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Prilog poznavanju izgleda peristila Dioklecijanove palače i o nazivu peristilske sfinge

*Polazeći od akvarela austrijskog slikara R. Konope s prikazom dijela peristila Dioklecijanove palače sa sfingom iz 1911., u radu se obrađuje sloboda u slikanju tog dijela Palače (*capriccio*) počevši od 1757. godine. Potom se prate promjene izgleda stubišta protirona Peristila s ogradicama te otvaranje i zatvaranje prolaza prema južnim vratima Palače do 1941. godine. Utvrđuje se da je u navedenom razdoblju taj prostor imao osam faza. Uz to se utvrđuje podrijetlo (djelo, godina) nekih litografija i drugih prikaza Peristila iz 19. stoljeća. Također se iznose dosad nepoznati arhivski podatci o popločavanju Peristila 1764. godine i objavljuje najstariji poznati prikaz Peristila s katedralom i zvonikom iz 1711., koji je izradio Frane Marija Danza. U drugom dijelu rada istražuje se kako se u Splitu nazivalo peristilsku sfingu na temelju zapisa putopisaca i samih Splićana. Naziv je varirao od kipa posvećenog Kibeli preko kipa Jupitera do sfinge, Gorgone i dijalektalnog oblika Grongona.*

Ključne riječi: *slikarstvo, arhitektonska fantazija (*capriccio*), litografija, Charles Yriarte, sfinga, Gorgona/Grongona, peristil Dioklecijanove palače, Dalmacija, Split.*

A contribution to the study of the appearance of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace and about the name of its sphinx

Using as its starting point a watercolour depicting a section of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace with the sphinx by the Austrian painter R. Konopa from 1911, this paper examines the role of artistic license in the visual representation of this part of the Palace (capriccio) from 1757 onwards. It further follows the transformations of the Peristyle's prothyron staircase, including its balustrades, as well as the intermittent opening and closure of the passage leading to the Palace's southern gate up to the year 1941. It has been established that this space underwent eight phases during the specified period. Furthermore, the origins (work and year) of certain lithographs and other 19th-century depictions of the Peristyle are also determined. In addition, previously unknown archival data on the paving of the Peristyle in 1764 are presented, along with

the publication of the earliest known depiction of the Peristyle with the cathedral and bell tower, produced in 1711 by Frane Marija Danza. The second part of the paper examines the names used in Split for the sphinx on the Peristyle, based on accounts by travel writers as well as local residents. These designations varied from a statue dedicated to Cybele, to a statue of Jupiter, to a sphinx, a Gorgona and its name in the local dialect as Grongona.

Keywords*: painting, architectural fantasy (capriccio), lithography, Charles Yriarte, sphinx, Gorgona / Grongona, Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace, Dalmatia, Split.*



Sl. 1 - R. Konopa, *Jupiterov hram* (*Sfinga na Peristilu*), 1911. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 1 - R. Konopa, Temple of Jupiter (Sphinx on the Peristyle), 1911. (photo Ž. Bačić)

Austrijski slikari Georg Holub (1861. – 1919.) i Rudolf Konopa (1864. – 1936.) putovali su 1911. po Istri i Dalmaciji te izradili akvarele koji su 1912. tiskani u obliku albuma pod naslovom *Istrien – Dalmatien. 52 Faksimiledrucke nach Original-Aquarellen von Georg Holub u. Rudolf Konopa*. Objavilo ga je bečko Društvo za grafičku industriju (Gesellschaft für graphische Industrie); kao mjesto izdanja navedeni su Beč, Berlin, Leipzig i Stuttgart, dok godina nije navedena. Po njihovim akvarelima višekratno su tiskane razglednice, ali uglavnom bez točnih podataka o autorima.[1] U albumu su dva Konopina akvarela, od kojih prvi (T. 25) prikazuje zapadnu stranu Peristila s palačom Lukari (Skočibušić), a drugi (T. 26) sfingu na Peristilu i Dioklecijanov mauzolej s peripterom. Ono što je neobično na drugom Konopinu akvarelu jest to što nema

[1] Holub, Konopa [1912]. O tom rijetkom albumu, njegovu datiranju i izradi razglednica vidi Duplančić 2025.

In 1911, Austrian painters Georg Holub (1861–1919) and Rudolf Konopa (1864–1936) travelled through Istria and Dalmatia, when they created a series of watercolours that were printed the following year in an album titled *Istrien–Dalmatien. 52 Faksimiledrucke nach Original-Aquarellen von Georg Holub u. Rudolf Konopa*. The edition was published by the *Gesellschaft für graphische Industrie* in Vienna, with Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and Stuttgart listed as places of publication, although the exact year is not indicated. Postcards based on their watercolours were later issued on multiple occasions, but generally without accurate information about the authors.[1] The album itself includes two watercolours by Konopa: the first (Pl. 25) presents the western side of the Peristyle, featuring the Lukari (Skočibušić) Palace, while the second (Pl. 26) depicts the sphinx on the Peristyle alongside Diocletian's Mausoleum with its peripteros. What is unusual in Konopa's second watercolour is the absence of the buildings that existed behind the sphinx; instead, the background is replaced by a sky filled with clouds (Fig. 1).[2] Konopa's deliberate "purification" of the scene, together with the presence of baluster posts in the foreground, prompted a closer examination of the transformations affecting this small section of the Peristyle, as well as the evolving naming of the sphinx.

The desire to prevent the ancient parts of the imperial palace from being obscured by later architectural additions, and instead to emphasize them as much as possible, was by no means unique to Rudolf Konopa. Namely, before him and as early as 1757, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, in a watercolour of the southern temenos of the Mausoleum, omitted the medieval Church of St. Matthew and replaced the surrounding houses with tall trees; this version later served as the basis for the engraving published in Robert Adam's book of 1764.[3] It is noteworthy that Clérisseau's depiction attracted the attention of the painter Canaletto, who produced his

[1] Holub, Konopa [1912]. This rare album, its dating and the production of postcards are adressed in the paper: Duplančić 2025.

[2] An image of the postcard printed after Konopa's model is published in Kečkemet, Belamarić, Jelavić [1995], p. 285 – where only the initial "K." is given, without any accompanying date.

[3] Drawing: Prijatelj 1983, fig. 4; McCormick 1990, p. 86; Shevchenko 2017, p. 275. copper engraving: Adam 1764, pl. 27; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 103.

zgrada koje su postojale u pozadini sfinge, nego je umjesto njih prikazano nebo s oblacima[2] (sl. 1). Konopin purifikacijski postupak, kao i stupići ograde u prvom planu, potaknuli su nas da se pozabavimo mijenama tog malog dijela Peristila kao i nazivom sfinge.

Želja da se antički dijelovi careve palače ne izgube utopljeni u kasnijoj arhitekturi, već da ih se što više naglasi, nije vodila samo Rudolfa Konopu. Prije njega je 1757. Charles-Louis Clérisseau na akvarelu južnog temenosa Mauzoleja izostavio srednjovjekovnu crkvu sv. Mateja, a u pozadini umjesto kućâ naslikao visoka stabla, pa je tako izrađen bakrorez tiskan u knjizi Roberta Adama iz 1764. godine.[3] Zanimljivo je da je Clérisseauov prikaz privukao pažnju slikara Canaletta, koji je u to vrijeme izradio svoju inačicu istog motiva.[4] Još veća Clérisseauova sloboda u prikazivanju dijelova arhitekture Peristila ogleda se na njegovim dvama akvarelima u kojima je spojio protiron, zapadnu stranu Peristila i Mali hram Palače (Jupiterov hram),[5] stvorivši arhitektonske fantazije (*capriccio*), a ne posve pouzdane izvore za proučavanje prostora i građevina. I sfingu je s istočne strane „preselio“ na zapadnu stranu protirona.[6]

Slično je postupio i njemački slikar Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner (1808. – 1894.),[7] koji je zgrade iza sfinge zamijenio planinom (!). Naslikao je jugoistočni dio Peristila sa sfingom smjestivši u prvi plan skupinu žena u narodnim nošnjama s košarama i kokošima. Premda je kut gledanja malo drukčiji, Wernerov akvarel vrlo je sličan akvarelu Louisa Françoisa Cassasa iz 1782. (grafika iz 1802.),[8] crtežu Jana Baptista van Moera iz 1858. i

own version of the same motif during that time.[4] Clérisseau's even greater artistic freedom in rendering parts of the Peristyle's architecture is evident in two of his watercolours, in which he merged the prothyron, the western side of the Peristyle and the small temple of the Palace (Temple of Jupiter),[5] thereby creating architectural fantasies (*capriccio*) rather than entirely reliable sources for the study of the space and its structures. He also "relocated" the sphinx from the eastern to the western side of the prothyron.[6]

A similar approach can be observed in the work of the German painter Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner (1808–1894)[7], who replaced the buildings behind the sphinx with a mountain (!). He painted the southeastern part of the Peristyle with the sphinx, placing in the foreground a group of women in traditional dress with baskets and chickens. Although the viewpoint differs slightly, Werner's watercolour closely resembles the watercolour by Louis François Cassas from 1782 (engraved in 1802),[8] the drawing by Jan Baptist van Moer from 1858 and his painting of 1873,[9] as well as an engraving by Théodore Valério produced in 1875 and published in 1878.[10]

Werner's watercolour on paper, signed *C. Werner f. 1879* and measuring 50 × 33.5 cm, was offered at auction at the Dorotheum in Vienna on 9th November 2021 (no. 556; *Diocletian's Palace, Split, Croatia*) and originated from a private collection in Belgium.[11] In contrast to the information

2 Sliku razglednice tiskane po Konopinu predlošku vidi u Kečkemet, Belamarić, Jelavić [1995], str. 285, gdje je naveden samo inicijal K., bez godine.

3 Crtež: Prijatelj 1983, sl. 4; McCormick 1990, str. 86; Shevchenko 2017, str. 275. Bakrorez: Adam 1764, T. 27; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 103.

4 Prijatelj 1983; McCormick 1990, str. 86; Belamarić 2016, str. 54.

5 McCormick 1990, str. 82, 93; Shevchenko 2017, str. 272, 278–279; Šverko 2021, str. 498.

6 McCormick 1990, str. 82; Shevchenko 2017, str. 272. O Clérisseauovu kombiniranju stvarnih i izmišljenih prikaza arhitekture, s ranijom literaturom, vidi u Šverko 2021, str. 497.

7 Poznat je kao akvarelist i slikar arhitekture. Boetticher 1901, str. 1005–1008; Allgem. Lex. 1942, str. 404.

8 Kečkemet 1978b, str. 93 (akvarel), 131 (grafika); Belamarić 2016, str. 13 (grafika), 67 (akvarel).

4 Prijatelj 1983; McCormick 1990, p. 86; Belamarić 2016, p. 54.

5 McCormick 1990, pp. 82, 93; Shevchenko 2017, pp. 272, 278-279; Šverko 2021, p. 498.

6 McCormick 1990, p. 82; Shevchenko 2017, p. 272. On the manner in which Clérisseau combined real and imagined architectural representations, with earlier literature, see Šverko 2021, p. 497.

7 He is well-known as a watercolourist and painter of architectural elements. Boetticher 1901, pp. 1005-1008; Allgem. Lex. 1942, p. 404.

8 Kečkemet 1978b, p. 93 (watercolour), 131 (print); Belamarić 2016, p. 13 (print), 67 (watercolour).

9 Drawing: Kečkemet 1984, p. 102, 105. Image: Belamarić 2016, front cover and p. 14 (slika); Belamarić 2020a, p. 625; Belamarić 2020c, p. 381.

10 Valério's engraving published in Yriarte 1878, p. 257; 632 – list of captions and authors: *Dessin de Th. Valerio, d'après nature*. Belamarić 2016, p. 13 –here the captions in brackets are partly incorrect.

11 See: https://www.dorotheum.com/de/l/7393492/. Also see: https://www.artnet.com/artists/carl-frie-

njegovoj slici iz 1873.[9] te grafici koju je 1875. izradio Théodore Valério (tiskana 1878.).[10]

Wernerov akvarel na papiru, signiran *C. Werner f. 1879*, dimenzija 50 × 33,5 cm, pojavio se na aukciji u bečkom Dorotheumu 9. XI. 2021. (br. 556; *Diocletian's Palace, Split, Croatia*), a potjecao je iz neke privatne zbirke u Belgiji.[11] Za razliku od godine navedene na stranici Dorotheuma, Friedrich Boetticher piše da je akvarel datiran 1854. te da su mu dimenzije 53 × 36 cm. Dalje navodi da se slika (*Ansicht von Spalatro in Dalmatien*) nalazi u Gradskom muzeju u Leipzigu, gdje je dospjela 1871. iz zaklade Schumann.[12] Znače li razlike u godini i neznatne razlike u dimenzijama da je Werner naslikao dva akvarela s istim motivom? Boetticher je među Wernerovim slikama izrađenima uljem na platnu popisao i *Pogled na Split s Dioklecijanovom palačom* (*Aussicht von Spalato mit dem Palast des Diocletian*), ali ne iznosi nikakve druge podatke.[13] Svakako treba spomenuti i njegov rad *Glavni ulaz u Dioklecijanovu palaču u Splitu* (*Principal entrance to the palace of the emperor Diocletian at Spalato*), izrađen olovkom i akvarelom na papiru, koji se čuva u britanskoj kraljevskoj zbirci (RCIN 450328). Akvarel je signiran i datiran 1853. d. l., a dimenzije su mu 55,6 × 41,3 cm.[14] I na njemu ima elemenata *capriccia* (bifora i grb na kuli sata; nedostaje zvonik crkve Gospe od Zvonika).[15]

Slobodu u prikazivanju stvarnog izgleda dijelova Dioklecijanove palače i Splita iskazao je i spomenuti van Moer, na čijim djelima prepoznajemo male *capricce*. Ako usporedimo njegovu sliku Peristila iz 1860. s onima Rudolfa Alta iz 1841.,[16] uo-

9 Crtež: Kečkemet 1984, str. 102, 105. Slika: Belamarić 2016, prednja korica i str. 14; Belamarić 2020a, str. 625; Belamarić 2020c, str. 381.

10 Valériova grafika objavljena je u Yriarte 1878, str. 257, 632 – popis legendi i autora: *Dessin de Th. Valerio, d'après nature*. Belamarić 2016, str. 13 – ondje je netočan dio legende u zagradama.

11 Vidi https://www.dorotheum.com/de/l/7393492/. Također vidi https://www.artnet.com/artists/carl-friedrich-heinrich-werner/diocletians-palace-split-croatia-cTvYzpWQrGNzJdWmAwZcJQ2.

12 Boetticher 1901, str. 1007, br. 25.

13 Boetticher 1901, str. 1006, br. 24.

14 Vidi https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/450328/principal-entrance-to-the-palace-of-the-emperor-diocletian-at-spalato.

15 Sliku spominje i navodi mrežnu stranicu Borčić 2018, str. 890.

16 Koschatzky 1991, str. 58, 178–179; Borčić 2013, str. 125; Belamarić 2016, str. 44; Belamarić 2020a, str.

about the year on the website of the Dorotheum, Friedrich Boetticher states that the watercolour is dated to 1854 and measures 53 × 36 cm. He further notes that the painting (*Ansicht von Spalatro in Dalmatien*) is housed in the Leipzig City Museum, where it entered the collection in 1871 from the Schumann Foundation.[12] These discrepancies in both date and slightly in dimensions raise the question of whether Werner may have produced two watercolours with the same motif. Boetticher also mentions that among the artist's oil paintings is also the one named *View of Split with Diocletian's Palace* (*Aussicht von Spalato mit dem Palast des Diocletian*), yet he provides no other information about it.[13] Also noteworthy is Werner's work *Principal entrance to the palace of the emperor Diocletian at Spalato*, executed in pencil and watercolour on paper and preserved in the Royal Collection Trust (RCIN 450328). Signed and dated 1853 (lower left) and measuring 55.6 × 41.3 cm,[14] this piece likewise incorporates elements of *capriccio*, including the addition of a bifora and a coat of arms on the clock tower, while omitting the bell tower of the Church of Our Lady of the Bell Tower.[15]

A similar degree of artistic license in representing the actual appearance of parts of Diocletian's Palace and the city of Split can be observed in the works of the aforementioned Jan Baptist van Moer, where subtle elements of *capriccio* are also present. A comparison between his painting of the Peristyle from 1860 and those by Rudolf Alt from 1841[16] re-

drich-heinrich-werner/diocletians-palace-split-croatia-cTvYzpWQrGNzJdWmAwZcJQ2.

12 Boetticher 1901, p. 1007, no. 25.

13 Boetticher 1901, p. 1006, no. 24.

14 See: https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/450328/principal-entrance-to-the-palace-of-the-emperor-diocletian-at-spalato.

15 The painting was also mentioned and the website cited by Borčić 2018, p. 890.

16 Koschatzky 1991, p. 58, 178-179; Borčić 2013, p. 125; Belamarić 2016, p. 44; Belamarić 2020a, p. 628; Belamarić 2020c, p. 383. The same watercolour is published in all four latter works. However, there is another version which differs from the previous one, namely there is another group of people in front of the café on the left, while on the right there are no people or donkey at all. This variant is published in Prijatelj 1953, p. 10; Koschatzky 1991, p. 178. The works of Jakob (father) and Rudolf (son) Alt, whose names are often intertwined when it comes to question of authorship, have exceptional documentary value for architecture and folk costume, which is why it would be impor-

čavamo da je iza istočne kapelice unutar protirona izostavio dio zida Vestibula, zbog čega se ispod arhitrava luka vidi nebo, a iza crkvice nacrtao je visoku kuću. Iz zabata nelogično „raste" jedan dimnjak, a lijevo od njega je svojevrsni kapitel čiji bi se visoki stup, da je postojao, trebao vidjeti.[17] Međutim, riječ je o velikom prošupljenom dimnjaku na krovu obližnje kuće.[18] Kako je doista izgledao opisani dio Palače pokazuju fotografije Franza Thiarda de Laforesta oko 1873. i Rezsöa Goldbergera nastale oko

628; Belamarić 2020c, str. 383. U četirima potonjim publikacijama objavljen je isti akvarel. Međutim, postoji još jedan koji se razlikuje od prethodnog po tome što je ispred kavane lijevo druga skupina ljudi, a na desnoj strani uopće nema ljudi ni magarca. Tu varijantu donose Prijatelj 1953, str. 10; Koschatzky 1991, str. 178. Slike Jakoba (oca) i Rudolfa (sina) Alta, čija se imena često ispreplićU kada je u pitanju autorstvo, imaju izuzetnu dokumentarnu vrijednost za arhitekturu i narodne nošnje, zbog čega bi bilo vrlo važno objediniti i kvalitetno objaviti desetak njihovih akvarela sa splitskim motivima. Među njima je *Gospodski trg* (*Piazza Signori zu Spalato*), koji je predstavljen na umjetničkoj izložbi u Beču 1842., a bio je u vlasništvu austrijskog cara, zatim franjevački samostan na Poljudu iz 1840. i *Solinski zaljev* (*Bucht von Salonae*), koji je objavljen 1880. u knjizi austrougarskih povijesnih krajolika Ludwiga Hansa Fischera. Die Kunstausstellung 1842, str. 394: *Jacob Alt, der Water, stellte sechs Gemälde (Aquarell) aus – Nr. 34, 36, 37, 55, 70, 96… Nr. 55: Piazza Signori zu Spalato in Dalmatien, bei Mondbeleuchtung (beide Gemälde sind Eigenthum Sr. Majestät des Kaisers)*; Fischer 1880. Rudolfovu sliku dijela Peristila sa sfingom i Jakobovu sliku periptera Dioklecijanova mauzoleja, obje iz 1841., vidi u Belamarić 2020b, str. 11–12.

17 Na slici Peristila gledanog prema sjeveru iz 1860. umjesto jednog vide se dva nepostojeća kapitela i vrhovi njihovih stupova, kojih nema na crtežu iz 1858., koji je točniji. Slika: Belamarić 2020a, str. 631; Belamarić 2020c, sl. uz str. 221, str. 386. Crtež: Kečkemet 1984, str. 102.

18 Skretanje pažnje na ovakve detalje nekome se može učiniti sitničarenjem, ali oni ukazuju na vjerodostojnost određene slike. Ponekad su detalji itekako važni za datiranje izgleda promatranog prostora, praćenje njegovih mijena ili pak utvrđivanje vremena nastanka ili nestanka nekog reljefa, kuće itd. Spomenutog dimnjaka nema na Clérisseauovu akvarelu iz 1757. ni na bakrorezu u Adamovoj knjizi iz 1764., ali se vidi na Cassasovu akvarelu iz 1782. i na bakrorezu u knjizi Lavalléea i Cassasa iz 1802. godine. Adam 1764, T. XX; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 98; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 41; Belamarić 2016, str. 8 – Clérisseau, 38–39 – Cassas.) Iz toga bi se moglo pretpostaviti da je kuća kojoj je pripadao sagrađena ili nadograđena između 1757. i 1782. godine.

veals that Van Moer omitted part of the Vestibule wall behind the eastern chapel within the prothyron, allowing the sky to be visible beneath the architrave, while behind the small church he depicted a tall house. A chimney illogically "grows" from the pediment, and to its left appears a form resembling a capital, whose tall column—if it had existed—should have been visible.[17] In fact, this is a large perforated chimney on the roof of a nearby house.[18] The actual appearance of the described part of the Palace is documented in photographs by Franz Thiard de Laforest from 1873 and Rezső Goldberger from 1875.[19] Van Moer is likewise not entirely reli-

tant to compile and properly publish about ten of his watercolours with motifs from Split. Among them is Gospodski trg (*Piazza Signori zu Spalato*), exhibited in Vienna in 1842 and owned by the Austrian emperor; then the Franciscan monastery in Poljud from 1840; and Bay of Solin (*Bucht von Salonae*) published in 1880 in Ludwig Hans Fischer's book on Austro-Hungarian historical landscapes. Die Kunstausstellung 1842, p. 394: *Jacob Alt, der Water, stellte sechs Gemälde (Aquarell) aus – Nr. 34, 36, 37, 55, 70, 96… Nr. 55: Piazza Signori zu Spalato in Dalmatien, bei Mondbeleuchtung (beide Gemälde sind Eigenthum Sr. Majestät des Kaisers)*.; Fischer 1880. Rudolf's painting of part of the Peristyle with the sphinx and Jakob's painting of the peripteros of Diocletian's Mausoleum, both from 1841, see Belamarić 2020b, pp. 11-12.

