

IVO VOJNOVIĆ

# O dvorani za audijencije Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu

## About the audience hall of the Diocletian's palace in Split

Ivo Vojnović  
Križine 6  
HR - 21000 Split  
ivojna59@gmail.com

UDK: 341.431: Alešijeva i Medulićeve 625.7 (497.583Split)  
902.2: Dioklecijanova palača (497.583Split)  
72.053 (97.583Split) palača  
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Godine 2011. Grad Split započeo je uređenje Alešijeva i Medulićeve ulice koje se nalaze na prostoru nekadašnje dvorane za audijencije Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu. U sklopu tih radova provela su se arheološka istraživanja koja su rezultirala značajnim nalazima temeljem kojih autor donosi rekonstrukciju izvornog izgleda dvorane, kako njezine unutrašnjosti tako i vanjštine. Komparaciju za njezino pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje nalazi u primjerima Galerije palače u Gamzigradu i Konstantinove bazilike u Trieru koje su podignute nedugo nakon izgradnje Dioklecijanove palače.

**Ključne riječi:** Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu, carev stan, dvorana za audijencije.

In 2011, the City of Split launched the reconstruction of Alešijeva and Medulićeva streets, which are inside the space of the former audience hall of Diocletian's Palace in Split. As a part of these works, archaeological excavations were conducted, which yielded significant finds on which basis the author reconstructed the hall's original appearance, both its interior and exterior. Comparisons to its presumed original appearance may be found in the examples of the palace of Galerius in Gamzigrad and the Basilica of Constantine in Trier, which were built after the construction of Diocletian's Palace.

**Key words:** Diocletian's Palace in Split, imperial residence, audience hall.



## UVOD

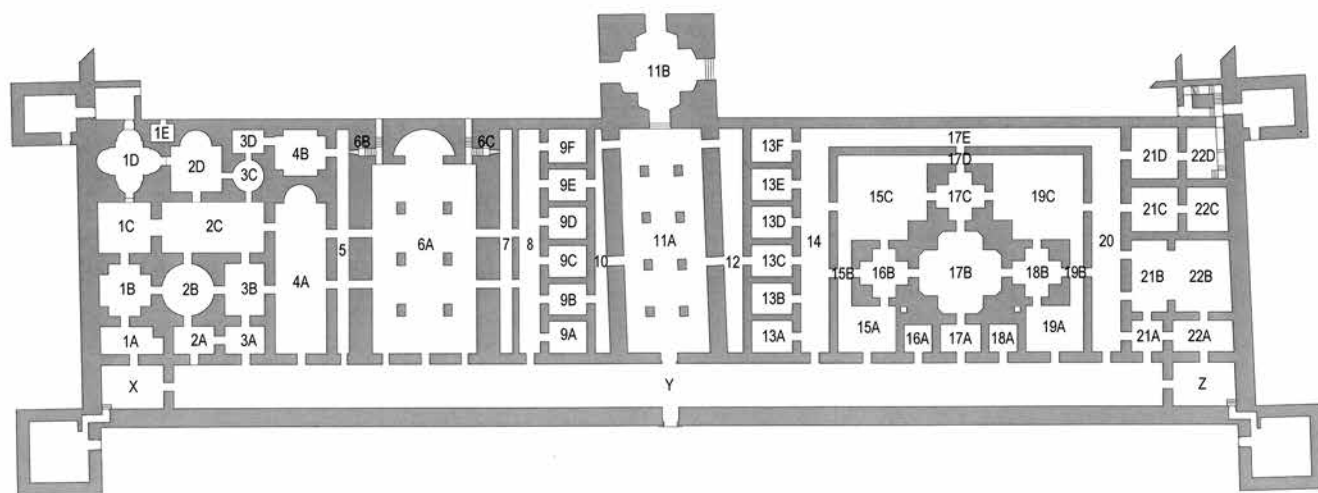
Grad Split<sup>1</sup> je 2011. godine započeo uređenje Alješijeve i Medulićeve ulice na način da su se postojeći cementni podovi zamijenili kamenim pločnikom, a tom se prilikom rekonstruiralo i loše stanje komunalne infrastrukture, prije svega kanalizacije. Ovim zahvatom također se planiralo otkloniti vlaženje prostorija supstrukcija Dioklecijanove palače, naročito one 6A.<sup>2</sup>

U sklopu tog zahvata prva su u nizu bila arheološka istraživanja.<sup>3</sup> Arheološke sonde postavile su se na onim mjestima u ulicama gdje su se mogli očekivati ostatci zidova Dioklecijanove palače. Glavnina sondi odnosila se na nekadašnju dvoranu za audijencije kojoj u supstrukcijama odgovara dvorana 6A u Alješijevoj ulici te istočno od nje hodnik (8) u Medulićevoj ulici koji je povezivao šest manjih prostorija (9A, 9B, 9C, 9D, 9E i 9F). Iako Hébrard i Zeiller<sup>4</sup> ovu dvoranu tumače kao *bibliothèque*, danas se ustalilo mišljenje da se ipak radi o svečanoj dvorani za audijencije.

## INTRODUCTION

In 2011, the City of Split<sup>1</sup> launched the reconstruction of Alješijeva and Medulićeva streets by replacing the existing cement pavement with a flagstone surface, and the previous poor utility infrastructure, the sewer system first and foremost, was also reconstructed at the time. Under this project, further plans were made to eliminate the accumulation of moisture in the rooms of the substructure of Diocletian's Palace, particularly that of 6A.<sup>2</sup>

As a part of this undertaking, archaeological excavations were first in the sequence of works.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological test trenches were dug at those places in the street where the remains of the walls belonging to Diocletian's Palace could be expected. The majority of the test trenches were in the former audience hall, which in the substructures corresponds to hall 6A in Alješijeva street and the corridor (8) east of it in Medulićeva street that connected six smaller rooms (9A, 9B, 9C, 9D, 9E and 9F). Even though Hébrard and Zeiller<sup>4</sup> interpreted this hall as a *bibliothèque*, today the accepted view is that this was in fact a ceremonial hall for audiences.

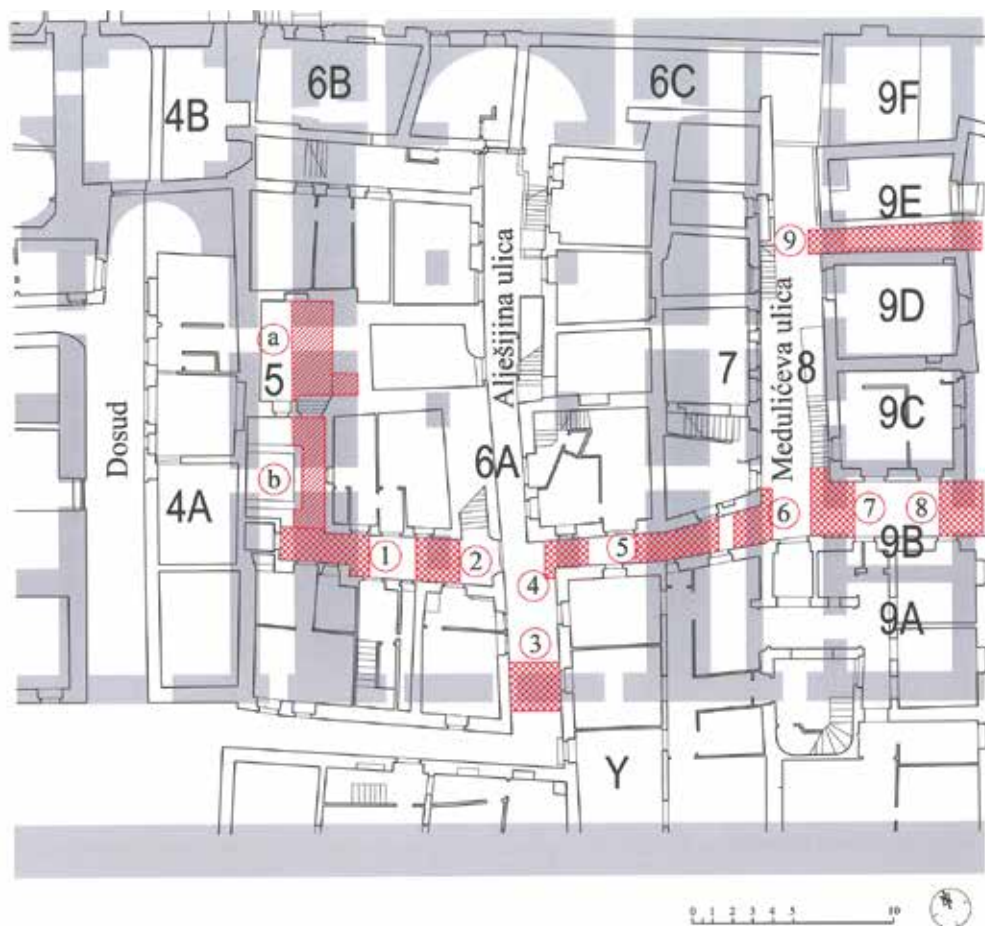


Sl. 1.  
Pretpostavljeno stanje supstrukcija Dioklecijanove palače. Numeracija prostorija prema J. Marasoviću (I. Vojnović)

Fig. 1.  
Presumed condition of the substructure of Diocletian's Palace. Numbering of rooms based on J. Marasović (I. Vojnović)

- 1 U ime Grada Splita i njegove službe za povijesnu jezgru radove obnove pločnika i infrastrukture pokrenuo je Goran Nikšić, dipl. ing. arh.
- 2 Projekt uređenja Alješijeve i Medulićeve ulice izradio je tijekom 2008. i 2009. godine Ivo Vojnović, dipl. ing. arh. iz tvrtke URED VOJNOVIĆ d.o.o. iz Splita, a projekt kanalizacijske mreže Ivan Makjanić, dipl. ing. građ. iz tvrtke HIDRODIZAJN d.o.o. iz Splita. Arhitektonsku snimku postojećeg stanja izradila je Klara Šolić, ing. geod. iz tvrtke NEIR d.o.o. iz Splita.
- 3 Program arheoloških radova izradio je Ivo Vojnović, dipl. ing. arh. Arheološka istraživanja započeo je arheolog Slavko Galiot sondom br. 3. Radove je dalje nastavila tvrtka NEIR d.o.o., a voditeljica arheoloških istraživanja bila je arheologinja Anita Penović. Istraživanja su provedena 2011. i 2012. godine.
- 4 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.

- 1 Works in the historical core to reconstruct the pavement and infrastructure were initiated on half of the City of Split and its departments by architect Goran Nikšić.
- 2 The project design for Alješijeva and Medulićeva streets was drafted during 2008 and 2009 by architect Ivo Vojnović from the company URED VOJNOVIĆ d.o.o. of Split, while the design for the sewage network was drafted by civil engineer Ivan Makjanić from the company HIDRODIZAJN d.o.o. of Split. Architectural documentation of the then current status was compiled by geodetic engineer Klara Šolić from the company NEIR d.o.o. of Split.
- 3 The programme for archaeological works was composed by architect Ivo Vojnović. Excavations were initiated by archaeologist Slavko Galiot with test trench no. 3. Works were continued by the company NEIR d.o.o., and archaeological excavations were led by archaeologist Anita Penović. The excavations were conducted in 2011 and 2012.
- 4 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.



Sl. 2.  
Položaj arheoloških sondi u Alješijevoj i Medulićevoj ulici. Rednim brojevima označene su sonde koje je proveo Grad Split, a malim slovima sonde koje je proveo vlasnik zgrade u Alješijevoj 5. Sivim tonom označeni su zidovi supstrukcija Dioklecijanove palače. (I. Vojnović)

Fig. 2.  
Position of the archaeological test trenches in Alješijeva and Medulićeva streets. Numbers designate the trenches opened by the City of Split, while the lower case letters mark the trenches opened by the owner of the building at the street address Alješijeva 5. The substructure walls of Diocletian's Palace are indicated in gray. (I. Vojnović)

## REZULTATI ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prema programu istraživanja bilo je planirano provesti devet istražnih sondi. Sonde pod brojem 1 i 5 nalazile su se na mjestima zapadnog i istočnog zida svečane dvorane, a sonde br. 2 i 4 na mjestima gdje se u supstrukcijama nalaze piloni na koje se oslanjaju križni svodovi. Namjera je bila provjeriti jesu li na istim mjestima u razini Dioklecijanova stana postojali temelji za stupove ili ne. Sonda br. 3 nalazila se na mjestu pretpostavljenih vrata ove dvorane koja su je povezivale s portikatom. Ostale sonde, istočno od ovih, bile su na mjestima gdje se očekivali nalazi ostataka zidova antičkog hodnika s nizom prostorija.

Slučaj je htio da se istovremeno s uređenjem ulica rekonstruira i stan u prizemlju zgrade na adresi Alješijeva 5 (k. č. 12497/1)<sup>5</sup> kojoj je pripadalo i malo dvorište sa svjetlarnikom

## RESULTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

According to the research programme, there were plans to excavate ten exploratory trenches. The trenches under numbers 1 and 5 were at the locations of the western and eastern walls of the ceremonial hall, while trenches 2 and 4 were at the points where pylons in the substructure bearing groin vaults were. The intention was to verify whether or not there were foundations for columns at those same places at the level of Diocletian's residence. Test trench no. 3 was situated at the location of the presumed door to this hall which connected to the portico. The remaining test trenches east of these were at positions where the remains of walls of Roman-era corridors with a series of rooms were anticipated.

