

Neobjašnjena prostorna, funkcionalna i tehnička rješenja Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu

Unexplained spatial, functional and technical design solutions in Diocletian's Palace in Split

Stanko Piplović
Društvo prijatelja kulturne baštine /
Society of Friends of the Cultural Heritage
Obala Hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda 25
HR - 21 000 Split
stanko.piplovic@gmail.com

UDK: 728.8(497.583Split)

Pregledni članak / Review paper
Primljeno / Received: 27. 2. 2023.
Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 27. 2. 2023.

Na osnovi uočenih činjenica na terenu i logičnih pretpostavki iznose se mišljenja o praktičnim rješenjima dijelova Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu. Pri tome ta dva polazišta ne moraju biti međusobno podudarna. U članku se ukazuje na nejasne tehničke postupke i nelogičnosti u organizaciji prostora u Palači kojima nije posvećena dovoljna pozornost. Neka od njih nisu objašnjena, a neka se neće vjerojatno nikada moći razriješiti. Osnovni problem je u tome što se zbog slabe sačuvanosti građevinskih dijelova Palače ne mogu sigurno razriješiti pitanja pa se često pribjegavalo vjerojatnim tumačenjima ili su se ta pitanja zanemarivala. Osim toga, u nekim slučajevima nije posvećena dovoljna pozornost pojedinostima prilikom istraživanja. Danas nedostaje potpunija grafička dokumentacija, koja nije na raspolaganju ili nije ni napravljena.

Ključne riječi: rimsko graditeljstvo, Dioklecijanova palača, Split, problemi funkcioniranja, tumačenja sačuvanih ostataka, alternativne mogućnosti.

Based on facts observed in the field and logical suppositions, this paper presents views on practical design solutions in parts of Diocletian's Palace in Split. These two points of departure need not correspond. The paper underlines the ambiguous technical procedures and illogical aspects of spatial organization in the Palace which have not previously been given sufficient scrutiny. Some of them remain unexplained, and some may never be entirely resolved. The basic problem rests in the fact that certain questions cannot be addressed with certainty due to the poor state of preservation of specific architectural elements in the Palace, so that in the past the answer was sought in plausible interpretations, or these questions were simply ignored. Furthermore, not enough attention was accorded to certain details during research. Today fuller graphic documentation is lacking, as it is either unavailable or has never been compiled.

Key words: Roman architecture, Diocletian's Palace, Split, problems of functioning, interpretations of preserved remains, alternative possibilities.

Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu ključno je djelo kasnoantičkog rimskog graditeljstva. Osim visokog umjetničkog dosega to je i izuzetno inženjersko ostvarenje svog vremena. Počeci njezina sustavnog istraživanja sežu u 18. stoljeće, kad je arhitekt Robert Adam postavio temelje rekonstrukcije izvornog izgleda Palače. Slijedili su ga drugi arhitekti, koji su ga ispravljali i dopunjavali. Sve do dana današnjeg, usprkos brojnim istraživanjima i konzervatorskim zahvatima, ima još dosta nejasnih pitanja, posebno u pogledu rasporeda sadržaja i kakvoće izvedenih radova.¹ Unatoč opsežnim novijim saznanjima još uvijek nisu riješena neka pitanja. To su fortifikacijska obilježja, obala, komunikacije do careva stana, skulpture, hramovi, stupovi na Sustipanu i drugo. Moguće je da će se tek otkriti važni detalji za tumačenje strukturnih obilježja. Razlog nejasnoćama je slaba očuvanost pojedinih dijelova i teški uvjeti istraživanja zbog gustoće izgrađenosti. Često i nedostatak objavljivanja onoga što je pronađeno otežava shvaćanje problema i sagledavanje cjelovitosti. Palača se još uvijek razmatra sa stajališta povijesti i arheologije, a rjeđe sa stajališta urbanizma i arhitekture te povijesti umjetnosti. Carska palača ima još sačuvanih dijelova, posebno onih najvažnijih, koji su opstali zahvaljujući njihovoj čvršćoj gradnji te podobnosti za kasniju prenamjenu i potrebu sigurnosti. Veliki dio je porušen zbog drukčijih kasnijih prilika. Stoga se još ponekad raspravlja bez čvršćih argumenata, logike ili dobrog poznavanja tehničkih problema.

POLOŽAJ

Sam položaj Palače, podignute na periferiji Carstva, tumači se na različite načine. Na izbor mjesta zasigurno je utjecala blizina mjesta careva rođenja te blizina antičkog velegrada Salone, odakle su vodili brojni putovi u mnoge dijelove Carstva. Miran kraj uz more izabran je vjerojatno i zbog careve želje da nakon burnog života, ratovanja i provođenja državnih reformi provede na miru posljednje godine života. Dioklecijan je bio već star i bolestan. Doživio je blizu 70 godina, a ne zna se od koje je bolesti preminuo. Nije poznato ni u kojoj su mjeri korišteni njegovi raskošni prostori niti koje je prostore koristio za primanja i svečanosti.

KONCEPCIJA NAMJENE

Pri označavanju tipa antičke građevine u Splitu još uvijek se uz naziv palača navodi i da je to bila vila. To su međutim dva dosta različita sadržaja. Palača se obično nalazi u sklopu naselja i određena je za stalni boravak, dok vila služi za povremeni boravak, odnosno kao ljetnikovac. Imala je sve dijelove potrebne za život moćnog i starijeg stanovnika, sa svim službama. Vila

Diocletian's Palace in Split is a key product of Roman architecture in Late Antiquity. Besides its high artistic value, it was also an exceptional feat of engineering in its time. The beginnings of systematic research into it go back to the 18th century, when architect Robert Adam laid the foundations for the reconstruction of the Palace's original appearance. He was followed by other architects who corrected and supplemented his work. To the very present day, despite considerable research and conservation efforts that have yielded extensive new insights, there are still a number of unresolved questions, particularly with regard to the arrangement of premises and the quality of rendered works.¹ These questions further concern fortification features, the waterfront, passage to the emperor's residence, sculptures, temples, the columns at Sustipan and so forth. Details vital to the interpretation of structural features may yet be discovered. The reason for the ambiguities is the poor state of preservation of individual sections and the difficulties involved in conducting research due to the densely constructed environment. Often the failure to publish what has been found impedes a better understanding of the problem and the possibility of viewing it comprehensively. The Palace is still considered from the standpoint of history and archaeology, and more rarely from the standpoints of urban planning, architecture and art history. The emperor's palace still has preserved sections, particularly the most important, which have endured thanks to their sturdy construction and suitability for later repurposing, as well as the need for security. A major portion has been demolished due to the different circumstances of subsequent periods. Thus, the problem is still deliberated without firm arguments, logic or a sound understanding of the technical aspects.

LOCATION

The Palace's actual location in the Empire's periphery has been interpreted variously. The selection of the site was certainly influenced by its vicinity to the emperor's place of birth and to the Roman-era metropolis of Salona, whence numerous roads led to many parts of the Empire. A tranquil place next to the sea was probably also selected due to the emperor's wish to spend his last days in peace after a turbulent life of warfare and instituting state reforms. Diocletian was already old and in poor health. He lived to almost 70 years of age, but nothing is known of the illness that caused his death. Similarly, nothing is known of the extent to which his luxurious premises were used nor which rooms were used for reception and ceremonies.

¹ Piplović 1997b.

¹ Piplović 1997b.

je bilo mnogo u cijelom Carstvu, ali su obično više raščlanjene.² Takav je primjerice kod nas raskošni ladanjski sklop u zaljevu Verige na otoku Veli Brijun, gdje su u morskoj uvali slobodno organski raspoređeni pojedini dijelovi.³ Drugi tipični primjeri su Hadrijanova vila i raskošna kasnoantička carska vila u Piazza Armerina na Siciliji iz 4. stoljeća, koja je služila za boravak carske obitelji augusta Maksimijana, suvremenika Dioklecijanove, u vrijeme lova.⁴

Dioklecijanova palača sadrži sve elemente potrebne za stalan i udoban boravak, stambene, javne i sakralne objekte te sigurnosne i uslužne, koji su funkcionalno distribuirani. Budući da se car u kompleks početkom četvrtog stoljeća stalno uselio, to je i naziv palača ispravan. Svi sadržaji su okupljeni i omeđeni u jedan zajednički prostor. Ipak, s obzirom na namjenu postavlja se pitanje jesu li neki sadržaji, poput vojarnje ili stanova za pratnju i poslugu, mogli biti izdvojeni i smješteni uokolo Palače. U blizini nisu pronađeni nikakvi sportski objekti.

OBLIK

Palača ima izrazito četvrtasti geometrijski tlocrt, uz neke nepravilnosti. Simetrija je bila važno polazište rasporeda. Prilikom gradnje nije prilagođena uvjetima kosog terena koji blago pada na jug do mora i njezine građevine nisu postavljene da prate visinske razine okoliša. Sve su građene na približno istoj visinskoj razini. Za njezinu gradnju prethodno su obavljene značajni iskopi za nivelaciju terena gradilišta. Sjeverna strana je zasječena, a južna podignuta na građevinsku supstrukciju. Nije imala kontakata s neposrednim okolišem. Čitav sklop zatvoren je obodnim zidovima. Osvijetljen je i ozračen uz pomoć svjetlika i dvorišta ili s unutrašnjih ulica. Njezine prostorije nemaju pogled prema van. Jedino je omogućen vidik na more s visine kriptoportika.

ORGANIZACIJA PROSTORA

Tlocrt se temelji na osnovnim geometrijskim pravilima s glavnom osi podjele sjever-jug. Unutrašnji prostor ima tri osnovna sadržaja strogo odijeljena, i to privatni, javni i pomoćni. Najvažniji je carev apartman na jugu, središnji je sakralni sklop, a prostori za pratnju, poslugu i osiguranje bili su na sjeveru. Središte svih događanja je Peristil, prostor bogato ukrašen kolonadama. Zanimljivo je da su se među njegovim bočnim stupovima nalazile kamene tranzene, visoke više od dva metra. Ako se k tome

CONCEPTION OF PURPOSE

When designating the type of the Roman-era structure in Split, the term palace is still often accompanied by the assertion that it was villa. These were, however, two rather different categories. A palace was normally situated inside a settlement and ordained for permanent residence, while a villa was located in the countryside and used as a summer home. It had all components necessary for the life of a powerful and elderly resident, with all of the accompanying services. There were many villas throughout the Empire, but they were normally far more structurally detached.² This is, for example, the case in the luxurious countryside complex in Verige Cove on the island of Veli Brijun, where individual structures are freely and organically arranged.³ Other typical examples include Hadrian's Villa and the elaborate, Late Antique (4th century) Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina on Sicily, which was used during hunting expeditions by the imperial family of Diocletian's contemporary Maximian.⁴

Diocletian's Palace contains all elements necessary for permanent and comfortable living: residential, public and sacral structures and security and service facilities that are functionally distributed. Since the emperor took up permanent residence in the complex at the beginning of the 4th century, the term palace is apt. All amenities were gathered and delimited in a single common space. Even so, given its purpose, the question arises as to whether certain facilities, such as barracks and living quarters for his entourage and servants, may have been situated separately around the Palace. No sporting facilities were found in the vicinity.

FORM

The Palace has an exceptionally rectangular geometric ground plan, albeit with a few irregularities. Symmetry was a vital point of departure for its layout. During construction, it was not adjusted to the sloping terrain, which gently descends southward to the sea, and its structures were not set so that they adhered to the area's elevation grade. All were constructed at roughly the same elevation. Considerable prior excavations were conducted to level the site's terrain for its construction. The northern side was cut down, while the southern side was raised for substruction. It did not have direct contact with its surroundings. It was lit and ventilated with the

2 Mihajlova 1973. Među vilama i palačama su Neronova Zlatna kuća te Flavijev i Dominicianov dvorac u Rimu iz 1. st.

3 Dobrović 1950, str. 113.

4 McKay 1984, str. 95-127; o Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu vidi str. 224-225; Gentili 1969, str. 5-87.

2 Mihajlova 1973, Among the villas and palaces are Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome and the Palace of Flavius and Domitian, both from the 1st century.

3 Dobrović 1950, p. 113.

4 McKay 1984, pp. 95-127; On Diocletian's Palace in Split, see pp. 224-225; Gentili 1969, pp. 5-87.

dodaju i zidovi koji su okruživali temenose, sve je to podosta zaklanjalo pogled na monumentalne sakralne objekte s obiju strana Mauzoleja i hramova. Do njih su imali pristup samo odabrani.

Stan na jugu podijeljen je u dva dijela. Zapadni dio zauzima Dioklecijanove privatne odaje. Na istoku je sklop prostora za ugošćavanje. Nije poznato mjesto kuhinjskog bloka, ali logično je pretpostaviti da se nalazio blizu blagovaonica triklinija, gdje se uživalo u delicijama uz plesne i glazbene nastupe umjetnika. Taj sigurno velik prostor za pripremanje obilnih i bogatih vrsta hrane u nekim je prigodama morao imati prilaz kolima za dovoz namirnica i vrata za njihov unos. A to nije bilo moguće utvrditi zbog njihove uništenosti. Same blagovaonice bile su dobro osvijetljene i zračene zahvaljujući okolnim dvorištima koja su sezala od podruma. Uokolo se s tri strane pružao hodnik u obliku trijema, za dopremu hrane na trpeze i njezino serviranje gostima. U svakom slučaju, nije poznato za koga su i u kojoj mjeri ti svečani i zabavni skupovi organizirani. Pitanje je da li ih je uopće bilo.

Bar neke prostorije careva stana vjerojatno su imale neki sustav grijanja. To je logična pretpostavka ako se zna da su i druge raskošnije građevine u to vrijeme imale instalaciju u uređaje zidnog i podnog grijanja toplim zrakom iz ložionice. Morali su postojati i sanitarni prostori na više mjesta, ali ni njima do sada nema traga.

FORTIFIKACIJSKA OBILJEŽJA

Palača je po obodu obzidana visokim kamenim zidom i kulama. U razini njihova prvog kata u unutrašnjosti iza njih je iznad boksova bio hodnik za stražu. Na zidu su veliki otvori prema van. Taj pojas je dosta nisko pa se eventualni napadač eskalacijom dosta lako mogao popeti i prodrijeti u unutrašnjost. Sami branitelji nisu bili dovoljno zaštićeni prsobranima. Osim toga, u sačuvane ugaone kule moglo se ulaziti izvana, s okolnog prostora. To loše sigurnosno rješenje ispravljeno je kada je u srednjem vijeku na samom vrhu sjevernog zida načinjen obrambeni hodnik s merlonima, a donji otvori zazidani. Na taj je način znatno poboljšan obrambeni sustav. Na zidovima i kulama u podrumu i prizemlju nalaze se otvori. Oni su doduše uski, ali su ipak bili slabe točke, zbog mogućnosti njihova proširenja. Iz svega proizlazi da su fortifikacijski elementi uglavnom formalizam, kule su bile tek dekorativni dodaci. Većina velikih otvora na jugu i istoku poslije je, kod gradnje stambenih zgrada, pretvorena u prozore. Tako je poznato da je u dva otvora na istoku graditelj Ante Bezić godine 1899. umetnuo četvrtaste neorenesansne prozore, s balustradom u donjem dijelu.⁵

help of lightwells and courtyards, or with interior avenues. Its chambers did not have outside views. A view of the sea was only afforded from the level of the cryptoporticus.

ORGANIZATION OF SPACE

The ground plan adheres to basic geometric rules with the north-south division as the primary axis. The interior space has three basic, strictly separate classifications: private, public and service. The most important was the emperor's residence in the south, while the sacral complex was in the middle, and the facilities for emperor's entourage, servants and security were in the north. The centre of all events was the Peristyle, a space richly adorned with colonnades. It is interesting that there was an over two-metre high stone transenna among its lateral columns. If the walls encircling the temenos are added, then altogether this considerably obscured the view of the monumental sacral structures from both sides of the Mausoleum and temples. Only a select few had access to them.

The residence in the south was divided into two sections. The western part encompassed Diocletian's private chambers. The space for entertaining guests was in the east. The location of the kitchen block is not known, but it is logical to presume that it was near the formal dining room (triclinium), where delicacies could be enjoyed to the accompaniment of performances by dancers and musicians. This certainly expansive space for the preparation of abundant and opulent types of food had to have had a passage for carts to convey foodstuffs and a door to bring them in for specific occasions. But this could not be ascertained due to their subsequent destruction. The dining rooms themselves were well-lit and ventilated thanks to surrounding courtyards that even extended to the cellars. A corridor in the form of a portico, used to bring food to the tables and serve it to guests, extended on three sides. In any case, to whom and to what extent these festive and entertaining gatherings were organized is not known. There is some question as to whether they were held at all.

At least some of the rooms in the emperor's residence probably had a heating system. This is a logical assumption if one knows that other luxury structures during that era had installations and devices for wall and underfloor heating using hot air from a furnace room. Sanitation facilities also had to have existed at several locations, but thus far there are no traces of them.

FORTIFICATION FEATURES

The Palace's perimeter was fortified by high stone walls and towers. A sentry corridor was situated at the level of the first floor behind them, above the stalls. The walls had large openings to the outside. This belt was rather low, so by using ladders any potential attackers could easily climb over and invade the interior. The defenders themselves were not sufficiently protected by the breastwork. Furthermore, the preserved cor-

5 Piplović 2003, str. 62.

UNUTRAŠNJE KOMUNIKACIJE

Unutrašnje prometnice dobro su riješene. Od ulaznih vrata na sredini sjevernog pročelja vodi široka ulica prema jugu, *cardo*; druga vodi od istoka prema zapadu, *decumanus*. Sijeku se na Peristilu, glavnom otvorenom prostoru, koji je u središtu svih sadržaja. S unutrašnjih strana obodnih zidova nalaze se nizovi boksova koji su vjerojatno služili kao skladišta. Ispred njih su ulice za opskrbu. Ovaj sustav nije do kraja objašnjen. Njegovi bočni ogranci, istočni i zapadni, vode prema jugu, gdje su stanovi, ali nije istraženo dokle su dopirali. Postoje čak tvrdnje da se istočna komunikacija nije protezala na jug do careva stana. To nije logično, jer je trebala služiti za opskrbu velikih količina namirnica za gozbe koje su se održavale u trikliniju. Arhitekt George Niemann smatrao je da se ipak produžavala sve do tog mjesta. To se pitanje nije posebno istraživalo niti mu se pridavala pozornost. Prometna situacija dodatno je usložena kada su u tom dijelu izgrađene terme.