17 The painting of the Peristyle seen from the north from 1860, one can see instead of one, two non-existent capitals and the tops of their columns appear, which are absent in the 1858 drawing that is more accurate. Painting: Belamarić 2020a, p. 631; Belamarić 2020c, fig. on p. 221, p. 386. Drawing: Kečkemet 1984, p. 102.

18 Pointing out such details may seem pedantic, but they indicate the credibility of a given painting. In certain cases, precisely these elements are crucial for dating the appearance of the observed space, tracing its transformations, or determining the time of construction or disappearance of a certain relief, a house, or similar features. The mentioned chimney is not present in Clérisseau's watercolour from 1757 nor in Adam's engraving from 1764, but it is visible in Cassas's watercolour from 1782 and in the engraving in Lavallée–Cassas's book from 1802. (Adam 1764, Pl. XX; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 98; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, Pl. 41; Belamarić 2016, p. 8 – Clérisseau, 38-39 – Cassas.) On this basis, it may be inferred that the house to which the chimney belonged was either constructed or modified between 1757 and 1782.

19 Laforest: Borčić 2013, p. 127, 151; Goldberger: Borčić 2013, p. 126, 152; Belamarić 2016, p. 44 (Alt), 66 (Van Moer), 56 (Laforest). Van Moer: Belamarić 2020a, p. 627; Belamarić 2020c, fig. on pp. 221, 385.

1875. godine.[19] Van Moer nije u potpunosti pouzdan ni u prikazu istočnog zida Palače: na zidu koji je prekrivao Srebrna vrata nacrtao je velika vrata šiljatog luka, dugu prizemnicu Arheološkog muzeja zamijenio je kućama, a baroknu crkvu sv. Dominika pretvorio je u kuću s dimnjakom i vanjskim stubištem.[20]

Igru s arhitekturom Peristila i periptera Mauzoleja dopustio si je i danski slikar Johan Peter Kornbeck (1837. – 1894.). Godine 1873. naslikao je južnu stranu periptera s lukovima Peristila i palačom Lukari (Skočibušić) u pozadini. Tri godine kasnije, 1876., izradio je *capriccio* s istim motivom, ali mu je sprijeda dodao velike lukove, a palaču Lukari zamijenio morem s otocima i brodicama.[21]

No vratimo se Konopinu akvarelu. Na njemu se u prvom planu jasno vidi kamena ograda postavljena ispred protirona i oko stubišta koje je s Peristila vodilo u tzv. podrume Dioklecijanove palače (onda poznatije pod nazivom Ispod Grota ili Carev rov). To je, međutim, kasnija faza izgleda stubišta protirona.

Faza I. – stanje sredinom 18. stoljeća. Na Clérisseauovim crtežima iz 1757.,[22] koji su bili predložak za bakrorez u Adamovoj knjizi iz 1764., vidi se da se stubište prema protironu nije protezalo od jednog do drugog kraja Peristila, već je zauzimalo njegov najveći središnji dio, dok su na obama krajevima stubišta bili niski zidovi pokriveni profiliranim kamenim pločama[23] (sl. 2). Kada je sagrađeno takvo stubište sa zidovima, nije poznato, ali su oni zasigurno zamijenjeni kamenim ogradicama sa stupićima u sklopu priprema za svečani prijenos moći

[19] Laforest: Borčić 2013, str. 127, 151; Goldberger: Borčić 2013, str. 126, 152; Belamarić 2016, str. 44 (Alt), 66 (van Moer), 56 (Laforest). Van Moer: Belamarić 2020a, str. 627; Belamarić 2020c, sl. uz str. 221, str. 385. Razglednicu izrađenu po Laforestovoj fotografiji istočne strane Peristila, na kojoj se vide dimnjaci, donosi Kečkemet 2008, str. 98.

[20] Belamarić 2020a, str. 633; Belamarić 2020c, str. 391–393, 397.

[21] Belamarić 2020b, str. 8–14.

[22] McCormick 1990, str. 81; Belamarić 2016, str. 8; Shevchenko 2017, str. 266–267. Drugi akvarel Peristila, koji prikazuje njegov jugoistočni dio, vidi u McCormick 1990, str. 82; Belamarić 2016, str. 23; Duplančić 2014, str. 353; Shevchenko 2017, str. 270. Na bakrorezu je zapadni zidić izostavljen.

[23] Adam 1764, T. XX; Novak 1961, str. 429; McCormick 1990, str. 81; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 98; Borčić 2013, str. 125.

able in his depiction of the eastern wall of the Palace: on the wall covering the Silver Gate he drew a large pointed-arch doorway; he replaced the long, single-storey building of the Archaeological Museum with houses; and he transformed the Baroque Church of St. Dominic into a house with a chimney and an external staircase.[20]

The Danish painter Johan Peter Kornbeck (1837–1894) also allowed himself artistic freedom in representing the architecture of the Peristyle and the peripteros of the Mausoleum. In 1873, he painted the southern side of the peripteros with the arches of the Peristyle and the Lukari (Skočibušić) Palace in the background. Three years later, in 1876, he produced a *capriccio* of the same motif, but added large arches in the foreground and replaced the Lukari Palace with the sea that included islands and small boats.[21]

Returning to Konopa's watercolour, one notices in the foreground a stone balustrade placed in front of the prothyron and around the staircase that once connected the Peristyle with the so-called cellars of Diocletian's Palace (at the time more commonly referred to as *Ispod Grota* or the Emperor's Trench). This feature, however, reflects a later stage in the architectural development of the prothyron staircase.

Phase I – state in the mid-18th century. In the drawings produced in 1757 by Charles-Louis Clérisseau,[22] which later served as the basis for the engraving published in 1764 in the book of Robert Adam, it can be seen that the staircase leading to the prothyron did not extend across the entire width of the Peristyle. Instead, it occupied only its largest, central section, while both ends were flanked by low walls covered with profiled stone slabs[23] (Fig. 2). It is not known when such a staircase with flanking walls was built, however, these elements were un-

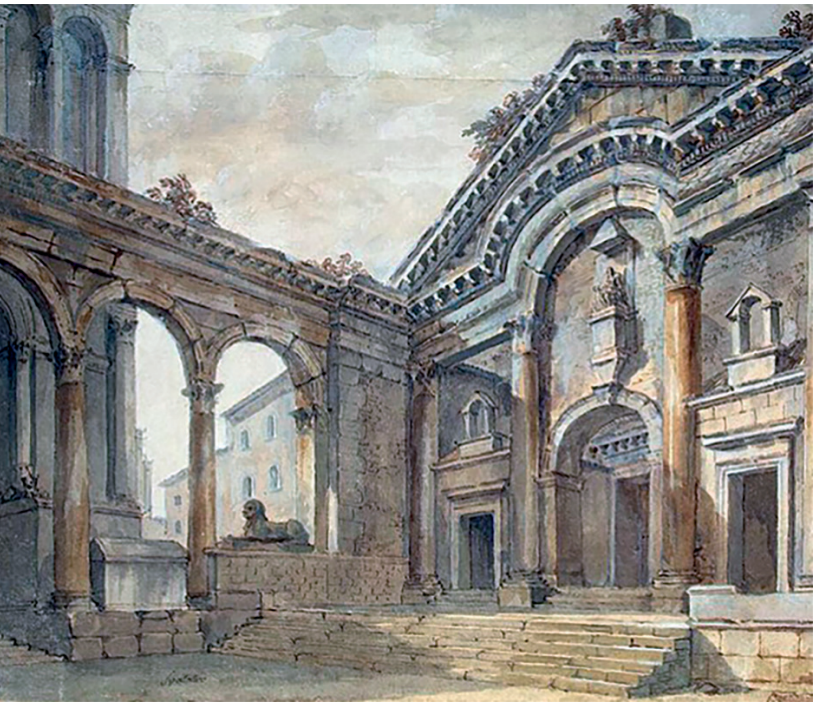
A postcard made after Laforest's photograph of the eastern side of the Peristyle, showing chimneys, is published in Kečkemet 2008, p. 98.

[20] Belamarić 2020a, p. 633; Belamarić 2020c, pp. 391-393, 397.

[21] Belamarić 2020b, pp. 8-14.

[22] McCormick 1990, p. 81; Belamarić 2016, p. 8; Shevchenko 2017, pp. 266-267. Another watercolour of the Peristyle, showing its southeastern part, see McCormick 1990, p. 82; Belamarić 2016, p. 23; Duplančić 2014, p. 353; Shevchenko 2017, p. 270. The western wall is omitted in the engraving.

[23] Adam 1764, PL. XX; Novak 1961, p. 429; McCormick 1990, p. 81; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 98; Borčić 2013, p. 125.



Sl. 2 - C. L. Clérisseau, *Protiron Peristila*, 1757. (preuzeto iz: Shevchenko 2017, str. 270)
Fig. 2 - C. L. Clérisseau, Prothyron of the Peristyle, 1757. (taken from Shevchenko 2017, p. 270)

sv. Dujma iz starog u novi oltar u katedrali. Naime, gradski knez i kapetan Antonio Dolfino dao je 1764. da se *krasno* poploča trg ispred katedrale, tj. Peristil, i da se obnovi stepenište koje od njega vodi do ulaza u katedralu.[24] Tada je i stubište ispred protirona produženo prema istoku i zapadu.

Faza II. Novi izgled stubišta s ogradicama vidi se na Cassasovim crtežima[25] i akvarelima iz 1782.[26] te bakrorezima izrađenima po njima, objavljenima u knjizi Lavalléea i Cassasa 1802. godine[27] (sl. 3). Stupići ogradica oblikom su bili slični onima na balkonima obližnje palače Cipci/Grisogono,[28] čiji

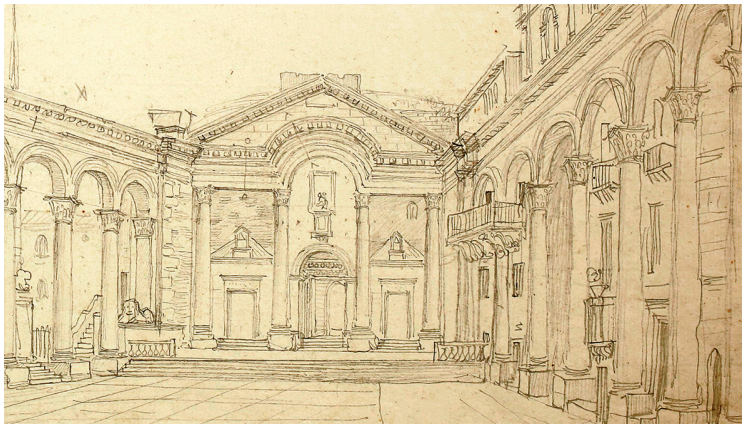
[24] Bajamonti 1770, str. 9: *nobilissima lastricatura*; Bajamonti 1975, str. 253 (hrvatski prijevod).

[25] Westfehling 1994, str. 71, 76; Warin 2017, str. 504–505.

[26] Kečkemet 1978b, str. 91–93; Cassas 1979, str. 83–85; Westfehling 1994, str. 74, 76–77.

[27] Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 39–41; Kečkemet 1978b, str. 129, 131; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 329, 332, 338.

[28] Usporedi slike u Borčić 2013, str. 125–150. Razvoj sklopa te palače vidi u Marasović, J. 2007, str. 42–48, 136–138. Varijante ovakvih stupića, i to jedne na prvom katu, a druge na drugom, imaju palače Cindro i Milesi, palača Tartaglia, kuća Pavlović i još neke. Borčić 2013, str. 232 (Cindro), 505–506, 511–515 (Milesi), 521–522 (Tartaglia). Pregled baroknih zgrada vidi u Jakaša 2002.



Sl. 3 - L. F. Cassas, *Peristil*, detalj, 1782. (preuzeto iz: Warin 2017, str. 505)
Fig. 3 - L. F. Cassas, Peristyle, detail, 1782. (taken from Warin 2017, p. 505)

doubtedly replaced by stone balustrades with small columns during the preparations for the ceremonial translation of the relics of St. Domnius from the old to the new altar in the cathedral. Indeed, in 1764 the city count and captain Antonio Dolfin ordered that the square in front of the cathedral, i.e. the Peristyle, be nicely paved and that the staircase leading from it to the cathedral entrance be restored.[24] On this occasion, the staircase in front of the protyron was extended both eastward and westward.

Phase II. The new appearance of the staircase with balustrades is visible in Cassas's drawings[25] and watercolours from 1782[26], as well as in the engravings based on them and published in the book of Lavallée–Cassas from 1802[27] (Fig. 3). The baluster posts were similar in form to those on the balconies of the nearby Cipci/Grisogono Palace[28], whose southern section was remodelled precisely in the period between the visits of Adam and Clérisseau in 1757 and that of Cassas in 1782, as evidenced

[24] Bajamonti 1770, p. 9: *nobilissima lastricatura*; Bajamonti 1975, p. 253 (Croatian translation).

[25] Westfehling 1994, p. 71, 76; Warin 2017, pp. 504-505.

[26] Kečkemet 1978b, pp. 91-93; Cassas 1979, pp. 83-85; Westfehling 1994, pp. 74, 76-77.

[27] Lavallée, Cassas 1802, PL. 39-41; Kečkemet 1978b, p. 129, 131; Spon, Adam 1997, pp. 329, 332, 338.

[28] Cf. paintings in Borčić 2013, pp. 125-150. Development of the complex and palace, see Marasović J. 2007, 42-48, 136-138. Variants of such small columns—some on the first floor and others on the second—are present at the Cindro and Milesi palaces, the Tartaglia palace, the Pavlović house, and several others. Borčić 2013, p. 232 (Cindro), pp. 505, 506, 511-515 (Milesi), pp. 521-522 (Tartaglia). For an overview of Baroque buildings, see Jakaša 2002.

je južni dio preinačen upravo u razdoblju između Adamova i Clérisseauova posjeta Splitu 1757. i Cassasova 1782., što pokazuju njihovi akvareli, crteži i bakrorezi.[29] Oba početna stupca ograde, kako na stranama prema Peristilu tako i na bočnim stranama okrenutim jedan prema drugom, bila su ukrašena kantarosima iz kojih se izvija lozica.[30] Tako su ukrašeni i ugaoni stupovi na balkonu palače Dragišić De Caris, kasnije Zlendić.[31]

Godine 1817. ili početkom 1818. otvorena su južna vrata Dioklecijanove palače (prema moru), od kojih se, ispod svodova (*lukova*) tzv. Podruma i uz kućice koje su dijelom bile u Podrumima i u Vestibulu, dolazilo na Peristil.[32] Tadašnje privremeno stubište i uličicu koja je vodila do južnih vrata uređivao je 1822. – 1824. inženjer Vicko Andrić.[33] Kako je otprilike izgledao taj svojevrsni labirint dočaravaju Clérisseauov akvarel iz 1757. i bakrorez iz Adamove knjige,[34] Andrićevi presjeci kroz Dioklecijanovu palaču i tlocrti podrumskih prostorija 1846. – 1851.[35] te akvareli Petra Zečevića[36] i kasnije fotografije.[37]

Faza III. Tek je prigodom radova na probijanju otvora ispred protirona i uređenja Ulice Grota 1860. – 1862. uspostavljena direktna veza između Peristila i obale.[38] Zbog toga se otvor ne vidi na lito-

[29] Clérisseau: Kečkemet 1978b, str. 136; McCormick 1990, str. 81; Belamarić 2016, str. 8; Shevchenko 2017, str. 266–267; Warin 2017, str. 504–505; Adam 1764, T. XX; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 98. Cassas: Lavallée – Casssas 1802, T. 41; Kečkemet 1978b, str. 92, 94, 129; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 329; Westfehling 1994, str. 71, 76.

[30] Ukras se vidi na starim fotografijama, osobito povećavanjem detalja. Uočava se dijelom i na fotografijama u: Borčić 2013, str. 129, 135, 186; Belamarić 2016, str. 40.

[31] Fisković 1962, str. 20–21; Borčić 2013, str. 525. Florealne ukrase, ali bez kantarosa, imaju stupići ograde palače pretvorene u hotel *Slavija*. Borčić 2013, str. 308–309.

[32] Pederin 1985, str. 133; Kečkemet 1993, str. 43.

[33] Kečkemet 1993, str. 44, 69–70, 144–145.

[34] Clérisseau: McCormick 1990, str. 84; Shevchenko 2017, str. 274. Adam: Adam 1764, T. XXIII; Novak 1961, str. 265; Spon, Adam 1997, str. 100.

[35] Kečkemet 1993, str. 71–73, sl. 49–53, 55, 58–59.

[36] Žižić 2004, str. 21, 25.

[37] Borčić 2013, str. 138, 294–297. Pogled na unutrašnjost Vestibula i tzv. Carev rov prije rekonstrukcije 1956. – 1957. vidi u: Marasović, J. 1957, str. 55–58; Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Gabričević 2014, str. 18, 32–35, 38–47.

[38] Novak 1965, str. 412; Kečkemet 1993, str. 145; Borčić 2013, str. 126.

by their watercolours, drawings and engravings.[29] The initial posts of the railing—both those facing the Peristyle and those on the lateral sides facing one another— were decorated with kantharoi from which a vine tendril emerges.[30] Similar decoration appears on the corner posts of the balcony of the Dragišić de Caris Palace, later Zlendić.[31]

A further significant intervention occurred in 1817 or at the beginning of 1818, when the southern gate of Diocletian's Palace, facing the sea, was opened. Access to the Peristyle was then established underneath the vaults (*arches*) of the so-called cellar and along small houses, partly situated within the substructures and the Vestibule.[32] Between 1822 and 1824, a temporary staircase and the alley leading toward the southern gate were arranged under the direction of the engineer Vicko Andrić.[33] The watercolour by Clérisseau from 1757 and the copper engraving from Adam's book give us an idea of what this kind of labyrinth looked like,[34] as do Andrić's cross-sections through Diocletian's Palace and the floor plans of the basement rooms from 1846 – 1851, [35] the watercolours of Petar Zečević[36] and later photographs.[37]

Phase III. Only during the works carried out between 1860 and 1862, when an opening was cre-

[29] Clérisseau: Kečkemet 1978b, p. 136; McCormick 1990, p. 81; Belamarić 2016, p. 8; Shevchenko 2017, pp. 266-267; Warin 2017, pp. 504-505; Adam 1764, PL. XX; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 98. Cassas: Lavallée – Casssas 1802, PL. 41; Kečkemet 1978b, pp. 92, 94, 129; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 329; Westfehling 1994, pp. 71, 76.

[30] The decoration can be seen in old photographs, especially when details are enlarged. It is also partly visible in the photographs in Borčić 2013, pp. 129, 135, 186; Belamarić 2016, p. 40.

[31] Fisković 1962, pp. 20-21; Borčić 2013, p. 525. Floral decorations, though without kantharoi, can be found on the columns of the railing of the palace that was converted into Hotel *Slavija*. Borčić 2013, pp. 308-309.

[32] Pederin 1985, p. 133; Kečkemet 1993, p. 43.

[33] Kečkemet 1993, pp. 44, 69-70, 144-145.

[34] Clérisseau: McCormick 1990, p. 84; Shevchenko 2017, p. 274. Adam: Adam 1764, PL. XXIII; Novak 1961, p. 265; Spon, Adam 1997, p. 100.

[35] Kečkemet 1993, pp. 71-73, figs. 49-53, 55, 58-59.

[36] Žižić 2004, pp. 21, 25.

[37] Borčić 2013, pp. 138, 294-297. For a view of the interior of the vestibule and the so-called Emperor's trench before the reconstruction of 1956–1957, see Marasović J. 1957, pp. 55-58; Marasović J., Marasović PL., Gabričević 2014, pp. 18, 32-35, 38-47.

grafiji Vicenza Poireta[39] i naslovnoj stranici njegova *Albuma* iz 1840., zatim na akvarelima Rudolfa Alta iz 1841.,[40] litografiji koju je 1843. izradio Mat(t)hias Trentsensky prema predlošku nekog slikara Rossija,[41] zatim na slici Johanna Högelmüllera iz 1843. – 1845.,[42] tabli u putopisu Johna Gardnera Wilkinsona iz 1848. koji je u jesen 1844. boravio u Splitu,[43] akvarelu Antuna Barača oko 1850.,[44] tabli koju je izradio tršćanski litograf V. Stranski, a objavljena je u knjizi Francesca Lanze 1855.,[45] crtežu Jana Baptista van Moera iz 1858. i njegovim slikama iz 1860. i 1878. godine[46] te litografiji A.

