture u Maksencijevoj vili (Sl. 25).

Tablinum – Glavna dvorana u stambenim kućama i palačama rimskoga doba nazvana je tablinum pa su tim imenom raniji istraživači Dioklecijanove palače nazvali i središnju dvoranu Dioklecijanove stana koja je spajala vestibul i portikat, uspoređujući je tako s glavnom dvoranom u rimskoj carskoj palači na Palatinu u Rimu. Novijim je proučavanjem Dioklecijanove stana osporena takva identifikacija, prije svega zbog toga što je to bila prolazna prostorija pa ni u kojem slučaju nije mogla biti glavnom prijamnom salom careva stana. Njezina funkcija proizlazi iz središnjega položaja unutar stana kao dijela aksijalnog ceremonijalnog sklopa kojim je počasna garda vodila posjetitelje k carevim odajama na zapadnom području carske rezidencije. Ta je dvorana, od koje su sačuvani samo temelji zidova i južna vrata, bila uzdužnoga tlocrta, pokrivena drvenom potkrovnom konstrukcijom, po svoj

prilici raščlanjena nišama na bočnim zidovima i skulpturama, također obložena mramorom (od kojeg su pronađeni ulomci). Sačuvana južna vrata zadržala su u većem dijelu svoj plitkoreljefni ukras, što ga čine karakteristični motivi pletenice, astragala i meandara. Dva reda od četiri pilona davali su odgovarajućoj prizemnoj središnjoj dvorani izgled trobrodnoga prostora (Sl. 28). Za razliku od gornje dvorane, takva je konstrukcija bila potrebna zbog izgradnje unakrsnih bačvastih svodova koji su nosili gornji kat. Najpoznatije središnje dvorane carskih rezidencija jesu Aula regija unutar palače Domus Flavia u Rimu i velika konzistorijalna dvorana u Carigradu (Sl. 26).

Triklinij – Blagovaonice u rimskim kućama i palačama nazvana je *triclinium*, pa je tim terminom nazvano i središnje područje istočne polovice Dioklecijanove stana, utvrđeno kao blagovaonica. Dioklecijanov je triklinij zapremao veliku površinu, a obuhvaćao je središnju salu vanjskoga četvrtastog i unutrašnjega osmerokutnog tlocrta, raščlanjenu s četiri polukružne niše. Prostor je bio presvođen kupolom pokrivenom četverostrešnim krovom (Sl. 27). Od njezine izvorne arhitekture ostali su samo donji slojevi zida, djelomično restaurirani prije tridesetak godina radi naglašavanja prvobitnog oblika (Sl. 29). Nestalo je, također, i izvorne dekoracije koja se i ovdje sastojala od mramora i mozaika. Ostala je, međutim, dobro sačuvana supstrukcija središnje dvorane triklinija koja poput supstrukcije vestibula ima također kržni tlocrt zahvaljujući pilonima što su nosili unakrsni bačvasti svod, a dograđeni su na oktogonalnu osnovu (Sl. 30). U toj se konstrukciji susreću i neuobičajeni detalji poput kutnih prozorskih otvora. Od triju manjih dvorana kržnoga tlocrta, koje su okruživale središnju salu sa sjevera, istoka i zapada, istočna je porušena do temelja (čak i u supstrukciji), dok su sjeverna i zapadna dobro sačuvane u supstrukcijama, a zapadna se i u gornjem katu do danas održala mjestimično i do krova, pa je restauratorskim radovima obnovljen njezin prvobitni prostor. Već spomenuta menza, pronađena i izložena u podrumima, pripadala je stolu za blagovanje jedne od četiriju dvorana triklinija.