ULAZ U STAMBENE PROSTORE

S Protirona, trijema na kraju Peristila, strme kamene stube vode u suteran i prolaz se nastavlja na jug, kroz veliku, ali neuređenu dvoranu prema moru. Za razliku od portala po sredini ostalih vanjskih zidova koji su bogato ukrašeni, izlaz na obalu čine uska i neugledna vrata u južnom zidu. Ona imaju samo jednostavni luk na vrhu i ispod njega običan vodoravni nadvratnik.⁶ Iz toga je razvidno da taj prolaz nije bio važan i da ga je car vjerojatno rijetko koristio. Ispred cijelog južnog pročelja nalazila se obala. To se tumači na različite načine. Car se njome vjerojatno nije šetao, jer je duž gornjeg dijela pročelja bio povišeni kriptoportik, dugačak trijem s velikim otvorima, odakle je s nešto veće visine mogao uživati u širokom pogledu na more i obližnje otoke. To upućuje na zaključak da je obala produžena nešto kasnije, kada je nakon Dioklecijanove smrti Palača još u antici promijenila namjenu. Nakon što su u novije vrijeme uklonjene zgrade iz kasnijeg doba koje su se nalazile unutar središnje dvorane podruma, ona je obnovljena, te je 1963. godine otvoren široki prolaz s Peristila na Rivu.

U careve stambene prostorije na katu ulazilo se na južnoj čeonj strani Peristila. Tu se stubama trijema Protirona ulazi u okruglu dvoranu, Vestibul. Ona je natkrivena kupolom koja na vrhu ima otvor. Često se postavlja pitanje je li namjerno tako izvedena ili se tjeđe kupole s vremenom urušilo. Rješenje se uspoređuje s rimskim Panteonom,⁷ no on je mnogo veći po rasponu, koji iznosi više od 43 metra, i nije imao nikakvog dru-

ner towers could be entered from the outside, from the surrounding area. This slack security solution was rectified in the Middle Ages, when a defensive corridor with merlons was made on the northern wall, while the lower openings were walled over. The defence system was thus improved significantly. There are openings on the walls and towers at the cellar and ground levels. To be sure, they were narrow, but they nonetheless constituted vulnerable points because they could be expanded. All of this indicates that the fortification elements were generally formal in character, the towers merely serving as decorative additions. Most of large openings in the south and east were later, when residential buildings were constructed, transformed into windows. Thus, it is well-known that architect Ante Bezić inserted rectangular neo-Renaissance windows in two openings on the eastern side, with balustrades on the lower sections.⁵

INTERNAL TRAFFIC

The internal thoroughfares were well designed. A broad southward street, the *cardo*, runs from the gate in the middle of the northern frontispiece; the other, the *decumanus*, runs from east to west. They intersect at the Peristyle, the primary open space, which is in the centre of all facilities. There were rows of stalls on the inside of the perimeter walls that were probably used for storage. Supply lanes were in front of them. This system has never been entirely clarified. Its lateral branches, east and west, lead southward, where the residential units are, but how far they went has never been studied. There has even been speculation that the eastern route did not reach the emperor's residence. This does not make sense, because it had to be used to supply the immense quantities of foodstuffs for the feasts held in the triclinium. Architect George Niemann believed that they did in fact reach that position. This matter has not been sufficiently researched nor has it received due attention. The transport situation was made additionally complex when baths were built in this section.

ENTRANCE TO THE RESIDENTIAL ROOMS

Steep stone steps led from the Prothyron, a porch next to the Peristyle, to the cellar, and the passage continues southward through a large but unfurnished chamber hall. As opposed to the gate in the middle of the remaining external walls that is richly adorned, the exit to the waterfront consists of a narrow and unremarkable gate in the southern wall. It has only a simple arch at the top and an ordinary horizontal lintel below

⁶ S vremenom je srušen nadvratnik južnih vrata. U ljeto 1963. godine ponovno je postavljen novi. Š[erić] 1963, str. 8.

⁷ Milani, Fosolo 1931, T. 61; Lugli 1989, 5-70.

⁵ Piplović 2003, p. 62.

gog osvjetljenja. Naime, ako bi se uzelo da je otvor na tjemenu rotonde izvorno ostavljen radi osvjetljenja unutrašnjosti, valja naglasiti da to nije bilo potrebno jer su uokolo na visini bili veliki prozori, i to čak u dva reda. Zasigurno se urušavanje dogodilo u neko kasnije vrijeme

Obično se tumači da se komunikacija u južnom dijelu Palače odvijala tako da se sa Peristila preko Vestibula ulazilo isključivo u veliku središnju dvoranu. Ona je na jugu imala vrata kroz koja se izlazilo na kriptoportik u današnjoj Severovoj ulici.⁸ Duž njega se na obje strane prilazilo stanu i prostorima za skupove i gozbe. To je pojednostavnjeno jer se nije vodilo računa o čitavom nizu manjih prostorija kod ulaza. Osim toga, ako je središnja dvorana služila kao glavna prolazna komunikacija i jedina veza za čitav južni dio Palače, nije jasno čemu je u tom slučaju mogla još služiti.

Određene nejasnoće vezane su i uz stanje portala na zidu između središnje dvorane i kriptoportika. Četvrtasti otvor ima okolo kameni okvir, koji je, međutim, potpuno derutan, kao da je ranije bio negdje odbačen kao jako oštećen i kasnije ovdje postavljen. Dekor lijevog dovratnika potpuno je otučen. Njegov gornji završetak također je uništen, ali još je vidljiv trag koji također ukazuje na mogućnost da mu je porijeklo s drugog mjesta. Na desnom dovratniku ukrasi su znatno nagrizeni. Zbunjuje što je ugrađen u rub susjedne zgrade, podignute u 13. stoljeću, s romaničkim obilježjima.⁹

Oba njihova najniža dijela su razbijena. Na vrhu otvora nedostaje jače istaknuti friz, koji je uobičajen u rimskoj arhitekturi, pa i na Dioklecijanovoj palači na ulazu u Mauzolej, Mali hram i Protiron. Uostalom, gotovo svi vijenci u Palači, oni vodoravni i oni zaobljeni, završavaju tako da im je najviši rub najistureniji. Osim toga, za zid u koji je ugrađen portal, ne može se sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je antički, iako se nalazi na mjestu stražnjeg zida kriptoportika, koji je u 13. stoljeću na tom mjestu sačuvan samo u tragovima. U to vrijeme već su gotovo sve okolne stambene zgrade s romaničkim ukrasima, a zid s portalom tvori južno pročelje manje jednostavne jednokatnice koja na vanjskoj strani nema nikakvih dekorativnih oznaka.¹⁰ Nije građen kao svi ostali rimski zidovi u okolici, uz uporabu kame- na i slojeva opeke za izravnavanje (*opus mixtum*), kao što je to

it.⁶ It is therefore apparent that this passage was not important and that the emperor probably only used it rarely. The waterfront extended along the entire southern frontispiece. This has been interpreted variously. The emperor probably did not stroll on it, because there was an elevated *cryptoporticus*, a long terrace with large openings, all along the upper section of the frontispiece, whence one could enjoy an expansive view of the sea and the nearby islands from a somewhat elevated position. This points to the conclusion that the waterfront was extended somewhat later, after Diocletian's death, still during Antiquity, when the Palace's purpose was altered. After the buildings from the later period situated inside the central chamber of the cellars were removed in more recent times, it was restored, and in 1963 a wide passage from the Peristyle to the Riva (waterfront) was opened.

The emperor's living chambers were entered from the main south side of the Peristyle. Here the steps of the *Prothyron* led to a round hall, the *Vestibule*. It was covered by a dome with an opening on top. The frequently posed question is whether it was made like this intentionally or if the dome's top collapsed over time. The solution has been compared to the Roman Pantheon,⁷ but the latter had a much larger span, over 43 meters, and did not have any other source of lighting. Namely, if one were to presume that the opening atop the rotunda was originally left there to illuminate the interior, it should be stressed that this would not have been necessary because it is surrounded by large spaces at the same level, in two rows. A collapse certainly occurred during some later period.

The standard interpretation is that traffic in the southern part of the Palace proceeded from the Peristyle through the *Vestibule* exclusively to enter the large central hall. It had a door on its south side through which one exited into the *cryptoporticus* in today's Severova street.⁸ The residence and rooms for gatherings and feasts could be approached all along it on both sides. This was simplified, because no account was given to the series of small rooms at the entrance. Furthermore, if the central hall served as the primary passage and the sole link for the entire southern section of the Palace, it is unclear what other purpose it would have served in this case.

Certain ambiguities are also associated with the condition of the portal on the wall between the central hall and the *cryptoporticus*. The rectangular opening has a stone frame which, however, is in extremely shoddy condition, as though it had been discarded elsewhere earlier as excessively damaged and later installed here. The decoration on the left door-frame has been entirely battered off. Its upper end is also destroyed, but

8 Fisković 1952, str.136.

9 Detaljni tlocrt južnog pročelja na kriptoportiku i njegovog okruženja prikazan je na detaljnoj skici koju je 1911. izradio viši geometar Artur Morpurgo. Spalato in Dalmatien Feldskizze 372, HR-DAST 152, Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju, Nova izmjera 1910.-1914.

10 Izgled i namjena zgrade na kojoj je bio portal u kriptoportiku poznat je iz novijih vremena. U prvim desetljećima 19. stoljeća to je bila stambena kuća u vlasništvu klarisa. HR-DAST, Gemaide Spalato in Dalmatien Feldskizze br. 372, autor Artur Morpurgo, viši geometar, 1911. Između dva svjetska rata portal je zazidan kamenom rustične obrade i u njemu su ostavljena samo manja vrata za ulaz u radionicu općinskog mehanika. Bulić, Karaman 1927, sl. 63.

6 Over time, the southern gate's lintel was torn down. In the summer of 1963a new one was once more installed. Š[erić] 1963, p. 8.

7 Milani, Fosolo 1931, T. 61; Lugli 1989, pp. 5-70.

8 Fisković 1952, p.136.

bilo na obližnjem trikliniju.¹¹ Nekako se nameće pitanje otkad je portal na tom mjestu. Uvažavanje navedenih činjenica moglo bi dovesti do drukčijeg objašnjenja smjera pješačkog prometa u carevu stanu, koji bi bio i logičniji. Upitno je da li je to izvorno mjesto portala.¹²

Na rješenje pješačkog prometa u carskim odajama moglo bi se gledati i drugačije. Rotonda je na katu, osim ulaza prema jugu u veliku dvoranu, možda izvorno imala vrata i sa bočnih strana, kao što je to slučaj ispod nje, u suterenu. Na to ukazuju neki detalji. U prizemnom dijelu postoji s istočne strane rotunde prostorija s podnim mozaikom, a druga velika nalazi se na zapadu. Tako je zasigurno bilo i na katu. Na istočnoj strani izvana nalaze se ostaci velikog luka otvora od rimske opeke. Na zapadnoj strani opet izvana naslućuju se tragovi nekih krpjenja zida. Ta gornja vrata su kod zadnjih uređivanja zazidana betonom, kao da ih uopće nije bilo. Ako se rješenje prolaza sa strana prihvati, to bi značilo da se iz rotunde moglo ulaziti bočno, ne preko velike dvorane, nego prilaznim hodnicima koji su postojali na obje strane. Inače, tu je stanje dosta nejasno jer su se s obje strana velike dvorane nalazili svjetlici i nizovi manjih prostorija. One su služile za potrebe straže i posluge te pripremu pjevača i plesača za posebnih svečanosti i većih primanja u dvorani. Na dnu dvorane trebalo bi vidjeti carski tron. Tako su funkcija te rješenje veza i namjene logičniji, bez prolaza kroz veliku dvoranu.

Zanimljiv je način kako je nivelacijski riješena zgrada Vestibula. Naime, ona je na katu kružnog unutrašnjeg tlocrta, a u prizemlju je u obliku križa. Radilo se o tome da donji dio nije imao dovoljno slobodne visine da se iznad podigne kupola. Stoga je izgrađen križni svod, koji je plići. On se morao osloniti na uglovima, pa mu je tako smanjena površina. Iz ovog prostora proteže se na jug velika trobrodna dvorana. Da bi se iznad nje mogao izvesti polukružni svod, ona je s nekoliko stuba spuštена niže u odnosu na Vestibul, kako je to omogućio pad terena. Ovaj je slučaj vjerojatno poseban, ali upozorava i na mogućnost da oblik prostora u carevu stanu možda u detaljima nije potpuno isti kao u suterenu.

there are still visible traces on it which also indicate that it may have come from another place. The decorations on the right door-frame are considerably decayed. It is puzzling that it was installed in the periphery of the neighbouring building, constructed in the 13th century with Romanesque features.⁹

Both of their lower sections are broken. A prominent frieze is absent from the top of the opening, which was otherwise customary in Roman architecture, including Diocletian's Palace at the entrance to the Mausoleum, the Small Temple and the Prothyron. Otherwise, virtually every cornice in the Palace, whether horizontal or rounded, terminate such that their highest edge is the most outthrust. Furthermore, it cannot be ascertained whether the wall in which the portal was installed dates to Antiquity, even though it is at the site of the rear wall of the cryptoporticus, which had only been preserved in traces at this place in the 13th century. At that time almost all surrounding residential buildings had Romanesque ornaments, and the wall with the portal formed the southern frontispiece of a smaller, simple single-story building which had no decorative components on its exterior.¹⁰ It was not built like all other Roman walls in the vicinity, with the use of stone and layers of brick for levelling (*opus mixtum*), as was the case for the nearby triclinium.¹¹ In some way the question arises as to how long the portal was at this site. Taking the aforementioned facts into account could lead to a different explanation for the direction of pedestrian traffic in the emperor's residence, which would also be more logical. Whether this was the portal's original location is questionable.¹²

The solution to pedestrian traffic in the emperor's private chambers may also be considered differently. Besides serving as an entrance to the south in the large hall, the rotunda on the upper floor possibly had a door to the side as well, as is the case below it, in the cellar. This is indicated by certain details. At the ground level there is a room to the eastern side of the rotunda with a floor mosaic, while there is another door on

9 A detailed floor plan of the southern frontispiece on the cryptoporticus and its surroundings is the subject of a detailed sketch made in 1911 by senior surveyor Artur Morpurgo. Spalato in Dalmatien Feldskizze 372, HR-DAST 152, Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju [Archive of Maps for Istria and Dalmatia], Nova izmjera 1910.-1914. [New Survey 1910-1914]

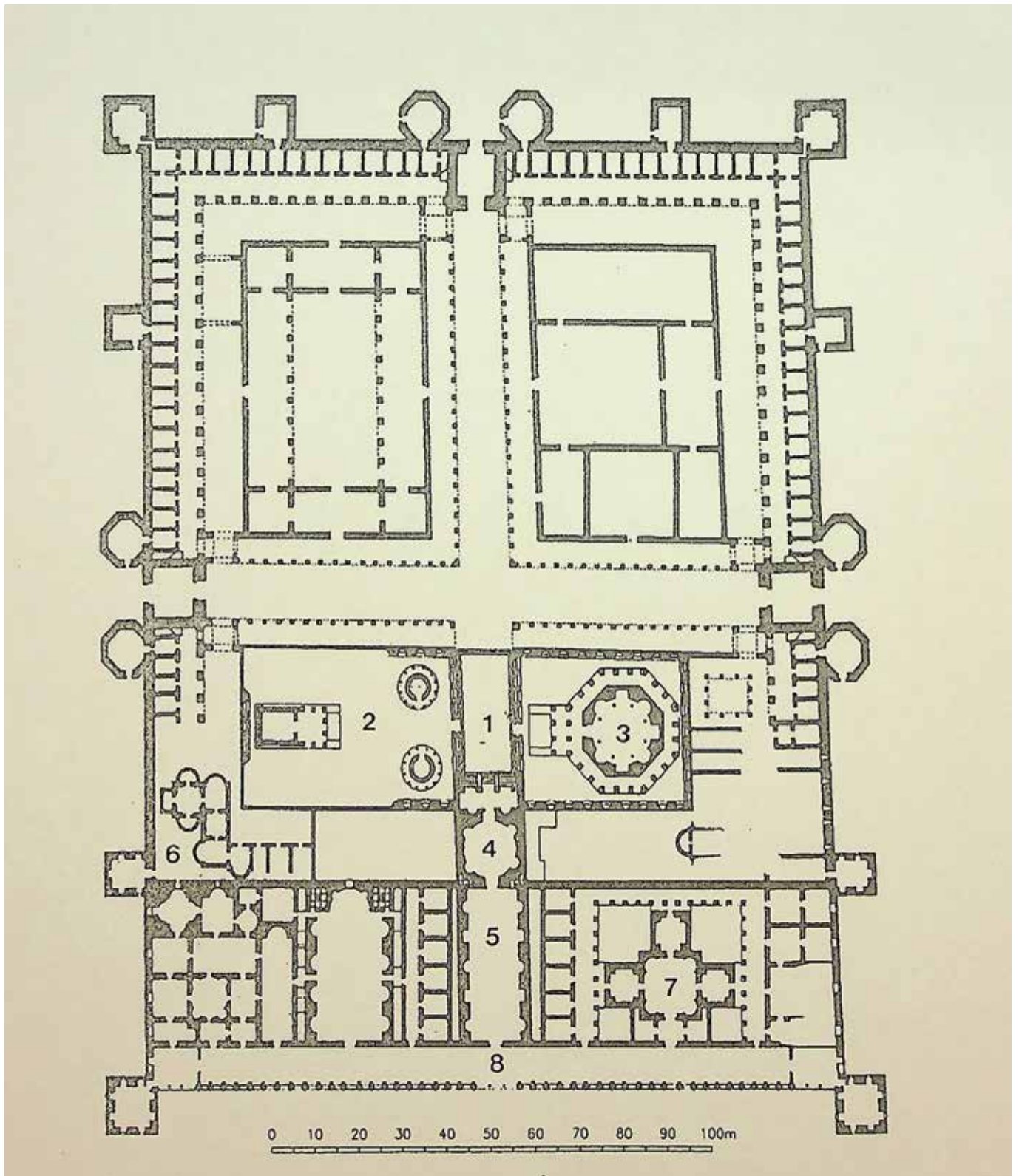
10 The appearance and purpose of the building on which the portal in the cryptoporticus was situated is known from more recent times. In the first decades of the 19th century this was a residential house owned by the Poor Clares. HR-DAST, Gemeide Spalato in Dalmatien Feldskizze 372, by Artur Morpurgo, senior geometer, 1911. Between the two World Wars, the portal was filled in with rustically dressed stones and only a small door was left to access the workshop of the municipal mechanic. F. Bulić, 1927, Fig. 63.

11 Benoit 1911, p. 478.

12 The condition of this part of the old town and the location of the portal are indicated on a detailed field sketch that was drafted in 1911 by senior geometer Artur Morpurgo, DAST-SP, Gemeide Spalato in Dalmatien, Feldskizze no. 372.