[39] Novak 1965, str. 413 – tu pogrešno piše da je autor Marko Kažotić (de Casotti), koji je napisao popratne tekstove, a ne izradio slike u Poiret 1840. Borčić 2013, str. 125 – Poiret. Međutim, u Borčić 2018, str. 890, za istu se sliku u legendi netočno navodi da je autor C. F. H. Werner.

[40] Koschatzky 1991, str. 58, 178–179; Borčić 2013, str. 125; Belamarić 2016, str. 44.

[41] Slika je objavljena kao tabla uz naslovnu stranicu Carrarine knjige 1844. Signatura slikara je d. l.: *Rossi dis.*; signatura litografa d. d.: *Lith. M. Trentsensky Vienna 1843.*; naziv ispod po sredini: PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI SPALATO. Mat(t)hias Trentsensky (1790. – 1868.) bio je austrijski litograf i izdavač koji je imao tvrtku u Beču. ÖBL 2025, str. 454.

[42] Kečkemet 1990, str. 176, sl. 17. Pretisak cijele kolorirane mape Högelmüller 2009; slika Peristila T. 17. Autorovi crteži nastali su za vrijeme njegova boravka u Splitu od 1843. do 1845., ali je mapa počela izlaziti u sveščićima 1847. godine.

[43] Wilkinson 1848, T. između str. 128 i 129. Treba istaknuti da je isti prikaz Peristila ponovno objavljen gotovo 50 godina kasnije u pregledu povijesti arhitekture Charlesa Thompsona Mathewsa. (Mathews 1896, str. 194, T. XXIII.) U istom djelu objavljena je slika dijela Peristila s crkvama sv. Roka i sv. Barbare te katedralom i dijelom zvonika (str. 196, T. XXIV), koja je također preuzeta iz Wilkinson 1848, T. između str. 130 i 131. Za Wilkinsonov posjet Splitu i veze s F. Carrarom vidi Duplančić <2020>, str. 356.

[44] Novak 1965, str. 474; Žižić 2004, str. 15, 45, uvećano na prednjoj korici knjige; Belamarić 2016, str. 11 – tu piše da je akvarel iz 1838. godine. Zbog prikaza biskupa u procesiji ta datacija nije točna jer je tada biskupska stolica bila upražnjena. Biskup Pavao Klement Miošić umro je 10. X. 1837.; imenovani biskup Beninji Albertini nije preuzeo biskupiju jer je umro 24. VIII. 1838., a biskup Josip Godeasi, koji je imenovan 1840., službu je preuzeo 1841. godine.

[45] Lanza 1855, T. IV. Signatura d. d.: Lit. V. Stranski. Trieste. Naziv ispod po sredini: *Peristilo, oggi Piazza del Duomo*.

[46] Crtež: Kečkemet 1984, str. 102. Slike: Belamarić 2016, str. 66 (slika iz 1860.), prednja korica i str. 14 (slika iz 1873.); Belamarić 2020a, str. 627, 631; Belamarić 2020c, str. 385–386, slike uz str. 221.

ated in front of the prothyron and the Grota Street was arranged, was a direct connection established between the Peristyle and the seashore.[38] For this reason, the opening is not visible in numerous earlier depictions: in the lithograph by Vincenzo Poiret[39] and the title page of his *Album* from 1840; in the watercolours of Rudolf Alt (1841)[40]; in the lithograph produced in 1843 by Matthias Trentsensky after a model by a painter named Rossi;[41] in the painting by Johann Högelmüller from 1843–1845;[42] in the plate in John Gardner Wilkinson's travel account from 1848, who stayed in Split in the autumn of 1844;[43] in the watercolour by Antun Barač from around 1850;[44] in the plate by the Trieste lithogra-

[38] Novak 1965, p. 412; Kečkemet 1993, p. 145; Borčić 2013. p. 126.

[39] Novak 1965, p. 413 – here it is incorrectly stated that the author is Marko Kažotić (de Casotti), who wrote the accompanying texts but did not produce the images in Poiret 1840. Borčič 2013, p. 125 – Poiret. However, in Borčić 2018, p. 890, the same painting is incorrectly attributed in the caption to C. F. H. Werner.

[40] Koschatzky 1991, pp. 58, 178-179; Borčić 2013, p. 125; Belamarić 2016, p. 44.

[41] The image was published as a plate accompanying the title page of Carrara's book in 1844. The painter's signature appears lower left: *Rossi dis.*; lithographer's signature lower right: *Lith. M. Trentsensky Vienna 1843.*; title centred below: PIAZZA DEL DUOMO DI SPALATO. Mat(t)hias Trentsensky (1790 – 1868) was an Austrian lithographer and publisher based in Vienna. ÖBL 2025, p. 454.

[42] Kečkemet 1990, p. 176, fig. 17. A reprint of the entire coloured album: Högelmüller 2009; painting of the Peristyle PL. 17. The author's drawings were made during his stay in Split from 1843 to 1845, but the album began to be published in volumes in 1847.

[43] Wilkinson 1848, PL. between pp. 128 and 129. It should be noted that the same depiction of the Peristyle was republished almost 50 years later in Charles Thompson Mathews's survey of the history of architecture. Mathews 1896, p. 194, PL. XXIII. The same work also includes an image of part of the Peristyle with the churches of St. Roch and St. Barbara, as well as the cathedral and part of the bell tower (p. 196, PL. XXIV) also taken from Wilkinson 1848, PL. between pp. 130 and 131. For Wilkinson's visit to Split and his connections with F. Carrara, see Duplančić <2020>, p. 356.

[44] Novak 1965, p. 474; Žižić 2004, pp. 15, 45, enlarged on the book's front cover; Belamarić 2016, p. 11 – here it is stated that the watercolour dates to 1838. However, due to the depiction of a bishop in procession, this dating is incorrect, since the episcopal seat was vacant at the time. Bishop Pavao Klement Miošić died on 10th October 1837; the appointed bishop Beninji Albertini



Sl. 4 - F. Thiard de Laforest, *Peristil*, detalj, oko 1875. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 4 - F. Thiard de Laforest, Peristyle, detail, ca. 1875. (photo Ž. Bačić)

Hirscha tiskanoj u putopisu Charlesa Pelerina 1860. godine.[47] Otvor se ne vidi ni na slici Peristila Fridricha Zeissa, koju je gravirao Carl Bertrand, a koja je sigurno nastala neposredno prije probijanja otvora i možda je najmlađa slika koja prikazuje prethodno stanje, premda je objavljena 1862. godine.[48]

pher V. Stranski published in Francesco Lanza's book (1855);[45] in the drawing by Jan Baptist van Moer from 1858 and his paintings of 1860 and 1878;[46] and in the lithograph by A. Hirsch published in Charles Pelerin's travel account in 1860.[47] The opening is also absent from the painting of the Peristyle by Friedrich Zeiss, which was engraved by Carl Bertrand. Although published in 1862, this work was almost certainly created shortly before the intervention and may therefore represent the latest visual record of the earlier state.[48]

The opening leading to the Substructures was protected by a low stone balustrade (fig. 4). Unlike the earlier lateral posts, its balusters were cone-

47 Pelerin 1860, T. 5. Signatura d. l.: A. Hirsch Lith.; po sredini naziv tiskare: Imp. Lemercier, Paris. Naziv ispod po sredini: PERISTYLE DU PALAIS / 5. Auguste Alexandre Hirsch (1833. – 1912.), francuski slikar i litograf; Joseph-Rose Lemercier (1803. – 1887.), francuski tiskar i litograf.

48 Der Domplatz 1862. Primjerak grafike (nadorez) čuvaju Muzej grada Splita i Grafička zbirka Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu. Dolje lijevo je signatura slikara: *F. Zeiss pinx*., a desno podatak da je izdavač Austrijski Lloyd u Trstu: *Stich u Druck d KunstAnst. d Oestr. Lloyd in Triest*., na što se uz kut nadovezuje signatura gravera: *C. Bertrand sc*. Na sredini ispod okvira nalazi se natpis: *Piazza del Duomo in Spalato. / (Peristillo)*. Grafika prati nepotpisani članak *Der Domplatz in Spalato (Peristylium)* objavljen 1862. u mjesečniku *Illustriertes Familienbuch zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung häuslicher Kreise*, koji je izdavao Austrijski Lloyd u Trstu. Dvanaest brojeva tvorilo je jedan svezak (*Band*). Spomenuti članak tiskan je u 10. broju II. sveska nove serije, na str. 346. U popisu tabli na kraju sveska (str. 360): *3. Der Domplatz in Spalato. (Piazza del Duomo.) Nach der Natur gezeichnet von F. Zeiss*. U sadržaju cijelog godišta, u popisu tabla na str. IV: *Der Domplatz in Spalato*. Borčić 2013, str. 125 – tu je slika skraćena u gornjem dijelu. Cijela slika, never assumed office, as he died on 24th August 1838; Bishop Josip Godeasi, who was appointed in 1840, took office in 1841.

45 Lanza 1855, PL. IV. Signature lower right: Lit. V. Stranski. Trieste. Title centred below: *Peristilo, oggi Piazza del Duomo*.

46 Drawing: Kečkemet 1984, p. 102. Images: Belamarić 2016, painting from 1860, p. 66; painting from 1873, front cover and p. 14; Belamarić 2020a, pp. 627, 631; Belamarić 2020c, pp. 385, 386, images on p. 221.

47 Pelerin 1860, PL. 5. Signature lower left: A. Hirsch Lith., name of the printing house in the centre: Imp. Lemercier, Paris. Title centred below: PERISTYLE DU PALAIS / 5. Auguste Alexandre Hirch (1833 – 1912), a French painter and lithographer; Joseph-Rose Lemercier (1803. – 1887.), a French printer and lithographer.

48 Der Domplatz 1862. A copy of the engraving (steel engraving) is kept in the Split City Museum and the Print Collection of the National and University Library in Zagreb. Lower left: painter's signature: *F. Zeiss pinx*., on the right, information that the publisher is Austrian Lloyd in Trieste: *Stich u Druck d KunstAnst. d Oep. Lloyd in Triest.* Followed by the engraver's signature in the corner: *C. Bertrand sc*. At the centre, beneath the frame, is the inscription: *Piazza del Duomo in Spalato. / (Peristillo)*. The print accompanies an unsigned article entitled *Der Domplatz in Spalato (Peristylium)* published in 1862 in the monthly periodical *Illustriertes Familienbuch zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung häuslicher Kreise*, issued by Austrian Lloyd in Trieste. Twelve issues constituted a single volume (*Band*). The article in question appeared in the tenth issue of the second volume of the new series, on p. 346. In the list of plates at the end of the volume (p. 360): *3. Der Domplatz in Spalato. (Piazza del Duomo.) Nach der Natur gezeichnet von F. Zeiss*. In the general contents of the annual volume, within the list of plates on p. IV: *Der Domplatz in Spalato*. Borčić 2013, p. 125 – here it is cropped in the upper part. The complete image, albeit without any information about the authorship, was published in Manger 1938, p. 55.



Sl. 5 - F. Thiard de Laforest (?), *Peristil*, detalj, oko 1875. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 5 - F. Thiard de Laforest (?), Peristyle, detail, ca. 1875. (photo Ž. Bačić)

Otvor prema Podrumima bio je osiguran kamenom ogradicom sa stupićima (sl. 4). Oni nisu bili poput prijašnjih bočnih već u obliku čunjeva[49] što se vidi na brojnim fotografijama i razglednicama Peristila (sl. 5).[50] Najstarija fotografija jest ona koju je snimo Rezsö Goldberger oko 1872.,[51] a po kojoj je izrađena grafika objavljena u prosincu 1872. uz članak Gustava Rascha o Dioklecijanovoj palači[52] (sl.

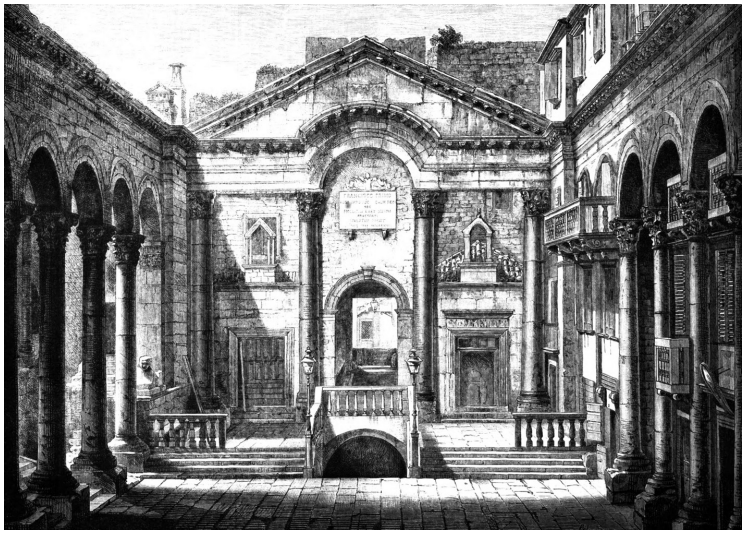
ali bez ikakvog podatka o autoru, tiskana je u Manger 1938, str. 55.

49 Vidi slike u Bulić 1908, T. X; Borčić 2013, str. 126–128.

50 Bulić 1908, T. XIII; Kečkemet 2008, str. 98-108; Borčić 2013, str. 125–157, 186–187, 190.

51 Borčić 2013, str. 126; tu je fotografija datirana oko 1875. godine.

52 Rasch 1873, str. 226–227, – tekst, 225 – slika. Ispod slike je legenda: *Peristylium des römischen Kaiserpalastes in Spalato. Nach einer Photographie im Besitze des Professors Dr. Francesco Lanza in Spalato*. Signatura d. d. nejasna. Iz legende doznajemo da je fotografija po kojoj je napravljena grafika bila u posje-



Sl. 6 - Peristil, 1872.
Fig. 6 - Peristyle, 1872.

shaped,[49] as can be seen in numerous photographs and postcards of the Peristyle (fig. 5).[50] The earliest photograph is the one taken by Rezsö Goldberger around 1872,[51] which served as the basis for an engraving published in December 1872 alongside Gustav Rasch's article on Diocletian's Palace (fig. 6).[52] Another engraving, also based on a photograph, was produced by the well-known British illustrator Henry William Brewer (1836–1903) and published in *The Graphic* in 1875.[53] The photo-

49 See illustrations in Bulić 1908, pl. X; Borčić 2013, pp. 126-128.

50 Bulić 1908, pl. XIII; Kečkemet 2008, pp. 98-108; Borčić 2013, pp. 125-157, 186-187, 190.

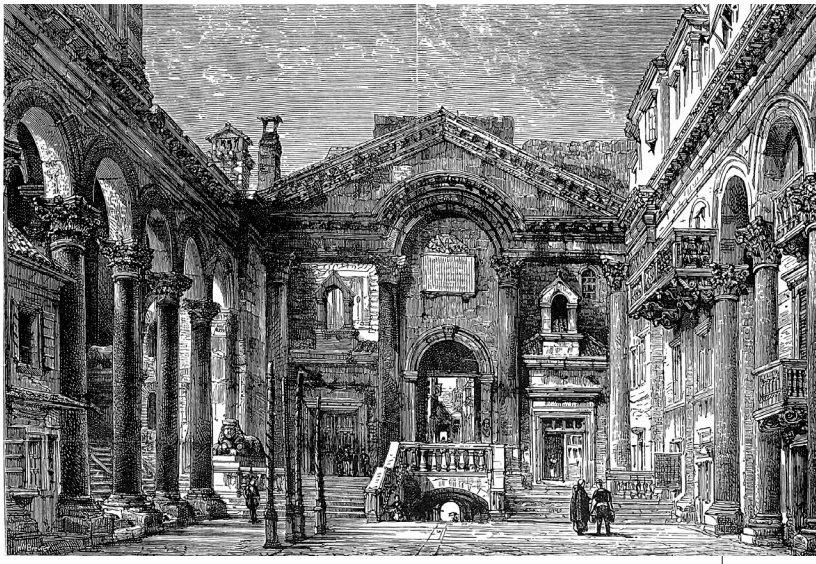
51 Borčić 2013, p. 126; the photograph is dated there to around 1875.

52 Rasch 1873, pp. 226–227 – text, p. 225 – illustration. The caption below the illustration reads: *Peristylium des römischen Kaiserpalastes in Spalato. Nach einer Photographie im Besitze des Professors Dr. Francesco Lanza in Spalato*. The signature at the lower right is unclear. The caption indicates that the photograph used as the basis for the engraving belonged to Francesco Lanza, a teacher at the Split gymnasium and director of the Archaeological Museum. On the basis of the engraving's publication, Goldberger's photograph can be dated to around 1872. In Borčić 2013, p. 126, the photograph is slightly cropped on both the left and right. The journal *Über land und Meer* appeared in two volumes (*Band*), the first covering October–March and the second April–September. This is important to emphasise because, in this instance, the title page and contents of the first volume bear the date 1873, although the first 13 issues appeared in 1872.

53 Herzegovina insurrection 1875, p. 371 – text, p. 372 – plate. The plate is entitled THE HERZEGOVINIAN INSURRECTION and shows the Peristyle above, with

6). Drugu grafiku, također na temelju fotografije, izradio je poznati britanski ilustrator Henry William Brewer (1836. – 1903.) i tiskana je u časopisu *The Graphic* 1875. godine.[53] Fotografije je uredništvu časopisa ustupio Arthur Evans koji je upravo dva mjeseca prije, zajedno s mlađim bratom Lewisom, bio u Crnoj Gori tijekom hercegovačkog ustanka.[54] Brewerova grafika ponovljena je u pregledu grčke i talijanske arhitekture koji je napisao Henry Halsall Bishop; knjiga je najprije objavljena 1887., a potom 1890. godine[55] (sl. 7).

Slijedi prikaz Peristila koji je tiskan 1876. u putopisnom članku C. Yriartea u časopisu *Le Tour du*



Sl. 7 - H. W. Brewer, *Peristil*, 1887.
Fig. 7 - H. W. Brewer, Peristyle, 1887.

graphs were supplied to the journal's editors by Arthur Evans, who had been in Montenegro with his younger brother Lewis just two months earlier, during the Herzegovinian uprising.[54] Brewer's engraving was reproduced in a survey of Greek and Italian architecture written by Henry Halsall Bishop; the book was first published in 1887 and subsequently in 1890[55] (fig. 7).

du Francesca Lanze, profesora na splitskog gimnaziji i ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja. Goldbergerova fotografija se na temelju objave grafike može datirati oko 1872. godine. Kod Borčić 2013, str. 126, fotografija je malo skraćena s lijeve i desne strane. Časopis Über *land und Meer* izlazio u dva sveska (*Band*) od kojih je prvi obuhvaćao mjesece listopad-ožujak, a drugi travanj-rujan. To je bitno naglasiti jer na naslovnoj stranici prvog sveska i u sadržaju, u našem slučaju, stoji 1873. godina premda je prvih 13 brojeva izašlo u 1872. godini.

53 Herzegovina insurrection 1875, str. 371 – tekst, 372 – tabla. Naziv table je: THE HERZEGOVINIAN INSURRECTION, a na njoj je Peristil (gore), Zlatna vrata i Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku (dole). Slike imaju legendu: *1. The Piazzo (sic!) del Duomo, Spalato (a Court of Diocletian's Palace). – 2. Porta Aurea, Spalato (a Gate of Diocletian's Palace. – 3. The Palazzo Rittorale, Ragusa, formerly Residence of the Rectors of the Ragusan Republic*. Autorov potpis na slici Peristila je d. l.: H W Brewer, a na slici Zlatnih vrata i Kneževog dvora d. l.: HWB. U članku se najprije govori o Dubrovniku, zatim o Splitu, a potom uz hercegovački ustanak uz koji se vežu iduće četiri slike. Slika Peristila, a to znači fotografija po kojoj je izrađena, veoma podsjeća na onu Thiarda de Laforesta, ali u odnosu na nju obuhvaća veći prostor. Usporedi fotografiju u Borčić 2013, str. 127.

54 Herzegovina insurrection 1875, str. 371: *Our illustrations are from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. A. J. Evans*. Kako je došlo do putovanja Evans 1876, str. V predgovora. Istu sliku Kneževog dvora, također s inicijalima HWB, Evans je objavio u svoj knjizi o Bosni i Hercegovini u kojoj je IX. poglavlje posvećeno Dubrovniku i Cavtatu. Evans 1876, str. 421, legenda: *Palazzo Rettorale and Torre del Orologio, Ragusa*. U prijevodu Evans 1965, str. 9 – predgovor, 325 – slika.

55 Bishop 1887, str. 26. Naslov slike je: THE PIAZZA DEL DUOMO, SPALATO. – A COURT OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE. U istoj knjizi su još: splitska luka s pročeljem Dioklecijanove palače str. 21 (kombinacija po Adamu i kasnijim sličnim slikama) i Zlatna vrata Dioklecijanove palače str. 23.

the Golden Gate and the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik below. The illustrations carry the caption: *1. The Piazzo (sic!) del Duomo, Spalato (a Court of Diocletian's Palace). – 2. Porta Aurea, Spalato (a Gate of Diocletian's Palace. – 3. The Palazzo Rittorale, Ragusa, formerly Residence of the Rectors of the Ragusan Republic*. The artist's signature appears at the lower left of the Peristyle illustration as H W Brewer, and at the lower left of the illustrations of the Golden Gate and the Rector's Palace as HWB. The article first discusses Dubrovnik, then Split, and finally the Herzegovinian uprising, to which the next four illustrations relate. The illustration of the Peristyle, and thus the photograph on which it was based, closely resembles the photograph by Thiard de Laforest, but encompasses a wider view. Compare the photograph in Borčić 2013, p. 127.

