

Diocletian's Palace, Restoration of the S-E Quadrant

ABSTRACT

In addition to the restoration of the Peristyle, Diocletian's Mausoleum, the remains of the tholos and the Small Temple, which are located in the center of the imperial palace in recent decades, the restoration of the SE quadrant of Diocletian's Palace was continued, which was stopped fifty years ago due to the danger of collapsing the houses next to the SE tower, which were undermined by archaeological research. The new restoration of the former Diocletian's Mausoleum began a few years ago after the restoration of the Peristyle of the Palace. The restoration of the mausoleum began with the cleaning and restoration of late antique stone plastic, using laser technology. As part of the renovation of the interior of the mausoleum, the frieze reliefs of the 4th century were restored, as well as its wall surfaces.

A particularly interesting architectural part of the mausoleum is the 4th century dome, for which there are different theories about the construction method. With a new precise architectural recording, deformations were determined that may indicate alterations in the final part of the dome and its original construction. In the 13th century, the floor was paved with new slabs, under which in places the late antique opus sectile marmoreum with a geometric pattern has been preserved. Archaeological research of its layers was carried out, tesserae of dome mosaics and restored substructures were found. The development of restoration methods can be traced on the mausoleum, because its renovation was carried out from the second half of the 19th century till today. Work is currently underway on the conservation of the southern wall of the Palace with the SE tower, where its history will be presented.

KEYWORDS

UNESCO, Diocletian's Palace Split, restoration, heritage protection

On the occasion of the Convention's fiftieth anniversary, in the atmosphere of the jubilee celebration, the question arises as to how much it has contributed to the preservation of world cultural heritage on specific examples. After the adoption of the Convention, which was published in 1972, Yugoslavia ratified the document in 1975, and a few years later, in Cairo in 1979, the first monuments were nominated for the World Heritage List. From Croatia, Plitvice, Dubrovnik and the historic city of Split with Diocletian's Palace were added to the list.

DIOCLETIAN'S *VILLA IOVENSIS*, IN IT *SPALATUM SALONAE QUIETUM*,
IN IT *PALATIUM SACRUM*, THE RESIDENCE WHERE *DEUS PRAESENS* LIVED

Research, protection and presentation of Diocletian's Palace in Split take as long as the palace itself. Even in ancient times, there was a kind of parallax between the wishes of the owners and the community, which did not look favorably on the changes. Some sources mention the punishments that befell those who decided to act against the imperial heritage. One would be surprised by the severity with which a Roman was excommunicated after he desecrated the emperor's tomb in 356 (*Ammiani Marcellini Rerum gestarum libri*, XVI, 8), which indicates the fact that the imperial cult was maintained until the time of the Christian emperor Constantius II, in other words the imperial heritage was not shaken even by the hatred of Christians towards the great persecutor of Christ's followers. According to this statement, in the late 4th century, Jovius' sepulchrum still existed in the mausoleum, and Jovius' grave, bust, was also mentioned in Split by Sidonius Apollinaris, in the mid-5th century (*Sidonii Apollinaris Sollii Carmina*, XXIII). According to Thomas the Archdeacon, Jovius' villa was damaged in the Gothic Wars during the first half of the 6th century, and it was converted into a town in mid-7th century, when it was inhabited by refugees from the ruined Salona (*Toma Historia Salonitana VII*, 3). From then until today, the imperial villa has changed over the centuries. Over time, it turned into a densely populated city, but the preserved Roman monuments remain its most significant attributes throughout the entire period. Jovius' heroum (Jupiter's temple) was converted into a cathedral, the Little Temple (Hercules' temple) into a baptistery, the Triclinium into an episcopium – the seat of the archbishops of Split, the cubicles of the Zetaria into the residences of the city priors, the regia into the cathedral square (Peristyle), and the walls of the villa with its gates in kastron Aspalatos – the fortified city of Split.¹

In one of Eusebius' preserved historical records, an anonymous chronicler quotes Jerome's statement that Diocletian died *in villae suae palatio*.² That part of the text

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- 1 Constantine Porphyrogenet talks about Diocletian's residence, more precisely the part of the residence surrounded by ramparts and bastions, called κάστρον – city (De admin. imp. 29, 126B, 138B; 31, 149B).
 - 2 St. Jerome translated Eusebius from Greek into Latin in 381, adding additions and his own continuation of the chronicle up to 378; *Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller*, Eusebius Werke VII, Die Chronik des Hieronymos – Hieronymi Chronikon, ed. R. Helm, Berlin 1956, (before the year 316), 230; Anonymous, *Chronica Gallica* of 511 reports one of Jerome's versions of the text: *IX anno Constantini Diocletianus obiit Ophinio in villae suae palatio apud Salonas*. Variants of the text that mention the name of the villa: *Diocletianus haud procul a Salonis in villa sua Spalato moritur*, refer to the settlement as *Spalato* or *Aspalato*.