Velika dvorana – Novijim proučavanjem Dioklecijanove palače prepoznana je glavna dvorana Dioklecijanove stana u prostoru koji se nalazio nad velikom podrumskom dvoranom, smještenom po sredini zapadnoga područja supstrukcija (Sl. 8). U rezidenciji vladajućeg cara taj bi se prostor smatrao prijestolnom dvoranom. Iako u splitskoj Dioklecijanovoj palači to nije bio slučaj, ona je položajem i oblikom identificirana kao glavna dvorana stana umirovljenoga cara, koja je pružala do stojan arhitektonski okvir bivšem vladaru, okruženom pažnjom i počastima.



of a three-aisled chamber (Fig. 28). As opposed to the lower level, such a construction of the upper level was necessary due to the groin vaults that supported it. The most famous central halls of imperial palaces are the *Aula Regia* at the *Domus Flavia* palace in Rome and the big consistory in Constantinople (Fig. 26).

Triclinium – The dining room in Roman houses and palaces was called *triclinium*. The name was also used for the central area of the east end of Diocletian's apartments which was determined to have served as dining room. Diocletian's *triclinium* covered a big surface and comprised a central chamber rectangular on the outside and octagonal on the inside whose walls were set with four semi-circular niches. It was covered by a dome and pyramidal roof (Fig. 27). Its original structure survived only in the lower sections of the walls which were partially restored 30 years ago in order to emphasise its authentic shape (Fig. 29). The original decoration of marble coating and mosaics was also destroyed. However, the substructures of the central chamber in the dining complex have survived. Similar to the Vestibule, it also had a cruciform shape because of the piers that supported groin vaults which had been added to the octagonal base (Fig. 30). The construction shows some unusual details such as corner window apertures. From the three small cruciform chambers that surrounded the central hall from the north, east and west, that in the east has been completely destroyed (even its substructure), the north and west chambers survived at substructure level, whereas the upper level of the west chamber remained preserved in places even to the roof. Its original shape was restored. The mentioned *mensa* that was found

and placed in the basement belonged to one of the four triclinium chambers.

Great Hall – In the recent research of Diocletian's palace the space above the big hall in the centre of the west end of the substructures was recognized as the main hall of Diocletian's apartments (Fig. 8). In imperial residences, such a space would have been considered a throne room. Although that was not the case in Diocletian's palace in Split, its position and shape defined it as the emperor's main hall which provided a worthy architectural setting to the retired ruler and all the attention and honours surrounding him.

Though only remains of the upper hall survived, its shape was determined owing to the well preserved substructure – the mentioned three-aisled basilican hall that had a semi-circular apse (*exedra*). The *exedra* was flanked by spiral stairways with four flights of stairs (still mostly preserved), which communicated directly with the corresponding ground floor. The hall at the upper level was articulated with niches and covered with marble and mosaic. Unlike the three-aisled substructure, the upper hall was a homogenous, aisleless space covered with an open – timbered gable roof.

Other examples of throne rooms in imperial residences were known in late antique architecture during the age of Constantine and the Tetrarchy, some of which have survived, such as the big 'basilica' in Trier (named *aula palatina*). Such a state of preservation must have promoted the idea that the building provides a pattern which is the basis for one of the fundamental hypothesis of imperial reception room as the prototype of Christian basilica (Fig. 31). However, what should also be considered significant is its three-aisled substructure with the semi-circular apse,

SL. 31. G. NIEMANN: IZVORNI IZGLED JUŽNOGA PROCELJA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 31 G. NIEMANN: SOUTH FAÇADE OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS, ORIGINAL APPEARANCE

Od same dvorane u gornjem katu ostali su vrlo skromni ostaci, ali je njezin oblik poznat zahvaljujući izvrsno sačuvanoj supstrukciji – spomenutoj trobrodnoj dvorani 'bazilikalnoga' tipa koja na sjevernoj strani ima polukružnu ekседru. S jedne i druge strane ekседre nalazilo se po jedno spiralno četverokrako stubište (do danas većim dijelom sačuvano), kojim se moglo izravno komunicirati s odgovarajućim prizemnim prostorom. Gornja dvorana bila je bez sumnje raščlanjena nisama, prekrivena mramorom i mozaicima, ali, za razliku od supstrukcije, nije bila trobrodnog rasporeda, nego jedinstven prostor natkriven drvenom potkrovnom konstrukcijom što je nosila dvostrešni krov.

