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DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE

Τοῦ Ἀσπαλάου κάστρον, ὅπερ παλάτιου μικρόν

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From the beginnings of the construction of the Roman imperial palaces to the early medieval royal residences of the Carolingian age, the architectural parts of the residences have retained, in east and west, a similar morphology and function. Their names are defined through concepts from literary references in which the imperial buildings are defined.

The formal features and architectural organisation of the imperial palaces are mentioned most often in the works of Christian writers of Late Antiquity. For Christianity the earthly palace of the pagan, divinised king was but a feeble picture of the heavenly palace that in the descriptions of the Church Fathers retains the names for the individual parts and their distribution. Thus for example in the martyrdom of St Thomas a paradisaal palace is mentioned which the apostle sees in his sleep during his stay in India. According to the text given in *Passio S. Tomae*, the apostle was supposed to build a royal residence for King Gundaphorus.¹ The text of the passion, from the early Middle Ages, contains a detailed description of the palace that, among its many imaginary elements, also contains architectural parts of the real buildings that served the writer of the work as a model. Other sources, too, in which individual parts of the palace are described, contain concepts in which the functional units of imperial residences are defined. They have Latin and Greek roots, sometimes used at the same time, mostly to mark the functions of different rooms. Thus the medieval sources refer to parts that are called *proaulium*, *salutatorium*, *consistorium* and many others. In some names the form of the architecture is addressed contained, such as the *tricorum*, a component part of the architecture of the palace, which we can consider its attribute. As well as the mentioned buildings, other integral parts of the palaces are: *zetas hiemales*, *zetas aestivales*, *epicaustorium*, *thermas*, *gymnasia*, *qoquinam colymbos* and *hippodromum*.

The names of the parts of the palace are found in the writings of authors of a later period, therefore one can assume that they do not contain all of the original names of the buildings standing within the imperial residence. The term »palace«

¹ A. E. MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas: An Inquiry with a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomae*, 30; Ordericus Vitalis

has been the subject of many debates in which the imperial residences were given various titles, from the *villa* of the early Empire to the late Ravenna *palatium*.

The imperial cult – and with it the organisation of the rooms within the residence of the emperors – changed over the course of time. However, without any doubt, Diocletian was the greatest reformer of the imperial cult and court ceremonial based on a totally new depiction of imperial dignity. In the many palaces that he had built, he introduced a totally new architectural and urbanistic organisation of space in line with the new functions of the royal seat. In both the ceremonial and architectural sense, all the emperors that ascended the throne after him adhered to his reformed ceremonies. Thus the mentioned names of the parts of the imperial palace refer to the new organisation of the imperial residence of Diocletian's time, which was adopted by the tetrarchs and the later emperors from Constantine, Theodoric and Justinian to the rulers of the early Middle Ages.

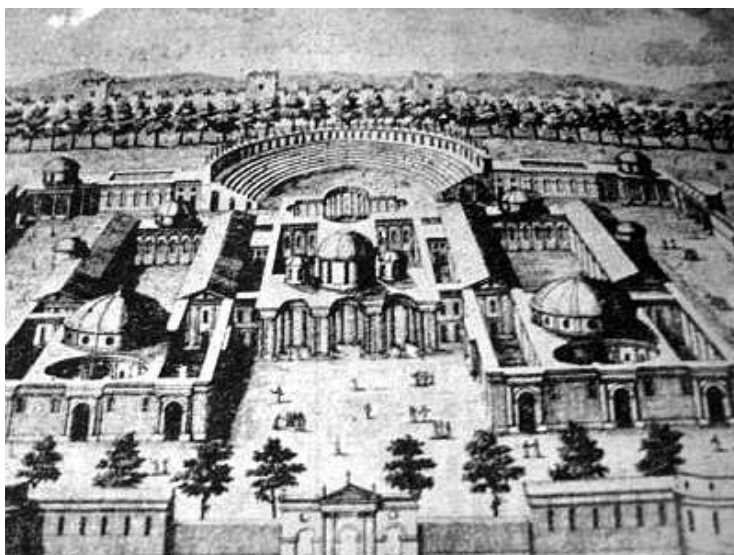
From the time of Diocletian, an emperor became holy at the very moment of his ascent to the throne. The coronation ceremony became a birthday, *natalis*, and his appearance was an *epiphania*. Everything connected with the emperor became sacred, even the duties of the members of the imperial council, the court dignitaries, and his palace, now called *palatium sacrum*. Access to the emperor was regulated by a ceremony derived from the cult of the gods.² In the imperial period the concept of *adoratio* was taken from the East, from the Hellenistic kings, but Diocletian modified the ceremony, bringing in, in addition to the earlier *genuflexio*, extra gestures, such as kissing the Imperial Purple. The panegyrist Claudius Marmentius, describing the *adoratio* of Diocletian and Maximian in Milan in 291 says that it unfolded in the inner parts of the sanctuary, *haec quideum velut interioribus sacrariis*, to the joy of those whom rank allowed to approach the augusti. For the Roman emperors preceding Diocletian, the *adoratio* had been arranged by the great dignitaries, *eminentissimis viris item amicis et principibus officiorum sedisset in auditorio*.³ The ceremony took place in a chamber that was at that time called *consilium principis*, and was after the Diocletian reorganisation termed *consilium sacrum*, and later, during the time of the Christian emperors, renamed *consistorium*, or in Greek *synagoga*.

These changes had immediate effects on the reorganisation of the architectural programmes of the imperial palaces, in which new substances were defined, all related to the imperial cult. The results were Diocletian's construction of new residences and the thoroughgoing rebuilding of the old, which Lactantius refers to, holding against the emperor his enormous and irrational building sweep over the Empire: »To this there were added a certain endless passion for building, and on that account, endless exactions from the provinces for furnishing wages to

² H. STERN, »Remarks on the 'Adoratio' under Diocletian«, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 17. No ½ (1954), 189

³ H. STERN, o. c. 187

labourers and artificers, and supplying carriages and whatever else was requisite to the works which he projected. Here public halls, there a circus, here a mint, and there a workhouse for making implements of war; in one place a habitation for his empress, and in another for his daughter. Presently great part of the city was quitted, and all men removed with their wives and children, as from a town taken by enemies; and when those buildings were completed, to the destruction of whole provinces, he said: They are not right, let them be done on another plan. Then they were to be pulled down, or altered, to undergo perhaps a future demolition. By such folly was he continually endeavouring to equal Nicomedia with the city Rome in magnificence« (Lactantius 7. 8-10).⁴



Diocletian's palace in Nicomedia.

The centres in which the Augustuses and Caesars held court were Milan, Trier, Arles, Sirmium, Serdica, Salonika, Nicomedia and Antioch. The palaces of the tetrarchs in these cities are preserved in the archaeological strata, and many of them have not been thoroughly excavated, and so it is only possible to make asse-

⁴ L. C. F. LACTANTIUS, *O smrtima progoniteljja*, translated by N. Cambi, Split, 2005, 33.

ssments about their architecture mainly from literary sources. Diocletian reigned in the east, in the Bithynian town of Nicomedia, as against which Constantine the Great built his capital in Constantinople – the New Rome. Apart from Nicomedia and Sirmium, Diocletian inherited and built many palaces in Syria and Egypt. The best known of them, next to Nicomedia, was his palace in Antioch, situated on the Oront River, the capital of Syria, today in Turkey, not far from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, close to the border with Lebanon. In Nicomedia, a northwestern town of Anatolia, which was in history also called Bithynia, lay Diocletian's official palace. Lactantius writes that Diocletian built the palace and restored the city by demolishing vast parts of it to satisfy his frantic need for building. Diocletian reconstructed Antioch because the Persians had destroyed it in their incursion of 256, and built in it a new part of the city on an island in the Oront, surrounding it with walls and towers.⁵ In the new city, he also built his own palace. The city was organised as a *castrum*, a typical organisation of palaces of the Late Empire, like the residence of Diocletian in Split or the Constantine's Great Palace.⁶ Little remains of the archaeological strata of Diocletian's Antioch, and its appearance can be theoretically reconstructed from the descriptions of Libanius written in the middle of the 4th century.⁷ He writes that the form of the new city of Antioch was circular, with a strictly planned network of streets, and surrounded with a ring of walls like a crown. In the centre was a triumphal arch of four arches linked together in a square ground plan, and from them four pairs of *stoeae* stretched out into four cardinal directions. Three of these *stoeae* were connected to the city walls, while the fourth was shorter, but of much more graceful proportions, and led to the entrance of the palace, thus serving as a porch.

The palace occupied a quarter of the new city. It stretched from the centre and extended to the channels of the river. At this palace the wall had a gallery with pillars instead of a parapet, with a view worthy of the emperor, a river that flowed below, and suburbs pleasing to the eye, spreading on all sides.

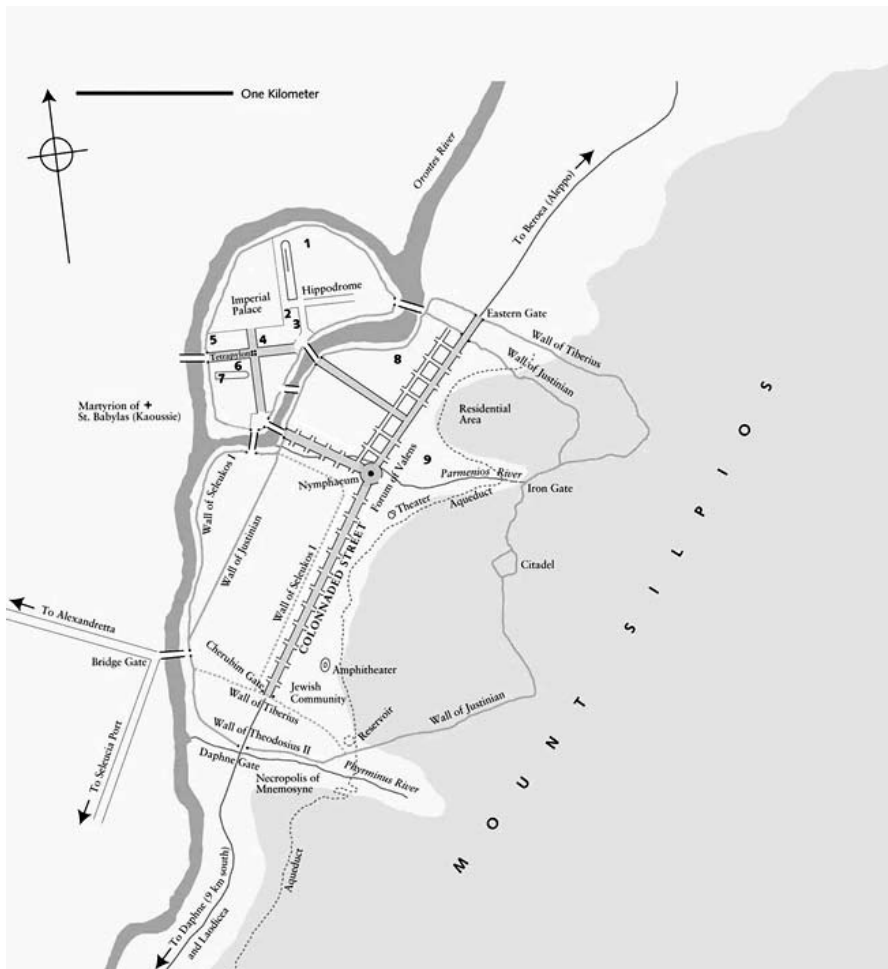
The similarity between Diocletian's new palace in Antioch and his palace in Split was long ago observed.⁸ In a precise description of the new city, Libanius says that it is surrounded with towered walls. We can see the same in Diocletian's

⁵ G. DOWNEY, »Libanius' oration in Praise on Antioch (oratio XI)«, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 3, Oct. 15. 1959, 653, 683.

⁶ G. DOWNEY, op. cit (8), 683; S. ČURČIĆ, »Late –Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context«, *Ars Orientalis*, vo. 23. *Pre-Modern Islamic palaces* (1993), 68.

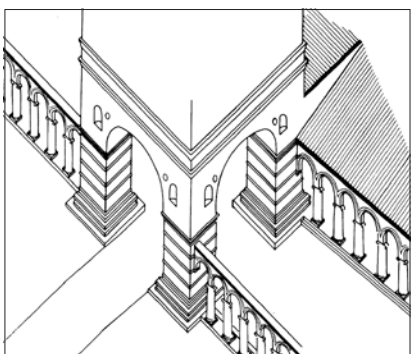
⁷ G. DOWNEY, o. c. 675.

⁸ C. DU CANGE, *Constantinopolis Christiana* 1, Paris, 1680., 113; J. STRZY-GOWSKI, »Spalato, una tappa dell' arte romani nel suo passaggio dall' Oriente nell' Occidente«, *Supplemento al »Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalm.«* 1, Zadar 1908, 9; K. M. SWOBODA, *Römishe und romanische Paläste*, Beč 1924., 148; N. DUVAL, »La place de Split dans l' architecture aulique du bas-empire«, *Urbs* 4, Split 1961-1962, 74; S. ČURČIĆ, »Late-Antique palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context«, *Ars Orientalis* 23, *Pre-modern Islamic Palaces*, Chicago 1993., 69.



Ground plan of Antioch with new, fortified part of the town and the imperial palace on an island of the Oront River, erected by Diocletian

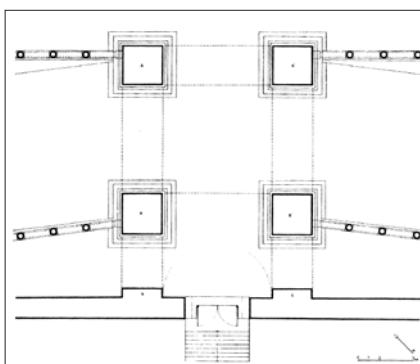
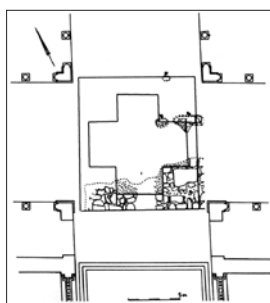
Split, only on a square instead of a round plan. Antioch, like Split, had two main streets with porticos that crossed in the centre of the city. At the crossing stood a triumphal arch with arches facing all four directions, like the Tetrapylon in Salonica or the Milion in Constantinople. In Split, enormous foundations of a similar construction have been found at the crossing of the streets, about 40 x 40 feet, i.e. 12.36 x 12.36 m in size. It has a cruciform ground plan, with four foundations,



Reconstruction of Galerius' tetrapylon in Thessalonica (after V. Velenis, 1979).



Diocletian's tetrapylon in Palmyra.



