

Spalatensia Porphyrogenitiana: Notes on the Poleogenesis and Urban Development of Early Medieval Split

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I. Introduction

Diocletian's Palace as the late antique core of Split is the best preserved and most researched architectural structure from the Roman period in the Eastern Adriatic. Its medieval Romanesque transformation is likewise among the best preserved and thoroughly researched urban entities in this region. However, the individual stages of the transformation process of the imperial palace and its surrounding into the oldest medieval urban agglomeration have largely remained on the margins of research interests – both in case of Split as in those of other Dalmatian towns with early medieval origins – and comprehensive interdisciplinary studies of their poleogeneses (in terms of evolution of a settlement from its emergence to the final articulation of its urban attributes) are still missing. It remains to define the individual stages in this gradual acquisition of urban features in consequence of various spatial transformations. Such research should include analyses of various phenomena, processes, and structures linked to the late antique and early medieval transformations of Diocletian's Palace and the area of Split peninsula, as well as an interdisciplinary presentation of their post-Diocletian, early Christian, and early medieval historical development. Such work should also include the cataloguing and systematization of archaeological and artistic heritage in this area, a topographic and typological evaluation of the collected materials, and an analysis of the corresponding written sources. Poleogenesis should also be considered in the context of analogous developments, based on comparative examples from the macro and micro-region, positing the Adriatic model as a research paradigm for further investigation of the emergence of early medieval towns in the Mediterranean and European context.

By actualizing the pluridisciplinary scholarly research on the transformation of Roman civilisation during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages – archaeological, historical, art-historical, urbanological, and architectural – in Western and Central Europe and the Mediterranean since the early 1990s (for example, in the publication series *Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.*, the international and interdisciplinary research project *Transformation of the Roman World*, the series *Documenti di archeologia* published in Padua by G.-P. Brogiolo with collaborators, the annual conference *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* in Spoleto, the annual scholarly colloquium of the

International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages of the University of Zagreb, held in Zagreb and Motovun, or the series *Late Antique Archaeology* edited by L. Lavan), conditions have been created to obtain a clearer picture of the structural and physical changes that took place between the period of Tetrarchy and the first suburban consolidations of Slavic proto-states in the historical Croatian area. Publications resulting from such research focus on early medieval settlement agglomerations: those that evolved with full or partial spatial and cultural continuity from their antique substrates, as well as those newly emerged in the Middle Ages. This includes a series of studies dedicated to the transformations of residential and economy buildings, residential-economy buildings, and the sacral ones, and their clusters that created settlements of various types. In other words, we have witnessed intensified research on the typology and morphology of their transformations and their topographic role within the overall spatial organization during the period between the 4th and 9th centuries, which takes into account the historical context and the general social circumstances.

With this new focus on the early medieval settlements of various types in the past two decades, foundations have been laid in the international research community for a more systematic investigation of European poleogenesis at the turn from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages, with an accent on both synchronic and diachronic approaches to the said phenomenon. Various symposia on poleogenesis held in English, French, and Italian-speaking areas in the 1990s and 2000s have crucially contributed to this.¹ The methodological foundations resulting from these publications

¹ *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean. Ravello, 22-24 September 1994* [Documenti di Archeologia, 10], ed. Gian-Pietro Brogiolo (Mantua: Società Archeologica Padana, 1996); *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin de III^e siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne, Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Paris X-Nanterre les 1, 2 et 3 avril 1993*, ed. Claude Lepelley (Bari: Edipuglia, 1996); *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Gian-Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1999); *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie and Simon T. Loseby (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Gian-Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000); Wolfgang Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, ed. Thomas S. Burns, and John W. Eadie (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2001); *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Helen G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens: Society of Messenian Archaeological Studies, 2006); Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 183–280; *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium. Vol. 1: The Heirs of the Roman West; Vol. 2: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*, ed. Joachim Henning (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2007); *The Transition to Late Antiquity: On the Danube and Beyond*, ed. Andrew G. Poulter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 591–692; Luca Zavagno, “The Byzantine City (5th–9th centuries): De-constructing and Re-constructing the Urban Environment between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,” PhD diss. University of Birmingham, 2007; studies referring to the

have been intentionally directed not only at recapitulating our knowledge on the architectural typology, morphology, and urbanity of early medieval settlements, or at discussing their spatial and cultural substrates (which can be very heterogeneous), but also at establishing the socio-historical conditions that led to their emergence and their roles in the creation and transformation of models for spatial organization. However, in our local scholarship few studies have been dedicated to considering the early medieval settlement agglomerations in their totality, across the entire area of their impact (*civitas, territorium, micro-region*).²

Eastern Adriatic and the Western Balkans include Gilbert Dagron, "Les villes dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin," in: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 12-14 mai 1982)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1984), 1-20; Mate Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku* [Zadar Antiquity] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1981); Mate Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu* [Greek and Roman town in the Eastern Adriatic] (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003); Željko Peković, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog grada / La fondation et le développement de la ville médiévale* (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998); Željko Rapanić, *Od carske palače do srednjovjekovne općine* [From imperial palace to medieval commune] (Split: Književni krug, 2007).

² Cf. Ljubo Karaman, "O počecima srednjovjekovnog Splita do godine 800" [On the beginnings of medieval Split before 800], *Serta Hoffilleriana* [Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, XVIII-XXI (1937-1940)] (Zagreb, 1940): 419-436; Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages before 1409] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 115-146; Mate Suić, "Zadar u 'De administrando Imperio' Konstantina Porfirogeneta" [Zadar in 'De administrando Imperio' of Constantine Porphyrogenitus], *Radovi Zavoda JAZU u Zadru* 27-28 (1981): 5-29; Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku*, 326-342 and 340-342; Suić, *Antički grad*, 341-375 and 379-392; Peković, *Dubrovnik*; Miroslav Katić, "The Late Antique town on the Eastern Adriatic Coast," *Histria Antiqua* 11 (2003): 449-456; Pavaša Vežić, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva. Arhitektura ranoga kršćanstva u Zadru i na zadarskome području* [Zadar on the threshold of Christianity: Early Christian architecture in Zadar and its surroundings] (Zadar: Arheološki muzej, 2005); Nikolina Maraković and Tin Turković, "Social Change and the Idea of Urbanity between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 12 (2006): 91-99; Rapanić, *Od carske palače*; Joško Belamarić, "The First Centuries of Christianity in Diocletian's Palace in Split," in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč, 25. 9 - 1. 10. 1994.*, vol. III, ed. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin, (Città del Vaticano and Split: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana and Arheološki muzej, 1998), 55-68; Mladen Ančić, "Razvoj srednjovjekovnog naseobinskog kompleksa na mjestu današnjeg Sarajeva" [The evolution of a medieval settlement complex in the locality of present-day Sarajevo], in: *Na rubu Zapada. Tri stoljeća srednjovjekovne Bosne*, (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest and Dom i svijet, 2001), 177-206; Vlasta Begović and Ivančica Schrunck, "Preobrazbe rimskih vila na istočnom Jadranu u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjem vijeku" [Transformations of Roman villas in the Eastern Adriatic during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 18 (2001): 157-172; Hrvoje Gračanin and Anita Rapan Papeša, "Postrimski grad u južnoj Panoniji: primjer Cibala" [Post-Roman towns in southern Pannonia: The case of Cibalae], *Scrinia Slavonica* 11 (2011): 7-30; Hrvoje Gračanin and Goran Bilogrivić, "Postrimski grad u Južnoj Panoniji: primjer Siscije" [Post-Roman towns in southern Pannonia: The case of Siscia], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 32 (2014): 1-26; Vedrana Delonga et al., *Prije sjećanja. Arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu, 1992. godine* [Before memory: Archaeological research in the southeastern area of Diocletian's Palace in Split, 1992], 2 vols. (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2014). The most systematic research has been conducted by Ž. Rapanić and presented in the following studies: Željko Rapanić, "Contribution à la poléographie du littoral est de l'Adriatique," *Balcanoslavica* 8 (1979): 93-100; idem,

In additions, our knowledge of the numbers, density, and composition of the population (*city-suburbium*, variations in the population density of individual urban districts) depends on the state of research in historical demography, where estimates are notoriously imprecise even in the Western European context³ and especially for the historical Croatian lands. From the perspective of archaeology – without reaching before coming to even preliminary conclusions – one should determine at least the approximate number of housing units, the number of floors in a typical building, and an average number of its residents.⁴ Functional organization of urban space according to functions is also largely an unknown field, since it is almost impossible to determine how much of the urban area was occupied by buildings or how many of these buildings had public functions (ecclesiastical, military, or administrative) and how many were private. All these problems are also valid for the suburban areas, which are generally far less researched than those within the city walls.

Here I would like to quote an observation of the Italian archaeologist and medievalist Sauro Gelichi – referring to the medieval settlements in the Northern Adriatic region – on the problem of including archaeology in the interdisciplinarity of

“Bilješka za historijsku topografiju Splita” [A note on the historical topography of Split], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 22 (1980): 24-29; idem, “Prilog proučavanju kontinuiteta naseljenosti u salonitanskom ageru u ranom srednjem vijeku” [A contribution to the research on the continuity of settlement in the ager of Salona during the early medieval period], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 74 (1980): 189-217; idem, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji* [The pre-Romanesque period in Dalmatia] (Split: Logos, 1987); idem, “Jedan primjer jadranske poleogeneze” [An example of Adriatic poleogenesis], *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 11-12 (1994-1995): 63-70; idem, “Il patrimonio dell’Antichità nella poleogenesi dell’Adriatico orientale nell’Alto Medioevo,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995): 7-13. See also my review of Rapanić, *Od carske palače*: Ivan Basić, “Ka cjelovitijemu sagledavanju ranosrednjovjekovne jadranske poleogeneze” [Towards a more comprehensive view of medieval Adriatic poleogenesis], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 40 (2008): 283-289.

³ Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, 84-85. On the (very imprecise and incomplete) estimates of the population and its density, see Edith Ennen, *Storia della città medievale* (Bari: Laterza, 1975), 207-212; and Michel Fixot, “Les villes du VII^e au IX^e siècle,” in: Paul-Albert Février, Michel Fixot, Christian Goudineau, and Venceslas Kruta, *La ville antique des origines au IX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1980), 522-525. For such estimates in Dalmatian cases, see Tomislav Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* [Dalmatia praeromanica: Early medieval architecture in Dalmatia], vol. 1: *Rasprava* [Discussion] (Split and Zagreb: Književni krug, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, and Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2008), 107-108.

⁴ An attempt in this respect is Katja Marasović and Tomislav Marasović, “Naseljavanje Dioklecijanove palače” [Colonization of Diocletian’s Palace], in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić. Zbornik povodom osamdesetog rođendana*, ed. Miljenko Jurković and Ante Milošević (Zagreb, Motovun, and Split: Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek, 2012), 93-114. On the early medieval topography of Split within the palace, see Tomislav Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica*, vol. 3: *Korpus arhitekture – Srednja Dalmacija* [Architectural corpus: Central Dalmatia] (Split and Zagreb: Književni krug, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, and Arhitektonski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011), 241-245; and outside the historical centre 237-239, and Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica* 1, 114. On the physical transformations within the city perimeter, see generally Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica* 1, 113-114.

methodological procedures: “The archaeology of many of these places (that of Altino on the one hand and that of Venice, Torcello, Olivolo, Cittanova, and Comacchio on the other) has been, apart from the quality of individual operations, a somewhat uncoordinated fact-finding process. So, while in international debate these places are frequently dealt with and discussed in a framework of the developments of economies and settlements in early medieval Europe, their archaeology (and I would add, their history) is instead relegated to the context and issues of an extremely local nature. With few exceptions, the effort of making comparisons of data and information fluctuates between clarifying the problem of origins or emphasising the problem through an artificial renewal of scientific thoroughness. The archaeological research is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, one may begin to gather certain data and, above all, compare the different situations, so as to evaluate archaeological potential; and to see what material sources can tell us and what we must (or can) ask of them. In short: to evaluate whether investigation in the field offers more food for thought and historical critique than it has so far been seen to offer – mainly to the discredit of archaeologists, I believe.”⁵ Besides the rare and deficient written sources, one should by also search for a reason in the fact that – as Ž. Rapanić has formulated – “standard archaeological material does not allow us to clarify the processes of urban development in detail; it only allow us to indicate the material traces of subsequent stages around which life was organized.”⁶

Early medieval urban systems – regardless of what has been said so far – are a permanently underrepresented research field in modern medieval studies; therefore, the available results are likewise deficient and barely usable. There are three main problems here. Firstly, leaving aside the issue of the transformation Classical towns in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages – as a subject on which there is a rich international bibliography and the Croatian one is growing as well,⁷ even though very slowly – settlements established *ex nihilo* in the early medieval period or those created by altering the structures that had not had urban structures in the first place

⁵ Sauro Gelichi, “Flourishing Places in North-Eastern Italy: Towns and *emporia* between Late Antiquity and the Carolingian Age,” in: *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, vol. 1: The Heirs of the Roman West*, ed. Joachim Henning (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 82. On the state of research and the development of methodology in researching towns and cities in Croatian and European historiographies, see Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Interdisciplinarnost u urbanoj povijesti: povijest i perspektive” [Interdisciplinarity in urban history: Past and future], in: *Historiografija / povijest u suvremenom društvu. Zbornik radova s okruglog stola održanog 11. i 12. listopada 2011. u Zagrebu*, ed. Gordan Ravančić, Mislav Gregl, Ivana Horbec, Vlasta Švoger, and Dinko Župan (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 23-34.

⁶ Rapanić, “Jedan primjer jadranske poleogeneze,” 63.

⁷ For a useful, even if less than comprehensive overview of literature and research trends, see Vedrana Jović Gazić, “Urban Development from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar – The State of Research,” *Archaeologia Adriatica* 5 (2011) [2012]: 151-196. Recent research trends (with an accent on southern Pannonia) have been briefly presented in Gračanin and Rapan Papeša, “Postrimski grad u južnoj Panoniji,” 7-8 and n. 4, with a basic bibliography.

(such as ancient Roman “villas”, palaces, or fortresses, or by transferring the town to a new locality) have largely been ignored by the scholars, whereby the existing studies have been obstructed and limited by various factors. Secondly, besides the problem of researching the poleogenesis of such settlements, there is an additional one in exploring the gradual transformations of these late antique and early medieval settlements of urban or proto-urban nature, both from the point of their general urbanity and composition and from that of their internal disposition and the articulation of their components. The third problem – closely linked to the two aforementioned ones – is the lack of knowledge concerning the micro-regional organization of space, which is perhaps the least investigated segment in the research on early medieval poleogenesis – especially in the Adriatic basin – although extremely important for understanding the structural and physical transformations relevant both for the poleogenesis of a settlement and to its transformations, synchronic and diachronic alike.

As mentioned before, poleogenesis is the process of growth and development of a settlement, from its emergence to the complete acquisition of all urban attributes that are typical of a particular epoch in a particular area. The description of Diocletian’s Palace in Chapter 29 of *De Administrando Imperio*, attributed to Byzantine emperor and writer Constantine VII, has long been recognized as the oldest existing narrative on the poleogenesis of Split and the material structures around which its earliest urban space was formed. The information in question is important for researching an array of different issues related not only to the poleogenesis of Split, but also to that of other Dalmatian towns and cities, as well as to the formation of early medieval settlement complexes across the Adriatic region, and even in a broader Euro-Mediterranean context. This paper focuses on the descriptions of Split, its urban territory (i.e. spatial evolution), and its name (urbonym). The aim should be to bring fresh insights into the emergence and the earliest history of Split, including the process of gradual transformation of Diocletian’s Palace into an urban settlement.⁸

⁸ On the state of research on Diocletian’s Palace, see the following overviews: Sheila McNally, “Introduction. State of Scholarship,” in: *Diocletian’s Palace: American-Yugoslav Joint Excavations*, ed. Sheila McNally, Ivančica Dvoržak Schrunk, Jerko Marasović, and Tomislav Marasović (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1989), 3-43; Wolfgang Kuhoff, “Zwei Altersresidenzen römischer Kaiser: *Aspalathos* und *Romuliana*,” in: *Humanitas – Beiträge zur antiken Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Gunther Gottlieb zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Pedro Barceló and Veit Rosenberger (Munich: Verlag Ernst Vögel, 2001), 149-189; Annie Jacques and Noël Duval, “XI – Split, le palais de Dioclétien (E.-M. Hébrard, 1909),” in: *Italia Antiqua. Envois de Rome des architectes français en Italie et dans le monde méditerranéen aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles (exposition), École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris, 12 février-21 avril 2002, Villa Médicis, Rome, 5 juin-9 septembre 2002*, ed. Annie Jacques, Stéphane Verger, and Catherine Virlovet (Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 2002), 282-304; Tomislav Marasović, “Diciasette secoli di ricerca e restauri nel Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato,” in: *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača o 1700. obljetnici postojanja. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija održanog od 18. do 22. rujna 2005. u Splitu*, ed. Nenad Cambi, Joško Belamarić, and Tomislav Marasović (Split: Književni krug, 2009), 15-50; Sheila McNally, “The Palace of Diocletian at Split,” in: *Croatia: Aspects of Art, Architecture and Cultural Heritage*, ed. Jadranka Beresford-Peirce (London: Frances Lincoln, 2009), 48-59; Snježana Perojević, Katja Marasović,

The title of my paper has been formulated this way because the hitherto discovered remnants of late antique and early medieval buildings on the Split peninsula are not such as to allow us to speak about the urbanity of early medieval Split in the full sense of the term. Presently, one can only make some basic observations on its position and orientation, and only then, to a limited extent, on the system of streets and urban organization, as well as – in few isolated cases – the location of individual buildings. While re-reading *De Administrando Imperio* as a source for the history of early medieval poleogenesis in the Adriatic – as indicated by the Latin title of this paper – I shall present a part of my doctoral research.⁹ As for the order of exposition, I will first discuss the description of Split and the etymology of its name as given in *De Administrando Imperio*, and then – depending on the number of elements or at least archaeological indications – its urban structure as such.

II. Split's urbonym in *De Administrando Imperio*

Within the entire narrative *De Administrando Imperio*, attributed to Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959) and his circle,¹⁰ five segments

and Jerko Marasović, "Istraživanja Dioklecijanove palače od 1985. do 2005. godine" [Research on Diocletian's Palace, 1985-2005], in: *Dioklecijan, tetrarhija i Dioklecijanova palača*, 51-94.

⁹ Ivan Basić, "Poleogeneza Splita na razmeđu kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka" [Poleogenesis of Split: Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages] (PhD diss. University of Zagreb, 2013). Since this paper discusses the same issues as a previous one, it contains the same attribute in its main title (Ivan Basić, "Spalatensia Porphyrogenitiana: Some Issues Concerning the Textual Transmission of Porphyrogenitus' Sources for the Chapters on Dalmatia in the *De Administrando Imperio*," *Byzantinoslavica* 71/1-2 (2013): 91-110) and forms a conceptual unit with it. The recently deceased Byzantinist Tibor Živković has subjected Chapter 29 of *De Administrando Imperio* – based on several different sources in terms of date, genre, and provenance – to an exhaustive analysis in an attempt to establish the origin of the sources used. According to Živković, it is based on three main sources, one of which would have been an anonymous source on Diocletian and his palace, which the author has identified with the lost annals of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus from the late 4th century. Cf. Tibor Živković, "An Unknown Source of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *Byzantinoslavica* 68/1-2 (2010): 140 and n. 65. The author has also proposed a reconstruction of Nicomachus' supposed Latin text (140-141). In this case, that would be the earliest known description of Diocletian's Palace in Split, dating from Late Antiquity, preserved in Porphyrogenitus' rendering. However, Živković's hypotheses on Nicomachus Flavianus have been found unsustainable (Basić, "Spalatensia Porphyrogenitiana"), which automatically annulled the proposed identification of the text as a late antique description of Split palace.

¹⁰ The latest critical edition is Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly J. H. Jenkins (Dumbarton Oaks: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967) (hereafter: DAI). Good bibliographical overviews include: Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines à X^e siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971), 268-288; Arnold Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 575-580; Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, Bd. 1. Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978), 360-367; Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I. Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvolker* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 356-390; Milenko Lončar, "Porfirogenetova seoba Hrvata pred sudom novije literature"

are dedicated to specific Dalmatian towns: Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, and Zadar (DAI 29, 122-139). The descriptions of these littoral towns are written systematically and routinely, whereby their authors always focus on three points of interest: etymology of the names, relics of the saints, and church buildings, occasionally adding specificities linked to a particular town. According to the detailed analysis conducted by M. Lončar in his doctoral dissertation,¹¹ the entire narrative contains no other description that would resemble this one, from which he has inferred that it is work of a single author who knew the *realia* he was writing about first-hand. The descriptions of towns are part of the section of *De Administrando Imperio* that has become known in historiography as the “Balkan dossier” or “Dalmatian dossier”.¹² In this section, the lengthiest description is that of Split, from which we are quoting here the segment describing the name of the city:

[Porphyrogenitus’ migration of the Croats in recent scholarship], *Diadora* 14 (1992): 375-448; James Howard-Johnston, “The *De administrando imperio*: A Re-examination of the Text and a Re-evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus,” in: *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient. Actes du Colloque International tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997*, ed. Michel Kazanski, Anne Nercessian, and Constantin Zuckerman (Paris: Lethielleux, 2001), 301-336 (esp. 303-304 and n. 5, and 304-308); Milenko Lončar, “Filološka analiza Porfirogenetovih vijesti o Hrvatima” [Philological analysis of Porphyrogenetus’ account on the Croats] (PhD diss. University of Split, Zadar, 2002), 5-9; Trpimir Vedriš, “Razgovor ugodni: Konstantin VII Porfirogenet i percepcije najranije hrvatske povijesti” [Pleasant conversations: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and perceptions of the earliest Croatian history], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 13-36; Anthony Kaldellis, “The Excerpta Historica of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos,” in: *Byzantine Readings of Ancient Historians. Texts in Translation with Introductions and Notes* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 36-37. Besides papers from the international conference “In the Beginning, There Was *De administrando imperio*: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Perceptions of the Earliest Croatian History”, Zagreb, 2010 (published as a thematic block in *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42, ed. T. Vedriš, Zagreb 2010, 11-165), one should also mention the symposium “Centre and Periphery in the Age of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. An International Symposium in Memory of Professor Gyula Moravcsik (1892-1972). From *De ceremoniis* to *De administrando imperio*,” held in Budapest, 2009 (the papers are to be published in *Center, Province and Periphery in the Age of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos: From De ceremoniis to De administrando imperio*, ed. Niels Gaul, Volker Menze, and Csanád Bálint (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, forthcoming). In this paper, the name “Porphyrogenitus” is used to describe the collective “redaction” or narratives with of the narrative initiated and commissioned by Constantine VII. On his role in the composition of *De administrando imperio*, see Howard-Johnston, “The *De administrando imperio*,” 308-314; Lončar, “Filološka analiza,” 10-16; Alexander P. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000)* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 2006), 133-144; Warren Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan, 2013), 153-165.