As chance would have it, the street reconstruction proceeded parallel to the reconstruction of a ground-floor flat in the building at the address Alješijeva 5 (cadastral plot 12497/1)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Vlasnik tog stana od oko 22 m<sup>2</sup> bila je tvrtka ASCO d.o.o. iz Splita. Projekt rekonstrukcije je 2010. godine izradio Ivo Vojnović, dipl. ing.

<sup>5</sup> The owner of this apartment with floor space of approximately 22



Sl. 3.  
Otkriveni prag vrata u sondi br. 3

Fig. 3.  
Door threshold discovered in test trench no. 3

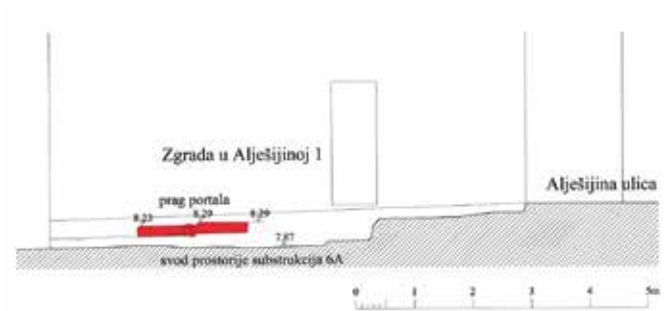


Sl. 6.  
Ostatak južnog zida dvorane za audijencije zidan tehnikom *opus mixtum* u sondi br. 3.

Fig. 6.  
Remains of audience hall's southern wall built in *opus mixtum* technique in test trench no. 3.

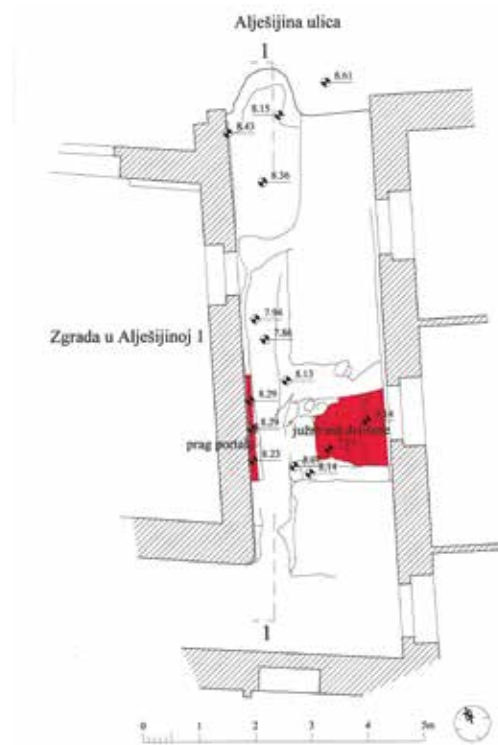
koji je služilo za ozračivanje i osvjetljenje podrumске prostora 5.<sup>6</sup> Arheološka istraživanja provela su se u cijeloj površini stana, na nacrtu označena slovom *a*, i dvorišta s oznakom *b*. Ove su sonde zajedno s onima u ulicama predstavljale jedinstvenu cjelinu.

Nakon otvaranja arheoloških sondi, zbog rekonstrukcijskih se radova arheološki iskop proširio u čitavoj uličnoj širini i dužini i time oslobodio prostor za sanaciju kanalizacijske mreže i izvedbu hidroizolacije. Množina svakojakih cijevi koja se otkri-



Sl. 4.  
Sonda br. 3, presjek kroz Alješijevu ulicu i pogled na donji prag vrata (K. Šolić, ing. geod., grafička obrada I. Vojnović)

Fig. 4.  
Test trench no. 3, cross-section through Alješijeva street and view of the lower door threshold (K. Šolić, geodetic engineer, graphic image by I. Vojnović)



Sl. 5.  
Sonda br. 3, tlocrt (K. Šolić, ing. geod.)

Fig. 5.  
Test trench no. 3, diagram (K. Šolić, geodetic engineer)

which included a small yard with a lightwell that was used to ventilate and illuminate cellar room 5.<sup>6</sup> Archaeological excava-

arh., a voditelj arheoloških istraživanja bio je arheolog Vinko Madiraca iz tvrtke PISA TRADE d.o.o. iz Solina.

6 Uobičajeno je da se supstrukcije nazivaju i podrumima, pa će se u ovom radu koristiti oba izraza.

m<sup>2</sup> was the company ASCO d.o.o. of Split. The reconstruction design was drafted in 2010 by architect Ivo Vojnović, while archaeological works were led by archaeologist Vinko Madiraca from the company PISA TRADE d.o.o. of Solin.

6 It is customary for the substructures to also be called cellars, so both terms will be used in this paper.

la ispod ulica u bitnome je ograničila arheološka istraživanja. Na dosta mjesta cijevi su oštetile i prekinule ostatke zidova Dioklecijanova stana. Ipak, i pored toga, pronašlo se dovoljno elemenata koji su pomogli u spoznaji mogućeg izgleda dvorane. Najjužnija sonda br. 3 otkrila je postojanje kamenog praga vrata koja su ju povezivala s portikatom. Prag se sastojao od dvaju kamenih blokova, a odmah uz njega je u nastavku otkriven i južni zid dvorane građen tehnikom *opus mixtum*.

Kameni prag širok je oko 1,9 m, a ako znamo da je zid na tom mjestu širok 1,48 m (pet rimskih stopa), to znači da je prag objema stranama prelazio njegovu širinu. U protironu Dioklecijanove palače možemo zorno vidjeti taj detalj, kako profilirani dovratnici naliježu na prag. U neposrednoj blizini tog portala koji je sačuvan u cijelosti, na mjestu gdje se iz vestibula prilazilo tablinumu, ulaznoj dvorani Dioklecijanova stana,<sup>7</sup> postojao je još jedan portal od kojeg je danas ostao sačuvan samo prag. I on se, kao i onaj u protironu, sastoji od dvaju kamenih blokova. U osovini ovih portala nalazi se i još jedan koji je povezivao tablinum s portikatom, a preostala je samo njegova južna polovica u širini od oko 70 cm. Naime, portal se sačuvao jer je ostao „zarobljen“ u romaničkoj kući<sup>8</sup> i dugo vremena bio prisutan u srednjovjekovnoj ulici koja je povezivala peristil s kućama na portikatu.<sup>9</sup> Istočni dovratnik ovog portala sačuvan je mnogo bolje od zapadnog. Portalu nedostaje završni vijenac koji je mogao izgledati slično onom u protironu. Spoj nadvratnika i dovratnika izveden je pod kutom od 45°, isto kao i kod vanjskog portala protirona te malog prostilnog hrama.<sup>10</sup>

Iz prethodno navedenog možemo pretpostaviti da je i portal svečane dvorane koji ju je povezivao s portikatom bio sličnog izgleda. Na portalu *tablinuma* možemo uočiti kako na krajnjim bočnim stranicama dovratnika postoje utori koji su najvjerojatnije služili da se u njih umetne mramorna obloga koja je ukrašavala sjeverni zid portikata.

U sondi br. 1 pronađeno je unutarnje lice zapadnog zida dvorane za audijencije, kao i dio unutarnje podnice. Ovdje je zid također zidan tehnikom *opus mixtum*. Vanjsko lice zida bilo je uništeno pa se na tom mjestu nije mogla odrediti debljina zida.<sup>11</sup> Uz unutarnje je lice zida, u žbukanoj podnici, pronađen utor širine oko 6 cm u kojem je stajala dekorativna mramorna obloga u debelom sloju morta. I doista, u nasipu je pronađeno mnoštvo različitih, raznobojnih mramornih i granitnih uloma-

tions were conducted over the flat's entire surface, designated on the schematic with the letter *a*, and the yard with the letter *b*. These test trenches constituted a consolidated unit together with those in the street.

After opening the archaeological test trenches, due to the reconstruction works the archaeological dig was expanded to the street's entire width and length, and thereby also the area of repair of the sewage network and installation of waterproofing. The multitude of various pipes that were discovered beneath the street significantly hampered archaeological research. At many places the pipes damaged and cut off the remains of walls in Diocletian's residence. Nonetheless, besides this, sufficient elements were found that contributed to insight into the hall's potential appearance. The southernmost test trench, no. 3, revealed the existence of a stone threshold of the door that led to the portico. The threshold consisted of two stone blocks, and the hall's southern wall built in the *opus mixtum* technique was discovered immediately adjacent to it.

The stone threshold is approximately 1.9 m wide, and if we know that the wall at this point was 1.48 m wide (five Roman feet), this means that the threshold exceeded its width on both sides. This detail can clearly be seen in the prothyrum of Diocletian's Palace, where the moulded door-frames rest on the threshold. In the immediate vicinity of this portal, which has been entirely preserved, at the place where the tablinum, the entrance hall of Diocletian's residence,<sup>7</sup> was entered via the vestibule, there was another door of which only the threshold is now preserved. Like the one in the prothyrum, this one also consists of two blocks. The axis of these portals also includes another which linked the *tablinum* and the portico, but only its southern half with a width of approximately 70 cm remains. Namely, the portal was preserved because it had been "captured" in a Romanesque-era house<sup>8</sup> and was present for a long time in the medieval street that connected the peristyle to the houses in the portico.<sup>9</sup> The eastern door frame of this portal has been preserved far better than the western one. The terminal cornice is absent from the portal, but it may have resembled the one in the prothyrum. The connection between the frame and lintel was rendered at a 45° angle, the same as the external portal of the prothyrum and the small prostyle temple.<sup>10</sup>

Consequently, we may assume that the portal of the ceremonial hall which connected it to the portico had a similar ap-

7 Marasović, Alujević 2007, str. 172-176; Hébrard, Zeiller 2012, str. 114-117.

8 Marasović *et al.* 2000, str. 183, 194.

9 Nakon što je dugo vremena bio zazidan, portal je ponovno otvoren u sklopu radova na obnovi nekadašnjeg samostana sv. Klare.

10 Ovaj hram se uvrježešno pogrešno naziva Jupiterovim.

11 Arheološka istraživanja u Alješijevoj ulici započeta su s ovom sondom, vodio ih je arheolog Slavko Galiot, a završena su u rujnu 2011.

7 Marasović, Alujević 2007, pp. 172-176; Hébrard, Zeiller 2012, pp. 114-117.

8 Marasović *et al.* 2000, pp. 183, 194.

9 After it had been embedded in a wall for an extended period, the portal was once more opened as a part of works on the reconstruction for the former Convent of St. Clara.

10 This temple is customarily, albeit erroneously, referred to as Jupiter's.



Sl. 7.  
Portal koji iz protirona vodi u vestibul

Fig. 7.  
Portal leading from the prothyrum to the vestibule



Sl. 8.  
Portal koji iz središnje dvorane vodi u portikat

Fig. 8.  
Portal leading from the central hall to the portico



Sl. 9.  
Donji prag portala u protironu

Fig. 9.  
Lower threshold of the portal in the prothyrum

ka koji svjedoče o dekoraciji ove dvorane. Spomenuti nam utor svjedoči da je na zid bila prvo postavljena mramorna obloga te da je žbukana podnica koja je dolazila do nje napravljena tek nakon toga. Kada je u kasnijim vremenima obloga uklonjena,

pearance. Notable on the tablinum portal are the existence of slots on the extreme lateral sides which were probably used to insert marble lining that adorned the portico's northern wall.

In test trench no. 1, the internal face of the audience hall's



Sl. 10.  
Sonda br. 1. Sačuvano je unutarnje lice zapadnog zida dvorane za audijencije i otisak u podu gdje su stajale mramorne zidne obloge. U podu se vidi i sačuvani ulomak keramike postavljen pod kutom od 45°.

Fig. 10.  
Test trench no. 1. Preserved internal face of the audience hall's western wall and the imprint on the floor where the marble wall lining stood. A preserved ceramic fragment set at a 45° is visible on the floor.

u podnici je ostao trag u obliku utora na mjestu gdje je nekad bila obloga. Vrh podnice je fino zaglađen, a na njezinoj je površini pronađeno nekoliko izduženih ulomaka blago zaobljene keramike, vjerojatno od razbijenih posuda. Postavljene su pod kutom od 45° u odnosu na pravac zida te su vjerojatno služile za izravnavanje antičke podnice na koju je dolazio završni mramorni pod. Moguće je i da su ti keramički ulomci bili iskorišteni kako bi ubrzali sušenje morta.