Remains of the foundations of Diocletian's tetrapylon in Split at the crossing of the main streets (after B. Gabričević) and ground plan of Galerius' tetrapylon in Thessalonica compared in the same scale (after V. Velenis, 1989).

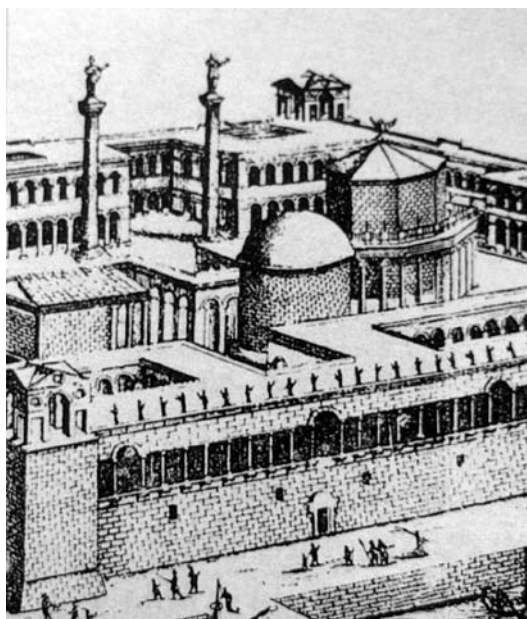
which bore the corner pylons or columns.⁹ A column with a sculpture of an idol is mentioned at this place as late as the 16th century.¹⁰ A print from the early 18th century, drawn by von Erlach, shows pillars bearing figures in the centre of Split. All this shows clearly that, like Antioch, Split must have had a triumphal arch at the crossing of the main roads, which on three sides to the walls, while on the fourth

⁹ E. DYGGVE, »O izvornom izgledu antičkog Peristila«, *Urbs* 4, Split 1961-1962, 53-60; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, »Decussis Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu«, *VHAD* 43-44 Split 1969, 63.

¹⁰ A. PROCULIANO, Oratione al clarissimo m. Giovan Battista Calbo degnissimo rettor, et alla magnifica communita di Spalato, detta da Antonio Proculiano cancelliero di essa communità, Venecija 1562, 30r; *Nel punto del qual diametro era fondata (con un Idolo sopra) una bellissima colonna, a tutte quattro le porte egualmente uisibile et distante.*

side there was a shorter street, much more luxuriously conceived and formed, that led to the entrance into the palace.¹¹ As in Split, the Antioch temples lined the street, thus distinguishing the palace from the rest of the city. Both of the imperial residences had an additional caesura between the *temonos* of the temples and the palace, for security reasons, particularly related to the fires that often put at risk the quarters of Roman settlements.

Like Libanius, Porphyrogenitus in his description of Split brings out specific features of the fortifications. He writes that the defence-wall of the city has neither ramparts nor bulwarks, but only lofty walls and arrow-slits high walls.¹² The source from which Porphyrogenitus derived his description of Split is unknown, but in connection with the sentry walkway, he must have misinterpreted it.¹³ Contrary to his description, Diocletian's walls in Split did have sentry passages, except in the southern quarter of the city, where the imperial palace was located. Therefore, his source might have stated that only the Split *palatium* did not have a sentry passage, and not the whole of the Diocletian's *castrum*, which would have been completely in line with Libanius' description of Antioch, which says that in the palatine quarter the fortified city did not even have a battlement. He says that one of the external walls of the Antioch palace had a gallery on pillars with a view of the river and environs. The similarity of this description and the Diocletian's Split palace with a gallery overlooking the sea was long ago noticed and compared



J. B. Fischer von Erlach, *Drawing of Diocletian's palace with columns at the site of the tetrapylon* (1721)

¹¹ J. STRZYGOWSKI, o. c. 9.; E. DYGGVE, o. c.; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, o. c. ; in medieval Split, the space became the cathedral square, and in literature it became common to call it the Peristyle, although not in the original meaning of the word.

¹² C. PORFIROGENET, *O upravljanju carstvom*, Zagreb 1994, 76;

¹³ According to Porphyrogenitus, the royal historian, in Constantinople they prepared thematic collections of various documents for his use; cf. *Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, in Ph. BOISSEVAIN – C. de BOOR – TH. BUETTNER-WOBST vol- I and III, Berlin 1905.

in the literature that dealt with the Split imperial residence. Ancient writers called Diocletian's fort in Split a *villa*, while they called his own residence ... *in ville suae palatio*... or even *Aspalathos*.¹⁴ The debate about the kind and status of this building, the origin of the title and place name is continuing. In the 9th century Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus stated that Diocletian had built κάστρον *Aspalatos*, which according to him meant Παλάτιον μικρόν.¹⁵ He precisely described the type and kind of building, including both concepts, palatium and castrum, citing them in a completely new way characteristic of the Diocletian's reformed organisation of an imperial residence.

If Libanius' description of the new part of the city of Antioch which the writer calls πόλις is compared with the urban organisation of Split, which was in the past called a *villa* or κάστρον *Aspalatos*, it is clear that in both cases one deals with a fortified settlement in which the imperial palace occupied just a quarter of the area. Diocletian's *Aspalathos* was a small, fortified settlement, a castle, in which there was an imperial palace, as was showed long ago.¹⁶ Unlike the imperial palaces in Nicomedia and Antioch, Diocletian's palace in Split served as a residence of an emperor who had retired, but its architectural organisation is the consequence of the same reforms and architectural activities characteristic of the time of his rule. And although it is often said that the southern part of Diocletian's building has a character of a *Praetoria* and the construction as a whole that of a Roman camp, this comparison is for Split only formally true, because of the regular shape of the city, the deployment of towers, walls and streets.¹⁷ The Split building can be better compared with the new part of the city of Palmyra, called by scholars the Diocletian's camp, and located in the western part of the town. This architectural group, with an area of about four hectares, is split off from the rest of the town with a rectangular ring of walls and towers, and a crossroad of the orthogonal main streets with porticos in which there was a tetrapylon. The term camp is used in literature because of an inscription found in the city walls, mentioning Diocletian and his rulers who CASTRA...CONDIDERVNT... while SOSSIANVS HIEROCLES was PRAESES. New works on the topic of Palmyra suggest that the term *castra* might be applied to the whole of the city of Late Antiquity, the Diocletian's Palace.¹⁸

Recent interpretations, and the economic aspects of Diocletian's building, although they question the well-established suppositions that this was a country

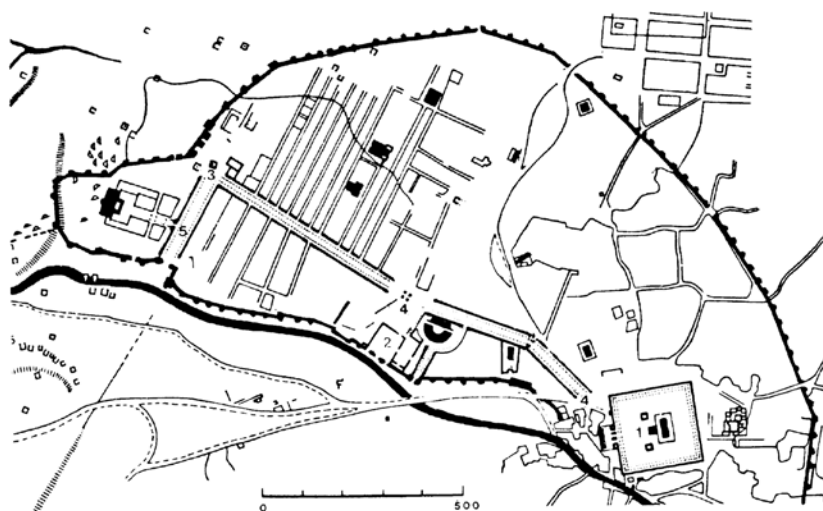
¹⁴ F. BULIĆ, *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu*, Zagreb 1927., 12. Eutropius and Tyro Prosper call his residence a villa, while St Jerome calls his building »...in sue ville palatio«, while the name *Aspalatho* is mentioned in *Notitia Dignitatum*.

¹⁵ GY. MORAVSČIK – R. J. H. JENKINS, *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae - De administrando imperio*, Washington DC 1967, 136; Porphyrogenitus' name Παλάτιον μικρόν is the antithesis to Constantine's Μέγα παλάτιον.

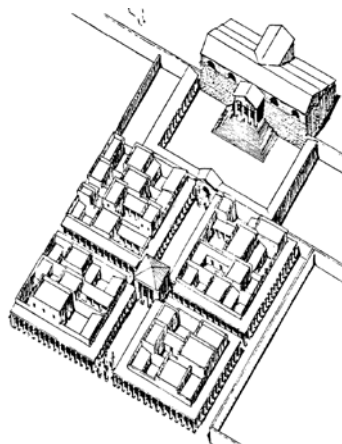
¹⁶ N. DUVAL, o. c.; S. ČURČIĆ, o. c., 69

¹⁷ J. STRZYGOWSKI, o. c. 12

¹⁸ N. POLLARD, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria*, University of Michigan Press 2000, 298



Plan of Palmyra (after J. Strack, 1952).



*Diocletian's camp in Palmyra
(after D. Schulberg, 1935)*

house that from an architectural point of view combined the traditional organisation of the Roman military camp and the opulent buildings typical of an imperial palace, certainly do not cast doubt on the idea that Diocletian in fact did build his palace in Split.¹⁹ Diocletian's Split undertaking is in fact entirely in line with his architectural expansion, and his palace cannot be viewed separately from his

¹⁹ J. BELAMARIĆ, »Gynaecium Iovense Dalmatiae – Aspalatho«, *PPUD* 40, Split 2003-2004, 8

reconstruction activities in Salona and Split, where he knocked down parts of the old cities and in their place had new sections built.²⁰ In Salona the *Urbs orientalis* has been associated with Diocletian's urban renovations, and the governor's palace, the most luxurious building in Salona, decorated with mosaics, has been ascribed to the same undertaking.²¹ That a part of old Aspalathos was indeed knocked down for the sake of the construction of Diocletian's residence, is proven by the remains of architecture found in the SE quadrant of the imperial palace, stretching to the east and beyond the perimeter defined by walls and towers.²² In the already existing settlement, along the shoreline, Diocletian built and fortified a new part of town – in the Diocletian terminology from Palmyra a *castrum* – which Porphyrogenitus correctly called *Aspalatos*.²³ For the purpose of this enterprise, he demolished part of the old settlement of Aspalatos, the size and importance of which are shown by the monumental buildings the remains of which are located in the vicinity of the palace, like traces of the vast radial building at the site *ad basilicas pictas* and the numerous archaeological remains in the immediate vicinity of the city.²⁴ Diocletian's castrum in Aspalathos, as long ago noticed, belongs to the Syrian type of the Diocletian urban renovation, with a totally new meaning of the concept that is met in Antioch, Palmyra, Philippopolis, and other Syrian sites. This kind of urbanism is called *castello* by Strzygowski.²⁵ His idea was directly accepted by French researchers defining the Split residence as a kind of palace, anticipating the later medieval and Renaissance residences like Carolingian Aachen or the Spanish Escorial.²⁶ The common term »Diocletian's palace in Split« corresponds to the imperial architectural and urban undertaking, which is linguistically most

²⁰ J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, »AVRELIA PRISCA«, *PPUD* 41, Split 2005-2007, 22; Idem, »Salona, The *Urbs orientalis*«, *Hortus Artium medievalium* 12, Zagreb-Motovun 2006, 52; Idem, »Diocletian and the Salona *Urbs orientalis*«, see the text published in this collection.

²¹ Ibidem.

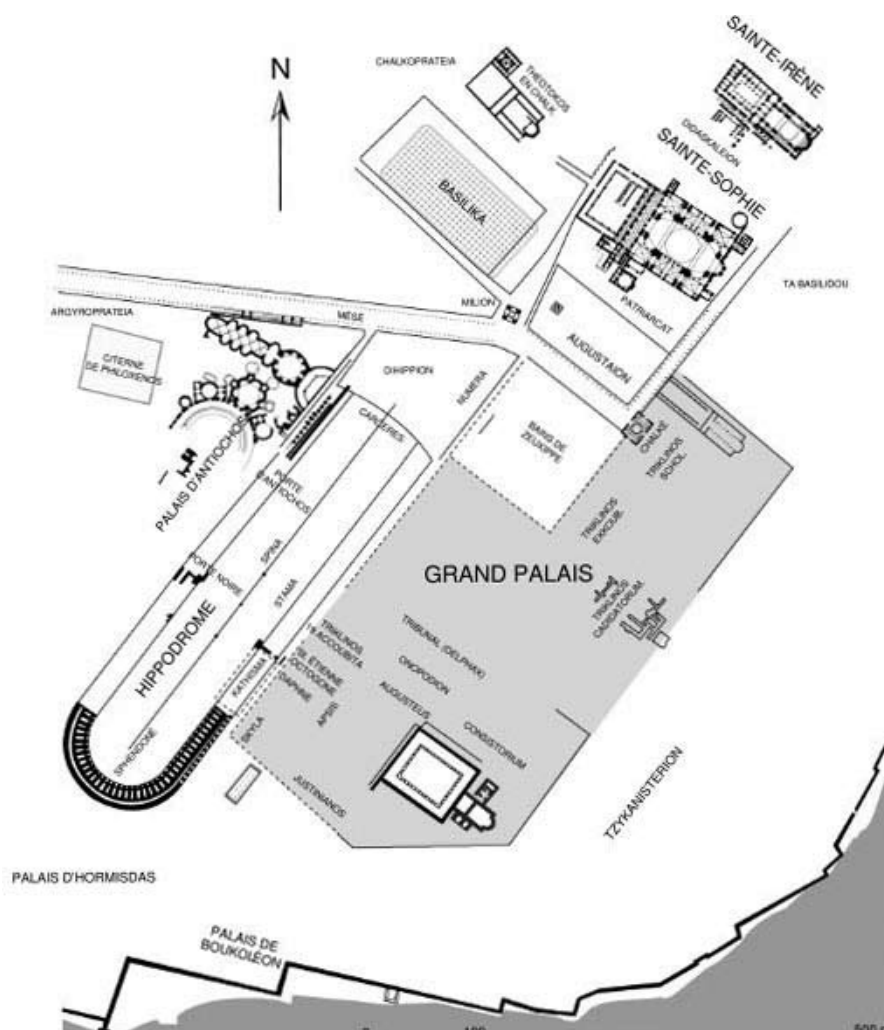
²² J. MARASOVIĆ et alii, »Prostorni razvoj jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače«, *Prostor* 8, Zagreb 2000., 177 sl. 2, 179.