11 Benoit 1911, str. 478.

12 Stanje tog dijela staroga grada i položaj portala prikazani su na detaljnoj terenskoj skici koju je 1911. godine izradio viši geometar Artur Morpurgo, HR-DAST, Gemeide Spalato in Dalmatien Feldskizze br. 372.

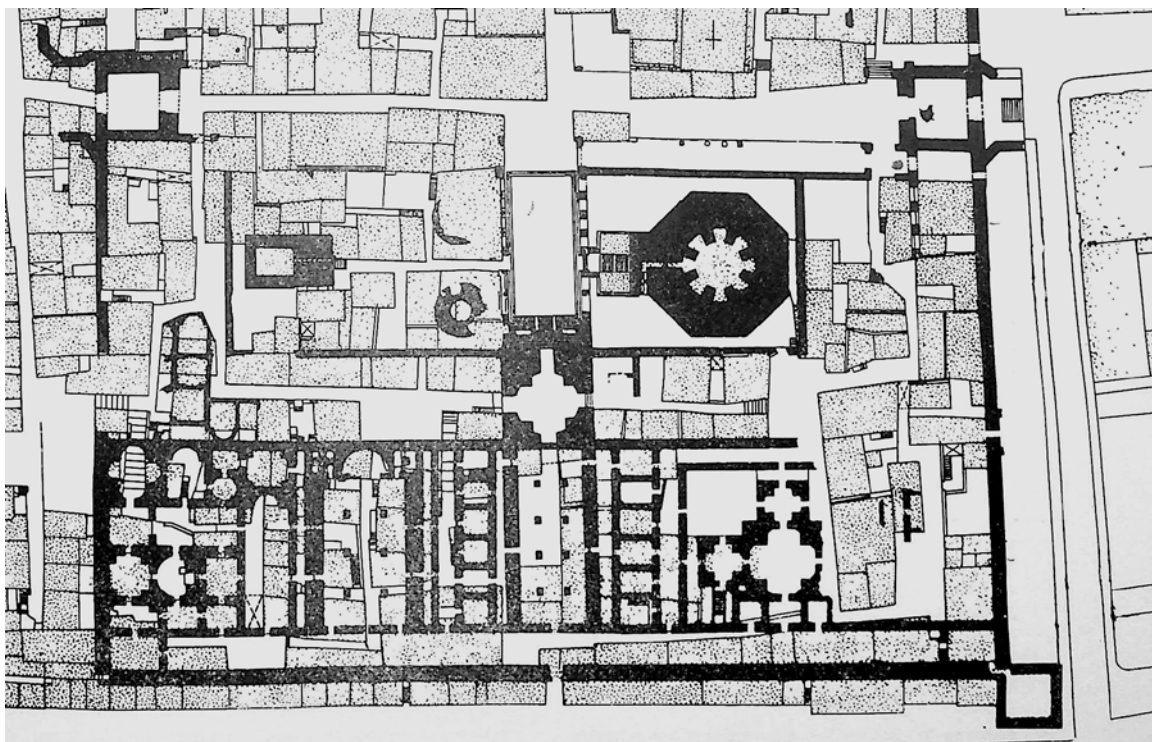


Slika 1.
Tlocrt Dioklecijanove palače s označenim važnijim dijelovima:
1. Peristil,
2. zapadni termenosi s hramovima,
3. mauzolej,
4. Vestibul,
5. središnja dvorana,
6. zapadne terme,
7. triklinij,
8. kriptoportik. (Prema J. Marasović)

Figure 1.
Diocletian's Palace floor plan with marked important parts:
1. Peristyle;
2. Western temenos with temples;
3. Mausoleum;
4. Vestibule;
5. Central Hall;
6. Western Baths;
7. Triclinium;
8. Cryptoporticus. (After J. Marasović)

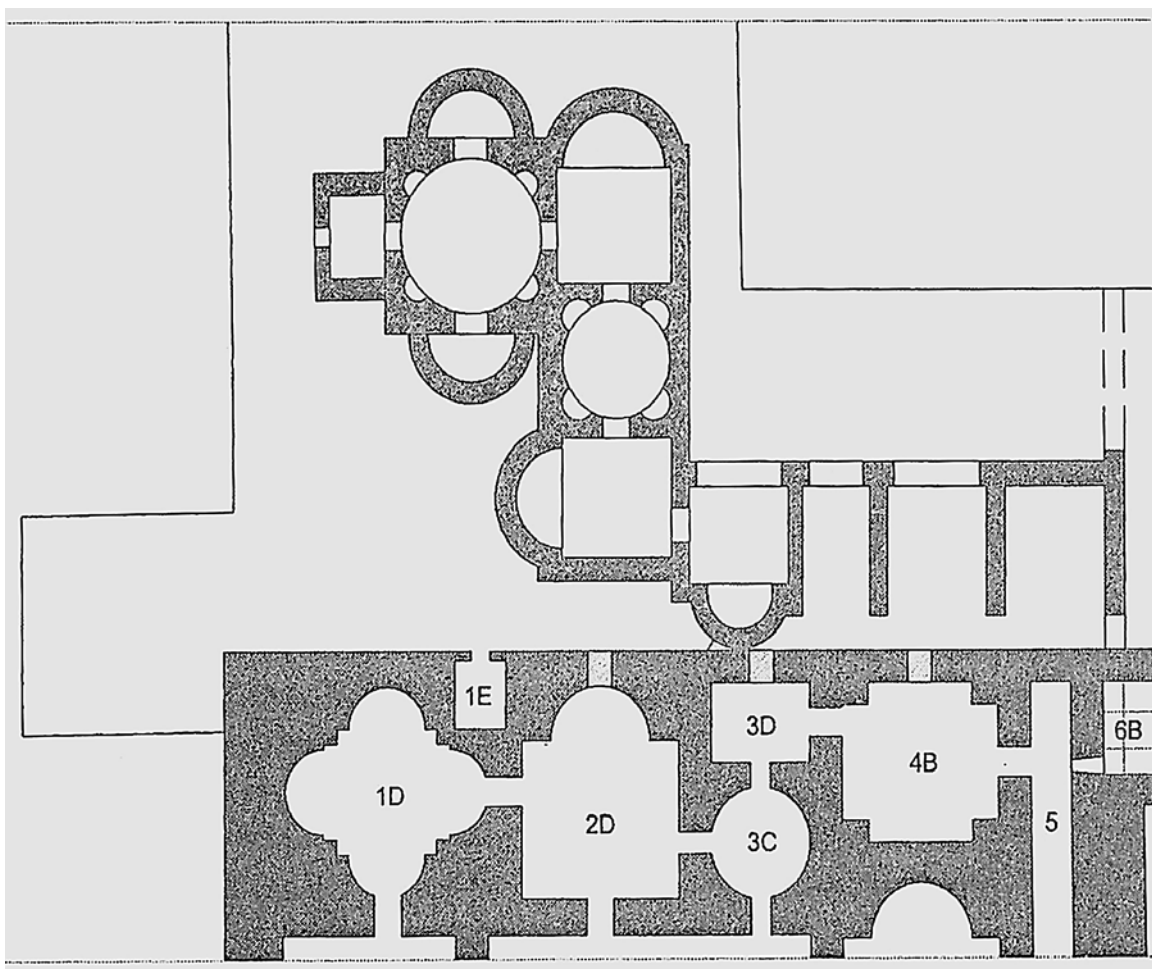
Slika 2.
Južni dio Dioklecijanove palače s ucrtanim supstrakcijama i položajima okruglih hramoova u zapadnom temenosu. Nije riješeno pitanje kripta pod njima. (Prema J. Marasović)

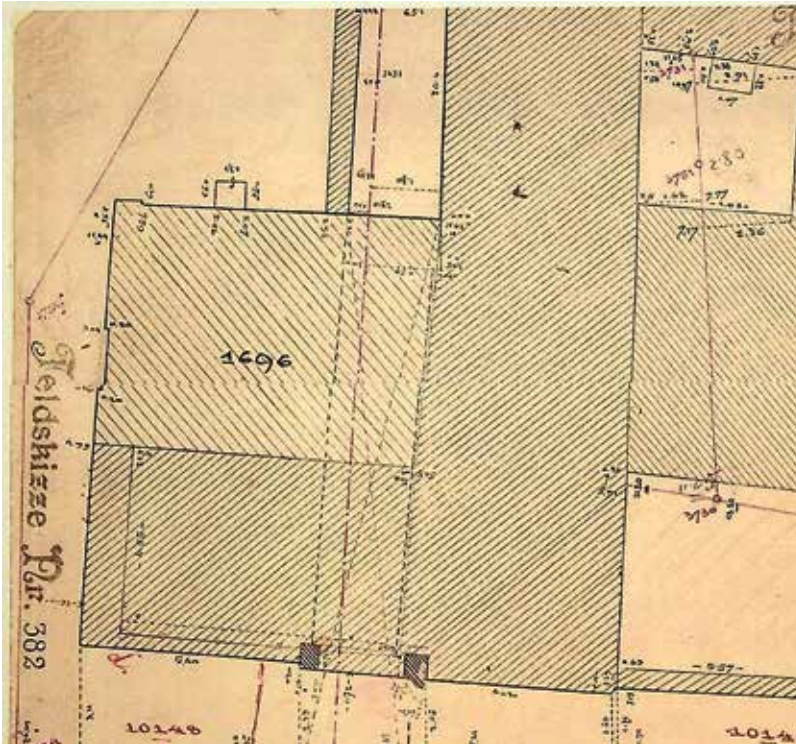
Figure 2.
The southern part of Diocletian's Palace with indicated substructions and positions of round temples in the western temenos. The issue of the crypts below them remains unresolved. (After J. Marasović)



Slika 3.
Zapadne terme. Na donjem dijelu su prikazane sjeverozapadne prostorije supstrakcija Palače. Terme su potpuno odijeljene od Dioklecijanovih odaja koje su bile iznad što ih čini otežanim caru za uporabu kako se to pretpostavlja. (Prema J. Marasović)

Figure 3.
The southern part of Diocletian's Palace with indicated substructions and positions of round temples in the western temenos. The issue of the crypts below them remains unresolved. (After J. Marasović)





Slika 4.

Plan južnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače. Na čestici zemljišta br. 1696 je jednokatna zgrada s označenim položajem antičkog portala koji je spajao središnju dvoranu i kriptoportik. Portal je potpuno odijeljen od bilo kakvih ostataka Dioklecijanove palače. HR-DAST 152, scizze 372, Spalato in Dalmatienn. Gemeide 1911. (Artur Mörpurgo viši geometar)

Figure 4.

Floor plan of the southern part of Diocletian's Palace. On plot no. 1696 is a one-story building with the marked position of an ancient portal that connected the central hall with the cryptoporticus. The portal is completely separated from any remains of Diocletian's Palace. HR-DAST 152, scizze 372, Spalato in Dalmatienn. Gemeide 1911. (Artur Mörpurgo, senior surveyor)



Slika 5.

Antički portal koji je spajao središnju dvoranu i kriptoportik. S vremenom je prostorija iza njega služila u različite svrhe. Danas je njegov okvir potpuno derutan. (Fotografirao autor)

Figure 5.

Ancient portal that connected the central hall and the cryptoporticus. Over time, the room behind it served various purposes. Today, its frame is completely dilapidated. (Photo author)

ZAPADNI TEMENOS

Na zapadnoj strani Peristila bio je ograđeni sveti prostor. U njemu je bio Mali hram, vjerojatno posvećen Jupiteru. Split-ski kancelar Antun Prokulijan još u 16. stoljeću spominje četiri hrama u Dioklecijanovoj palači ispred njega, i to okrugli hram božice Kibebe na južnoj strani, šesterokutni Venerin na sjeveru, osmerokutni Jupiterov, poslije posvećen Djevici Mariji, i pravokutni Janov, na zapadu, poslije crkva sv. Ivana.¹³ U novije vrijeme pojavila se sumnja da je Prokulijan pisao o zgrada-ma koje nikad nije vidio, nego ih spominje na osnovi starijih izvora. U njegovu tekstu nalaze se podaci o građevinama koje nisu postojale u njegovo doba.¹⁴ To potvrđuje situacija na terenu. Čitava zapadna strana iza kolonade Peristila bila je izgrađena u razdoblju od 13. do 15. stoljeća. Tu su bile tri zgrade, na kojima se u starim crtežima na njihovim pročeljima vide prozori s romaničkim i gotičkim obilježjima. Nalaze se upravo na mjestu gdje su pronađeni ostaci okruglih hramova. Uz to, u prizemlju srednje zgrade, nekad palače stare obitelji Grisogono, sačuvan je stupac s romaničkom glavicom i dijelovima lukova bogato dekorirane lože. Radi se o ostatku srednjovjekovne gradske vijećnice koja se nalazila na Peristilu, glavnom gradskom trgu.¹⁵ To bi značilo da su oba kružna hrama u zapadnom temenosu bila već tada porušena i nisu nikako mogla biti vidljiva u 16. stoljeću.

Tek godine 1957. otkriveni su dijelovi stilobata okruglih hramova i još neki njihovi graditeljski ulomci.¹⁶ Nalazi nisu detaljnije stručno objavljeni. Na osnovi pronađenih ulomaka grafički su rekonstruirani njihovi gornji dijelovi. U tome je sudjelovao i Davor Radovniković, tehničar iz Urbanističkog biroa u Splitu, koji je na osnovi pronađenih kamenih ulomaka izradio idejno rješenje. Postoje i površni izvještaji u novinama. Ispod Venerinog hrama nalazi se kriptu. O njoj se vodio dnevnik istraživanja, ali nije dostupan. Iz sjećanja voditelja radova i oskudne dokumentacije moglo bi, čini se, zaključiti da je kripta iznutra bila otprilike jednake širine kao i nadzemni dio, i dubine oko dva metra te da je na dnu imala izvor. Zaključeno je da se radi o podzemnoj vodi.

Radovi su nastavljeni prvih dana 1979. godine, kad je započela obnova kavane *Luxor* na Peristilu. Dana 10. siječnja počeli su iskopi i istraživanja poda, gdje se očekivao nalaz ostataka rimskog hrama. Brzo je otkrivena kriptu Venerina svetišta, koja je bila do vrha nasuta raznim materijalom. Voditelj istraživanja bio je tehničar Ivo Prebada, a radove je izvodio splitski Urbanistički zavod. Tom je prilikom u na dnu kripte pro-

the western side. This was certainly also the case on the upper floor. The remains of the large arch of an opening made of Roman bricks is on the exterior of the eastern side. Traces of some wall repairs outside are again suggested on the western side. This upper door was filled in with concrete during the last renovations, as though they were not even there. If the solution of a passage on the side is accepted, this would mean that the rotunda could be entered from the side, not through the large hall, but rather via access corridors that had existed on both sides. The situation here is otherwise rather unclear, because there were lightwells and rows of smaller rooms on both sides of the large hall. They were used for the needs of sentries and servants, and to prepare the singers and dancers for special ceremonies and large receptions in the hall. The emperor's throne should be seen at the bottom of the hall. The function and the solution to the connections and uses are thus more logical, without passage through the large hall.

The manner in which the levelling of the Vestibule structure was resolved is interesting. On the upper level it has a circular interior layout, while it is cruciform at the ground level. This was due to the fact that the lower section did not have sufficient free height to raise a dome over it. Thus a shallower groin vault was built. It had to rest on the corners, so that its surface was thus reduced. A large triple-nave hall extends southward from this space. In order to render a hemispherical vault (dome?) above, it was lowered in relation to the Vestibule by several steps, as allowed by the terrain's slope. This case was probably unique, but it underscores the possibility that perhaps the form of the space in the emperor's residence was not entirely the same as in the cellar.

WESTERN TEMENOS

An enclosed holy space was on the western side of the Peristyle. The Small Temple, probably dedicated to Jupiter, was inside it. As long ago as the 16th century, Split Chancellor Antonio Proculiano (Antun Prokulijan) mentioned four temples in front of it in Diocletian's Palace: a round temple dedicated to the goddess Cybele on the south side, the hexagonal temple of Venus in the north, an octagonal temple of Jupiter, later dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and a rectangular temple of Janus, in the west, later the Church of St. John.¹³ More recently, suspicion has been raised that Proculiano was writing about buildings he had never seen, but rather mentioned on the basis of older sources. His text contains data on structures that did not exist in his time.¹⁴ This has been confirmed by the situation in the field. The entire western side of the Peristyle's colonnade was built in the period from the 13th to 15th centuries. There

13 Marasović 1957, str. 6; Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 64-65.

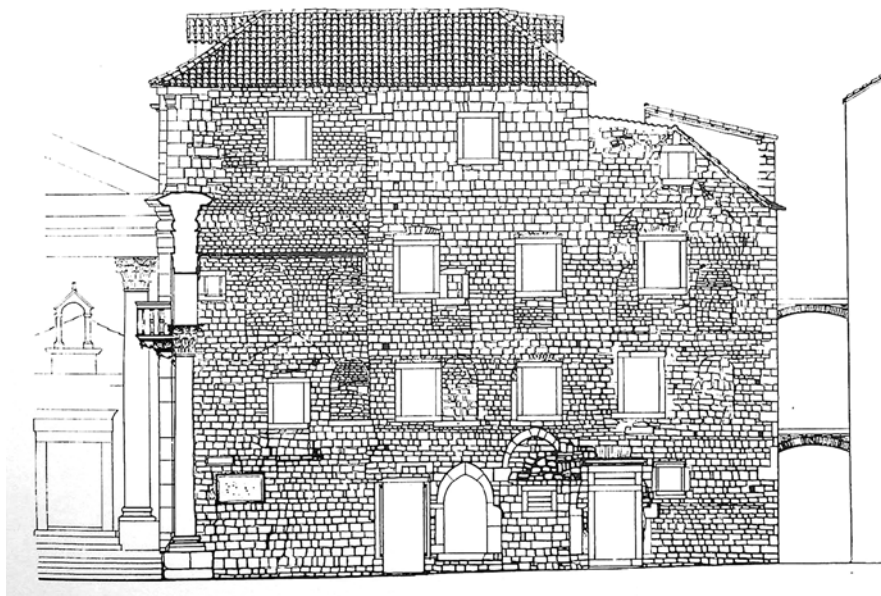
14 Marasović-Alujević 1984.