U kasnoantičkoj arhitekturi tetrahijskog i Konstantinova doba poznati su i drugi primjeri glavnih prijamnih dvorana u carskim rezidencijama, od kojih su neki, primjerice, velika 'bazilika' u Trieru (nazvana *aula palatina*), izvrsno sačuvani. Takav stupanj sačuvanosti sigurno je pridonio toj građevini da se smatra obrascem na kojem se, među ostalim, temelji jedna od temeljnih hipoteza o carskim aulama kao prototipu u postanku kršćanske bazilike (Sl. 31). Stupanj sačuvanosti prijамne dvorane u splitskoj palači ne dopušta da se i tim primjerom potvrdi navedena hipoteza, ali svakako nije beznačajna njezina supstrukcija sa svojim trobrodnim rasporedom i polukružnom ekседrom, koja naprosto nudi usporedbe s kršćanskim bazilikama (Sl. 8).

Zapadno od glavne prijамne dvorane nalazila se jedna nešto manja odaja, također s ekседrom na sjevernoj strani, koja je bila sastavni dio istoga prijamnog sklopa. Njezini zidovi u znatnom su dijelu ostali sačuvani i u gornjem katu, uključujući i ekседru, kao i ostatke niša na bočnim zidovima. I u Maksimijanovoj-Makscentijevoj vili u Piazza Armerini na Siciliji nalazi se velika prijамna dvorana slična onoj u Splitu, kao i druge usporedne manje dvorane, također okomito orijentirane na dug hodnik što je imao vrlo sličnu ulogu kao kriptoportik u splitskoj palači. Oblikom i dimenzijama od prijамnih se dvorana u Splitu i u Piazza Armerini donekle izdvaja velika dvorana (Magnau-re) u Konstantinopolisu kao glavna aula u rezidenciji vladajućeg cara Konstantina. Velika 'bazilika' trobrodnoga rasporeda stupova i s tri odgovarajuće ekседre zbog relativno skromnog stupnja sačuvanosti poznata je ipak samo u tlocrtu.

Portikat – kriptoportik – Duž cijeloga južnog pročelja Dioklecijanove palače pružao se portikat s odgovarajućim donjim prostorom (kriptoportikom). Terminom *cryptoporticus* označeni su u rimskoj arhitekturi pretežito podzemni trijemovi pod terasama koji su povezivali različite prostore u većim građevnim cjelinama. Stoga su već stariji istraživači Dioklecijanove palače primijenili taj isti naziv za

prostor pod šetnicom uzduž južnoga zida car-eva stana. Već je naglašena osnovna uloga portikata u Splitu kao glavnoga distribucijskog prostora u carskoj rezidenciji, iz kojeg se prilazilo svim drugim dvoranama stana. Taj je prostor bio istodobno vrlo ugodna šetnica, rastvorena arkadama prema moru, iz koje se pružao jedinstven pogled na južnu splitsku luku i srednjodalmatinske otoke. Najveći broj pročelnih arkada, kao i polustupova među njima, ostao je sačuvan, ali su otvori zazidani u srednjem vijeku iz obrambenih razloga, odnosno na tome mjestu izgrađeni stanovi. Restauratorskim su radovima neki prozori obnovljeni i ponovno otvoreni.