²³ It would seem that the Ασπαλάθου κάστρον mentioned by Porphyrogenitus, Aspalatos, was one of the settlements close to Salona, which, like Epiteum and Salona, was founded by the Greeks. The typical large blocks of stone found in secondary use in Stobreč and Trogir are not the only proof of its existence. In Split two Greek inscriptions were found, one of which mentions the Issan hieromnemon, like the Greek inscription in the Trogir ramparts. Cf. J. BRUNŠMID, *Natpisi i novac grčkih gradova u Dalmaciji*, Split 1998, 44.

²⁴ F. OREB et alii, *Ad basilicas pictas*, Split 1999, 14.

²⁵ J. STRZYGOWSKI, o. c. 13

²⁶ E. HEBRARD – J. ZEILLER, *Spalato, Le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris 1912, 178; N. DUVAL, o. c., 70; The French school calls Diocletian's residence in Split a chateau, thinking it is not an official type of imperial palace, nor a reduced city with a special part for the imperial residence, nor a camp with praetorian. Although this is the closest definition of the Split residence, it cannot be accepted in this definition that Diocletian's building Split is not a palatium. In the French opinion it cannot be considered a palatium in its entirety, a castle rather, which takes over some of the parts of the great imperial residences of Late

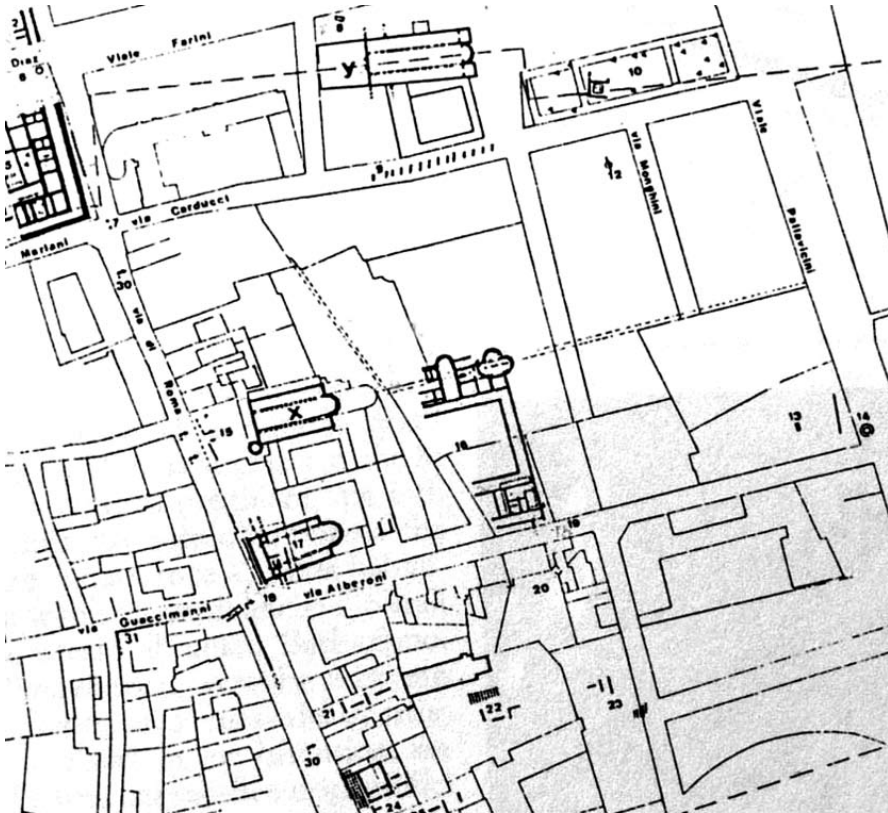


Great Palace in Constantinopolis

accurately described by Jerome's *in ville suae palatio*. In this phrase the villa is the settlement of Aspalathos in which there is the Diocletian's »imperial *castrum*«, a *castrum* that had different contents than the usual Roman military camp. Among these an entire quarter is occupied by the *palatium sacrum*; a palace of a ruler who

Antiquity. This conclusion does not derive from the morphology of the building, rather from its status, the residence of an abdicated emperor.

although he had retired from his state duties had relinquished neither the divinity pertaining to son of Jupiter nor the title *Sol Invictus*.



Theodoric's palace in Ravenna (after P. Porta, 1991)

* * *

The Split Παλάτιον, an imperial residence located above the substruction premises in the southern quarter of the *castrum* of Aspalatos, was strictly divided from the rest of the fort by a high wall and an empty space in the north; to the south, a certain rhythm was created by half columns and a series of great windows. The best preserved of the whole palace is the southern wall, which is the elevation of a building made of limestone that has the appearance of a vast loggia. Monumental palace buildings certainly belong to the repertoire of Diocletian's Late Antiquity architecture, but of them, in the dense urban structure of Split, only the ruins of great solid walls articulated with alternate semi-circular and rectangular niches

have remained, the occasional exedra or calotte, and the vaults over the substruction. The walls are made with *opus quadratum* and *opus mixtum* technique. Fragments of architectural sculpting have been found, of bases, columns, Corinthian capitals and architraves of limestone or marble; the fragments of red porphyry found at the site are material evidence of the imperial cult. The arrangement of the floor plan of the chambers of the palace corresponds with the arrangement of the substruction space in the eastern and central part of the palace, but not the western part, in which the plans of upper and lower levels do not correspond. Even less has been preserved of the wall and floor coverings. A large marble mensa has been found, fragments of wall cladding, of varicoloured marble and stucco decoration, fragments of fountain and a slab of Proconnesian marble, which is the only fragment of the original flooring preserved *in situ*.²⁷ Small parts of the mosaic of the ceiling of the entry space have been found. These are tesserae of glass paste, red, green and grey, as well as those of white stone found *in situ* in a layer of thick rendering.²⁸ There is no information about statues, reliefs or inscriptions directly related to the imperial residence.

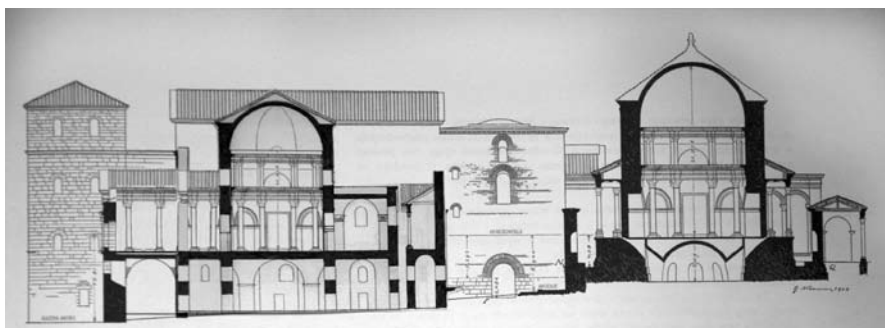
Thanks to the many excavation campaigns in the historical strata of the city of Split, the original appearance of the parts of the palace is much better explained than the original function of its individual parts. This is the case with similar residences of the tetrarchs that were later occupied by large city centres. Unlike Split, the less preserved palaces in Constantinople and Ravenna have been described by ancient writers – Eusebius, Procopius and Agnello, because of which their functional parts are more intelligible. These writings sometimes contain descriptions of missing parts of imperial architecture the like of which can still be seen in Split. After research conducted in Split in the twentieth century, the most striking parts of Diocletian's palatine architecture have been presented.²⁹ The best examples are the substructions of the palace, particularly in the SE part, in which the old episcopate was located. The Peristyle which had been called the Vestibule from the mid-19th century, was restored, and the circular entrance into the palace that was then called the Rotunda, was now renamed the Vestibule. The earliest graphic depiction of its interior, showing a ruin of cylindrical form with a little single storey house and a two-arched bridge through the centre of the building, is provided by Robert Adam in his book devoted to the palace.³⁰ Not a single monumental ancient building of

²⁷ The slab is caught under the southern wall of the Church of St Andrew; it is seven centimetres thick, with bevelled edges, and it originally belonged to the floor of the cubiculae of the palace. The floor was made of large polished grey marble slabs.

²⁸ *Bull. dalm.* 21/1898., 110.

²⁹ T. MARASOVIĆ – T. ALUJEVIĆ, »Dioklecijanov stan u splitskoj palači«, *Prostor* vol. 15, no. 2 (34), Zagreb 2007, 155-179

³⁰ R. ADAM, *The Ruins of the Emperor Diocletian et Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London 1764.



Cross section of Diocletian's Palace in Split after Niemann with the assumed cross section of the triclinium drawn in. (R. Bužančić)

the palace had been so eroded, undermined and ruined as the great Rotunda or Vestibule, and its condition did change until the mid-19th century.

At that time, the two main communication lines in the city led through the Rotunda, one at the level of the substruction that was called Grotta street, and above it, in the direction of the *cardo*, the bridge linked the Peristyle with the entrance into the one-time palace of Marulić's relative Frano Božičević with the three mullioned window in a court in which there was also a well head with a family crest.³¹ From it, via Diocletian's staircase, through the SE corner of the Vestibule, the route mounted up to the Renaissance terrace, of which the »pergola on a high, narrow terrace at the top of the Vestibule in the middle of Diocletian's palace« is mentioned by C. Fisković.³² Opposite the Božičević palace terrace, at the northwest end of the Vestibule, is another terrace, which was accessed from the Skakoc house, a building leaning on the southern side of the Skočibučić-Lukaris house. Both terraces had a masonry built parapet rail, but to the southern, the access was by the original stairs of Antiquity, and to the other by external stairs. The terraces were built on the ruins of the Rotunda by having their modern walls, for the sake of stability, extended from the edge of the Antique wall of a very dilapidated and damaged building constructed in the *opus mixtum* technique.

The renovation of the Rotunda began in 1857. Five years later, a public staircase was built on the southern side of the Peristyle, which, through its substruction and the large room of Diocletian's cellars, led to the sea.³³ The reconstruction was resumed in 1874, after the visit of renowned experts to the monuments of Split, of whom Alexander Conze, professor of classical archaeology in Vienna, and

³¹ In the 19th century the house belonged to the Roić family, and since the house on the southern facade of the Vestibule and the smithy in it also belonged to them, the Božičević palace is referred to as the big Roić house.

³² C. FISKOVIĆ, »Marulićev prilog poznavanju naše renesansne hortikulture«, *Colloquia Maruliana* VI, Split, 1997., 221.

³³ D. KEČKEMET, o. c. 145, cf. 1055.

the architects George Niemann and Alois Hauser were particularly prominent. A corresponding member of the Central Commission, the engineer A. Inchiostri, carried out the preparations for the restoration of the colonnade of the Peristyle and the Vestibule of the Palace, which were restored during 1879 and 1880 under the supervision of Hauser and the conservator Glavinić.³⁴

In 1898, during the renovation of the vaulting, Don Frane Bulić found the last remains of mosaic *tesserae* with which the cupola had been clad.³⁵ It was only in 1900 that the house which had partially been built into the SW exedra of the Vestibule was demolished. The Antique exedra had been broken down, and was used as kitchen and hearth, while those on the NE and SW had been cut in a triangular shape, and doors pushed through them.

The vestibule of the Rotunda (the Prothyron) was originally a portico in front of the entry, rebuilt in later operations. On both sides of the intercolumniation Renaissance chapels were built, and in the centre there was an arch done in the forms of the High Renaissance, which marked the passage through the Rotunda (Vestibule). In the 13th century, on the wall over Diocletian's Gate the St Christopher fresco was made.³⁶ Both of the chapels of the Prothyron are dedicated to the Virgin. The eastern chapel was dedicated to Our Lady of the Girdle, erected in the Prothyron in 1544, and the western to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, a votive construction related to the plague in 1650, afterwards turned into the the Chapel of St Charles. The construction of the chapels in the Prothyron attenuated the walls of the Vestibule at sensitive places.

Structural repairs to the dome of the Vestibule were done in 1912 based on a plan by Karl Holey. Bulić wrote that the Prothyron was repaired, that the beams were joined with bronze clamps, and the Vestibule was at the top radically repaired with reinforced concrete in reticular form.³⁷ The stairs that went from the Peristyle down into the substruction of Diocletian's Palace were closed in 1928, and the stone railing on both sides was removed.³⁸

In the period from 1957 until 1963 period very extensive works were carried out in the central space of Diocletian's residence and the pertaining substructions, between the Peristyle and the coast. The partially preserved pylons showed that the hall below the Vestibule had a cruciform ground plan and was directly connected with the Peristyle by a staircase.³⁹

³⁴ Konst. 1877/57 of January 16, 1877.

³⁵ F. BULIĆ, *Bull. dalm.* 21(1898), 109-111.

³⁶ C. FISKOVIĆ, »Šest Marulićevih prijatelja«, *Colloquia Maruliana* V, Split 1996., 123.

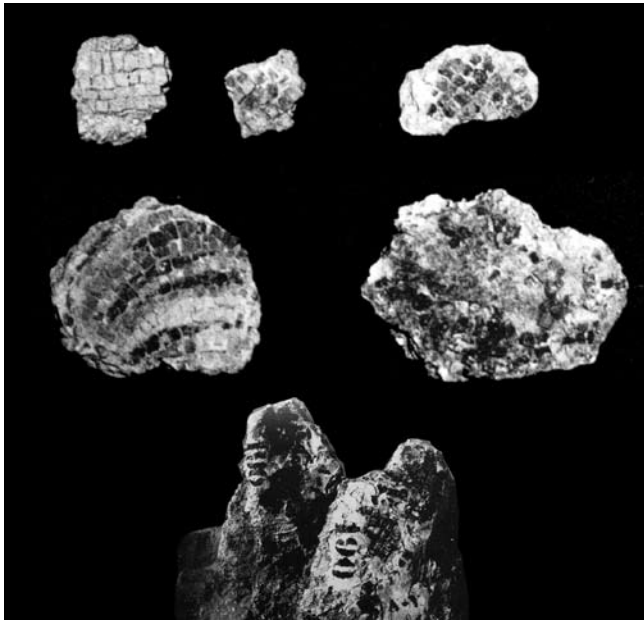
³⁷ F. BULIĆ, »Popravlak Vestibula (Rotonde) Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu«, *Bull. dalm.* XXXV/1912, 64, *Palača cara Dioklecijana*, Split 1926., 234.

³⁸ C. FISKOVIĆ, »Prilog proučavanju i zaštiti Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu«, *Rad JAZU*, knjiga 279, Zagreb 1950., 36.

³⁹ T. MARASOVIĆ – T. ALUJEVIĆ, »Dioklecijanov stan u splitskoj palači«, *Prostor* vol. 15, no. 2 (34), Zagreb 2007., 164.

The cross vaulting of the substruction of the Vestibule, the floor over it and the circular wall with its niches were reconstructed in 1956 to 1957 based on designs by J. Marasović. At that time the central hall of the substruction was also renovated, together with the remains of two rows of four pylons each and vaults, while the floor of the substruction was lowered to the level of Antiquity.