¹¹ Lončar, “Filološka analiza,” 223-225.

¹² This “dossier” is part of what J. Howard-Johnston has called the “historical-diplomatic core” of DAI (Ch. 27-46). Cf. Howard-Johnston, “The *De administrando imperio*,” 314-321 and 322-324. I am using here the term “Dalmatian dossier” instead of Howard-Johnston’s “Balkan dossier”, following the remarks in Vedriš, “Razgovor ugodni,” 28, n. 32, and Mladen Ančić, “Zamišljanje tradicije: vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela *De administrando imperio*” [Imagining tradition: The date and circumstances of writing Chapter 30 of *De administrando imperio*], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 141.

CH. & LINE NR.	GREEK TEXT	TRANSLATION BY R.J.H. JENKINS (1967)
29.136-137	Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον, ὅπερ “παλάτιον μικρόν” ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς τοῦτο ἔκτισεν· εἶχεν δὲ αὐτὸ ὡς ἴδιον οἶκον, καὶ αὐλὴν οἰκοδομήσας ἐνδοθεν καὶ παλάτια, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείονα κατελύθησαν. Σώζεται δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὀλίγα, ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶν τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Δόμνου, ἐν ᾧ κατάκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὅπερ ἦν κοιτῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ.	The city of Spalato, which means “little palace”, was founded by the emperor Diocletian; he made it his own dwelling-place, and built within it a court and a palace, most part of which has been destroyed. But a few things remain to this day, e.g. the episcopal residence of the city and the church of St. Domnus, in which lies St. Domnus himself, and which was the resting-place of the same emperor Diocletian.

The etymology of Split’s urbonym had already been firmly established by the high Middle Ages, when the name *Spalatum* became closely associated with the imperial palace.¹³ Thus, chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon (1200-1268), Percival of Fermo, the podestà of Split (d. 1312), chronicler Miha Madijev de Barbezanis (1284-1358), and humanist and antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona (1391-1452) all used it, obviously relying on the established tradition that always saw the root of the toponym in various versions of the noun *palatium* combined with the name of Salona and various adjectives: *spatiosum palatium*, *Salonae palatium laetum*, *Salonae palatium latum*, *Salonarum palatia*, and so on. It is understandable that Diocletian’s Palace, so famous and spacious, gave rise to popular etymologies associating *palatium* and *Spalatum*. However, modern linguistic research has long shown that – with regard to the phonetic evolution of similar toponyms attested in various Romance languages – it is not possible to link the name *Spalatum* (in any of its variants) to the appellative *palatium*.¹⁴

¹³ More exhaustively, with the relevant sources and literature: Ivan Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?* Prilog tumačenju pravno-posjedovnoga položaja priobalja Splitskoga poluotoka u preddioklecijanskome razdoblju” [*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?* A contribution to the understanding of the property law status of the coastal region of the Split peninsula in pre-Diocletian times], *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2012): 10-11. Cf. Petar Skok, “Ime grada Splita” [The name of Split], *Supplemento al Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 39 (1916): 2: “What is more natural for imagination than associating *palatium* with *Spalato?*”

¹⁴ Cf. the following etymological analyses: Skok, “Ime grada Splita”; Frane Bulić and Ljubo Karaman, *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu* [Diocletian’s Palace in Split] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1927), 12-13; Antun Mayer, “Studije iz toponomastike rimske provincije Dalmacije” [Studies on the toponomastics of the Roman province of Dalmatia], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50 (1928-1929)

Such a combination is not only linguistically unsustainable, but also refuted by historical sources, which date the toponym *Spalatum* to the period before the construction of Diocletian's Palace. And if the toponym is older than the palace, it could not have possibly gotten its form from it.

The toponym *Spalatum* first occurs in a late antique itinerary known as "Peutinger's Map" (*Tabula Peutingeriana*): it is a graphic symbol of *Spalato* marking the intersection of three roads between Salona, Epetium, and Diana's temple on Cape Marjan (**Fig. 1**).¹⁵ Regardless of whether *Spalato* in "Peutinger's Map" is a vulgar Greek form of Σπάλατο(ν) with the final -ν left out or a Latin ablative of place, undoubtedly in both cases the nominative case would be *Spalatum* or Greek Σπάλατον. This is confirmed by the variant from the *Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium utriusque imperii* from the early 390s (with multiple additions for the West from the first half of the 5th century): the ablative *Aspalato* comes from the nominative *Aspalatum*. Interestingly, the *Notitia dignitatum*, in its formulation *procurator gynaecii Iovensis Dalmatiae-Aspalato*, distinguished the *gynaecium* from the settlement in which it was located. This fact, rarely mentioned in scholarly literature, shows that the toponym preceded the palace and the *gynaecium*, and that the two were only subsequently associated with the name *Spalatum*.¹⁶

But although recent scholarly literature argues that *Spalatum*, a small settlement in the locality of the later palace, carries a pre-Diocletian name – and thus¹⁷ has no

[1932]: 104-109; Petar Skok, "Postanak Splita" [The emergence of Split], *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 1 (1952): 19-62; Thomas F. Magner, "Aspalathos, Spalatum, Split," in: *Classics and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented to Robert E. Dengler on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Eugene N. Borza and Robert W. Carrubba (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1973), 95-116; Petar Šimunović, "Ranosrednjovjekovna toponimija splitskog poluotoka" [Early medieval place names on the Split peninsula], *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2/2 (2008): 587-588; Tadeusz Zawadzki, "La résidence de Dioclétien à Spalatum. Sa dénomination dans l'Antiquité," *Museum Helveticum* 44/3 (1987): 223-230, who likewise rejects any etymological connection between the appellative *palatium* and the place name *Spalatum*.

¹⁵ Гавро А. Шкриванић, "Југословенске земље на Појтингеровој табли" [Yugoslav lands on Peutinger's Map], in: *Monumenta cartographica Iugoslaviae*, vol. 1, ed. Gavro A. Škrivanić (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1974), 31-58, segm. VI/3; Tin Turković, "Prikazi gradova na Peutingerovoj karti i razvoj urbanog pejzaža na području Hrvatske između antike i srednjega vijeka" [Representations of towns on Peutinger's Map and the development of urban landscape in the Croatian lands between the Antiquity and the Middle Ages (PhD diss.) University of Zagreb, 2010].

¹⁶ Cf. Jacques Zeiller, "Sur l'origine de Spalato," in: *Mélanges Cagnat* (Paris: Leroux, 1912), 420; and Rapanić, *Od carske palače*, 81 and n. 134. The phrase *procurator gynaecii Iovensis, Dalmatiae-Aspalato* is undoubtedly an ablative of place: "manager of Jupiter's weaving workshop in Dalmatia, in Spalatum" – in the same way as other *procuratores gynaeciorum* are listed: *procurator gynaecii Bassianensis, Pannoniae secundae – translati Salonis; procurator gynaecii Sirmensis, Pannoniae secundae; procurator gynaecii Aquileienseis, Venetiae inferioris; procurator gynaecii Mediolanensis, Liguriae*, and so on. These are all ablatives of place: "in Bassiana, in Second Pannonia"; "in Syrmium, in Second Pannonia"; "in Aquileia, in Lower Venetia"; "in Mediolanum, in Liguria"; and so on, which implies the nominatives *Bassiana, Sirmium, Aspalatum, Aquileia, Mediolanum*.

¹⁷ The basic studies include: Max Fluss, "Spalatum," in: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. II/5 (III A, 1) (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1927), 1259-1260; Bulić and Karaman,

actual or linguistic connection with the noun *palatium* – it must be said that, in the context of this paper, there is no need of explaining the exact etymology, only the one by “Porphyrogenitus”.

The detailed philological analysis of the “Dalmatian dossier” carried out by M. Lončar has shown, among other things, that it is both qualitatively and quantitatively marked by its etymologization, in which it stands out from the rest of *De Administrando Imperio*: its etymological interpretations are significantly more numerous and systematic than in any other part.¹⁸ Contrary to the established opinion on Porphyrogenitus (i.e. his redaction of the work) as a direct or indirect author of the etymologies, Lončar has also noticed that their motivation, content, and language (Latin or Slavic) are local and suggested that the origin of most etymologies may be local as well: Dalmatian, namely a product of those communities to whom they refer. All these specificities have led him to the logical conclusion that the Dalmatian chapters (except for Ch. 30) were written by a single author, who is also to be credited for the etymologies contained therein: “The author of the seven Dalmatian chapters did not produce the etymologies by himself, but he was interested in the meaning of names and investigated their origin: most of the etymologies are a result of his field work.”¹⁹ Thereby it remains unsolved (and probably unsolvable) who that person was and whether he was Greek-speaking or bilingual (Vulgar Latin).²⁰ Concerning the etymology of Split, Lončar has – besides stating that “*Aspalathos* has nothing to do with *palatium* and the phonetic difference between the two, or why it should mean

Palača cara Dioklecijana, 12-13; Mayer, “Studije iz toponomastike,” 104-110; Antun Mayer, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier. Bd. I: Einleitung. Wörterbuch der illyrischen Sprachreste* (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1957), 319-320, s.v. “Spalatum”; Petar Skok, “Split”, in: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. 3 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1973), 312; for an extensive overview of literature and for complementations of its conclusions, see Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*” and idem, “Najstariji urbonimi kasnoantičkog i ranosrednjovjekovnog Splita: *Aspalathos*, *Spalatum* i Jeronimov *palatium villae* u svjetlu povijesnih izvora” [The oldest place names of late antique and early medieval Split: *Aspalathos*, *Spalatum*, and Jerome’s *palatium villae* in the light of historical sources], in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, 115-155; idem, “Poleogeneza”, 497-539. For overview of the meaning of the Greek word ἀσπάλαθος, see Francis Dvornik, Romilly J. H. Jenkins, Bernard Lewis, Gyula Moravcsik, Dimitri Obolensky, and Steven Runciman, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, vol. II. Commentary*, ed. Romilly J. H. Jenkins (London: Athlone Press, 1962), 107; Perislav Petrić, “Fitonimi u toponimiji Splita” [Phytonyms in the toponymy of Split], *Kulturna baština* 11/16 (1984), 88.

¹⁸ Milenko Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije Konstantina Porfirogeneta” [Dalmatian etymologies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus], *Folia onomastica Croatica* 11 (2002): 149-174.

¹⁹ Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 163.

²⁰ On the issue of original language (Latin or Greek) of information on Dalmatia contained in *De Administrando Imperio*, cf. John B. Bury, “The treatise *De administrando imperio*,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 15 (1906): 540; Petar Skok, “Kako bizantinski pisci pišu lična i mjesna slovenska imena” [How Byzantine authors wrote Slavic personal and place names], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* N. S. 1/3-4 (1927): 186; Suić, “Zadar u *De Administrando Imperio*,” 16-25; Иван Ђурић, “Ромејски говор и језик Константина VII Порфирогенита” [“Roman” speech and language of Constantine Porphyrogenitus], *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 24-25 (1986): 117-121; Ivo Goldstein, *Bizant na Jadranu* [Byzantium in the Adriatic] (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1992), 141-142; Basić, “Najstariji urbonimi,” 127-128.

‘small palace’, has not been explained – cautiously suggested that the first syllable of Ἀσπάλαθος may imply the oldest Roman monetary unit *as*, meaning “change, small coins”, money of small or no value, and that the name may thus be a pareymological hybrid compound *as* + *palatium*.²¹

The author of Chapter 29, namely, explains the name of Split as meaning παλάτιον μικρόν: “small palace”. Even though such etymology is clearly absurd,²² this information might nevertheless be of help when searching for a source of this erroneous etymology.

²¹ Lončar, “Filološka analiza,” 121-124 and 252-253; Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 159, 161-162, 164, and n. 79.

²² Milenko Lončar, “Pozadina Porfirogenetovih etimologija Zadra i Duklje” [The background of Porphyrogenitus’ etymologies of Zadar and Diocleia], *Folia onomastica Croatica* 3 (1994): 90-91; idem, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 162. The issue of *Spalatum* vs. Ἀσπάλαθος as the oldest attested place name referring to Split has recently been extensively treated in Basić, “Najstariji urbonimi,” 115-155. Cf. idem, “Gradovi obalne Dalmacije u *De administrando imperio*: najstarija povijest Splita u svjetlu dvaju pojmova Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta” [Towns of coastal Dalmatia in *De administrando imperio*: The oldest history of Split in the light of two terms from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 72-74; idem, “Diocletian’s villa in Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography: A Reconsideration,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 20/1 (2014): 66. My conclusions can be summarized as follows: one cannot claim that Ἀσπάλαθος dominates in the Dalmatian chapters if DAI as the name of Split, since this exact form is attested only once, and so is the form Ἀσπάλαθον. The unusual form Ἀσπάλαθος is a result of hypercorrection and etymologization, since this variant is found only in Porphyrogenitus and is probably a Grecisized form based on the Latin *Aspalat(h)o* in *Notitia dignitatum* and some codices that contain transcription of Jerome’s continuation of Eusebius’ chronicle. This contamination of the place name may be explained by the assimilation of *Spalatum* with the Latin preposition *ad*: *Ad-Spalatum*. As for DAI, it is a semi-compound word generated from *Spalatum* or *Aspalatum*, with the feminine article ἡ. The only example of a place name in feminine form and the suffix -ος is found in the divergent Chapter 30, which opens up the possibility that this specific use was a later modification; the corrected form ἡ Ἀσπάλαθος is later than τὸ Ἀσπάλαθον, which is truer to the original and taken over from the catalogue of Dalmatian towns made on the basis of original data collected there. The unusual variant *Aspalatum* occurs only exceptionally and has left no significant trace in local urbonymy. Thus, it may be concluded that the original place name was Ἀσπάλαθον (Basić, “Najstariji urbonimi,” 125-131; idem, “Diocletian’s villa,” 67). Apparently, at some point the established place name *Spalatum* or *Aspalatum* was merged by homonymy to the Demotic forms τὸ σπάλαθο and τὸ σπάλαθρον referring to the plant known as “Spanish broom” and similar plants of the same species. In this form, the words reached the redactor of DAI, who hypercorrected them in Chapter 30 to the literary form of the plant name ὁ Ἀσπάλαθος i.e. the Greek form of the place name ἡ Ἀσπάλαθος. It is superfluous to discuss here whether the Demotic contamination occurred already in Split or at some other stage of data transmission, ending at the central imperial office. An indication in this regard may be the variant forms used by the Anonymous of Ravenna: *Spalathron* (*variae lectiones*: *Spalation*, *Spalathion*) and *Spalatrūm* (*variae lectiones*: *Spalatum*, *Spalatum*, *Spalathon*, *Spalathron*). Cf. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Moritz Pinder and Gustav Parthey (Berlin: E. Nicolaus, 1860), 209 (IV, 16) and 380 (V, 14).

In the cited text, toponym Ἀσπάλαθος (or Ἀσπάλαθον)²³ – thus, a Greek word – is interpreted by the Greek phrase “small palace”, although Ἀσπάλαθος (Ἀσπάλαθον) and “small palace” are in no way connected in Greek. Ἀσπάλαθος and παλάτιον μικρόν are neither homophones nor semantically equivalent (unlike e.g. *Iadera* and *iam era*). Ἀσπάλαθος is a Greek plant name meaning “thorny bush” (*Calicotome villosa*, *Spartium villosum*, *Genista acanthoclada* and so on, often identified with the “Spanish broom” or “weaver’s broom”), which is quite common and abundantly attested in Byzantine Greek.²⁴ This by itself brings the etymological link to “small palace” in question, since neither the Greek noun ἀσπάλαθος, nor the Latin *Spalatum* mean “small palace”. The words ἀσπάλαθος and *Spalatum* have, in fact, no connection with palaces of any sorts, regardless of their dimensions, and none of the known renderings of the expression “small palace” in Greek have any similarities with the word Ἀσπάλαθος (Ἀσπάλαθον):

a) Sources from the 6th and 7th centuries speak of a fortified settlement called Παλάστολον, one of the frontier strongholds at the so-called Danubian limes on the right bank of the Danube, west of Nicopolis, where the tributary of Iskar (*Oescus*) flows into the Danube. According to Procopius, the fortress was restored in the reign of Justinian I, when he mentions it as Παλατίολον.²⁵ Some seventy years later, another

²³ Since the noun is in genitive here (τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον), it is impossible to establish whether its nominative should be Ἀσπάλαθος or Ἀσπάλαθον. Since the same chapter brings the nominative Ἀσπάλαθον elsewhere, it may be presumed that DAI 29.237 also refers to a neutrum Ἀσπάλαθον. In that case, the etymology “small palace” would come from Ἀσπάλαθον rather than Ἀσπάλαθος. This explanation can nevertheless hardly be accepted without reserve, since various parts of the same chapter were written based on different sources, which contained different place names, and thus it remains unclear how to reconstruct the nominative form. But regardless of this reserve, it seems licit and realistic to conclude that an association with παλάτιον would be far easier to deduce from Ἀσπάλαθον than from Ἀσπάλαθος. A weak point in that conclusion, however, is that the word ἀσπάλατον (σπαλάτον) could also mean “thorny bush” (see n. 24). Cf. Basić, “Najstariji urbonimi,” 125-130.

²⁴ E.g. Henricus Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, vol. II (London: In aedibus Valpianis, 1820), 2362-2363; Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 259; *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, I/2, ed. Erich Trapp (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 216, s.v. ἀσπάλαθος. Δημήτριος Δημητράκος, *Μέγα λεξικόν ὅλης της ελληνικής γλώσσης*, vol. 2 (Athens: Έκδοσις Δόμη, 1964), 1053 and 1054 lists, besides the ordinary form ἀσπάλαθος (ὁ, ἡ) the Demotic forms ἀσπαλαθιά, ἀσπάλαχτος, ἀσφέλαχτος, σπάλαθος, σκάλαθος, σπαλαθιά, and as separate entries ἡ ἀσπαλάθρα (with the Demotic variants ἀσπάλαθρας, ἀσπάλαθρος), τὸ ἀσπάλατον (with the variant σπαλάτον), the Demotic τὸ ἀσπαλάτρι, the Demotic τὸ ἀσπάλαχτρο, and the Demotic τὸ ἀσπάλυχτρο. It is interesting to note that one of the phytonym variants (σπαλάτον) almost completely coincides with the Latin equivalent of Split’s urbonym: σπαλάτον = *Spalatum*, with compatible gender, number, and suffix. It is possible – yet cannot be confirmed at present – that the redaction *De Administrando Imperio* corrected the Demotic noun σπαλάτον into the standard literary form ἀσπάλαθος, whereby the suffix –παλάτον was etymologized as παλάτιον. Cf. Paul R. Wagler, “Ἀσπάλαθος” in: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. II/2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1896), 1710-1711.

²⁵ Procopius Caesariensis, *De aedificiis*, IV, 6, 34-35 = *Procopius VII. On Buildings*, trans. Henry B. Dewing (London: Heinemann, 1940), 276-279.

Byzantine historian, Theophylact Simocatta, reported that Peter, the strategos of Europe and brother of Emperor Maurice, stayed on two occasions (601 and 602) at the fortress (which is mentioned twice by name, this time as Παλάστολον) during the war campaigns against the Slavs on the lower Danube.²⁶ Deformation of the toponym between Procopius' and Simocatta's times – owing to assibilation, metathesis, and accent shift – is one of the indications of the penetration of Vulgar Latin, something that already Jireček observed.²⁷ Derivation Παλατίολον > Παλάστολον, again, indicates that the Greek name of the fortress is a direct transposition of the Latin appellative and toponym *Palatiolum* ("small palace").

b) In his glossary of medieval and late Latinity, Du Cange relates the Latin diminutive *palatiolum* as the Greek diminutive παλατίτζιον, meaning "small palace"²⁸:

²⁶ *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*, ed. Carl De Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), 292 (VIII, 5, 5) = *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 251; *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*, 294 (VIII, 6, 3) = *The History of Theophylact*, 253. Cf. "Teofilakt Simokata" in: *Vizantiski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 1, ed. Franjo Barišić, Mila Rajković, Bariša Krekić, and Lidija Tomić (Belgrade: SAN, 1955), 124 and n. 84. More on the fortress and the road's topography in: Konstantin Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine historisch-geographische Studie* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1877), 159; Veselin Beševliev, "Bemerkungen über die antiken Heerstraßen im Ostteil der Balkanhalbinsel," *Klio* 51 (1969): 494; idem, *Zur Deutung der Kastellnamen in Prokops Werk "De aedificiis"* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970), 7, 54, and 121. On the fortress in the context of military operations, see Сергей А. Иванов, "Оборона Византии и география «варварских» вторжений через Дунай в первой половине VI в." [The defence of Byzantium and the geography of "Barbarian" incursions across the Danube in the first half of the 6th c.], *Византийский Временник* 44 (1983): 37; Sergey A. Ivanov, "The Avar-Byzantine Wars of the Late Sixth Century as Depicted by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos: A New Source?" *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 50 (2013): 123-126. Сергей Торбагов, "Palatium/Palatiolum (античного селище при с. Байкал, Плевенско)" [Palatium/Palatiolum (ancient settlement at Baikal in the Pleven Province)] *Bulgarian e-Journal of Archaeology - Българско е-Списание за Археология* 5 (2015): 15-36, <http://be-ja.org/article/palatiumpalatiolum-the-ancient-settlement-under-the-modern-village-of-baykal-pleven-district/> (last accessed on June 1, 2016) has situated the fortress of Παλατίολον-Παλάστολον at the present-day village of Baikal in the northwestern part of the Pleven Province in Bulgaria, but his rather hasty conclusion (27) that the name *Palatiolum* was given to the settlement by its inhabitants for reasons of monumentality, as an allusion to the Roman in Rome seems less plausible. The fortress Παλάστολον was in this context first mentioned by Miroslav Pera, "Prilog problemu naziva grada Splita" [A contribution to the discussion on the name of Split], *Kulturna baština* 6/9-10 (1979): 35, who at first interpreted it as a tautological hybrid compo und (Vulg. Lat. *pala* + Demotic Greek στόλον), but later (38) observed that it was a Greek translation of the Latin diminutive *palatiolum*. For comments on Pera's work, see Rapanić, *Od carske palače*, 175, n. 309.