Portikat je u cijeloj svojoj dužini bio natkriven drvenom konstrukcijom i pokriven kupama, prekinut samo po sredini i na krajevima, gdje se umjesto arkada nalazila po jedna veća trodijelna loža. Supstrukcija portikata uglavnom je u cjelini sačuvana, a presvuđena je izvornim ili obnovljenim unakrsnim bačvastim svodovima. Istraživači koji su podrobnije proučavali splitski portikat ponudili su različita rješenja za njegov izvorni izgled. Niemann je pretpostavio jednostrešni krov što se spuštao prema pročelju do samoga vijenca iznad pročelnih arkada, koji prekidaju jedino povišeni krovovi triju loža.³⁶ Hébrard je, naprotiv, u svojoj rekonstrukciji prikazao ravni završetak pročelja znatno iznad pročelnih arkada, s mogućim krovnim vrtom na vrhu³⁷ (Sl. 1). Budući da su iznad pročelnih arkada u znatnoj površini pročelnoga zida prepoznani izvorni antički klesanci, Jerko Marasović zaključio je da je izvorno pročelje ipak završavalo atikom, na koju se naslanjao jednostrešni krov portikata³⁸ (Sl. 32). Time je izvorni izgled pročelja uglavnom posve definiran. Prizemlje je manje raščlanjeno, ali ipak osvijetljeno nizom otvora, a po sredini su Južna vrata, ispred kojih je na osnovi tada raspoloživih podataka autor rekonstrukcije bio zamislio malo pristanište. Recentnim radovima vezanim za uređenje splitske Rive pronađena je krajem 2006. i početkom 2007. godine antička obala koja se prostirala po cijeloj dužini Dioklecijanove palače.³⁹

Svi novi nalazi bit će podrobno objelodanjeni u novoj monografskoj ediciji o Dioklecijanovoj palači, na koju je posljednjih desetljeća bio usredotočen istraživački projekt Mediteranskoga centra za graditeljsko naslijeđe. U tom će se programu obraditi detaljnom analizom i s potpunom dokumentacijom i segment Dioklecijanova stana koji je ovdje sažeto raspravljen.

36 NIEMANN, 1910.

37 HÉBRARD, ZEILLER, 1912.

38 MARASOVIĆ, J. i SUR., 2000.

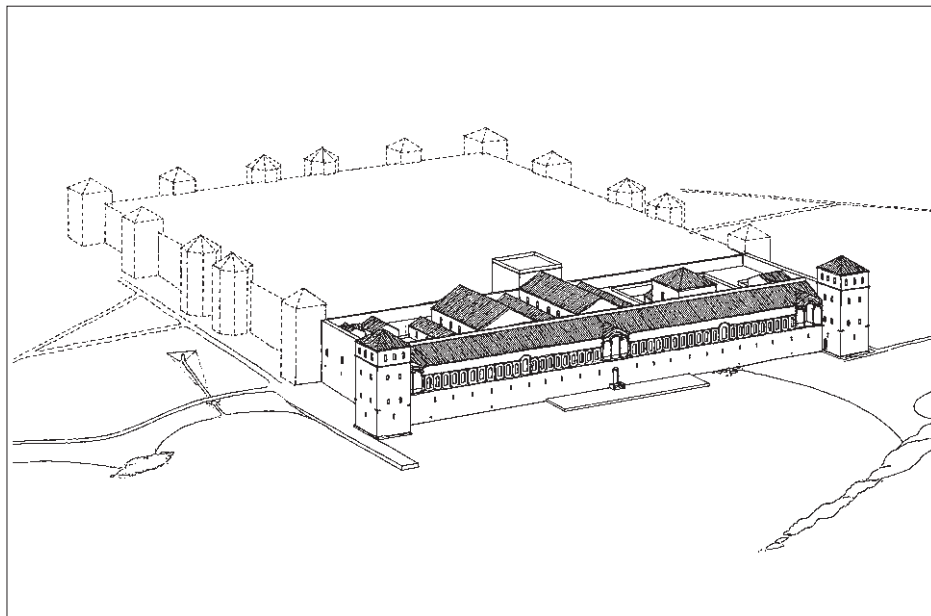
39 Istraživanje je vodila V. Delonga koja je dosad obznanila nalaze u kratkim preliminarnim izvješćima. Usporedi: *** (2007.) *Arheoloska istraživanja na splitskoj rivi, isjecci iz fotografskog dnevnika Zorana Alajbega*, Muzej HAS, Split.

which simply invites comparison with Christian basilicas (Fig. 8).