As a result of these findings, E. Dyggve proposed a new interpretation of the entry into the imperial residence with the imperial loggia (tribunal) between the two central pillars of the Prothyron, adding to his earlier proposition that there was an axial ceremonial complex in Late Antique palaces. N. Duval also referred to the new findings, writing about typology of imperial palaces in Late Antiquity. The French archaeologist considered that Diocletian's Split was an imperial palace, and in the discussion about the role and typology of the most important rooms of Diocletian's residence compared the Vestibule's circular plan with the plans of the buildings found inside the Roman palaces *Domus Flavia* on the Palatine, the rotunda *Piazza d'Oro* and *Tempio della Tosse* of Hadrian's villa in Tivoli and the *Temple of Romulus* on the Forum.



*Remains of mosaic from the cupola of the Vestibule of Diocletian's Palace in Split
(after F. Bulić)*

The hypothesised appearance of the Vestibule was different in the Niemann's reconstruction of 1910, the Hébrard's of 1912 and the Marasović' of 1960. Like Niemann, but unlike Hébrard, Marasović proposed there was a flat terrace at the top of the Vestibule. On the basis of a comparison of the height and position of the flights of the Antique staircase at the exit from the terrace, Marasović considered that the elevation of the terrace of the Vestibule was somewhat higher, and that the terrace covered the dome.

In his drawing, unlike the previous reconstructions, there is no bronze sculpture at the top of the Prothyron, depicting the imperial quadriga. The reason is primarily the meagre space, which does not give enough room for a four-in-hand chariot, which was also the reason why for Niemann doubted that the final element was a quadriga. Unlike them, Hébrard wrote that there was no doubt that there had been a quadriga standing on the white limestone pedestal.⁴⁰

Dyggve interpreted the Split Peristyle as a hypaethral basilica which led through the circular Vestibule into the great ceremonial hall that he called the *aula*.⁴¹ The Peristyle, on the contrary, he imagined as a room *sub divo*, an architectural frame for the adoration of the emperor, worshipped on the tribune of the Prothyron in front of the Vestibule. Dyggve, like Strzygowski before him, noted the dynamic heightening of architectural forms with which the imperial *adventus* was amplified to a crescendo. The imperial train from the entry Golden Gate to the Prothyron passed alongside the porticoes of the northern part of the palace, through the tetrapylon, to the arcades with archivolt between the temples that finished with the tribune on the Prothyron whence one entered the ceremonial hall.

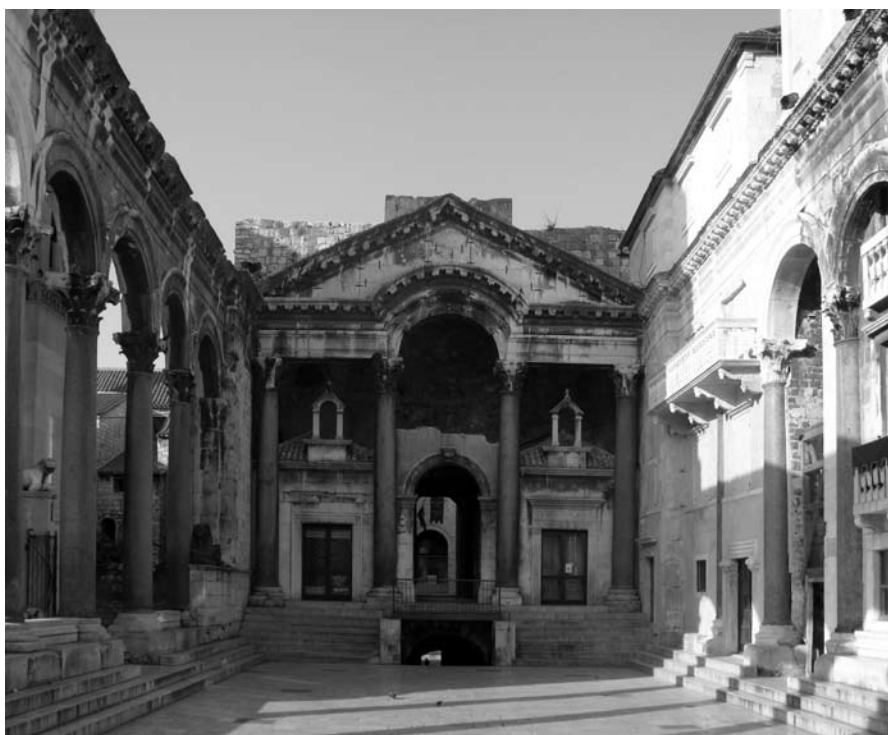
The Prothyron was the rectangular lobby to the Vestibule, situated between the parastadae of the same width as the Peristyle (13.15), which stretched from the pillars of the Peristyle to the portal of the Vestibule (3.75 m). Four massive columns of red granite bear the wide pediment profiled with a series of simple profiles with an archivolt in the centre. The Prothyron was covered with a roof that was borne by simple wooden rafters, and served as monumental entry into the imperial palace. The portico with tympanum built on a colonnade of four columns had an arcuated lintel in the centre, this relatively rare motif in Classical Roman architecture deriving from the strong impact of the architecture of Asia Minor on the construction of Diocletian's Palace in Split.⁴² The described construction in which the architrave makes a transition into archivolt, shows the Syrian origin of Diocletian's architecture.⁴³ In Syrian architecture this construction had been used since the 9th century BC, mainly as a decorative element to city gates. For exam-

⁴⁰ E. HEBRARD – J. ZEILLER, o. c., 110.

⁴¹ E. DYGGVE, »Nouvelles recherches au péristyle du palais de Dioclétien à Split«, u *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* I, Rim 1962., 6; *ibid*, o. c. 59.

⁴² D. F. BROWN, »The Arcuated Lintel and Its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art«, *American Journal of Archeology*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Jul.- Sep.1942) 389-399.

⁴³ E. WEIGAND, *Strena Buliciana*, Zagreb – Split 1924, 97.

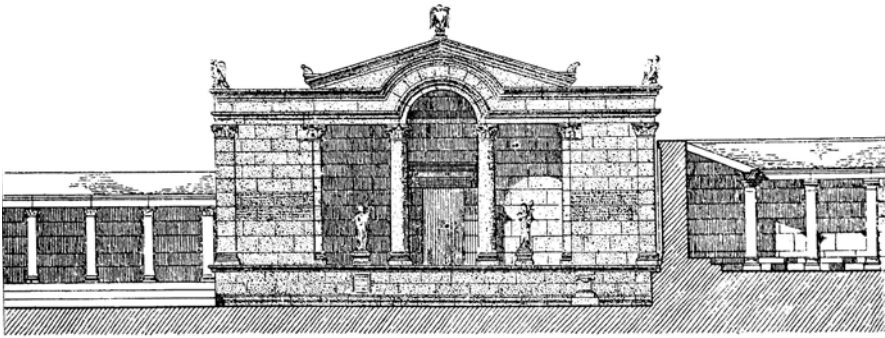


Entry into Diocletian's Palatium (Peristyle)

ple, the arcuated pediment closest to that in Split in the Hellenistic architectural tradition is the Nabatean temple of the god Dushare in the Syrian city of Si of the 1st century BC. This is also the earliest architectural pattern of a monumental building with intercolumniation over which there is a pediment with an arch, and it dates from 33 BC to AD 30.⁴⁴

Monumental edifices of later times in which, as in Split, it is possible to find constructions with an arcuated architrave located mainly in Asia Minor, in Baalbek, Damascus, Atila. Roman architecture seldom uses this feature, as examples in Italy, Gaul, Spain and Illyria show. There are none of them in Egypt, Greece or North Africa, with the exception of Leptis Magna. They are seldom to be found in the lexis of Byzantine architecture, as in front of Justinian's portico of the Church of St Sophia in Constantinople. Along with the Split example, the most important

⁴⁴ H. C. BUTLER, E. LITTMANN, *Syria*, publications of the Princeton University archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909, II, A6, Leyden 1907, 385-390; S. BUTLER MURRAY Jr., »Hellenistic Architecture in Syria«, Dissertation at Princeton University, 1917, 12.



Temple of the God Duchara in the city of Si, Syria (after D. F. Brown, 1942)



*The Chalke of Constantine's Great Palace in Constantinopolis,
theoretical reconstruction.*

Roman monuments with this construction are the triumphal arch in Orange, the temple in Talavera la Vieja, the Roman gate in Miletus and Baalbek and the tomb of Sextius Florentius in Petra.

Brown concludes that the construction was used only in the case of monumental buildings of a religious nature.⁴⁵ The use of it had a markedly symbolic reason, for in the centre of the intercolumniation they would place demi-gods or divinised persons for the sake of bringing out the meaning. As proof he cites several silver platters with depictions of this structure in the centre of which is an adored person emphasised under an arch. The best-known example is the Missorium that is kept in the Madrid Real Academia de Historia. The great silver ceremonial platter of



Missorium with a depiction of Theodosius I and his son Arcadius and Valentinian II showing a tympanum raised on a colonnade of four columns with an arcuated lintel.

Theodosius I was probably made in Constantinople in 338 and shows the emperor and his minor sons Valentinian II and Arcadius. The depiction of Theodosius II, the last emperor to rule the united empire, is iconographically a Late Antique motif on the topic of *translatio legis*, which was later taken over in Christianity by Christ in glory. The arcuated lintel in the middle of the tympanum, a Syrian architectural motif, was rare in the West, where it appeared mainly in the Late Empire. The embossed motif on a metal decoration from what is called the Tiberius sword,

⁴⁵ D. F. BROWN, o. c. 394

where in the centre of the intercolumniation with an arcuated architrave and a tympanum, an eagle, symbol of Jupiter, is shown, confirming Brown's conclusion about the religious symbolism of the motif, is an exception.

The Split Prothyron, with its arcuated lintel, like the abovementioned example, was used directly to bring out the sanctity of the emperor. He was located in the centre of the space surrounded with temples in the centre of the Peristyle that together with both *temenoi* to the east and west of him created the fane of this vast Diocletian temple, like the Augusteion in Constantinople from which the palace was entered.

The chapter devoted to the imperial residence in the Hebrard-Zeiller monograph on the palace says that the imposing Prothyron and the Vestibule are spaces through which one passed to access the southern part of the palace, the imperial abode.⁴⁶ In this description, however, it is not emphasized enough that it is an entrance to Παλάτιον that was in a morphological sense compatible to the other entrances into the Diocletian's building, the rooms with double doors in the north, east and west of the palace, at the ending of his orthogonal communications. The names of the entry gates into the palace are first mentioned in the panegyric description of Split by city chancellor Proculianus in the 16th century. In his writing, the northern door is called the Golden, the southern the Silver, the eastern the Brass and the western the Iron.⁴⁷ In more recent literature dealing with the palace, his names for the south and eastern gates are changed, the eastern now called Silver.⁴⁸ Proculianus' statement can not be considered reliable in connection with the Antique names of the gates, which in earlier documents are mentioned as *porta Romae* on the north and *porta franca* to the west; but it need not be too

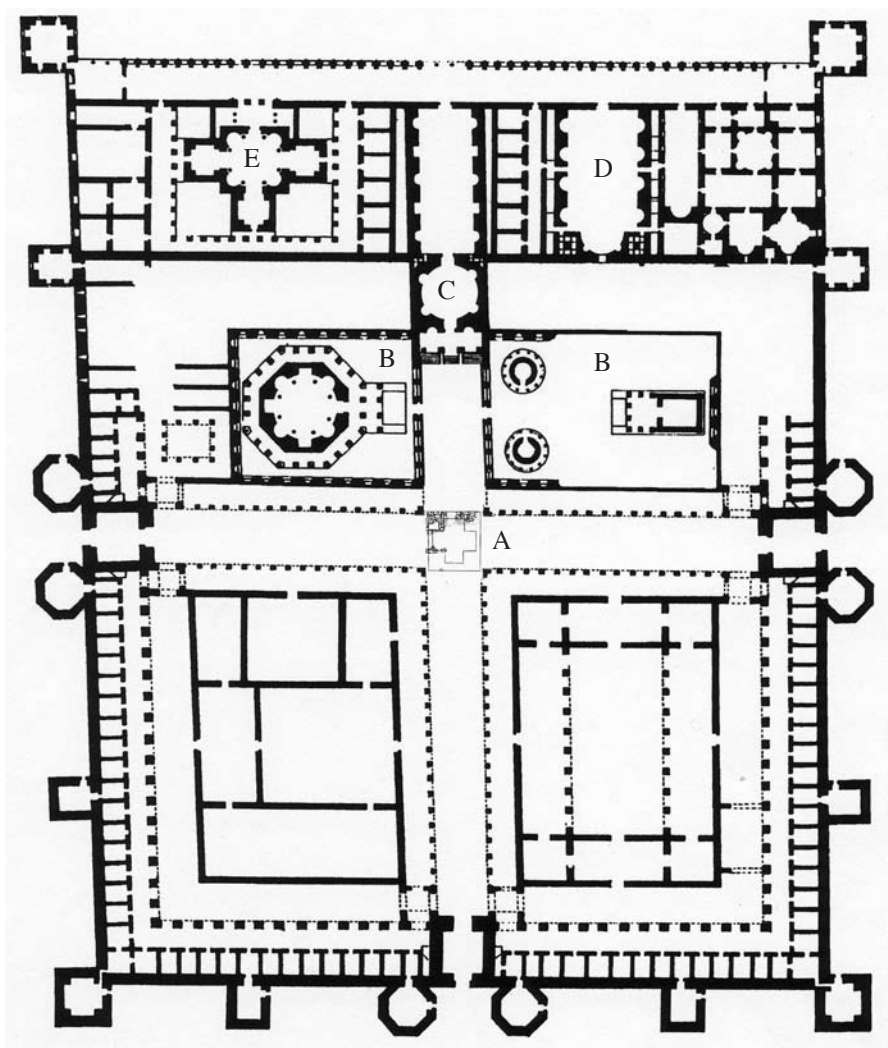


Sheath of Tiberius' sword from the vicinity of Mainz, ca AD 15, British Museum, London; detail of gold clasp with depiction of eagle in the middle of a colonnade with tympanum and arcuated lintel.

⁴⁶ E. HEBRARD – J. ZEILLER, *Spalato, Le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris 1912, 63, 109.