²⁷ Konstantin Jireček, *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1902), 20, n. 1: "Zur Aussprache von ti sind bemerkenswerth Ραζαρία für Ratiaria (jetzt Arčar, Arčer) bei Hierokles ed. Burckhardt p. 14 und Δομεντζιολος bei Theophylaktos Simokattes 3, 8, 5. Das Castell Παλατίολον an der Mündung der Isker bei Prokopios de aedif. 291 schreibt Theophylaktos Simokattes 8, 5 und 6 Παλάστολον statt des erwarteten *Παλατζιολον oder *Παλατζιολον."

²⁸ Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Apud Anissonios, Joan. Posuel, & Claud. Rigaud, 1688), 1082, referring to Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Paris: Billaine, 1680), lib. IV, 160, n. 78 (the glossary erroneously cites Book 3 of the *Constantinopolis Christiana*), with

Ἡ δὲ μονὴ ἢ καλουμένη τὰ Προκοπίας ἐκτίσθη παρὰ Προκοπίας δεσποίνης, τῆς θυγατρὸς Νικηφόρου τοῦ Σελευκηνοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς Μιχαὴλ Ῥαγγαβὲ τοῦ ἀποκουροπαλάτου. [Ἐκτίσθη δὲ ἐκεῖσε καὶ παλάτια μικρὰ καὶ περικαλλῆ· διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐκλήθησαν παλατίτζια.]

“The Procopius monastery was built by Lady Procopia, daughter of Nicephor of Seleucia and wife of the former kouropalates Michael Rhangabe. [They also built small and very beautiful palaces there, which is why they are called *Palatitzia*].”²⁹

The segment refers to the imperial palace built in Constantinople at the orders of Empress Procopia, wife of Byzantine emperor Michael I Rhangabe (811-813) and daughter of the previous ruler Nicephorus I. In so doing Du Cange referred to the *Origines Constantinopolitanae*, better known under its editorial title *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum* or *Patria Constantinopoleos* (Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), a Middle Byzantine compilation of older narratives on the history and monuments of Constantinople written in the 10th century, during the reign of Basil II (976-1025) and revised at the time of Alexius I (1081-1118). This patrographic compilation consists of five parts of various provenances and dates, whereby the segment cited above is from Book 3 and the *patria* text from ca. 995.³⁰ Namely, after the abdication of Michael I, his wife Procopia was forced into a nunnery, which was hence known under her name,³¹ whereby according to Book 3 of the *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*,

a Latin translation: *Monasterium Procopii nomine appellatum versus Palatiola exstruxit Procopia Augusta filia Nicephori Seleuceni, et uxor Michaëlis Rhangabe. Exstruxit vero ibidem parva Palatia perpulcra, et ideo appellata sunt Palatiola.* The Greek text as reproduced by Du Cange is somewhat different from the critical edition of 1907, since the French philologist used various manuscripts of uneven value (most of which were later included in Preger's *variae lectiones*). According to Preger's critical apparatus, the text in square parentheses is found only in Manuscript E, which includes the text underlined here. Du Cange's full quotation runs as follows: Ἡ καλουμένη μονὴ τὰ Προκοπίου εἰς τὰ Παλατίτζια, ἐκτίσθη παρὰ Προκοπίας Δεσποίνης, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Σελευκίου, καὶ γυναικὸς Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ῥαγγαβὲ, τοῦ ἀποκουροπαλάτου. Ἐκτίσθη δὲ ἐκεῖσε παλάτια μικρὰ καὶ περικαλλῆ· διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐκλήθησαν Παλατίτζια. Cf. *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, II/5, ed. Erich Trapp (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 1178, s.v. παλατίτζιον “kleiner Palast”.

²⁹ *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. 2, ed. Theodor Preger (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 264-265, No. 153.

³⁰ Alexander P. Kazhdan, “Patria of Constantinople,” in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1598. According to Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn: Habelt, 1988), 75, 189-196, and 628-629, this segment of the *Patria* can be dated more precisely ca. 989. At the time of writing, I did not have access to the new bilingual edition of Albrecht Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013).

³¹ John Martindale et al., *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire (641-867)*, Prokopia 1, <http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk/person/p6599> (last accessed on April 1, 2016). The former empress is last mentioned as being alive in 833. The said prosopography does not mention the tradition on Procopia's role in the construction of the monastery or cites the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*. Cf. Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1950), 383, with a list of sources; it considers the location of the monastery as unknown, same as Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 654.

the empress actually founded the monastery.³² A gloss to the cited text, added by a later hand from the time of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328), credits the same empress with the construction of a residence in the immediate vicinity of the monastery, which was called Παλατίτζια (“small palaces”), a Greek equivalent of the Latin diminutive *palatiola*.³³

c) As another analogy, one may mention the archaeological locality of Palatitsia (Παλατίτζια) in the immediate vicinity of Vergina (Αίγαι), a residence of the Macedonian rulers in northern Greece. The name “small palaces” is here justified by the physical dominance of the palace, erected there at the orders of the Macedonian king Archelaos I (413-399 BC) as the most prominent spatial feature that eventually generated a toponym.³⁴ It would be a semantic calque created with regard to the older name βασιλικά Ἀρχελάου (attested in cartographic sources and itineraries), in analogy to the name βασιλικά Ἀμύντου for a somewhat later palace of Amyntas III in Pela, which also there resulted in the toponym of Παλατίτζια.

³² Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 654, needlessly doubts the actual existence of Procopia's residence on account of the fact that the information was added by a later hand, ca. 1300; on the date of the addition, see *ibid.*, 90. The monastery's attribute τὰ Προκοπίας is attested in other sources as well: Theophanes Continuatus (mid-10th c.) and the late Byzantine chronicler Theodore Skoutariotes (1230-1282). *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I-IV*, ed. Michael Featherstone and Juan Signes Codoñer (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 32-33 (I, 9, 17): τὴν αὐτοῦ δὲ σύννευον ἀπεσχοίνισε καὶ ἀπέσπασε καὶ πρὸς τὴν μονὴν τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην Προκοπίας μετέθηκεν, καίτοι γε τοῦτο μὴ γενέσθαι πολλὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἱκετεύσαντος = “Leo also separated and took away Michael's consort, sending her to the monastery called Procopia's, even though Michael greatly pleaded that this should not be done”; Ανωνύμου Σύνοψις χρονική, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη ἢ Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων μνημείων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, vol. VII, ed. Konstantinos Sathas (Venice and Paris: Phoinix and Maisonneuve, 1894), 130: 30-31: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Προκοπία εἰς τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς οἰκοδομηθὲν ἤσκησε μοναστήριον, τὰ Προκοπίας. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 383, indicates that a city district was called τὰ Προκοπίου as early as the Council of Chalcedon (451), which diminishes the possibility that it was named after the empress.

³³ The plural Παλατίτζια for Procopia's palace (regardless of the question whether such an architectural project could be completed within the two years in which her husband held the throne, between October 811 and June 813) may come from the generic plural τὰ παλάτια (a term for unofficial imperial residences), used by the Constantinopolitan historiography of Porphyrogenitus' circle. Cf. Ivan Basić, “O recepciji kasnoantičke auličke tradicije u srednjobizantskom historiografskom diskurzu (primjeri iz 'dalmatinskog dossiera' *De administrando imperio*)” [On the reception of Late Antique palatine tradition in the discourse of Middle Byzantine historiography (examples from *De Administrando Imperio*), in: *Spomenica dr Tibora Živkovića*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Irena R. Cvijanović (Belgrade: Istorijски institut, 2016), 93-128.

³⁴ Fanula Papazoglu, *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba* [Macedonian towns in the Roman times] (Skopje: Živa antika, 1957), 111-112; Miltiadis V. Hatzopoulos and Louiza D. Loukopoulou, *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography* (Athens and Paris: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation and De Boccard, 1987), 27 (Tab. II), 29 (Tab. III), 36, 40, and 44, with n. 83 and 87, with attestations of the very old tradition of using the name *Palatia* or *Palatitzia* for the settlement on the Pela acropolis, where the royal palace of Amyntas III (393-370 BC) was situated. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 471, mentions a locality of Παλατίτζια without precise localization, which shows the same etymology, attested in the era of the Palaeologues (probably in Thrace).

Thus, the Byzantine Greek corpus did not lack terms for the term “small palace”: παλατιόλον, παλάστολον, παλατίτζιον. However, not one of them, as we have just shown, corresponds to the word Ἀσπάλαθος. The emergence of etymology “small palace” in *De Administrando Imperio* should therefore be explained in a different way. In this regard, a toponym from Split is of exceptional importance.

Petar Skok has, namely, noticed the local names *Špalacijūn* and *Spalacūni*, used until the very recent times, for the surrounding of the Franciscan monastery southwest of Diocletian’s Palace,³⁵ as well as the coastal part of the Lučac district southeast of the palace, along the right seafront of the bay.³⁶

The names are attested in numerous documents and this Roman diminutive derivation is also preserved in the so-called *Supetar Cartulary*, in the list of properties on the Split peninsula that the monastery of St Peter in nearby Poljica acquired shortly after 1090: in *Spalazulo uero II petie de terra*.³⁷

Moreover, a document has been preserved in the records of Split’s notary Ivan, son of the late Čova from Ancona, dated December 2, 1341, in which the executors of the last will of Stančica, daughter of the late Lovro Savinov, sold at an auction 7.5 *vrít* and 12 *passi* of land at Špalacuni (*ad Spallaçonum*) for 195 libri to Nikola son of ser Teodozije.³⁸ It is specified that the land is situated next to the sea (*supra riuam maris*)

³⁵ Luka Jelić, “Crtime o najstarijoj povjesti Spljeta” [Notes on the oldest history of Split], *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* N.S. II (1896-1897): 39. It is not clear how the wrong information on the locality of the second area along the present-day Kašuni bay sneaked in (Šimunović, “Ranosrednjovjekovna toponimija splitskog poluotoka,” 588, referring to Jireček, *Die Romanen*, 62, where, however, both localities were correctly identified).

³⁶ Skok, “Ime grada Splita,” 10. Luka Jelić, Frane Bulić, and Simon Rutar, *Guida di Spalato e Salona* (Zadar: S. Artale, 1894), 47, when discussing the pre-Diocletian phase of the Split peninsula, wrote the following: “Vive tuttora a mezzogiorno della città di Spalato il nome della località ‘Spalacijuni’, spesso ricordata nei documenti medioevali ‘Spalazulo’ in diretta antitesi alla città compresa nel palazzo di Diocleziano.” Jelić, “Crtime,” 39, located *Špalacijun* in the “eastern field before Lučac, stretching all the way to Bačvice and the sea.” Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita* [History of Split], vol. 1 (Split: Škuna, 2005) [1st ed. 1957], 19 and 559, located Spalacijuni (Špalacuni, Špalacijun) “along the sea, from the Bačvice bay eastwards” and considered the name as “a relict from the pre-Roman times”, with an etymology linked to the Greek name for the “Spanish broom” plant, *Aspalathos* (*Genista acanthoclada*), which is not compatible with the present state of research. It is important to consider the author’s remark that “today [sc. 1957, l. B.] this name has practically disappeared and only some old man or woman may still recall it.” Petrić, “Fitonimi”, 87: “the area in the western part of today’s Bačvice, above the railway station.” Skok, “Postanak Splita,” 24, wrote that the colloquial pronunciation in 1914 was *Špalacijūn*, while Don Frane Bulić called it exclusively *Spalacūni*, “in plural because several land plots were called that way.” The same author stated in Viktor Novak and Petar Skok, *Supetarski kartular – Iura Sancti Petri de Gomai* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1952), 286: “The Roman diminutive survived in Split to the present day, with the dissimilation *l-l>l-n*: *Spalacūni*, a district of Split (Šegvićeva Street, behind the Maritime Directorate). Also pronounced *Špalacūni* (pronunciation of the late Don Franjo Bulić).”

³⁷ Novak and Skok, *Supetarski kartular*, 223, no. 77. Cf. the commentary of V. Novak (ibid., 75), with the print error *Spalaciunt* instead of *Spalaciuni*.

³⁸ *Splitski spomenici. Dio prvi. Splitski bilježnički spisi, 1. Spisi splitskog bilježnika Ivana pok. Čove iz Ankone od 1341.-1344.* [Monuments of Split. Part 1: Notarial records from Split, vol. 1: Records of Split’s notary Ivan, son of the late Čova from Ancona, 1341-1344], ed. Jakov Stipišić and Ante Nazor (Zagreb: HAZU, 2002), 61-62, doc. 106.

and next to the land of Dobrica, widow of Prvoš Reberčić (*prope terram Dobriçe, relicte Peruosii Reberchich*). That same year, on December 18, the same notary authenticated the sale contract in which the above-mentioned Nikola Teodozijevo sold some land “situated at Spalacum” (*terra posita ad Spalacum*) to Janin, son of ser Radoslav Ljubavić (Ljubavac).³⁹ It is evident from the document that it was the same property that Nikola had bought sixteen days earlier from Stančica’s inheritance (as the objects of transaction are explicitly identified) and was now to hand it over to a new owner for the same price. Some months later, on April 24, 1342, the status of a land plot was being clarified that was owned by Dobrica, widow of Prvoš Reberčić and that – as stated above – bordered on the property of Nikola Teodozijevo i.e. Janin Radoslavov. That day, namely, notary Ivan Čove put together a document on the division of property of the late Prvoš between Dobrica and his sons, Dujam and Jadrija.⁴⁰ The agreement included, besides various movable and immovable properties, 10.5 *vrit* of land at Spalacum (*ad Spallaconum*) that Dobrica was allowed to keep. Another notarial document from Split, dated 1369, according to Jireček, mentions *Punta Spalazoni*.⁴¹ As a *loco uocato a Spalaciun* and *luogo chiamato Spalaciun*, this area is also mentioned in two late 16th-century documents.⁴²

This micro-toponym – occasionally deformed (*Spalation*, *Spalatiun*, *Spalaciun*, *Spallacion*, *Spallazion*, *Spalacion*, *Despalazion*, *Spelation*, and so on) – frequently occurs in later, early modern or even more recent documents from Split.⁴³

The toponym *Spalateolum* belongs to the type of oikonyms or rather its subtype, the odonyms (toponyms used to label specific parts of districts). The use of *Spalate-*

³⁹ *Splitski spomenici* 1, 79-80, doc. 139. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 19 and 569, n. 12, refers to the records of the aforesaid notary, at that time still unpublished (State Archive in Zadar, Archive of Split, lib. 1, fol. 19v) but gives a somewhat different form of the name: *Spalacontum*. Elsewhere (559) he quotes the same document with the correct form (*Spalacum*).

⁴⁰ *Splitski spomenici* 1, 173-174, doc. 296.

⁴¹ Jireček, *Die Romanen*, 62. According to the author’s note elsewhere in the text (I, 8), the reference *Not. Spal.* denotes the “Notarialbücher von Spalato. Erhalten nur in Bruchstücken. Excerpt a) (1891) beim k. k. Kreisgericht von Spalato Fragmente aus den Jahren 1314-1315, 1343-1346, 1361-1362, 1416, 1478-1480, 1487, 1494-1497; b) (1897) im k. k. Statthaltereiarhiv in Zara 1343-1344, 1352-1354, 1368-1369, 1369-1370, sowie Concepte in ganz kleinen Kanzleibüchern (15 x 10.8 cm) von 1361, 1402-1404, 1412.” These documents have not been published.

⁴² Extensive quotations from both documents are included in Jelić, “Crtice”, 39 and n. 3, where the first document is dated June 20, 1576 (and the second is probably from the same year, judging from the foliation), from Gubernatorial Archive, Zadar, Tenutarum Primus, fasc. 120, Fondo Spalato, fol. 888 and 889. Presently I cannot say whether these documents have been published.

⁴³ E.g. in the list of the chapter’s possessions from 1576: *Spalation*, *Spalatiun* (Perislav Petrić, “Splitski toponimi” [Split’s toponyms], *Čakavska rič* 13/1 (1985): 84, or in the chapter’s cartularies from 1608/1611: *Spalatiun* or *Spalaciun* (ibid., 88), then in 1621: *Spalatiun*, *Spalation* (ibid., 92), the collection *Iura Capituli* from 1621: *Spelation* (ibid., 96), Calergi’s topographic map from 1675: *Spallazion* (Perislav Petrić, “Splitski toponimi” [Split’s toponyms], *Čakavska rič* 14/1 (1986): 144, the cartulary of the Split chapter from 1702: *Spallation* (ibid., 153), the cartulary of Split’s citizens of Nemira from 1733: *Spalacion*, *Despalazion* (ibid., 156), or the cartulary of land owned by Split’s church in 1793: *Spalation* (ibid., 164).

olum or *Spalatiolum* implies the existence of a basic form (root) in the word *Spalatum*, used to derive the diminutive form.⁴⁴ This oppositional analogy between the urbonym *Spalatum* and the odonym *Spalateolum* was interpreted by Skok as reflexes of the toponym *Spalateolum* and diminutives of *Aspalathos*, which in his opinion was a name (toponym) motivated by the initial field of “Spanish broom” (the thorny bush of ἀσπάλαθος), later occupied by Diocletian’s Palace, beyond which there were two localities called (at an unknown date) “small Aspalathos” (**Aspalatheolum*).⁴⁵ This means that the toponym may have derived from a phytonym, inspired by the flora in this part of the peninsula. However, Skok’s theory was based on the premise that Porphyrogenitus’ Ἀσπάλαθος should be interpreted exclusively as “a field of Spanish broom,” which is in direct contradiction to the interpretation of the emperor himself, who explained it as παλάτιον μικρόν, i.e. “small palace”.

Epigraphic and documentary sources from the 9th and 10th centuries are consistent when it comes to the name of the town – it is *Spalatum*, with the derived possessive form *Spalatensis* and/or *Spalatinus*:

CITATION	YEAR	SOURCE	LIT.
<i>habitoribus Spalatensis</i>	879	Letter of Pope John VIII to the clergy and people of Dalmatia	CD I, 16, doc. 13
<i>ecclesie Spalatine</i>	886/887	Letter of Pope Stephen VI to Theodosius, bishop of Nin	CD I, 21, doc. 17
<i>Petro Spalatensi archiepiscopo</i>	892	Donation charter of Duke Muncimir	CD I, 23, doc. 20
<i>Spalatensis ecclesiae</i>	892	Donation charter of Duke Muncimir	CD I, 23, doc. 20
<i>in ciuitate Spalati</i>	892	Donation charter of Duke Muncimir	CD I, 24, doc. 20

⁴⁴ Šimunović, “Ranosrednjovjekovna toponimija splitskog poluotoka,” 588: “This form is actually a diminutive of the historical name of *Split*: *Spalat(um)* + *-eolum* > *Spalateolum*. It shows the (rather frequent) dissimilation of *l-l* > *l-n* (as in *lancun* from the Roman *linteolu*) > *Spalateon* with the palatalization *-ʳe* > *č*, but without the Slavic metathesis > *Spalačon*.” Skok, “Postanak Splita,” 23-25, took *lancun* (Split’s pronunciation) as an example of dissimilation. However, Magner, “Aspalathos” 108, observed that the basis of the toponym *Spalačuni* is Dalmato-Roman (**Spalat-*) and that it shows none of the features typical of the words subjected to the Slavic system of speech. Nevertheless, Skok also observed in the cited place that the diminutive “shows no signs of Slavic liquid metathesis,” only that he explained it through a presumption that “the name of Split was more widespread among the Croats and better known than the name of the land plot, which could thus keep its unchanged Roman form for a long time.” Cf. also Petar Šimunović, *Istočnojadranska toponimija* [Eastern Adriatic toponymy] (Split: Logos, 1986), 204.

⁴⁵ Skok, however, changed his opinion in a considerably later study, where he wrote that the diminutive **Aspalatheolus* was derived from the pre-Diocletian toponym *Aspalathos*, denoting “thorny Spanish broom” in Greek. Skok, “Postanak Splita,” 24.

CITATION	YEAR	SOURCE	LIT.
<i>in Spalato</i>	9 th or early 10 th centuries	Sarcophagus of Prior Peter	MIHALJČIĆ-STEINDORFF 1982, 59, no. 92
<i>in ecclesia Spalatensi adueniens</i>	ca. 928	Acts of the Second Church Council in Split	CD I, 37, doc. 26
<i>sancte Spalatensis ecclesie archiepiscopo Spalatensem archiepiscopum</i>	June 928 – February 929	Pope Leo VI's ratification of the acts of the Second Church Council in Split	CD I, 38, doc. 27
<i>sancte Spalatensis ecclesie archiepiscopo</i>	June 928 – February 929	Pope Leo VI's ratification of the decisions of the Second Church Council in Split	CD I, 39, doc. 27
<i>in civitate Spalato</i>	ca. 928	Sarcophagus of Archbishop John	MIHALJČIĆ-STEINDORFF 1982, 57, no. 91
<i>Drago, tribunus de Spalato</i>	999	Last will of Agape, daughter of Tribune Dabro	CD I, 49, doc. 33

Judging from the sources, in the 9th and 10th centuries the urbonym Split was always *Spalatum* or *Spalato*, and not a single time Ἀσπάλαθος or Ἀσπάλαθον. Therefore, if Ἀσπάλαθος, -ον was not the official name of the city or ever used by its inhabitants, this is a sufficient proof of the fact that the toponym given in *De Administrando Imperio* is nothing else but an erudite construct. It was not, as in the case of Zadar (Διάδωρα), a graphic result of writing in Greek letters the Middle Latin name of *Jadera*,⁴⁶ since *Spalatum* could in Greek transcription never result in the form Ἀσπάλαθος, -ον. Besides, in Zadar's etymology, the model for the Greek variant Διάδωρα was the official name of the capital of the Byzantine theme of *Jadera*, in

⁴⁶ The so far most convincing explanation of the initial cluster δι- has been proposed by Miroslav Kravar, "Oko grafije Διαδωρα za sr.-lat. *Jadera*" [On the graphic rendering of Middle Latin *Jadera* as Διαδωρα], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 37 (1995): 4-7: according to him, it is a sort of digram used in medieval Greek to note the foreign Latin phoneme [j], since the same was the case in medieval Latin, in which the so-called "consonant *i* [j]" was rendered as *di* before the standardization of the grapheme *j* (cf. *Mad̄ius* < *Majus* [*Maius*]). Thus, Διαδωρα would be a specific graphic rendering resulting from the wish to translate the Latin *Jadera* (*Jadera*) as literally as possible in medieval Greek. More on this issue in: Mate Suić, "O imenu Zadra" [On the name of Zadar], in: *Zadar-zbornik*, ed. Jakša Ravlić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1964), 100-101; Lončar, *Filološka analiza*, 264-267. That the author of *De Administrando Imperio* replaced the initial syllable *Ia-* through the New Greek preposition *Ya* < *diá* was already noticed by Petar Skok, "Postanak hrvatskog Zadra" [The development of Croatian Zadar], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 1 (1954): 41 (even though he expressed a different opinion in his earlier studies), although not in idem, "Zadar", in: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. 3 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1973), 640.