To the west of the main reception room was another, somewhat smaller chamber forming a part of the same reception complex, which also had an apse to the north. Its surviving remains comprise the walls preserved to a large degree even at the upper level, including the apse, and niches on the lateral walls. Even the villa of Maximian and Maxentius at Piazza Armerina in Sicily was going to reveal a great hall resembling the one in Split and the other smaller chambers positioned at right angles to a long hall with a similar function the cryptoporticus served in the Split palace. The great hall (*Magnaure*) in Constantinople which was the main reception room of Emperor Constantine's residence differed in the shape and dimensions from the halls in Split and Piazza Armerina. It was a big basilica divided by colonnades into three aisles, each with an apse. However, since it is in a relatively poor state of preservation, its chambers are known only from the ground plan.

South façade gallery – cryptoporticus – A portico with a corresponding space at the lower level ran the entire length of the south façade of Diocletian's palace. The Latin term *cryptoporticus* was used in Roman architecture predominantly for underground porches beneath terraces which connected various spaces in big architectural units. For that reason, earlier researchers of Diocletian's palace used the term for the space under the gallery which stretched along the south wall of the emperor's apartments. As it has already been stressed, the major function of the gallery in Split was to provide access to all other chambers of the apartments. At the same time, it could also be used for pleasant walks and it offered through its arcade openings an unrivalled view on Split's south harbour and Central Dalmatian islands. Most of the arcade openings, as well as engaged columns between them have survived. However, the openings were blocked up for reasons of defence in the Middle Ages or by newly built houses. Some of the openings have been restored and reopened.

The gallery was in its entire length covered with an open-timbered roof and traditional roof tiles *tegulae*. The arcades were interrupted only in the middle and at both ends by a big tripartite loggia. The substructure of the



SL. 32. J. MARASOVIĆ: IZVORNI IZGLED JUŽNOGA PROČELJA DIOKLECIJANOVA STANA

FIG. 32 J. MARASOVIĆ: SOUTH FAÇADE OF DIOCLETIAN'S APARTMENTS, ORIGINAL APPEARANCE

gallery spanned by original or restored groin vaults has survived almost entirely. The researchers who closely studied the gallery in Split offered various ideas for its original appearance. Niemann suggested a pent roof sloping down to the façade to the cornice above the façade arcades which were interrupted only by the raised roof of the three loggias.³⁶ On the other hand, Hébrard showed in its reconstruction an even top of the facade considerably high above the arcades with a possible roof garden at the top³⁷ (Fig. 1). Since original ancient masonry was noticed taking up a considerable surface of the facade above the arcades, Jerko Marasović came to the conclusion that the facade ended in an attic storey which was topped by the pent roof of the gallery³⁸ (Fig. 32). That almost completely defined the original appearance of the façade. The ground floor was less articulated but, nevertheless, lit by a sequence of openings. The South gate was situated in the centre of the façade and according to the information at his disposal at the time, the author of the reconstruction assumed that a small jetty was located in front of the gate. During the works related to the regulation of the Split Riva at the end of 2006 and the beginning of 2007, excavations discovered the ancient coast which had stretched the entire length of Diocletian's palace.³⁹

All new findings will be published in a monograph on Diocletian's palace on which the research project of the Mediterranean Centre for the Built Heritage was focused on in the last few decades. The monograph will bring forward a detailed analysis and full documentation of the part of Diocletian's apartments that have concisely been discussed here.

36 NIEMANN, 1910

37 HÉBRARD, ZEILLER, 1912

38 MARASOVIĆ, J. ET AL., 2000

39 Excavations were headed by V. Delonga, who has so far published the finds in short preliminary reports. Cf. *** (2007.), *Arheološka istraživanja na splitskoj rivi, isječci iz fotografskog dnevnika Zorana Alajbega*, Muzej HAS, Split (*** (2007.), *Archaeological Research at Split Waterfront, Excerpts from Zoran Alajbeg's Photographic Diary*, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split).