15 Kečkemet 1954; Kečkemet 1987, str. 12.

16 Marasović 1957, str. 6; Marasović, Marasović 1965, str. 31.

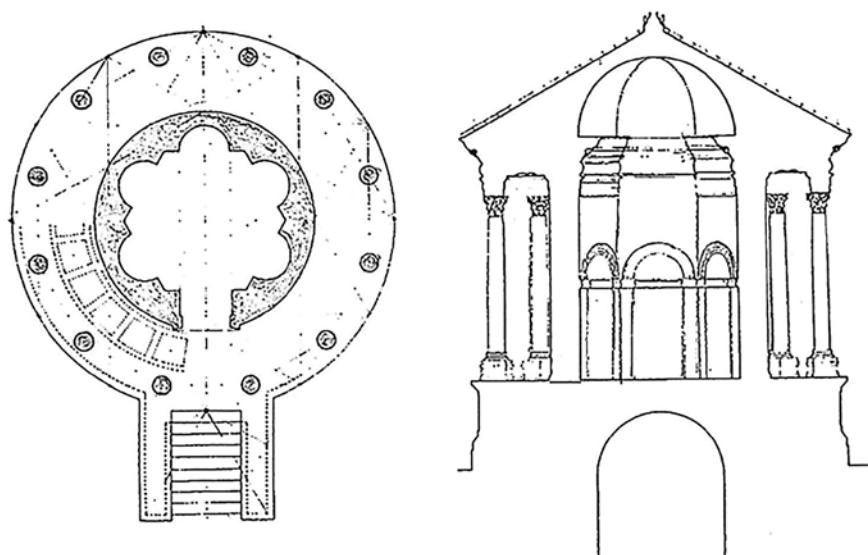
13 Marasović 1957, p. 6; Bulić, Karaman 1927, pp. 64-65.

14 Marasović-Alujević 1984.



Slika 6.
Romaničko gotička palača Skočibučić-Lukaris na jugozapadnom dijelu Peristila ispod koje se nalaze ostaci Kibelinog hrama što ukazuje da ga u 13. stoljeću već nije bilo. (Autor M. Marasović)

Figure 6.
Romanesque-Gothic Palace of Skočibučić-Lukaris on the southwestern part of the Peristyle, beneath which lie the remains of the Temple of Cybele, indicating that it no longer existed by the 13th century. (After M. Marasović)



Slika 7.
Grafička rekonstrukcija izgleda hrama božice Venere u zapadnom temenosu Palače. Napravljena je na osnovu sačuvanih ostataka i pronađenih arhitektonskih ulomaka. Podzemni prostori ispod obaju okruglih hramova nisu dovoljno objašnjeni. (Autor D. Radovniković)

Figure 7.
Graphic reconstruction of the appearance of the Temple of the Goddess Venus in the western temenos of the Palace. It is based on preserved remains and found architectural elements. The underground spaces beneath both round temples are not sufficiently explained. (Author D. Radovniković)



Slika 8.
Ulomak skulpture šape lava pronađen na dnu kripte Venerinog hrama u podu današnje kavane Luxor. S obzirom na položaj može se pretpostaviti da je iz dosta dalekih vremena.

Figure 8.
Fragment of a lion's paw sculpture, found at the bottom of the crypt in the Temple of Venus, inside the floor of today's Luxor café. Considering its position, it can be assumed that it dates from quite ancient times.

nađen kameni ulomak skulpture u obliku lavlje šape. Budući da je to najniži sloj njezina nasipa, proizlazi da je ulomak skulpture ubačen dosta rano, ali tek kada gornjeg dijela hrama više nije bilo.¹⁷ Istraživao se i južni hram, posvećen božici Kibeli. I on je pod zemljom imao kriptu obzidanu grubo obrađenim kamenom. U njoj se također skupljala obilna voda. Nije postojalo stubište za spuštanje u kriptu pa ni za nju ne zna čemu je služila. Korisno bi bilo da se voda analizira kako bi se utvrdilo da se možda ne radi o bunaru. Detaljniji podaci nisu objavljeni, a objavljivanje bi omogućilo bolje sagledavanje funkcije. Na osnovi ostataka i sačuvanih dekoriranih ulomaka djelomično je rekonstruiran. U zapadnom temenosu pred hramom vjerojatno je bio oltar na kojemu su se prinosile žrtve, ali se o tome ništa ne zna.

JUGOISTOČNI KVADRANT

I jugoistočni dio Dioklecijanove palače bio je s vremenom potpuno izgrađen. Ondje je u prvoj polovici 15. stoljeća podignut samostan klarisa s crkvom. Budući da je samostan u gradu bio okružen zgradama, uvjeti za život i zdravlje redovnica bili su vrlo nepovoljni. Zrak je bio nezdrav, osobito ljeti. U 19. stoljeću sve više se osjećala potreba da se samostan preseli. Na poticaj splitskog biskupa Marka Kalodjere odlučeno je da se podigne nova zgrada na Lučcu, gdje je bilo dovoljno slobodnog prostora. U rujnu 1883. završeni su radovi pa je zgrada u gradu napuštena.¹⁸ U okviru rješavanja problema podizanja nove katedrale u Splitu, koji je tada bio aktualan, redovnice su ponudile Društvu za gradnju u tu svrhu svoj prostor na prodaju. Ali to nije prihvaćeno pa je 1900. godine taj prostor prodan Općinskoj upravi, koja je u njemu otvorila pučku kuhinju.¹⁹ Nekadašnja crkva u zadnje je vrijeme služila kao kino *Stari grad*. Da bi se otkrili i rekonstruirali dijelovi Palače ispod nje, ona je srušena.²⁰ Godine 1961. kino je zatvoreno. Prikazivanje filmova prestalo je 14. travnja.²¹ Treća zgrada samostana sv. Klare podignuta je u predgrađu Lučac. Arhitekt Emil Vecchietti napravio je za nju dva nacrt, ali po njima se nije radilo. Napravljeno je treće rješenje, po kojemu su sredinom 1883. godine radovi završeni i redovnice su se preselile.²²

were three buildings here, which based on older drawings, had visible windows with Romanesque and Gothic features on their frontispieces. They are located at the very site where the remains of the round temples were discovered. Moreover, a column with a Romanesque head and parts of an arch of an elaborately decorated loggia was preserved in the ground floor of the middle building, formerly the palace of the old Grisono family. These are the remains of a medieval town council hall that was located on the Peristyle, the city's main square.¹⁵ This would mean that both circular temples in the western temenos had already been demolished then and that they could not have been visible in the 16th century.

It was only in 1957 that parts of the stylobates of the round temples and a few more architectural elements were discovered.¹⁶ The finds did not receive a detailed, scholarly publication. Their upper parts were graphically reconstructed based on the discovered fragments. Davor Radovniković, a technician from the Urban Planning Bureau in Split, also participated in this work, as he drafted the preliminary design based on the stone fragments. There is a crypt below the temple of Venus. An excavation log about it was recorded, but it is not available. According to the memories of the works supervisor and the meagre documentation, one may – it would appear – conclude that from the inside the crypt had approximately the same width as the above-ground portion, with a depth of approximately two meters, and that there was a spring at the bottom. It was concluded that this was groundwater.

The works were resumed at the very beginning of 1979, when renovation of the Luxor Café on the Peristyle began. On 10 January, excavation and examination of the floor commenced, as the remains of a Roman temple were expected. The crypt of the Venus temple was quickly discovered. It was filled to the top with a variety of detritus. The excavation leader was technician Ivo Prebanda, and the works were conducted by the Urban Planning Department in Split. On this occasion, a stone sculptural fragment in the shape of a lion's paw was found at the bottom of the crypt. Since this was the lowest layer of its fill, it follows that the sculptural fragment was thrown in rather early, but only when the upper section of the temple was no longer there.¹⁷ The southern temple, dedicated to the goddess Cybele, was also excavated. It also had an underground crypt lined with coarsely dressed stones. A considerable amount of water had also accumulated in it. There were no stairs leading down to it, so its purpose is not known. It would be useful to analyze the water to ascertain whether this was perhaps

17 Lj. K. 1979, str. 3; J. L. 1979a, str. 5; J. L. 1979b, str. 3 – tu je prvi put objavljena slika šape; J. L. 1979c, str. 6; J. L. 1979d, str. 5. O nalazu ulomka lavlje šape i njenu sliku vidi u Buble 2013, str. 282, 294.

18 Piplović, 1997a.

19 Petričević 1979, str. 29.

20 Piplović 1994.

21 Zatvaranje kina 1961, str. 6.

22 Piplović 1994, str. 353-355.

15 Kečkemet 1954; Kečkemet 1987, p. 12.

16 Marasović 1957, p. 6; Marasović, Marasović 1965, p. 31.

17 Lj. K. 1979, str. 3; J. L. 1979a, str. 5; J. L. 1979b, str. 3 – a picture of the paw was first published here; J. L. 1979c, str. 6; J. L. 1979d, str. 5. For the discovery of the lion paw fragment and its picture, see Buble 2013, pp. 282, 294.

JUŽNO PROČELJE

Na obali gdje je bila luka od davnine su na južno pročelje Dioklecijanove palače s vanjske strane bile prislone zgrade. Dvije male kuće bile su na istoku, uz kulu. Godine 1915. kupio ih je Vicko Tudor, s namjerom da sagradi veću kuću. Općinsko upraviteljstvo izdalo mu je građevnu dozvolu, s uvjetima Povjerenstva Dioklecijanove palače da krov nove kuće ne ide preko vijenca ispod stupova kriptoportika. Projekt je napravio arhitekt Prosper Čulić. Ali kada su stare kuće porušene, utvrdilo se da je dio zida s ložom Palače iza njih u odličnom stanju. Stoga su Povjerenstvo i Pokrajinski koservatorijalni ured nastojali da se prostor ostavi slobodan i zid vidljiv. Frane Bulić tražio je od Odjeljenja umjetnosti Ministarstva prosvjete u Beogradu da poništi dozvolu koju je izdao Zemaljski odbor u Zadru. U tome se nije uspjelo pa je Tudor još iste godine započeo s gradnjom. Nova zgrada je kasnije ipak uklonjena.²³

Na mjestu kriptoportika sagrađene su tijekom vremena velike stambene zgrade, od kojih su neke kasnije nadograđivane u visinu. One su svojim volumenima djelovale nametljivo nad antičkom strukturom, a novim otvorima remetile izgled jake izvorne kompozicije rimskog pročelja. To je ugrozilo stabilnost južnog pročelja. Stoga su te zgrade srušene i stvoren je velik slobodan prostor. Taj dio je ostao pust, bez ikakve namjene. Sačuvano je još samo nekoliko derutnih stambenih zgrada na istome dijelu i pregrađena je romanička crkva sv. Stošije.²⁴ Te kuće su imale prozore na južnom pročelju Dioklecijanove palače prema moru, neke od njih i na mjestima antičkih lukova, a ostale na drugim položajima. Zbog nestabilnosti zida pročelja Palače u zadnje su se vrijeme rušile kuće iza njega. Nakon toga počelo se 1996. godine s obnavljanjem unutrašnjeg lica zida Palače i rekonstrukcijom izvornih otvora na njemu.²⁵ Novi otvori, izgrađeni prema izvornima, nisu se na nekim mjestima podudarali s postojećima. Sve je vodilo k tome da se taj dio pročelja potpuno rekonstruira, ali se stalo na djelomičnoj provedbi, koja do danas nije dovršena. No nastavkom radova dobilo bi se golo zidno platno koje bi stršilo, bez gradnje iza njega. Na taj način postupno je gotovo čitav jugoistočni kvadrant Palače ostao bez kuća, pust i prazan, a nalazi se u samom središtu grada. Nije jasno kako bi se mogao vratiti život u taj predio.

PODRUMI

Prostori suterena na južnom dijelu ispod careva stana sagrađeni su kako bi se svi njegovi dijelovi nalazili u približno istoj ra-

a well. Further details were not published, although publication would facilitate better insight into its function. Based on the remains and preserved decorated fragments, it has been partially reconstructed. There was probably an altar on which sacrifices were made in front of the temple in the western temenos, but nothing is known about this.

SOUTH-EASTERN QUADRANT

The south-eastern quadrant of Diocletian's Palace was entirely developed over time. A convent of the Poor Clares with a church was erected there in the first half of the 15th century. Since the convent in the city was surrounded by buildings, the living conditions and general health of the nuns were rather unfavourable. The air was unhealthy, particularly during the summers. The need to move the convent was increasingly felt during the 19th century. At the urging of Split Bishop Marko Kalodjera, the decision was made to construct a new building at Lučac, where there was sufficient space. Works were completed in September 1883, so the building in the city was abandoned.¹⁸ When the construction of a new cathedral in Split presented a rather pressing at that time, the nuns offered to sell their premises to the Construction Society for that purpose. But the offer was not accepted, so in 1900 the building was sold to the Municipal Administration, which opened a soup kitchen there.¹⁹ The former church more recently served as the Stari Grad cinema. In order to uncover and reconstruct parts of the Palace below it, the building was demolished.²⁰ The cinema was closed in 1961, as film screenings were halted on 14 April.²¹ The third building of the Poor Clares convent was constructed in the Lučac suburb. Architect Emil Vecchiotti drafted two designs for it, but they were not used. The works were completed according to a third design in mid-1883, and the nuns then moved in.²²

SOUTHERN FRONTISPIECE

Buildings had long rested against the southern frontispiece of Diocletian's Palace on the waterfront where the harbour was located. Two small houses were in the east, next to the tower. In 1915 they were purchased by Vicko Tudor, with the intent of building a larger house. The Municipal Administration granted him a construction permit, with the condition set forth by the Diocletian's Palace Commission that the new roof could

23 Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, Arhiv mjesnog odbora Povjerenstva Dioklecijanove palače, 1919, br. 10.

24 Krizomali 1981.

25 Marasović 1997, str. 91.

18 Piplović, 1997a.

19 Petričević 1979, p. 29.

20 Piplović 1994.

21 Zatvaranje kina 1961, p. 6.

22 Piplović 1994, pp. 353-355.

zini. Koliko se može zaključiti, nisu imali neku drugu namjenu osim podupiranja gornjih dijelova. Na unutrašnjim vratima između prostorija ne postoje nikakvi tragovi da su na njima bile vratnice, što bi bilo potrebno u slučaju da ih se koristilo i moralo zatvarati. Treba primijetiti da su prostori bili dobro ventilirani, i to uskim vertikalnim prozorima na jugu, ali sa sjeverne strane. I prema gore vodili su kanali i dvorišta koji su omogućavali dobro zračenje i djelomično osvjetljenje. Među svim prostorijama visoko pod svodovima smješteni su prozori. Na obje strane dviju velikih dvorana su svjetlici, uski izduženi prostori koji su išli kroz podrum i kat. U vezi s velikom zapadnom dvoranom u podrumima postoji jedna nelogičnost. Ona sa sjevera ima polukružnu apsidu, a u njezinim kutovima s obje strane je usko stubište koje iz suterena vodi u gornju dvoranu. Nije jasno čemu su služile te vrlo skromne i neugledne veze među dvjema prostorijama potpuno različite namjene. Donja je bila obični podrum, a gornja reprezentativna dvorana.

OBALA

Dosad nije potpuno jasno određen odnos Palače kao građevinskog djela podignutog ljudskom rukom i obale kao prirodne datosti.

U istočnom suterenu kriptoportika pronađeni su ispod antičkog podnog maltera dekorirani arhitektonski ulomci antičke zgrade iz 1. - 2. stoljeća, koja je vjerojatno bila u blizini i srušena radi gradnje Palače. Oni su ubačeni u nasuti materijal, što ukazuje da je taj dio Palače vjerojatno sagrađen u morskome plićaku. I ovdje nedostaju precizniji podaci o visinskim kotama da bi se mogao točnije odrediti odnos.²⁶

Za potrebe pristajanja brodova koji su dovozili klesance iz kamenoloma na Braču za gradnju Dioklecijanove palače, sigurno je u blizini gradilišta postojalo neko пристаниšte za iskrcavanje. Nije dovoljno jasno kako se stvar dalje razvijala. Duž cijelog južnog pročelja Palače danas je obala. Smatra se da je tako bilo od završetka gradnje Palače i da je obala služila kao careva šetnica. Ta je postavka međutim upitna. Naime, ako je postojao kriptoportik, nelogično je da je obala služila u tu svrhu, posebno stoga što je pristup obali iz Palače bio vrlo težak pa i korištenje ograničeno. Po svoj prilici u početku je pred ulazom bio manji pristan za neke sporedne potrebe. U kasnijim vremenima, kada se ondje formirala luka, obala se zbog većeg prometa u više navrata širila.

Godine 2006. i 2007. provedena su arheološka istraživanja na Rivi na potezu ispred zapadnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače. Pronađeni su ostaci obalnih zidova iz raznih razdoblja i navodno velika količina staklenih i kamenih predmeta. Rezultati tog opsežnog zahvata nisu temeljitije obrađeni ni objavljeni. Pret-

not be higher than the cornice above the cryptoporticus columns. The building was designed by architect Prosper Čulić. But when the old houses were demolished, it was ascertained that a part of the Palace wall with a loggia behind them was in excellent condition. The Commission and the Provincial Conservation Office therefore attempted to leave this space open and keep the wall visible. Frane Bulić filed a petition with the Art Department of the Education Ministry in Belgrade that it rescind the license issued by the Territorial Committee in Zadar. He did not succeed in this, so Tudor began construction in that same year. The new building was nonetheless removed later.²³

Over time, large residential buildings were constructed at the site of the cryptoporticus, of which some were later expanded upward. Their dimensions imposed upon the Roman-era structure, and their openings upset the appearance of the Roman frontispiece's original composition. This threatened the stability of the southern frontispiece. These buildings were thus torn down and a large open space was created. This section remained barren, without any purpose. Only a few dilapidated residential buildings in the same section were preserved, and the small Romanesque Church of St. Anastasia was rebuilt.²⁴ These houses had windows on the southern frontispiece of Diocletian's Palace facing the sea, some of them even at the positions of the Roman-era arches, while the rest were at other positions. Due to the instability of the walls on the Palace's frontispiece, the houses behind it were torn down in more recent times. Thereafter, in 1996, the restoration of the Palace's interior wall and reconstruction of the original openings on it commenced.²⁵ The new openings, built according to the originals, did not correspond to the existing ones at places. All of this led to the frontispiece being entirely reconstructed, but the works were only partially implemented and remain incomplete to this day. However, their continuation would yield a bare, jutting wall surface without structures behind it. In this manner, the Palace's entire south-eastern quadrant was gradually left without houses, barren and empty, although it is in the very heart of the city. How life could be returned to this section is unclear.

CELLARS

The rooms in the cellar in the southern section below the emperor's residence were built so that its parts would be situated at roughly the same level. As one may conclude, they had no

23 Conservation Department in Split, Arhiv mjesnog odbora Povjerenstva Dioklecijanove palače [Archive of the Diocletian's Palace Commission Local Committee] 1919, no 10.