U sondi br. 5 otkriven je dio istočnog zida dvorane za audijencije. Njegovo unutarnje lice bolje je očuvano, sačuvana je unutarnja žbuka na kojoj je ostao otisak mramorne obloge, a debljina zida iznosila je oko 1,42 m. Debljina istog zida na razini podruma je 3,24 m, što je uočio još Hébrard.<sup>12</sup>

Sonde br. 2 i 4 postavljene su na mjestima gdje se mogao očekivati nalaz temelja ili baze stupova u slučaju da je ova dvorana bila zasvođena kao što je zasvođena prostorija supstrukcija 6A koja se nalazi ispod nje. Istraživanja na ovim dvama mje-

western wall was found, as well as a part of the interior flooring. Here the wall was also constructed in the *opus mixtum* technique. The wall's external face was destroyed, so the wall's thickness at that point could not be determined.<sup>11</sup> A 6 cm-wide gutter was found adjacent to the wall's internal face, in the mortared flooring, in which the decorative marble lining stood in the thick layer of mortar. Indeed, a multitude of various, differently-coloured marble and granite fragments were found in the fill that testify to the decoration of this hall. The aforementioned gutter testifies to the fact that the marble lining was set on the wall first, and that the plastered flooring that comes up to it was made only afterward. When the lining was removed in later periods, a trace where the lining once was remained in the form of a gutter. The top of the flooring was finely polished, and several oblong, slightly rounded ceramic shards were found on its surface, probably from shattered vessels. They were set at a 45° angle in relation to the wall's direction and they probably served to level the Roman-era flooring, onto which a final marble floor came. It is possible that these ceramic pieces were used to accelerate the drying of the mortar.

A part of the eastern wall of the audience hall was discovered in test trench no. 5. Its internal face is in better condition, as its internal mortar with an imprint of the marble lining has been preserved, while the wall's thickness is approximately 1.42 m. The thickness of the same wall at the cellar level is 3.24, which had already been observed by Hébrard.<sup>12</sup>

Test trenches no. 2 and 4 were opened at sites where the foundations or bases of columns could be anticipated, in case this hall had been vaulted like the room in substructure 6A beneath it was. Investigations at these two sites have shown that the columns do not exist, which had already been presumed earlier by Jerko Marasović in his ground-plan of the palace's original appearance,<sup>13</sup> so the hypothesis that the audience hall was a complete room with a wooden roof structure still stands. A considerable amount of differently-coloured marble and porphyry wall linings and glass mosaic tiles were found in these two test trenches.<sup>14</sup>

In trenches no. 6 and 7, generally only the upper surfaces of the Roman-era cellar vaults were found. It is noteworthy here that several blocks made of finely dressed stone were observed here on the eastern wall of the house at Medulićeva 1, near its south-eastern corner. They were found at street level. Above this row the wall of a building's frontispiece rises, made of somewhat more coarsely dressed stone blocks, which seems

11 The archaeological excavations in Alješijeva street began with this test trench, led by archaeologist Slavko Galot, and they were completed in September 2011.

12 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, p. 123.

13 Marasović 1993.

14 Penović, Tadinac Šećer 2012.

12 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, str. 123.



Sl. 11.  
Keramički ulomci na vrhu  
žbukane podnice

Fig. 11.  
Ceramic pieces atop the  
mortared flooring



Sl. 12.  
Sonda br. 5, unutarne lice  
istočnog zida dvorane za  
audijencije

Fig. 12.  
Test trench no. 5, internal  
face of audience hall's east-  
ern wall



Sl. 13.  
Obloga pavonazzetto antico

Fig. 13.  
Pavonazzetto antico lining



Sl. 14.  
Obloga od crvenog porfira

Fig. 14.  
Red porphyry lining



Sl. 15.  
Obloga od crno-bijelog  
granita

Fig. 15.  
Black and white granite lining



Sl. 16.  
Obloga od prokoneškog  
mramora

Fig. 16.  
Proconnesian marble lining



Sl. 17.  
Temeljni zid od fino klesanih  
blokova

Fig. 17.  
Foundation wall made of  
finely-dressed blocks



Sl. 18.  
Lezena zapadnog zida  
dvorane za audijencije  
pronađena u dvorištu kuće u  
Alješijevoj 5

Fig. 18.  
Lesene of the audience  
hall's western wall found  
in the yard of the house at  
Alješijeva 5

stima pokazala su da stupovi nisu postojali, što je već ranije pretpostavio Jerko Marasović u svom tlocrtu izvornog stanja palače,<sup>13</sup> stoga i dalje stoji pretpostavka da je dvorana za audijencije bila cjelovit prostor s drvenom krovnom konstrukcijom. U ove dvije sonde pronađeno je dosta ulomaka raznobojnih mramornih i porfirnih obloga kao i staklenih tesera mozaika.<sup>14</sup>

U sondama br. 6 i 7 nađena je uglavnom samo gornja površina antičkih svodova podruma. Ovdje se mora napomenuti da je na istočnom zidu kuće u Medulićevoj 1, u blizini njezinog jugoistočnog ugla uočeno nekoliko blokova fino klesanog kamena koji su se pronašli ispod razine ulice. Iznad tog reda uzdiže se zid pročelja zgrade koji je građen s nešto grublje obrađenim kamenim blokovima, što se čini nelogičnim. Fino klesani blokovi bi po strukturi završne obrade mogli biti antički, a i nalaze se na mjestu antičkog zida koji dijeli hodnik 8 od svjetlarnika 7. Zidani su tehnikom *opus quadratum* iako bi se očekivala tehnika *opus mixtum*.

Sonda br. 8 nije istražena dok je ostatak antičkog zida pronađen u sondi br. 9. Radi se o poprečnom zidu između kubikula 9D i 9E, a njegovo je postojanje bilo evidentirano i prije jer se dio zida i danas uočava iznad razine ulice.

Značajni nalazi otkriveni su prilikom rekonstrukcije srednjovjekovne kuće u Alješijevoj 5, čije se dvorište svojim južnim dijelom spaja s ulicom sjeverno od kuće u Alješijevoj 1 (sonda br. 1). Nakon skidanja cementnog poda dvorišta, kako bi se kroz njega postavila kanalizacijska cijev, otkriveni su dijelovi vanjskog lica zapadnog zida prostorije za audijencije. Pronađena je

illogical. The finely-dressed blocks may date to the Roman era in terms of their structure, and they are situated at the place on the Roman-era wall that separates corridor 8 from lightwell 7. They were assembled in the *opus quadratum* technique, even though one would expect *opus mixtum*.

Test trench no. 8 was not explored, while the remainder of the Roman-era wall was found in test trench no. 9. This is a perpendicular wall between cubicles 9D and 9E, and its existence had been recorded even earlier, because a part of the wall is still visible above street level even today.

Significant finds were discovered during the reconstruction of the medieval house at the street address Alješijeva 5, of which the yard at its southern end is connected to the street north of the house at Alješijeva 1 (test trench no. 1). After removing the cement pavement in the yard in order to lay a sewage pipe through it, parts of the external face of the audience hall's western wall were discovered. A 1.74 m long brick lesene was found, its lateral sides drawn below the medieval house which rested on it such that the connection to the frontispiece of the Roman-era hall could be seen. Lesenes were built in order to structurally reinforce the frontispiece wall. Archaeological excavations associated with the excavations in the yard were also conducted in the ground-level apartment.<sup>15</sup> It was noted that the plaster had been battered off all of the interior walls. In the western half of the aforementioned apartment in the medieval house at Alješijeva 5, a wooden floor structure was used to bridge the former lightwell of Roman-era substructure no. 5, while on the eastern side the top of the Ro-

13 Marasović 1993.

14 Penović, Tadinac Šećer 2012.

15 Madiraca, Mrduljaš, Taraš 2010.



Sl. 19.  
Lezena je sačuvana u visini  
od četiri reda opeke

Fig. 19.  
Lesene preserved to a height  
of four rows of brick

lezena građena opekom, duljine 1,74 m, čije se bočne stranece podvlače ispod srednjovjekovne kuće koja je na nju nalegla tako da se nije mogao uočiti spoj s pročeljem antičke dvorane. Lezene su izgrađene kako bi konstruktivno ojačale zid pročelja. U samom stanu u prizemlju također su se provela arheološka istraživanja koja su se povezala s istraživanjem u dvorištu.<sup>15</sup> Primijećeno je kako se u unutrašnjosti sa svih zidova otukla žbuka. U zapadnoj je polovici spomenutog stana srednjovjekovne kuće u Alješijevoj 5 drvenom podnom konstrukcijom premošten nekadašnji svjetlarnik antičkih supstrukcija br. 5 dok je na istočnoj strani za pod korišten vrh antičkog zida koji dijeli prostoriju 5 i 6A.

Kada se uklonila drvena podna konstrukcija, kameni pločnik prostorije i žbuka sa zidova, uočeni su značajni ostatci antičkih zidova i to istočnog pročelja prostorije 4A i zapadnog pročelja prostorije 6A.<sup>16</sup> Otkriveni su i ostatci mosta koji je u razini prizemlja, preko svjetlarnika 5, povezivao spomenute carske dvorane. Most je izvorno bio dugačak 4,44 m, a sačuvana mu je samo južna polovica dok je ona sjeverna, koja se nalazila u stanu, uništena. Istočno pročelje dvorane 5A, građeno tehnikom *opus mixtum*, sačuvano je u polovici dužine prostorije srednjovjekovne kuće. Zid je oštećen izvedbom niše u jugozapadnom uglu prostorije, ali se u cijeloj njezinoj dubini sačuvala antička struktura. Može se dakle pretpostaviti da bi se ostatci unutarnjeg lica zida dvorane 4A još uvijek mogli prona-

man-era wall that separated rooms 5 and 6A was used as the floor.

When the wooden floor structure, the room's stone pavement and the plaster from the walls were removed, significant remains of the Roman-era walls were observed from the eastern face of room 4A and the western face of room 6A.<sup>16</sup> Also discovered were the remains of the bridge which, at the ground level, connected the aforementioned imperial hall across lightwell 5. The bridge was originally 4.44 m long, and only its southern half has been preserved, while the northern half, which was inside the apartment, was destroyed. The eastern face of hall 5A, built in the *opus mixtum* technique, was preserved at half the length of the room in the medieval house. The wall was damaged by the construction of a niche in the room's south-western corner, but the Roman-era structure was preserved in its entire depth. It may therefore be assumed that the remains of the internal face of hall 4A's wall may still be found in the neighbouring commercial space,<sup>17</sup> which would be vital because it would thereby supplement insight into this hall's interior, about which we know that it was adorned with semi-circular wall niches, because the niches of its western wall can still be seen today in Dosud street. It is important to note that the eastern face of hall 4A is at the same level as the face of cellar room 5, so the Roman-era wall extended in continuity both in the cellars and at the level of the emperor's residence.

The eastern wall of the room in Alješijeva 5 is rather damaged, because previous owners had cut a part of the face of hall 6A to obtain a larger usable surface, which was frequently the case in Diocletian's Palace. It was made of brick (Fig. 21, 22) and a niche made of stone was built into this wall, closer to the door, so that the Roman-era wall was destroyed at this position. Nonetheless, the Roman-era brick wall was preserved at its full height in the door itself (Fig. 22).

A Roman-era wall, actually the top of the wall to cellar room 6A, has been preserved in the floor of this room. It is made of Roman-era bricks with dimensions of 36 x 36 cm and a thickness of 3 to 4 cm. Two rows of such bricks are visible, assembled in such a manner that the upper brick is set at a remove from the lower brick by a third of its length. A vital fact is that the Roman-era wall is preserved at a greater height below the door threshold of the medieval house. Several courses of whole bricks remain which once formed the external face of the western face of hall 6A. This face is situated in the same direction as the preserved face of the lesene in the yard, which means that this wall fragment constitutes yet another lesene

15 Madiraca, Mrduljaš, Taraš 2010.

16 Zbog za sada uglavnom nepoznatih funkcija Dioklecijanova stana, za prostorije u njegovom prizemlju koristit će se ista nomenklatura koja se koristi kod prostorija u supstrukcijama.

16 Due to the thus far generally unknown functions in Diocletian's residence, the same nomenclature used for the rooms in the substructures will be used for its rooms.

17 Currently a restaurant called Tri volta is accommodated in it.



Sl. 20. Istočno pročelje dvorane 4A u istoj je ravnini i nastavak je pročelja prostorije supstrukcija. Na lijevoj strani se vide ostatci mosta koji je povezivao dvoranu 4A i 6A.

Fig. 20. The eastern face of hall 4A is at the same level and a continuation of the face of the substructure rooms. The remains of the bridge which connected halls 4A and 6A can be seen on the left side.



Sl. 21. Istočni zid stana predstavlja zapadno pročelje dvorane 6A. Gornji dio zidan je opekom, a donji je od kamena.

Fig. 21. The eastern wall formed the western face of hall 6A. The upper section was constructed with bricks, while the lower is composed of stones.

ći u susjednom poslovnom prostoru<sup>17</sup>, što bi bilo važno jer bi se time upotpunila spoznaja o interijeru ove dvorane za koju znamo da je bila ukrašena polukružnim zidnim nišama jer se niše njezinog zapadnog zida i danas vide u ulici Dosud. Važno je napomenuti da je istočno pročelje dvorane 4A u istoj ravnini kao i pročelje podrumске prostorije 5 pa se antički zid u kontinuitetu proteže kako u podrumima tako i na razini careva stana.