54 Herzegovina insurrection 1875, p. 371: *Our illustrations are from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. A. J. Evans*. For the circumstances leading to the journey, see Evans 1876, p. V of the preface. Evans published the same illustration of the Rector's Palace, also bearing the initials HWB, in his book on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chapter IX of which is devoted to Dubrovnik and Cavtat. Evans 1876, p. 421, caption: *Palazzo Rettorale and Torre del Orologio, Ragusa*. In the translation, Evans 1965, p. 9 – preface, p. 325 – illustration.

55 Bishop 1887, p. 26. The illustration is entitled: THE

monde,[56] a zatim 1878. u njegovoj knjizi o obalama Jadrana i Crnoj Gori[57] te u njenim talijanskim prijevodima 1883. i 1897. godine.[58] Yriarte je u našim krajevima boravio 1874. i tada počinje pisati svoja zapažanja te crtati ono što mu je bilo zanimljivo kao i nabavljati fotografije po kojima su kasnije rađeni crteži.[59] Dio o Trstu i Istri objavio je 1875. u tri nastavka u spomenutom časopisu pod naslovom *L'Istrie et la Dalmatie* premda u njima nema govora o Dalmaciji.[60] Iduće, 1876. godine Yriarte je u devet nastavaka, a pod naslovom *La Dalmatie*, objavio tekstove kojima je obuhvatio prostor od Rijeke i Kvarnera, preko Dalmacije i Dubrovnika do Boke kotorske, odnosno Kotora.[61] Odmah po objavljivanju teksta o Trstu i Istri objavljen je 1875. u Milanu njegov prijevod na talijanski, dok su Dalmacija i Crna Gora prevedene 1878. – nakon objavljivanja cijele Yriartove knjige – i tiskane odvojeno.[62] Cjelovita talijanska izdanja knjige uslijedila su 1883. i 1897. godine.[63] Hrvatski prijevod dijela o Istri i

[56] Yriarte 1876b, str. 69.

[57] Yriarte 1878c, str. 253 – slika, 632 – popis legendi i autora; Peristil je pod br. 115. Sliku je po fotografiji izradio Auguste Victor Deroy, a gravirao Charles Laplante čiji je potpis na grafici d. d. Objavljena u Novak 1965, str. 415; Mønnesland 2011, str. 189. Mønnesland na više mjesta govori o Yriarteu i donosi slike vezane uz njega (str. 188–213, 219–223). Međutim, svi podaci nisu točni i unijeta je pomutnja u činjenice. Najprije (str. 188) navodi da je Yriarteov tekst o Dalmaciji objavljen 1875. umjesno 1876., a pritom donosi sliku naslova članka *L'Istrie et la Dalmatie* koji je tiskan 1875. godine. Sukladno tome pogrešno piše da su sve slike, za koje navodi da su iz Yriartea, iz 1875. godine. Netočan mu je i podatak da su Yriarte autor vedute Dubrovnika i karavan-saraja na Pločama tiskanih u *The Illustrated London news* (str. 202, 220). Isto tako krivo navodi da je Yriarte autor slika tiskanih u časopisu *The Graphic*, a koje je izradio H. W. Brewer. O tome u gornjim bilješkama.

[58] Yriarte 1883, str. 233; Yriarte 1897.

[59] Kada su svi nastavci objedinjeni u Yriarteovoj knjizi 1878. u njoj je tiskan popis legendi ilustracija s njihovim autorima i na temelju čega su izrađene. (Yriarte 1878c, str. 629–636.) O Yriarteovom pristupu ilustracijama kao i o njihovim autorima vidi Šverko 2025.

[60] Yriarte 1875. U podnaslovu svih članaka stoji: *1874. – Texte et dessins inédits*. Isto je i s člancima koje je objavio 1876. godine.

[61] Yriarte 1876b, str. 65–80 odnose se na Split; Yriarte 1876b. Prikaz dijela o Dalmaciji vidi u Baras 1988, str. 137–152.

[62] Yriarte 1878a; Yriarte 1878b.

[63] Yriarte 1883; Yriarte 1897.

The next depiction of the Peristyle was published in 1876 in a travel article by C. Yriarte in *Le Tour du monde*,[56] then in 1878 in his book on the Adriatic coast and Montenegro,[57] and in its Italian translations of 1883 and 1897.[58] Yriarte visited the region in 1874, when he began recording his observations, sketching subjects that interested him and acquiring photographs on which drawings were later based.[59] In 1875, he published the section on Trieste and Istria in three instalments in the same journal under the title *L'Istrie et la Dalmatie*, although these contained no discussion of Dalmatia.[60] The following year, 1876, Yriarte published nine instalments entitled *La Dalmatie*, covering the area from Rijeka and the Kvarner Gulf, through Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, to the Bay of Kotor and Kotor itself.[61]

PIAZZA DEL DUOMO, SPALATO. – A COURT OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE. The same book also includes views of Split harbour with the façade of Diocletian's Palace, p. 21 (a composite based on Adam and later similar images), and the Golden Gate of Diocletian's Palace, p. 23.

[56] Yriarte 1876b, p. 69.

[57] Yriarte 1878c, p. 253 – illustration, p. 632 – list of captions and artists; the Peristyle is listed as no. 115. The image was drawn from a photograph by Auguste Victor Deroy and engraved by Charles Laplante, whose signature appears at the lower right of the engraving. Reproduced in Novak 1965, p. 415; Mønnesland 2011, p. 189. Mønnesland discusses Yriarte in several places and reproduces images associated with him (pp. 188-213, 219-223). However, not all the information is accurate, and the facts have become confused. First (p. 188), he states that Yriarte's text on Dalmatia was published in 1875 rather than 1876, while reproducing an image of the heading of the article *L'Istrie et la Dalmatie*, which was printed in 1875. Accordingly, he incorrectly dates all the images he attributes to Yriarte to 1875. His attribution to Yriarte of the views of Dubrovnik and the caravanserai at Ploče printed in *The Illustrated London news* (pp. 202, 220) is also incorrect. Likewise, he incorrectly attributes to Yriarte the illustrations printed in *The Graphic*, which were produced by H. W. Brewer. See the notes above.

[58] Yriarte 1883, p. 233; Yriarte 1897.

[59] When all the instalments were brought together in Yriarte's book in 1878, it included a list of illustration captions identifying the artists and the sources on which the images were based. (Yriarte 1878c, pp. 629-636.) For Yriarte's approach to illustrations and their artists, see Šverko 2025.

[60] Yriarte 1875. The subtitle of all the articles reads: *1874. – Texte et dessins inédits*. The same applies to the articles he published in 1876.

[61] Yriarte 1876b, pp. 65-80 concern Split; Yriarte 1876b. For an overview of the section on Dalmatia, see Baras 1988, pp. 137-152.

Dalmaciji tiskan je 1999. godine.[64] Treba spomenuti i prijevod na nizozemski koji je tiskan u časopisu *De aarde en haar volken* 1876. (Trst i Istra) i 1877. (Dalmacija) godine.[65] Tu je objavljeno manje slika nego u francuskom časopisu, a među njima nema ni Peristila ni dijela protirona sa sfingom koji nas ovdje zanimaju.

Slike iz Yriarteovih članaka, a zatim knjige, privukle su pažnju urednikâ novina i časopisa tako da su dugo korištene za ilustriranje naših krajeva i odjeće stanovnika. Tako već 15. V. 1875. u Londonu izlazi članak *Old towns of Dalmatia* u kojem je opis putovanja cara Franje Josipa I. po Dalmaciji, a popraćen crtežima koje je zajedno s fotografijama Yriarte ustupio uredništvu novina.[66] Tjedan dana kasnije, kao nastavak tog članka, 22. svibnja objavljen je napis posvećen u prvom redu Splitu, tj. njegovim starinama. Uz to je tiskana tabla s vedutama Knina i Splita te slikom karavan-saraja na Pločama u Dubrovnika.[67] Godine 1877. u talijanskom časopisu *L'Illustrazione italiana* objavljen je članak o Dioklecijanovoj palači koji je u dva nastavka ilustriran slikama iz Yriarteovog putopisa, a među njima je i spominjana slika Peristila.[68] Kao primjer

64 Yriarte 1999; slika Peristila na str. 143.

65 [Yriarte] 1876a; [Yriarte] 1877.

66 Old towns of Dalmatia 1875, str. 458: *He has meantime placed at our disposal a series photographie views and sketchers of the most important places along coast. ... Spalato or Spalatro, with its magnificent ruins of the Emperor Diocletian's palace*. Na str. 457 je tabla s nazivom: THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA'S TOUR IN DALMATIA, a na njoj su dvije slike Dubrovnika, jedna Kotora i jedna dvorišta suda u Zadru. Vedutu Dubrovnika donosi Mønnesland 2011, str. 220.

67 Austrian maritime provinces 1875, str. 487: *Those views were of local production, and were brought theuce by M. CharlesYriarte of Paris… We produced to give several more Illustrations of its scenery*. Na str. 457 je tabla s nazivom: THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA'S TOUR IN DALMATIA. Sliku karavansaraja donosi Mønnesland 2011, str. 202. Slike u oba nastavka razlikuju se od onih objavljenih u Yriarteovoj knjizi za koje se u popisu slika navodi da su tri izrađene po Yriarteovim crtežima (krokijima), jedna po njegovom akvarelu, a tri po fotografijama. U knjizi se one nalaze na str. 192, 217, 247, 294, 307, 318, 355.

68 Chirtani 1877, str. 104 – slika Peristila s legendom: VEDUTA DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO COLLA CATTEDRALE (già tempio di Diocleziano) E IL CAMPANILE A SPALATO; str. 105 – slika unutrašnjosti katedrale s legendom: IL TEMPIO DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO, OGGI CATTEDRALE DI SPALATO. – VEDUTA INTERNA. Nastavak

An Italian translation of the text on Trieste and Istria was published in Milan in 1875, immediately after the original appeared, while the sections on Dalmatia and Montenegro were translated in 1878, after the publication of Yriarte's complete book, and issued separately.[62] Complete Italian editions of the book followed in 1883 and 1897.[63] A Croatian translation of the section on Istria and Dalmatia was published in 1999.[64] Mention should also be made of the Dutch translation published in *De aarde en haar volken* in 1876 (Trieste and Istria) and 1877 (Dalmatia).[65] It contained fewer illustrations than the French journal, omitting both the Peristyle and the part of the Prothyron with the sphinx that are of interest here.

The illustrations in Yriarte's articles and, subsequently, his book attracted the attention of newspaper and journal editors and continued to be used for many years to illustrate the region and its inhabitants' dress. As early as 15 May 1875, an article entitled *Old towns of Dalmatia* appeared in London, describing Emperor Franz Joseph I's tour of Dalmatia and accompanied by drawings that Yriarte had supplied to the newspaper's editors together with photographs.[66] A week later, on 22 May, a continuation of the article was published, devoted primarily to Split and its ancient monuments. It was accompanied by a plate showing views of Knin and Split and an illustration of the caravanserai at Ploče in Dubrovnik.[67] In 1877, the Italian journal

62 Yriarte 1878a; Yriarte 1878b.

63 Yriarte 1883; Yriarte 1897.

64 Yriarte 1999; illustration of the Peristyle on p. 143.

65 [Yriarte] 1876a; [Yriarte] 1877.

66 Old towns of Dalmatia 1875, p. 458: *He has meantime placed at our disposal a series photographie views and sketchers of the most important places along coast. ... Spalato or Spalatro, with its magnificent ruins of the Emperor Diocletian's palace*. On p. 457 is a plate entitled THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA'S TOUR IN DALMATIA, containing two views of Dubrovnik, one of Kotor and one of the courthouse courtyard in Zadar. The view of Dubrovnik is reproduced in Mønnesland 2011, p. 220.

67 Austrian maritime provinces 1875, p. 487: *Those views were of local production, and were brought theuce by M. CharlesYriarte of Paris… We produced to give several more Illustrations of its scenery*. On p. 457 is a plate entitled THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA'S TOUR IN DALMATIA. The illustration of the caravanserai is reproduced in Mønnesland 2011, p. 202. The illustrations in both instalments differ from those published in Yriarte's book, whose list of illus-



Sl. 8 - J. Wlha, *Protiron Peristila*, oko 1909. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 8 - J. Wlha, Prothyron of the Peristyle, ca. 1909. (photo Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 9 - Peristil, detalj, oko 1909. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 9 - Peristyle, detail, ca. 1909. (photo Ž. Bačić)

izrazito dugog korištenja slikâ iz Yriarteovih djela je upravo Peristil koji je ponovno objavljen u albumu slika Splita SPLIT. SPALATO tiskanom u Dresdenu oko 1910. godine. Prikaz je isti, ali su izbrisani Deroyev i Laplanteov potpis. Ono što je zanimljivo jest da je u istoj publikaciji u kojoj se na tri table vidi zvonik katedrale obnovljen 1908. objavljuje grafika sa starim zvonikom i zvonikom na preslicu iznad nekadašnje crkve sv. Fabijana i Sebastijana, tj. slika stara više od 30 godina.[69]

članka je zapravo samo informacija da se zbog boljeg uvida u Palaču u tom broju objavljuju tri slike. Spalato 1877, str. 199 – tekst, str. 200 – slika Peristila s pogledom na sfingu s legendom: Spalato. – STATO ATTUALE DEL PORTICO DEL TEMPIO DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO; str. 201, gore – Zlatna vrata Palače s legendom: Spalato. – LA PORTA AUREA DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO; dole – južni zid Palače i Riva gledana prema palači Bajamonti s legendom: Spalato. – LA MURAGLIA ESTERNA DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO, PRESA DALLA RIVA DELLA CITTA.

69 Split. Spalato [oko 1910.], tab. 9 s legendom: *Split, Plokata sv. Dujma – Spalato, Piazza del Duomo*. Na tab. 1, 2 i 5 se vidi obnovljeni zvonik. Publikacija je objavljena anonimno, a tiskala ju je tvrtka Kunstanstalt Stengel & Co.; podatak na stražnjoj korici. Na prednjoj korici, ispod naslova u kartuši, je pečat LIBRERIA MORPURGO SPALATO. On se vidi i na još nekim primjercima što bi moglo značiti da se album

L'Illustrazione italiana published an article on Diocletian's Palace in two instalments, illustrated with images from Yriarte's travelogue, including the aforementioned view of the Peristyle.[68] The Peristyle itself provides an example of the exceptionally prolonged reuse of illustrations from Yriarte's works: it was reproduced in the album of views of Split entitled SPLIT. SPALATO, printed in Dresden

trations states that three were based on Yriarte's drawings (sketches), one on his watercolour and three on photographs. In the book, they appear on pp. 192, 217, 247, 294, 307, 318, 355.

68 Chirtani 1877, p. 104 – illustration of the Peristyle with the caption: VEDUTA DELLA PIAZZA DEL DUOMO COLLA CATTEDRALE (già tempio di Diocleziano) E IL CAMPANILE A SPALATO; p. 105 – illustration of the cathedral interior with the caption: IL TEMPIO DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO, OGGI CATTEDRALE DI SPALATO. – VEDUTA INTERNA. The continuation of the article is, in fact, merely a notice that three illustrations are published in that issue to provide a better understanding of the Palace. Spalato 1877, p. 199 – text, p. 200 – illustration of the Peristyle with a view of the sphinx, captioned: Spalato. – STATO ATTUALE DEL PORTICO DEL TEMPIO DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO; p. 201, top – the Golden Gate of the Palace, captioned: Spalato. – LA PORTA AUREA DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO; bottom – the southern wall of the Palace and the Riva viewed towards the Bajamonti Palace, captioned: Spalato. – LA MURAGLIA ESTERNA DEL PALAZZO DI DIOCLEZIANO, PRESA DALLA RIVA DELLA CITTA.



Sl. 10 - Peristil, detalj, oko 1910. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 10 - Peristyle, detail, ca. 1910. (photo Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 11 - Kilophot, Peristil, detalj, 1920.
Fig. 11 - Kilophot, Peristyle, detail, 1920.

Faza IV. Opisano stanje stubišta protirona zadržalo se do početka radova na obnovi zvonika katedrale 1886. godine. Stupići ograde počeli su postupno nestajati, a gradnja barake na Peristilu za potrebe klesarskih radova[70] i manipuliranje velikim kamenjem doveli su do potpunog uklanjanja stupića oko otvora i do uklanjanja cijele istočne ograde.[71] Zato su stupići privremeno zamijenjeni metalnim šipkama[72] (sl. 8 i 9).

Krajem 1907. bila je dovršena obnova zvonika, skidanje zadnje grede skela obavljeno je 21. XI. 1908., a svečanost obnove održana je 2. XII. 1908.[73] Zbog više od dvaju desetljeća dugih radova na zvoniku znatno je stradao pločnik Peristila pa ga je trebalo zamijeniti, tj. ponovno popločati.

Faza V. Popločavanje je započelo u kolovozu 1909., a dovršeno je u ožujku 1910. godine. Tom je prigodom postavljeno novo stubište prema protironu,[74] a obnovljene su i bočne ograde.[75] Po-

around 1910. The image is the same, but Deroy's and Laplante's signatures have been removed. Interestingly, the same publication, in which three plates show the cathedral bell tower restored in 1908, also reproduces an engraving showing the old bell tower and the bell gable above the former church of Sts Fabian and Sebastian—in other words, an image more than 30 years old.[69]

Phase IV. This configuration of the prothyron staircase remained unchanged until the commencement of the restoration works on the bell tower of the Cathedral in 1886. The balusters of the railing gradually began to disappear, while the construction of a shed on the Peristyle for the needs of stone-cutting work[70] and the handling of large stone blocks led to the complete removal of the balusters around the opening and the removal of the entire eastern

prodavao u poznatoj knjižari Vid Morpurga na vrhu Pjace.

70 Kečkemet 1956, str. 46. Djelomično se vidi na onodobnim fotografijama. (Bulić 1908, T. XI; Borčić 2013, str. 137, 145–146, 221.) Jedna nadstrešnica bila je u dvorištu stare nadbiskupske palače. Borčić 2013, str. 154, 156, 189, 222.

71 Borčić 2013, sl. u sredini na str. 156 (ista i na str. 190 gore), 222 (dolje).

72 Vidi slike u Borčić 2013, str. 128, 130, 132, 137, 156–157, 190, 222.

73 Kečkemet 1956, str. 66–67.

74 Piplović 1996, str. 826; Borčić 2013, str. 157.

75 Borčić 2013, sl. u sredini na str. 130, 149. Novonastala tlocrtna situacija Peristila vidi se na geodetskom snimku Artura Morpurga iz 1911. godine. Piplović 1996, str. 837, 844.

69 Split. Spalato [c. 1910], pl. 9, captioned: *Split, Plokata sv. Dujma – Spalato, Piazza del Duomo*. Plates 1, 2 and 5 show the restored bell tower. The publication was issued anonymously and printed by Kunstanstalt Stengel & Co., as indicated on the back cover. On the front cover, beneath the title in a cartouche, is the stamp LIBRERIA MORPURGO SPALATO. It also appears on some other copies, which may indicate that the album was sold at Vid Morpurgo's well-known bookshop at the upper end of the Pjaca.

70 Kečkemet 1956, p. 46. It is partially visible in contemporary photographs. (Bulić 1908, PL. XI; Borčić 2013, pp. 137, 145-146, 221.) One canopy was located in the courtyard of the former archiepiscopal palace. Borčić 2013, pp. 154, 156, 189, 222.



Sl. 12 - Peristil, detalj, oko 1922. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 12 - Peristyle, detail, ca. 1922. (photo Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 13 - K. Stüler (?), *Peristil*, detalj, 1929. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 13 - K. Stüler (?), Peristyle, detail, 1929. (photo Ž. Bačić)

tom je oko otvora postavljena nova kamena ograda sa stupićima, koji su ovaj put bili isti kao na bočnim ogradama[76] (sl. 10 i 11).

Kao uzgredna žrtva restauriranja zvonika stradala je istočna crkva u protironu, podignuta 1544. i posvećena Gospi od Začeća, kasnije prozvana sv. Karla Boromejskog.[77] Ostala je bez krova i zvonika na preslicu na pročelju. Nakon što je 1910. obavljeno popločavanje Peristila i nakon obnove bočnih ograda protirona,[78] popravljen je krov crkve i postavljen zvonik[79] (sl. 10 i 12).

[76] Usporedi slike u Borčić 2013, str. 126–133, 136, 149.
[77] Borčić 2013, str. 128.
[78] Vidi stanje u Borčić 2013, str. 149.
[79] Promjene stanja crkve vidi usporedbom slika u Borčić

railing.[71] For this reason, the balusters were temporarily replaced with metal rods[72] (Fig. 8, 9).

By the end of 1907, the restoration of the bell tower was completed; the removal of the last scaffolding beam took place on 21st November 1908, and the official inauguration of the restored structure took place on 2nd December of the same year.[73] However, the prolonged duration of the works—spanning more than two decades—had caused considerable damage to the paving of the Peristyle and needed to be replaced, i.e. a complete new paving was required.

Phase V. This work began in August 1909 and was completed in March 1910. On that occasion, a new staircase leading to the prothyron was installed,[74] and the side railings were also restored.[75] Subsequently, a new stone balustrade was installed around the opening; this time, the balusters were identical to those used on the side railings[76] (Fig. 10, 11).