24 Krizomali 1981.

25 Marasović 1997, p. 91.

26 Marasović, Marasović 1965, str. 24.

postavlja se da je ispred čitavog južnog zida Palače već u doba Dioklecijana bila obala. Među pronađenim antičkim ostacima posebno su zanimljivi ulomci amfora na žalu u pijesku, dio arhitrava u obalnom zidu te posebno mramorni kapitel. Okolnosti nalaza nisu poznate, kao ni drugi podaci koji bi omogućili bolje razumijevanje nalaza. U škrotoj literaturi nisu označeni položaji, veličine ni druge činjenice važne za zaključke.²⁷ Za sada bi trebalo prihvatiti pretpostavku da tako duga obala nije bila potrebna caru koji je imao dovoljno prostora za šetnje na kriptoportiku. Ona je vjerojatno sagrađena još u antici, ali u kasnijem razdoblju, kada je Palača dobila drugu namjenu.

INSTALACIJE

Od Palače do Salone, glavnoga grada provincije Dalmacije, vodila je sigurno kvalitetna cesta. Njezina trasa nije utvrđena, niti su pronađeni njezini ostaci. Palača se vodom opskrbljivala s izvora rijeke Jadro pod planinom Mosor.²⁸ Iz istog izvora dovođila se drugim kanalom u Salonu. Uspoređujući ta dva kanala, može se ustvrditi da je onaj za Palaču izveden kvalitetnije i da je bio većeg profila, premda je Salona dosegnula čak 60.000 stanovnika. Dioklecijanov akvedukt imao je dosta velik profil, veći nego što je bilo potrebno. Iznosio je više od jednog četvornog metra, točnije 1,60 x 0,75 m, a kapacitet mu je bio 13 kubičnih metara u sekundi. Razlog za to bilo je održavanje akvedukta, kretanje radnika njime radi čišćenja i provjetravanja; s vremenom je vjerojatno propuštao vodu pa ga je trebalo održavati. Za ulazak u unutrašnjost služili su četvrtasti otvori s gornje strane.²⁹

GRAĐEVINSKI MATERIJAL

Osnovni građevinski materijali od kojih je sagrađena Dioklecijanova palača su kamen i opeka. Za najvažnije zgrade upotrijebljen je vapnenac s otoka Brača.³⁰ To su podrumi, obodni zidovi, hramovi, Mauzolej pa i zgrade na sjevernoj strani. Zidovi su sastavljeni od velikih pravilno rezanih blokova u suho. Franu Bulića osobito su zanimali kamenolomi na Fruškoj gori. Za ostale građevine korišten je manje kvalitetan kamen, vjerojatno izvađen negdje u blizini. U neposrednoj okolici nije otkriven kamenolom, ali već u to vrijeme eksploatiralo se nalazište u Segetu. Složenije je pitanje stupova, koji su klesani od kamena različitih petrografskih i kemijskih svojstava. Smatra se da su oni od granita raznih vrsta dovezeni iz Egipta, gdje su sku-

other purpose except to support the upper parts. There are no indications of frames on the inside doors between the rooms, which would have been necessary in case they were used and had to be closed. It is noteworthy that the rooms were well ventilated by narrow vertical windows on both the southern and northern sides. Conduits and yards also led upward, enabling rather good ventilation and partial illumination. Windows are situated among all of the rooms under high vaults. Lightwells, narrow oblong shafts that passed through the cellar and ground floor above, are on both sides of the two large halls. There is an illogical aspect pertaining to the large western hall in the cellars. It has a semi-circular apse on the northern side, while its corners on both sides have narrow stairways that lead from the cellar to the upper hall. The purpose of these quite modest and unremarkable connections between two rooms with entirely different purposes is not clear. The lower one was an ordinary cellar, while the upper space was a representative hall.

WATERFRONT

Thus far, the relationship between the Palace as a construction work raised by human hands and the seashore as a natural fixture has not been entirely specified.

Decorated architectural fragments of a building from the 1st-2nd century were found in the eastern cellar of the cryptoporticus below the Roman-era floor plaster. It was probably in the vicinity and was also demolished to make way for the Palace's construction. They were thrown into the filler material, which indicates that this part of the Palace was probably constructed in the shallow seawater. Here as well, data on the elevation pints that would allow a more precise determination of interrelationships are absent.²⁶

There was certainly some manner of loading dock near the palace construction site with berths for vessels carrying dressed stones from the quarry on the island of Brač. It is not clear how matters continued to develop. The entire length of the Palace's southern frontispiece is today a waterfront. It is believed that this was the situation since the completion of the Palace's construction, and that the waterfront was used by the emperor for walks. This assumption is, however, questionable. Namely, if there was a cryptoporticus, it would not have made sense to use the waterfront for this purpose, particularly if access to it from the Palace was rather difficult and its uses limited. In all likelihood, there may have initially been a smaller berth for certain ancillary needs in front of the entrance. In later periods, when a port began to grow here, the waterfront was expanded on a number of occasions due to a

27 Delonga 2007, str. 5-8.

28 Piplović 2006, str. 6-8.

29 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 111.

30 Bulić 1908a, str. 86; Bulić 1910, str. 149.

26 Marasović, Marasović 1965, p 24.

pljani po hramovima. Navode se i mjesta podrijetla. Frane Bulić je nastojao odrediti odakle je nabavljan materijal za gradnju Palače.³¹ To su međutim manje ili više utemeljene pretpostavke. Naime poznato je da su Egipćani tijekom svoje duge povijesti oblikovali stupove na poseban način, s kapitelima u obliku lotosova cvijeta, stablima i bazama. Ni jedan od stupova u Dioklecijanovoj palači ne asocira na eventualne uzore. Za određivanje porijekla pojedinih vrsta tvrdog magmatskog kamena od kojeg su isklesani neki stupovi dopremljeni i ugrađeni u Palaču, trebalo bi obaviti analizu mineralošskog sastava, fizičko svojstvo, petrografski sastav i usporediti ih s nalazištima. No to je vrlo složen te dug i skup postupak i nije nikada proveden.³²

VISINSKI PLAN

Iako je Dioklecijanova palača sagrađena na dvije osnovne visinske razine, njezine ulice i građevine nisu na jednakoj razini, nego variraju, a neke su podignute na posebnim podnožjima, kao Mauzolej i Hram. Od početka njezinog sustavnijeg premjera dosad nije načinjen cjeloviti nivelacijski plan. Samo su u nekim djelomičnim dokumentima unesene pojedinačne kote, a da nisu uključene u jedinstven visinski sustav. Taj geometarski podatak važan je radi potpunijih tehničkih podataka dokumentacije, ali i za slučaj neke katastrofe.

higher volume of traffic.

In 2006 and 2007, archaeological excavations were conducted on the Riva at the swath in front of the western section of Diocletian's Palace. The remains of seaside walls from various periods and, allegedly, a high quantity of glass and stone objects were found. The results of this extensive undertaking have not undergone thorough analysis, nor were they published. It has been assumed that there was a constructed waterfront along the entire southern wall of the Palace already during Diocletian's time. Among the finds from Antiquity, the amphora shards from a sand beach, part of an architrave in the seaside wall and a marble capital are particularly interesting. The discovery context is not known, nor are any other data that would facilitate a better understanding of the finds. The positions, dimensions or other facts essential to draw any conclusions are lacking in the meagre scholarly literature.²⁷ For now, the presumption that such a long waterfront was not needed by the emperor, who had sufficient space for strolls on the cryptoporticus, should be accepted. It probably had been constructed in Antiquity, albeit in a later period, after the emperor's death, when the Palace was put to different use.

INFRASTRUCTURE

A high quality road certainly led from the Palace to Salona, the capital city of the province of Dalmatia. Its route has not been ascertained, nor have any remains been found. The Palace was supplied with water from the source of the Jadro River under Mt. Mosor.²⁸ It was conveyed from the same source to Salona by a different canal. Comparing the two canals, it may be ascertained that the one for the Palace was made better and that it had a larger profile, even though Salona had a population of up to 60,000. Diocletian's aqueduct truly had a large profile, larger than necessary. It was over one square meter, more precisely 1.6 x 0.75 m, and its capacity was 13 cubic meters per second. The reason for this was maintenance of the aqueduct, the movement of workers along it for cleaning and ventilation; with time it probably began to leak water, but it had to be maintained. Rectangular openings on the upper side were used to enter it.²⁹

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

The basic materials used to construct Diocletian's Palace are stone and brick. Limestone from the island of Brač was used

31 Bulić 1908b.

32 Vrkljan 2001, str. 5-184; Vrkljan 2012, str. 11-201.

27 Delonga 2007, pp. 5-8.

28 Piplović 2006, pp. 6-8.

29 Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 111.

SKULPTURE

Na mnogim mjestima po Palači nalaze se postolja i niše za postavljanje skulptura. Osobito su brojne oko ulaznih portala. Brojne su i na unutrašnjim stranama ogradnih zidova obaju svetih prostora temenosa, onog gdje je na istočnome Mauzolej i drugog, na zapadu, gdje su bila tri hrama. To je dosta neobično jer se, s obzirom na ograđeno i nepristupačno mjesto za koje su predviđene, nisu gotovo nigdje mogle dobro vidjeti.

Po logici redosljeda gradnje one su trebale biti postavljene među zadnjima, nakon što su građevinski radovi završeni. Sigurno su i unutar carskih odaja bile mnoge ukrasne figure, a u hramovima kipovi božanstava, kako je u rimskoj antici to bio običaj. Nije sačuvana ni jedna slobodna skulptura.

Reljefna plastika postoji samo na brojnim arhitektonskim elementima kao dekoracija. Svi ukrasi vezani su za pojedine dijelove Palače, vrata, stropove, vijence i druge podloge. Ako od velikog broja slobodnih kipova gotovo ništa nije sačuvano, to bi moglo značiti da nisu ni izrađeni. Od svega su preostale samo skulpture sfinga donesene iz Egipta, koje su različite po materijalu, oblikovanju i veličini. Nije poznato mjesto gdje su bile postavljene u Palači. Možda su činile niz sa strane stubišta prema ulazu u Mauzolej, slično kao u Egiptu prema hramovima. Znajući za Dioklecijanov odnos prema Egiptu, to se ne bi trebalo potpuno isključiti. Važno je imati u vidu da je nakon podjele Carstva Dioklecijan neposredno upravljao azijskim dijelom države, Balkanskim poluotokom i Egiptom.³³ No pitanje je je li za takav smještaj bilo dovoljno prostora. Druga je mogućnost da su skulpture sfinga postavljane na različitim mjestima po Palači.

Na pročeljima kuća u gradu nalaze se uzidani razni antički kameni ulomci s natpisima i stele u sekundarnoj uporabi. Ali malo ih je koji bi se mogli povezati s Dioklecijanovom palačom jer po tematici ne odgovaraju. Uostalom, privatni graditelji često su uzimali kamenje za zidove iz ruševina Salone. To im je bilo jednostavnije nego da ga vade u kamenolomu i obrađuju. Oni su pojedine dekorirane komade koje bi pronašli postavljali za ukras pročelja. Zasigurno su skulpture postojale i u bogatoj unutrašnjosti prostorija. Tek manji kameni dijelovi s antičke Palače vidljivo su uzidani na zgradama grada. Na trijemu vijećnice na Narodnom trgu dva su stupa. Izrađena su od sivog granita. Na istočnoj strani tog trga na vrhu kuće je vijenac od kojeg je jedan dio antički. U zvonik katedrale ugrađeni su brojni antički spoliji. To su uglavnom stupovi različitih dimenzija, njihove baze i kapiteli. No nije moguće utvrditi jesu li doneseni iz Salone ili su pripadali Dioklecijanovoj palači. Pretpostavlja se također da je za gradnju mletačkog kaštela u Splitu korišten kamen s Palače, i to s porušenih kula.³⁴

for the most important structures.³⁰ These are the cellars, perimeter walls, temples, the Mausoleum and even the buildings on the northern side. The walls consist of large uniformly dry-cut blocks. Frane Bulić was particularly interested in the quarries at Fruška gora. Lower quality stone, probably quarried somewhere nearby, was used for the remaining buildings. No quarries were discovered in the immediate vicinity, but the site in Seget was already being exploited at that time. The question of the columns is more complex, as they were carved from stone with different petrographic and chemical properties. It is believed that they were made of various types of granite from Egypt, where they were gathered at temples. Even their points of origin are noted. Bulić had attempted to ascertain whence the materials to build the Palace were procured.³¹ This, however, was limited to more or less well-founded speculation. It is known that during their long history, the Egyptians had made columns in a specific way, with lotus flower capitals, trunks and bases. None of the columns in Diocletian's Palace may be associated with any models. Determining the origin of individual types of the hard magmatic rock from which certain columns were carved and then installed in the Palace would require analysing their mineralogical and petrographic composition and physical properties and then comparing these results to find sites. But this is a rather complex, long and costly process which has never been conducted.³²

ELEVATION PLAN

Even though Diocletian's Palace was constructed at two basic elevations, its streets and buildings are not at the same level, rather they vary, and some have been raised on special pedestals, such as the Mausoleum and Temple. Since the beginning of its systematic surveying, a comprehensive levelling plan has not yet been drafted. Individual points have been entered in only some of these partial documents, but they have not been incorporated into a consolidated elevation system. This geometric data point is vital in order to secure more complete technical documentation data, but also in case of any manner of disaster.

SCULPTURES

Pedestals and niches for sculptures are situated at many points inside the Palace. They are particularly numerous around entry gates and doors. They are also numerous on the insides of the

33 Piplović 2010.

34 Kečkemet 1963; Marasović 2012, str. 254.

30 Bulić 1908a, p. 86; Bulić 1910, p. 149.

31 Bulić 1908b.

32 Vrkljan 2001, pp. 5-184; Vrkljan 2012, pp. 11-201.

Na groblju Sustipan u Splitu nalazi se crkvice sv. Stjepana. U njezinoj unutrašnjosti uz bočne zidove s obje su strane po tri masivna granitna stupa s korintskim kapitelima.

Prva dva stupa sa strana najbliže ulazu su od sivog granita i nešto su kraća, s višim bazama. Ostali su od crvenog granita, a visina im iznosi otprilike 5,50 metara. Oni su se ranije nalazili u predromaničkoj trobrodnoj samostanskoj crkvi koja se nalazila na istome mjestu, a zatim su iz nje premješteni u novu, manju, koja je podignuta 1814. godine.³⁵ Preneseni su iz Dioklecijanove palače. Nagadalo se odakle su uzeti, ali bez uspjeha. Frane Bulić je smatrao da su tri stupa s istočnog dijela periptera Mauzoleja koja su uklonjena pri gradnji kora 1602. godine, a ostali s prostaze pred Mauzlejom u vrijeme gradnje zvonika u 13. stoljeću. Ljubo Karaman nije se složio s tim, jer visine stupova ne odgovaraju tim izvorima. I on je smatrao da su u ranom srednjem vijeku stupovi bili najprije postavljeni u samostanskoj crkvi koja je prije bila na Sustipanu.³⁶ Tomislav Marasović, koji je sudjelovao u istraživanju na Sustipanu, smatra da je 6 stupova u novoj crkvi preuzeto iz brodova porušene benediktinske bazilike.³⁷

Od antičkih zgrada u Palači na kojima su bili stupovi, a više ih nema, najuočljiviji je Jupiterov hram, sa šest stupova visine 6,55 metara. Hram u Dioklecijanoj palači je kao kuća božanstva bio vjerojatno posvećen Jupiteru, vrhovnom božanstvu, čijim se sinom smatrao car. Radi se o dosta maloj i skromnoj građevini, s trijemom samo ispred ulaza. To je jednostavniji tip rimske sakralne građevine. Po koncepciji sličan je hramu u Puli na forumu posvećenom božici Romi i caru Augustu. Iz dosta je ranijeg vremena. Sastoji se također od cele i predvorja, sa četiri stupa na čelu i još po jednim sa svake strane. Ima glatke stupove i korintске kapitеле. Oba su tipa tetrastil prostilos.³⁸ Istom rješenju pripada i hram kod teatra u Saloni.³⁹

Stupovi na Sustipanu u Splitu različitih su visina u odnosu na one koji su bili u Palači, a više ih nema. To su bili nizovi na bočnim trijemovima glavnih komunikacija, karda i dekumana, peripteru Mauzoleja ili iznad Zlatnih vrata. Svi se oni po procjeni ne podudaraju u dimenzijama s onima na Sustipanu. Posebno treba isključiti Zlatna vrata, jer su stupovi na groblju dosta teški i oslanjali bi se na male konzole. Osim toga, u knjizi Roberta Adama prikazani su kao da su se urušili i od njih su preostali samo donji dijelovi. Također nisu bili ni u trijemu dekumana, gdje je sačuvano nekoliko stupova od bijelog mramora. S obzirom na vrstu kamena i visinu, stupovi na Sustipanu nalazili su se sigurno u nekom važnom i velikom prostoru ili mjestu.

Postoji jedno mjesto gdje su se stupovi sa Sustipana mo-

partition walls of both holy places of the temonos, i.e., where the Mausoleum is on the eastern side and the three temples were on the western side. This is rather unusual because, given the bounded and inaccessible location foreseen for them, they could not have been seen very well from anywhere.

Based on the logical order of construction, they should have been installed last, after the main construction works were finished. There were certainly many decorative figures inside the emperor's private chambers as well, while the temples had statues of deities, as was the custom in Roman Antiquity. Not a single standalone sculpture has been preserved.

Sculpture in relief only exists on the numerous architectural elements as decorations. All of these decorations are tied to individual sections of the Palace: doors, ceilings, cornices, and other fixtures. If nothing has been preserved out of the high number of standalone statues, this could mean that they had not even been made. All that remains are the sphinxes brought from Egypt, which differ in terms of materials, rendering and size. Where they had been placed in the Palace is not known. They may have formed a sequence to the sides of the steps toward the entrance to the Mausoleum, as in Egypt toward the temples. Knowing Diocletian's stance on Egypt, this should not be entirely discounted. It is important to keep in mind that after the Empire's division, Diocletian indirectly administered the Asian half of the state, the Balkan peninsula and Egypt.³³ However, whether there was sufficient space for such an arrangement is questionable. The other possibility is that the sphinx statues were installed at different locations in the Palace.