Latin orthography.⁴⁷ Just as Διάδωρα and Τετραγγούριν were never the official names of Zadar and Trogir,⁴⁸ so Ἀσπάλαθος or Ἀσπάλαθον was never the official name of Split. It is beyond doubt, namely, that the Dalmatian Romans spoke Latin and its derivatives,⁴⁹ and it is also certain that the official names of their municipalities were Latin, not Greek. The question whether the Grecization was performed by Porphyrogenitus' representatives in Dalmatia, the imperial redactors in Constantinople, or some intermediary in between (perhaps the interpreter who translated the communication between the imperial administration and the local population) remains unsolved,⁵⁰ but it is also secondary to our research. The conclusion that the urbonym of Split in the early Middle Ages was not Ἀσπάλαθος remains nevertheless very firm.

Finally, the very attempt of the author of *De Administrando Imperio* to etymologize the name of Split does not speak for the urbonym in Greek, since that name, according to "Porphyrogenitus", derives from παλάτιον μικρόν, i.e. "small palace". Leaving aside the question whether this interpretation is correct in the first place, this etymology would only make sense if the author had before him a source with *that very* meaning of "small palace" – *palatiolum*, i.e. παλατίολον, παλάστολον, or παλατίτζιον.

⁴⁷ According to Skok, the graphic rendering Διά- has a phonemic value [za] (the phonetic change *j* > *z* in Romanic speech), while ω represents a reflex of *jat*, i.e. the Slavic semi-vowel resulting from the weakening of the unaccentuated vowel ě. Cf. Petar Skok, "Studije iz ilirske toponomastike" [Studies on Illyrian toponomastics], *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 29 (1917): 124-125 and 137-138, n. 72; idem, "Kako bizantinski pisci," 75, 162, and 176; Petar Skok, "Ortsnamenstudien zu *De administrando imperio* des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogenetos," *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 4 (1928): 216; idem, "Zadar". In that case, Porphyrogenitus' variant Διάδωρα would actually be an attempt of the Byzantine author to render the hybrid Roman-Slavic name of the town in Greek alphabet. That would be a unique example among the names of Eastern Adriatic Roman towns transcribe in Greek in DAI, since it would mean that the author only and exceptionally here was guided both by the Roman *Jadera* and by the Slavic **Zadǫrv*, a possibility that has been refuted both from the standpoint of linguistics and from that of historical criticism: Skok, "Kako bizantinski pisci," 161-162. Cf. Branimir Gabričević, "Kako je nastao naziv Diadora" [How did the name Diadora emerge], in: *Izbor iz djela*, ed. Nenad Cambi (Split: Književni krug, 2015) [1st ed. 1976], 634-635, who has justifiably observed that Zadar, as the seat of a thema, must have had an ancient name that was well known to the Byzantine officials and that there was no need of contaminating that name with a specifically Slavic pronunciation.

⁴⁸ Instead, they were *Tragurium* and *Jadera* – cf. Lončar, "Dalmatinske etimologije," 164. Cf. Suić, "Zadar u *De Administrando Imperio*," 18: "It is easy to see that Zadar was never called as it is in Constantine, neither in the Roman times (*Jamera*) nor in the early Middle Ages (*Diadōra*)."

⁴⁹ The medium of their social communication was always Romance Latin. Cf. Jireček, *Die Romanen*, 78-93; Бурић, "Ромејски говор," 117-121; Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek* [Croatian early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 1995), 128 and 132; idem, *Hrvati, hrvatske zemlje i Bizant* [The Croats, Croatian lands, and Byzantium] (Zagreb: FF-press, 2003), 7; according to DAI, Ch. 29, 136-137, the name *Jadera* comes from *iam era(t)*, meaning "it was already" "in the language of the Romans." The local language was thus Latin.

⁵⁰ Skok, "Ortsnamenstudien", 213-214, argued that Porphyrogenitus distinguished sharply between the names of Roman littoral towns and islands on the one hand, and the Slavic onimycs in the hinterland: the former were Grecized exclusively based on their Roman (never Slavic) forms. As an example, Skok mentioned the ancient name of Dubrovnik, τὸ Ραοῦσιν (Ραοῦσιον), which he stated to originate from Porphyrogenitus' Grecization of the old Dalmatian Latin form *Rausa* or *Rausium*.

Regardless of the identity of the person in charge, I would argue that the imperial redaction of *De Administrando Imperio* could not influence the formation of the etymological link between Ἀσπάλαθος (Ἀσπάλαθον) and παλάτιον μικρόν. It is difficult to assume that “Porphyrogenitus”, i.e. the authors of the final redaction of *De Administrando Imperio*, in case they had a source before them that spelled out Ἀσπάλαθος (or Ἀσπάλαθον), would have produced the etymological interpretation παλάτιον μικρόν on that basis. With an exception (to some extent) of the suffixes -πάλαθος (-πάλαθον) and παλάτιον (I will come back to that later on), there is no formal, morphological, phonological, semantic, or lexical coincidence between the two words, and the discrepancy is obvious. In order that the “mismatch” should function at least as a half-convincing etymology (popular or learned, regardless of its accuracy), there should be at least some sort of phonetic coincidence between the toponym and its etymological point of origin,⁵¹ which is here not the case – except for the very weak and not too convincing similarity between -πάλαθος, i.e. -πάλαθον and παλάτιον. Moreover, the said etymology – be it the redactor’s personal construct or a popular etymology transferred in this form from Dalmatia – shows that the imperial redactor dealt with two sets of information: one that contained some urbonyms for Split and another with the interpretation “small palace” referring to one of those urbonyms. This means that the identification of Aspalathos with the “small palace” was not Porphyrogenitus’ at all, but most likely a result of an error of his redactors, who had before them several morphological variants of the name referring to Split and its urban components (Ἀσπάλαθος, Ἀσπάλαθον, *Spalatum*, *Spalateolum*). Such an error may have easily occurred by creating a “false link” between the noun *palatiolum* and the urbonym Ἀσπάλαθος or Ἀσπάλαθον, instead of that between *palatiolum* and the toponym Spalateolum (which was also in the materials presented for redaction, but then got mixed up with the more dominant toponym). The fact that this erroneous etymology was eventually mechanically adopted in the final version of *De Administrando Imperio* was probably a consequence of the superficial similarity between the suffix -πάλαθον and the noun παλάτιον, which at the first glance justifies this popular etymology.⁵² However, even if we accepted this meagre

⁵¹ Skok, “Kako bizantinski pisci,” 61, formulated it as follows: “The principle according to which the imperial author identified certain appellatives with the names of localities, lands, or peoples is, of course, not today’s phonetic one, based on the history of language and the comparison of sounds, but the comfortable principle of homonymy. The divergence of a consonant or a vowel did not disturb him if he saw that the appellative and the name coincided in other syllables. Thus, the emperor’s etymological interpretations show all the features of the so-called popular etymology, which is still very present among the people when it comes to place names.”

⁵² It is possible that the rare noun παλάτιν (with the same meaning of “palace”) was the intermediary in the association of (ἄσ)πάλαθον–παλάτιον. It is the noun παλάτιον, but in its colloquial form, syncoped by removing the omicron in the suffix -ιον. Cf. Evangelinos A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1900), 832; *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, II/5, 1178, s.v. παλάτιον. It is first attested in the early Byzantine historian John Malalas (491-578): *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. Johannes Thurn (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2000), 272.21 = *The Chronicle of John Malalas. A Translation*,

coincidence as the reason behind the link between the urbonym of Split and the noun “palace” – which may also be justified by the general knowledge of Diocletian’s Palace as the core of Split – it remains unclear why it should be “little” and why this etymological interpretation was chosen (which is contrary both to the actual situation and with the description of the palace elsewhere in the same chapter, where it is explicitly referred to as monumental).⁵³ It is thus evident that whoever produced the etymology of “small palace” must have had in mind some original phrase, equivalent to the Greek παλάτιον μικρόν. The fact that there is such a wording in Split’s local toponym *Spalateolum* (first attested as *Spalazulo* in the 11th century) allows for the conclusion that this was what led to the creation of the link (*Spalateolum* → *palatiolum* = παλατίολον = παλάτιον μικρόν). In other words, the urbonym Ἀσπάλαθος or Ἀσπάλαθον reached Constantine Porphyrogenitus together with at least another, different piece of information on Split’s urban landscape, namely that containing the micro-toponyms *Spalatiolum* or *Palatiolum*, the specific local names for two suburban areas in early medieval Split that could not have been known outside of the local setting. According to my recent preliminary hypothesis,⁵⁴ the source of the emperor’s collocation παλάτιον μικρόν was simply a literal translation of the Latin diminutive *palatiolum* into the Greek language of his time, a diminutive that reached the redactors together with the urbonym Ἀσπάλαθος (Ἀσπάλαθον), which led to their mutual contamination. This is an additional argument supporting Lončar’s opinion on the local Dalmatian origin of these etymologies.

trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 191 (14.3); *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, 302.38 = *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, 210 (15.5); *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, 336.8 = *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, 230 (17.1). Cf. also *Index graecitatis* in: *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, 498. Dindorf and the older editors of Malalas unnecessarily corrected παλάτιν to παλάτιον, on which cf. John B. Bury, “Johannes Malalas: The Text of the Codex Baroccianus,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897): 220. Παλάτιν was then used by the anonymous author of the *Paschal Chronicle* (ca. 630): *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. I, ed. Ludwig Dindorf (Bonn: Weber, 1832), 587.12, 601.14, 601.17, 627.12, 700.3, 703.5, and 703.19-20; finally, it is found in *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* (ca. 956-959): *Constantine Porphyrogenetos, The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxene Tall, vol. 1 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), 394.5 (I.87); the quoted chapter “De cerimoniis” belongs to the textual materials borrowed from the early Byzantine historian and *magister officiorum* Peter the Patrician (material from the 5th and 6th centuries, compiled 548-565).

⁵³ DAI, Ch. 29, 122-123: “Now this emperor Diocletian founded the city of Spalato and built therein a palace beyond the power of any tongue or pen to describe, and remains of its ancient luxury are still preserved today, though the long lapse of time has played havoc with them.” Cf. Lončar, *Filološka analiza*, 119.

⁵⁴ Basić, “Gradovi obalne Dalmacije,” 70-71. Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 90-91, has also emphasized that “one should also look carefully whether this was not a similar case (*sc.* a name of local origin, older than Porphyrogenitus’ time, I. B.) in the case of Split, for example, where Porphyrogenitus interpreted *Aspalathos* as ‘small palace’ and Thomas the Archdeacon as ‘large palace’. The difference is only quantitative and thus I would not attribute the ‘small palace’ with certainty to Porphyrogenitus’ passion for etymology, even though he has gained such reputation in scholarship.”

In the correlation of Παλατίολον and *Palatiolum*, the latter is a Latin semantic parallel of the Greek variant in the European toponymy of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. There is no trace of the diminutive toponym *Palatiolum* in classical Latin; it is a legacy of the post-antique period and its traces in the toponymy of Romance languages come from that period (It. *Palazzolo*, *Palazzuolo*; Fr. *Palaiseaul*, *Palaiseau*; Germ. *Pfalzel*; Sp. *Palazuelo*, *Palazuelos*, *Palol*, and so on).⁵⁵ It is completely unknown before the 6th century – when Procopius mentions the fortress Παλατίολον – and is rather frequently attested from the early 8th century and throughout the 9th and 10th centuries, e.g. *Palatiolo* / *Palagiolo* (Tuscany, 780), *Palatiolus* (eastern Pyrenees, 844), *Palatiolu* (Catalonia, before 883), *Palatiolo* (Catalonia, 948 and 953), *Palaciolo* (Catalonia, 982), and so on. Besides its function as a toponym, it is attested as an appellative throughout the 9th century, thus in 832, 860, and 898. It is indicative that most typonomastic examples of *Palatiolum* date from the 9th and 10th centuries, the time of Porphyrogenitus and his sources, since it allows us to consider their appearance in Dalmatia at the time all the more credible. The origin of the toponym *palatiolum* is rather unclear, as it disappeared from the colloquial use of most Romance languages before the emergence of vernacular written tradition (occurs only in toponymy), yet it is not attested in Latin before the 6th century either. Thus, the only solution that appears plausible has been linked to the collocation “small palace”, substantivized into a toponym.⁵⁶ It can nevertheless be presumed that at least some of these appellatives and toponyms, with their apparently same base, draw their etymology from the noun *palātum* (in the way suggested by M. Pera), a homophone of the Latin diminutive of *palatium*.

Complementing in some parts the opinions of M. Pera, I have elsewhere related the etymology of the oikonym *Spalatum* to the time of the first Roman colonization of the Split peninsula, when the Roman division of land in a grid of equal squares – the centuriation – was carried out (Fig. 2). Thereby the incompleteness of the coastal centuria along the present-day harbour of Split (truncated and open towards the sea) resulted in its special status (*subseciva*), since owing to its physical features it was not assigned to the colonists, but remained the property of the Roman state (*ager publicus*, later imperial). Apparently, it was not part of the Salonitan *ager*.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁵ Hans Jürgen Wolf, “Le type *Palatiolum et autres diminutifs en toponymie,” *Nouvelle revue d’onomastique* 47-48 (2007): 234 and 237-238.

⁵⁶ Wolf, “Le type *Palatiolum,” 238. *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis, ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC*, red. Yves Lefèvre (Hafniae: E. Munksgaard, 1985), 77-78, s.v. *palatiolum*, lists the variants *palaceolum* (1083) and *palaciolum* (898, 1160), as well as the attested occurrences of the toponym *Palatiolum* (832, 860, 996, 1160), partly from Catalonia. Cf. the examples in Basić, “*Spalatum* – *ager Salonitanus*?” 16.

⁵⁷ In that respect, the situation regarding the inscription of a family member of an imperial slave and dispenser Gaius Orchivius Amemptus in Split’s Poljud (CIL III, 2082) is completely analogous to that in the nearby *Spalatum*: it indicates a public/imperial estate in that part of the peninsula, which was also located in a truncated centuria (*subseciva*) – cf. Ivan Basić, “The Inscription of Gaius Orchivius Amemptus,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 108 (2015): 37-77.

special legal categorization of the land plot also influenced the formation of its name: *praedium palatum* – “staked out (measured, circumscribed, centuriated) land plot” – substantivized into *Palatum* > *Spalatum* for better distinction from the neighbouring toponyms referring to private land (praedial toponyms: *Marinianum* > Marjan, *Pansianum* > Pojišan, *Iunianum* > Žnjan).⁵⁸

When Diocletian’s Palace was built at the turn of the 4th century, this centuriation system was disturbed (**Fig. 3**), since the construction did not respect the inherited grid and caused collision with the *ager* boundaries. Thus, the palace cut across the existing square and the settlement on it, diverging from the ancient centuriation. The insertion of Diocletian’s Palace in the north-western part of the centuria cut it unevenly into two. The first, larger part, comprised the entire rest of the centuria east of Diocletian’s Palace, while the second, smaller by far, stretched west of the palace walls, in the area of the later medieval city south of today’s People’s Square (Narodni trg). Thus, by building the monumental Diocletian’s Palace in the midst of the settlement called *Spalatum*, parts of the original land of that same centuria and the same settlement continued to exist west and east of the imperial palace, now both as *Spalatiolum*, a diminutive of *Spalatum*. The difference between *Spalatum* – “Split” and *Spalatiolum* – “Small Split” can thus be explained as a reflection of that new spatial situation after the construction of the palace (**Fig. 4**). The name *Spalatum* did not disappear, but apparently continued to be used for the settlement in which the newly erected building was situated. The rest of the settlement in the remaining segments of the former centuria left and right of the palace was now called *Spalatiolum*. Both are oikonoms of the same root, but one of them survived in the tradition as *Spalatum*, while the other, physically divided into the eastern and western suburb, as *Spalatiolum* (> *Špalacijun*, which also explains the emergence of the same toponym in the western suburb). The toponyms *Spalatiolum* could not emerge before the formerly existing settlement within a centuria was cut in two by the construction of Diocletian’s Palace, the very fact that the *Spalatiolum* toponyms can be identified with certainty east and west of Diocletian’s Palace indicates that the name of which these were diminutives must have been located in the middle, between these two territories, and that it is in the area of the imperial palace that we should look for the centre of the earlier ancient settlement of *Spalatum*. Regarding the fact that the diminutives of (*S*)*palatum* → (*S*)*palateolum* and *palatium* → *palatiolum* are practically the same, the etymology can basically be derived from both, which explains the dilemmas of earlier scholars.

Nevertheless, the toponym thus formed should not be confused with those really derived from the diminutive noun *palatiolum* as referring to a palatine building in. Namely, toponyms of this type are created in two ways (for better distinction): either

⁵⁸ For an exhaustive bibliography and conclusions, cf. Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*” and idem, *Poleogeneza*, 50-55 and 471-496.

by referring to a palace that is rather modest in size, or in opposition to a more dominant palace.⁵⁹ It is equally important to mention that the diminutive *Palatiolum* as a common toponym is attested in the early sources, notably those from the first third of the 8th century (e.g. *Palatiolum monasterium, in villa que dicitur Palociolum* for Pfalz near Trier). Similar motivation was at work in the name of Palazzolo for a rather small summer residence of the Ostrogoth ruler Theoderic I (493-526) near Ravenna. Since the chronicler Agnello (ca. 805-846) calls this building *palatium modicum* (“small palace”), it is evident how the diminutive *palatiolum* was generated.⁶⁰

It is, however, secondary for the analysis of the “Porphyrogenitus” etymology as a source for the history of urban development – which is the subject of this paper – whether settlement complexes such as this one owed their actual etymology to “palaces” or not. What is crucial is that both words (*palatiolum / palateolum*) – regardless of their different semantics – are basically the same, which has led to their easy confusion.

Had only the urbonym *Spalatum* (be it in Latin or in its Greek form Σπάλατον) reached the redactor of *De Administrando Imperio*, he would have surely etymologized it as “palace”: in the positive, without a diminutive or an augmentative. The very fact that Ἀσπάλαθος (Ἀσπάλαθον) has been interpreted by the diminutive etymology of “small palace” goes to show that the redactor had both the urbonym *Spalatum* and the odonym *Spalateolum* before him.⁶¹ Moreover, it proves that these two toponyms were closely related spatially and semantically in the local setting, since otherwise they would not have been delivered together or had a chance to contaminate each other. Thus, the redactors of *De Administrando Imperio* subjected the two toponyms – erroneously taken to mean the same thing – to an unusual procedure: the name of one was interpreted by the etymology of another.

The imperial author, or rather the collective redactors of *De Administrando Imperio*, obviously had at their disposal a catalogue of Dalmatian towns subjected to the Byzantine rule, which was not written in Greek, but rather in Latin or in one of its regional vulgar derivatives (perhaps the Dalmatian Romance). As to the form in which the Greek-speaking (bilingual) imperial officials noted them down on the spot, or the form in which they were recorded in the catalogue, one can only speculate on that. However, in the final work, their forms were given in Greek transcription, since that was the language in which the entire treatise was written and the language of Byzantine administration in Dalmatia, through which information reached the imperial cabinet in Constantinople. It is therefore understandable that the names of Dalmatian towns were noted according to the Greek phonetic system.

⁵⁹ For an analysis and the following examples, see Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*” 16-17.

⁶⁰ Cf. Deborah M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 122.

⁶¹ It must be said that in medieval Latin the diminutive of *palatium* could be either *palatiolum* or *palateolum* (see n. 56), which actually abolishes all difference between the two variants, even in that single vowel.

In any case, the use of this phonetics and orthography indicates that the toponym *Spalateolum* (*Spalatiolum*) was contained in information coming from a setting that used Romance (Vulgar Latin) language in its everyday communication. Taking this into account, as well as the fact that it was a local micro-toponym, barely known elsewhere, it is to be presumed that this information originated in the urban setting of Split and that the imperial reporters (certainly well connected to the imperial officials in the theme) obtained it on the spot⁶² and then forwarded it to Constantinople along with other data needed to compile the catalogue of Dalmatian towns in the “Dalmatian dossier” of *De Administrando Imperio*. The question whether the confused identification of Ἀσπάλαθος–παλάτιον μικρόν was a result of intentional corruption or an error in the transcription of the Latin source in Middle-Byzantine Greek, and who was responsible for either (the imperial envoys, the redactors of *De Administrando Imperio* or someone else),⁶³ is thereby of minor importance with regard to another result of this analysis: namely, that the information embedded in *De Administrando Imperio* comes from the urban setting of Split. The paretymology produced by the redactors of the narrative *De Administrando Imperio* thus used the information on a local urban detail that had come from local social knowledge.

Its transmission took place in contact with the local social elites, whereby it is not difficult to identify therein the representatives of the imperial administration with their seat in Zadar as the capital of the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia. Even though the methods of collecting materials from oral and written sources – which J. B. Bury, one of the most detailed researchers of Porphyrogenitus’ opus, has termed the “intelligence bureau of the Byzantine government”⁶⁴ – are insufficiently illuminated, it

⁶² The office (*officium*) of the Dalmatian strategos in Zadar has been reconstructed by Jadran Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1978), 172-176. Among the civil officials at the strategos’ disposal, the following are mentioned: the praetor of the thema (judicial functions), the protonotary of the thema (army and navy supplies), the chartularios of the thema (accountancy and finances supervisor), the proto-chancellor, the proto-mandator, and the mandators. Regarding the nature of their tasks in the administrative apparatus of the thema, each of these officials must have had the opportunity of occasionally communicating with the local population, in Latin, but most probably officials in this respect include the proto-chancellor (πρωτοκανγελλάριος), who was in charge of the strategos’ guests and of communicating the orders to the main headquarters of the army; the proto-mandator (πρωτομάνδατωρ) as the head of the mandators; and the mandators (μανδάτωρες) as a sort of messengers who communicated the strategos’ orders to his subordinates. More on the local provenance of other information in Bogo Grafenauer, “Prilog kritici izvještaja Konstantina Porfirogeneta o doseljenju Hrvata” [A contribution to the critique of Constantine Porphyrogenitus’ report on the arrival of the Croats], *Historijski zbornik* 5/1-2 (1952): 19 and 28; Nikola Jakšić, “Constantine Porphyrogenitus as the Source for the Destruction of Salona,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 77 (1984): 316-320; Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 171-172.