⁴⁷ A. PROCULIANO o. c. 29 v.; *Talche erano quattro porte per incrociato diametro insieme opposte et ciascuna haueua il suo nome, la Settentrionale Aurea, la Orientale Enea, & la sua opposta Occidentale, Ferrea, che uoi franche porte hoggidi chiamatte...*

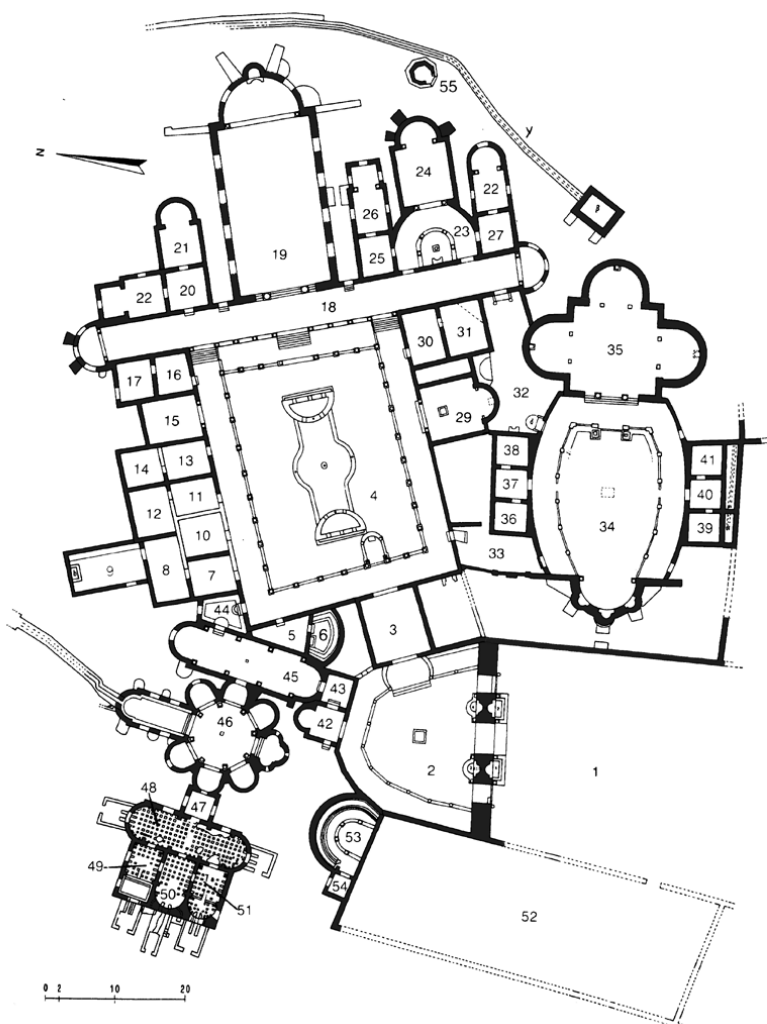
⁴⁸ F. BULIĆ – LJ. KARAMAN, *Palača cara Dioklecijana*, Split 1926, 49 cf. 10.



Ground plan of Diocletian's Palace in Split (after J. Marasović). A – tetrapylon, B – augusteion, C – chalke, D – consilium sacrum (consistorium), E – triclinium triumphale,.

rapidly rejected as a possible arrangement of the Antique names for the entrances into the palace. In a symbolic sense these terms are used by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* to describe the periods of world history; the golden age is characterised by olives and hives, the bronze by weapons of war.⁴⁹ It is known that the main entry gate of Constantinople was called the Golden Gate, and a city Silver Gate is also

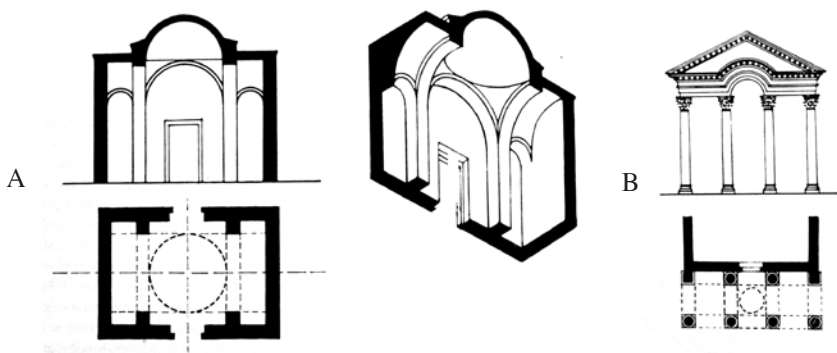
⁴⁹ P. OVIDIUS NAZON, *Metamorphoses*, 1, 89-150.



Ground plan of palace in Piazza Armerina (after A. Carandini – A. Ricci – M. De Vos, 1982)

mentioned. Opposite the Golden Gate of the city of Constantinople there was the entry into Constantine's Great Palace that the sources call χαλκῇ πύλῃ or only χαλκῇ but it would be more correct to replace its literal meaning of bronze door with the name Brazen House, as suggested by Mango.⁵⁰ From the Golden Gate led

⁵⁰ C. MANGO, *The Brazen House, a Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Kobenhaven 1959, 22, S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, 98.



Constantine's Great Palace in Constantinopolis, A chalke and B Senate House porch reconstruction (Krautheimer, 1965.)

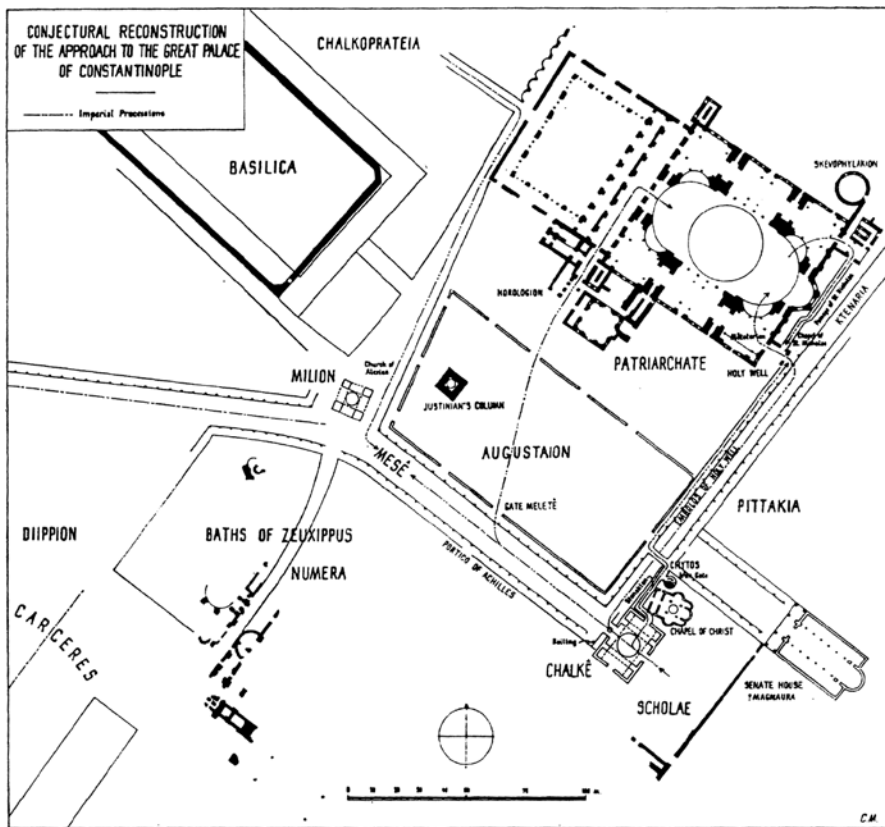
a monumental street with colonnades called Μέση passing through the tetrapylon Μιλίων and the Augusteion, and then went to the entry door of Constantine's Great Palace χαλκῆ.⁵¹ Interpretation of the names of Proculianus' *Porta aenea* might be connected with the arrangement of gates in Constantinople and Split. Χαλκῆ πύλη of Split was also an entry gate into the imperial palace located on the southern side of the Vestibule. The name Brazen Gate would be given to the rotunda of the Vestibule, the building opposite the propugnaculum of the Gold Gate, which had a similar ground plan area and a double gate that was the entry into the imperial Παλάτιον and not to the southern gate that led from the substruction of the palace to the coastline. The names *Peristyle*, *Vestibule* and *Prothyron* were added to the Diocletian architecture during the first major restoration operations in the palace that were started in the 19th century. Although dubious in a morphological and functional sense, these names for parts of the palace became common in local writing related to Split and the palace, and are still used in contemporary literature.

The entry parts of the palace in the earlier mentioned medieval text are called *proaulium* and *salutatorium*, which are functionally directly connected and would much better suit the entrance to the imperial palace. The *proaulium* is an antechamber of the *aula* which according to its function is called *salutatorium*, and they together constitute the ceremonial entry into the palace, continuing from the antechamber with temples in Constantinople called the Augusteion.⁵² The *proaulium* of Theodoric's palace in Ravenna is called in the sources *ad Calchi*, and of Justinian's Great Palace in Constantinople is called χαλκῆ.⁵³

⁵¹ C. PORPHYROGENITUS, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, Bonn 1829, 458.

⁵² D. DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, t. VI, 1886, 512; *In primo Proaulium, id est locus ante aulam. In secundo salutatorium, id est locus salutandi officio deputatus, juxta majorem domum constitutus.*

⁵³ PROCOPIUS, *De Aedificiis*, I/III, c. 10 (Loeb, Classical Library, 1940).



Entry of the Great Palace in Constantinopolis, chalke (after C. Mango, 1959)

In Theodoric's palace, say the sources, the access was from a portico through a door that lay at the place called Ad Calchi. The door of the palace in Ravenna, with its *Calche* antechamber, had a frontage decorated with mosaics depicting the figure of Theodoric and a bronze equestrian sculpture at the top.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ A. AGNELLO, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 175;

...supra portam et in fronte regiae quae dicitur Ad Calchi istius civitatis, ubi prima porta palatii fuit, in loco qui vocatur Sicrestum, ubi ecclesia Salvatoris esse videtur. In pinnaculum ipsius loci fuit Theodorici effigies, mire tessellis ornata, dextera manum lanceam tenens, sinistra clipeum, lorica indutus. Contra clipeum Roma tessellis ornata astabat cum asta et galea; unde vero telum tenensque fuit, Ravenna tessellis figurata, pedem dextrum super mare, sinistram super terram ad regem properans. Misera, undique invidia passa, cives inter se maximo zelo...

In aspectu ipsorum pyramis tetragonis lapidibus et bisalis, in altitudinem quasi cubiti sex; desuper autem equus ex aere, auro fulvo perfusus, ascensorque eius Theodoricus rex scutum sinistro gerebat humero, dextro vero brachio erecto lanceam tenens. Ex naribus vero

Into the imperial palace in Constantinople too the entry was through a door with an antechamber that was called *Chalke*, and Procopius' panegyric description of the 6th century paints a picture of its entry after the Justinian renovation, quoting the scenes of the triumphs and victories of the emperors done in mosaic.⁵⁵ Over the main entry into the vestibule of Justinian's palace, on the outer wall above the Chalke door was a picture of Christ, the removal of which is considered to be the beginning of iconoclasm.⁵⁶ Although the sources do not confirm this legend, the relief cut in ivory from Trier shows that the icon with the figure of Christ did exist over the Chalke gate in Constantinople.⁵⁷

It has been suggested before that the Palatium mosaic from the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo shows the Calchi of Theodoric's *regia* in Ravenna, the main entry door inspired by the entry into the Great Palace of Constantine in Constantinople.⁵⁸



Theodoric's Palatium in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna; Diocletian's Παλάτιον in Split, extended view

Even before De Frankovich, Eynar Dyggve noticed the similarity of the architecture in the mosaic of the *Palatium* with the Split *Peristyle*. He thought that the mosaic showed the interior or external facade of Theodoric's palace, a more precisely

equi patulis et ore volucres exhibant in alvoque eius nidos haedificabant. Quis enim talem videre potuit, qualis ille? Qui non credit, sumat Franciae iter, eum aspiciat.

⁵⁵ PROCOPIUS, o. c. ibidem

⁵⁶ In 1900, Marie-France Auzépy expressed her scepticism about the legend connected with the toppling of the image of Christ in the iconoclastic movement of 726 or 730. L. BRUBAKER, »The Chalke gate, the construction of the past and the Trier Ivory«, *BMGS* 23, 1999, 258-285.

⁵⁷ L. BRUBAKER, o. c., 273

⁵⁸ G. DE FRANKOVICH, *Il Palazzo di Teodorico*, Ravenna 1970, 7.

developed flank in the hypaethral basilica for ceremonial purposes modelled after the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace.⁵⁹ This kind of supposition aroused, initially, a lot of criticism among circles that dealt with the palace of Theodoric. Against the opinion that the mosaic Palatium showed the Calche of the imperial palace, stood an entirely opposite hypothesis that the S. Apolinare mosaic did not show any real architecture, only a symbolic image of a palace.⁶⁰ Today's criticism is however closer to those who think that the mosaic's creator did not need to invent a building, because at the time the mosaic was made, it did indeed exist. The Milan palace, mainly still unexcavated below the foundations of the city's houses, is preserved only in the place name of palatio.⁶¹

The best known depiction of it is found on the famed Madrid missorium, an engraved silver dish depicting the figure of Emperor Theodosius in the centre flanked by Valentinian II and his son Arcadius. In the background stands a building with a Prothyron like that in Split and Ravenna, the latter considered to be the Milan Regia, and perhaps its facade, or perhaps, as some think, a *tribunus*.⁶²

Dyggve interpreted the Split Peristyle as a hypaethral open basilica from which, through the circular vestibule, one passed into the great ceremonial hall called *aula*.⁶³ By contrast, he imagined the Peristyle as a room *sub divo*, an architectural framework for the glorification of the emperor, who received his adoration on the tribune of the Prothyron in front of the Vestibule.

From all this it can be assumed that the carved ivory of Trier, the mosaic of S. Apolinare and the Madrid missorium are all showing the same architectural framework, one that preceded the Peristyle in Diocletian's palace in Split, or some earlier model of Diocletian's age.

Particularly important are the descriptions of the entrance into the palace that in Ravenna as in Constantinople is called *ad calchi*.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ E. DYGGVE, *Ravennatum Palatium sacrum*, Copenhagen 1941, 48; G. DE FRANKOVICH, *ibidem*, 57

⁶⁰ N. DUVAL, »La mosaïque du 'Palatium' de S. Apollinaire le Neuf représente-elle une façade ou un édifice aplani?« *CARB*, 1978, 93.-122; B. THORDEMAN, »Il cosiddetto Palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna. Un palazzo reale longobardo?, in *Opuscula romana* X, Rim 1974.-75, 32

⁶¹ P. LANBERTENGHI, *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, Torino 1873, n. 842; *locus ubi palatio dicitur*; a document of 988.

⁶² M. DAVID, »...Palatinaeque arces... Temi di architettura palaziale a Milano tra III e X secolo«, in »Ubi palatio dicitur« *Residence di re e imperatori in Lombardia*, Monza 1999, 26; S. BETTINI, »Il castello di Mschattà in Transgiordania nell'ambito dell'arte di potenza tardo antika«, in Anthemon, scritti in onore di C. Anti, Firenze 1955, 343.