Various stone fragments with inscriptions and stelae in secondary use can be seen on the façades of houses in the city. Few of them, however, can be linked to Diocletian's Palace, because they do not thematically match. Otherwise, private builders often took stones for their walls from the ruins of Salona. This was simpler than extracting stone from quarries and then dressing it. They would set individual decorated pieces that they had found as decorations on façades. Sculptures certainly also existed in the richly-appointed interiors of rooms. Only smaller stone components from the Roman-era Palace are visible on the city's buildings. Two columns are on the portico of the council hall on Narodni trg [People's Square]. They are made of gray granite. A section of the cornice on top of a house on the eastern side of that square is from the Roman era. Numerous Roman-era spolia have been built into the campanile of the cathedral. These are mainly columns of various dimensions, as well as their bases and capitals. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether they were brought from Salona or belonged to Diocletian's Palace. It is also assumed that stone from the Palace, from the demolished towers specifical-

35 Ostojić 1964, str. 326.

36 Kečkemet 1994b, str. 15.

37 Marasović, Vrsalović 1971, str. 207.

38 Starac 2004, str. 5-15.

39 Ceci 1962, str. 115-120.

33 Piplović 2010.

gli izvorno nalaziti. U velikoj trobrodnoj bazilici suterena Dioklecijanove palače na zapadnom dijelu nalazi se šest masivnih četvrtastih stupaca sazidanih od velikih kamenih blokova poprečnih dimenzija 1,15 x 1,75 metara, koji su nosili gornju strukturu. Nad njom je bila jednaka dvorana. Teško je zamisliti da su se u toj raskošnoj prostoriji nalazili isti takvi grubi stupci. Zsigurno su gore u nastavku bili elegantniji okrugli stupovi od plemenite vrste kamena. To su mogli biti upravo oni koji se nalaze na Sustipanu. Sigurno nisu uzeti stupovi iznad Zlatnih vrata, od kojih su neki još uvijek sačuvani, a ostali su propali, čiji su donji dijelovi u 19. stojeću bili na izvornome mjestu. A ni visinom koja je iznosila samo oko 3,60 metara nisu odgovarali. Na bočnim trijemovima glavnih ulica bili su stupovi od bijelog kamena, kako se vidi iz nekoliko sačuvanih kod crkvice sv. Roka i pilona na njihovu raskrižju. Teško je pretpostaviti da su se nalazili u skromnijem, sjevernom djelu Palače, koji je služio za smještaj osoblja koje se skrblilo za razne careve potrebe. U središnjoj dvorani na katu također su vjerojatno bili stupovi, ali ih je tamo bilo osam, pa nedostaju dva. Sličan je problem i s glavnom trobrodnom dvoranom u zapadnom dijelu careva stana. Ondje se u suterenu također nalaze zidani stupci. Ima ih ukupno šest, dimenzija presjeka 1,50 x 1,20 m. I ovdje su u gornjoj istovjetnoj dvorani koja je služila za primanja umjesto njih zasigurno bili okrugli stupovi.

Malo je sačuvano kamenih građevinskih ulomaka koji su pripadali Palači. Ni u zidovima kasnije podignutih zgrada nema pravilnih kamenih klesanaca ni tipičnih rimskih opeka. Sve je netragom nestalo. U ruševini trobrodne predromaničke crkve sv. Eufemije koja se nalazila na sjevernoj strani izvan zida Dioklecijanove palače upotrijebljeni su antički stupovi, njihovi kapiteli i baze.⁴⁰ Na vanjskim zidovima kuća po gradu te predgrađima Lučac i Veli varoš ugrađeni su stari kameni spoliji. Neki od njih su vjerojatno s Dioklecijanove palače. Ali ne smije se isključiti ni mogućnost da ih ima iz antičke Salone. Naime, privatni su graditelji u Splitu, Solinu i okolnim mjestima pri gradnji svojih kuća uzimali iz ruševina Salone kamenje jer im je to bilo jeftinije nego da vade blokove iz kamenoloma.⁴¹

ly, was used to build the Venetian citadel in Split.³⁴

The small Church of St. Stephen is in the Sustipan Cemetery in Split. Both of its lateral interior walls each have three massive granite columns with Corinthian capitals. The first two columns on the side closest to the entrance are made of gray granite and are somewhat shorter, with higher bases. The rest are made of red granite, and their height is approximately 5.5 meters. They had earlier been inside a pre-Romanesque triple-nave monastic church that was at the same site, and were then moved to the new, smaller one that was built in 1814.³⁵ They had been brought from Diocletian's Palace. Attempts were made to ascertain precisely whence they were taken, but without success. Frane Bulić believed that three columns were from the eastern section of the peripteros of the Mausoleum which were removed when the choir was built in 1602, while the rest are from the prothesis in front of the Mausoleum from the time when the campanile was being constructed in the 13th century. Ljubo Karaman did not agree with this, because the heights of the columns do not correspond to these original sites. He also believed that in the early Middle Ages the columns had initially been installed in the monastic church that was previously at Sustipan.³⁶ Tomislav Marasović, who participated in the excavations at Sustipan, believed that the six columns in the new church were taken from the naves of the demolished Benedictine basilica.³⁷

Among the Roman-era buildings in the Palace that had columns but no longer do, the most notable is the temple of Jupiter with six 6.55 m high columns. The temple in Diocletian's Palace, as the deity's home, was probably dedicated to Jupiter, the supreme deity, and the emperor was considered his son. This was a truly small and modest structure, with a portico only in front of the entrance. This was a simpler type of Roman holy structure. In terms of conception, it is similar to the temple in Pula on the forum dedicated to the goddess Roma and Emperor Augustus. It dates to a considerably earlier period, and also consists of a cella and vestibule with four columns at its front and one on each side. The columns are smooth with Corinthian capitals. Both are tetrastyle prostyle type.³⁸ The temple at the theatre in Salona is the same type.³⁹

The columns at Sustipan in Split have different heights than those that were in the Palace, but are no longer there. These were in rows on the lateral porticos of the main thoroughfares, the *cardo* and *decumanus*, the Mausoleum's peripteros or above the Golden Gate. According to estimates of their dimensions, none of them corresponded to those in Sus-

40 Marasović, Marasović 1988, str. 76.

41 Bulić 1986, str. 32; N. Cambi 1987.

34 Kečkemet 1963; Marasović 2012, p. 254.

35 Ostojić 1964, p. 326.

36 Kečkemet 1994b, p. 15.

37 Marasović, Vrsalović 1971, p. 207.

38 Starac 2004, pp. 5-15.

39 Ceci 1962, pp. 115-120.

Slika 9.
Crkva sv. Stjepana koja se nalazi na nekadašnjem groblju na poluotoku Sustjepan. Sagrađena je 1814. godine na mjestu veće bazilike odakle su u unutrašnjost preneseni antički stupovi.
(Fotografirao autor)



Figure 9.
Church of St. Stephen, located on the former cemetery of the peninsula Sustjepan. It was built in 1814 on the site of a larger basilica, from which ancient columns were transferred to the interior.
(Photo author)

Slika 10.
Poprečni presjek crkve sv. Stjepana na groblju Sustjepanu. U unutrašnjosti s bočnih strana vidljivi su antički stupovi doneseni iz Dioklecijanove palače u baziliku koja je bila na tom mjestu, a zatim u postojeću crkvu.
(Autor V. Kokan)

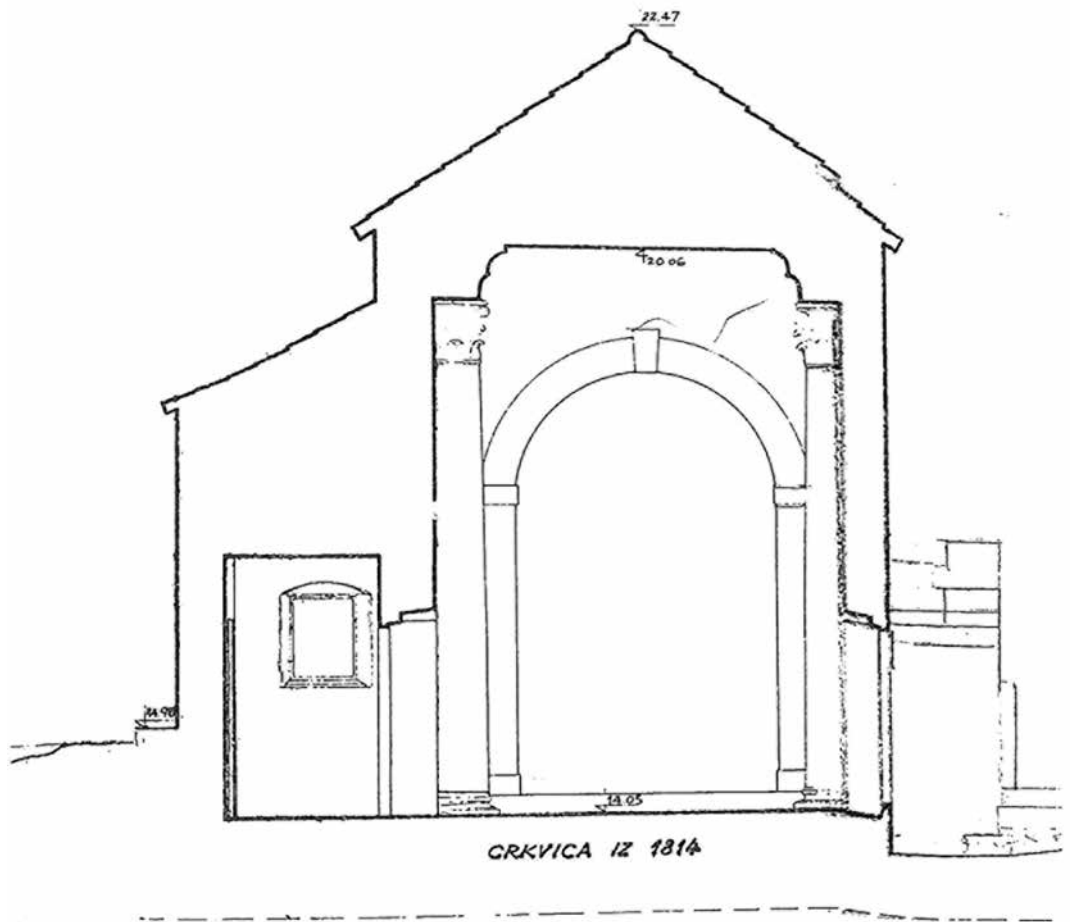


Figure 10.
Transverse section of the Church of St. Stephen at the Sustjepan cemetery. Inside, the sides show ancient columns brought from Diocletian's Palace to the basilica that was on this site and then into the existing church.
(Author V. Kokan)



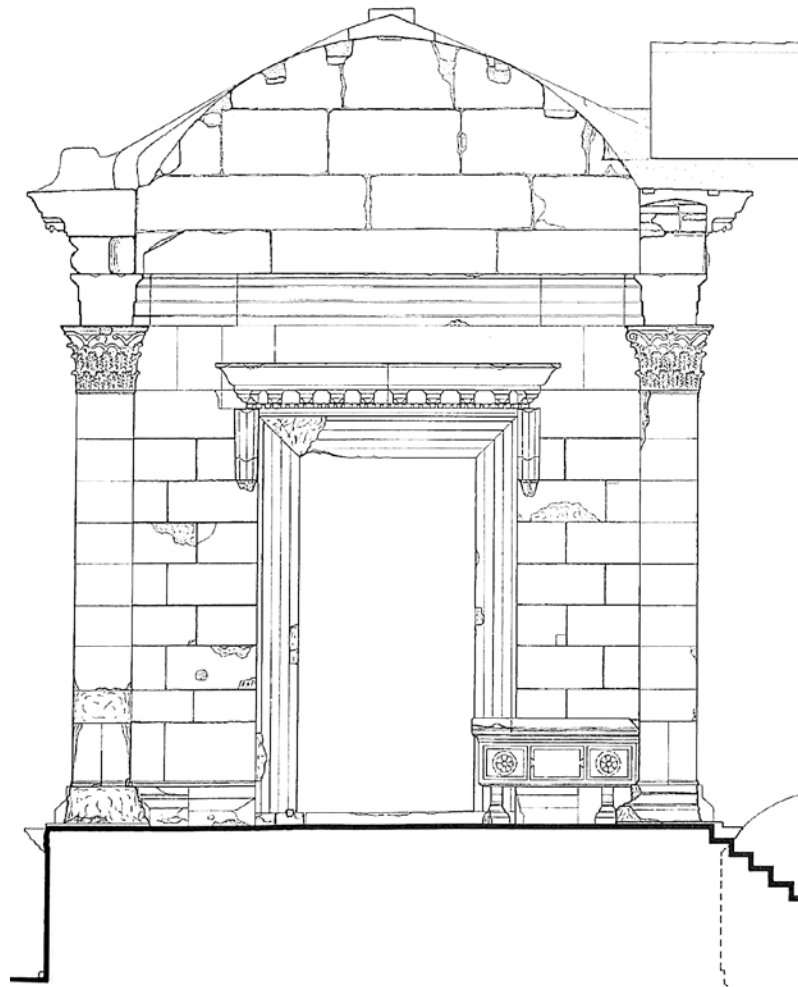
Slika 11.
Unutrašnjost crkve sv. Stjepana,
pogled prema istoku i zapadu. Na
bočnim stranama vidljivi su stupovi
koji su nekada bili u Dioklecijanovoj
palači.
(Fotografirao autor)

Figure 11.
Interior of the Church of St.
Stephen, viewed towards the east
and west. Ancient columns from
Diocletian's Palace are visible on
the sides.
(Photo author)



Slika 12.
Pročelje Jupiterovog hrama u
zapadnom temenosu. Građevina
je izvorno imala predvorje sa
stupovima za koje se ne zna kada su
uklonjeni.
(Autor F. Weilbach)

Figure 12.
Façade of the Temple of Jupiter in
the western temenos. The building
originally had a vestibule with
columns, the removal date of which
is unknown.
(Author F. Weilbach)



Slika 13.
Antički hram u Saloni, današnjem
Solinu
(Autor F. Weilbach)

Figure 13.
Ancient temple in Salona, today's
Solin
(Author F. Weilbach)



NEDOVRŠENOST RADOVA

Kada se Dioklecijan godine 305. uselio u Palaču, mnogi finalni radovi još nisu bili dovršeni.⁴² To se posebno odnosi na baze stupova Peristila, stilobate Jupiterova hrama i Mauzoleja, na skulpture i drugo. Ti radovi nisu završeni ni u desetak godina careva boravka u Palači, a ni poslije.

PALAČA NAKON DIOKLECIJANA

Palača je nakon careve smrti dobila druge namjene.⁴³ O tome postoje neke pretpostavke, primjerice, da su u stambenom dijelu boravili rimski dostojanstvenici. No u novije vrijeme na južnom su dijelu otkrivena dva sklopa terma. I o njihovim korisnicima u struci postoje neka dvojbena mišljenja. Tvrdi se da su zapadne služile osobno caru. Na to ima dosta prigovora. Fizički su odijeljene od stambenog prostora, pa bi Dioklecijan za njihovo korištenje trebao izići iz svojega boravka na otvoreno kako bi ih koristio. Stoga je to malo vjerojatno, jer je car već bio u godinama, a možda i bolestan. Imao je tada više od 70 godina pa bi za njega to bio poseban napor. Vjerojatnije je da je imao kupku unutar stana, kako je tvrdio arhitekt Niemann. Inače, sklopovi terma svojim su položajem bitno poremetili unutrašnju organizaciju prostora, posebno su blokirali neke komunikacije i pristupe određenim sadržajima. Sve to kao i druge činjenice ukazuje da su terme sagrađene naknadno u antici i da je Palača dobila neku novu funkciju, možda zdravstvenu. I obala ispred južnog pročelja na to ukazuje.

ISTOČNO PROČELJE PALAČE

Ispred istočnog obodnog zida Dioklecijanove palače u današnjoj Hrvojevoj ulici bile su prislonjene zgrade podignute u kasnijim razdobljima, koje su zid djelimice zaklanjale. One su postupno u novije vrijeme rušene kako bi razmjerno dobro očuvani rimski zid postao ponovno vidljiv. Sjeverno od antičkog ulaza u Dioklecijanovu palaču na toj strani, zvanog Srebrena vrata, nalazila se izdužena prizemna zgrada Arheološkog muzeja sagrađena 1836. godine.⁴⁴ Zgrada ubrzo nije mogla primiti sve predmete pa je 1891. odlučeno graditi novu, izvan grada, na Skalicama, koja je uglavnom završena 1914. Stara je neko vrijeme ostala prazna pa je srušena. Dalje prema sjeveroistočnoj kuli bile su još neko vrijeme neugledne kućice.

Već godine 1913. uprava Muzeja predložila je da se stara

tipan. The Golden Gate should be ruled out in particular, because the columns at the cemetery are rather heavy and they would have rested on small consoles. Moreover, in Robert Adam's book they were depicted as though they had collapsed and that only their lower sections remained. They also were not in the portico of the *decumanus*, where only a few white marble columns have been preserved. Given the type of stone and the height, the columns at Sustipan had certainly been in an important and large room or place.

There is one place where the columns at Sustipan may have originally been located. There are six massive rectangular pillars in the large triple-nave basilica of the cellar in Diocletian's Palace made of large stone blocks with perpendicular dimensions of 1.15 x 1.75 meters that bore the upper structure. An identical hall was above it. It is difficult to imagine that the same type of coarse pillars were in that luxurious space. Certainly those that continued above were more elegant round columns made of more noble types of stone. They could have been those now located in Sustipan. The columns above the Golden Gate were certainly not taken for this purpose, as some are still preserved, while the rest collapsed and their lower sections were still at the original locations in the 19th century. Their height of roughly 3.6 meters also does not correspond. White marble columns were on the lateral porticos, as seen from several preserved at the small Church of St. Roch and the pylons at their intersection. It is difficult to presume that they were in the more modest northern section of the Palace, which was used to accommodate the staff that cared for the emperor's various needs. There were probably columns in the central hall on the upper floor as well, but there were eight there, so two are missing. The main triple-nave hall in the western section of the emperor's residence presents a similar problem. There are also stone-built pillars there in the cellar. There is a total of six, with dimensions of 1.5 x 1.2 in section. Here as well, round columns certainly stood in their position in the identical upper hall which was used for receptions.

There are few preserved stone construction fragments that belonged to the Palace. Neither are there regular dressed stones nor typical Roman bricks in the walls of buildings constructed later. Everything has disappeared without a trace. Roman-era columns, their capitals and bases were used in the triple-nave pre-Romanesque Church of St. Euphemia, now in ruins, situated outside of the walls of Diocletian's Palace.⁴⁰ Old stone spolia were built into the external walls of houses in the city and in the suburbs of Lučac and Veli varoš. Some of them are probably from Diocletian's Palace. However, the possibility that they came from ancient Salona should not be excluded. This is because private builders in Split, Solin and surrounding places took stones from the ruins of Salona for construction, for this

42 Piplović 1997b, str. 28-29.

43 Piplović 2016.

44 U literaturi se uvijek pisalo da je ta zgrada podignuta 1821. što opovrgava katastarski plan iz 1831. i govor S. Ivačića iz 1836. godine. Duplančić 1988, str. 162

40 Marasović, Marasović 1988, p. 76.

zgrada Muzeja poruši. Pokrajinska vlada složila se s time. I Povjerenstvo Dioklecijanove palače o tome je raspravljalo 1920., pa je prijedlog podržan. No zgrada je uklonjena mnogo kasnije, 1928. godine. Zatim su 1957./58. srušene i zadnje preostale zgrade do sjeveroistočne kule, pa je čitav taj dio zida postao izvana vidljiv.⁴⁵

Pred južnom polovicom istočnog zida nalazila se izdužena jednokatnica, vojnička pekarnica, koja je zaklanjala pogled na pročelje Palače, a osim toga svojim je dimnjacima sve više oštećivala zid. Stoga je još godine 1899. vojna uprava pristala na njezino rušenje. Uvjet je bio da Općina na drugome mjestu, blizu tvrđave Gripe, izgradi jednu manju zgradu u tu svrhu. Tada to nije ostvareno. Povjerenstvo Dioklecijanove palače je na sjednici koncem svibnja 1920. godine ponovno raspravljalo o tome.⁴⁶ Zgrada je porušena tek 1943. godine.⁴⁷ Taj dio zida je sačuvan, ali u vezi s njegovim današnjim stanjem postoji dosta nejasnoća. Naime, samo nekoliko njegovih donjih redova izgrađeno je od velikih pravilno klesanih kamenih blokova. Sve ostalo iznad toga je od loše obrađenog kamena. Nije utvrđeno je li takvo stanje bilo od početka, zato što je trebalo brzo završiti radove na Palači, ili je u neko doba izvorni zid porušen i sagrađen novi. Na njegovu dijelu blizu jugoistočne ugaone kule vidi se u takvom zidu ugrađen veliki luk od bolje obrađenih klesanaca. Nije poznato čemu je služio.