⁶³ One should take into account that the collected data, before reaching the emperor and his redactors, were filtered through the person of the interpreter, which may explain at least some of the errors. Cf. Bury, “The Treatise,” 540-541 and 556.

⁶⁴ Bury, “The Treatise,” 539. Cf. Gabričević, “Kako je nastao,” 635; Suić, “Zadar u *De Administrando Imperio*,” 6, plausibly concludes that the association of Zadar’s cathedral and the Chalkoprateian

is clear that the materials for the narratives of Porphyrogenitus' circle was a conglomerate of various, more or less accurately reproduced data (imperial archives, reports of imperial provincial governors, reports of imperial envoys to foreign courts, earlier historiography).⁶⁵ Some of the channels in the textual transmission between Byzantine Dalmatia and the final redaction of the narrative in Constantinople (informers–authors–transcribers, etc.) are not easy to reconstruct, but it was certainly information from the field. It therefore belonged to the corpus of what C. Geertz has introduced into historiography as “local knowledge”.⁶⁶ Mirroring such local knowledge, this information – apparently communicated in passing – entered the text of *De Administrando Imperio* more or less unintentionally, but was then used in accordance with the overall intentions of the author(s).

As H. Hunger and A. Kazhdan have observed, etymological derivatives of the Middle Byzantine period were not the result of objective linguistic research, but were intended – with such literary traditions firmly rooted since the 4th century – to discern the “hidden links” between beings, things, phenomena, and their essences.⁶⁷ Having especially flourished in lexical and encyclopaedic works during the so-called “Macedonian Renaissance” of the 10th century, the paretymologies of this type combined the inventiveness of their authors and the adoption of ready-made etymological solutions from older historiography (often inaccurate) enriched with mythological motifs, thus eventually adopting a pseudo-historical character. The actual semantic evaluation of individual words was not crucial in this literary genre. The result was a very liberal and arbitrary treatment of specific lexemes and phonemes, without taking into account the etymological source of the words, and associating the terms with completely different semantic fields from those that actually referred to them. Such more or less fictitious etymologies did not necessarily correspond to actual linguistic relations and the onomastic phenomena resulting from them, but were in service of narration as part of the discursive prose, subjected to the creation of certain mental images mirroring the author's intention and purpose. Thus it could happen that the

basilica in Constantinople “could have resulted only from the experience of an eyewitness who knew well the churches of Constantinople, which could have been only an official of the Byzantine administration in Dalmatia.”

⁶⁵ Goldstein, *Hrvati, hrvatske zemlje i Bizant*, 62, n. 138.

⁶⁶ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (London: Fontana Press, 2016). On the theoretical concept, cf. Mladen Ančić, “Ranosrednjovjekovni Neretvani ili Humljani. Tragom zabune koju je prouzročilo djelo *De administrando imperio*” [Early medieval Neretvans or Humans: The confusion caused by *De administrando imperio*], in: *Hum i Hercegovina kroz povijest. Zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanog u Mostaru 5. i 6. studenog 2009.*, ed. Ivica Lučić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2011), 231 and n. 30, with further references.

⁶⁷ Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 532; Alexander P. Kazhdan, “Etymology”, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 735-736. More on etymologies in the discourse of courtly cultures in: Kazhdan, *History of Byzantine literature*, 135 and 149. On Porphyrogenitus' alleged affinity for etymologies, see Ђурић, “Ромејски говор,” 110-112.

etymology of Zadar (*Jadera*, Διάδωρα) was explained by the Latin phrase *iam erat* (“it already was” – claiming that it was older than Rome), that of Trogir (*Tragurium*, Τετραγγούριον) by its dimension as it was “small like a cucumber”, and that of Kotor (Δεκατέρα) by its being squeezed inside the narrow Gulf of Boka.⁶⁸

As mentioned before, P. Skok noticed two specific details: firstly, that *Špalacijun* and *Spalaćuni* were diminutives that could have been derived only from Spalatum. He concluded that originally both had the form *Spalateolum*, “small Spalatum”. What he did not notice is, firstly, that both localities corresponded precisely to those parts of the K-L/5-6 centuria that remained west and east of Diocletian’s Palace; and secondly, that the name *Spalateolum* was strikingly similar to the Latin word *palatiolum* – which literally means “small palace”. It is typical of such an approach that, when Skok drew attention to the fact that the fictitious Greek etymology Ἀσπάλαθος = παλάτιον μικρόν could only be explained by the Latin diminutive *Spalateolum* as an intermediary,⁶⁹ there was still no positive conclusion about how and why *Spalatum*, *Spalateolum*, *palatiolum*, and παλάτιον μικρόν could be associated in the first place.

One should also consider the caveat of P. Šimunović that “every place name needs time to consolidate its form and to be unanimously accepted and identified with the geographical object it refers to,” which means that “some of these toponyms are far

⁶⁸ DAI, Ch. 29.272-275, 260-261, 263-266, Cf. the commentary in: Lončar, “Dalmatinske etimologije,” 159-162; idem, *Filološka analiza*, 121-124.

⁶⁹ Skok, “Kako bizantinski pisci,” 66 and n. 13; 74-75: “I have already indicated that the emperor may have also used his knowledge of the local details in his etymological interpretation of Ἀσπάλαθος. He knew that Diocletian’s Palace (παλάτιον) was there, and he may have easily learned from his reporters that a part of Split was called Spalazulo. Since the latter name is much closer to the word παλάτιον than Spaletum, which must have been in use among the Romans of Split at the time, he logically concluded, based on his Latin knowledge, that Ἀσπάλαθος meant “small palace” (παλάτιον μικρόν), since the Latin diminutive suffix *-eolus* in Spalazulo denoted ‘something small.’” One should say, however, that *Spalateolum* is not “much closer to the word παλάτιον than Spaletum” (in fact, it is obvious that it is a synonym of *palatiolum*), and also that the Latin diminutive suffix *-eolus* does not denote “something small” in Spalazulo: instead, (*S*)*palateolum* is a practically identical synonym of *palatiolum* and literally renders the Greek παλάτιον μικρόν.

In a somewhat revised German version of the same article (Skok, “Ortsnamenstudien”, 215), the author did notice the link (*S*)*palateolum* > παλάτιον μικρόν: “Er (sc. Kaiser Konstantin Porphyrogennetos, I. B.) weiß, daß diese Stadt den Diokletianspalast enthält, und es ist höchst merkwürdig, daß er den Namen durch „παλάτιον μικρόν“ deutet. Diese Deutung wird nur dann klar, wenn man bedenkt, daß sich in der Stadt während des Mittelalters und auch jetzt noch außerhalb des Diokletianischen Palastes ein Stadtteil befindet, welcher a. 1096 *Spalazulo*, heute *Spalaćuni* (pl.) hieß. Das ist in der Tat eine deminutive Ableitung mittels des Suffixes *-eolus* von *Spalatum*. Indem er der dalm. Volksetymologie, die von altersher Spalatum durch das diokletianische *palatium* deutet, folgte, konnte er *Spalazulo* in der Tat als ‘kleiner Palast’ interpretieren. Von der altdalm. latinisierten Form *Spaletum*, worauf teilweise skr. *Split* beruht, weiß er nichts zu berichten.” However, neither in this or in his later studies on the topic (1952, 1973) did he draw the consequences from this conclusion. Cf. Skok, “Kako bizantinski pisci,” 162. That the etymology originated from *Spalazulo*, the author inferred already in Skok, “Ime grada Splita,” 2, n. 8, but with apparent uncertainty and doubts (“I cannot imagine why the emperor would interpret it this way”).

older than the oldest documents in which they are first attested.⁷⁰ In other words, the first appearance of the micro-toponym (odonym) such as *Spalateolum* in historical texts is only the *terminus ante quem* for their formation, which must be dated much earlier. In the given case – keeping in mind all that has been said – this date, in terms of absolute chronology, must be prior to the 1090s (when the *Supetar Cartulary* attests the morphological form *Spalazulo*), while the relative chronology indicates an even earlier date, namely the time when information was collected in Dalmatia for *De Administrando Imperio*: the first half of the 10th century or earlier (late 9th).⁷¹

At this point of our discussion, it makes sense, for the sake of easier understanding of the argument, to ask why all this is important: Why should we pay so much attention to a tiny, almost negligible detail from *De Administrando Imperio*? It is because this very detail, this seemingly secondary aspect, brings important knowledge on the poleogenesis and urban development of the early medieval Split. It will, namely, show that some types of settlements existed east and west of Diocletian's Palace not only in Late Antiquity, but also at the time when *De Administrando Imperio* was compiled (mid-10th century) as well as at the time when sources for it were collected (the end of the 9th century at the latest). It was obviously an inhabited area that was large, important, and populated enough to have its own name (*Spalatiolum*) and be noticed as such by the literate elite such as Porphyrogenitus' informers who collected the material for the emperor's book.

This, again, supplies the missing link in the research on the continuity of settlement in these areas, which was previously missing in scholarly literature. In which way one can eventually come to an easier understanding and interpretation of the poleogenesis of the part of Split that was located outside the walls of Diocletian's Palace.

III. Špalacijūn–Spalateolum

The municipal address book of Split published in 1913 marks by the name of *Spalacijuni* a micro-toponym (“locality”) that was the official name of one of the city districts.⁷² Before World War I, the city was administratively divided into ten districts (controlled by *district supervisors*), which were in turn divided into divisions (controlled by *heads*). In this sort of territorial system, “districts” could be compared to the present ones (although most of today's districts are far larger) as forms of

⁷⁰ Petar Šimunović, “Prvobitna simbioza Romana i Hrvata u svjetlu toponimije” [The original Roman-Croat symbiosis in the light of toponymy], *Rasprave Zavoda za jezik Instituta za filologiju i folkloristiku* 10-11 (1984-1985): 199.

⁷¹ Howard-Johnston, “The *De administrando imperio*,” 323-324, concludes the the “Balkan dossier” (Ch. 29-36) was compiled in its original form in the early 920s at the latest, while Ch. 30 was written some thirty years later, under Porphyrogenitus' supervision. The entire “historical-diplomatic core” of DAI (Ch. 27-46) can be dated, according to Howard-Johnston, to an even earlier period, conceived at the time of Leo VI (886-912) and was later updated with new data during the rule of his son, between 948 and 952.

⁷² *Splitski kažiput* (Split: Općinsko upraviteljstvo, 1913), 43.

local self-management, while the territorial units known as “divisions” functioned as neighbourhoods, their core and starting point mostly being some very old toponym or settlement with ancient historical attestations. The district of Bačvice, listed as the sixth in the official document, consisted of two divisions: Spalacijuni and Baths.⁷³ In this division, the macro-toponym Bačvice encompassed the entire territory of the district, “from new Bishop’s Palace to Baths and from the Katalinić House to the area below Nunnery of Poor Clares,”⁷⁴ which means that it covered the entire area south of the imagined line Bishop’s Palace – Nunnery of Poor Clares (in today’s Pojišanska Street) and west of the line Nunnery of Poor Clares – Bačvice Bay. It was shaped as an irregular rectangle and covered an area of ca. 22 hectares.

The neighbourhood *Spalacijuni* within Bačvice covered the area “between Bishop’s Palace, the new railway station, Bartulica’s house, and Bui’s estate.”⁷⁵ The first two orientation points are rather easy to identify without special explanation, while “Bartulica’s house” refers to the present-day Sv. Petra Starog No. 44,⁷⁶ and “Bui’s estate” most probably to the south end of present Radovanova Street, where it meets Bregovita and Gojsalića Streets.⁷⁷ The other division of Bačvice, called *Kupalište*, covered “the rest of the district southwards and eastwards (the new Kaliterna Street, the area around Kupalište, and the small peninsula of Bačvice).” Thus, *Spalacijuni* approximately covered the smaller, north-western part of the irregular rectangle that was the Bačvice district, and *Kupalište* its larger, south-eastern part. The given orientation points of the *Spalacijuni* district in 1913 result in an irregular triangle with the area of ca. 2.5 hectares (Fig. 5).

However, the frequent topographic and toponymic alterations of the Split peninsula in the 20th century largely altered the appearance of these micro-locations: the name *Špalacijuni* was, originally used for the small bay that was in place of the present-day railway station and the area gravitating towards it in the direction north-west – south-east, following the natural terrain configuration along the eastern edge of Split’s harbour.⁷⁸ An additional misunderstanding in locating *Špalacijuni* comes

⁷³ *Splitski kašiput*, 67. That year, Head of the Spalacijuni division was Šimun Šegvić Andreško, a landowner. It is interesting to note that he was member of the same family that gave its name to Šegvića Street (“named after the commoner family of Šegvić, formerly knowns as Šegović, who were the first to settle here”); Skok mentioned this street, located in the vicinity of the former church of St Peter the Old, as the main reference point in identifying the area of Špalacijuni.

⁷⁴ *Splitski kašiput*, 63.

⁷⁵ *Splitski kašiput*, 64.

⁷⁶ For the exact location of Bartulica’s House, see Milan Ivanišević, “Točno mjesto prve izložbe etnografske zbirke u Splitu” [The exact location of the first ethnographic collection in Split], *Ethnologica Dalmatica* 14 (2005): 169-179. It was the house of Split’s merchant Stipan Bartulica (built 1886-1894). From 1907-1919, it housed the Artisan School of Split, and the Allies’ bombardments in World War II (1944) reduced it to a one-storey building.

⁷⁷ It is most likely the cluster of buildings (the shipyard and the surrounding buildings) owned by the Bui family, around today’s Zlodre Plaza (cf. n. 78).

⁷⁸ Perislav Petrić, “Topografski nazivi obala splitskog poluotoka” [Toponyms of coastal areas in the Split peninsula], *Kulturna baština* 8/13 (1982): 11. Cf. the map on the same page, where the name

from the fact that the name Bačvice originally referred to a small, rocky peninsula where Katalinić Hill (Katalinića brig) and Seafarers' Park (Park pomoraca) are now located. The name was still in use with this reference in the early 20th century, whereby the long and narrow cape at the extreme south-western cliff of the hill was called *Rat Bačvica* (Cape Bačvice) and somewhat later *Điga*.⁷⁹ Today, the toponym *Bačvice*

Špalacijuni marks the area along the northwest-southeast axis, along the eastern seafront of Split's harbour, from Stari Pazar (the old market) to the Bačvice bay (today's railroad tunnel east of the bus and railway stations). The present-day surface and appearance of this area were largely formed in the last quarter of the 19th century, when (1877) most of today's eastern seafront of the Split harbour was shaped by filling in soil from the tunnel construction. Formerly the sea was reaching up to today's Radovanova Street, with a small shipyard) owned by the Bui family. Cf. Slavko Muljačić, "Kronološki pregled izgradnje Splita u XIX. i XX. stoljeću (1806-1958)" [A chronology of the construction of Split in the 19th and 20th centuries (1806-1958)], in: *Zbornik Društva inženjera i tehničara u Splitu*, ed. Slavko J. Sirišćević (Split: Slobodna Dalmacija, 1958), 77; Duško Kečkemet, "Urbanistički razvoj splitske luke" [Urban development of the Split harbour], *Pomorski zbornik* 2 (1962): 1421; Bogdan Šušnjar, *Brodogradnja u Splitu od njezinih početaka do 1941. godine* [Shipbuilding in Split from its beginnings until 1941] (Split: Brodosplit, 1989), 64; Gordana Tudor, "Prilog poznavanju splitske brodogradnje u 19. stoljeću" [A contribution to the research on shipbuilding in Split in the 19th century], *Kulturna baština* 36 (2010): 41-44 and 53. Cf. maps 4-7 (from the 11th century until 1831) for the mark *Spalacijuni* in: Tomislav Marasović and Franko Oreb, "Obrada graditeljskog nasljeđa u okviru projekta 'Splitski poluotok'" [Research on architectural heritage as part of the "Split peninsula" project], *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 2-3 (1976-1977): Appendix. See also the excellent drawings of the original terrain compared to the present situation in: Jerko Marasović, Katja Marasović, Vlasta Marčić, and Snježana Perojević, "Prostorni razvoj rta Bačvice u Splitu" [Spatial development of Cape Bačvice in Split], in: *Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića*, ed. Ivo Babić, Ante Milošević, and Željko Rapanić (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika and Sveučilište u Splitu, 2002), 505. The authors have described the original natural configuration of the cape (487, 490) and suggested the existence of a prehistoric or ancient settlement.

⁷⁹ This is attested in the position and attribute of the church of St Mary *de Buttis* (*de Botticelle*), which was, according to the visitation report of Archbishop Cosmi (1683), located within the Venetian fortification at the southwestern end of the cape. Cf. Joško Jelaska, "Hrvatska prezimena i toponimi u katastricima splitskog kaptola na početku 17. stoljeća" [Croatian family names and toponyms in the cadastre books of Split's chapter (early 17th c.)], *Čakavska rič* 9/1 (1979): 62; Novak, *Povijest Splita*, II, 500; Arsen Duplančić, *Splitske zidine u 17. i 18. stoljeću* [The Split city walls the 17th and 18th centuries] (Zagreb: Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture, 2007), 30. In 1603, the church is mentioned as newly built: Marasović, Marasović, Marčić, and Perojević, "Prostorni razvoj rta Bačvice," 498. The church of St Peter *de Buctis* is mentioned in the sources as early as 1362 and 1397; in 1603, it was in a derelict state, and in 1611 and 1621 it is described as surrounded by rocks on all sides: *ibid.*, 490. Its identification remains uncertain, but it is possible that it was identical with St Peter the Old. The cartulary of Split's chapter from 1608/1611 distinguishes between Firule (*Firule*) and Špalacjun (*Spalatum*, *Spalacium*), Bačvice (*Bacuizze*) and the area *de Butis*; according to the description, the church of St Peter the Old was located north of "Bačvice", on "large rocky seafront" (*ripa grande sasosa*). Cf. Petrić, "Splitski toponimi" (1985), 88. This coincides with the information on the same church being "surrounded by rocks on all sides" (*circundata da sassi daper tutto*). Cf. Jelaska, "Hrvatska prezimena," 62. However, the church is also located at the boundary between Lučac and Bačvice, which makes rather unclear the correlation between the (macro and micro) toponyms of *Bačvice*, *De Butis*, and *Spalacijuni*. Petrić, "Splitski toponimi" (1986), 153, argued that the church of St Peter *de Buttis* was located in place of the later church of Our Lady in the fortress on the Bačvice cape. Cf. Ana Kodrić and Marina Marasović Alujević, "Toponimi romanskoga porijekla na Splitskom poluotoku" [Toponyms of Romance origin on the Split peninsula], *Školski vjesnik* 57/1-2 (2008): 109. On the fortress of Bačvice (completed ca. 1657, with additions 1663), see Duplančić,

refers to a bay located more to the east of Katalinić Hill, with the eponymous beach. Regarding the original location of Bačvice west of its present situation, it is understandable that older topographic descriptions mention Špalacijuni “east of Bačvice” (in fact: northeast). Some sources, moreover, refer to the present-day Bačvice bay as Špalacjuni (*Spallacion*).⁸⁰

When defining the area of Spalacijuni during his field research, Skok explicitly referred to the (still existing) Šegvića Street, named after a native family of Split.⁸¹ Its members are mentioned in official documents as heads of the Spalacijuni division and the street is situated only some forty meters east of the place where the early medieval church of St Peter the Old used to stand, at the present-day intersection of Radovanova and St. Peter the Old Streets (**Fig. 6/11**).⁸² Based on the recent research of A. Piteša, it may be presumed that the old church of St Peter had more than one nave, i.e. more than one gable in the chancel screen (two from the same period are attested); in any case, its interior seems to have been lavishly furnished, since these reliefs are products of a skilled workshop active in the last quarter of the 11th century.⁸³ The same stone-carving workshop from Split supplied the stone furnishing in the churches of St Theodore (Our Lady of the Belfry, above the west gate of the imperial palace) and St Mary de Taurello in Split, as well as the church of St Martin (Barbara) in Trogir.⁸⁴ At the same time, another stone-carving workshop supplied reliefs for St Martin’s above the Golden Gate of Diocletian’s Palace and the Benedictine church of St Euphemia to the north. All these churches – with the addition of St Nicholas’ in Veli Varoš and St Juliana at the western wall of the Palace – were built or furnished with lavish new relief decoration during the second half of the 11th century, owing to the patronage of high clergy (Archbishop Lawrence, Deacon Dobro and his brothers, Priest Dominik) or the city’s patriciate (Prior Valica, Prior Furminus with his wives, Peter the Black, Ivan Mesagalina with his wife and sister, an anonymous

Splitske zidine, 12-13, 16, 18, 32, and 58, n. 69 (on the church of Our Lady on the Bačvice cape, 30 and 61, n. 147).

⁸⁰ E.g. on Calergi’s map from 1675. Cf. Marasović, Marasović, Marčić, and Perojević, “Prostorni razvoj rta Bačvice,” 490; Kodrić and Marasović Alujević, “Toponimi romanskoga porijekla,” 110. The cadastre of brothers Nemira from 1733 even refers to the Ovčice bay as “the cove of Špalacijuni” (*Seno di Spalacion*), but the relationship between the drawing and the text is somewhat confused there, since the land above the same bay is called “Firule or Bačvice” (*Firole osia Botticelle*). Cf. Petrić, “Splitski toponimi” (1986), 156.

⁸¹ Jelić, “Crtice”, 39, mentions a “Špalacijuni Street” in Lučac (also in Skok, “Ime grada Splita,” 10), for which I have not found any evidence.

⁸² For an overview of sources and scholarly literature on this church, see Ante Piteša, “Pre-Romanesque Stone Furnishings from the Church of St Peter the Old in Lučac, Split,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 100 (2007): 110-111; Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica* 3, 350-352.

⁸³ The workshop is datable by the mention of Split’s prior Furminus in a document from 1088/1089. Cf. Piteša, “Pre-Romanesque Stone Furnishings,” 109 and n. 3, with an overview of older literature.