⁶³ E. DYGGVE, »Nouvelles recherches au péristyle du palais de Dioclétien à Split«, u *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* I, Rim 1962, 6.

⁶⁴ C. MANGO, *The Brazen house; A study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen 1959, 21.

This name is interpreted in two ways. Mango derives the name from the Greek word χαλκοῦς, which means brazen.⁶⁵ Thus the regular name for the lobby of Constantine's palace became the Greek translation that means »bronze house«, Mango thinks this is a better expression than »bronze door«, so that it should not be wrongly understood as the door frame and not the door. Grabar connected the name with the Latin *calcatio*, and the name *calchi* should be looked for in the verb *calco*, which among other things means trample triumphantly over the defeated enemy.⁶⁶

The name *Calchi* for the entry into an imperial palace can be connected with the cult of the emperor and the ceremony of his trampling on his subjects (*lat. calceo, calcatio colli*). The custom, according to Tacitus, was started in the time of Vespasian, when some followers of Serapis required the emperor to trample with his feet over their bodies in order to get well. *Ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur orabat*.⁶⁷ On the facade of the portico of his palace, Constantine had pictures made of himself and his sons (in encaustic, very likely) with a cross over their head, trampling the dragon.⁶⁸ Eusebius said that Constantine had the precious painting placed at the top of the Prothyron, in front of the *vestibula regia*, so that all could marvel at the symbol of salvation, a Christogram like that which the Emperor Constantine had drawn on the shields of his soldiers in the battle of the Milvian Bridge. This kind of sign was located above his head on the depiction over the Prothyron. On the same picture the dragon is portrayed, which he triumphally tramples.⁶⁹ The topic is the trampling of the enemy, Latin *calco*, from which the vestibule of the palace might have obtained the name Chalke. The picture of Constantine was later replaced by the image of Christ, as seen on the ivory of Trier, and this was done probably as early as the Justinian restoration of 532, for Procopius no longer mentions it. He describes the Chalke of the palace as a monumental building with a rectangular plan vaulted by a dome, flanked on the outer side by four great columns. The space was, he writes, magnificently decorated with marble, mosaics, sculptures and many works of art.⁷⁰ »On one side«, writes Procopius describing the mosaic with the scene of Justinian's triumph, »war and battle, and many a captured city, some in Libya, some in Italy, with the Emperor Justinian conquering in battle. His general Belisarius is shown, going back to the emperor with the whole of his invincible army, bringing him booty, kings and kingdoms, and all kinds of precious things. In the centre is Emperor Justinian with Empress Theodora, rejoicing

⁶⁵ C. MANGO, o. c. ibidem.

⁶⁶ A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur Dans l'art Byzantin: recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient*, Paris 1936, 44.

⁶⁷ TACIT, *Historiae*, IV, 81

⁶⁸ EUZEBIJE, *Vita Constantini*, 3,3

⁶⁹ A. GRABAR, o. c., 44; F. BISCONTI, »L'arte dei Constantinidi tra pittura e mosaico«; u katalogu izložbe *Constantino il grande, La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente*, Rimini 2005, 182

⁷⁰ PROCOPIUS, *De Aedificiis*, I/III, 10

cing and celebrating both victories, one over the king of the Vandals, one over the king of the Goths, approaching them as prisoners of war to be enslaved. Around them stands the Roman Senate in solemn attire. The triumphal spirit is expressed in mosaic tesserae, the colours of which give the picture its power of expression. They too, making merry and smiling, share the Emperor's celebration, equal to that of God, because of the greatness of his works. The whole of the interior of the building, like the mosaics on high, is clad in fine marble, not only the upper surfaces, but the whole of the floor. Some of these marbles are stone of Sparta that vies in beauty with the emerald, while some look like tongues of fire, but most of them were white, not just simple colours, but shot through with wavy blue lines that merged in with the white...«

Procopius devoted a lengthy text to the decoration of the vestibule, and yet did not describe the paintings in the Prothyron, over the entry doors into the imperial palace.

Chronicler of Ravenna Agnello wrote that on the facade of the Prothyron, over the entry into the Ravenna *palatium*, which was also called *calchi*, was a mosaic with a figure of the emperor. Agnello describes the figure of Theodoric in great detail. »At the top of that place is an opulent mosaic showing Theodoric. In the right hand he holds a lance, in the left a round shield, dressed in armour. Opposite the emperor's shield is the goddess Roma with helmet, holding a spear in her hand, on the other side of the emperor the goddess Ravenna shown in tesserae. Standing with her right leg over the sea, and her left, towards the king, over the earth. Wretched, totally envious, stooped...« At the top of the Prothyron in Ravenna the emperor is shown in triumph in the company of allegories of Rome and the defeated Ravenna. Above the pediment was a stone pedestal on which there was a bronze equestrian sculpture, which the chronicler describes as »horse of the air, grey shot through with gold, on it seated Theodoric with shield on left shoulder, and spear in his outstretched right hand. From the nostrils and the open mouth came out the reins...«.⁷¹ The bronze equestrian sculpture inlaid with gold that Theodoric had worked originally belonged to Emperor Zeno (474-475) (476-491) who in the time of Odoacer only formally ruled Italy. Charlemagne had the sculpture taken to his court in Aachen.

Over the tympanum of the Prothyron in Split is a pedestal for bronze sculptures. By analogy, over the door in the Prothyron of the Vestibule (the *chalche*) of the Split palace there should have been a picture of the emperor, the palace's builder. It is known however that in this place there was once a picture of St Christopher, which was made in the Middle Ages by the Split master Buvina, which probably was created in lieu of some earlier visual decoration, as a kind of *damnatio memo-*

⁷¹ AGNELLO, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 175; Agnello mentions Theodoric's equestrian figure in the palace that he built in Pavia: *Ticinum city that is called Papia (Pavia) where Theodoric built a palace in which he had his equestrian figure done in the spaces of the tribunal decorated with finely wrought mosaic.*

riae of the hated persecutor of the Christians.⁷² The interior of the vestibule, as in earlier described examples, was luxuriously decorated with mosaics. During the time of the research, fragments of glass mosaic were found on the dome, the interior of which shimmered in gold.⁷³ The mosaics of the Vestibule were still visible to Marulić, and he counted it, like Thomas the Archdeacon, among the temples and wrote: »*Preter ista erant et alia tria templa, reliquo edificio (ut apparet) vetustiora atque ideo magis dirruta. In his tessellarum pictura, quae exornata fuerant, alicubi adhuc visitur.*⁷⁴

The Split Παλάτιον was entered through the Prothyron and Vestibule, parts of the palace that in Late Antique architecture were called Calche, and in the medieval description of Antique palaces the *Proaulium* from which one entered the *Salutatorium*. The great *aula* of the Split palace in the continuation of the Vestibule is the *Salutatorium* of the imperial palace, while the western room with the apse served as Diocletian's *consilium sacrum*.

TRICLINIUM TRIUMPHALE

The Hebrard-Zeiller monograph was the first effort made to identify the functions within the residential part of the palace.⁷⁵ In this work a room the size of the Peristyle that stretched from the Vestibule southwards into the interior of the palace was called the *tablinum*, the western hall with the apse was the *exedra*, a building with a cruciform floor plan on the east the *triclinium* of the place, and the *ospitali*,⁷⁶ a series of rooms. The starting point for this kind of construction of functions was the morphological difference in the eastern and western part of the residence, particularly with respect to the most important rooms symmetrically arranged from the axis of the *tablinum*, but in the opposite cardinal directions. The Hebrard-Zeiller monograph compares the functions of the Split residence with the arrangement of the Roman house according to Vitruvius, reconstructions

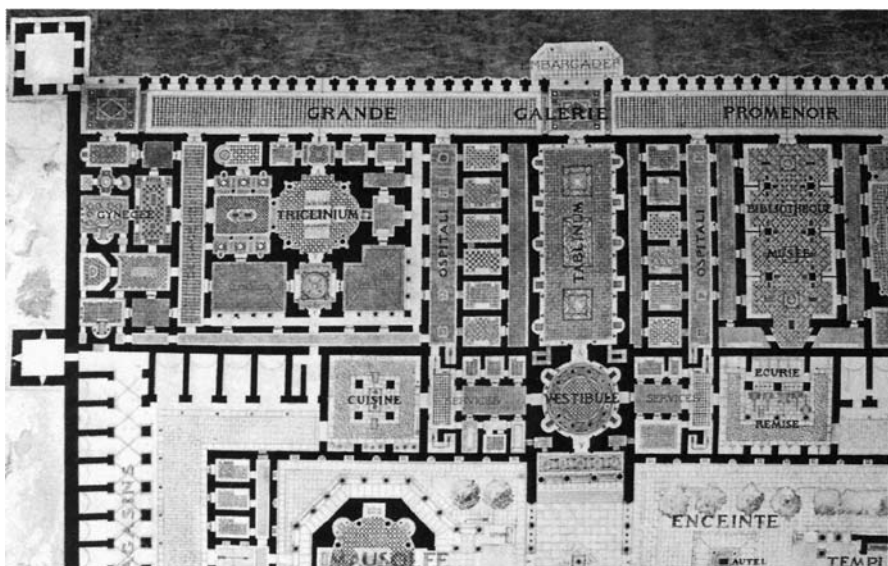
⁷² LJ. KARAMAN, »Buvine vratnice i kor splitske katedrale«, *Rad hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 275, Zagreb 1942, 64; A note in the codex *Historia Salonitana* of Toma Arhiđakon, from the Garanjin-Fanfogna Library, says that this *pictor de Spaleto* who did the doorframe of the cathedral at the same time painted a St Christopher on the square of St Doimus in front of the cathedral. The note says that the painting was painted p(er) p(re)d(i)c(t)um mag(ist)r(u)m A(ndream).

⁷³ F. BULIĆ – LJ. KARAMAN, *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu*, Zagreb 1927., 103

⁷⁴ M. Marulić *ad Dominicum Papalem In epigrammata priscorum commentaries*, in B. LUČIN, *Marulićev opis Splita*, Split 2005, 26-27; Marulić writes that there as well as two ruins there are three more temples.

⁷⁵ E. HEBRARD – J. ZEILLER, o. c., »Les Appartements Impériaux«, 109

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 114



*Diocletian's Palace in Split, hypothetical use of the parts
(after E. Hebrard, J. Zeiller, 1912)*

of the Roman domus and works of classical imperial architecture.⁷⁷ According to this reconstruction the eastern part of the palace is a cross-shaped building with a *triclinium* situated in its central room. The eastern part of the building is imagined to have a *nymphaeum* with a fountain from which flowed water. The whole of the eastern part of the residence is interpreted as imperial refectory and *gynaecium*. In the western part it is assumed there is a portico with six cubicula, which he calls, by analogy with Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, *ospitali*. The western wing is interpreted as apartment, with the imperial bedrooms, the baths, exedra and *bibliothèque-musse* alongside which are the *ospitali*. Dyggve, invoking the axuality of the ceremonial complex of the palaces of Late Antiquity, thought that in the Prothyron, in between the columns, was an imperial *tribuna*, behind which through the Vestibule the large covered hall was approached. According to him, this was the *aula*, the large royal room of the emperor.⁷⁸

Drawing on the research of Jerko Marasović, Duval endeavoured to define in more detail the purpose of the individual parts of the residential parts. Commenting on Dyggve's hypothesis that the palace was axial, he doubted his assumption that the large room going on from the Vestibule was the imperial *aula*. The through space that led to the transversal communications along the south elevation of the palace was a longitudinal building with doors at the north and south; this kind of

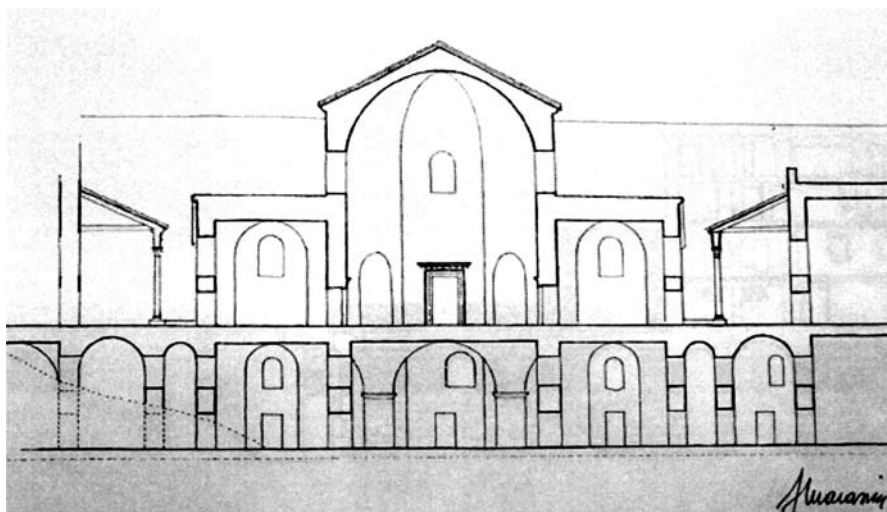
⁷⁷ E. HEBRARD – J. ZEILLER, o. c. 135, cf I

⁷⁸ E. DYGGVE, o. c, 6

disposition was not typical of throne rooms. Going on from the Hebrard-Zeiller interpretation of the palace, which called this room *tablinum*, Duval assumed that the room might be meant for a ceremonial passage into the interior of the residence towards the western wing, where, according to him, the *aula* lay, a large hall with an apse over the basilical space of the substructions.⁷⁹

A comparison of the Sicilian monumental villa in Piazza Armerina and Split's Diocletian's Palace shows some similarities in the organisation of architectural elements.⁸⁰ Although archaeological findings have not yet totally confirmed this, Piazza Armerina was most probably the residence of Diocletian's co-ruler and fellow Augustus, Herculis Maximianus. It is assumed that this luxurious palace, just like that in Split, was built for a retired tetrarch who did not in fact manage to retire from the throne to the leisure of a province, as Diocletian had done. In both palaces there is a clear similar programme, which derives from the imperial cult. The approach through the arch of triumph leads to a peristyle from which one enters the residence through the *proaulium* and *salutatorium* with double doors, leading onto the transversal corridor. Both palaces are organised with two axes, with two very important independent sets of rooms. In Split the first group is collected around the space with the exedra in the extension of the internal peristyle, while the other is created by a *triclinium* in the form of a *trichora* with its own peristyle.