Istočni zid ove prostorije u Alješijevoj 5 dosta je oštećen jer su raniji vlasnici odsjekli dio pročelja dvorane 6A kako bi dobili što veću korisnu površinu, što je čest slučaj u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Zidan je opekom (sl. 21, 22) te je i u ovom zidu, bliže vratima, ugrađena niša zidana kamenom, pa je na tom mjestu antički zid uništen. Ipak, u samim je vratima antički zid od opeke sačuvan u punoj visini (sl. 22).

with a preserved external face (Fig. 24).

A hole was opened at the bottom of the eastern wall niche in which the internal face of the wall of Diocletian's audience hall was preserved. After cleaning, the Roman-era mortared flooring appeared, and on it another ceramic piece like those found in test trench no. 1. This one also had a curved shape so one may presume that these are amphora shards.

Several bridges existed above lightwell 5, over which communication proceeded between neighbouring Roman-era ground-level halls, specifically connecting 4A and 4B to 6A and 6B. The southernmost bridge is asymmetric because its source on the eastern side is lower than that on the western side, so it resembles a buttress on a Gothic cathedral. Its width is 2.77 m, and it has been constructed on two arches consisting of one and half courses of brick between which there is also a brick wall. Two horizontally oblong holes are at roughly half its height on both of its sides. The bridge was recently reconstructed at its top, and its purpose has not been explained to this day; the only possibility that makes sense is that it emerged as a structural strut between the vaults of the

17 Danas je ondje restoran „Tri volta“.



Sl. 22.  
Sačuvani antički dio zida  
građen opekom

Fig. 22.  
Preserved Roman-era part of  
the brick wall



Sl. 23.  
Cjelovito sačuvane antičke  
opeke u podu

Fig. 23.  
Entirely preserved Ro-  
man-era bricks in the floor

Na podu ove prostorije sačuvan je antički zid koji zapravo predstavlja vrh zida podrumске prostorije 6A. Zidan je kvadratnom antičkom opekom dimenzija 36 x 36 cm, debljine 3 do 4 cm te su vidljiva dva reda takvih opeka zidana na način da je gornja opeka posmaknuta u odnosu na donju za otprilike trećinu svoje dužine. Važna je činjenica da je antički zid u većoj visini sačuvan ispod praga vrata srednjovjekovne kuće. Preostalo je nekoliko redova cijelih opeka koje su nekad tvorile vanjsko lice zapadnog pročelja dvorane 6A. To se lice nalazi u istom pravcu kao i sačuvano lice lezene u dvorištu, što znači da ovaj ulomak zida predstavlja još jednu lezenu sa sačuvanim vanjskim licem (sl. 24).

U dnu istočne zidne niše bila je otvorena rupa u kojoj je ostalo sačuvano unutarne lice zida Dioklecijanove dvorane za audijencije. Nakon čišćenja se na njezinom dnu pojavila antička žbukana podnica i na njoj još jedan ulomak keramike poput onih koji su pronađeni u sondi br. 1. I ovaj je bio zakrivljenog oblika pa se može pretpostaviti da se radi o ulomcima amfore.



Sl. 24.  
Ostatak lezene otkriven is-  
pod praga ulaznih vrata kuće  
u Alješijevoj 5

Fig. 24.  
Remainder of the lesene  
discovered at the threshold  
of the internal door of the  
house at Alješijeva 5

Iznad svjetlarnika 5 postojalo je nekoliko mostova preko



Sl. 25. Ostatak lezene otkriven ispod praga ulaznih vrata kuće u Alješijevoj 5. Crtkana linija predstavlja vanjsko pročelje lezene.

Fig. 25. Remainder of the lesene discovered below the threshold of the internal door of the house at Alješijeva 5. The dashed line represents the lesene's external face.



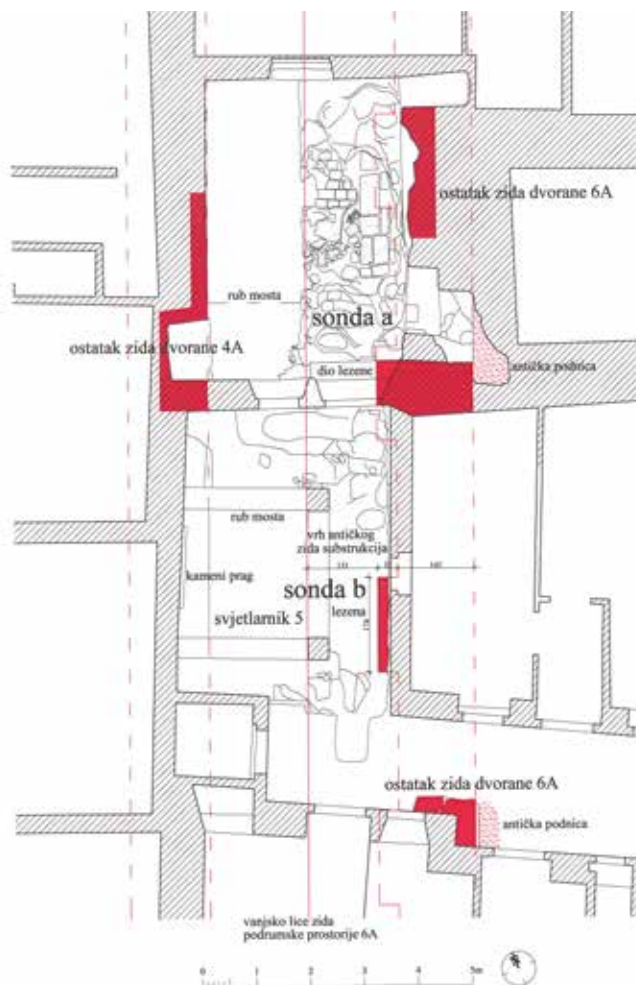
Sl. 26. Žbukana podnica s ulomkom keramike pronađena u zidnoj rupi prostorije u Alješijevoj 5

Fig. 26. Plastered flooring with a ceramic shard found in a hole in the wall of the room at Alješijeva 5



Sl. 27. Južni most u svjetlarniku 5

Fig. 27. Southern bridge in lightwell 5



Sl. 28. Arheološke sonde u Alješijevoj 5

Fig. 28. Archaeological test trench in Alješijeva 5



Sl. 29.  
Srednji most u svjetlarniku 5

Fig. 29.  
Middle bridge in lightwell 5



Sl. 30.  
Dno svoda zidano je opek-  
om. Na desnoj strani se  
jasno uočava sačuvani rub  
mosta.

Fig. 30.  
Bottom of a brick vault. The  
preserved edge of a bridge is  
clearly notable on the right  
side.

kojih se najvjerojatnije odvijala komunikacija između antičkih susjednih dvorana prizemlja i to 4A i 4B sa 6A i 6B. Najjužniji most je asimetričan jer mu je ishodište na istočnoj strani niže nego ono na zapadnoj, pa podsjeća na kontrafore gotičkih katedrala. Njegova širina iznosi 2,77 m te je građen s dvama lukovima od jednog i po reda opeka između kojih je zid također od opeke. Otprilike u polovici visine se s obje njegove strane nalaze po dvije horizontalno izdužene rupe. Most je pri vrhu recentno obnovljen, a njegova svrha do danas nije razjašnjena; jedni mu smisao nalaze u pretpostavci da je nastao kao konstruktivna razupora između svodova podrumskih prostorija, a drugi da je nastao zbog prijenosa antičke infrastrukture vodovoda ili kanalizacije iz jedne dvorane u drugu. Ovo je jedini primjer mosta ovakve forme do sada pronađen u palači pa je svakako vrijedan daljnjeg istraživanja.

Dalje prema sjeveru, na udaljenosti od 2,39 m nalazi se još jedan most o kojem je već prethodno bilo riječi. Njegova sjeverna polovica je uništena, ali je po sačuvanim ostacima poznata njegova duljina. Južni dio također mu je bio oštećen, no on je recentno obnovljen, vjerojatno zajedno s vrhom susjednog mosta koji je prethodno opisan. Most je na obje strane imao ležajeve od opeke koji su sačuvani. Na ovom je primjeru uočena zanimljiva tehnika zidanja antičkih graditelja. Naime, u samom dnu svoda, četiri najdonja reda opeka zidano je zajedno sa zidom, zidanje svoda se tada prekidalo te se dalje nastavljalo zidati vertikalno, opet kao zid. Nakon što je zid napravljen, nastavilo se sa zidanjem svoda uz upotrebu drvene oplata, za čiji su oslonac napravljene rupe u zidu koje su još uvijek sačuvane.

Dalje prema sjeveru postoji još jedan most (sl. 31) koji je

cellar rooms, while another possibility is that it was made to convey the Roman-era water supply or sewage infrastructure from one hall to another. This is the sole example of a bridge with this form thus far found in the palace, so it certainly merits further research.

More northward, at a distance of 2.39 m, there is another bridge which was mentioned previously. Its northern half has been destroyed, but its length is known based on the preserved remains. The southern part was also destroyed, but it was recently restored, probably together with the top of the neighbouring bridge described above. The bridge had brick bearings on both sides which have been preserved. In this example, an interesting construction technique used by the Roman-era builders was observed. Namely, at the very base of the vault, the four lowest courses of bricks were built together with the wall, construction of the vault was then halted and vertical construction continued, again as a wall. After the wall was made, construction of the vault resumed with the use of wooden lining, for which holes were made in the wall as supports and these have been preserved.

Farther northward, there is another bridge (Fig. 31) which connected Roman-era halls above a lightwell.<sup>18</sup> The deck of this bridge was rendered 65 cm lower than the deck of the previously described bridge. Thus far, the reasons why these bridges were built with such different heights cannot be as-

18 Due to the poor condition of the bridges and wooden ceilings of the neighbouring houses from which stones and construction rubble hung, more thorough research could not be conducted and it also surpassed the framework of this architectural project.



Sl. 31.

U prvom planu je dotrajala drvena podna konstrukcija kuće iznad podruma, a u pozadini sjeverni most u svjetlarniku 5.

Fig. 31.

Worn wooden floor structure of the house above the cellar is in the foreground, while the northern bridge in lightwell 5 is in the background.



Sl. 32.

Sačuvani ostatci dvorane za audijencije vidljivi na planu grada. Sivim tonom prikazano je pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje dvorane careva stana. Nacrtnu su pridodani i sačuvani antički ostatci dvorane 4A, vidljivi u ulici Dosud, kao i ostatci zapadnog zida dvorane 4B, vidljivi u Hotelu Slavija.

Fig. 32.

Preserved remains of the audience hall visible in the city map. The presumed original layout of the hall in the emperor's residence is indicated in gray. The preserved Roman-era remains of hall 4A, visible in Dosud street, as well as the remains of the western wall of hall 4b, visible in the Hotel Slavija, have been added to the diagram.

iznad svjetlarnika povezivao antičke dvorane.<sup>18</sup> Tjeme ovog mosta izvedeno je za oko 65 cm niže nego tjeme prethodno opisanog mosta. Za sada se ne može otkriti razlog zbog kojeg su ovi mostovi izgrađeni s toliko različitim visinama. U nasuprotnom svjetlarniku br. 7, simetrično položenom u odnosu na dvoranu 6A, postoje još dva mosta koji spajaju prostoriju 6A i hodnik 8. Djelomično su oštećeni i do sada nisu bili predmetom istraživanja; obuhvaćeni su jedino arhitektonskom dokumentacijom postojećeg stanja pa se temeljem tih nacрта može obaviti preliminarna analiza.<sup>19</sup>

Sa sjeverne strane dvorane 6A, lijevo i desno od apsida nalaze se dva antička četverokraka stubišta. Zapadno stubište, oznake 6B, puno je bolje sačuvano od onog istočnog 6C. Stubi-

certained. In the opposite lightwell, no. 7, set symmetrically in relation to hall 6A, there are two additional bridges that connect hall 6A and corridor 8. They are partially damaged and thus far they have not been the subject of research; they have only been encompassed by the architectural documentation of the existing state, so that a preliminary analysis may be conducted on the basis of these ground plans.<sup>19</sup>

Two Roman-era quadruple-flight staircases are situated to the left and right of the apse north of hall 6A. The western staircase, designated 6B, is far better preserved than the eastern 6C. The staircase was built next to the corridor which leads from room 6A to the outside area north of Diocletian's residence. There are several steps in the corridor in order to compensate for the different floor levels in cellar room 6A and the higher outside space. Six steps lead to the first staircase land-

<sup>18</sup> Zbog lošeg stanja mosta i drvenih stropova susjednih kuća iz kojih je visjelo kamenje i građevinska šteta, nije ga se moglo detaljno istražiti, a i prelazio je okvire ovog građevinskog zahvata.

<sup>19</sup> Dokumentaciju koja je obuhvatila zapadne supstrukcije Dioklecijanove palače izradila je 2010. godine tvrtka Geographica d.o.o. iz Splita.

<sup>19</sup> The documentation which encompassed the western substructure of Diocletian's Palace was compiled in 2010 by the company Geographica d.o.o. of Split.