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IZVORI

SOURCES

IZVORI ILUSTRACIJA

ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
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| SL. 2. / FIG. 2 | MARASOVIĆ, J., 1997. |
| SL. 3. / FIG. 3 | MARASOVIĆ, J., 1996. |
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| SL. 22. / FIG. 22 | MARASOVIĆ, J., 1997. |
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| SL. 24. / FIG. 24 | DUVAL, 1965. |
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| SL. 28. / FIG. 28 | DUVAL, 1965. |
| SL. 29. / FIG. 29 | MARASOVIĆ, J., 1997. |
| SL. 30. / FIG. 30 | DUVAL, 1965. |
| SL. 31. / FIG. 31 | NIEMANN, 1910. |
| SL. 32. / FIG. 32 | MARASOVIĆ, J., 1997. |

SAŽETAK

SUMMARY

DIOKLECIJANOV STAN U SPLITSKOJ PALAČI

THE APARTMENTS OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE IN SPLIT

Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu najbolji je sačuvani primjer antičkih carskih rezidencija, pa je, prema tome, ključna građevina za proučavanje svoje arhitektonske kategorije u cjelini i u pojedinim svojim dijelovima. Autori raspravljaju o rezidencijalnom sklopu u okviru Splitske palače u svjetlu istraživanja koja su kroz posljednjih pola stoljeća rezultirala mnogim novim rezultatima i zaključcima. U prvom dijelu donose pregled srednjovjekovnih informacija o carevom stanu (Konstantin Porfirogenet, Toma Arhidakon), najstarijim grafičkim dokumentima o njegovom izgledu (Santacroce, 1549.) i prvim idejnim rekonstrukcijama (Fischer von Erlach, Adam). Do druge polovice 20. stoljeća najznačajnije priloge istraživanju stana dali su Niemann (1910.) te Hébrard i Zeiller (1912.), a kroz posljednjih pola stoljeća taj se prostor sustavno istraživao zahvaljujući najviše iskapanju supstrukcija, kojima je otkriveno šezdesetak dvorana i prostora. Kako se carev stan u osnovi poklapao s rasporedom supstrukcija, to su istraživanjem prizemnog prostora dobiveni podaci o izvor-

Diocletian's palace in Split is the best surviving example of ancient imperial residences. Therefore, it is crucial for research of the architectural category it belongs to, both in its entirety and individual parts. The authors of the article discuss the residential complex within the palace in Split in the context of the research that has in the past fifty years resulted in numerous new findings and conclusions. The first part of the article presents a general overview of accounts of Diocletian's apartments in medieval times (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Thomas the Archdeacon), the oldest graphic representations of its appearance (Santacroce, 1549) and the first conceptual reconstructions (Fischer von Erlach, Adam). Up to the second half of the 20th century, the most significant contributions to the research of the apartments were made by Niemann (1910), Hébrard and Zeiller (1912). During the last fifty years, the research area systematically expanded due to excavations of the substructures which revealed about sixty halls and chambers. Since the disposition of the emperor's apartments corresponded to the disposition of the substructures, excavations of the ground floor provided information about the original appearance of the

nom izgledu Dioklecijanova stana. Tu je dispoziciju prikazao u svojoj izvornoj rekonstrukciji voditelj istraživanja Jerko Marasović, a svoje priloge dali su i istaknuti istraživači iz inozemstva S. Dyggve, N. Duval, H. Kähler, J. Wilkes. Jugoistočni kvadrant Dioklecijanove rezidencije istražen je u sklopu zajedničkog projekta koji je Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije vodio sa Univerzitetom Minneapolis (USA) i američkim glavnim izdavcem Sheilom McNally.

U drugom dijelu priloga autori iznose zaključke o izvornom izgledu Dioklecijanova stana. Osvrću se na raspored cjeline u kojem naglašavaju dvije osi: uzdužnu (tzv. ceremonijalnu os koja kroz peristil, vestibul i središnju dvoranu vodi do portikata, koji osim svoje uloge setnice, rastvorene kontinuiranim nizom otvora, ima i ulogu glavnom distribucijskog prostora za sve dvorane stambenog bloka. Raspored stana simetričan je samo u središnjem traktu kojem osim središnje dvorane pripada i dva niza po šest manjih prostorija careve počasne straže. Raspored carevih apartmana istočno i zapadno od tog središ-

apartments. The disposition was shown in the reconstruction made by Jerko Marasović, head of the excavation team. Contributions also came from renowned international researchers, namely, S. Dyggve, N. Duval, H. Kähler and J. Wilkes. The south-east quadrant of Diocletian's residence was excavated during the joint project conducted by the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia and Minneapolis University (USA) with Sheila McNally as the main researcher of the American team.