Marasović's research supplemented the Hebrard-Zeiller assumptions, determining the basic features of the architecture of the *triclinium*, a symmetrical building of rectangular plan with two added rooms and an antechamber to the south. Marasović correctly interpreted and presented the underground part of the



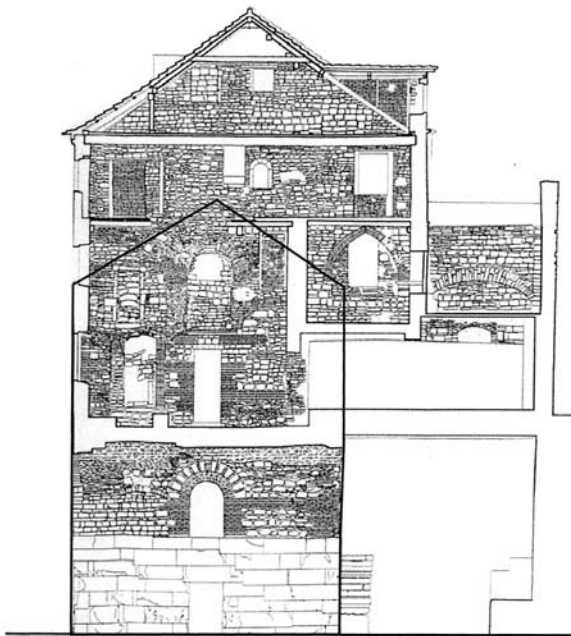
Triclinium of Diocletian's Palace (after J. Marasović)

⁷⁹ N. DUVAL, o. c. 90

⁸⁰ H. KÄHLER, »Split i Piazza Armerina«, *Urbs* 4, Split 1961-1962, 97

building and its outlines in plan, as well as its immediate surrounds.⁸¹ Thus the deambulatory was found, a porch that surrounded the *triclinium*, divided from the actual building by a plunge deep to the bottom of the basement. A single doubt and unsettled question in the ground plan disposition is the relation of the lateral rooms with the portico and the possibility of a lateral approach to the cruciform building of the *triclinium*. Marasović found support for this hypothesis of lateral approaches in the ceiling of the western part of the building that at the level of the upper storey joined the *triclinium* with the deambulatory. A comparison of the structure of the vaulting, for the restoration of the western chapel of the *triclinium*, with the other part of the wall showed how it had come into being in the Middle Ages, and that the portico at the time it was built was completely separate from the *triclinium*. This vaulting was created when the Church of St Nicholas was enlarged, for which action the western hall was remodelled. This is borne out by the remains

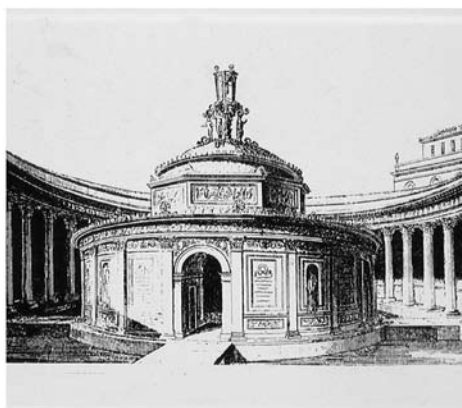
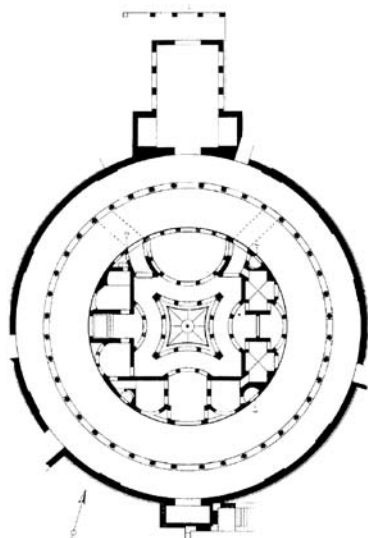
Back elevation of western chapel of the triclinium incorporated into the structure of the wall of the church of the convent of St Clare (architectural drawing by Geodata, Split).



of the western window of the chapel of the *triclinium* preserved in the facade of the church, the monumentality of which leaves no possibility of there having been a door in the parapet for there was no room for it. The small portal was opened up here subsequently as entry into the medieval church, for the sake of providing it proper orientation, and so as to allow a forecourt to be added to it.

⁸¹ J. MARASOVIĆ et alii, o. c., 220

An example of an isolated imperial room surrounded by a portico in the architecture of imperial palaces is Hadrian's *teatro maritimo* in Tivoli, an inaccessible island surrounded by a portico structure as a central hall surrounded with three auxiliary spaces and a lobby that was approached by a drawbridge. In both cases there is a central building the luxurious architecture of which is visible from the portico surrounding it as place of the inviolable majesty of the divinised ruler.



Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, Teatro maritimo, ground plan (after H. Kahler, 1950); theoretical reconstruction (after L. Canino, 1872)

The interior of the Split *triclinium* was opulent, decorated with marble panelling and precisely modelled decorations.⁸² In the research conducted in 1972 and 1992 numerous fragments of multicoloured marble were found: yellow ancient pavonazzeto, Proconnesian, Penthelic, cipollino, African red, as well as local onyx. The walls and floors had marble covering and were painted with affresco decorations, and parts of the mosaics were found in the archaeological strata. A mensa of sigma form of pink marble was found of the stone furnishing of the *triclinium*.⁸³ Among the stone fragments, parts of a fountain were discovered. They were found in several excavation campaigns, but are linked into a single whole. The fountain belonged to the furnishing of the *triclinium*, and was probably placed in front of the entrance to it. It is similar to the one from the peristyle of Galerius' Romuliana,

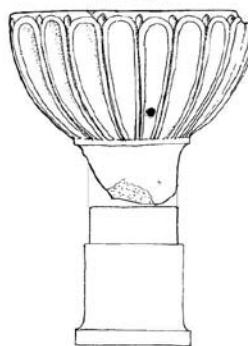
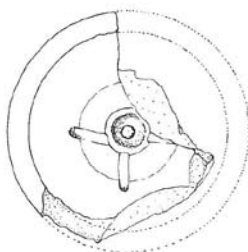
⁸² J. MARASOVIĆ – T. MARASOVIĆ – Sh. McNALLY – J. WILKES, *Diocletian's palace, Report on Joint Excavations in Southeast Quarter, Sector 7, Split 1972*, 37; V. DELONGA – M. BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ, 17 u 8. *Istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače 1992. godine*, Split, 2005.

⁸³ Ibidem, 185

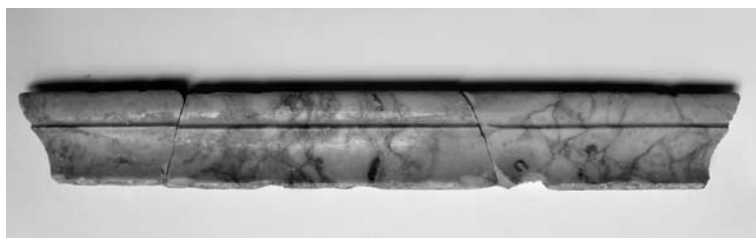
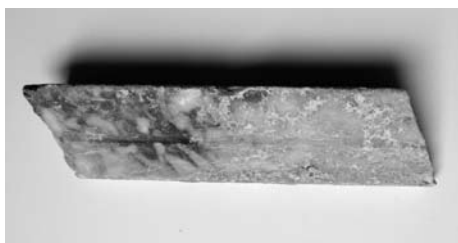
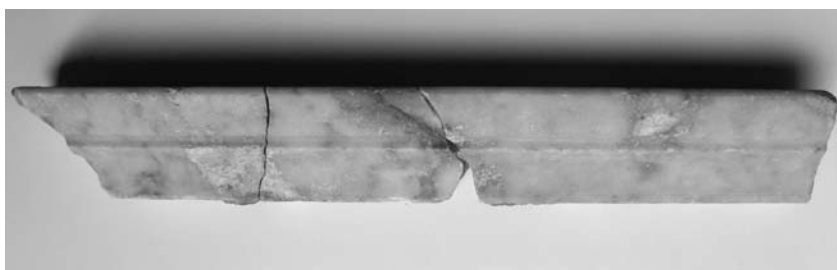
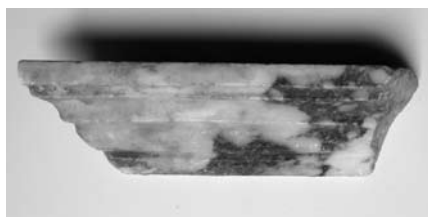


Architectural sculpting found in the vicinity of the triclinium, half-capital and double base of large two mullioned window.

which was in the axis of the entrance of the room from the apse. It is like the fountain on the mosaic of the Church of S. Vitale in Ravenna, which shows the entrance into Theodora's imperial quarters. The fountain had the form of a goblet with four jets in the centre through which water drained to the pool at the bottom, as seen in many examples, including in the atrium of the *Salona palatium episcopalis*. The few remains of architectural sculpting scattered around the site, the fragments of porphyry pillars, the corner capitals of pylons and the base of a two mullioned windows of monumental proportions probably belonged to the mentioned building. The material suggests an elegant interior equipped with colourful marble, red porphyry pillars, with white capitals and cornices.



Parts of the fountain discovered close to the triclinium



Marble panelling with moulding found in the western wing of the portico of the triclinium from the time of the 1870 excavations.

The approach to the building, to which the whole south east quarter of the palace was subordinated, was from the *cryptoportico*, from the sea side, its entrance being marked on the seaward facade by a large window with an arcuated lintel. Analogies can be sought in the octagon of the Daphne Palace, the oldest part of the imperial residence in Constantinople in which, through the central part, the Augustus, one went to the octagon, the Church of St Stephen and the *consistorium*, the throne room. The large room with a throne in the shape of an octagon surmounted by a dome became a symbol of the ruler's *aula* of Late Antiquity.

Agnello's *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* mentions central buildings of Theodoric's palace decorated with the figure of the ruler. Apart from the entrance hall of the palace a depiction of the emperor was found in the *camere tribunali* of his palace in Pavia and the tribunale triclinii that was called in Ravenna *Ad mare*.⁸⁴ According to Agnello the central building of the imperial palaces was the tribunal, which from its name had a precise shape in Ravenna – the *triclinium*.⁸⁵

The oldest mention of a Split *triclinium* is a 14th century document, *sinagoga sdorium vocatum cum capellis*. The name *sinagoga sdorium vocatum* is of Greek origin, the Latin translation of which might theoretically be *consistorium*, as explained hitherto.⁸⁶ In this manner the name *sinagoga sdorium* contained along with the Greek concept *sinagoga* also the Latin concept (*consi*)*storium*, a bilingual synonym for the same building.

Sdorium is a very old place name containing a Greek root for some of the architectural functions of that part of the palace.

The expression might be interpreted as a derivation of *Storium*, *Stolum*, *Stolium*, from the Greek *Stolus*, and was used in the Middle Ages for *classis*, the royal or imperial navy.⁸⁷ Accordingly the name might be a memory of the Byzantine rule of the 12th century when the city was for the last time a part of the Eastern Empire. It was the centre of a Byzantine theme in which the admiral of the fleet, brother of Emperor Emanuel Comnenus, ruled.

⁸⁴ A. AGNELLO, o. c.; ... quae civitas Papia dicitur, ubi et Theodericus palatium struxit, et eius imaginem sedentem super equum in tribunalis cameris tessellis ornati bene conspexi. Hic autem similis fuit in isto palatio, quod ipse haedificavit, in tribunale triclinii quod vocatur Ad mare, ...

⁸⁵ E. DYGGVE, *Ravannatum Palatium Sacrum*, Copenhagen 1941, 48; Dyggve sees the term *tribunal* as a hypaethral basilica that gave access to the *triclinium*, that is, to the throne room, through a door over which was a picture of the ruler. Agnello uses the term *tribunal* whenever he quotes the term *apse* or *cella with apse*. An *apse*, but not of the *triclinium*, which took the name from it, can be recognised as the great room that was located in the eastern wing of the Ravenna palace, the approach to it being from the quadriportico where the ruler was seated on his throne.

⁸⁶ P. PETRIĆ, »Novi prilozi topografiji samostana sv. Klare u Splitu«, *Kačić* 26, Split 1995, 327

⁸⁷ C. DU CANGE, *Glosarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. Cum supplementis integris*, 1886.; D. P. CARPENTERII, tomus septimus R-S, Niort 1886., 605

On the other hand it is possible that in the toponym *sinagoga sdorium vocatum* is the original Diocletian purpose of the whole series of buildings in the south east part of the palace. If Sdorium comes from Zetarium, which means the rooms *Zetae hyemales* and *Zetas aestivales* the concept might be linked with the *Triclinium*. A Roman example shows the architectural location of the triclinium between the winter and summer seats: *Juxta palatium Neronianum in Vaticano, inter Zetarium, id est triclinium triumphale*.⁸⁸

The *triclinium* of Diocletian's Split Palace was according to this analogous to examples from Ravenna where a similar building was called *tribunale triclinii* and Rome where it was called *triclinium triumphale*.

The *triclinium* in the eastern and the *consistorium* in the western wing of the palace were the most important buildings that defined the emperor's Παλάτιον μικρόν in Split. These were the throne rooms of Diocletian's Palace, which, like the ruler's palace in Piazza Armerina, was bifocal. Both *aulae* were used for the triumphal ceremony that in this place concluded the *adventus*.



S. Vitale in Ravenna, detail of fountain with mosaic showing Empress Theodora with courtiers.

⁸⁸ C. DU CANGE, *Glosarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. Cum supplementis integris*, 1886.; D. P. CARPENTERII, tomus octavus T-Z. Niort 1886., 430

CONCLUSION

The aspect of urban design

Diocletian's reforming spirit on the one hand and his *cupiditas aedificandi* on the other modified the centuries-old classical architecture of Rome. His time can boast of the enormous architectural productivity and of the influence that it had on the royal architecture of later periods. His joint rulers imitated him by building their own residences, as did generations of both pagan and Christian kings and princes until the Middle Ages. The urban transformations that he generated by the renovation of whole areas of cities are mentioned by his biographers, mainly Christians, holding against him, as against Nero, the consequences of his immoderate passion for opulent self-promotion. They also complained of his frequent changes of mind, because of which buildings only just completed were knocked down, although his urban design practice was not irrational. It was based on the development of the infrastructure of roads, aqueducts, public buildings and imperial residences, which were, in a sense, government buildings. Imperial residences were put up in the cities in the east where he reigned, as in his native Illyria, to which he retired after his abdication. The method used to build the residences consisted of demolishing a certain neighbourhood in the city, putting up fortifications at the place, girt with walls and towers, in which were further developed *stoa*e, an *augusteon* and a *palace*. The palace would be separated from the rest of the building with a *pomerium* or free space that had a security function, among other reasons because of the fires that were often the cause of urban structures being destroyed. The spatial organisation of the residence was subject to ceremony and ritual, was imaged as the closing point of the *adventus*, the permanent triumph that the tetrarchy brought into the imperial cult. The triumphal procession to the residence would go through a series of triumphal gates, from the entry gates, via the *tetrapylon* in the centre, passing through the main street with its porticoes, going through the sanctuary to the entry into the palace. This kind of arrangement can be seen in Palmyra and Split, was described in Antioch, and was probably also there in Nicomedia, which was erected on a demolished city quarter, and it is also retained by later imperial residences like the Great Palace of Constantinopolis. The Split imperial residence, although meant for a tetrarch who had retired from rule, was created on the same pattern. It was put up on a demolished quarter of Aspalatos, Roman settlement with Hellenistic roots that developed on the basis of a colony from Issa (at the same time as Epetium, Salona and Tragurium). Porphyrogenitus called the new quarter the κάστρον of Aasplatos, just as the new quarter in Palmyra is referred to as castrum in a wall inscription. Diocletian's time called fortified residences camps, although the name does not mean the classical military camp, rather, in only brings out the similarity in the urban design, the right angles of the street pattern, and the fortified walls. For this reason Porphyrogenitus writes that the Split κάστρον is in fact a Παλάτιον μικρόν.