šte je postavljeno uz hodnik koji iz prostorije 6A vodi u vanjski prostor sjeverno od Dioklecijanova stana. U hodniku je nekoliko stuba kako bi se svladala visinska razlika između poda podrumске prostorije 6A i višeg vanjskog prostora. Do prvog stubišnog podesta vodi šest stuba, a na podestu je uski prozor prema svjetlarniku 5. Stubišni krak zaokreće dalje na sjever do idućeg podesta pa se onda penje na istok gdje se dolazi do novog podesta. Prema oštećenjima u zidu može se zaključiti da je na svakom od ovih podesta u sjevernom zidu postojao uski prozor. Stubište se dalje uspinje prema jugu te se onda preko podesta prilazi završnom kraku kojim se dolazi do razine careva stana. Od te razine naviše antičko stubište nije sačuvano. Na sl. 32. prikazani su ostatci zidova koji su 2011. godine otkriveni arheološkim istraživanjem na temelju kojega je izrađeno pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje. Značajno je da prikaz antičke zgrade, u odnosu na današnju urbanu strukturu, može pomoći u preciznijem određivanju budućih arheoloških istraživanja.

### PRETPOSTAVLJENO IZVORNO STANJE

Od materijalnih ostataka dvorane za audijencije Dioklecijanove stana malo je toga ostalo sačuvano. Arheološkim sondiranjem iz 2011. godine pronađen je dio praga ulaznog portala s ostatkom južnog zida u koji je bio ugrađen. Pronađen je i dio istočnog zida širine 1,42 m, dok su značajnije očuvani ostatci zapadnog zida dvorane. Na dvama mjestima sačuvano je unutarnje lice koje se tlocrtno poklapa s unutarnjim licem dvorane 6A u podrumima. Ono što je najznačajnije je da je na vanjskom licu sačuvana jedna cijela ležena i dio još jedne. Sonde su pokazale da se, gledano tlocrtno, unutarnja lica zidova dvorane za audijencije poklapaju s unutarnjim licima zidova podrumске prostorije 6A. Međutim, vanjska lica zapadnog i istočnog zida dvorane izmaknuta su u odnosu na vanjska lica podrumskih zidova za oko 1,3 m, pa se tako na vrhu podrumskih zidova dobio uski pojas koji je vjerojatno služio kao pješačka komunikacija. Ona je omogućavala da se od stubišta preko mostova prilazi dvorani 4A, odnosno hodniku 8 uz koji su bili nanizani kubikuli.

Do sada se ovaj dio Dioklecijanove palače nije nikad sustavno arheološki istraživao, stoga ne čudi da se dosadašnje pretpostavke o njegovom izvornom izgledu poprilično razlikuju. Tako Robert Adam 1764. godine prikazuje prostor oko dvorane 6A potpuno drugačije od onoga što on zaista jest,<sup>20</sup> dok George Niemann 1910. donosi nešto precizniju pretpostavku: ovu dvoranu (sl. 33) vidi sa stupovima koji odgovaraju položaju pilona podrumске prostorije.<sup>21</sup> U sjevernom dijelu prostorije ne prikazuje stubište, koja u to vrijeme još nisu bila iskopana, a

ing, and the landing has a narrow window to lightwell 5. The staircase flight turns farther north to the next landing and then ascends east to reach the new landing. Based on the damage to the wall, one may conclude that there were narrow windows in the northern wall at each of these landings. The staircase continues to ascend southward and then approaches the final flight across the landing which leads to the level of the emperor's residence. The Roman-era staircase has not been preserved from this point upward. The remains of walls are shown in Fig. 32. They were discovered in archaeological excavations in 2011, on which basis the presumed original appearance was sketched. It is significant that the visualization of the Roman-era buildings compared to the current urban structure may help to more precisely determine future archaeological research.

### PRESUMED ORIGINAL APPEARANCE

Few physical remains of the audience hall in Diocletian's residence have been preserved. During archaeological test excavations in 2011, a part of the threshold of the entry portal with remains of the southern wall into which it was embedded were discovered. A part of the 1.42 m thick eastern wall was also found, while the remains of the hall's western wall have been more significantly preserved. The internal face which, based on the ground plan, corresponds to the internal face of hall 6A in the cellars was preserved at two places. The most significant aspect is that an entire lesene and part of another were preserved on the external face. Test trenches have shown that, when viewed in terms of the floor-plan, the internal face of the audience hall's walls correspond to the internal faces of the walls of cellar room 6A. However, the external face of the hall's western and eastern walls differed in relation to the face of the cellar walls by roughly 1.3 m, so that a narrow belt was obtained at the top of the cellar walls which was probably used for pedestrian traffic. It facilitated access to hall 4A and corridor 8, along which there were a series of cubicles.

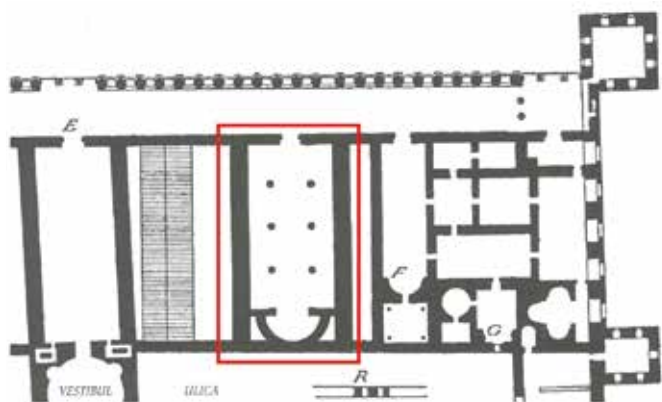
This part of Diocletian's Palace has never been systematically examined until now, so it comes as no surprise that previous hypotheses as to its original appearance differed considerably. Thus, in 1764 Robert Adam portrayed the space around hall 6A entirely differently than it truly was,<sup>20</sup> while in 1910 George Niemann had a more precise hypothesis: he saw this hall (Fig. 33) with columns that corresponded to the position of the pylons in the cellar rooms.<sup>21</sup> He did not depict the staircases in the northern section of the rooms, as they had not yet been excavated at the time, while he presented the hall's roof

20 Adam 1764.

21 Niemann 1910, str. 4, T. XV.

20 Adam 1764.

21 Niemann 1910, p. 4, Pl. XV.



Sl. 33.  
Dvorana za audijencije, tlocrt  
(Niemann 1910.)

Fig. 33.  
Audience hall, floor plan (G.  
Niemann 1910)



Sl. 34.  
Dvorana za audijencije, tlocrt  
(Niemann, 1910.)

Fig. 34.  
Visualization of audience hall  
(G. Niemann, 1910)

krov dvorane prikazuje nižim od vijenca zida portikata tako da se nije vidio s mora (sl. 34, 47).

Ernest Hébrard i Jacques Zeiller objavljuju 1912. svoju knjigu o Dioklecijanovoj palači u kojoj između ostalog navode i pojedinačne funkcije svih dvorana careva stana.<sup>22</sup> Tu se po prvi put donosi pretpostavka da su uzdužni zidovi dvorane za audijencije uvučeni u odnosu na podrumsku prostoriju, doduše u puno manjoj mjeri nego što su to potvrdila arheološka istraživanja. Autori također pretpostavljaju da je dvorana imala šest stupova koji bi odgovarali pilonima u podrumskoj prostoriji, te ni oni ne donose prikaz stubišta u sjevernom dijelu dvorane.

U svom poznatom prikazu Dioklecijanove palače Hébrard prikazuje križne krovove dvorane za audijencije oko kojih su terase s vrtovima i pergolama.

Otkopavanjem, istraživanjem i obnovom supstrukcija Dioklecijanove palače, koje se započinje intenzivno provoditi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, napokon je otkriveno kako su ove prostorije izgledale. Glavnina radova provedena je u organizaciji Urbanističkog biroa Split pod vodstvom Jerka Marasovića.<sup>23</sup> Između ostalog, u podrumskoj je prostoriji 6A iskopano zapadno stubište 6B. Nakon dugogodišnjeg istraživanja Dioklecijanove palače Marasović 1993. godine izrađuje studiju južnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače<sup>24</sup> u kojoj donosi nacрте svih prostorija. Dvoranu za audijencije prikazuje s nišama u uzdužnim zidovima koji ponavljaju debljinu zidova supstrukcija. Visinu dvorane prikazuje do visine vijenca zida portikata iznad kojeg se uzdiže zabat dvostrešnog krova. Po prvi put se ova

as lower than the cornice of the portico wall, so that the sea could not have been seen from it (Fig. 34, 47).

Ernest Hébrard and Jacques Zeiller published a book about Diocletian's Palace in 1912, in which, among other things, they cited the individual functions of all rooms in the emperor's residence.<sup>22</sup> This was the first appearance of the hypothesis that the audience hall's lengthwise walls were drawn inward in relation to the cellar space, albeit to a far lesser extent than was later confirmed by archaeological excavations. The authors also assumed that the hall had six columns that would have corresponded to the pylons in the cellar, and they also failed to portray the staircases in the hall's northern section.

In his well-known visualization of Diocletian's Palace, Hébrard showed the cross roofs of the audience hall, around which there are terraces with gardens and trellises.

The excavation, exploration and restoration of the substructure of Diocletian's Palace, which began intensively after the Second World War, finally revealed the appearance of these facilities. Most of the completed works were organized by the Urban Planning Bureau of Split under the leadership of Jerko Marasović.<sup>23</sup> Among other things, western staircase 6B was excavated in cellar room 6A. After many years of research into Diocletian's Palace, in 1993 Marasović compiled a study of its southern section<sup>24</sup> in which he included diagrams of all rooms. He portrayed the audience hall as having niches in the lengthwise walls which share the width of the substructure walls. He drew the hall to the height of the cornice of the

22 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, str. 134-144.

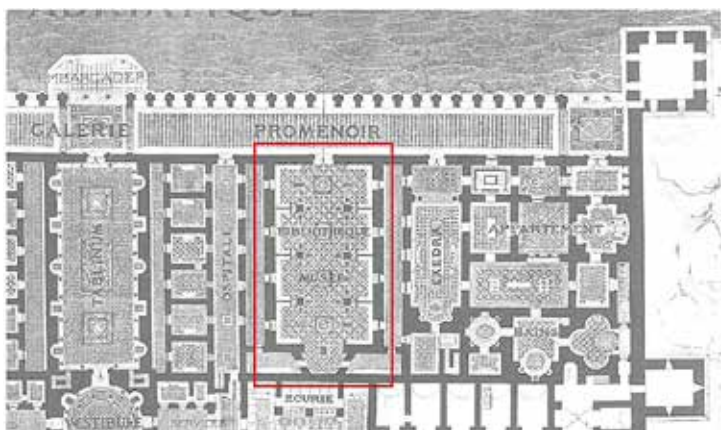
23 Marasović, 1957.

24 Marasović, 1993.

22 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, pp. 134-144.

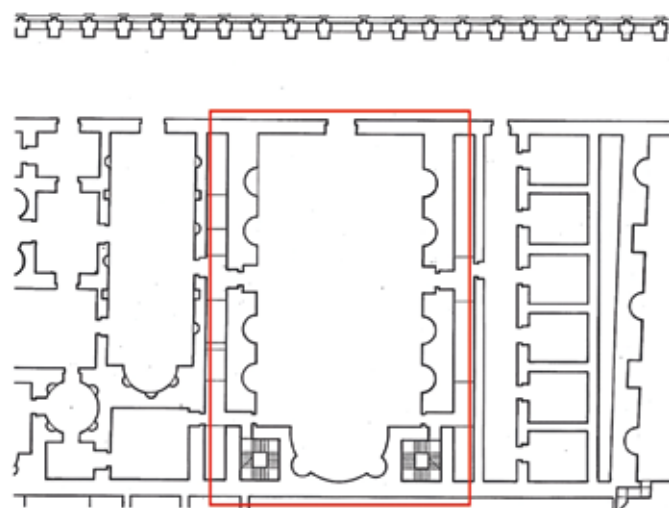
23 Marasović 1957.

24 Marasović 1993.



Sl. 35.  
Tlocrt dvorane za audijencije  
(Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.)

Fig. 35.  
Floor plan for the audience  
hall ((Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.)



Sl. 36.  
Uvlačenje zidova dvorane za  
audijencije u odnosu na pod-  
rumsku dvoranu 6A (Hébrard,  
Zeiller 1912.)

Fig. 36.  
Indentation of the audience  
hall's walls in relation to  
cellar hall 6A (Hébrard, Zeiller  
1912.)



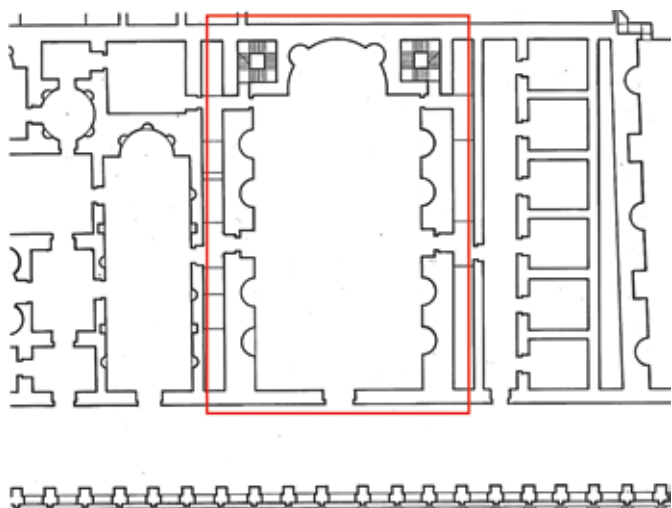
Sl. 37.  
Perspektivni prikaz jugoza-  
padnog ugla Dioklecijanove  
palače, detalj (Hébrard,  
Zeiller 1912.)