⁸⁴ Piteša, “Pre-Romanesque Stone Furnishings,” 121.

donor of the chancel screen gable at St Peter the Old).⁸⁵ This quantitatively and qualitatively rich architectural and stone-carving activity can be interpreted in terms of ecclesiastical policy within the context of Church reform that was well underway in the late 11th century, as well as within the social context of the growing prosperity of Split's citizens, visibly manifested in the field of culture. It should also be noted that such investment in the city's sacral landscape undoubtedly had a powerful impact on its urban image: the topography of the said churches visibly defined the stretches of suburban districts, in all directions – northwards, westwards, and eastwards from the late antique and early medieval core of Split. But regardless of that, one should also pay attention to the fact that a considerable part of this group of sacral buildings had been there since the early Christian period (St. Euphemia, St. Martin, St. Theodore, St. Stephen in Sustipan, perhaps also St. Michael *in ripa maris* outside the western wall of Diocletian's Palace, St. Felix at the seafront to the southwest of it, or St. Catherine east of the Silver Gate)⁸⁶ and that in the 11th century they were only subjected to one of the (many) restorations and restructurings. This situation, again, encourages us to presume very early settlement cores around these churches, significantly earlier than the early Romanesque period. In other words, it remains to be seen whether the existing material traces correspond to our identification of Spalatiolum, in this case the eastern one.⁸⁷ These very early communication and settlement structures are also supported by the presently available archaeological evidence.

⁸⁵ The gable was last published in Ante Piteša, *Early Medieval Stone Monuments in the Archaeological Museum in Split* (Split: Archaeological Museum, 2012), 74-77, cat. no. 37, with an exhaustive overview of older literature.

⁸⁶ Basić, *Poleogeneza*, 71-90.

⁸⁷ The problem was already addressed by Jelić, "Crstice"; see the commentary by Basić, "Prežitci kulta sv. Feliksa u salonitanskom ageru u ranom srednjem vijeku – arhitektonska pozadina kulta relikvija" [Traces of the cult of St. Felix in the ager of Salona during the early Middle Ages: Architectural background of the cult of relics], in: *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu*, ed. Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Leykam, 2008), 197f. and 206. Owing to insufficient archaeological research, scholarly literature on late antique and early medieval suburbs and peripheral settlements is relatively modest. Cf. Tomislav Marasović, "Prilog istraživanju transformacije antičke jezgre u ranosrednjovjekovni grad" [A contribution to the research on the transformation of antique cores into early medieval town], in *Gunjačin zbornik*, ed. Ivan Erceg (Zagreb: [s.n.], 1980), 99-112 (extended and revised in his synthetic overviews, cf. idem, *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji* [Architecture of early Croatian period in Dalmatia] (Split: Književni krug, 1994), 225-272; idem, "Ristrutturazione delle città sulla costa orientale adriatica nell'epoca paleocristiana," in: *Actes du XI^e Congrès International d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 Septembre 1986)*, vol. I, ed. Noël Duval, Françoise Baritel, and Philippe Pergola (Rome and Città del Vaticano: École française de Rome and Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana, 1989), 327-344 (an extended and revised version in Croatian published in: idem, *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba*, 226-236; *ibid.*, 225, 241, and 248-250; Rapanić, *Od carske palače*, 189-196; Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica* 1, 114-115; Mladen Ančić, "Na rubu održanja. Demografska slika Splita u 13. stoljeću. [On the edge of survival: Demographic image of Split in the 13th century], in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, 385-395.

IV. The topography of finds

Western *Spalatiolum* was situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of Marjan, and one of its cores was the church of the local early Christian martyr Felix, in place of the later Franciscan monastery at the seafront. It was built as an early Christian sanctuary on the substrate of an antique cemetery. It may be presumed with considerable certainty that this is the settlement to which the antique finds belonged that are today secondarily used in various places around the monastic church, such as a stele from Hadrianic or early Antonine period built into a neighbouring house, several inscriptions from the area of the Franciscan monastery (CIL III, 2043; 2107 [8589]), or the non-figural stelae in the nearby Plinarska Street (CIL III, 2292),⁸⁸ where a minor burial site has been discovered, which may have been functionally linked with *Spalatiolum*. It is possible that the funerary inscriptions scattered in the buildings of Veli Varoš, such as the one of Novia Lepida (CIL III, 2443) or Claudia Ursina (CIL III, 2213), originally belonged to the cemetery of that small settlement. Leaving a more detailed analysis of the topography of western *Spalatiolum* for another occasion, I will here focus on its eastern counterpart.

For the area east of the palace, N. Cambi has recently argued – based on an analysis of several preserved monuments in Lučac (Fig. 7; Fig. 6/8-10) – that it was an ancient agglomeration from pre-Diocletian period, probably a *vicus* within the Salonitan *ager*.⁸⁹ It covered a broader area around the source of water located in today's Radunica Street and had a sanctuary dedicated to the Nymphs. Around the settlement, there was a necropolis. Of special importance is Cambi's conclusion that the ancient monuments secondarily used in Lučac, a district of peasants who did not have possessions in Salona, originate from the immediate vicinity of their present location, i.e. that they have been preserved more or less *in situ*. In my opinion, this settlement is where one should look for eastern *Spalatiolum*. In this regard, it is indicative that all these finds are located within a single centuria occupied by Diocletian's Palace (K-L/5-6).

⁸⁸ Nenad Cambi, "Antička baština samostana sv. Frane u Splitu" [Ancient heritage of St Francis' monastery in Split], *Adrias* 12 (2005): 135-159; Basić, "Prežitci kulta sv. Feliksa," 189-210. Here one should add the probably lost tomb inscription of Terentia Callistina, which according to Bulić, had been built into the cloister of the Franciscan monastery "da tempo immemorabile" (CIL III, 13037).

⁸⁹ It is the stele of Julia Procilla (early 2nd c.), a relief of goddess (Selena-Luna or Diana Lucifera, late 2nd c.), and a votive relief of Silvanus and nymphs with shells (mid-2nd c.). The second of these monuments opens up additional possibilities concerning its functional and spatial context. It may have belonged to a *hekateion*, a column with a figure of Hecate, since her cult was partly interchangeable with that of the light-bringing Diana. Cf. Nenad Cambi, "Antička spolia na Lučcu. Spomenici ugrađeni u kuće Splita (V)" [Ancient spolia in Lučac: Monuments built into the houses of Split (5)], *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 15 (2007): 26 and 31-32. Hecate protected road crossings in its aspect as *Trivium* or *Quadrivium*. Cambi also presumes that a minor sanctuary dedicated to Silvanus, Diana, and water nymphs, as well as a small settlement and its necropolis, were located around the Radun well. According to Jelić, "Crtice", 38, an inscription of Aelius Victor was found in Pojišan (Glavica). Cf. Tajma Rismondo, "Antička groblja na splitskom poluotoku" [Ancient cemeteries on the Split peninsula], *Histria Antiqua* 8 (2002): 260 and n. 33.

The rebuttal of Salonitan provenance – in combination with the two lost inscriptions (at least one of them from the Hadrianic period, likewise dedicated to the nymphs) and a wall made of antique blocks, which used to flank the dried-up creek that gave its name to Radun and its diminutive – is a sufficient argument to accept Cambi's opinion about the existence of a “minor ancient agglomeration, perhaps even a *vicus* or a cluster of houses within the Salonitan ager,” which emerged in this part of the peninsula. Undoubtedly, other finds belong to this settlement: only they have not yet been brought into connection with it.⁹⁰ In order to elucidate this issue, we must dig a little deeper into the history of this area. Namely, research and archaeological finds have shown in the recent years that the entire area of the Split peninsula was intersected with structures of Roman civilization before the construction of the imperial palace.

Archaeological excavations in front of the south façade of Diocletian's Palace, conducted in 2006-2007, have resulted in late Republican Roman finds from the 1st century BC as the earliest historical phase of the coastline. These include harbour structures made of wood and stone (docks, plateaus, piers) standing on natural stone formations. In later structures found in the same locality, dated to Diocletian's time, spolia from an earlier, early Roman structure have been found (remnants of profiled stone architraves) and linked to the previously established architectural finds from the south-eastern part of the substructures of the imperial residence; in the new seafront, dated from the time of Venetian rule, spolia from the earlier stages of seafront construction have been noticed, which at least partly come from the buildings in the settlement of Spalatum from the pre-Diocletian phase (e.g. the massive stone blocks carved in the *bugnato* technique, with an accentuated marginal anathrosis, fragments of painted plaster, and fragments of white and black *tesserae* dated to the 1st century at the earliest and to the 3rd at the latest).⁹¹ The preliminary results of archaeological research thus undoubtedly indicate the existence of an early Roman coastal settlement, although its finds, their stratigraphy and chronology do not allow us to presume an even earlier, Hellenistic settlement.⁹²

⁹⁰ Rismondo, “Antička groblja,” 258; Frane Buškariol, “Prilozi arheološkoj topografiji Manuša” [Contributions to the archaeological topography of Manuš], *Kulturna baština* 10/15 (1984): 76-80, has grouped the present archaeological finds and indicated the settlement potential of this area.

⁹¹ Vedrana Delonga and Zoran Alajbeg, *Arheološka istraživanja na splitskoj Rivi 2006.-2007. godine – Archaeological Research on Riva in Split in 2006-2007* (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2007), 5-7. For additional preliminary observations and conclusions, see Vedrana Delonga, “Lokalitet: Split – Riva (južno pročelje Dioklecijanove palače)” [Locality: Split-Riva (southern front of Diocletian's Palace)], *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 4 (2007) [2008]: 514-516.

⁹² The thesis on the existence of a pre-Roman, Issaeian settlement in the same locality, called *Aspalathos*, has been decidedly refuted by Duje Rendić-Miočević, “Antički Grci na našem Jadranu i neka pitanja naseljavanja priobalja Manijskog zaljeva” [Ancient Greeks in our part of the Adriatic and some questions related to the settlement process in the Sinus Manius], *Adrias* 2 (1988): 14-15, who has justifiably stated: “it seems absurd to transfer this early medieval situation (Porphyrogenitus' name for the new urban centre emerging from Diocletian's Palace, I. B.) and the aforementioned related

It is in the substructures of Diocletian's Palace that important evidence has been discovered proving the continuity of settlement on the peninsula before the realization of the imperial building project (Fig. 8). Let it suffice to mention (in the layers older than the palace) two Hellenistic tombs, architrave beams from monumental buildings, and a Mithraeum. Analysis of the decoration of the said architectural blocks (part of a monumental gable, cornices, bases, columns, part of a circular staircase) and the stratigraphic context in which they were found confirm their pre-Diocletian date and attribute them to the Hadrian-Antonine period, i.e. mid-2nd c. (although some of the used ornaments are attested already in the Flavian era).⁹³ In the context of our research, the find of skilfully constructed wall made of evenly carved stone below the level of the substructures of Diocletian's Palace is of particular importance. It runs along the east-west axis and outside of the eastern perimeter wall of the palace, thus indicating the position and orientation of early Roman buildings in this area.⁹⁴ These finds have been added to the rest of pre-Diocletian evidence from the palace and its immediate vicinity; the number of these finds and indications of that earliest phase is permanently growing. Occasional archaeological finds of earlier

toponym back into the pre-Roman times and argue for the existence of an Issaeian settlement in this area." For a synthetic view on the early Roman settlement, with an overview of all relevant literature, see Rapanić, *Od carske palače*, 24-29; Basić, *Poleogeneza*, 28-50. Cf. the most recent synthetic overview: Vedrana Delonga and Maja Bonačić Mandinić, "Osvrt na arheološke nalaze u Palači iz razdoblja prije Dioklecijana" [On the archaeological finds from the pre-Diocletian period in the imperial palace], in: *Prije sjećanja I*, 139-146; cf. Stanislav Živkov, "Varia Diocletiana," in: *Dioklecijan, tetraohija i Dioklecijanova palača*, 508-512. More on the issue of continuity with regard to the previous settlement in: Emilio Marin, "Civitas splendida Salona," in: *Salona Christiana*, ed. Emilio Marin (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1994), 86-88.

⁹³ Daniela Matetić-Poljak, "Les blocs à décor architectural antérieurs au palais de Dioclétien à Split," in: *Akti XII. međunarodnog kolokvija o rimskoj provincijalnoj umjetnosti. Datiranje kamenih spomenika i kriteriji za određivanje kronologije, Pula, 23-28. svibnja 2011.*, ed. Ida Koncani Uhač (Pula: Arheološki muzej Istre, 2014), 189-193. Cf. additions in Delonga et al., *Prije sjećanja II*, 7, cat. 1 (fragment of architectural decoration, 3rd c.), catalogue entry by Ana Sunko Katavić; eadem (Sunko Katavić), "Antički kameni spomenici (arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače, 1992. godine)" [Ancient stone monuments (archaeological excavations in the southeastern part of Diocletian's Palace in 1992)], in: *Prije sjećanja I*, 237-238. Vedrana Delonga, "Kulturne faze i njihov stratigrafski slijed" [Cultural phases and their stratigraphic sequence], in: *Prije sjećanja I*, 200, lists the finds from the nivellation layer, created by filling in material from the sites outside the palace. Judging from the composition of the material (alabaster, glass balsamaria, remnants of a monochrome mosaic, amphora of the type *Lamboglia 2*, a fibula of the *Aucissa* type, a bronze medical spoon), it was a Roman pre-Diocletian site.

⁹⁴ Jerko Marasović, Sanja Buble, Katja Marasović, and Snježana Perojević, "Prostorni razvoj jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače" [Spatial evolution of the southeastern part of Diocletian's Palace], *Prostor* 8/2(20) (2000): 178-180; Tomislav Marasović, "Prediocletianic architecture within the Split Palace," in: *Illyrica antiqua: ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević. Radovi s međunarodnoga skupa o problemima antičke arheologije, Zagreb, 6.-8. XI. 2003.*, ed. Mirjana Sanader (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za arheologiju, Arheološki muzej, and FF-Press, 2005), 362; Stanko Piplović, "Ladanjska naseobina u uvali Spalatuma" [A villa complex in the bay of Spalatum], in: *Kultura ladanja: zbornik radova sa znanstvenih skupova »Dani Cvita Fiskovića« održanih 2001. i 2002. godine*, ed. Nada Grujić (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta, 2006), 23-32.

Roman architecture and remnants of material culture from the pre-Diocletian era are rests of an imposing architectural complex, which has in recent scholarship been referred to as a “maritime villa” (*villa maritima*) and which was erased by the construction of Diocletian’s residence.⁹⁵ The sum of all these finds, along with the rests of scattered tombs and cemeteries, indicates the existence of an early settlement that stretched from today’s Lučac and Bačvice in the east to the slopes of Marjan in the west. It was an early Roman settlement that pre-dated Diocletian’s Palace. The name of that settlement, *Spalatum*, first occurred in Peutinger’s map (see above).

Elements on which the conclusion on the continuity of proto-urban structure of eastern Spalatiolum in the following centuries can be based include primarily the fact that outside the eastern wall of Diocletian’s Palace there existed a church already in the early Christian period: it is dated to the 5th or 6th century and has been attributed to the virgin and martyr St Catherine as its titular saint;⁹⁶ later on, it would become the core of the Dominican monastery (**Fig. 6/2**). There are few material traces of that earliest established phase, but they are unambiguous.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Delonga and Bonačić Mandinić, “Osvrt na arheološke nalaze,” 141 and 145.

⁹⁶ Franko Oreb, “Crkva i samostan sv. Dominika u Splitu” [Church and monastery of St Dominic in Split], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 30 (1990): 196; idem, “Crkva i samostan sv. Dominika u Splitu” [Church and monastery of St Dominic in Split], in: *Crkva i samostan dominikanaca u Splitu*, ed. Deša Diana (Split: Matica hrvatska Split and Samostan dominikanaca Split, 1999), 11-12; cf. Helga Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi na lokalitetu Dominikanski samostan u Splitu (Zaštitna iskopavanja 2007.-2008. godine)” [Late antique graves at the locality of Split’s Dominican monastery (conservation excavations 2007/2008)], in: *Scripta Branimiro Gabričević dicata*, ed. Josip Dukić, Ante Milošević, and Željko Rapanić (Trilj: Kulturno društvo Trilj, 2010), 117. An overview of the finds: Branka Migotti, *Ranokršćanska topografija na području između Krke i Cetine* [Early Christian topography in the area between the rivers Krka and Cetina] (Zagreb: Zavod za arheologiju JAZU, 1990), 36, no. 142; eadem, “Ranokršćanska topografija na području između Zrmanje i Cetine” [Early Christian topography in the area between the rivers Zrmanja and Cetina] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 1991), 124-125, no. 136; eadem, “Tragovi starokršćanskih bazilika na salonitanskom području izvan same Salone” [Traces of early Christian basilicas in the Salonitan area outside Salona], in: *Salonitansko-splitska crkva u prvom tisućljeću kršćanske povijesti. Zbornik Međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa u povodu 1700. obljetnice mučeništva sv. Dujma, Split, 14.-15. svibnja 2004.*, ed. Josip Dukić, Slavko Kovačić, and Ema Višić-Ljubić, (Split: Crkva u svijetu and Splitsko-makarska nadbiskupija, 2008), 380, cat. no. 30.5. The author argues that it was an early Christian building with a hoof-shaped apse. Cf. Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 123-124; Stanko Piplović, “Ranokršćanski Split” [Early Christian Split], *Građa i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 21 (2008): 155-156.

⁹⁷ More in: Franko Oreb, “Proširenje crkve sv. Dominika u Splitu od 1932-1934” [Enlargement of St Dominic’s church in Split, 1932-1934], *Kulturna baština* 8/13 (1982): 128 and 130, n. 12; idem, “Crkva i samostan sv. Dominika,” 196-197, n. 5 (early Christian fragments in the Archeological Museum Split). On these finds, see also: Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 118 and 134, n. 25. The first fragment has been described as a “marble fragment of an early Christian transenna, 48x36 cm, with a large rosetta on one side and a cross with rings on the other.” Both were dated to the 6th century upon their discovery. The catalogue description of the sarcophagus fragment (“fragment of an early Christian sarcophagus with a cross, 55x47 cm”) allows for a presumption that it was a sarcophagus of the Brač-Salona type from the 6th century. On this type and date, see Ivan Basić, “Prilog datiranju zlatnog enkolpija iz Barbata na Rabu” [A contribution to the dating of the golden encolpium from

In addition, a late antique inscription has been found at the same Dominican monastery: [---] *fortissimi Cae[saris ---] / dedicante [---]*. Like many others, it was interpreted as a spolium originating from Salona, but there are no clear indications to justify this claim.⁹⁸ Regardless of whether it refers to a single emperor in the genitive, *fortissimi Caesaris*, or stands in the nominative plural, *fortissimi Caesares* (indicating co-emperors), this inscription, dated to the first half of the 4th century, commemorates a festive occasion (e.g. inauguration of a monument), recorded in the monumental capital script, which took place under the patronage of the emperor himself. Since the cult of St Catherine of Alexandria, found at the site of the future Dominican monastery at the time of its foundation in the 13th century, was transferred to the new church,⁹⁹ the original building was presumably dedicated to the same Egyptian saint, even though the very existence of her early Christian cult is somewhat problematic.¹⁰⁰ But regardless of this reserve, there was certainly an early Christian sanctuary preceding the medieval Dominican church (the identity of its titular saint still being a matter of debate) with the available remnants datable to the 6th century at the latest.

Besides, positioning this early Christian building opposite the eastern wall of the palace defined – along with the towers of the imperial building (originally six) – the new street line of the eastern suburb, creating a communication line that followed the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace along the north-south axis, towards the sea. Even if this was not a planned expansion of the urban area, these structures can still be considered as a sort of suburban settlement. The recent finds of a cemetery, functionally linked to the church formerly in place of the present Dominican monastery, points to the same conclusion.

Late antique burials have been identified during the archaeological excavations in 2007 and 2008 in the south-western part of today's Dominican monastery (**Fig. 6/1**).

Barbat on the island of Rab], *Rapski zbornik* 2 (2012): 427-442; idem, "Ranokršćanski sarkofag iz Trevisa i njegova grupa" [An early Christian sarcophagus from Treviso and its group], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 39 (2015): 7-20, both listing the older literature. Besides these early Christian fragments discovered in 1932, Zglav Martinac, "Kasnoantički grobovi," 124, mentions a "stone fragment with a segment of a carved elongated early Christian cross, found in mixed debris, trench 11, outside the stratigraphic context."

⁹⁸ CIL III, 14687 = *Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, vol. 2, ed. Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, and Françoise Prévot (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 157-158, Nr. 11.

⁹⁹ Oreb, "Crkva i samostan sv. Dominika," 198-199. The official name of that Dominican monastery was *Conventus s. Chaterine V(irginis) et M(artyris)* and it is as such mentioned in a number of narrative and ideographic sources during the medieval and early modern periods (regesta, shematisms, monastic catalogues, visitation reports, older writers, iconography of monastic artworks, and so on); in 1404, a confraternity of "St Cathe the Martyr" was founded to honour the saint. Her figure was also depicted on the monastery's official seal. Ibid., 197 (fig.) and 199; cf. Zglav Martinac, "Kasnoantički grobovi," 116.

¹⁰⁰ On the possible hagiographic reasons for choosing St Catherine as the patron saint, see Branka Migotti, "Naslovnici ranokršćanskih crkava u Dalmaciji" [Titular saints of early Christian churches in Dalmatia], *Arheološki radovi i rasprave* 12 (1996): 221-222 and 231-232.

The excavations took part in an area covering some 650 m² (with clear indications that the cemetery was larger) and resulted in the discovery of 16 tombs in total: four with adult persons (aged between 25 and 35) and 14 with children (aged between 6 months and 16 years); the burial type is varied, including graves in amphorae (9), hut-shaped graves (*a capanna*, 5), and graves covered with stone slabs (2); from the second group, that of graves *a capanna*, two had been used for a double burial, both of children.¹⁰¹ All graves contained few and modest grave goods (glass vessels, ceramic oil lamps, bronze bracelets, bronze rings, pins, bronze coins), which H. Zglav-Martinac, Head of the excavations, interpreted as a result of the fact that the deceased belonged to “lower social strata with limited financial power.”¹⁰² The burials have been dated to the 4th or early 5th century.¹⁰³

The entire late antique cemetery in the area of the Dominican monastery, within the parameters set by the archaeological research, forms an inseparable unit with the broader setting in terms of vertical and horizontal stratigraphy, articulation, disposition, suggested date, and archaeological context.¹⁰⁴ This primarily refers to the finds in the immediate vicinity of Diocletian’s Palace, along its eastern perimeter wall (**Fig. 6/3**); the cemetery was partly laid out along the northern half of the wall, between the Silver Gate and the small rectangular tower at the centre of the northern section of the wall (today’s Hrvojeva Street).¹⁰⁵ The total of ten skeletal graves contained fifteen bodies. In terms of typology, they belong to three different types of funerary architecture: amphora graves (1, child), hut-shaped graves (1, child), and graves made of stone tiles and covered with stone slabs and *tegulae* (8, adult, partly revealing multiple uses). Judging from the grave goods (a ceramic disc, glass, North African red polished ceramics, damaged 4th-century bronze coins, clasps), the cemetery dates from the 4th-6th centuries. Already the preliminary reports linked the cemetery to the nearby early Christian church (of St Catherine?),¹⁰⁶ which has now, after the discovery

¹⁰¹ Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 175-177 and 185-189. According to Helga Zglav Martinac, “Dominikanski samostan Sv. Katarine u Splitu: zaštitna arheološka istraživanja (2007.-2008. godine)” [Dominican monastery of St Catherine in Split: Conservation excavations (2007/2008)], *Kulturna baština* 36 (2010): 123, eleven burials were those of adults between 30-45 years of age or adolescents (aged 5-16) and five of children (aged between 6 months and 2 years). Preliminary research results were published in Helga Zglav Martinac, “Lokalitet: Split – dominikanski samostan sv. Katarine” [Locality: Split – Dominican monastery of St Catherine], *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 5 (2008) [2009]: 624-629.