As a collateral consequence of the restoration of the bell tower, the eastern church situated within the prothyron, erected in 1544 and dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception, later known as St. Charles Borromeo, also sustained damage.[77] The church was left without its roof and without the bell gable on its façade. Following the repaving of the Peristyle in 1910 and the restoration of the lateral railings of the prothyron,[78] the church roof was repaired and a new bell tower erected[79] (Fig. 10, 12).

Phase VI. A further modification to the prothyron staircase occurred in January 1928, when the opening leading to the substructures of Diocletian's Palace was closed, as it was considered detrimental to the appearance of the Peristyle.[80] In its place, a

[71] Borčić 2013, fig. in the centre on p. 156 (the same also on p. 190 upper part), 222 (lower part).
[72] See pictures in Borčić 2023, pp. 128, 130, 132, 137, 156-157, 190, 222.
[73] Kečkemet 1956, pp. 66-67.
[74] Piplović 1996, p. 826; Borčić 2023, p. 157.
[75] Borčić 2013, fig. in the centre on pp. 130, 149. The newly established ground-plan configuration of the Peristyle is visible in the geodetic survey by Arturo Morpurgo from 1911. Piplović 1996, pp. 837, 844.
[76] Cf. picture in Borčić 2013, pp. 126-133, 136, 149.
[77] Borčić 2013, p. 128.
[78] For the state of the Peristyle, see Borčić 2013, p. 149.
[79] Changes in the appearance of the church may be observed through a comparison of the pictures in Borčić 2013, pp. 125-128, 131-134, 149, 156-157, 163-165, 190, 222.
[80] Piplović 2002, p. 229; Borčić 2013, pp. 130, 134.

Faza VI. Nova promjena na stubištu protirona dogodila se u siječnju 1928., kada je zatvoren otvor prema Podrumima jer se smatralo da nagrđuje Peristil.[80] Na njegovu mjestu izrađene su stepenice koje su spojene u cjelinu s postojećima. Pritom su zadržane bočne ograde[81] (sl. 13), dok je ograda oko otvora u lipnju premještena na poljanu istočno od Vestibula.[82]

Faza VII. Prošlo je malo više od godine dana i stubište je opet promijenilo izgled, ovaj put zbog postavljanja Meštrovićeva spomenika Grguru Ninskom. Dana 28. V. 1929. započeli su radovi na izradi postolja za spomenik tako što su stepenice zasječene, a postolje dijelom uvučeno u njih. Tada su uklonjene i bočne ograde sa stupićima.[83]

Faza VIII. Spomenik Grguru ostao je na svojem mjestu do početka studenog 1941., kada su ga talijanske vlasti demontirale i uskladištile, a postolje uklonile te obnovile stubište.[84] Nakon II. svjetskog rata uslijedili su 1959. – 1960. radovi na cjelovitom uređenju Peristila i reguliranju pješačkog prometa kroz Podrume prema Rivi, a s tim u vezi ponovno je otvoren prolaz ispred protirona,[85] ali to više nije tema ovog rada.

new flight of steps was constructed and integrated into a single, unified composition with the existing staircase. The lateral railings were retained[81] (Fig. 13), while the balustrade around the opening was relocated in June of the same year to the open area east of the Vestibule.[82]

Phase VII. Slightly more than a year later, the staircase underwent yet another transformation, this time in connection with the installation of Ivan Meštrović's monument to Gregory of Nin. On 28th May 1929, work commenced on the construction of the monument's base: the steps were cut back and the pedestal was partially inserted into the staircase structure. On this occasion, the lateral railings with their balusters were also removed.[83]

Phase VIII. The monument to Gregory of Nin remained in this location until early November 1941, when it was dismantled by the Italian authorities and transferred to storage. The pedestal was subsequently removed and the staircase restored.[84] Following the end of the Second World War, further interventions were carried out between 1959 and 1960, aimed at the comprehensive reorganization of the Peristyle, as well as the regulation of pedestrian circulation through the cellars toward the seafront promenade. As part of these works, the passage in front of the prothyron was reopened.[85] However, these later developments fall outside the scope of the present study.

2013, str. 125–128, 131–134, 149, 156–157, 163–165, 190, 222.

80 Piplović 2002, str. 229; Borčić 2013, str. 130, 134.

81 Razlika u boji kamena između starih stepenica i onih umetnutih jasno se vidi na fotografiji koju ovdje objavljujemo.

82 Borčić 2013, str. 299. Upravo nastalu promjenu na svojem je bakropisu dokumentirao Angjeo Uvodić. Začudo, na zidu iznad luka u protironu prikazao je ploču postavljenu u čast posjeta cara Franje I. Splitu 1818., koja je uklonjena u veljači 1924. godine. (Slade 2002, str. 36, 80.) Za ploču i njezino uklanjanje vidi Borčić 2013, str. 127, 131. Masivna ploča je iz dvaju dijelova, a čuva se u stražnjem vrtu Arheološkog muzeja, kao i reljef koji je stajao nad njom.

83 Borčić 2013, str. 161–165. Samo nekoliko dana prije početka radova na vrhu stubišta snimljen je pisac Bernard Shaw, koji je 23. svibnja došao u Split. Kečkemet 1978a, str. 104; Borčić 2013, str. 168.

84 Markovina 1983, str. 26–28; Borčić 2013, str. 165.

85 Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Gabričević 2014, str. 15–92: 22 – Peristil prije iskopavanja 1956., 90 – otvor nakon rekonstrukcije, 91 – Peristil nakon završetka radova 1960., 101–115 – pregled faza razvoja Peristila na temelju dotadašnjih istraživanja.

81 The difference in the colour of the stone between the original steps and the inserted elements is clearly visible in the photograph published here.

82 Borčić 2013, p. 299. The newly created change was documented in an etching by Angjeo Uvodić. Interestingly, on the wall above the arch in the prothyron, he depicted a plaque installed in honour of the visit of Emperor Francis I to Split in 1818, which was removed in February 1924. (Slade 2002, pp. 36, 80.) For the plaque and its removal, see Borčić 2013, pp. 127, 131. The massive plaque consists of two parts and is kept in the back garden of the Archaeological Museum, along with the relief that once stood above it.

83 Borčić 2013, pp. 161-165. Just a few days before the start of the works, the writer Bernard Shaw was photographed at the top of the staircase, who arrived in Split on 23rd May. Kečkemet 1978a, p. 104; Borčić 2013, p. 168.

84 Markovina 1983, pp. 26-28; Borčić 2013, p. 165.

85 Marasović J., Marasović T., Gabričević 2014, pp. 15-92; 22 – Peristyle before excavations in 1956, 90 – the opening after reconstruction, 91 – Peristyle after completion of works in 1960, 101-115 – overview of the development phases of the Peristyle based on research up to that time.

* * *

Vidjeli smo da je za popločavanje Peristila 1764. bio zaslužan gradski knez Dolfino, koji je osobnim primjerom potaknuo pojedince i upravu grada da daju novčane priloge. Veliko vijeće je 10. VII. 1763. donijelo odluku o popločavanju koju je odobrio generalni providur Pietro Michiel. S radovima se započelo odmah, a već 1. rujna knezu je iz gradske blagajne isplaćeno 930 lira za učinjene troškove.[86] Da bi se osigurala potrebna sredstva, mesarima je nametnuta dažbina od 3 lire i 4 solda za svako govedo te 10 soldi za škopca (brava). Dolfino je 5. VIII. 1764. o svemu obavijestio providura Michiela, koji je sutradan donio terminaciju[87] kojom je prenamijenio korištenje novca koji su mesari svakodnevno plaćali u korist crkve zaštitnika grada i crkve Sv. Križa u Velom Varošu[88] na temelju odredbe splitskog kneza i kapetana Zan Pietra Trevisana od 16. X. 1753.[89] Od tada se prihod od 10 soldi za svakog vola i 2 solda za svakog škopca, koji su mesari svakodnevno morali plaćati sakupljaču poreza od mesnice (klaonice) i ribarnice, trebao koristiti za troškove popločavanja trga dok ono ne bude dovršeno, a potom ponovno vrijedi namjena iz Trevisanove terminacije. Kamen za popločavanje nabavljen je s Korčule.[90]

[86] Arheološki muzej u Splitu (dalje: AMS), arhivska zbirka, Ms IV/9, l. 3. Vidi prilog I.

[87] Providur ističe da je pločnik postao nedoličan i odbojan te da je u neskladu s katedralom i ljepotom starinskih građevina koje ukrašavaju trg, čime vrednuje antičku arhitekturu Palače.

[88] Dokument je napisan tako da se može pomisliti kako je riječ o dvjema crkvama zaštitnika grada i crkvi Sv. Križa. Međutim, u gradu postoji samo jedna crkva posvećena njegovu zaštitniku, sv. Dujmu, a to je katedrala.

[89] Ne znamo za što je trebao biti upotrijebljen novac namijenjen katedrali, ali je onaj za crkvu Sv. Križa sigurno bio namijenjen dovršenju njezina zvonika, o čemu su 4. IV. 1752. raspravljali članovi istoimene bratovštine. (Duplančić 1987, str. 10.) Budući da je gradnja bila gotova i proslavljena u vrijeme korizme 1761. (Prijatelj 1952, str. 67.), očito je da je bilo još radova koje je trebalo obaviti u crkvi, pa je providur Michiel odredio da se nakon dovršenja popločavanja Peristila prihodi od mesara ponovno koriste za crkvu Sv. Križa.

[90] AMS, arhivska zbirka, Ms IV/9, l. 4. Providurovo pismo knezu Dolfinu i pripadajuću terminaciju donosimo u prilozima II. i III. Radi lakšeg čitanja dokumenata, kratice u njima su razriješene. Zahvaljujem kolegici Petri Gradac na prijepisu dokumenata.

* * *

As previously noted, the paving of the Peristyle was initiated in 1764 under the auspices of the city count Dolfin, who, through his personal example, encouraged both private citizens and the municipal authorities to contribute financially to the project. On 10th July 1763, the Great Council adopted a decision to pave the Peristyle, which was subsequently approved by the Provveditore Generale Pietro Michiel. The works commenced immediately, and by 1st September a sum of 930 lire had already been disbursed from the municipal treasury to the count to cover incurred expenses.[86] To ensure sufficient funding, a levy was imposed on butchers, amounting to 3 lire and 4 soldi per head of cattle and 10 soldi per castrated sheep (wether). On 5th August 1764, Dolfin informed Provveditore Michiel of these measures, and the following day the latter issued a *terminazione*[87] redirecting the daily payments made by butchers, which had previously been allocated to the church of the city's patron saint and to the Church of the Holy Cross in Veli Varoš[88] based on a decree issued on 16th October 1753 by the count and captain Zan Pietro Trevisan of Split.[89] Accordingly, the revenue of 10 soldi per ox and 2 soldi per wether, collected daily by the tax officer at the slaughterhouse and fish market, was

[86] Archaeological Museum in Split (hereafter AMS), archival collection, Ms IV/9, l. 3. See Appendix I.

[87] The provveditore emphasizes that the pavement had become improper and repulsive, and that it was not in harmony with the cathedral and the beauty of the ancient buildings that adorn the square, thereby acknowledging the value of the Palace's classical architecture.

[88] The document is written in such a way that it may suggest the existence of two churches dedicated to the city's patron saint and the Church of the Holy Cross. However, in the city there is only one church dedicated to its patron Saint Domnius, namely the cathedral.

[89] It is not known what the funds intended for the cathedral were meant to be used for, but those allocated to the Church of the Holy Cross were certainly intended for the completion of its bell tower, as discussed by members of the confraternity of the same name on 4th April 1752 (Duplančić 1987, p. 10). Since the construction was completed and celebrated during Lent in 1761 (Prijatelj 1952, p. 67), it is evident that there were still works to be done in the church; therefore, Provveditore Michiel decided that, after the completion of the paving of the Peristyle, the revenues from the butchers should once again be directed to the Church of the Holy Cross.

Niti dvadeset godina kasnije knez i kapetan Pietro Zuanne Semitecolo zatražio je od javnog protomajstora (*protto pubblico*) Carla de Rossija da dade ponudu za popločavanje katedralnog trga i izradu kanalizacije. De Rossi je 17. VII. 1781., nakon izvida, procijenio da bi popločavanje, izrada kanalizacije, odvoz materijala i iskop kanalizacije koštali oko 38 371 liru.[91] Je li se potom nešto radilo na Peristilu, nije nam poznato.

* * *

Navođenje likovnih izvora o izgledu stubišta protirona Peristila, počevši od Clérisseauovih crteža iz 1757. godine nadalje, potiče nas da se osvrnemo na najstariji prikaz središta Dioklecijanove palače i sfinge na njemu. Ako izuzmemo lukove istočne strane Peristila na pečatnjacima splitskog kaptola (vidljivi su već na primjerku pečata iz 1316.),[92] onda se prvi cjeloviti oblik Peristila nalazi na crtežu tlocrta Palače nastalom poslije 1565., a koji potječe iz zbirke Andrea Palladija.[93] Iza njega slijedi prikaz u knjizi Jacoba Spona i Georgea Whelera iz 1678. godine.[94] Međutim, u Whelerovoj verziji putopisa iz 1682. Peristil je prikazan drukčije, a mauzolej je nacrtan samo u tlocrtu.[95] Slijede crteži rekonstrukcije Palače i Peristila Johanna Bernharda Fischera von Erlacha iz 1712., koji su objavljeni u njegovoj knjizi 1721.,[96] a prema kojima su izrađene table ti-

[91] AMS, arhivska zbirka, Ms IV/9, l. 5. Ispod je kneževa ovjera autentičnosti De Rossijeva potpisa, tj. procjene, datirana 23. srpnja. U izjavi piše *la spesa in Circa di L 38371*, što je sigurno pogreška jer je to prevelik iznos, znatno veći od godišnjih prihoda splitske komune. (Usp. Novak 1961, str. 276–279; Zlatna knjiga 2006, str. 408–421.) Vjerojatno je trebalo pisati 3837,1 lira.

[92] Duplančić (1997), str. 360; Duplančić 2004, str. 49–51 – autor kataloške jedinice M. Ivanišević.

[93] Gudelj, Strunje 2015, str. 132–133.

[94] Spon, Wheler 1678, T. I, uz str. 103; vidi sliku u Kečkemet 1978b, str. 11. Isti je prikaz, uz manje netočnosti, objavljen zrcalno u: [Reusch] 1718, drugi dio s posebnom paginacijom, T. uz str. 144. Sponov prikaz, ali kvalitetnije nacrtan, objavljen je u: Montfaucon 1719, T. LXVIII između str. 134 i 135, na kojima je tekst o Palači; vidi sliku u Shevchenko 2017, str. 263 – ondje i na str. 256 pogrešno piše godina 1722. Montfauconovo djelo prevedeno je na engleski, a u III. svesku iz 1722. nalazi se prikaz Palače, premda usitnjen i lošiji. Montfaucon 1722, T. XXIII, sl. 1, između str. 86 i 87, na kojima je tekst o Palači.

[95] Wheler 1682, str. 17.

[96] Kečkemet 1987, str. 130–131, 133–134; Duplančić 2019, str. 27–28.

to be allocated to the paving of the square until its completion, after which its original purpose, as defined in Trevisan's *terminazione*, would be reinstated. The paving stone itself was sourced from the island of Korčula.[90]

Less than two decades later, the count and captain Pietro Zuanne Semitecolo commissioned the public proto-master (*proto pubblico*) Carlo de Rossi to provide an estimate for the paving of the cathedral square and the construction of a sewerage system. Following an on-site inspection, de Rossi submitted a cost assessment of approximately 38,371 lire on 17th July 1781, which encompassed paving works, the sewers, excavations for them and the removal of materials.[91] Whether any subsequent works were carried out on the Peristyle remains unknown.

* * *

The mentioning of visual sources illustrating the appearance of the staircase of the prothyron on the Peristyle, beginning with Clérisseau's drawings from 1757 and onwards, naturally leads to the question of the earliest known depiction of the central area of Diocletian's Palace and the sphinx depicted within it. If one excludes the arches of the eastern side of the Peristyle as shown on the seals of the Split cathedral chapter (already visible on a specimen from 1316)[92] then the earliest complete depiction of the Peristyle is found in a drawing of the Palace's ground plan made after 1565, from the collection of Andrea Palladio.[93] This is followed by the depiction in the book published by Jacob Spon and George Wheler in 1678.[94] However, in Whel-

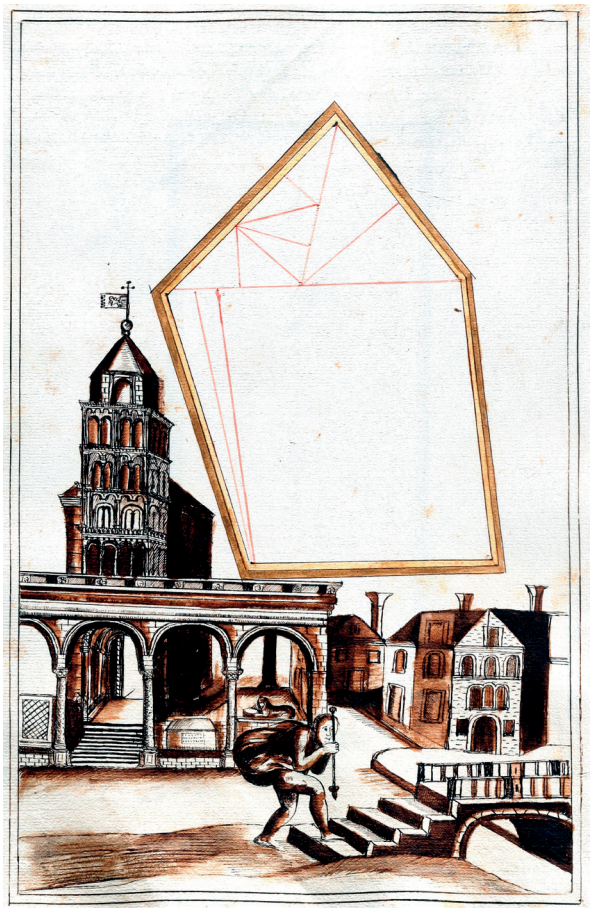
[90] AMS, archival collection, Ms IV/9, l. 4. The provveditore's letter to Prince Dolfin and the associated decree are presented in Appendices II and III. For easier reading, abbreviations in the documents have been solved. I thank my colleague Petra Gradac for the transcription of the documents.

[91] AMS, archival collection, Ms IV/9, l. 5. Below is the count's certification of the authenticity of De Rossi's signature, i.e. the estimate, dated 23rd July. The statement reads *la spesa in Circa di L 38371*, which is certainly an error, as this is too large an amount and significantly higher than the annual revenues of the Split commune (cf. Novak 1961, pp. 276-279; Zlatna knjiga 2006, pp. 408-421). It was most likely meant to read 3837.1 lire.

[92] Duplančić (1997), p. 360; Duplančić 2004, pp. 49-51 – author of the catalogue unit M. Ivanišević.

[93] Gudelj, Strunje 2015, pp. 132-133.

[94] Spon, Wheler 1678, PL. I. on p. 103; See picture in



Sl. 14 - F. M. Danza, stranica iz kaptolskog katastika, 1711. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 14 - F. M. Danza, Page from the chapter's cadastral record, 1711. (photo Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 15 - F. M. Danza, *Katedrala sv. Dujma i Peristil*, 1711. (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 15 - F. M. Danza, Cathedral of St. Domnius and the Peristyle, 1711. (photo Ž. Bačić)

skane u Farlatijevoj crkvenoj povijesti Ilirika 1751. i 1753. godine.[97] Potom dolaze Clérisseauovi crteži iz 1757. i Cassasovi iz 1782., a zatim ostali prikazi.

Ovom nizu treba dodati crtež koji prethodi onomu Fischera von Erlacha, a nalazi se u katastiku zemalja splitskog kaptola koji je 1711. izradio Splićanin Frane Marija Danza.[98] Ispod tlocrta jed-

er's later version of the travel account (1682), the Peristyle is depicted differently, while only a floor

[97] Farlati 1751, table između str. 490 i 491 – cijeli Peristil i istočna strana Peristila sa zvonikom katedrale; Farlati 1753, T. između str. 396 i 397 – Palača; Kečkemet 1987, str. 137; Duplančić 2019, str. 28. Spomenuta rekonstrukcija Palače ponovno je tiskana 1846. u leipziškoj reviji *Illustrirte Zeitung*. Duplančić 2019, str. 28, 89.