Fig. 37.  
Perspective image of  
south-western corner of  
Diocletian's Palace, detail  
(Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.)

dvorana prikazuje bez stupova, kao cjeloviti jednobrodni prostor s polukružnom apsidom na sjeveru. Mostovi u svjetlarniku br. 5 i 7 povezuju dvoranu za audijencije sa susjednim dvoranama. Marasović pretpostavlja da se stubišta 6B i 6C uspinju od podruma kroz cijelo prizemlje i dolaze do vrha terasa koje su različitih razina, uspostavljene po vrhovima svodova dvorana careva stana.

portico wall, above which the gable of a pitched roof rose. This hall was depicted without columns for the first time, as a complete single-nave space with a semi-circular apse for audiences with neighbouring halls. Marasović assumed that staircases 6B and 6C ascended from the cellar through the entire ground level and reached the top of the terraces which were at different heights, set atop the vaults of the halls in the emperor's residence.

Having analyzed the results of studies of Diocletian's Palace, particularly those conducted compiled the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the results of recently conducted archaeological excavations, new hypotheses on the appearance of the emperor's audience hall may be put forth. We know that it adhered to the ground-plan dimensions of the cellar rooms and that the northern side had a semi-circular apse. Measuring the interior space, its length was 26.28 m, while its width was 14.37 m. The length of the apse, 4.8 m, should be added to this. Two quadruple-flight staircases connecting the hall to the cellars were at its lateral sides in the northern section. Based on the thus far single lesene found on the western side and the remains of another, their placement all along the face has been assumed. There were a total of five lesenes, while there were two shorter ones at the ends that connected the eastern and western face with the southern and northern walls. Since this was typical of architecture in Late Antiquity, the lesenes were probably connected at their tops by a semi-circular arch, while a stone cornice with a sima ran above everything, something typical of Diocletian's Palace as a whole. The indentation of the audience hall's face in relation to the walls in the cellar had already been assumed by Hébrard, but to a far lesser extent that what has been confirmed by recent archaeological excavations. A similar indentation of the upper wall was also found at the tablinum,



Sl. 38.  
Tlocrt šireg prostora dvorane  
za audijencije u razini prizem-  
lja (Marasović 1993.)

Fig. 38.  
Floor plan of wider area of  
audience hall at ground level  
(Marasović 1993)

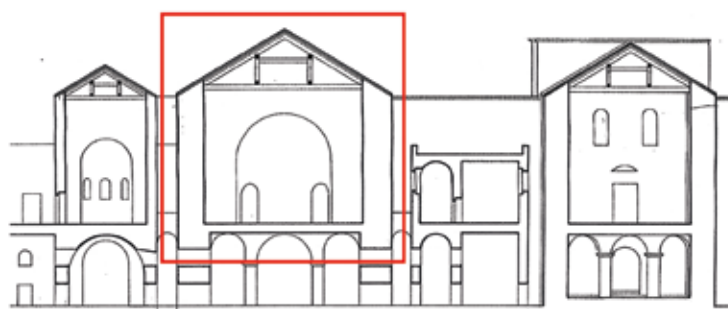


Sl. 39.  
Tlocrt šireg prostora krova  
dvorane za audijencije  
(Marasović 1993.)

Fig. 39.  
Floor plan of wider roof area  
of audience hall (Marasović  
1993)

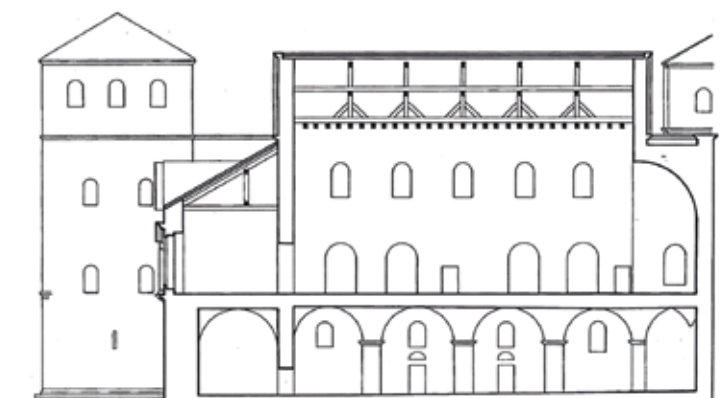
Analizirajući rezultate proučavanja Dioklecijanove palače, a naročito one koji su se proveli tijekom 20. stoljeća, kao i rezultate nedavno provedenih arheoloških istraživanja, možemo donijeti nove pretpostavke o izgledu careve dvorane za audijencije. Znamo da je pratila tlocrtni gabarit donje podrumске prostorije i da je na sjevernoj strani imala polukružnu apsidu. Mjereći unutarnji prostor, duljina joj je iznosila 26,28 m, a širina 14,37 m. Ovoj duljini treba dodati i dubinu apside koja je iznosila 4,8 m. Na njezinim su se bočnim stranama, u sjevernom dijelu, nalazila dva četverokraka stubišta koja su dvoranu povezivala s podrumima. Uz pomoć za sada jedne pronađene lezene na zapadnom zidu kao i ostatka još jedne, pretpostavljen je njihov ritam duž cijelog pročelja. Ukupno je bilo pet lezena, dok su na krajevima bile još dvije kraće koje su istočno i zapadno pročelje povezivale s južnim i sjevernim zidom. Kako je to karakteristično za kasnoantičku arhitekturu, lezene su vjerojatno pri vrhu bile međusobno spojene polukružnim lukom, a poviše svega je tekao kameni vijenac sa simom, koji je karakterističan za cijelu Dioklecijanovu palaču. Uvlačenje pročelja dvorane za audijencije u odnosu na zidove podruma pretpostavio je još Hébrard, ali u puno manjoj mjeri nego što se to potvrdilo recentnim arheološkim istraživanjima. Slično uvlačenje gornjeg zida pronađeno je i kod tablinuma, središnje ulazne dvorane Dioklecijanova stana.<sup>25</sup>

Znamo da je susjedna dvorana 4A duž uzdužnih zidova imala polukružne niše čije je podnožje bilo uzdignuto u od-



Sl. 40.  
Poprečni presjek šireg pros-  
tora dvorane za audijencije  
(Marasović 1993.)

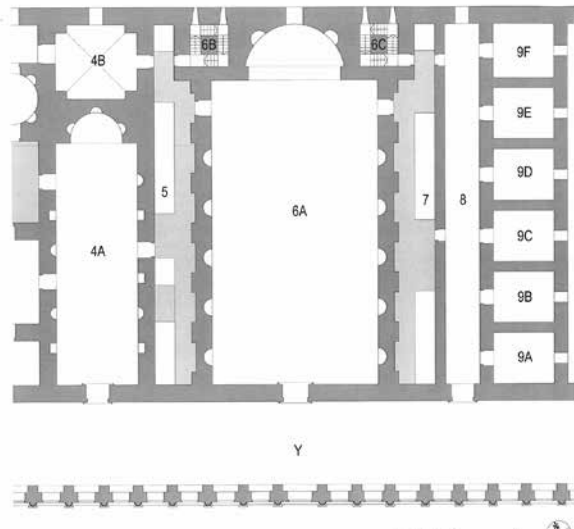
Fig. 40.  
Perpendicular cross-section  
of wider audience hall area  
(Marasović 1993)



Sl. 41.  
Uzdužni presjek dvorane za  
audijencije (Marasović 1993.)

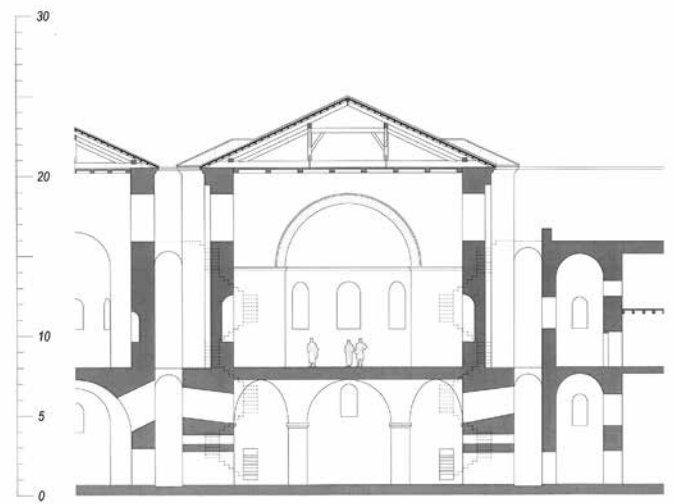
Fig. 41.  
Longitudinal cross-section  
of audience hall (Marasović  
1993)

<sup>25</sup> Ovo uvlačenje istočnog zida središnje dvorane u odnosu na zid podrumске prostorije autor je uočio još 2002. godine kada je zajedno s tvrtkom GEOdata d.o.o. iz Splita izrađivao arhitektonsku dokumentaciju postojećeg stanja istočne polovice podruma i nekadašnjeg samostana sv. Klare.



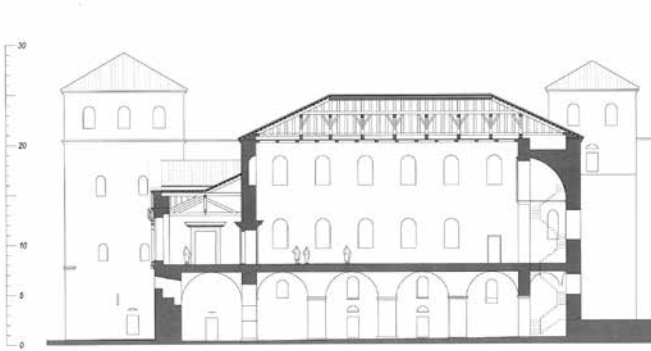
Sl. 42.  
Pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje dvorane za audijencije (6A) i susjednih zgrada (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 42.  
Presumed original appearance of the audience hall (6A) and neighbouring buildings (Vojnović 2023b)



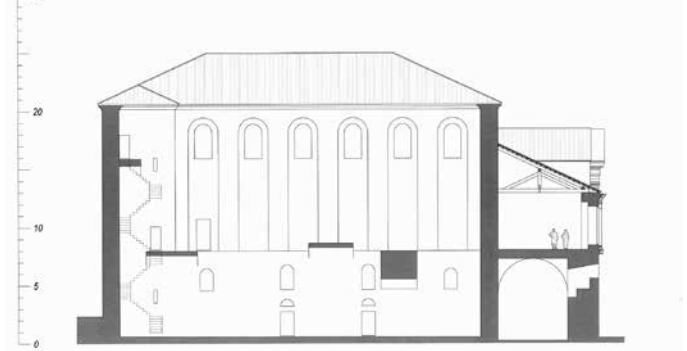
Sl. 43.  
Pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje dvorane za audijencije, poprečni presjek (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 43.  
Presumed original appearance of the audience hall, perpendicular cross-section (Vojnović 2023b)



Sl. 44.  
Pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje dvorane za audijencije, uzdužni presjek (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 44.  
Presumed original appearance of the audience hall, longitudinal cross-section (Vojnović 2023b)



Sl. 45.  
Pretpostavljeno izvorno stanje dvorane za audijencije, zapadno pročelje (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 45.  
Presumed original appearance of the audience hall, western face (Vojnović 2023b)



Sl. 46.  
Pretpostavljeno izvorni izgled južnog pročelja Dioklecijanove palače (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 46.  
Presumed original appearance of southern face of Diocletian's Palace (Vojnović 2023b)

nosu na pod. Nadalje, vidljivo je da je niše u apsidi sa središnjim prozorom imala i dvorana 2D. Dvorana za audijencije je svakako bila najveća i jedna od najznačajnijih dvorana careva stana pa je zasigurno i ona bila ukrašena polukružnim nišama. Kako je dvorana bila tijesno omeđena susjednim zgradama, tako je učinkovito osvjetljenje mogla dobiti jedino preko prozora koji su morali biti pri vrhu istočnog i zapadnog zida. Lezene su, kako je već rečeno, imale konstruktivni karakter pa su niše i prozori vjerojatno bili ugrađeni između njih. U sjevernom dijelu dvorane vjerojatno su postojala vrata u osovini gornjeg prozora, preko kojih se izlazilo na usku šetnicu po vrhu zida podrumске prostorije i koja su bila povezana sa stubištem. Dvorana bi zbog važnosti i arhitektonske proporcije trebala dosežati visinu do vrha zida portikata kako je već pretpostavio J. Marasović. Ona nije bila zasvođena, već je imala drvenu krovnu konstrukciju koja je najvjerojatnije bila izvedena sustavom dvostruke visulje,<sup>26</sup> a o koju je vjerojatno bio ovješten drveni kasetirani dekorativni strop.