¹⁰² Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 177.

¹⁰³ Cf. the conclusions and the catalogue in Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 190-195.

¹⁰⁴ Zglav Martinac, “Kasnoantički grobovi,” 188.

¹⁰⁵ The information comes from the preliminary report of Elvira Šarić and Tajma Rismondo, “Lokalitet: Split – Dioklecijanova palača” [Locality: Split – Diocletian’s Palace], *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* 2 (2005) [2006]: 400-401. On these finds in the context of others near the eastern wall of the palace, see Piplović, “Ranokršćanski Split,” 155-156.

¹⁰⁶ Šarić and Rismondo, “Lokalitet: Split – Dioklecijanova palača,” 401; eadem, *Arheološka istraživanja u Hrvojevoj ulici i Kući Andrić 2005-2006. godine* [Archaeological excavations in Hrvojeva Street and

of the late antique cemetery around the Dominican monastery, become even more probable.

As for the identity of the deceased, the working hypothesis of H. Zglav-Martinač seems plausible (settlers from the hinterland, members of soldier families, freed slaves, and workers at the nearby imperial gynecaeum),¹⁰⁷ but two more conclusions seem equally important: firstly, that they all belonged to the lower social strata and lived a short life during which they worked hard and long; and secondly, that the discovered graveyards – as rare examples of structural changes of the future settlement in its proto-urban phase – are an exceptionally important contribution to our knowledge on the poleogenesis of Split at the turn of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Detailed research of the ceramic finds from Diocletian's Palace, which were found in considerable quantities and mostly originate from North Africa, has dated them to the 4th or the first half of the 5th century. According to the archaeological results, there was a continuity of habitation within the walls of Diocletian's Palace throughout the 4th century and into the first half of the 5th. This is evident from the quantity and variety of the dated ceramic finds, which are largely fine African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip ware. Two thirds of the fragments can be dated with certainty to the time between Diocletian's death and mid-5th century, which is an exceptionally important, yet often neglected piece of information.¹⁰⁸ The amphora, coin, glass, and lamp finds belong to the same period. All this import shows that there were enough individuals with sufficient financial power in the palace, who cannot always be identified with the entourage of this or that high dignitary who stayed at some point at the old imperial palace (Galla Placidia, Julius Nepos); instead, one should presume a procurator of the

the Andrić House, 205-2006] (Split: Muzej grada Splita and Ministarstvo kulture, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Konzervatorski odjel, 2006). At the same time, remnants of antique walls and a late antique tomb next to the wall of the original taberna were found on the ground level of the Andrić House (north of the Silver Gate). In a southeastern room, two late antique graves were discovered along the northwestern section of the antique wall. One was a double grave and all the burials were skeletal; it was situated at the level of the wall base, which was used as the head stone and grave lining. In the western part of the ground floor, remnants of three skeletal burials with devastated funerary architecture were unearthed. Interesting grave objects included numismatic finds (e.g. a *nummus* of Galerius), a marble weight from Justinian's era, and a belt clasp datable to the turn from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages. Finds from the Andrić House are significant as they indicate a possible functional and chronological link between these burials and those east of them, in their immediate vicinity.

¹⁰⁷ Zglav Martinač, "Kasnoantički grobovi," 189.

¹⁰⁸ Ivančica Dvoržak-Schrunk, "Dioklecijanova palača od 4. do 7. stoljeća u svjetlu keramičkih nalaza" [Diocletian's Palace between the 4th and 7th centuries in the light of ceramic finds], *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 22 (1989): 92-94 and n. 6. See the additions in Delonga et al., *Prije sjećanja* II, 47, cat. 1 (fragment of a Lamboglia 2-type amphora, late 2nd or 1st c. BC), catalogue entry by Jagoda Mardešić; eadem (Mardešić), "Antička i bizantska keramika (nalazi iz jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače, 1992. godine)" [Antique and Byzantine ceramics (finds from the southeastern part of Diocletian's Palace, 1992)], in: *Prije sjećanja* I, 265.

imperial gynaecaeum with his entourage, officials, workers, servants, guards, and so on, as well as the local population, or even occasional newcomers from northern Illyricum.¹⁰⁹ One third of the ceramic finds has been dated to the later periods, mostly from the mid-5th to the mid-6th century.

Part of this settlement complex east of the palace is occupied by cemeterial zones, positioned some 150 m northeast of the monastery and the church. When levelling the ground for the construction of today's secondary school in the area of the former baroque bastion of Contarini-Paparella (approximately at the north-eastern corner of the school building), an ancient cemetery was discovered, with a stone tomb with arch vaulting (the *tombe a pozzo* type), dated to the 5th or 6th century (**Fig. 6/4**).¹¹⁰ In the area south of the chamber, 10-15 hut-shaped graves have been unearthed (one of them with the workshop stamp *Q. Clodi Ambrosi*), with various skeletal burials (undocumented) that can at least partly be associated with the finds of late antique coins dispersed around the tomb, including emissions by Claudius I (41-54), Claudius II (268-270), Maximian (286-305), Constantine II (337-340), Constantius II (351-361), and Honorius (395-423), as well as some older pieces, probably from the period of the Flavian dynasty (69-96).¹¹¹ Some forty meters northeast from this cemetery, in Držićeva Street (**Fig. 6/5**), two late antique graves (one covered by *tegulae* and the other earthen) have been discovered in the 1960s and dated to the 4th-6th centuries; and in their vicinity, some fifty meters to the north, at the intersection of Tolstojeva and Višeslavova Streets (**Fig. 6/6**), there was an ancient cemetery that has not been archaeologically researched (fragments of ceramics and bones); in 1940, two late antique graves covered by *tegulae* were discovered in Višeslavova Street (**Fig. 6/7**) and dated to the 4th century by the bronze coins issued by one of the sons of Constantine I (337 at the earliest and 361 at the latest).¹¹² Approximately 300 metres east of this zone, at the intersection of Višeslavova and Glagoljaška Streets, an ancient graveyard was accidentally discovered in the late 19th century: a skeletal burial with 37 bronze

¹⁰⁹ As argued by John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge & Keagan P., 1969), 419; John J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split: Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor* (Sheffield: Department of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1986), 71.

¹¹⁰ Frane Bulić, "Sepolcreto antico cristiano presso il Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 29 (1906): 3-7; Buškariol, "Prilozi arheološkoj topografiji," 77-78. Remnants of eight bodies were found in the tomb.

¹¹¹ Bulić, "Sepolcreto antico cristiano," 5-6; Maja Bonačić Mandinić, "The Finds of Roman Coins in Split," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 100 (2007): 74-75. The author has erroneously dated the Flavian coins to the 2nd century. Somewhat later in 1922, during the construction of the road to Gripe, two tombs and one amphora burial were found. Next to the Contarini bastion, a tomb made of *tegulae* was accidentally found in 1974, with a skeletal burial of an adult person, without grave goods (devastated before expert assessment).

¹¹² On all three localities cf. Buškariol, "Prilozi arheološkoj topografiji," 78-79; Rismondo, "Antička groblja," 258-259; Tajma Rismondo, "Naselja i naseljavanje na splitskom poluotoku od prapovijesti do srednjeg vijeka" [Settlements and colonization on the Split peninsula from pre-historic times until the Middle Ages], *Histria Antiqua* 11 (2003): 333.

coins issued by Constantius I (293-306), Constantine I (306-337), and Constantius II (351-361), as well as two *tegulae* with the inscriptions *V. Dionisius* and *Crescentius*; moreover, simple skeletal earth burials, a tomb chamber with arch vaulting of the *tomba a pozzetto* type (2 adults and 1 child), as well as tombs covered by *tegulae* and in amphorae. The entire cemeterial zone has been dated to the 4th-6th centuries.¹¹³

Furthermore, in the wider area, when constructing the road to Gripe in 1922, a sestertium of Trajan has been found, dated to AD 98 or 99.¹¹⁴ West of the Gripe fortress, a skeletal burial with 37 bronze coins was accidentally found in 1879 in a garden; the 34 coins that could be identified were issued by Constantine I (306-337, 19 pieces), Crispus (317-326, 4 pieces), Constantine II (337-340, 7 pieces) and Constantius II (337-361, 4 pieces).¹¹⁵ Late Republican silver coins (meanwhile lost), issued by the Calpurnia family in the 2nd or 1st century BC, was found in Bačvice.¹¹⁶

Another archaeological find east of Diocletian's Palace, notwithstanding the uncertainties about its original location, is the tomb of a woman called Maxentia, wife of the otherwise unknown Flavius Pannonius from the second half of the 4th century, with her epitaph carved along the cover of her sarcophagus, which was found in the military prison located in the Lazaretto complex at the eastern end of the Split harbour: *Fl(avius) Pannonius Maxentiam coniugem dulc(issimam) sepulivit*.¹¹⁷

Coin finds – as well as other movable finds, such as glass, ceramics, jewellery, tools, and weapons – clearly indicate, regardless of their occasionally vague archaeological context, that the area east of Diocletian's Palace was inhabited to the end of the 6th century. The described finds, based on accurate archaeological indicators, are a convincing argument in favour of the theory that a settlement had existed in this area before Diocletian's Palace. It is particularly significant that the group of finds

¹¹³ Buškariol, "Prilozi arheološkoj topografiji," 79; Rismondo, "Antička groblja," 259; Rismondo, "Naselja i naseljavanje," 334.

¹¹⁴ Bonačić Mandinić, "Finds of Roman Coins," 68, no. 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73 and n. 7. According to the author, the coins can be dated to 189 BC at the earliest and 42 BC at the latest. Recent excavations have also unearthed harbour structures some 50 metres southeast of the southeastern tower of Diocletian's Palace (today's Obala Lazareta), which the daily press proclaimed to be probably "Hellenistic" (R. Bužančić) even though they have been compared to those along the southern front of the palace (*sic*), dated to the 1st c. BC. Cf. Nikolina Lulić, "Stariji od Dioklecijana. Kod Turističke palače pronađeni blokovi iz helenističkog razdoblja: Grčki Split izronio iz Obale Lazareta!" [Older than Diocletian: Blocks from the Hellenistic period discovered at the Tourist Palace: The Greek Split emerging from Obala Lazareta!], *Slobodna Dalmacija* (Split) (April 19, 2016), 23. On the urban development of Lučac, see Marasović and Oreb, "Obrada graditeljskog nasljeđa," 93-95; Stanko Piplović, "Urbanistički i graditeljski razvitak predgrađa Lučac u Splitu" [Urban and architectural development of the Lučac suburb in Split], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesnu znanost HAZU Zadru* 48 (2006): 454-455 (a brief overview of the earliest phase).

¹¹⁷ *Salona IV-1*, 566-567, Nr. 263 = CIL III, 2326. In the 18th century, the sarcophagus was still in the military prison at the eastern end of the seafront and A. Bogetich (d. 1784) copied the inscription on the spot.

prior to the 2nd century prove the existence of a pre-Diocletian settlement in this area, while those from the later four centuries indicate a topical continuity of settlement. The settlement extended to the very eastern walls of the palace from early Antiquity until the 6th century, most likely also later, which in turn indicates the continuity of an agglomeration that can be identified – now with considerable certainty – with Spalatiolum (or rather its eastern part) that features in the *De Administrando Imperio*. What remains is to clarify the way in which both areas of Spalatiolum interacted with the core – Spalatum – and participated in the formation of its urban landscape in the early medieval period.

V. Concluding remarks

The interdisciplinary research of P. Leveau, G. Dagron, J.-M. Spieser, J. Durliat, M. Heinzelmann, G. Ripoll and J. Arce, R. Francovich and R. Hodges, or P. Arthur, P. Van Ossel, and others, has yielded a number of significant conclusions, among which I would especially mention the one on the notion of *villa* in the written sources from the 6th century as a term denoting a “settlement nucleus” – a sort of heir to the ancient villa-estate, yet also a predecessor of the early medieval rural settlements.¹¹⁸ Namely, these authors have shown that during the 5th and 6th century the term *villa* no longer denoted a complex of residential buildings as *pars urbana* along with their agricultural *pars rustica*. One should always keep in mind that the term *villa* denoted an estate from the very beginnings.¹¹⁹ But regardless of that, from the mid-6th century

¹¹⁸ Riccardo Francovich and Richard Hodges, *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside* (London: Duckworth, 2003); Paul Van Ossel, “De la ‘villa’ au village: les prémices d’une mutation,” in: *Autour du “village”. Établissements humains, finages et communautés rurales entre Seine et Rhin (IV^e-XIII^e siècles)*. Actes du colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 16-17 mai 2003, ed. Jean-Marie Yante and Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d’études médiévales de l’Université catholique de Louvain, 2010) 219-236. Older lexicographical overviews do not mention this meaning of the term *villa* at all; cf. Georges Lafaye, “Villa,” in: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, vol. 5 (Paris: Hachette, 1919), 870-891; Albert W. Van Buren, “Villa,” in: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 8, A, 2 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1958), 2142-2159. An exhaustive list of sources is included in: Konrad Ziegler, “Palatium,” in: *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 18/2 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1949), esp. 7-22. Philippe Leveau, “Les incertitudes du terme *villa* et la question du *vicus* en Gaule Narbonnaise,” *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 35 (2002): 6ff, has indicated various criteria applied by archaeologists and historians when naming the discovered complexes as either *vicus* or *villa*; cf. Alain Bouet, “*Villa* ou *vicus*? Quelques exemples problématiques des trois Gaules,” *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 35 (2002): 289-312.

¹¹⁹ At this point, the term *villa* can be understood both as an estate and as its residential centre. Thus, Diocletian’s *villa* necessarily included the surrounding land and had to be situated on an imperial estate. Namely, the basic structural framework in which Roman imperial residences were maintained were the fiscal estates in their surrounding. Insofar their structure resembled the regime under which the imperial mines (*metalla*) operated. Starting from this simple statement, it becomes much easier to explain the administrative features, the material base, and the place that such palaces had in the imperial administrative hierarchy. I have shown elsewhere that the *villa* corresponded to the

the noun was used to denote a far larger complex: a non-urban estate complex (with all its more or less traditional parts) which consisted of a central site to which smaller estates gravitated, from closer or farther off. Moreover, the term *villa* was also used to denote a habitation cluster, i.e. a small settlement, hamlet, or village (*domus, mansus, casale*).¹²⁰ According to G. Ripoll and J. Arce, at this final stage of its semantic evolution, the appellative *villa* was used for the estates outside the city, consisting of a central site and the gravitating smaller estates, located at various distances from it. When the contacts between the main estate and the subsidiary ones became more complex and the settlement functions were more concentrated in a relatively compact area, with everyday interaction between the centre and the peripheries, such *villae* could in some localities and in certain circumstances even reach a proto-urban stage, developing into complex organisms that preceded early medieval agglomerations. In some cases, such a *villa* could even become an administrative subunit of a municipality (*civitas*).

Leaving aside the complex proto-history of these “polycentric” estates-settlements,¹²¹ I shall briefly comment on the fact that a first-class source from the 6th century – *The Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* – likewise calls the area where Diocletian’s Palace was situated a *villa*, moreover in a sense that was semantically very close to the use established for the 6th century by Heinzelmann, Ripoll, Arce, and others. As indicated earlier, the semantic evolution of the noun *villa* continued into the 6th century. At that time, its meaning covered smaller habitation clusters, villages, which had previously been predominantly referred to as *vicus* (regardless of the fact that this terminology had actually originated in the early Roman period, as indicated by M. Zeman).¹²² The previous opposition *civitates* – *vici* was thus replaced by *civitates*

land plot defined by the truncated centuria K-L/5-6 of the salonitan ager, which was already called *Spalatum* and was public and then imperial property from the early 1st century. For a more extensive treatment of this topic with an overview of literature, see Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*” 9-42; idem, “Diocletian’s *villa*,” 68 and 73, n. 24.

¹²⁰ Gisella Ripoll and Javier Arce, “The Transformation and End of Roman *villae* in the West (Fourth-Seventh Centuries. Problems and Perspectives),” in: *Towns and Their Territories*, 64-66; Martin Heinzelmann, “*Villa* d’après les œuvres de Grégoire de Tours,” in: *Aux sources de la gestion publique I: Enquête lexicographique sur ‘fundus’, ‘villa’, ‘domus’, ‘mansus’*, ed. Elisabeth Magnou Nortier (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1997), esp. 63-64 and 67; Basić, “Diocletian’s *villa*,” 64.

¹²¹ I have elsewhere briefly addressed the genesis of settlement in the framework of imperial estates in Northern Africa (that is, far earlier than the 6th century!), a topic that deserves a more extensive treatment. Cf Basić, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*” 19 and n. 28, 21-22, and 25. Leveau, “Les incertitudes du terme *villa*,” 8, has indicated that the emergence of the *villae* in terms of territorial administration was far earlier than the 6th century: the famous inscription from Henchir Mettich (CIL VIII, 15902) mentions *coloni qui eorum in fundo villae Magnae sive Mappalia Siga villas habent*, referring to the colons of *Villa Magna sive Mappalia Siga*. Thus, these would have been small settlements-*villae* of colons that were part of a large estate, likewise called *villa*. The treatises of Roman *agrimensores* mention it in various places with this meaning.

¹²² Ripoll and Arce, “The Transformation and End of Roman *villae*,” 64-66. Cf. Zawadzki, “La résidence de Dioclétien,” 226; Basić, “Diocletian’s *villa*,” 69. On urban organization in late antique Illyricum

– *vici/villae*, making the two latter terms interchangeable. The types of settlements were changing, and with them the terminology, only in such a way that the older Latin expressions were preserved and underwent a complete re-semanticization in accordance with the new situation. Keeping that in mind, the question arises: can these changes in the term *villa* be observed in the texts describing Diocletian's Palace and its surrounding? Such significant change in the meaning of the terms implies, namely, a profound change in the very idea of what *villa* meant to people living in the late 5th and 6th centuries.

Illustrative examples of this process are supplied by the chronicle written by the 6th-century dignitary at the Byzantine court, Marcellinus Comes. He mentions the noun *villa* in five places, four of which refer neither to a countryside building nor to a rural estate, but actually to a small village-like settlement:

MARCELLINI VIRI CLARISSIMI COMITIS CHRONICON	ENGLISH TRANSLATION (Brian Croke)
403.3. (...) <i>eumque</i> [sc. <i>Iohannem episcopum</i>] <i>post annum in villam, quae Comana in regione Pontica dicitur, de exilio in exilium relegarunt.</i>	(...) and after a year relegated him from one exile to another, at a villa called Comana in the Pontic region.
419.2. <i>Multae Palaestinae civitates villaequae terrae motu conlapsae.</i>	Many cities and villages in Palestine collapsed in an earthquake.
480.2. <i>His consulibus Nepos, quem dudum Orestes imperio abdicaverat, Viatoris et Ovidae comitum suorum insidiis haut longe a Salonis sua in villa occisus est.</i>	In this consulship Nepos, whom Orestes had previously dismissed from the empire, was killed in his villa not far from Salona through the treachery of counts Viator and Ovida.
516.2. <i>Helias Hierosolymitanae urbis episcopus in villa quae Haila dicitur ab eodem principe [sc. Anastasio imperatore] relegatus emoritur.</i>	Elias, bishop of the city of Jerusalem, was exiled by the same emperor [Anastasius, I.B.] to a village called Aila and died.

and elsewhere, see Philippe Leveau, "La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural: *villa*, ville, village," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 38/4 (1983): 920-942; Dagron, "Les villes dans l'Illyricum," 1-20; Jean-Michel Spieser, "La ville en Grèce du III^e au VII^e siècle," in: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 12-14 mai 1982)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1984), 315-340; Jean Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine. Le problème des subsistances* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1990); Michel Sot, "À la recherche du processus de passage de la cité antique à la cité medieval," in: *La fin de la cité antique*, 355-360. According to M. Zeman, such broader use of the term *villa* can be observed in older sources as well, such as the Antonine Itinerary: Maja Zeman, "Transformacije rimskih vila na području srednje Dalmacije tijekom kasne antike i ranog srednjeg vijeka" [Transformations of Roman *villae* in central Dalmatia during the late antique and early medieval periods] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2014), 61-63. Cf. n. 121.

MARCELLINI VIRI CLARISSIMI COMITIS CHRONICON	ENGLISH TRANSLATION (Brian Croke)
518.3. <i>Huius ergo humilis villae casas Anastasius imperator ob condendam ibi civitatem dato pretio emi (...) Publicis praeterea moenibus decoratae civitati pristinum nomen villae reliquit.</i>	So the emperor Anastasius bought the houses of this modest town at a fixed price for the purpose of founding a city there. (...) Henceforth he allowed the city, which had been endowed with communal walls, to retain the name of the village .
LIT.: <i>The Chronicle of Marcellinus</i> , trans. and commentary by Brian Croke (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995), 9, 12, 27, 38, 40.	

It is only in the entry referring to 480 and the violent death of the penultimate West Roman emperor Julius Nepos in Diocletian's Palace that the chronicler seems to use the term *villa* in a different context.