Architecture

The Split κάστρον is divided into two parts. The southern part had two basic features, the *Fanum* and the *Palation*, while the northern part was probably a large imperial *stoa* of the kind there was in Antioch and Constantinopolis with economic and administrative substances. The shrine, or Fanum, occupied the space in front of the palace, and was surrounded by a high wall curtain articulated by alternating niches of rectangular and semicircular plan. It was intersected in the middle by the main street by which one approached the palace; because of the arcading on the eastern and western style, it was called the Peristyle. Although it is thought that there was a temenos of the eastern imperial mausoleum and a temenos of the western sanctuary with its three temples, and that these were separate features, the space of the *fanum* is in fact an architecturally united whole. An additional problem in the perception of the space is the stratification of the Antique phase of the building, which was noticed by J. Marasović in the substruction of the Triclinium. Diocletian's building at the time of its origin probably did not have *thermae* in the *pomerium* to the north of the palace, nor could the Peristyle have had at his time a substruction staircase in front of the main entrance to the palace, concerning which there had been a protracted, century-long, discussion. The sacred space in front of the palace in Split can be compared with the access to the Great Palace in Constantinopolis through the Augusteion with a street with arcading and porticoes, which was called Mese. The similarities in the Diocletian and Constantine organisation of the space in front of the palace would tend to confirm Dyggve's assumption that the foundations of a monumental building found in the north of the Peristyle might have been part of the *Tetrapylon*. The Split augusteion had together with imperial museum four temples, of which at least two must have been dedicated to the patrons of the tetrarchy, Jupiter and Hercules, divine progenitors of the two Augusti. The cult of Jupiter in Diocletian's palace is uncontested, while the many depictions of Hercules and his attributes on the brackets and cornice of the Small Temple would suggest that he also had a cult. The ceremonial entry into Diocletian's παλάτιον goes through the Vestibule, the central building with the double portals on the north and south facades. This rotunda, as the Vestibule was called in the past, in scale and organisation is like the double northern, eastern and western gates with which Diocletian's κάστρον was fortified. It can be, what is more, considered the southern gate, through which one entered the palace. Without getting into a discussion of the name of the southern door, it is possible by analogy with other imperial palaces to compare this building with similar entries that were

called *calkh* and *chalchi*⁸⁹ in Constantinople and Ravenna. Although both examples are taken from the palaces of Christian emperors, the similarity with Split is clear, and argues in favour of the proposition that the architectural and urban designs of the imperial palace were taken over in periods after Diocletian's rule, from Early Christianity to the Middle Ages.

The disposition of the buildings of Diocletian's residence, after a century of excavations, became clear at least at ground plan level. The distribution of the areas of the substruction and the first floor on the whole overlap, with the exception of a small part of the western wing of the palace. And although in this field archaeology has made a considerable contribution to the understanding of the building, it is still not possible to determine with any degree of certainty the functions of individual parts. What is clear from the ground plan is that the imperial residence had two foci, it was divided into an eastern and a western part. In the centre of the wings there were markedly monumental ceremonial buildings. The name of that in the east was preserved in the medieval documents, because a whole city neighbourhood was named after it. The building was named in a 14th century document *sinagoga sdorium vocatum cum capellis*. This is an architecturally specifically formed building of central form with three chapels, the ground plan of which recalls the trichorae of Antique villas and royal residences that apart from the utilitarian had a ceremonial function as well. The names of the parts of the imperial palaces are on the whole known from the Patristic writings in which the heavenly palace was described. All of them derived from the individual functions of the palace, the *proaulium*, *salutatorium*, *consistorium*, *zetas hiemales*, *zetas aestivales*, *epicaustorium*, *thermas*, *gymnasia*, *goquinam*, *colymbos* and *hippodromum* and excluding the *tricorium*, which described the form of a building.⁹⁰ The trichora had been a sign of regal dignity since the time of the Principate and became a component part of the imperial residences in the period of Late Antiquity. The Split triclinium was not a direct quotation of the trichora, it was a central octagonal hall surrounded on three sides with rooms, and on the southern side with a large portico that spread from the very centre of the hall. It took over the architectural organisation structure that Hadrian's *teatro maritimo* had, a lone island in the palace surrounded by a portico that was inaccessible. Its function was ceremonial, and it can be considered that this was also true of the *triclinium triumphale* of Diocletian's Palace in Split, one of the two imperial halls.

⁸⁹ C. MANGO op. cit. (50), 22, cf. 6; Mango was fonder of using the term brazen house than brazen door, although from the Split example it is clear that the entry to the palace was not a door, rather a building with a double door. Gold, silver, iron and bronze do not mean the materials of which they were made, rather symbolically mark parts of human history, like the golden age of Saturn, the bloody bronze age marked by wars and the rule of Mars.

⁹⁰ I. LAVIN, »The House of the Lord, Aspects of Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages«, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Mar., 1962), 3

DIOKLECIJANOVA PALAČA

Τοῦ Ἀσπαλάου κάστρον, ὅπερ παλάτιον μικρόν

S a ž e t a k

Urbanistički aspekt

Dioklecijanov reformatorski duh s jedne i njegov *cupiditas aedificandi* s druge strane izmijenili su stoljetno klasično rimsko graditeljstvo. Njegovo se vrijeme može pohvaliti golemom produktivnošću građenja i utjecajem koji je ostavilo na vladarsku arhitekturu kasnijih razdoblja. Njegovi su ga suvladari oponašali podizanjem svojih rezidencija, ali i naraštaji kako poganskih tako i kršćanskih vladara sve do srednjeg vijeka. Urbanističke preobrazbe koje je pokrenuo obnovom čitavih gradskih četvrti spominju njegovi biografi, mahom kršćani, spočitavajući mu kao i Neronu posljedice neumjerene strasti za raskošnom autopropagandom. Zamijerili su mu česte promjene odluka zbog kojih su se rušile tek završene građevine, iako njegova urbanistička praksa nipošto nije bila iracionalna. Počivala je na izgradnji infrastrukture: cesta, vodovoda, javnih građevina i carskih rezidencija – svojevrsnih upravnih zgrada. Carske rezidencije podigao je u gradovima na istoku gdje je stolovao, kao i u rodnom Iliriku gdje se povukao nakon abdikacije. Metoda izgradnje rezidencija sastojala se od rušenja odabrane gradske četvrti, podizanja utvrde na tom mjestu opasane zidovima i kulama u kojoj su sagrađene: stoe, augusteion i palača. Palaču je od ostatka građevine dilatirao pomerij koji je imao sigurnosnu ulogu, među ostalim i radi požara koji su bili čest uzrok uništenja urbanih struktura. Prostorna organizacija rezidencija bila je podređena ceremoniji, zamišljena kao završna točka *adventus*a, trajnog trijumfa kojeg je uvela tetrarhija u carski kult. Trijumfalna je povorka u rezidenciju prilazila kroz niz triumfalnih vrata, od ulaznih, preko tetrapilona u središtu, prolazeći glavnom ulicom s trijemovima, nastavljala je kroz svetište do ulaza u palaču. Takav je raspored uočljiv u Palmiri i Splitu, opisan u Antijohiji, vjerojatno bio i u Nikomediji koja je podignuta na porušenoj gradskoj četvrti, a zadržavaju ga i kasnije carske rezidencije poput Velike palače Konstantinopolisa.

Splitska carska rezidencija, iako namijenjena povlačenju tetrarha s vlasti, nastaje po istom obrascu. Podignuta je nad porušenom četvrti Aspalatosa, rimskog naselja s helenističkim korijenima, koji se razvio na temeljima isejske kolonije (istodobno kada i Epetion, Salona i Tragurium). Novu četvrt Porfirogenet naziva κάστρον Aspalatosa, kao što se u Palmiri nova četvrt na zidnom natpisu naziva *castrum*. Dioklecijanovo je vrijeme utvrđene rezidencije nazivalo »logorom«, iako taj naziv ne znači klasični vojni logor, već ističe sličnost u urbanističkom rasporedu, ortogonalnost ulične mreže, i utvrđene zidove. Zbog toga Porfirogenet piše da je splitski κάστρον zapravo Παλάτιον μικρόν.

Arhitektura

Splitski je *κάστρον* podijeljen na dva dijela. Južni je imao dva osnovna sadržaja, *Fanum* i *Palation*, dok je sjeverni vjerojatno bio velika carska stoa kakvu je imala Antiohija ili Konstantinopolis s administrativnim i gospodarskim sadržajima. Svetište, *Fanum*, je zauzimalo prostor pred palačom i bilo je okruženo visokim zidnim platnom raščlanjeno naizmjeničnim nišama pačetvorinasta i polukružna tlocrta. Njega je po sredini presijecala glavna ulica kojom se pristupalo u palaču, a koja je zbog arkatura s istočne i zapadne strane nazvana Peristil. Iako se smatra da postoji temenos istočnog carskog mauzoleja i temenos zapadnog svetišta sa tri hrama, te da se radi o odijeljenim sadržajima, prostor svetišta je ipak arhitektonski objedinjena cjelina. Dodatni je problem u percepciji tog prostora slojevitost antičke faze splitske građevine koje je već uočio J. Marasović u suterenu Triklinija. Dioklecijanova gradnja u vrijeme nastanka vjerojatno nije imala terme u pomeriju sjeverno od palače, niti je Peristil mogao u njegovo vrijeme imati podumsko stubište pred glavnim ulazom u palaču o čemu traje permanentna diskusija čitavo stoljeće. Sakralni se prostor pred palačom u Splitu može usporediti s prilazom Velike palače Konstantinopolisa kroz Augusteion ulicom s arkaturama i trijemovima koja se nazivala Mese. Sličnost Dioklecijanove i Konstantinove organizacije predprostora palače ide u prilog Dyggveovoj pretpostavci kako su pronađeni temelji monumentalne građevine na sjeveru Peristila mogli pripadati Tetrapilonu. Splitski je Augusteion zajedno s carskim mauzolejom imao četiri hrama, od kojih su barem dva morala biti posvećena zaštitnicima tetrarhije, Jupiteru i Herkulu, božanskim roditeljima dvaju Augusta. Jupitrov kult u Dioklecijanovoj palači nije sporan, a brojni prikazi Herkula i njegovi atributi na konzolama i vijencu Malog hrama svjedoče u prilog njegova štovanja. Ceremonijalni ulaz u Dioklecijanov *παλάτιον*, odvijao se kroz Vestibul, centralnu građevinu s dvostrukim portalima na sjevernom i južnom pročelju. Ta je *rotonda*, kako se u prošlosti nazivao Vestibul, u mjerilu i organizaciji nalik dvostrukim sjevernim, istočnim i zapadnim vratima kojima je bio utvrđen Dioklecijanov *κάστρον*. Može se štoviše smatrati njegovim južnim vratima kroz koja se ulazilo u palaču. Ne ulazeći u raspravu o nazivu južnih vrata, moguće je kroz analogiju s drugim carskim palačama usporediti tu građevinu sa sličnim ulazima koji se u u Konstantinopolisu i Raveni nazivaju *χαλκή* i *calchi*. Iako su oba primjera uzeta iz palača kršćanskih vladara sličnost sa Splitom je očita i posvjedočuje u prilog teze o preuzimanju arhitektonsko urbanističke organizacije carske palače u razdobljima nakon Dioklecijanove vladavine, od ranog kršćanstva pa sve do srednjeg vijeka.

Raspored zgrada Dioklecijanove rezidencije, nakon stoljetnog istraživanja postao je jasan na razini tlocrta. Raspored prostorija podruma i kata uglavnom se poklapa, s izuzetkom malog dijela zapadnog krila palače. Pa iako je na tom polju arheologija znatno pridonjela u razumijevanju građevine, još uvijek se ne mogu sa sigurnošću utvrditi namjene pojedinih njenih dijelova. Ono što je iz tlocrta jasno jest bifokalnost carske rezidencije, njena podijeljenost na zapadni i istočni dio. U

središtu oba krila nalaze se izrazito monumentalne ceremonijalne građevine. Onoj istočnoj sačuvao se naziv u srednjovjekovnim dokumentima jer je po njoj dobio naziv čitav gradski kvart. Građevina se spominje u dokumentu 14. st. kao ...*sina-goga sdorium vocatum cum capellis*. Radi se o arhitektonski specifično oblikovanoj zgradi centralog oblika s tri kapele čiji tlocrt podsijeća na trihore antičkih *villa* i vladarskih rezidencija koje su pored upotrebne imale i ceremonijalnu funkciju. Nazivi dijelova carskih palača poznati su uglavnom iz patrističkih spisa u kojima se opisivala nebeska palača. Svi su oni nastali iz pojedinih funkcija palače: *proaulium*, *salutatorium*, *consistorium*, *zetas hiemales*, *zetas aestivales*, *epicaustorium*, *thermas*, *gymnasia*, *coquinam*, *colymbos* i *hippodromum*, izuzev *tricoriuma* koji opisuje oblik građevine. Trihora je još od principata atribut vladarskog dostojanstva, a u kasno antičkom razdoblju postaje sastavni dio carskih rezidencija. Splitski triklinij nije izravan citat trihore, on je središnja oktogonalna dvorana okružena sa tri strane prostorijama, a sa južne strane prostranim strijem koji je širi i od same središnje dvorane. On preuzima arhitektonski ustroj kakav ima Hadrijanov *teatro maritimo*, usamljen otok u palači okružen trijemom do kojeg se ne može doći. Njegova je funkcija ceremonijalna i može se smatrati kako je to *triclinium triumphale* Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu, jedna od dvije carske dvorane.