[98] Nadbiskupski arhiv Split, Kaptolski arhiv Split, br. 202, l. 113v. Naslov katastika: *CATASTICO Delli Terreni del Rever:o Capitollo Di Splato ... Levate Da Dottor Francesco Danza Veneto ... MDCCII li 7 Maggio*. U medaljonima na naslovnoj stranici Danza je nacrtao kaptolski pečatnjak, a katastik je datirao na blagdan sv. Dujma, 7. svibnja. Danza (1656. – 1720.) je bio doktor obaju prava, radio je kao javni bilježnik,

Kečkemet 1978b, p. 11. The same depiction, with minor inaccuracies, was published in mirror image in [Reusch] 1718, second part with separate pagination, plate opposite p. 144. Spon's depiction, but more skilfully drawn, was published in Montfaucon 1719, Pl. LXVIII between pp. 134 and 135, which contain the text on the Palace; see the illustration in Shevchenko 2017, p. 263—there and on p. 256 the year 1722 is incorrectly given. Montfaucon's work was translated into English, and in volume III from 1722 the depiction of the Palace appears again, though reduced and of poorer quality. Montfaucon 1722, Pl. XXIII, fig. 1, between pp. 86 and 87, which contain the text on the Palace.

nog zemljišta nacrtao je istočnu stranu Peristila s katedralom i zvonikom, a pod antičkim lukovima veliku tranzenu, sarkofag i sfingu. U sredini je muškarac koji se po stepenicama penje na most i u ruci drži strelicu koja pokazuje strane svijeta. Na desnoj strani prikazan je sklop kuća (sl. 14 i 15). Danza je bio sklon „obogaćivanju" stranica katastika raznim prikazima koji često nemaju veze s nacrtanim terenom; tako je, primjerice, na l. 116 nacrtao Trg sv. Marka i Duždevu palaču u Veneciji. Danzin crtež važan je jer potvrđuje točnost Clérisseauovih i Cassasovih prikaza tranzena koje su pripadale izvornoj arhitekturi Palače i koje su se nalazile između stupova Peristila.[99] Tu je bio i *veoma stari sarkofag*, kako ga opisuje kanonik Ivan Manola u svojoj vizitaciji 1704. godine, koji je uklonjen između 1757. i 1782.,[100] možda prigodom uređenja Peristila 1764. godine. Danza nije propustio nacrtati ni sfingu, čiji je to, za sada, najstariji prikaz. Dosta vjerno nacrtao je i zvonik katedrale s poligonalnim završetkom, o čijim se lukovima raspravljalo u literaturi,[101] a na vrhu zastavu Mletačke Republike s krilatim lavom sv. Marka koji drži otvorenu knjigu.

Zbog njegove slikovitosti, spoja antičke i srednjovjekovne arhitekture, umjetnicima iz prve polovine 19. stoljeća bio je zanimljiv južni dio periptera Dioklecijanova mauzoleja, tj. katedrale, uz crkvu sv. Mateja, s Peristilom i sfingom u pozadini. Zato ga je 1841. naslikao Jakob Alt (1789. – 1872.), a po njemu 1843. drugi bečki slikar Leopold Ernst (1808. – 1862.).[102] Altov akvarel poslužio je kao podloga za sliku koju je izradio njegov sin Rudolf Alt (1812. – 1905.), a oko 1850. litografirao ju je Franz Xaver Josef Sandmann (1805. – 1856.) za seriju *Erinnerung aus Oesterreich*.[103] Otprilike u to

a bavio se i premjeravanjem zemljišta te izradom katastika. (Duplančić 2016, str. 328–329.) To što se ovdje naziva Mlečaninom vjerojatno je odraz podrijetla njegove obitelji koja se doselila u Split.

99 Dyggve 1965; Marasović, J., Marasović, T., Gabričević 2014, str. 84–85, 104–105.

100 Duplančić 2014, str. 346, 352–353.

101 Babić 2007, str. 151–153. Fotografije cijelog zvonika prije restauriranja vidi u Borčić 2013, str. 217.

102 Belamarić 2020b, str. 13.

103 Altova signatura d. l.: R. Alt pinx.; Sandmannova d. d.: Sandmann lith. Glavni naslov je na njemačkom, a sporedni su na francuskom i engleskom. (Schneider 1968, str. 135–136, 173; Žižić 2013, str. 28, 53, 96.) Kod Schneider Altov inicijal imena omaškom je pročitan kao *F* i zato je litografija pripisana njegovu mlađem sinu Franzu. Album *Malerische Ansichten*

plan is provided for the mausoleum.[95] This is followed by the reconstruction drawings of the Palace and the Peristyle by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach from 1712, published in his book of 1721,[96] on the basis of which plates were produced for Daniele Farlati's ecclesiastical history of Illyricum from 1751 and 1753.[97] Thereafter come the drawings by Clérisseau from 1757 and Cassas from 1782, followed by a range of later depictions.

This sequence should be supplemented by a drawing that predates that of Fischer von Erlach, preserved in the property register of the Split cathedral chapter, compiled in 1711 by Frane Marija Danza, a native of Split.[98] Beneath the ground plan of a parcel, he depicted the eastern side of the Peristyle with the cathedral and its bell tower, and, beneath the ancient arches, a large transenna, a sarcophagus and a sphinx. At the centre stands a man ascending the steps onto a bridge, holding in his hand an arrow indicating the cardinal directions. On the right is a cluster of houses (Figs. 14, 15). Danza was inclined to "enrich" the pages of the cadastre with various illustrations that often had no direct relation to the actual terrain; an example of his approach is evident on folio 116, where he depicted St. Mark's Square and the Doge's Palace in Venice. His drawing is of particular importance, as it confirms the accuracy of the representations by Clérisseau and Cassas regarding the transennae that belonged to the original architecture of the Palace

95 Wheler 1682, p. 17.

96 Kečkemet 1987, pp. 130-131, 133-134; Duplančić 2019, pp. 27-28.

97 Farlati 1751, plates between pp. 490 and 491 – the entire Peristyle and the eastern side of the Peristyle with the cathedral bell tower; Farlati 1753, plate between pp. 396 and 397 – the Palace; Kečkemet 1987, p. 137; Duplančić 2019, p. 28. The mentioned reconstruction of the Palace was reprinted in 1846 in the Leipzig journal *Illustrirte Zeitung*. Duplančić 2019, pp. 28, 89.

98 Archdiocesan Archive of Split, Chapter Archive of Split, no. 202, fol. 113v. The title of the cadastre read: *CATASTICO Delli Terreni del Rever:o Capitollo Di Splato ... Levate Da Dottor Francesco Danza Veneto ... MDCCII li 7 Maggio*. In the medallions on the title page, Danza drew the chapter's seal, and he dated the cadastre to the feast of St. Domnius, 7th May. Danza (1656–1720) held doctorates in both civil and canon law, worked as a public notary, and was also engaged in land surveying and the preparation of cadastral records (Duplančić 2016, pp. 328-329). His designation here as a "Venetian" is probably a reflection of his family's origin, which had moved to Split.



Sl. 16 - J. Axmann, *Peripter Dioklecijanova mauzoleja*, oko 1850.
Fig. 16 - J. Axmann, Peripteros of Diocletian's Mausoleum, ca. 1850.

aus Österreich, za koji se pretpostavljalo da je u njemu objavljena litografija, ne postoji. Postoji, međutim, djelo *Malerische Ansichten aus* Österreich*, Steyermark, Kärnten, Krain, Salzburg und Tirol*, koje je u Beču oko 1830. objavio Adolph Kunike, ali, kao što se iz naslova vidi, ne sadrži slike iz Dalmacije (sadrži tri iz Istre i jednu iz Ilirije/Ljubljane), a tiskano je prije nego što su Altovi posjetili Dalmaciju. *Malerische Ansichten aus* Österreich zapravo je serija litografija čiji je nakladnik bio Leopold Theodor Neumann (1804. – 1876.), bečki litograf i izdavač. U njegovu katalogu iz 1862. navedena je kao: *Malerische Ansichten aus* Österreich*, nach Originalzeichnungen von R. Alt, Höger, Gerstmeyer, Barbarini u. A., lithogr. v. Sandmann, Gerstmeyer u. A*. Litografije su se prodavale pojedinačno, a cijena im je varirala ovisno o tehnici izrade. U toj seriji nema prikaza Dalmacije. (Verlags-Katalog [1862], str. 45–47.) Osim te, Neumann je objavio drugu seriju od 22 litografije zanimljivih motiva iz Austrijske Monarhije, koja je u katalogu naslovljena: *Erinnerung aus Oesterreich, in 22 Ansichten der interessanten Punkte der* österr. *Monarchie, nach Originalzeichnungen der vorzüglichsten Meister, lithogr. v. Sandmann*. Iz Dalmacije je u toj seriji jedino, kao 21. po redu, litografija periptera. Litografije su se prodavale tonirane (50 krajcara) i u bojama (1 florin). Verlags-Katalog [1862], str. 47.

and were situated between the columns of the Peristyle.[99] A *very ancient sarcophagus* was also located there, as described by the canon Ivan Manola in his visitation of 1704, which was removed between 1757 and 1782,[100] possibly during the reorganization of the Peristyle in 1764. Danza also included the sphinx in his drawing, which, so far, is its earliest known depiction. He drew with considerable accuracy the bell tower of the cathedral with its polygonal termination, the arches of which have been discussed in the scholarly literature,[101] and, at the top, the flag of the Republic of Venice bearing the winged Lion of St. Mark holding an open book.

Due to its picturesque character and the striking fusion of ancient and medieval architectural layers, the southern section of the peripteros of Diocletian's Mausoleum, i.e. the cathedral, together with the Church of St. Matthew, the Peristyle and the sphinx in the background, attracted considerable attention from artists in the first half of the 19th century. For this reason, it was painted in 1841 by Jakob Alt (1789–1872), and, following him, in 1843 by another Viennese painter, Leopold Ernst (1808–1862).[102] Alt's watercolour served as the basis for a painting by his son, Rudolf von Alt (1812–1905), which around 1850 was lithographed by Franz Xaver Josef Sandmann (1805–1856) for the series *Erinnerung aus Oesterreich*.[103] Around the same time,

[99] Dyggve 1965; Marasović J., Marasović T., Gabričević 2014, pp. 84-85, 104-105.

[100] Duplančić 2014, pp. 346, 352-353.

[101] Babić 2007, pp. 151-153. For photographs of the entire bell tower prior to restoration, see Borčić 2013, p. 217.

[102] Belamarić 2020b, p. 13.

[103] Alt's signature lower left: R. Alt pinx., Sandmann's lower right: Sandmann lith. The main title is in German, while the secondary titles are in French and English (Schneider 1968, pp. 135-136, 173; Žižić 2013, pp. 28, 53, 96). In Schneider, Alt's initial was mistakenly read as "F," which led to the lithograph being attributed to his younger son Franz. The album *Malerische Ansichten aus Österreich*, in which the lithograph was presumed to have been published, does not exist. There is, however, a work titled *Malerische Ansichten aus Österreich, Steyermark, Kärnten, Krain, Salzburg und Tirol*, published in Vienna around 1830 by Adolph Kunike; however, as the title indicates, it does not contain views of Dalmatia (it includes three from Istria and one from Illyria/Ljubljana/) and was printed before the Alts visited Dalmatia. *Malerische Ansichten aus Österreich* is in fact a series of lithographs published by Leopold Theodor Neumann (1804–1876), a Viennese lithographer and publisher. In his 1862 catalogue it is

vrijeme Altov predložak upotrijebio je i austrijski graver Josef Axmann (1793. – 1873.). Dvadesetak godina kasnije isti je ambijent, kao što smo gore naveli, privukao danskog slikara Kornbecka.[104]

Axmannova grafika nema nikakvih podataka, a u katalogu bečke Albertine vodi se pod nazivom *Rimljanke iz Splita* (*Die Römerinnen von Spalato*)[105] (sl. 16). Axmann nije preuzeo samo Altov akvarel nego i muške i ženske likove s njegovih radova. Dovoljno je pogledati, osim prvospomenutog akvarela, obje varijante Altova Peristila, zatim njegov katedralni trg sa sfingom i stubište pred ulazom u katedralu.[106] Upotrijebio je i sliku Rudolfa Alta s prikazom nošnji seljaka iz Sinja, koja je kao litografija tiskana 1841. u knjizi Franza Pettera *Das Königreich Dalmatien*. Iz nje je očito preuzeo središnji lik Sinjanke s rupcem u ruci.[107]

* * *

U učenim krugovima i među današnjim stanovnicima Splita peristilska skulptura iz drevnog Egipta uglavnom je poznata pod stručnim nazivom sfinga. Međutim, u prošlim je stoljećima nazivana Gorgona ili Grongona, a njezino ime često se koristilo da bi označilo krupnu, jaku ali i ružnu ženu.[108] Kao građu za praćenje njezina imena ovdje kronološkim redom navodimo nekoliko izvora. U putopisu o Dalmaciji iz 1533. mletački sindik Zan Battista Giustinian naziva je kipom posvećenim Kibeli,[109] a Spon i Wheler u svojoj knjizi iz 1678. točno je nazivaju sfingom te pritom ispravljaju ranija pisanja Petrusa Apianusa (Peter Apian) i Janusa Gruteriusa (Jan Gruter) da je to kip božice Kibele (*Idole de Cybele*).[110]

Alt's model was also used by the Austrian engraver Josef Axmann (1793–1873). Some twenty years later, the same setting, as noted above, again attracted the Danish painter Kornbeck.[104]

Axmann's engraving is without any information, and is catalogued in the Albertina in Vienna under the title *Roman Women from Split* (*Die Römerinnen von Spalato*)[105] (Fig. 16). Axmann did not adopt only Alt's watercolour but also the male and female figures from his works. This becomes clear when one compares, alongside the aforementioned watercolour, both versions of Alt's Peristyle, his cathedral square with the sphinx, and the staircase in front of the entrance to the cathedral.[106] He also used Rudolf Alt's painting of the traditional dress of peasants from Sinj, which was printed as a lithograph in 1841 in Franz Petter's book *Das Königreich Dalmatien*. From this source he clearly borrowed the central figure of the woman from Sinj holding a headscarf in her hand.[107]

* * *

In academic discourse and among today's residents Split, the Peristyle sculpture originating from ancient Egypt is generally known by its technical

104 Belamarić 2020b, str. 8–14.

105 Vidi: Die Mazocha; Die Römerinnen von Spalato | Works | ALBERTINA Sammlungen Online, br. DG 18578.

106 Koschatzky 1991, str. 56, sl. 66; str. 58, sl. 74; str. 59, sl. 78, 83; str. 178–179; Belamarić 2020b, str. 11–12, ondje na str. 10 u bilj. 11 omaškom piše da je Jakobov akvarel periptera iz 1843. godine.

107 Petter 1841, *Kreis Spalato*, tabla s naslovom: VERHEURATHETE MORLAKEN VON SIGN. Litograf je Joseph Zahradničžek.

108 I baka potpisanog znala je reći: „A vidi je, ka' grongona je!" O pitanju podrijetla riječi vidi: Nikolanci 1989; Belamarić 2016, str. 20.

109 Šimunković 2011, str. 53, 172 (str. 213 Ljubićeva izdanja) – *idolo consegrato alla dea Cybele*; opisuje je kao pola ženu, pola lava.

110 Spon, Wheler 1678, str. 103: *Sphinx de marbre granite*

listed as: *Malerische Ansichten aus Österreich, nach Originalzeichnungen von R. Alt, Höger, Gerstmeyer, Barbarini u. A., lithogr. v. Sandmann, Gerstmeyer u. A.* The lithographs were sold individually, and their price varied depending on the production technique. This series does not include Dalmatia (Verlags-Katalog [1862], pp. 45-47). In addition to this, Neumann published another series of 22 lithographs featuring interesting motifs from the Austrian Monarchy, listed in the catalogue under the title: *Erinnerung aus Oesterreich, in 22 Ansichten der interessanten Punkte der österr. Monarchie, nach Originalzeichnungen der vorzüglichsten Meister, lithogr. v. Sandmann.* From Dalmatia, the only one included is the 21st lithograph in the series, depicting the peripteros. The lithographs were sold tinted (50 kreuzer) and in colour (1 florin). Verlags-Katalog [1862], p. 47.

104 Belamarić 2020b, pp. 8-14.

105 See: Die Mazocha; Die Römerinnen von Spalato | Works | ALBERTINA Sammlungen Online, no. DG 18578.

106 Koschatzky 1991, p. 56 – fig. 66, 58 – fig. 74, 59 – fig. 68, 83, pp. 178-179; Belamarić 2020b, pp. 11, 12; note on p. 10 (fn. 11) incorrectly states that Jakob's watercolour of the peripteros dates from 1843.

107 Petter 1841, *Kreis Spalato*, plate with title: VERHEURATHETE MORLAKEN VON SIGN. Lithographer was Joseph Zahradničžek.

Godine 1751. objavljen je prvi svezak Farlatijeva djela *Illyricum sacrum*, u kojem autor donosi tri opisa Dioklecijanove palače: prvi na temelju nekog talijanskog rukopisa, drugi iz pera Splićanina Petra Nicolinija (1622. – 1712.) i treći iz Sponove i Whelerove knjige, ali na temelju talijanskog prijevoda.[111] Pritom Farlati unosi pomutnju jer u Nicolinijev tekst, napisan 1701.,[112] ubacuje rečenicu da je Jupiterov kip iz mauzoleja prenijet u muzej mletačke plemićke obitelji Capello,[113] a u bilješci koja se odnosi na Sponovo i Whelerovo pisanje o sfingi navodi da je upravo ona prešla u posjed obitelji Capello.[114] Nicolini, kao rođeni Splićanin, sigurno ne bi nikad napisao da je sfinga odnijeta u Veneciju kad ju je, takoreći, gledao svaki dan. Za njega je ona bila kip Jupitera koji se nalazio u niši ispod desetog (*sic*!) luka peristilske kolonade (*galleria*).[115]

d'Egypte. Hrvatski prijevod prema amsterdamskom izdanju iz 1679. vidi u Spon, Adam 1997, str. 24. Za bibliografiju o Splitu i povijest spoznaja o njegovim antičkim starinama bilo bi važno pronaći mjesta na kojima citirani autori govore o sfingi.

111 Farlati 1751, str. 488–490.

112 Fisković 1994, str. 29, 33.

113 Farlati 1751, str. 489: *Jovis simulachrum, quod inibi colebatur, adhuc extat, visiturque in Mueso gentis Capellae inter Patritias Venetorum familias antiquae et conspicuae*. Na to upozorava Fisković 1994, str. 29. Zaveden Farlatijevim umetkom i Jelić piše da je Jupiterov kip dospio u muzej obitelji Capello. (Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 92.) Jelić je, a ne Bulić, autor tog dijela *Vodje*.

114 Farlati 1751, str. 490–491: *Ea Sphinx pedibus anterioribus complectitur basim quamdam, cui signum illud insidebat, quod Venetias translatum dicitur nunc asservari in aedibus gentis Capellae Patritiae Venetae; nec Cybeles, sed Isidis simulachrum est*.

115 Fisković 1994, str. 33: *Però è erore di Platina essere questo Tempio della Dea Cibele, essere pur cosa certa, essere stato Tempio di Giove, et al presente dà tutti si ammira nella Galleria dell decima Capella l'Idolo essere di Giove*. I istočna i zapadna strana Peristila imaju po sedam lukova, pa je čudno što Nicolini piše da je sfinga ispod desetog umjesto sedmog luka, brojeći od sjevera. Za peripter Nicolini rabi izraz *sotto porticale*, a za nišu *nicchia*: *con cinque nicchi* (Zlatna vrata), *con alquanti nicchi* (Vestibul), ali i riječ *capella*: *con sette capelle* (mauzolej), *quattro Capelle* (Vestibul). Kao i u slučaju Apianusa i Gruteriusa, bilo bi važno pronaći gdje se to Platina osvrće na kip iz Dioklecijanove palače. Kad Nicolini spominje i ispravlja Platinu, mislimo da je to humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi da Piadena (1421. – 1481.), zvan Platina. I Jelić se poziva na Platinu. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 92.

designation as a sphinx. However, in earlier centuries it was referred to as Gorgona or Grongona, and its name was frequently employed to denote a woman of large stature—robust, yet also unattractive.[108] As source material for tracing the evolution of its naming, several references are presented here in chronological order. In his travel account of Dalmatia from 1533, the Venetian syndic Zan Battista Giustinian identifies it as a statue dedicated to Cybele.[109] In contrast, Spon and Wheler, in their publication of 1678, correctly designate it as a sphinx, thereby rectifying earlier assertions by Petrus Apianus (Peter Apian) and Janus Gruterius (Jan Grutter), who had described it as a statue of the goddess Cybele (*Idole de Cybele*).[110]

In 1751, the first volume of *Illyricum sacrum* was published, in which Daniele Farlati presented three descriptions of Diocletian's Palace: the first based on an unidentified Italian manuscript, the second authored by the Split native Petar Nicolini (1622–1712), and the third derived from the work of Jacob Spon and George Wheler, albeit based upon an Italian translation.[111] In doing so, Farlati introduced a degree of confusion: into Nicolini's text, composed in 1701,[112] he inserted a sentence stating that the statue of Jupiter from the mausoleum had been transferred to the museum of the Venetian noble family Capello,[113] while in a note referring to Spon and Wheler's account of the sphinx, he stat-

108 Even the grandmother of the author of this text used to say: "*And look at her, she's like a grongona*!" On the question of the origin of the word, see Nikolanci 1989; Belamarić 2016, p. 20.

109 Šimunković 2011, pp. 53, 172 (p. 213 in Ljubić's edition) – *idolo consegrato alla dea Cybele*; it is described as half woman, half lion.

110 Spon, Wheler 1678, p. 103: *Sphinx de marbre granite d'Egypte*. The Croatian translation follows the Amsterdam edition of 1679; see Spon, Adam 1997, p. 24. For a bibliography on Split and the history of findings about its ancient monuments, it would be important to identify the passages in which the cited authors discuss the sphinx.

111 Farlati 1751, pp. 488-490.

112 Fisković 1994, pp. 29, 33.

113 Farlati 1751, p. 489: *Jovis simulachrum, quod inibi colebatur, adhuc extat, visiturque in Mueso gentis Capellae inter Patritias Venetorum familias antiquae et conspicuae*. This is noted by Fisković 1994, p. 29. Misled by Farlati's insertion, Jelić also writes that the statue of Jupiter ended up in the museum of the Capello family. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 92. It was Jelić, not Bulić, who wrote that part of the work *Vodja*.