Thus, it cannot be established with certainty whether the chronicler here uses the term *villa* for the building – as the English translator cautiously implies – or for the imperial estate. But taking into account the other uses of the term in the chronicle, one cannot entirely exclude a third possibility: that the term refers to a small settlement located in the former Diocletian's palace. A serious objection to this hypothesis would be based on the fact that the expression *villa sua* should then be interpreted as “killed in his village” meaning “his own village” or “the village in his [Nepos'] property,” all of which would be far less expected and rather forced interpretations than simply “killed in his villa” or “killed on his estate.” Besides, it would imply that the entire village was somehow owned by Nepos, which creates a number of problems that are more serious and more difficult to explain than those arising from the presumption that it was simply an imperial estate located in the old palace.¹²³ For this reason, the noun *villa* as referring to a “village” is less probable in this place. Nevertheless, this reserve is again lifted when we consider that the late 5th and the 6th century are precisely the time of emergence of the earliest real urban consolidations within and around this late antique building, attested by both archaeological finds and written sources, since elements of the latter date precisely from this period, such as the list of Adriatic *civitates* by the anonymous cosmographer of Ravenna, which includes *Spalathron* (*Spalatrūm*).¹²⁴

More certain conclusions about the semantic value of the noun *villa* in this quotation from the early Byzantine chronicler can be reached – same as in other places – only based on the context in which it was used, taking into account the circumstance that the applied phraseology mostly did not originate from chronicler Marcellinus personally, as he took it ready-made from much older sources that mentioned the

¹²³ More on this issue in: Basić, “Najstariji urbonimi”; idem, “*Spalatum – ager Salonitanus?*”

¹²⁴ Cf. Slobodan Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae u »Kozmografiji« Anonima Ravenjanina [Civitates Dalmatiae in the “Cosmography” of Anonymous of Ravenna]* (Zadar: Arheološki muzej, 1995).

same locality while discussing other events.¹²⁵ It is quite certain that Marcellinus borrowed this phraseology, but it is not quite clear how he understood it. In brief, just like in the 5th century the meaning of *villa* ranged from a building to an estate depending on the context, thus in the 6th century this range included settlement formations. For the time being, we must stop at the following conclusions: the former emperor was killed in a building described as *villa sua*, “his villa” (sc. *villa Julii Nepotis*). Regardless of whether we opt for the translation of *villa* as a countryside building, i. e. an architectural block or an extra-urban estate in a broad sense of the term, two conclusions are inevitable: firstly, that the ruler’s death is located in Diocletian’s complex near Salona (*haud longe a Salonis*); and secondly, that this residential complex, together with all areas that may have gravitated to it, was unambiguously defined as Nepos’ property.

May we presume that the semantic value of the noun *villa* in its use established for the 6th century by M. Heinzelmann, G. Ripoll, J. Arce, P. Van Ossel, and others was valid in the Split case as well? Could it have been a “polycentric” estate with proto-urban characteristics, dominated by Diocletian’s Palace as its centre? In the chronological framework of the 5th and 6th centuries, a number of archaeological and historical indications encourage an affirmative answer (the complex *Ad basilicas pictas*, early Christian complexes with Early Roman habitation predecessors around the churches of St Catherine and St Felix east and west of Diocletian’s Palace, various phases of the Sustipan church, and so on).¹²⁶ Our detailed analysis of the topography of Spalatum and the architectural chronology of its components points to such a conclusion.¹²⁷ It could have indeed been a complex “villa” with several settlements – by all means including the two Spalatiolums – subjected to the centre of the imperial estate in the former tetrarchic building. Nevertheless, any projection of this situation into a dis-

¹²⁵ An interesting detail is that the formulation he thereby uses coincides with those used by Jerome and his compilers, Prosper of Aquitaine and *Chronica Gallica: haud procul a Salonis in villa – haud longe a Salonis in villa*. Thus, it is obvious that there is intertextuality here. Cf. Basić, “Gradovi obalne Dalmacije,” 73, n. 25; idem, “Najstariji urbonimi”; idem, “Diocletian’s villa,” 70.

¹²⁶ There is still no comprehensive overview of this phase; cf. analytical studies in Belamarić, “The First Centuries of Christianity,” 55-68; Nikola Jakšić, “Patron Saints of the Medieval gates in Diocletian’s Palace,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9 (2003): 187-194; Piplović, “Ranokršćanski Split,” 141-171; Joško Belamarić, “Dioklecijanova palača – razmatranja o okolnostima utemeljenja i izvornoj funkciji” [Diocletian’s Palace: The circumstances of its construction and its original function] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2009); Basić, *Poleogeneza*, 71-99; idem, “Pagan Tomb to Christian church: The Case of Diocletian’s Mausoleum in Spalatum,” in: *Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence, New Approaches (4th-8th Centuries)*, ed. Marianne Sághy and Edward M. Schoolman (Budapest: CEU Press, 2017), 241-271. Both established and potential early Christian structures in Diocletian’s Palace have been catalogued in Migotti, *Ranokršćanska topografija*, 30-36, no. 120-143; Pascale Chevalier, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae. L’architecture paleochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (IV^e-VII^e S.) en dehors de la capitale, Salona*, vol. 1 (Rome and Split: Musée archéologique de Split and École française de Rome, 1995), 229-238; Migotti, “Tragovi starokršćanskih bazilika,” 377-382, cat. no. 30.1.-30.13, with additions in Piplović, “Ranokršćanski Split.”

¹²⁷ Basić, *Poleogeneza*, 72-89.

tant past, earlier than the second half of the 5th century, should be done with utmost caution. There are a number of reasons for that, the foremost being the insufficient state of research of the cultural layers in the aforementioned localities around Diocletian's Palace. Doubtlessly, there was a Roman settlement in the area of today's harbour at least from the 1st century, and doubtlessly most of this settlement was located and evolved within the same centuria that was owned by the imperial fiscus and the centre of which was occupied by Diocletian's Palace from ca. 300. Nevertheless, one should ask whether the said estate encroached upon other centuriae as well (and if so, how far and in which directions).¹²⁸ To see the results of future research – which may put aside the reserves voiced here – would be the greatest possible satisfaction to the researchers of the transformation of cultural landscape at the turn of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. To that point, we can only conclude that well-grounded interdisciplinary research indicates that Diocletian's residence with its broader area may be an excellent case study in the transformation of extra-urban palatine architectural complexes into late antique and early medieval settlement formation, including the changes in the relevant terminology.

¹²⁸ Thus, one can speculate that public land extended even further, towards St Francis' church (the early Christian complex of St Felix); where – judging from two inscriptions – a cemetery of workers at the Salonitan state arms factory (*fabrica Salonitana armorum*) was located from the 3rd century at the latest: thus, the factory must have been located somewhere nearby (on public land). According to Alföldy, Maurentius' inscription dates from the period of Dominate and that of Quintianus to the era of late principate. cf. Géza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969), 241 and 279. Cf. Cambi, "Antička baština samostana sv. Frane," 139-140, who likewise cautiously concluded that the factory "must have been located somewhere near St Francis" and dated both inscriptions to the late 3rd or early 4th century. Earlier studies on the pre-medieval stages of the complex have been synthesized in Basić, "Prežitci kulta sv. Feliksa," 189-210.

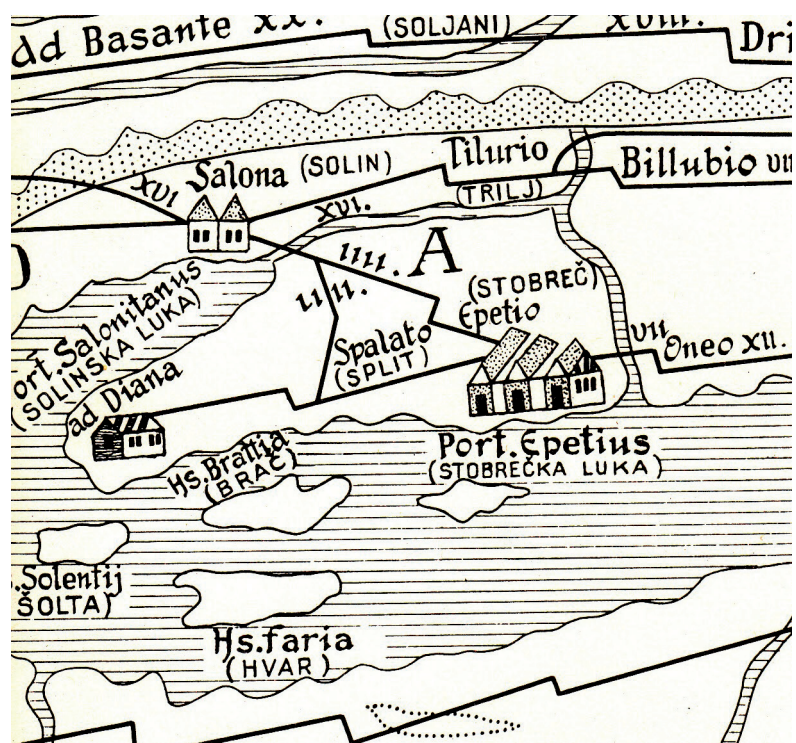


Fig. 1. Split peninsula on Peutinger's map (Шкриванић 1974, Segm. VI/3).

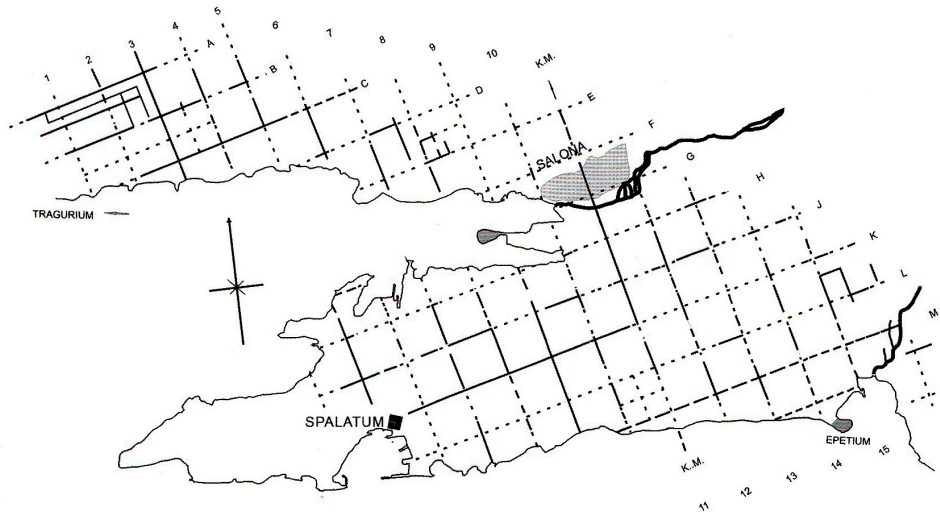


Fig. 2. Centuriation of Split peninsula (Suić 1955).

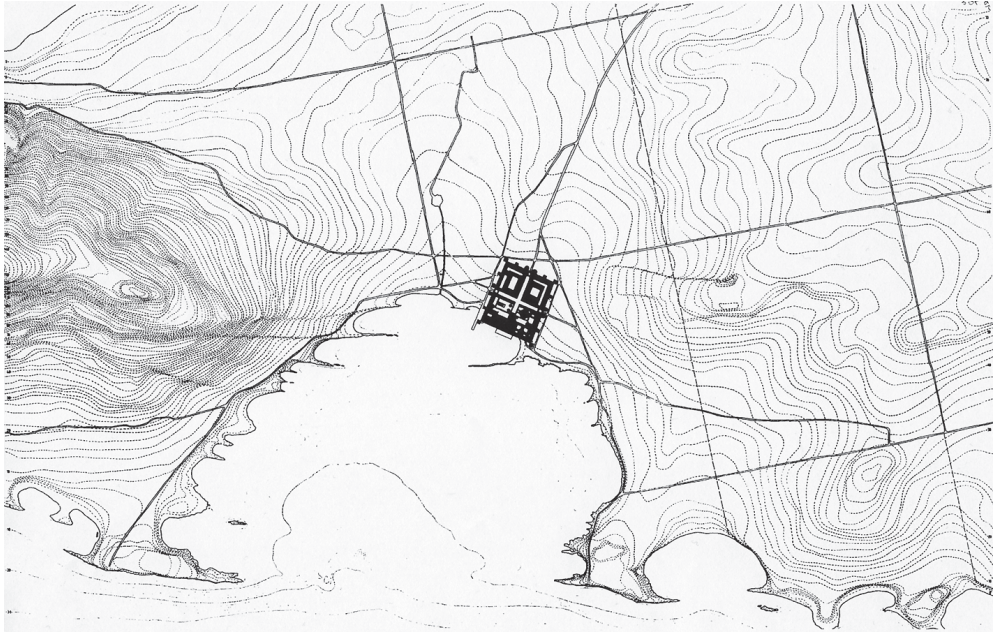


Fig 3. Centuria K-L/5-6 after the construction of Diocletian's Palace (MARASOVIĆ 2007, 155).

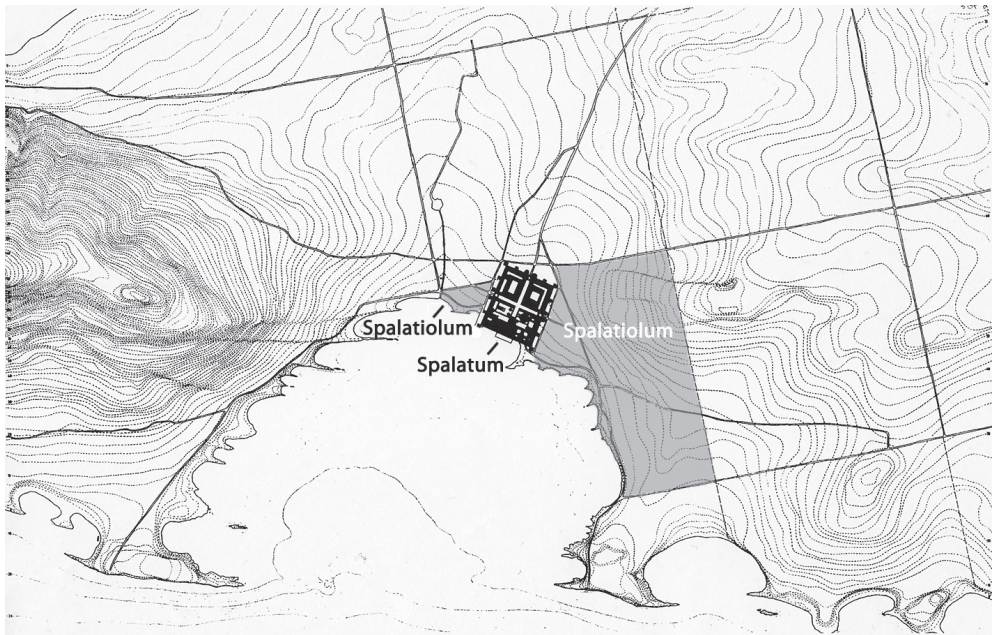


Fig. 4. The relation between centuria K-L/5-6, Diocletian's Palace, and Spalatiolum (eastern and western) (I. Basić).

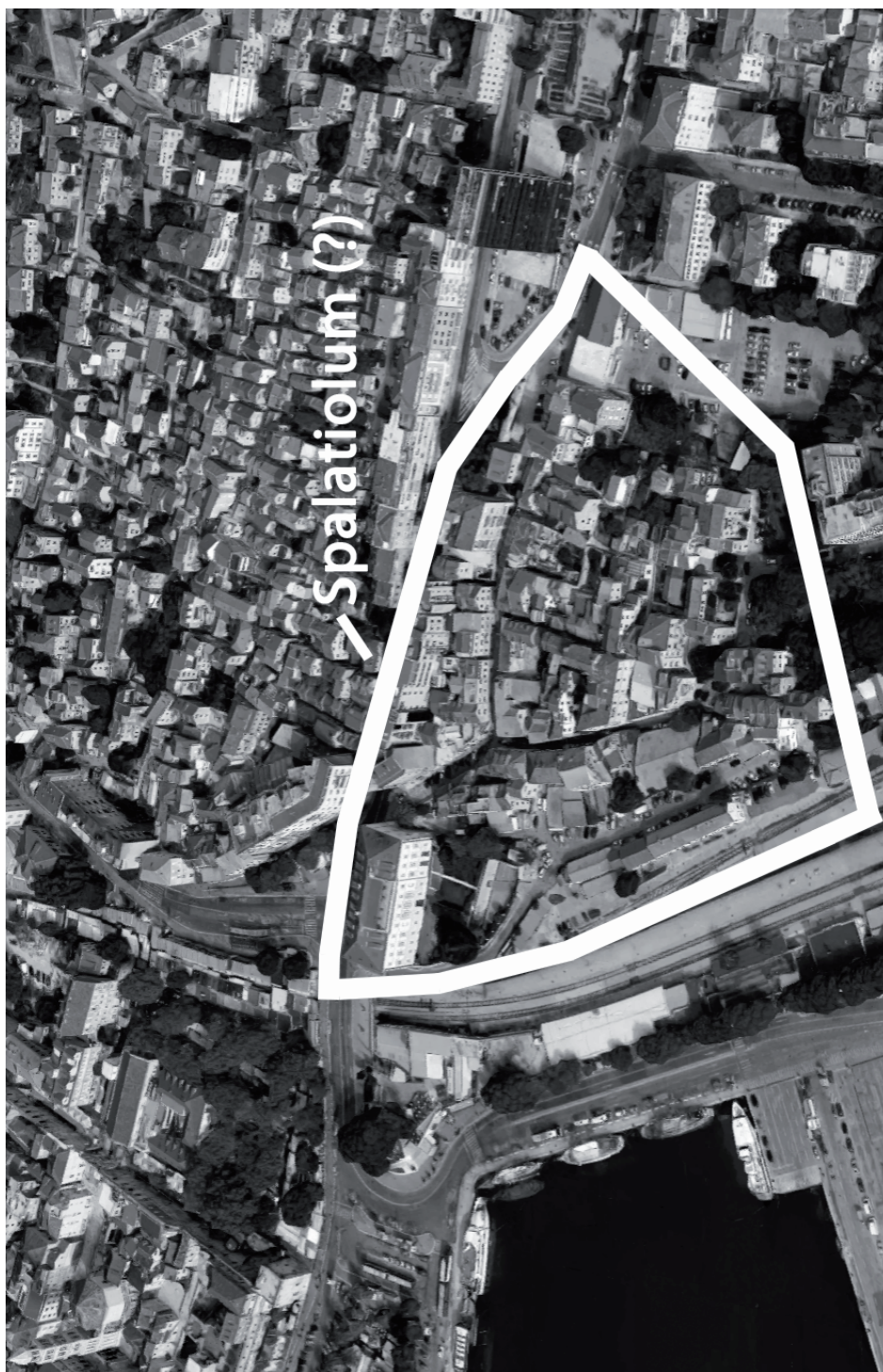


Fig. 5. Approximate location of the borough Špalacijun-eastern *Spalatiolum* (I. Basić).



Fig. 6. Early Roman and Late Roman finds in the east segment of centuria K-L/5-6: Dashed line – centuriation line; 1. Late Antique cemetery south of the Dominican monastery; 2. Early Christian church preceding the Dominican monastery; 3. Late Antique cemetery at *Porta argentea*; 4. Late Antique burials near the Grammar Gymnasium; 5. Late Antique burials in Držić Street; 6. Burials at the intersection of Tolstoy and Višeslav Streets; 7. Late Antique burials in Višeslav Street; 8. Relief of Silvanus and Nymphs and the inscription CIL III, 8546; 9. Stele of Julia Procilla; 10. Relief of a goddess; 11. Location of the church St. Peter the Old

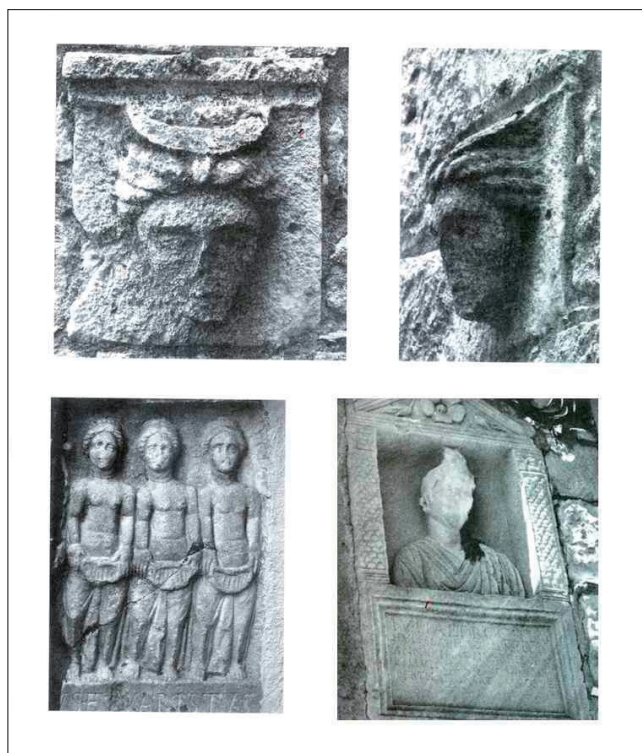


Fig. 7. Roman-era reliefs built in the eastern suburb of Diocletian's palace (2nd and 3rd century) (САМБИ 2007, 40-41).

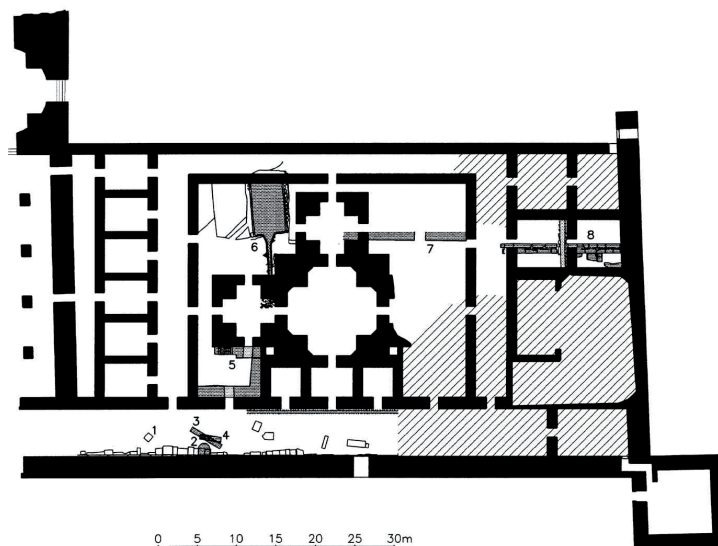


Fig. 8. Pre-Diocletian finds in the southeastern part of the Palace: 1. architectural element with decorative carvings; 2. marble *mensa*; 3. architrave with decorative mouldings; 4. fragment of a decorated gable; 6. sanctuary covered in white mosaic floor (Mythraeum?); 7. wall of a previous building; 8. wall of a previous building (MARASOVIĆ 2005, 362).