Možemo pretpostaviti da je visina dvorane za audijencije iznosila oko 12,16 m, mjereći od poda do vrha kasetiranog stropa, i da je bila poravnata s vrhom vijenca sjevernog zida portikata. Gledano s mora, južno pročelje Dioklecijanove palače izrazito je simetrično (sl. 46). Na krajevima je flankirano ugaonim kulama, a u razini portikata ukrašeno mnogobrojnim polukružnim prozorima koji su postavljeni između dvaju ukrasnih vijenaca. U sredini su se, kao i na krajevima, nalazile monumentalne lođe s mramornim stupovima koji, kao na prostronu, pridržavaju tzv. sirijski zabat. U osovini dvorane za audijencije na zapadnoj i careve blagovaonice na istočnoj strani ističu se dva viša prozora iznad kojih je bio po još jedan sirijski zabat.<sup>27</sup> Najvjerojatnije je po sredini pročelja bio vidljiv samo krovni zabat središnje dvorane. Krov triklinija također je bio viši od sjevernog zida portikata, ali je bio odmaknut od tog pročelja, što bi značilo da je vijenac sjevernog zida portikata tekao kontinuirano te da ga krov triklinija nije prekidao.

Analizirajući južno pročelje Dioklecijanove palače, možemo zaključiti kako je njegova simetrija posebno naglašena, zbog čega možemo pretpostaviti da dvorana za audijencije nije imala krovni zabat koji bi stršio iznad završnog vijenca kako se ne bi obezvrijedila estetska cjelina južnog pročelja. Dakle, iako je dolazila do visine vijenca, dvorana nije imala zabate u vrhu krova, već možemo pretpostaviti da je on bio izveden kao četverostrešan.<sup>28</sup> Sličnu konturu vrha južnog zida palače donosi i Niemann,<sup>29</sup> a donekle i Hébrard,<sup>30</sup> dok J. Marasović na vrhu zida prikazuje krovne zabate nekoliko dvorana.<sup>31</sup>

the central entry hall of Diocletian's residence.<sup>25</sup>

We know that the neighbouring hall 4A had semi-circular niches all along its lateral walls which were raised from the floor at their foot. Furthermore, hall 2D also had niches in its apse with a central window. The audience hall was certainly the largest and one of the most significant halls of the emperor's residence, so it was also certainly adorned with semi-circular niches. Since the hall was closely bordered by neighbouring buildings, it could only be effectively illuminated through windows that had to be at the top of the eastern and western walls. As already noted, the lesenes had a structural character, so the niches and windows were probably built between them. There was probably a door in the northern section of the hall along the same axis as the upper window, through which one could enter the narrow promenade atop the cellar room's wall which was linked to the staircase. Due to its importance and architectural proportions, the hall should have reached the height of the top of the portico's wall, as Marasović had already posited. It was not vaulted, rather it had a wooden roof structure which was most likely rendered by a system of queen post trusses,<sup>26</sup> from which a decorative wooden coffered ceiling was suspended.

It may be assumed that the height of the audience hall was approximately 12.16 m, measuring from the floor to the top of the coffered ceiling, and that it was level with the top of the cornice on the portico's northern wall. Viewed from the sea, the southern frontispiece of Diocletian's Palace was notably symmetrical (Fig. 46). Its ends were flanked by corner towers, while at the level of the portico it was adorned with numerous semi-circular windows that were set between two decorative cornices. In the middle, as at the ends, there were monumental loggias with marble columns which, as at the prothyrium, bore the so-called Syrian gable. Two higher windows are notable in the axis of the audience hall to the west and the emperor's dining room to the east, above which there was another Syrian gable.<sup>27</sup> Only the central hall's roof gable was most likely visible in the middle of the frontispiece. The roof of the triclinium was also higher than the portico's northern wall, but it was at a remove from this frontispiece, which would mean that the cornice of the portico's northern wall also ran continuously and that the triclinium's roof did not intersect it.

Analyzing the southern frontispiece of Diocletian's Palace, we may conclude that its symmetry was particularly prominent, which is why it may be assumed that the audience hall did not have a roof gable that would have jutted above the ter-

26 Adam 2005, str. 211-212.

27 Vojnović 2023.

28 Vojnović 2023.

29 Niemann 1910.

30 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.

31 Marasović 1993.

25 This indentation of the central hall's eastern wall in relation to the wall of the cellar room was noted by the author in 2002 when, together with the company GEOdata d.o.o. of Split, he compiled the architectural documentation for the existing state of half of the cellar and former Convent of St. Clara.

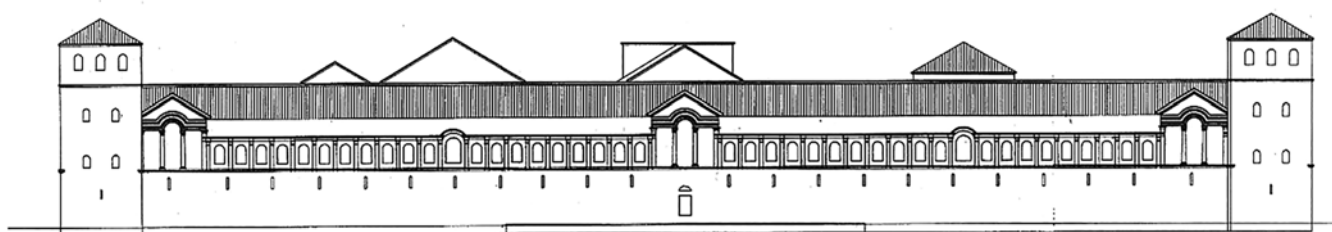
26 Adam 2005, pp. 211-212.

27 Vojnović 2023.



Sl. 47.  
Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled južnog pročelja Dioklecijanove palače  
(Niemann 1910)

Fig. 47.  
Presumed original appearance of the southern frontispiece of  
Diocletian's Palace (Niemann 1910)



Sl. 48.  
Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled južnog pročelja Dioklecijanove palače  
(Marasović 1993)

Fig. 48.  
Presumed original appearance of the southern frontispiece of  
Diocletian's Palace (Marasović 1993)



Sl. 49.  
Portal dvorane za audijencije,  
pogled iz portikata (l.  
Vojnović 2023.)

Fig. 49.  
Portal of the audience hall,  
view from the portico (l.  
Vojnović 2023)



Sl. 50.  
Unutrašnjost dvorane za  
audijencije, pogled prema  
sjeveru (Vojnović 2023b)

Fig. 50.  
Interior of the audience hall,  
northward view (Vojnović  
2023b)

Koliko je do danas poznato, dvorana za audijencije Dioklecijanove palače jedina je od svih njezinih zgrada imala pročelja ukrašena lezenama koje su u vrhu bile međusobno povezane lukovima. Stiješnjena susjednim dvoranama careva stana i odjeljena tek uskim svjetlarnicama, njezina se dva pročelja nisu mogla dobro sagledavati, kao uostalom ni pročelja ostalih dvorana. Stoga i ne čudi činjenica da je sav naglasak stavljen na dekoraciju unutrašnjosti pa su dvorane bile posebno lijepo ukra-

minal cornice in order to refrain from diminishing the frontispiece's aesthetic totality. Thus, even though it reached the height of the cornice, the hall did not have gables at the top of its roof, rather we may assume that it was hipped.<sup>28</sup> Niemann

<sup>28</sup> Vojnović 2023.



Sl. 51.  
Unutrašnjost dvorane za  
audijencije, pogled prema  
jugu (Vojnović, 2023b)

Fig. 51.  
Interior of the audience hall,  
southward view (Vojnović,  
2023b)



Sl. 52.  
Pogled iz svjetlarnika 5  
prema pročelju dvorane za  
audijencije (Vojnović, 2023b)

Fig. 52.  
View from lightwell 5 toward  
the face of the audience hall  
(Vojnović, 2023b)

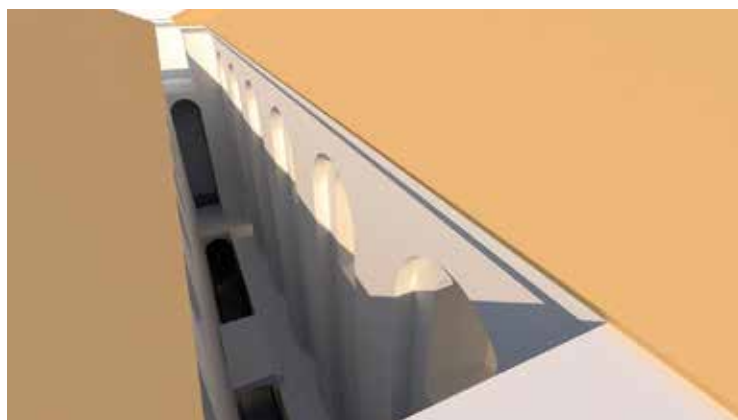
šene mramornim oblogama, mozaicima i freskama.<sup>32</sup>

Bočna pročelja mogla su se vidjeti jedino u uskim svjetlarnicima. Vjerojatno je bilo naročito impresivno promatrati ova pročelja kao i ona podrumskih prostorija s uskim komadićem neba u vrhu, kako je to vidljivo na sl. 52. O sličnoj impresiji piše Ivo Babić<sup>33</sup> kada opisuje Split i ulicu Grota dok svodovi vestibula i središnje dvorane još nisu bili rekonstruirani.

Sastavni dio dvorane za audijencije čine i dva stubišta. Ona vjerojatno nisu završavala samo na razini prizemlja, već su se mogla uspinjati i dalje, do još jednog kata ili do završne terase, kako to prikazuju Hébrard<sup>34</sup> ili J. Marasović.<sup>35</sup> Dakle, možemo pretpostaviti da su stubišta, osim za vezu s podrumima, bila korištena i za penjanje na gornju razinu, gdje je vjerojatno bila završna terasa koja se protezala iznad svodova dvorana careva stana. Do sada znamo za nekoliko prostorija careva stana kojima su se sačuvali svodovi, no nije poznato je li iznad tih svodovih dvorana postojao još jedan kat. Da bismo ustanovili kako su izgledala navedena stubišta, morali bismo prethodno ustanoviti na kojim su visinama bili svodovi dvorana.

Na istočnom dijelu careva stana sačuvan je početak svoda prostorije 22D. Analizirajući njegovu geometriju, možemo zaključiti da je prostorija bila visoka oko 8 m mjereći od poda do tjemena svoda. U istočnoj su polovici još uvijek sačuvani dijelovi središnje dvorane triklinija koja je prema studiji izvornog izgleda bila visoka oko 16,2 m.<sup>36</sup>

U zapadnoj polovici se do sada znalo samo za skromno sačuvane ostatke svoda kružne dvorane 2B gdje je visina do svo-



Sl. 53.  
Pogled na zapadno pročelje  
dvorane za audijencije  
(Vojnović, 2023b)

Fig. 53.  
View of the western face of  
the audience hall (Vojnović,  
2023b)

presented a similar contour for the top of the palace's southern wall,<sup>29</sup> as did Hébrard to some extent,<sup>30</sup> while Marasović depicted roof gables on several halls atop the wall.<sup>31</sup>

To the extent of current knowledge, the audience hall of Diocletian's Palace was the only one of its buildings that had a frontispiece adorned with lesenes that were connected on top by arches. Squeezed among neighbouring halls of the emperor's residence and divided only by narrow lightwells, its two faces could not be seen very well, like, for that matter, the faces of the other halls. It is therefore not surprising that the entire emphasis was placed on the decoration of the interiors, so the halls were particularly nicely appointed with marble lining,

32 3D računalne modele izradio je Pavao Nižetić, dipl. ing. arh., a grafičku obradu fotograf Živko Bačić te im ovim putem još jednom zahvaljujem.

33 Babić 1989, str. 51-64.

34 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.

35 Marasović 1993.

36 Marasović 1993.

29 Niemann 1910.

30 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.

31 Marasović 1993.



Sl. 54.  
Hotel Slavija, dvorana za  
sastanke u prizemlju. Na  
zapadnom zidu sačuvana su  
antička vrata

Fig. 54.  
Hotel Slavija, meeting room  
on the ground floor. Roman-  
era door preserved on  
western wall



Sl. 55.  
Hotel Slavija; na istom zidu  
je na gornjem katu ostala  
sačuvana kontura svoda i  
ugaonih pilona.

Fig. 55.  
Hotel Slavija; contour of  
the vault and corner pylon  
remained preserved on  
the same wall on the upper floor.

da, prema navedenoj Marasovićevoj studiji, iznosila 11,8 m. Ovome možemo dodati malu zasvođenu prostoriju 1E i sačuvane svodove apsida dvorane 2D i 4A. Tijekom preuređenja Hotela Slavija pronađen je u cijeloj visini sačuvani zapadni zid dvorane 4B na kojem se jasno razaznaje kontura svoda,<sup>37</sup> prema čemu je visina dvorane iznosila 7,06 m.<sup>38</sup> Uz debljinu svoda od oko 70 cm, završni je pod mogao biti viši od poda prizemlja za oko 7,8 m, što je važan podatak koji nam govori do koje je visine dosezalo stubište 6B te možemo pretpostaviti da se gornji most preko svjetlarnika 5 nalazio upravo na toj visini.