U Veneciji je 1794. tiskano 12. izdanje djela *Lettere critiche* koje je napisao odvjetnik Giuseppe Antonio Costantini (1692. – 1772.), poznat i pod pseudonimom Agostino Santi Pupieni. On je osobno dopunio osmo mletačko izdanje iz 1768., a umro je četiri godine kasnije. Međutim, zbog izuzetne popularnosti djela ono je u Veneciji tiskano i 1780. te 1794., ali je prošireno neobjavljenim tekstovima, tako da je ukupno imalo deset svezaka.[116] Costantini je 1732. posjetio Split, opisao njegove starine i zabilježio poznatu zgodu o koloturniku vezanu za Marka Marulića.[117] Razgledao je grad u kojem mu se činilo kao da je u dijelu Rima (*parevami di essere in un' angolo di Roma*), ali, nažalost, nije mogao otići do Salone.[118] Urednici izdanja iz 1794. umetnuli su na tom mjestu Costantinijev dio koji se ne nalazi u ranijim izdanjima, a odnosi se na peristilsku sfingu.

Costantini je zapisao da se sjeća kako je pročitao (*in alcuni scritti di certa*) da je neki pisac napao drugog autora koji je, opisujući splitske spomenike, izostavio navesti dvije Gorgone (*due Gorgoni, che vi sono*) te da, posljedično, uopće nije bio u Splitu. Imajući na umu taj tekst, Costantini je zapitao domaćine gdje su Gorgone, na što su mu odgovorili da nisu dvije nego jedna te ga odveli do katedrale i pokazali mu je kao zanemarenu stvar izvan niše. Dalje piše da ju je već vidio, ali nije smatrao da zaslužuje spomen, pa se začudio da je zbog toga poštovani pisac (*onorato Scrittore*) okrivljen kao lažljivac.[119] Uzmemo li u obzir da je Costantini bio u Splitu 1732. i da je potaknut „znanstvenom" polemikom tražio da mu pokažu Gorgonu (sfingu), zaključujemo da su nepoznati autori već u prvim desetljećima 18. stoljeća sfingu nazvali Gorgonom, što bi bio prvi njezin spomen pod tim imenom, premda se ono u Costantinijevim *Letterama* javlja tek 1794. godine.

U monografiji o Dioklecijanovoj palači iz 1764. R. Adam peristilsku skulpturu naziva sfingom, kao i drugu sfingu koja je bila bez glave.[120] Oko 1790.

[116] Pizzamiglio 2015, str. 289–290.

[117] Duplančić 1995, str. 146–147; godine 1710. bio je u Maslinici na Šolti, a sigurno i u Splitu. To govori da je nekoliko puta boravio u Dalmaciji.

[118] Costantini 1794, str. 99.

[119] Costantini 1794, str. 99–100. Dodani dio odvojen je od ostalog teksta dvjema zvjezdicama.

[120] Adam 1764, legende: str. 25, br. XX, H; str. 32, br. LV–LVI; str. 33, br. LX; table: XX, LV–LVI, LX. Hrvatski prijevod vidi u Spon, Adam 1997, legende: str.

ed that it was this very monument that had passed into the possession of the Capello family.[114] Nicolini, as a native of Split, would certainly never have claimed that the sphinx had been taken to Venice, given that he could, so to speak, observe it on a daily basis. For him, it represented a statue of Jupiter situated within a niche beneath the tenth (sic!) arch of the peristyle colonnade (*galleria*).[115]

In Venice, the twelfth edition of *Lettere critiche* was printed in 1794. The work was authored by the lawyer Giuseppe Antonio Costantini (1692–1772), who also wrote under the pseudonym Agostino Santi Pupieni. He personally revised and expanded the eighth Venetian edition of 1768, four years prior to his death. However, owing to the exceptional popularity of the work, it was subsequently reprinted in Venice in 1780 and again in 1794, on each occasion complemented with previously unpublished texts, ultimately comprising a total of ten volumes.[116] Costantini visited Split in 1732, where he documented its antiquities and recorded the well-known anecdote concerning the pulley associated with Marko Marulić.[117] While touring the city, he observed that it appeared to him as though

[114] Farlati 1751, pp. 490-491: *Ea Sphinx pedibus anterioribus complectitur basim quamdam, cui signum illud insidebat, quod Venetias translatum dicitur nunc asservari in aedibus gentis Capellae Patritiae Venetae; nec Cybeles, sed Isidis simulachrum est.*

[115] Fisković 1994, p. 33: *Però è erore di Platina essere questo Tempio della Dea Cibele, essere pur cosa certa, essere stato Tempio di Giove, et al presente dà tutti si ammira nella Galleria dell decima Capella l'Idolo essere di Giove*. Both the eastern and western sides of the Peristyle have seven arches, so it is curious why Nicolini writes that the sphinx is beneath the tenth rather than the seventh arch when counted from the north. For the peripteros Nicolini uses the expression *sotto porticale*, and *nicchia* for the niche: *con cinque nicchi* (Golden Gate), *con alquanti nicchi* (Vestibule), but he also uses the word *capella*: *con sette capelle* (mausoleum), *quattro Capelle* (Vestibule). As in the case of Apianus and Gruterius, it would be important to determine where Platina refers to the statue from Diocletian's Palace. When Nicolini mentions and corrects Platina, it is likely that he is referring to the humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi of Piadena (1421–1481), known as Platina. Jelić also refers to Platina. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 92.

[116] Pizzamiglio 2015, pp. 289-290.

[117] Duplančić 1995, pp. 146-147; in 1710 he was in Maslinica on the island of Šolta, and certainly also in Split. This clearly indicates that he stayed in Dalmatia on several occasions.

splitski erudit Julije Bajamonti (1744. – 1800.) ispisivao je ili prepričavao dijelove teksta iz Adamove knjige kao građu za svoju povijest Splita.[121] U vezi s tablom XX., na kojoj je prikazan Peristil, Bajamonti sažima Adamovu pripadajuću legendu i ističe samo tranzenu te sfingu za koju kaže da se sada naziva Gorgona: *La Sfinge (ora Gorgona)*.[122] Nasuprot tomu, u rukopisu povijesti Splita, koju je pisao sve do smrti, koristi samo naziv sfinga, kako za onu na Peristilu tako i za drugu koja je kasnije dospjela u vlasništvo obitelji Cindro.[123] Drugi Splićanin, Francesco Lanza (1808. – 1892.), liječnik i arheolog, objavio je 1855. opis Dioklecijanove palače u kojem se osvrnuo i na peristilsku sfingu te navodi da je puk netočno zove Gorgona.[124]

Godine 1851. neki Imoćanin Vrdoljak objavio je u *Glasniku dalmatinskom* pjesmu koju je, kako kaže, čuo iz pučkih usta te ju je za tisak *ponapravio* (prepjevao). To je zapravo poznata pjesma *Uzdasi i plač starca Milovana*, koju je Vrdoljak naslovio *Split grad, starinski Solin s' polačom Diokleciano-vom*.[125] U stihovima kojima opisuje carevu palaču

79, br. 20, H; str. 83, br. 55–56, 60; table: str. 98, T. 20; str. 118, T. 55–56; str. 120, T. 60.

121 Duplančić 1996, str. 40.

122 AMS, Arhiv J. Bajamontija, sign. V/10, l. 18.

123 AMS, Arhiv J. Bajamontija, sign. V/8, str. 38, 40. Hrvatski prijevod vidi u Bajamonti 1975, str. 126, 129.

124 Lanza 1855, str. 18: *una sfinge colossale, che impropriamente dal volgo viene detta* Gorgona.

125 Daleki odjek Kačićeva utjecaja na pučko pjesništvo nalazimo u stihovima Ilije Kutlešića Bijadera (1840. – 1929.) iz sela Jabuke. Taj samouki seljak sinjsko-cetinske krajine, kako se sam nazivao, sastavio je oko 1872. *Pismu o Splitu*, u kojoj se najprije divi ljepoti splitskog polja, a zatim opisuje gradske starine počevši od zvonika katedrale. Šteta je što se pjesma prekida upravo na mjestu gdje bi se mogao očekivati spomen sfinge i što nema nastavka. Evo stihova o zvoniku:
U njemu je i palača stara,
Sa dnu ploče pa do ovršina,
Silnog cara Dioklecijana.
Bit će oko stotinu aršina,
U njemu je sto zvonika bilo,
Tako 'tiše splitski starenici,
Ali jedan sve je nadašao,
Da se ziđu veliki zvonici.
Svetog Dujma mimo nje prošao.

Po zvoniku mramor lipi,
Po njem mnogi izrađeni kipi.
Pred zvonikom lavi strahoviti,
Gdi nevištak ne smi pristupiti,
Bojeć s' lava da će oživiti.
Kutlešić Bijader 2009, str. 39; za dataciju vidi str. 14.

he were in a part of Rome (*parevami di essere in un' angolo di Roma*), although he was regrettably unable to visit Salona.[118] In the 1794 edition, the editors inserted at this point a passage by Costantini not present in earlier editions, which relates to the peristyle sphinx.

Costantini records that he recalled having read (*in alcuni scritti di certa*) that one writer had criticised another who, in describing the monuments of Split, had failed to mention two Gorgons (*due Gorgoni, che vi sono*), thereby allegedly demonstrating that he had never visited the city. With this in mind, Costantini inquired of his hosts as to the location of these Gorgons; they responded that there were not two but only one, and took him to the cathedral, where they showed it to him as a neglected object situated outside a niche. He goes on to write that he had already seen it, yet had not considered it worthy of mention, and was thus surprised that a respected writer (*onorato Scrittore*) had been accused of falsehood on such grounds.[119] If one takes into account that Giuseppe Antonio Costantini was in Split in 1732 and, prompted by a "scholarly" polemic, requested to be shown the Gorgon (i.e. the sphinx), it may be inferred that already in the first decades of the 18th century unknown writers had designated the sphinx as a Gorgon. This would therefore constitute its earliest attested mentioning under that designation, although it appears in Costantini's *Lettere critiche* only in 1794.

In his monograph on Diocletian's Palace, published in 1764, Robert Adam refers to the sculpture on the Peristyle as a sphinx, as well as to another sphinx that was headless.[120] Around 1790, the Split erudite Julije Bajamonti (1744 – 1800) transcribed or recounted sections of the text from Adam's book as material for his own history of Split.[121] In connection with Plate XX, depicting the Peristyle, Bajamonti summarises Adam's accompanying legend, highlighting only the transenna and the sphinx, which, as he notes, was at that time called the Gor-

118 Costantini 1794, p. 99.

119 Costantini 1794, pp. 99-100. The added passage is distinguished from the main body of the text by two asterisks

120 Adam 1764, legends: p. 25 (no. XX, H), 32, (no. LV, LVI), 33 (no. LX); plates: XX; LV, LVI, LX. For the Croatian translation, see Spon, Adam 1997, legends: p. 79 (no. 20, H), 83 (nos. 55, 56, 60); plates: p. 98 (20), 118 (55, 56), 120 (60).

121 Duplančić 1996, p. 40.

navodi lijepi katedralni trg i na njemu Gorgonu:[126]

Prid templom je plokata uresna,
Nad plokatom Gorgona udesna,
Iz nje jednom djavo govoraše,
Kî poganski narod zavodjaše.

Vrlo slične stihove tiskao je 1885. Dujam Srećko Karaman u pjesmi *Pjesma o razasuću grada Solina i utemeljenju Spljeta*, koju je objavio u svojoj zbirci narodnih pjesama sakupljenih u Splitu:[127]

Prid tenplon je plokata uresna,
Na njon stoji grongona udesna,
Iz kê onda djaval govoraše
Kad poganski zakon zavodjaše.

Karaman je napisao da je pjesmu sastavio splitski težak Ivan Jakaša,[128] ali je Dušan Berić iznio argumente prema kojima je njezin autor fra Andrija Dorotić (1761. – 1837.), a ne Jakaša (1795. – 1882.).[129]

Poznato je nekoliko rukopisa, odnosno izdanja pjesme starca Milovana. Jedan rukopis, najstariji, pronašao je don Krsto Stošić iz Šibenika, a objavio ga je don Frane Bulić.[130] Drugi se nalazi u knjižnici samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku (br. 388), a prema Petru Kasandriću potječe iz drugog ili trećeg desetljeća 19. stoljeća.[131] Prijepis dubrovačkog rukopisa iz 1921. čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u

Stih u trećoj kitici *U 'vo moji priko trijest lita* potvrđuje da je pjesma nastala nakon 1870., jer je Bijader rođen 1840. godine. Priređivači pjesmarice posljednjih su pet stihova nepotrebno podijelili u dvije kitice, pa smo ih ovdje donijeli zajedno.

126 Vrdoljak 1851, str. 3.

127 Karaman, D. S. 1885, str. 179–190 (u 2. izdanju str. 120–129). Citirani stihovi na str. 179–180; u drugom izdanju na str. 121 – ondje je grongona s velikim slovom G.

128 Karaman, D. S. 1885, str. 269, bilj. 8 (u 2. izdanju str. 182, bilj. 9).

129 Berić 1952; Berić 1956, str. 105–110 (tekst: *Splitski pučki pjesnik Ivan Jakaša*).

130 Bulić (1928). Stošić je 10. VI. 1927. pisao Buliću: „Ovih dana našao sam u rukopisu od nepoznatoga pjevača pjesmu od 336 stihova." Potom navodi naslov i dio stihova te pita Bulića je li mu pjesma poznata i tko je njezin autor jer ju je namjeravao objaviti. Bulić mu je odgovorio da tiska pjesmu, i to u formatu *Vjesnika za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, u nakladi od 500 primjeraka, tako da može biti prilog *Vjesniku*. Stošić je 18. lipnja poslao original pjesme Buliću da je pregleda i eventualno tiska te ga zamolio „spomenite i moj rukopis" pri objavi. AMS, Arhiv Društva „Bihać", 1927, br. 14.

131 Kasandrić 1903, str. 120–121.

gona: *La Sfinge (ora Gorgona)*.[122] By contrast, in the manuscript of his history of Split, which he continued to write until his death, he consistently uses only the term "sphinx," both for the one on the Peristyle and for the other specimen that later came into the possession of the Cindro family.[123] Another native of Split, Francesco Lanza (1808 – 1892), a physician and archaeologist, published in 1855 a description of Diocletian's Palace in which he likewise addresses the Peristyle sphinx, stating that it was erroneously referred to by the local populace as the Gorgona.[124]

In 1851, a poem was published in the *Glasnik dalmatinski* by a certain resident of Imotski named Vrdoljak, which, as he states, he had heard among the common people and subsequently adapted (that is, reworked) for publication. This was in fact the well-known poem *Uzdasi i plač starca Milovana*, which Vrdoljak entitled *Split grad, starinski Solin s' polačom Dioklecianovom*.[125] In the verses describ

122 AMS, archive of J. Bajamonti, sign. V/10, fol. 18.

123 AMS, archive of J. Bajamonti, sign. V/8, pp. 38, 40. Croatian translation in Bajamonti 1975, pp. 126, 129.

124 Lanza 1855, p. 18: *una sfinge colossale, che impropriamente dal volgo viene detta* Gorgona.

125 A distant echo of Kačić's influence on folk poetry can be found in the verses of Ilija Kutlešić Bijader (1840–1929) from the village of Jabuka. This self-taught peasant from the Sinj-Cetina region, as he called himself, composed around 1872 a *Pisma o Splitu* ("Song about Split"), in which he first admires the beauty of the Split plain and then describes the city's antiquities, beginning with the cathedral bell tower. It is a pity that the poem breaks off precisely at the point where a mention of the sphinx might be expected, and that there is no continuation. Here are the verses about the bell tower:

U njemu je i palača stara,
Sa dnu ploče pa do ovršina,
Silnog cara Dioklecijana.
Bit će oko stotinu aršina,
U njemu je sto zvonika bilo,
Tako 'tiše splitski starenici,
Ali jedan sve je nadašao,
Da se ziđu veliki zvonici.
Svetog Dujma mimo nje prošao.

Po zvoniku mramor lipi,
Po njem mnogi izrađeni kipi.
Pred zvonikom lavi strahoviti,
Gdi nevištak ne smi pristupiti,
Bojeć s' lava da će oživiti.
(engl. translation: Within it stands an ancient palace,
Of the mighty Emperor Diocletian.
Within it there were a hundred bell towers,

Splitu.[132] Slijedi jedna verzija iz sredine 19. stoljeća koja se također čuva u Muzeju.[133] Najmlađe bi bile inačice koje su objavili Vrdoljak i D. S. Karaman.[134] Ovaj nam je osvrt važan za utvrđivanje kronologije uporabe naziva Gorgona i Grongona za peristilsku sfingu jer ni Stošićev, ni dubrovački, kao ni splitski rukopis nemaju strofu u kojoj se spominje sfinga.[135] Nasuprot tomu, imaju je Vrdoljak i Karaman, pa se nameće pitanje tko ju je i kada umetnuo u pjesmu. S obzirom na razlike među rukopisima, ispuštanja stihova i strofa, postavlja se i pitanje postoji li još neka inačica pjesme koja dosad nije poznata. U svakom slučaju, ako prihvatimo Vrdoljakovu napomenu da je pjesmu čuo iz pučkih usta i uzmemo u obzir da je tiskana 1851., zaključujemo da se naziv Gorgona svakako koristio i u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća. Karaman pak 1885. donosi oblik Grongona.

Sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća u Split se doselio i tu radio poznati fotograf Franz Thiard de Laforest,[136] zbog čega je mogao biti dobro upoznat s time kako su Splićani nazivali sfingu. Godine 1878. objavio je knjigu o Splitu i Saloni u kojoj navodi da je zovu Gorgona,[137] a objavio je i svoju „portretnu" fotografiju sfinge.[138]

[132] AMS, arhivska zbirka, Ms XXIII/22, l. 1–10. Prijepis je izradio Antun Colnago.

[133] AMS, arhivska zbirka, Ms XXIII/21, str. 3–8: *Pisma od Grada Solina. Plach i trudno uzdisagne starca Milovana sverhu rasucia, Solinskoga, i ovoga izroda Splitskoga*. Berić 1952, str. 466, bilj. 9.

[134] O odnosu navedenih rukopisa i izdanja vidi Berić 1952, str. 465–468.

[135] Kada je Ljubo Karaman ponovno objavio Stošićevu (Bulićevu) verziju pjesme, čiji je naslov skratio, sljedeće je stihove protumačio ovako: *stražani lavi* su dva lava na podnožju zvonika, a *zviri zamirite* je sfinga. (Karaman, Lj. 1940, str. 6, bilj. 2.)
Pod zvonikom stoje ko stražani
Od kamena lavi uklesani
I jošć druge zviri zamirite
Rekbi da su od bronca salite.
Smatramo da se *zviri* ne odnose na sfingu jer pjesnik govori u množini, nego na životinje (lav, orao, medvjed, pas, divlja svinja, zmaj, neidentificirane zvijeri) u scenama lova na ulaznom luku zvonika, koji je pripisan majstoru Ottu. Kečkemet 1955, str. 107–114; Čapeta Rakić 2015, str. 21.

[136] O njemu najnovije Gržina, Katušić 2014, str. 116–117.

[137] Laforest 1878, str. 15: *collossale in zwei Stücke gebrochene Sphinx, die vom Volksmunde den Namen „Gorgona" erhalten hat*.

[138] Grčević 2002, str. 177: *Die Sphinx*. To je zapravo izrez iz njegove veće fotografije dijela Peristila. Vidi Borčić 2013, str. 136; za stare fotografije sfinge vidi str. 126–136, 151–152, 156; Belamarić 2020b, str. 55.

ing the emperor's palace, he mentions the beautiful cathedral square and, on it, the Gorgona:[126]

Prid templom je plokata uresna,
Nad plokatom Gorgona udesna,
Iz nje jednom djavo govoraše,
Kî poganski narod zavodjaše.

(engl. translation: In front of the temple stands a beautiful square,
On the square to the right, a Gorgona,
From her once the devil spoke,
Who seduced the pagan people.)

Very similar verses were published in 1885 by Dujam Srećko Karaman in the poem *Pjesma o razasuću grada Solina i utemeljenju Spljeta*, which he included in his collection of folk songs gathered in Split:[127]

Prid tenplon je plokata uresna,
Na njon stoji grongona udesna,
Iz kê onda djaval govoraše
Kad poganski zakon zavodjaše.

(engl. translation: In front of the temple stands a beautiful square,
On the square to the right stands a grongona,
From whom the devil once spoke,
When the pagan law seduced.)

But one surpassed them all,
That of Saint Domnius rose above the rest.

From the base slabs to the very top,
It must be about a hundred arshins,
So say the elders of Split,
That such great bell towers must be built.

On the bell tower, fine marble,
Upon it many figures are carved.
Before the bell tower stand fearsome lions,
Where no ignorant person dares to approach,
Fearing that the lions might come to life.)
Kutlešić Bijader 2009, p. 39; for the dating, p. 14. The line in the third stanza *U 'vo moji priko trijest lita* ("In my time thirty years ago") confirms that the poem was composed after 1870, since Bijader was born in 1840. The editors of the songbook unnecessarily divided the last five lines into two stanzas, so we have presented them here together.

[126] Vrdoljak 1851, p. 3.