Kada je prostor postao slobodan, služio je za razne svrhe. Između dva svjetska rata neko je vrijeme na tom mjestu bilo parkiralište za međugradske autobuse i postavljeni su banci za maloprodaju voća i povrća.⁴⁸ Zatim je zasađen zelenilom i tako se ostvario izvorni kontakt Palače s okolicom, kao što je to ranije učinjeno i sa sjeverne strane. Pri daljnjem uređenju postavljen je niz šatora za galanterijsku robu te sitnu prodaju odjevnih predmeta i obuće. Oni su nedavno uklonjeni pa ulicu treba urediti.

I s unutrašnje strane vidljiv je mjestimično istočni bedem. Na njegovu južnom dijelu u donjim redovima su veliki kamenerni blokovi. Podebljan je kasnije slojem od lošije građenog kamena i time ojačan, a pri vrhu se nalazi reljef s grbom. I tu bi pojavu trebalo bolje istražiti pa bi se mogli izvesti zaključci o dinamici građenja i načinu pregrađivanja tog dijela Palače tijekom vremena.

Srebrna vrata Palače s vanjske su strane u kasnija vremena prekrivena zidom, a s unutrašnje strane bila je prislonjena crkva Dušica, tako da se nije znalo u kojem su stanju očuvana antička vrata. Otkrivena su 1946. godine, a 1952. je dovršena djelomična restauracija vrata i arkada obrambenog dvorišta iznad njih. Prostor Hrvojeve ulice je mjestimično arheološki istražen,

was less expensive than extracting blocks from a quarry.⁴¹

INCOMPLETENESS OF WORKS

When Diocletian moved in to his Palace in 305, many finishing works had still not been completed.⁴² This is particularly true of the column bases of the Peristyle, the stylobates of Jupiter's temple and the Mausoleum, the sculptures and other details. These works were not even completed during the roughly ten years of the emperor's stay in the Palace, nor later.

THE PALACE AFTER DIOCLETIAN

After the emperor's death, the Palace was put to different uses.⁴³ There is some speculation, for example, that Roman dignitaries lived in its residential section. But more recently two bath complexes were discovered in its southern section. There are some dubious opinions among scholars about their users. Some assert that the western baths were personally used by the emperor. But there are considerable objections to this. They are physically separate from the residential section, so that Diocletian would have had to go outside of his residence to use them. This is thus highly unlikely, since the emperor was at that point quite elderly and possibly in poor health. He was close to 70 years of age, so that this would have been a particular effort. It is more likely that he bathed inside his residence, as asserted by the architect Niemann. Otherwise, the position of the bath complexes considerably disturbed the internal organization of space, as they particularly blocked certain thoroughfares and access to certain facilities. All of this and certain other facts indicate that the baths were built later in Antiquity and that the Palace had acquired some new function, perhaps tied to health-care. The waterfront at the southern frontispiece also points to this possibility.

EASTERN FRONTISPIECE OF THE PALACE

Buildings erected in later periods rested against the eastern perimeter wall of Diocletian's Palace in today's Hrvojeva street, partially obscuring the wall. They were gradually torn down in more recent periods, so that the relatively well-preserved Roman wall could once more be seen. The oblong ground-level building of the Archaeological Museum, built in 1836,⁴⁴ was

45 Muljačić 1969, str. 67; Piplović 1998, str. 117.

46 Izvješće 1920, str. 47-48.

47 Muljačić 1958, str. 88.

48 S D. 2022, str. 15.

41 Bulić 1986, p. 32; N. Cambi 1987.

42 Piplović 1997b, p. 28-29.

43 Piplović 2016.

44 The year of this building's erection has always been cited in the literature as 1821, which is refuted by the cadastre from 1831 and a

ali je sve ostalo nedorečeno, kao betonska površina.⁴⁹ Pitanje koje bi trebalo riješiti jest što s njim u budućnosti. Vjerojatno bi bilo najpogodnije njegov pojas između ulice i zida ozeleniti. Tako bi se Palača i s te strane donekle dovela u prirodni odnos s neposrednim okolišem, kakav je bio izvorno.

Za našeg vremena planirano je uređenje šetnica po vrhu obodnih zidova Dioklecijanove palače. Šetnica je već izgrađena po sjevernoj strani, pa se planira da se to napravi i iznad istočnog pročelja. Međutim, zbog stanja tog dijela bedema i potrebe dosta radikalnih i upitnih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova taj naum nije optimalan. Posebno je složen prijelaz preko Srebrnih vrata, gdje bi trebalo izvesti dosta opsežan zahvat. Kako bi se spojila oba dijela šetnice, sjevernog i istočnog, morala bi se nekako zaobići sjeveroistočna kula Palače. Ona svojom sadašnjom većom visinom, gdje su nadograđeni privatni stanovi, to onemogućuje. Obilaznim premošćenjem i tu bi se morala napraviti nova konstrukcija, koja bi pokvarila izgled tog dijela. Osim toga, zbog teškog pristupa malo se tko penje do šetnice na sjevernom zidu. Tako bi se vjerojatno dogodilo i s istočnom stranom ako se izgradi. Prolaz je ondje uzak. Postoje još i druge činjenice koje govore o svrhovitosti tog složenog zahvata. Gradila bi se nova struktura po vrhu zida Palače, gdje je nikada nije bilo. Time se narušava izvorni izgled tog njezinog dijela. Šetnja bi bila otežana, a pogled naokolo nije posebno atraktivan. U sjevernom dijelu to je ulica s običnim zgradama, a u južnom pazar.⁵⁰

PREDMETI

Od predmeta svakodnevne ili posebne namjene nije ništa sačuvano. A moralo ih je biti vrlo mnogo. Nema više namještaja, oružja, nakita, pribora, alata. Sve je tijekom stoljeća netragom nestalo. Jedina je iznimka kameni stol koji je nađen u sutere nu Dioklecijanove palače.

ZAKLJUČAK

Povijesno središte Splita vrijedna je prostorna cjelina, koja je nastajala tijekom mnogih stoljeća. Njegova struktura sastoji se od dvaju različitih sadržaja, fizičkih ostataka zgrada Dioklecijanove palače i srednjovjekovnog urbanog stambenog ambijenta. Nije detaljnije poznato što se unutar Palače gradilo u ranom srednjem vijeku. Ali već u 13. stoljeću čitav prostor je izgrađen, osobito njegov južni dio. Dvije jake urbane strukture su usklađene, ali istodobno i suprotstavljene. Moćne zidine carske re-

north of the Roman-era entrance to Diocletian's Palace on that side, called the Silver Gate. The building was soon unable to accommodate all of the exponents, so in 1891 the decision was made to build a new one outside of the city, at Skalice, which was mostly completed in 1914. The old building remained empty for a time and was then demolished. For a time, several unsightly cottages stood a little farther in the direction of the north-eastern tower.

Already in 1913, the Museum's management proposed the demolition of the old museum building. The provincial government agreed. The Diocletian's Palace Commission also deliberated on this matter in 1920 and upheld the proposal. But the building was only removed much later, in 1928. Then, in 1957/58, the last remaining buildings up to the north-eastern tower were torn down, so that entire section of the wall became visible from the outside.⁴⁵

An elongated single-story building, the military bakery, was in front of the southern half of the eastern wall, obscuring the view of the Palace's frontispiece. Its chimneys, moreover, were increasingly damaging the wall. Thus, as early as 1899, the military authorities consented to its demolition. The condition was that the Municipality had to build a smaller building to serve the same purpose at another site near the Gripe Fortress. This was not done at the time. The Diocletian's Palace Commission once more deliberated on this matter at a session held in May 1920.⁴⁶ The building was only demolished in 1943.⁴⁷ That part of the wall was preserved, but there are still a number of ambiguities tied to its current condition. For one thing, only a few of its lower rows are made of large, uniformly dressed stone blocks. Everything above is made of poorly dressed stones. It is uncertain as to whether this was the condition from the beginning, perhaps due to the fact that works on the Palace had to be completed quickly, or the wall was torn down and a new one was raised in some later period. A large arch made of better dressed stones can be discerned in this wall at its section near the south-eastern corner tower. Its purpose is not known.

When this space was freed, it was used for various purposes. Between the two World Wars, it was a parking lot for intercity bus lines and tables were set up for the retail sales of fresh produce.⁴⁸ Then greenery was planted and the original contact between the Palace and its surroundings was restored, as had been done earlier with on the northern side. Further development saw the set-up of a series of covered stalls selling accessories, apparel items and footwear. These were recently removed, so the street needs to be developed.

speech made by S. Ivačić in 1836. Duplančić 1988, p. 162.

45 Muljačić 1969, p. 67; Piplović 1998, p. 117.

46 Izvješće 1920, pp. 47-48.

47 Muljačić 1958, p. 88.

48 S D. 2022, p. 15.

49 Burazin 2022, str. 15.

50 Vidulić 2022, str. 19-21; Vidulić 2022b, str. 22-24; Budimir 2022, str.

zidencija najistaknutiji su dio sklopa. Stalne je dvojbe izazivalo pitanje do koje mjere treba poštivati taj odnos antike i srednjeg vijeka. Od početka sustavnog povijesnog i arhitektonskog vrednovanja Palači se davala prednost pred manje značajnim zgradama iz kasnijeg vremena. Palača je raščišćavanjem postala vidljiva izvana sa tri strane. Pristupilo se uklanjanju i drugih dogradnja, ali se mijenjao odnos dokle se moglo. Tako su u novije vrijeme porušene stare zgrade na južnom, istočnom i kasnije na sjevernom pročelju. U unutrašnjosti je godine 1880. porušena kavana *Al Tempio* na istočnoj strani Peristila, a godine 1923. crkva sv. Barbare. Porušene su zgrade u propugnaku zapadnih vrata. Posebno se čistio prostor oko Mauzoleja. Time su zgrade Dioklecijanove palače bolje istaknute, ali su i dalje dobrim dijelom zaklonjene kasnijim zgradama. Išlo se u radikalnija razmišljanja. Predlagalo se čak da se stanovništvo iz Palače potpuno iseli. To je pojačavala činjenica da su uvjeti života u njoj teški, bez dovoljno svjetla i zraka, uz otežani promet kroz tijesne ulice i nedostatak komunalne infrastrukture.

Da bi se otkrili dijelovi Palače, razmišljalo se nešto ranije da se južno pročelje potpuno oslobodi od kućica ispred njega, da se na Peristilu u trijemu Protirona poruše ili premjeste renesansne kapele, premjesti crkva sv. Roka, koja je na mjestu dekumana, poruše zgrade na zapadnoj strani Peristila, kako bi se oslobodila kolonada ugrađena u pročelje zgrade na toj strani. Time bi se s jedne strane još više istaknula Palača, ali bi dosta bili pokvareni slikoviti ambijenti uskih i krivudavih uličica sa starinskim zgradama. Do tih radikalnih zahvata nije ipak došlo. Prevladali su stavovi da treba poštivati i uskladiti sve slojeve povijesne sredine.

Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu često se uspoređuje s drugim carskim rezidencijama.⁵¹ No ako se pogledaju tlocrtna rješenja Dominicianove palače i Hadrijanove vile, Flavijeve palače u Rimu, Doma Livije i nekih drugih, teško se može naći nešto zajedničko za sve, bez obzira što su građene u različito vrijeme. One su jednostavnije.⁵² U Ostiji kod Rima nalaze se također ostaci jedne raskošne palače koja je služila za boravak careva. Među brojnim prostorijama imala je termalne zgrade, dvorane, veliki peristol, mitrej i druge brojne sadržaje.⁵³ Palača u Splitu po osnovnim je obilježjima bliska vojnim logorima. Ti kastrumi imaju također četvrtasti tlocrt, uokolo bedem, na čijim su stranama po sredini vrata, često s kulama, a unutrašnjost dijele dvije glavne ulice koje se sijeku po sredini.

Često se navodi da je Dioklecijanova palača utjecala na stvaralaštvo engleskog arhitekta Roberta Adama i da je on došao u Split kako bi proučavao njezine ostatke te njezina stilska obilježja primjenjivao u svojim kreacijama.⁵⁴ No detalje uspo-

The eastern rampart is visible at places from the inside as well. Large stone blocks are at its southern section in the lower rows. It was expanded subsequently with a layer of more poorly dressed stones and thereby reinforced, while at its top there is a relief containing a shield. This should also be more thoroughly studied in order to facilitate conclusions on the tempo of construction and the ways in which this part of the Palace was rebuilt over the course of time.

The Palace's Silver Gate was covered with a wall in later periods on the outside, while inside the Dušica church rested against it, so that the Roman-era gate's state of preservation was not known. It was uncovered in 1946, and in 1952 the partial restoration of the gate and the arcade of the defensive yard above it was completed. The area of Hrvojeva street has undergone partial archaeological excavation, but everything remains ambiguous as a paved surface.⁴⁹ The question that should be resolved is what to do with it in the future. The most suitable thing to do would be to plant greenery on the swath between the street and wall. The Palace would thus acquire something of a natural balance with its immediate environment, as it originally had.

In the current period, there are plans to create a promenade atop of the perimeter walls of Diocletian's Palace. A promenade has already been built on the northern side, so the plans call for this to be done above the eastern frontispiece. However, due to the condition of this part of the rampart and the need for rather radical and questionable conservation /restoration works, this proposal is not optimal. The passage over the Silver Gate is particularly complex, where a rather extensive undertaking will be required. In order to link both sections of the promenade, the northern and eastern, the Palace's north-eastern tower would somehow have to be bypassed. Its current greater height, where private apartments have been added, prevents this. A bridging bypass here would also require new construction, which would blemish the appearance of this section. Furthermore, due to the difficulty of accessing it, few climb to the promenade on the northern wall. The same would probably be the case if it were to be built on the eastern side. The passage is narrow there. There are still other facts that speak to the justification for this complex undertaking. A new structure would be built atop the Palace wall, which was never there before. This would spoil the original appearance of this section. Walking would be difficult, and the surrounding view is not very attractive: a street with ordinary buildings to the north, and an open-air marketplace to the south.⁵⁰

OBJECTS

No objects of everyday or specific use have been preserved. But

51 Piplović 2001.

52 Benoit 1911, str. 450-457; Aurigemma 1970, str. 3-82.

53 Calza, Becatti 1964, str. 34-35.

54 Marasović 1964, str. 4; Kečkemet 1964b, str. 5.

49 Burazin 2022, p 15.

50 Vidulić 2022, pp. 19-21; Vidulić 2022b, pp. 22-24; Budimir 2022, p. 11.

redbe s njegovim ostvarenjima teško je utvrditi. Vjerojatno je on svoje rezultate u prvom redu iskoristio da napiše reprezentativnu monografiju o Palači. Knjiga je imala velik uspjeh. Na to ukazuje činjenica da je već u preprodaji otkupljeno oko 500 primjeraka, s velikim brojem uglednih pretplatnika prije tiskanja, među kojima je bio i sam engleski kralj Đuro III., kojemu je autor posvetio svoje djelo. Među ostalim, iz Engleske su bili knezovi, plemići i časnici. Knjiga je znanje o antičkoj palači učinila dostupnim cijelom svijetu. To je izdanje koje je bitno pridonijelo razvitku klasicizma.

U svakom slučaju, Dioklecijanova palača je bez obzira na upitnost nekih rješenja ključno djelo za upoznavanje rimskog antičkog graditeljstva. Vjerojatno će biti još nalaza koji će detaljnije objasniti postojeće nejasnoće. U članku se iznose neka pitanja kojima bi trebalo posvetiti pozornost tijekom daljnjih istraživanja. Na neka od njih sigurno se neće moći naći odgovor. Druga su samo manje ili više logične pretpostavke ili tek natuknice.

there should be many of these. There is no longer any furniture, weapons, jewellery, accessories or tools. Everything has disappeared without a trace over the centuries. The sole exception is the stone table found in the cellar of Diocletian's Palace.

CONCLUSION

The historical core of Split is a valuable spatial unit that emerged over the course of many centuries. Its structure consists of two different facilities: the physical remains of the buildings of Diocletian's Palace and the mediaeval urban residential environment. What was built inside the Palace in the early Middle Ages is not known in great detail. But by the 13th century the entire space had been developed, particularly its southern section. The two robust urban structures are aligned, but simultaneously at odds with each other. The formidable walls of the emperor's residence are the most prominent component of the complex. The question of the extent to which the relationship between the Classical and medieval must be respected provokes constant uncertainty. Since the beginning of systematic historical and architectural appreciation of the Palace, priority has been accorded to smaller important buildings from later periods. Thanks to clearing efforts, the Palace has become externally visible on three sides. The removal of other additional structures has also commenced, but opinions on the extent to which this should be done have changed. Thus in more recent years the old buildings on the southern, eastern and northern frontispiece have been demolished. In the interior, the Al Tempio Café on the Peristyle's eastern side was removed in 1880, while in 1923 the same was done to the small Church of St. Barbara. The buildings of the western gate's bulwark were torn down. The space around the Mausoleum in particular was cleared. The buildings of Diocletian's Palace thus gained more emphasis, but they are still largely obscured by later buildings. More radical ideas were floated. There were even proposals to completely remove all residents from the Palace. This was bolstered by the fact that living conditions inside were difficult, without sufficient light and air, while traffic through its narrow lanes was hampered and it lacked utility infrastructure.