Vrijedi reći još ponešto za dvoranu 4B. Naime, podrumski dvorana ispod nje ima sačuvan križni svod koji je oslonjen na četiri ugaona pilona. Piloni su postojali i u dvorani careva stana, što do sada nije bilo poznato.<sup>39</sup> Kako bi se dobila veća površina prostorije, piloni su otučeni, ali se njihovi ostatci i kontura još jasno uočavaju. Na istom tom zidu su u razini prizemlja sačuvana i vrata širine 1,68 m. Od ovih vrata odnosno prolaza preostao je veći dio dvostrukog luka od opeke. Južni i sjeverni zid slabo su sačuvani. Prema ostacima možemo zaključiti da su piloni ove dvorane bili manjih dimenzija nego oni u podrumskoj prostoriji. Piloni u razini podruma imaju dimenzije 89 x 118 cm, dok su oni u carevom stanu 70 x 100 cm.

Antička dvorana 4B danas je zidom srednjovjekovne kuće podijeljena na dvije polovice (sl. 32). Zapadna polovica prethodno je opisana i nalazi se u hotelu, dok se istočna nalazi u privatnoj kući. Iako nije istražena, na nekoliko se mjesta uočava antička struktura zida koji je građen tehnikom *opus mixtum*. Niša u istočnom zidu govori nam da su na tom mjestu možda

mosaics and frescoes.<sup>32</sup>

The lateral face could only be seen in the narrow light-wells. This face was probably the most impressive to view, like the cellar rooms with a narrow piece of the sky at the top, as visible in Fig. 52. Ivo Babić<sup>33</sup> wrote about a similar impression when he described Split and Grota street when the vaults of the vestibule and central hall had not yet been reconstructed.

The two staircases are also an integral component of the audience hall. They probably did not end at ground level, rather they may have ascended even farther, to another floor or the final terrace, as depicted by Hébrard<sup>34</sup> or Marasović.<sup>35</sup> We may therefore presume that these staircases, besides the cellars, were also used to climb to the upper level, where there was likely a final terrace that extended over the vaults of the halls in the emperor's residence. Thus far we know of only a few rooms in the emperor's residence in which the vaults have been preserved, but nothing is known of the existence of another floor above these vaulted halls. In order to ascertain the appearance of these staircases, the height of the vaults in the hall must first be determined.

The beginning of the vault in room 22D has been preserved in the eastern section of the emperor's residence. An analysis of its geometry allows for the conclusion that the room was roughly 8 m high from floor to the vault's zenith. Parts of the triclinium's central hall have been preserved in the eastern half, which according to a study of the original appearance

37 Autor je tijekom rekonstrukcije Hotela Slavija 2012. godine uočio konturu svoda.

38 Prema Marasovićevoj studiji dvorana 4B imala je visinu od oko 6 m.

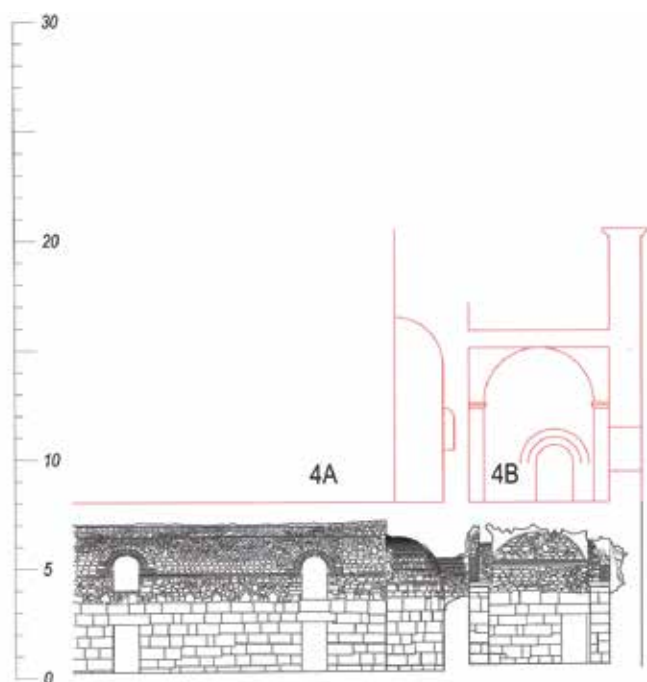
39 J. Marasović pretpostavljao je da ova dvorana careva stana, za razliku od podrumke prostorije 4B, nije imala ugaone pilone.

32 3D computer models were created by architect Pavao Nižetić, while the graphic processing was done by photographer Živko Bačić, so I take this opportunity to thank them both.

33 Babić 1989, pp. 51-64.

34 Hébrard, Zeiller 1912.

35 Marasović 1993.



Sl. 56.

Na donjem dijelu nacрта prikazana je antička struktura podrumskih prostorija 4A i 4B (Geographuica d.o.o.). U gornjem dijelu, crvenom bojom su prikazani sačuvani ostatci apsida dvorane 4A te vrata s konturom svoda i piona dvorane 4B (Vojnović 2023b).

Fig. 56.

Roman-era structure of cellar rooms 4A and 4B shown in upper section of diagram (Geographuica d.o.o.). Preserved remains of apse of hall 4A and door with contour of the vault and pylon of hall 4B indicated in red in upper section 4B (Vojnović 2023b).

sačuvana i vrata koja su preko mosta ovu dvoranu povezivala sa stubištem i dvoranom za audijencije. Prema svemu navedenom može se pretpostaviti da je dvorana 4B puno bolje sačuvana od ostalih dvorana careva stana, čak u cijeloj svojoj visini, pa je kao takva vrijedna budućeg sustavnog istraživanja i dokumentiranja.

Sličnost arhitektonske kompozicije splitske dvorane nalazimo u *Felix Romuliani*, palači koju je podigao car Galerije u Gamzigradu, u današnjoj Srbiji,<sup>40</sup> početkom 4. stoljeća. Noliko dvorana ovog sklopa također je na vanjskim stranama raščlanjeno lezenama, no najveću sličnost sa splitskim primjerom pokazuje dvorana s polukružnom apsidom i lezenama na pročelju.

Za komparaciju Dioklecijanove dvorane za audijencije možda je najbliža izvrsno sačuvana bazilika u Trieru koju je u osvit 4. stoljeća izgradio car Konstantin. Poznata je pod nazivom *Aula Palatina* i vrlo je slična Dioklecijanovoj dvorani, kako u unutrašnjosti tako i vanjštinom. I ona je, kao i splitska zgra-

das approximately 16.2 m high.<sup>36</sup>

Thus far, all that is known in the western half are the meagrely preserved remains of the vault in circular hall 2B, where the height to the vault, according to the aforementioned study by Marasović, was 11.8 m. The vaulted room 1E and the preserved apse vaults in halls 2D and 4A may be added to this. During renovation of the Hotel Slavija, the entire height of the preserved western wall of hall 4B was found, on which the vault's contours may be clearly discerned,<sup>37</sup> according to which the hall's height was 7.06 m.<sup>38</sup> Besides the vault's thickness of approximately 70 cm, the final floor may have been higher than the cellar floor by roughly 7.8 m, which is a vital fact that tells us the height to which staircase 6B reached, and we may assume that the upper bridge across lightwell 5 was actually at this height.

It would be worthwhile to say something more about hall 4B. Namely, the cellar hall beneath it has a preserved groin vault which rests on four corner pylons. Pylons existed in the wall in the emperor's residence, which had not been known thus far.<sup>39</sup> The pylons were battered to obtain a greater surface for the room, but their remains and contours can still be clearly discerned. A 1.68 m wide door has also been preserved on the same wall at ground level. Most of a double brick arch remains from this door, or rather passage. The southern and northern walls are poorly preserved. Based on the remains, it may be concluded that the pylons of this hall had smaller dimensions than those in the cellar room. The pylons in the cellar level have dimensions of 89 x 118 cm, while the dimensions of those in the emperor's residence are 70 x 100 cm.

Roman-era hall 4B is today divided into two halves by the wall of a medieval house (Fig. 32). The western half has been described above and is situated in the hotel, while the eastern half is in a private home. Although not examined, at several places the wall's Roman-era structure, built in the *opus mixtum* technique, may be observed. The niche in the eastern wall indicates the possibility that a door may have also been preserved here, one that connected this hall via a bridge to the staircase and audience hall. Based on this, one may presume that hall 4B has been better preserved than the remaining halls of the emperor's residence, even in its entire height, so that as such it would be worthwhile to conduct more systematic research and documentation in the future.

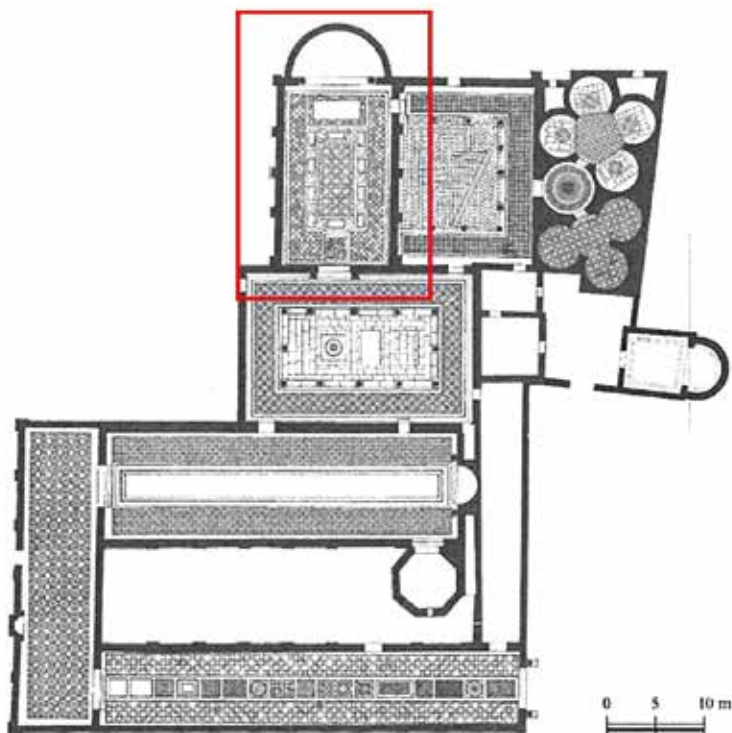
Similarity to the Split hall's architectural composition can be found in the *Felix Romuliana*, the palace erected by Emper-

36 Marasović 1993.

37 The author observed the vault's contours during reconstruction of the Hotel Slavija in 2012.

38 According to Marasović's study, hall 4B had a height of approximately 6 m.

39 Marasović assumed that this hall in the emperor's residence, as opposed to cellar room 4B, did not have corner pylons.



Sl. 57.  
Gamzigrad, *Felix Romuliana*,  
idealna rekonstrukcija  
(Čanak-Medić, Stojković-  
Pavelka 2010.)

Fig. 57.  
Gamzigrad, *Felix Romuliana*,  
ideal reconstruction (Čanak-  
Medić, Stojković-Pavelka  
2010)



Sl. 58.  
Gamzigrad, *Felix Romuliana*,  
dvorana s apsidom i lezenama  
na pročelju (G. Nikšić)

Fig. 58.  
Gamzigrad, *Felix Romuliana*,  
hall with apse and lesenes on  
face (G. Nikšić)

da, bila okružena drugim građevinama. Vanjsko joj je pročelje ukrašeno lezenama i rastvoreno polukružnim prozorima, dok u unutrašnjosti dominira polukružna apsida koja je od glavnog broda odijeljena visokim trijumfalnim lukom i dodatno ukrašena polukružnim nišama. Sličnost upotpunjuju i dva zavojita stubišta smještena unutar debljine zida, lijevo i desno od ap-

or Galerius in Gamzigrad, in today's Serbia,<sup>40</sup> at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Several halls in this complex are also externally articulated by lesenes, but the greatest similarity to the Split example is exhibited by the hall with semi-circular apse and lesenes on the face.

Possibly the closest comparison to Diocletian's audience hall is the superbly preserved basilica in Trier which was built by Emperor Constantine at onset of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is known as the *Aula Palatina* and is quite similar to Diocletian's hall, both its interior and exterior. And it, like the Split building, was surrounded by other buildings. Its external face is adorned with lesenes and broken down with semi-circular windows, while its interior is dominated by a semi-circular apse which is separated from the main nave by a high triumphal arch and additionally adorned with semi-circular niches. The similarity is enhanced by two spiral staircases situated inside the volume of the walls, to the left and right of the apse which led to the external gallery. The position of these staircases is identical to that of the staircases in Diocletian's audience hall.

Since the Basilica of Constantine was erected several years after the construction of Diocletian's Palace, we may justifiably presume that the audience hall in Split served as its model.

40 Čanak-Medić, Stojković-Pavelka 2010, pp. 87-94.



Sl. 59.  
Konstantinova bazilika u  
Trieru

Fig. 59.  
Basilica of Constantine in  
Trier



Sl. 60.  
Unutrašnjost Konstantinove  
bazilike u Trieru

Fig. 60.  
Interior of the Basilica of  
Constantine in Trier

side koja su vodila do vanjskih galerija. Položaj ovih stubišta identičan je položaju stubišta Dioklecijanove dvorane za audijencije.

Kako je Konstantinova bazilika podignuta nekoliko godina nakon izgradnje Dioklecijanove palače, s pravom možemo pretpostaviti da joj je splitska dvorana za audijencije možda bila uzorom.

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