In the second part of the article, the authors bring to light conclusions about the original appearance of Diocletian's apartment. They consider the arrangement of the complex in which they stress two axes: longitudinal (so called ceremonial) axis which ran through the Peristyle, Vestibule and Great Hall to the gallery whose function was, apart from that of a walkway articulated by a continuous line of openings, to provide access to all chambers of the residential block. The arrangement of the apartments was symmetrical only in the central complex which comprised the central hall and two rows of six small chambers for the emperor's guard of honour. The arrangement of the emperor's chambers east and west of the central complex was com-

njeg sklopa postaje sasvim nesimetričan. Istocnim prostorom dominira veliki sklop blagovaonice, uz koju je i skupina istocnih dvorana, za sada još neidentificirane funkcije. Na zapadnoj strani sadržaji su sasvim drugačiji. Tim dijelom stana dominira veliki prijamni sklop što ga čini velika dvorana s eksedrom i još dvije manje odaje, od kojih je jedna također s eksedrom. U krajnjoj zapadnoj četvrti stana nalazile su se intimne odaje cara i njegove obitelji, kojima je na južnoj strani pripadala jugozapadna loza, a sa sjeverne strane, izvan zone apartmana, s tim su prostorima bile neposredno vezane tzv. zapadne terme. Raspravlja se i pojedinačno o nekim dijelovima Dioklecijanova stana. To su: tribunal – carska loza u Protironu na samom ulazu u stan; vestibul – ulazna dvorana donjeg križnog, a gornjeg kružnog tlocrta; središnja dvorana u okviru ceremonijalnog aksijalnog sklopa; portikat (sa svojim prizemnim dijelom – kriptoportikom); triklinij – sklop blagovaonice po sredini istocnog dijela stana te glavna primaca dvorana po sredini zapadnog dijela stana.

pletely unsymmetrical. The east end was dominated by the big dining complex with a group of east chambers of a yet unknown function adjoining it. The west side contained entirely different chambers. That part of the apartments was dominated by a reception complex formed by a big hall with an apse (*exedra*) and another two smaller chambers, one of which had an apse as well. Private rooms of the emperor and his family were located in the most westerly quarter of the apartments. They were surrounded by the southeast loggia in the south and so called west baths directly attached to the rooms in the north, outside the zone of the apartments. The authors also discuss certain parts of Diocletian's apartments, namely, tribunal – imperial loggia in the great porch (Protiron) at the very entrance to the apartments; vestibule – entrance hall which is cruciform at the lower level and circular at the upper level; central hall of the ceremonial axial complex; gallery (with the corresponding ground floor space); dining complex in the centre of the east section and the main reception room positioned centrally in the west section of the apartments.

TOMISLAV MARASOVIĆ
TOMISLAV ALUJEVIĆ

BIOGRAFIJE

BIOGRAPHIES

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TOMISLAV ALUJEVIĆ student je arhitekture na Građevinsko-arhitektonskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Splitu. Od samoga početka studija usmjeren je na proučavanje Dioklecijanove palače.

TOMISLAV MARASOVIĆ, PhD, art historian, professor emeritus at Split University. From 1956 to 1980 he was employed at the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia (Architectural Heritage Department). In 1980 he began working at Split University. He retired from the University in 1999. He held lectures as visiting professor at numerous universities in Europe and the USA. He published over 400 works.

TOMISLAV ALUJEVIĆ, student of architecture at the Faculty of Civil Engineering and Architecture at Split University. From the very beginning of his studies he was focused on research of Diocletian's palace.