In order to uncover parts of the Palace, an earlier idea was to entirely free the southern frontispiece of the small houses in front of it, demolish or move the Renaissance chapels on the Peristyle in the Prothyron portico, move the small Church of St. Roch which is on the *decumanus*, and demolish the buildings on the Peristyle's western side in order free the colonnades built into the frontispiece of the building on that side. This would on the one hand more greatly emphasize the Palace, but on the other would greatly spoil the ambience of the narrow and winding lanes with olden buildings. These radical undertakings never came about, though. The prevailing standpoint

is that all layers of the historical environment should be respected and harmonized.

Diocletian's Palace in Split is often compared to other imperial residences.⁵¹ But if the layout solutions of the Palace of Domitian and Hadrian's Villa, the Domus Flavia in Rome, the Domus Livia and several others are examined, one will find that there is little common to them all, regardless of the fact that they were constructed in a different time. They are simpler.⁵² The remains of a luxurious palace that was once used to accommodate emperors can be found in Ostia, near Rome. Among its many rooms, there was a bath building, a large peristyle, a mithraeum and other facilities.⁵³ The basic features of the Palace in Split make it similar to military encampments. These castra also had a square layout, were surrounded by ramparts with gates in their middle, often with towers, while the interiors had two main thoroughfares that intersected in the middle.

It is often stated that Diocletian's Palace influenced the creativity of English architect Robert Adam, and that he had come to Split to study its remains and apply its stylistic features in his own designs.⁵⁴ But this is difficult to assert based on the details of a comparison to his own works. He probably used the results of his studies to first and foremost write an authoritative monograph about the Palace. The book was highly successful, as indicated by the fact that over 500 copies were purchased in pre-publication sales, with a high number of renowned subscribers when it was printed, including English King George III, to whom the author dedicated the book. Among others, these subscribers in England included knights, nobles and military officers. The book made knowledge on the Palace available to the entire world. This was a publication that greatly contributed to the development of classicism.

In any case, Diocletian's Palace is, regardless of certain questionable solutions, a work that is crucial to an understanding of Roman Classical architecture. There will likely be more discoveries that will shed some additional light on existing ambiguities. This paper poses certain questions that should be the focus of attention in further research. Some may certainly never be answered. Others are only greater or lesser logical conjectures or simply observations.

51 Piplović 2001.

52 Benoit 1911, pp. 450-457; Aurigemma 1970, pp. 3-82.

53 Calza, Becatti 1964, pp. 34-35.

54 Marasović 1964, p. 4; Kečkemet 1964b, p. 5.

Kratice / Abbreviations

BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata
GPPD	Građa i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije
KB	Kulturna baština
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji
SD	Slobodna Dalmacija
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

Literatura / Bibliography**Aurigemma 1970**

S. Aurigemma, *La villa d'Hadrien près de Tivoli*, Tivoli 1970.

Benoit 1911

F. Benoit, *L'architecture. Antiquité*, Paris 1911.

Brown 1992

I. G. Brown, *Monumental reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace*, Edinburgh 1992.

Buble, 2009

S. Buble, *Dioklecijanova palača, izvor poznavanja rimske tehnike građenja*, in: N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, T. Marasović (eds.), *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača: o 1700. obljetnici postojanja*, Split 2009, 135-161.

Buble 2013

S. Buble, *Spoznaje o građevinama zapadnog temenosa Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu – kronologija*, KB 39, Split 2013, 263-294.

Budimir 2022

M. Budimir, *Otkriva se i arhitektura prije izgradnje Palače!*, SD, Split 15. II. 2022, god. LXXIX, br. 25571, 11.

Bulić 1908a

F. Bulić, *Materiali e provenienza della pietra, delle colonne, nonché delle sfingi del palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato e delle colonne ecc. delle basilice cristiane a Salona*, BASD XXXI, Spalato 1908, 86-110.

Bulić 1908b

F. Bulić, *Proviene qualche cosa nel Palazzo di Diocleziano a*

Spalato, per es. qualche colonna, qualche pezzo architottnico ed ornamentale, qualche statua, dalle lapicidine di Sirmium (Fruška Gora nella Slavonia), BASD XXXI, Spalato 1908, 111-127.

Bulić 1910

F. Bulić, *Trovamenti risguardanti il Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato*, BASD XXXIII, Spalato 1910, 149.

Bulić 1986

F. Bulić, *Po ruševinama stare Salone*, Split 1986.

Bulić, Karaman 1927

F. Bulić, Lj. Karaman, *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu*, Zagreb 1927.

Burazin 2022

A. Burazin, *Kod Srebrenih vrata: Istražuje se Split prije Splita*, SD, Split 16. III. 2022, god. LXXIX, br. 25600, 15.

Calza, Becatti 1964

G. Calza, G. Becatti, *Ostia*, Roma 1964.

Cambi 1987

N. Cambi, *Studije o antičkim spomenicima u zgradama u Splitu i okolici*, KB 17, Split 1987, 7-18.

Cambi 2005

N. Cambi, *Dioklecijanova palača i Dioklecijan: (Lik i ličnost)*, in: F. Bulić, N. Cambi, I. Babić, *Dioklecijan i Split*, Split 2005, 145-179.

Cambi 2016

N. Cambi, *Dioklecijan. Vir prudens...*, Split 2016.

Cambi 2021

N. Cambi, *Split u antici*, Split 2021.

Ceci 1962

E. Ceci, *I monumenti pagani di Salona*, Milano 1962.

Čipčić 2021

M. Čipčić, *Muzej vode u Splitu*, Split 2021.

Delonga 2007

V. Delonga, *Arheološka istraživanja na splitskoj Rivi 2006. – 2007. godine. Isječci iz fotografskog dnevnika Zorana Alajbega*, Split 2007.

Deroko 1962

A. Deroko, *Arhitektura starog veka*, Beograd 1962.

Dioklecijanova palača 1994

T. Marasović, N. Cambi (eds.), *Dioklecijanova palača: Katalog izložbe*, Split 1994.

Dobrović 1950

N. Dobrović, *Urbanizam kroz vekove I: Jugoslavija*, Beograd 1950.

Duplančić 1988

A. Duplančić, *Popis državnih zgrada u Splitu iz god. 1789. i 1804., Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture 13/1987*, Zagreb 1988, 151-175.

Faccenna 1963

D. Faccenna, *Diocleziano*, in: R. Bianchi Bandinelli (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale V*, Roma 1963, 100-103.

Fisković 1950

C. Fisković, *Prilog proučavanju i zaštiti Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu*, Rad JAZU 279, Zagreb 1950.

Fisković 1952

C. Fisković, *Romaničke kuće u Splitu i Trogiru*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, III. ser., sv. 2, Zagreb 1952, 129-178.

Fredouille 1970

J. C. Fredouille, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation romaine*, Paris 1970.

Gentili 1965

G. V. Gentili, *Piazza Amerina*, in: R. Bianchi Bandinelli (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale VI*, Roma 1965, 146-154.

Gentili 1969

G. V. Gentili, *La villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina*, Roma 1969.

Izvjeshće 1920

Izvjeshće o djelatnosti Pokrajinskog konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju i Povjerenstva Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu do konca godine 1920., VAHD XLIII, Sarajevo 1920, prilog.

J. L. 1979a

J. L., *Hram ispod poda?*, SD, Split 10. I. 1979, god. XXXVII, br. 10500, 5.

J. L. 1979b

J. L., *Nađena kamena lavlja šapa*, SD, Split 5. III. 1979, god. XXXVII, br. 10547, 3.

J. L. 1979c

J. L., *Novi detalji Venerina hrama*, SD, Split 13. II. 1979, god. XXXVII, br. 10530, 6.

J. L. 1979d

J. L., *Otkriveni ostaci Venerina hrama*, SD, Split 12. I. 1979, god. XXXVII, br. 10502, 5.

Jadrić Kučan 2019

I. Jadrić Kučan, *Palača cara Dioklecijan u Splitu tetrahijski spomenik*, PPUD 44, Split 2019, 371-385.

Karaman 1923

Lj. Karaman, *Arheologija osobitim obzirom na solinske ruševine i Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu*, in: *Dalmacija: spomen-knjiga*, Split 1923, 61-94.

Kečkemet 1954

D. Kečkemet, *Romanička loža u Splitu*, PPUD 8, Split 1954, 96-110.

Kečkemet 1963

D. Kečkemet, *Dekorativna skulptura zvonika splitske katedrale*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, III. ser., sv. 8-9, Zagreb 1963, 203-216.

Kečkemet 1964a

D. Kečkemet, *Robert Adam i Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu*, Split 1964.

Kečkemet 1964b

D. Kečkemet, *Robert Adam u Splitu 1757. godine*, SD, Split 18. XII. 1964, god. XXI, br. 6165, 5.

Kečkemet 1987

D. Kečkemet, *Reprezentativni gradski punkt?*, SD, Split 22. XII. 1987, god. XLIV, br. 13319, 12.

Kečkemet 1994a

D. Kečkemet, *Knjiga Roberta Adama o Dioklecijanovoj palači u obiteljskoj prepisci*, KB 24-25, Split 1994, 149-164.

Kečkemet 1994b

D. Kečkemet, *Splitsko groblje Sustipan*, Split 1994.

Krizomali 1981

U. Krizomali, *Crkvice sv. Anastazije u Splitu*, KB 11-12, Split 1981, 64-68.

Lugli 1989

G. Lugli, *Il Panteon e i monumenti adiacenti*, Roma 1989.

Lj. K. 1979

Lj. K., *Obnavlja se kavana „Luxor“*, SD, Split 8. I. 1979, god. XXXVII, br. 10498, 3.

Marasović 1997

D. Marasović, *Pregled značajnijih konzervatorskih radova u XX. stoljeću*, *Obnova povijesne jezgre 2*, Split 1997, 74-93.

Marasović 1964

G. Marasović, *Robert Adam i Dioklecijanova palača*, SD, Split 8. VIII 1964, god. XXI, br. 6054, 4.

Marasović 1957

J. Marasović, *Novi nalazi zapadno od Peristila Dioklecijanove palače*, SD, Split 29.-30. XI. 1957, god. XV, br. 3976-3977, 6.

Marasović 1994

J. Marasović, *Samostan sv. Klare u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu*, Kačić XXVI, Split 1994, 347-351.

Marasović, Marasović 1965

J. Marasović, T. Marasović, *Pregled radova Urbanističkog biroa na istraživanju, zaštiti i uređenju Dioklecijanove palače od 1955. do 1965. godine*, Urbs 4/1961-1962, Split 1965, 23-54.

Marasović, Marasović 1968

J. Marasović, T. Marasović, *Dioklecijanova palača*, Zagreb 1968.

Marasović 2012

K. Marasović, *Mletački kaštel u Splitu: izgradnja i preobrazbe*, *Prostor* 2 (44), Zagreb 2012, 250-263.

Marasović 1982

T. Marasović, *Dioklecijanova palača svjetska kulturna baština*, Beograd 1982.

Marasović 1995

T. Marasović, *O hramovima Dioklecijanove palače*, PPUD 35 (Petriciolijev zbornik I.), Split 1995, 89-103.

Marasović 2009

T. Marasović, *Diciassette secoli di ricerche e restauri nel palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato*, in: N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, T. Marasović (eds.), *Dioklecijan, tetrahija i Dioklecijanova palača: o 1700. obljetnici postojanja*, Split 2009, 15-50.

Marasović, Marasović 1988

T. Marasović, G. Marasović, *Vodič Splita*, Split 1988.
Marasović, Marasović 1975
T. Marasović, J. Marasović, *Pregled istraživanja, obnove i revitalizacije Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu od 1965. do 1975. godine*, *Arhitektura* 154, Zagreb 1975, 16-22.

Marasović, Vrsalović 1971

T. Marasović, D. Vrsalović, *Srednjovjekovna opatija na Sustipanu u Splitu*, VAHD LXV-LXVII/1963-1965, Split 1971, 175-208.

Marasović et al. 1958

T. Marasović, B. Kalogjera, J. Marasović, B. Pervan, D. Sumić, *Zaštita, sanacija i rekonstrukcija urbanističkog nasljeđa u Dalmaciji*, Urbs [2], Split 1958, 7-54.

Marasović et al. 1978

T. Marasović, V. Gvozdanović, S. Sekulić-Gvozdanović, A. Mohorovičić, *Prilozi istraživanju starohrvatske arhitekture*, Split 1978.

M. Marasović-Alujević 1984

M. Marasović-Alujević, *Proculianov govor splitskoj općini 1558. i njegovo značenje za kulturno-prosvjetna i filološka istraživanja*, KB 15, Split 1984, 96-101.

McKay 1984

A. G. McKay, *Römische Häuser, Villen und Paläste*, Luzern – Herrsching 1984.

McNalli, Marasović, Marasović 1977

S. McNalli, J. Marasović, T. Marasović, *Dioklecijanova palača, Izvještaj o Jugoslavensko-američkom projektu istraživanja, II. dio*, Split 1977.

McNalli et al. 1972

S. McNalli, J. Wilkes, J. Marasović, T. Marasović, *Dioklecijanova palača, Izvještaj o Jugoslavensko-američkom projektu istraživanja jugoistočnog dijela Palače, I. dio*, Split 1972.

Mihajlova 1973

B. P. Mihajlova, *Žilije soruženija*, in: *Vseobščaja historija arhitekturi* 2, Moskva 1973, 619-643.

Milani, Fosolo 1931

G. B. Milani, V. Fosolo, *Le forme architettoniche: Dall'Antichità classica alla fine Medioevo* V, Milano 1931.

Modernissimo 1964

V. Cappellini (ed.), *Modernissimo: dizionario illustrato* II, Novara 1964.

Mrduljaš 2008

M. Mrduljaš, *Split – Dioklecijanova palača (zapađne terme)*, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 5, Zagreb 2008, 617-621.

Muljačić 1958

S. Muljačić, *Kronološki pregled izgradnje Splita u XIX. i XX. stoljeću*, in: S. Sirišćević (ed.), *Zbornik Društva inženjera i tehničara u Splitu*, Split 1958, 61-96.

Muljačić 1969

S. Muljačić, *Izgradnja Splita 1944-1969.*, Urbs 8, Split 1969, 7-101.

Novak 1957

G. Novak, *Povijest Splita I*, Split 1957, 30-41.

Ostojić 1964

I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima II*, Split 1964.

Ostojić 1971

I. Ostojić, *Nadbiskupsko sjemenište u Splitu (1700-1970)*, Split 1971.

Panvini Rosati 1961.

F. Panvini Rosati, *Massimiano Erculio*, in: R. Bianchi Bandinelli (ed.), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica: classica e orientale* IV, Roma 1961, 921-923.

Perojević, Marasović, Marasović 2009

S. Perojević, K. Marasović, J. Marasović, *Istraživanje Dioklecijanove palače od 1985. do 2005. godine*, in: N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, T. Marasović (eds.), *Dioklecijan, tetrahija i Dioklecijanova palača: o 1700. obljetnici postojanja*, Split 2009, 129-333.

Petričević 1979

M. Petričević, *Samostan svete Klare u Splitu 1308-1978*, Split 1979.

Petrić 1979

P. Petrić, *Novi prilozi topografiji samostana sv. Klare u Splitu*, Kačić XXVI, Split 1994, 319-346.

Piplović 1993

S. Piplović, *Historijat istraživanja podruma Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu*, KB 22-23, Split 1993, 65-82.

Piplović 1994

S. Piplović, *O projektima zgrade samostana klarisa u Splitu*, Kačić XXVI, Split 1994, 353-360.

Piplović 1996

S. Piplović, *Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu početkom XX. stoljeća*, GPPD 12, Split 1996, 819-848.

Piplović 1997a

S. Piplović, *Drugi samostan klarisa u Splitu*, GPPD 13, Split 1997, 5-28.

Piplović 1997b

S. Piplović, *Obilježja i paradoksi Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu*, KB 28-29, Split 1997, 5-24.

Piplović 1998

S. Piplović, *Osnivanje i izgradnja prvih muzeja u Splitu*, in: J. Balabanić et al. (eds.), *Naš museum*, Zagreb 1998, 11-126.

Piplović 2001

S. Piplović, *Dioklecijanova palača kao nadahnuće*, GPPD 17, Split 2001, 245-277.

Piplović 2003

S. Piplović, *Graditelj Ante Bezić*, in: D. Dujmović (ed.), *Ante Bezić 1849. – 1906.*, Split 2003, 17-24.

Piplović 2006

S. Piplović, *Splitske vode*, Split 2006.

Piplović 2008

S. Piplović, *Izgradnja Splita između svjetskih ratova*, Split 2008.

Piplović 2010

S. Piplović, *Sfinge u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu. Jedinствена pojava u rimskoj skulpturi Ilirika*, *Anali Galerije Antuna Augustinčića* 28-29, Klanjec 2010, 379-393.

Piplović 2016

S. Piplović, *Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu nakon careve smrti*, VAHD 109, Split 2016, 259-290.

Piplović 2019

S. Piplović, *Splitske vode u prošlosti*, Split 2019.

Robertson 1964

D. S. Robertson, *A handbook of Greek e Roman architecture*, Cambridge 1964.

S. D. 2022

S. D., *I Prije 100 godina problem s parkingom, Bečki autobusi uz antičke zidine*, SD, Split 8. XII. 2022, god. LXXIX, br. 25532,15.

Starac 2004

A. Starac, *Augustov hram*, Pula 2004.

Supan 2020

V. Supan, *Podrumi Dioklecijanove palače*, Split 2020.

Šerić 1963

D. Š[erić], *Obnavlja se dvratnik južnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače*, SD, Split 21. VIII. 1963, god. XX, br. 5754, 8.

Vasić 1922

M. Vasić, *Arhitektura i Skulptura u Dalmaciji od početka IX do početka XV veka: Crkve*, Beograd 1922.

Vidulić 2022a

S. Vidulić, *Istočni zid palače: Na njemu su građene kuće, vojne bolnice, crkve i – parkirališta. Konačno je slobodan*, SD, Split 13. II. 2022, god. LXXIX, br. 25569, 19-21.

Vidulić 2022b

S. Vidulić, *Most na srebrenim vratima: Omogućit će šetnju po istočnom zidu Palače i stvoriti sasvim novu vizuru Decumanusa*, SD, Split 23. I. 2022, god. LXXIX, br. 25548, 22-24.

Vrkljan 2001

M. Vrkljan, *Mineralogija i petrografija*, Zagreb 2001.

Vrkljan 2012

M. Vrkljan, *Uvod u mineralogiju i petrologiju*, Zagreb 2012.

Weilbach 1933

F. Weilbach, *Le temple et la colonnade*, in: *Recheerches à Salone II*, Copenhagen 1933, 9-32.

Wilkes 1993

J. J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's palace, Split: Residence of a retired Roman emperor*, Sheffield 1993.

Zatvaranje kina 1961

Zatvaranje kina „Stari grad“, SD, Split 11. IV. 1961, god. XVIII, br. 5023, 6.