[127] Karaman D. S. 1885, pp. 179-190 (in the 2nd edition pp. 120-129). The quoted lines on pp. 179-180; in the second edition p. 121 – there "grongona" is written with a capital G.

U opširnom putopisu o Dalmaciji, tiskanom 1892., Zadranin Josip Modrić opisuje Split i spominje sfingu. Čudi se zašto je suvremene generacije zovu Gorgona kad je poslije nekoliko tisuća godina još uvijek lijepa, vitka i elegantna.[139] U vodiču po Splitu i okolici iz 1894., koji su napisali Luka Jelić, Frane Bulić i Simon Rutar, opisane su peristilska sfinga i ona bijela koja je iz obitelji Cindro prešla u Arheološki muzej, ali se navode pod stručnim nazivima sfinksa i sfinga,[140] dok se pučki naziv ne spominje.

Za pitanje kako su Splićani nazivali sfingu osobito su važni članci tiskani u novini *Naše jedinstvo* početkom 1910. godine. Naime, nakon višednevne hladnoće u siječnju 1910. jedne je noći pala kiša i prodrla u pukotine na glavi sfinge. Nastali led prouzročio je pomicanje već odavno odvojenog dijela glave za nekoliko milimetara, što je u javnosti protumačeno kao nečiji zlonamjerni čin. Obaviješteno o događaju, Povjerenstvo Dioklecijanove palače obavilo je očevid, utvrdilo da se ne radi o namjernom oštećivanju i dalo popraviti štetu.[141] U spomenutim novinskim člancima ne navodi se samo riječ sfinga nego je uz nju stavljen i pučki naziv Grongona kako bi čitateljstvu bilo jasnije o kojem je spomeniku riječ, premda je to bila jedina sfinga u javnom prostoru. Naime, velika bijela sfinga s hijeroglifima nalazila se izložena u Arheološkom muzeju, dok je druga velika crna sfinga bez glave otkrivena 1932. u Krešimirovoj ulici prigodom gradnje kuće Bonačić.[142] Dakle, Splićanima je Grongona bila istoznačnica za peristilsku sfingu. Uzgred rečeno, ovaj nesvakidašnji događaj odmah je našao odjek u karikaturi Splićanina Angjela Uvodića (1880. – 1942.), koji je sfingu prikazao kao bolesnu, sa zamotanom glavom, okruženu članovima Povjerenstva[143] (sl. 17).

[139] Modrić 1892, str. 109: *Perchè mai le generazioni moderne le inflissero il nome di „Gorgona?". È bella, del resto, anche oggidì. Lunga due metri e mezzo, snella, elegante, tutta di granito sienitico*. Usput spominje i drugu sfingu bez glave, tj. onu koja je prethodno bila kod obitelji Cindro.

[140] Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 85–87, 92, 145.

[141] Vrijeme ili vandalizam 1910, str. 2 – *glava znamenite i dragocjene Sfinge (grongone)*; Vandalizmi 1910, str. 2 – *zlikovci razbili i grongonu*; Sfinga 1910, str. 2 – *Sfinga. (Grongona)*; Jéquier 1910, str. 175, bilj. 1.

[142] Borčić 2013, str. 235.

[143] Karikatura je objavljena u časopisu *Savremenik* pod nazivom *Karikatura*, kao i Uvodićeva karikatura Ane Katunarića. Signatura d. l. DTZ znači Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu, koja je tiskala obje karikature. (Naše slike 1911, str. 353 – Katunarić, 359 – sfinga, 384 – članak).

Karaman wrote that the poem was composed by Ivan Jakaša, a peasant from Split,[128] but Dušan Berić later presented arguments suggesting that its author was actually Fra Andrija Dorotić (1761–1837) and not Jakaša (1795–1882).[129]

It is known that several manuscripts or editions of the poem about the old man Milovan exist. One manuscript, i.e. the oldest one, was discovered by Don Krsto Stošić from Šibenik and subsequently published by Don Frane Bulić.[130] A second manuscript is preserved in the library of the Franciscan monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik (no. 388) and, according to Petar Kasandrić, dates to the second or third decade of the 19th century.[131] A transcript of the manuscript from Dubrovnik from 1921 is preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Split.[132] Another version, dating from the mid-19th century, is likewise kept in the same institution.[133] The most recent versions are those published by Vrdoljak and Dujam Srećko Karaman.[134] This overview is of particular relevance for establishing the chronology of the usage of the terms Gorgona and Grongona in reference to the peristyle sphinx, because neither Stošić's manuscript nor the ones from Dubrovnik and Split contain the stanza in which the sphinx is mentioned.[135] By contrast, such a stanze is

[128] Karaman D. S. 1885, p. 269 – fn. 8 (in the 2nd edition p. 182 – fn. 9).

[129] Berić 1952; Berić 1956, pp. 105-110 (text: *Splitski pučki pjesnik Ivan Jakaša*).

[130] Bulić (1928). Stošić wrote to Bulić on 10th July 1927: *These days I found a poem in manuscript form by an unknown singer consisting of 336 verses*. He then cites the title and part of the verses and asks Bulić whether the poem is known to him and who its author is, as he intended to publish it. Bulić replied that he should print the poem in the journal *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, in a print run of 500 copies, so that it could serve as an appendix to the journal. On 18th June Stošić sent the original poem to Bulić for review and possible publication, asking him to "also mention my manuscript." AMS, archive of the "Bihać" society, 1927, no. 14.

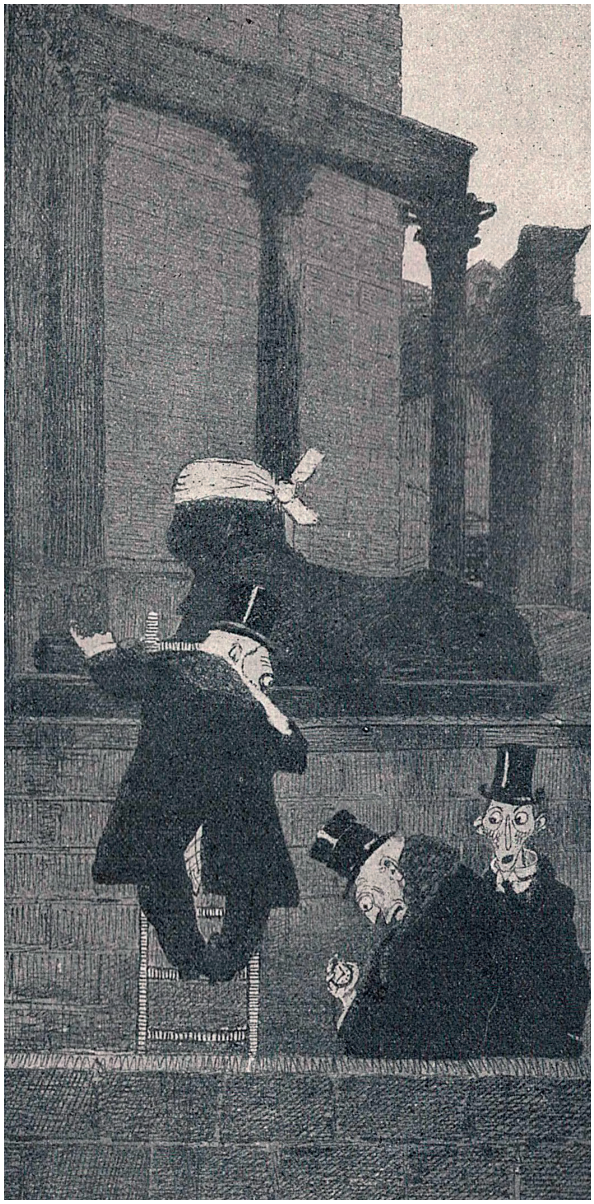
[131] Kasandrić 1903, pp. 120-121.

[132] AMS, archival collection, MS XXIII/22, fol. 1-10. The transcription was made by Antun Colnago.

[133] AMS, archival collection, Ms XXIII/21, pp. 3-8: *Pisma od Grada Solina. Plach i trudno uzdisagne starca Milovana sverhu rasucia, Solinskoga, i ovoga izroda Splitskoga*. Berić 1952, p. 466 – fn. 9.

[134] On the relationship between the mentioned manuscripts and editions, see Berić 1952, pp. 465-468.

[135] When Ljubo Karaman re-published Stošić's (Bulić's) version of the poem, shortening its title, he interpreted



Sl. 17 - A. Uvodić, *Sfinga na Peristilu*, 1911.
Fig. 17 - A. Uvodić, Sphinx on the Peristyle, 1911.

Iznošenje izvora o neobičnom nazivu za sfingu na Peristilu, kao poticaj za njegovo eventualno detaljnije dokumentiranje i istraživanje,[144] zaključit ćemo prigodnicom Splićanina Josipa Barača (1871. – 1939.), objavljenom 1921. u povodu 75. rođendana don Frane Bulića, u kojoj se ponovno javlja oblik Grongona:[145]

Osim ove, postoje još dvije inačice Katunarićeve karikature. Slade 2002, str. 12, 78; Slade 2009, str. 248, 259–260.

144 O tome je pisao jedino Nikolanci 1989.

145 [Barač] 1921, str. 1; pjesma je potpisana pseudonimom Marul. Slika stranice na kojoj je tiskana objavljena je u Bonačić Mandinić 1984, str. 126.

present in the versions published by Vrdoljak and Karaman, which raises the question of when and by whom it was inserted in the poem. Given the differences between the manuscripts, including omissions of verses and stanzas, does this mean that there was another version of the poem that is still unknown? In any case, if Vrdoljak's note—stating that he recorded the poem from oral tradition—is accepted, and if one takes into account its publication in 1851, it follows that the designation Gorgona was in use during the first half of the 19th century. Karaman, for his part, records the variant form Grongona in 1885.

During the 1870s, the noted photographer Franz Thiard de Laforest[136] moved to Split and worked there, which means he could have been well acquainted with how the people of Split referred to the sphinx. In 1878, he published a book about Split and Salona in which he states that the people call it Gorgona.[137] He also published his "portrait" photograph of the sphinx.[138]

In an extensive travel account of Dalmatia, published in 1892, Josip Modrić from Zadar describes Split and mentions the sphinx, expressing surprise that contemporary generations called it Gorgona,

the following verses as follows: the "guarding lions" are the two lions at the base of the bell tower, and the "silent beast" is the sphinx (Karaman Lj. 1940, p. 6 – fn. 2).
Pod zvonikom stoje ko stražani
Od kamena lavi uklesani
I još druge zviri zamirite
Rekbi da su od bronca salite.
(engl. translation: Under the bell tower stand like guards
Lions carved from stone
And other silent beasts
Which seem to be cast in bronze.)
We consider that the *zviri* (beasts) are not the sphinx, because the poet speaks in the plural, but rather animals (lion, eagle, bear, dog, wild boar, dragon, and unidentified beasts) in hunting scenes on the entrance arch of the bell tower, attributed to master Otto. Kečkemet 1955, pp. 107-114; Čapeta Rakić 2015, p. 21.

136 On him most recently, see Gržina, Katušić 2014, pp. 116-117.

137 Laforest 1878, p. 15: *collossale in zwei Stücke gebrochene Sphinx, die vom Volksmunde den Namen „Gorgona" erhalten hat.*

138 Grčević 2002, p. 177: *Die Sphinx*. This is actually a detail from his larger photograph of a part of the Peristyle. See Borčić 2013, p. 136; for old photographs of the sphinx, see pp. 126-136, 151-152, 156; Belamarić 2020b, p. 55.

Ispo' Grota, Maužoleja,
Okolo Grongone,
S Peristila i Mužeja
I na sve balkone.

Vidimo, dakle, da se naziv Gorgona, uvjetno rečeno, može pratiti od 1732. godine, a da je oblik Grongona zabilježen tek u Karamanovoj pjesmarici iz 1885. godine. Možda se naziv Grongona rabio i prije, ali su ljudi od pera bilježili oblik iz kojeg je potekao, a to je Gorgona.

given that, even after several millennia, it remained beautiful, slender and elegant.[139] In a guidebook about Split and its surroundings from 1894 written by Luka Jelić, Frane Bulić and Simon Rutar, both the peristyle sphinx and the white sphinx, formerly in the possession of the Cindro family and later transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Split, are described; however, they are designated exclusively by the scholarly terms sphinx (*sfinksa, sfinga*),[140] while the vernacular name is not mentioned.

For the question of how the residents of Split referred to the sphinx, particularly significant are the articles published in the newspaper *Naše jedinstvo* at the beginning of 1910. Namely, following several consecutive days of low winter temperatures in January of that year, rain fell during the night and penetrated the fissures in the head of the sphinx. The subsequent freezing of the water caused a slight displacement, by several millimetres, of a fragment of the head that had long been detached, an event which was in the public sphere interpreted as somebody's malicious act. Once informed of the event, the Commission for Diocletian's Palace carried out an inspection, determined that it was not intentional damage, and had the damage repaired.[141] In the aforementioned newspaper articles, the monument is designated not only by the term sphinx, but also accompanied by the vernacular name Grongona, evidently intended to clarify to readers which monument was being referenced, even though it was the only sphinx in a public space. At that time, the large white sphinx with hieroglyphs was displayed within the Archaeological Museum, while another large black sphinx, without a preserved head, was only discovered later, in 1932, in Krešimirova Street during the construction of the house of the Bonačić family.[142] It may therefore be concluded that for the residents of Split, Grongona was a synonym for the peristyle sphinx. Incidentally, this unusual event

[139] Modrić 1892, p. 109: *Perchè mai le generazioni moderne le inflissero il nome di „Gorgona?". È bella, del resto, anche oggidì. Lunga due metri e mezzo, snella, elegante, tutta di granito sienitico*. He also mentions another headless sphinx, namely the one that had previously been in the possession of the Cindro family.

[140] Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, pp. 85-87, 92, 145.

[141] Vrijeme ili vandalizam 1910, 2 – *glava znamenite i dragocjene Sfinge (grongone)*; Vandalizmi 1910, 2 – *zlikovci razbili i grongonu*; Sfinga 1910, 2 – *Sfinga. (Grongona)*; Jéquier 1910, p. 175 – fn. 1.

[142] Borčić 2013, p. 235.

was immediately reflected in a caricature by the Split artist Angjelo Uvodić (1880 – 1942), in which the sphinx is depicted as ill, with its head bandaged, surrounded by members of the Commission[143] (Fig. 17).

The presentation of sources relating to the unusual designation of the sphinx on the Peristyle, intended as an incentive for its more comprehensive documentation and further scholarly investigation,[144] may be concluded with an occasional poem by Josip Barač (1871 – 1939) from Split, composed on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Frane Bulić and published in 1921, in which the form Grongona appears once again:[145]

Ispo' Grota, Maužoleja,
Okolo Grongone,
S Peristila i Mužeja
I na sve balkone.

(engl. translation: Beneath the Grotto, the Mausoleum,
Around the Grongona,
From the Peristyle and the Museum
And onto all the balconies.)

It may thus be observed that the designation Gorgona can, with reservations, be traced back to the year 1732, whereas the form Grongona is documented only in Karaman's collection of songs from 1885. It remains possible that the name Grongona was in use earlier; however, writers appear to have recorded the form derived from its original source, namely Gorgona.

143 The caricature was published in the journal *Savremenik* under the title *Karikatura*, as was Uvodić's caricature of Ana Katunarić. The signature lower left DTZ refers to the Joint Stock Printing House in Zagreb (Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu), which printed both caricatures. (Naše slike 1911, p. 353 – Katunarić, 359 – sphinx, 384 – article). Besides this one, there are two more versions of Katunarić's caricature. Slade 2002, pp. 12, 78; Slade 2009, pp. 248, 259-260.

144 Only Nikolanci wrote about this in 1989.

145 [Barač] 1921, p. 1; the poem is signed with the pseudonym Marul. An image of the page on which it was printed was published in Bonačić Mandinić 1984, p. 126.

PRILOG I. / Appendix I

Copia tratta dal Giornale de' Signori Cassieri della Magnifica Comunità di Spalato

Adi primo Settembre 1763.

Per date all'Illustrissimo Signor Conte Capitano per la Lastricata della Piazza del Duomo a tenore della Parte di questo Magnifico Maggior Consiglio 10 Luglio1763, approvata dall'atuale Illustrissimo, ed Eccelentissimo Provvedetor Generale di Moneta Lunga Ducati duecento correnti, sono di Moneta Reale Lire 930:-

(suhi pečat sv. Marka) Vincenzo Mistruzzi Cancelliere Civile di Spalato ha fatto copiare, incontrato, sottoscritto, e sigillato.

PRILOG II. / Appendix II

Copia

Adi 6 Agosto 1764 Receputo

Illustrissimo Signor Signor Osservandissimo

Accolto dalla Carica il proggetto esposto da Vostra Signoria Illustrissima col diligente Suo foglio di 5 corrente, onde conciliar i modi, con i quali proseguirsi, ed ultimarsi la benemerita Opera intrapresa dal di Lei Zelo per il Lastricato della Piazza di questo Duomo, ho segnato anche la Terminazione, che Le unisco ingiunta, onde si dia il merito d'invigilare per la Sua pontual essecuzione.

Riguardo alli quattro Canonici indicati nel sopradetto di Lei foglio, li quali recredono d'adempire per la respettiva loro tangente al pattuito rimborso de soldi passati in pagamento del nuovo Organo della Cattedrale, Ella si compiacerà di chiamarli alla Sua presenza, e rendendo loro nota la mia ferma intenzione perché supplir abbiano all'accennato impegno, ingiungerà alli medesimi di mio Ordine il pronto pagamento, ed in caso d'ulteriore recredenza me ne avvanzarà in diligenza gli avvisi per le convenienti deliberazioni, e Le bacio affettuosamente le mani.

Spalato 6 Agosto 1764

Pietro Michiel Provveditor General

Illustrissimo Signor Conte e Capitano di Spalato.

PRILOG III. / Appendix III

Noi Pietro Michiel per la Serenissima Republica di Venezia

Provveditor General in Dalmazia, ed Albania

Con plausibili oggetti questo Illustrissimo Conte e Capitano Dolfin fino da' primordj dell'intrapresa Sua Regenza s'è applicato al benemerito impegno di rinovare il Lastricato della Piazza del Duomo di questa Città, che divenuto disdicevole, e abbietto mal corrisponde al decoro del Sacro Tempio, ed alla venustà degli antichi Edificj, de quali và adorna la Piazza stessa.

Fatti però concorrere dal detto Nobil Uomo col proprio esempio, e con addattate insinuazioni alcuni Particolari a qualche volontaria contribuzione, a cui si sono indotti pure li Capi della Città, e coll' imposizione fatta a questi Beccari di Lire 3:4 per ogni Animale Bovino, e di soldi 10- per cadaun Castrato, gli è sortito d'approntare le occorrenti Pietre in Corzola, e di farle anco quì tradurre nella maggior parte, rimanendovi colà tuttavia qualche porzione attesa la mancanza del Dinaro necessario al pagamento, per cui viene parimente d'avenarsi l'Opera sopradetta.

Prodotti quindi dal Zelo d'esso Nobil Uomo ai riflessi della Carica con diligenti Sue Lettere di 5 corren-

te li Documenti del Soldo ritratto, e della Spesa fin ad ora corsa, non meno che la deficienza dei modi, coi quali proseguirsi, e ridursi al suo compimento l'Opera sopradetta, s'è fatta a seguire l'espediente di convertirsi in tanto benefizio dell'Opera stessa quel tenue esborso, che giornalmente da' Macellari viene contribuito alle due Chiese del Santo Protettore di questa Città, e di S. Croce in ordine alla Terminazione del Nobil Uomo Zan Pietro Trivisan fu Conte e Capitano predecessore 16 Ottobre 1753 approvata dalla Carica Generalizia.

Accolto da Noi il proggetto, che riconosciamo addattato alle circostanze dell'esigenza, in virtù delle presenti Decretiamo, e Terminiamo,

Che per l'avenire, e sino all'intiero compimento del suespresso Lastricato della Piazza del Duomo di questa Città avrà a convertirsi, e disponersi per conto d'un tale Lavoro la Contribuzione solita farsi giornalmente da' Beccari di soldi dieci per cadaun Manzo, e di due per cadaun Castrato, che venisse macellato a questa parte, o estratto altrove, e questo Dinaro dovrà esborsarsi all'Esattore del Dazio della Beccaria, e Pescaria, il quale sarà tenuto d'invigilare, perché da veruno si manchi al prescritto esborso, e di consegnare giornalmente il riscosso in questa Fiscal Camera.

Perfezionata che sia l'Opera suespressa, dovrà applicarsi nuovamente l'accennata Contribuzione a tenore, ed in conformità della suriferita Terminazione 16 Ottobre 1753.

La presenta sarà accompagnata con Lettera al sudetto Nobil Uomo Conte e Capitano di questa Città, perché resti diffusa a notizia d'ogniuno, e riportar abbia la pontuale sua esecuzione. In quarum

Spalato 6 Agosto 1764

Pietro Michiel Provveditor General

Il Primario di Segretaria Generalizia

Adi 17 Agosto 1764

Publicata

Locus sigilli Sancti Marci Giovanni Paolo Mistruzzi Cancelliere Pretorio di Spalato ha fatto copiare dagli Originali esistenti in quest' Offizio, incontrato, sottoscritto, e sigillato

(suhi pečat sv. Marka) Vincenzo Mistruzzi Cancelliere Civile di Spalato ha fatto copiare dalla simile autentica, incontrato, sottoscritto, e sigillato.

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