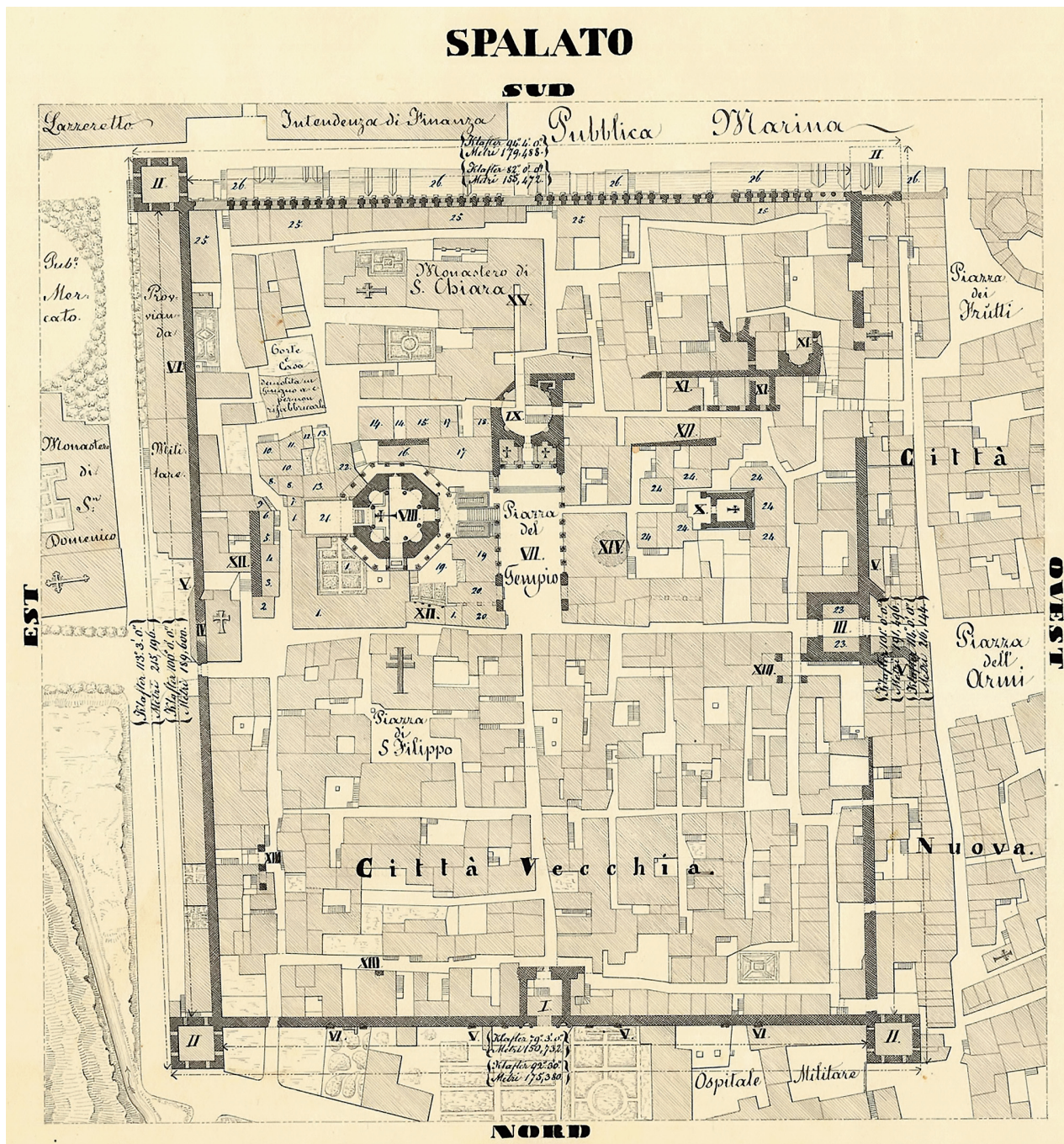


Fig. 1

Floor plan of part of the historic center of Split from 1852 with the remains of Jovius' palace, the monastery and the church of St. Clare and other buildings in the southeast quadrant before the purification and liberation of the southern gallery

opened a wide linguistic discussion about the interpretation of different transcripts of this chronicle, in which this news gets different interpretations in the light of reading different sources of the same work. The debate about the accuracy of the version of the text: *in villae suae palatio*, against the meaning of the text: *in villa sua Spalato*, and even: *in villa sua Aspalato*, opened a discussion among linguists, historians and archaeologists. Numerous researchers adhered to different perceptions of the Split villa, trying to read from the text the status of the villa, palace or castrum in the way that the chronicler's contemporaries saw it.

Spalatum lacks several essential architectural elements to be referred as a real imperial palace, similar to Constantinople, Antioch, Philippopolis (in Syria) or Ravenna, with its ceremonial residences, offices, reception rooms; the analogies observed by the researchers between these buildings and the residence of Spalatum do not prove to be decisive. Therefore, Noël Duval believes that Jovius' villa in Split cannot be called a palatium. This, moreover, was the position of more or less contemporary Latin authors, who all – except in the mentioned redaction of the Chronicle of St. Jerome – give the Spalatum residence the name *villa* and not *palatium*.³

The same conclusion can be reached by the urban analysis of Jovius' building in Split. Diocletian built his palatium in the villa sua Spalato, therefore in Jovius' villa, which is called Spalato or Aspalato, is his *palatium*, which is not that in the true sense of the word, but the residence of Jovius or the residence of God present among people, in fact his residence is the whole sanctuary where he lives *as deus praesens*.⁴

However, it is precisely by analyzing the architecture of Jovius's building in Spalato that we arrive at both terms in distinguishing between the names *villa* and *palatium*. *Villa* is a Spalato or Aspalato settlement where the building is walled with ramparts like a Roman castrum or, as Noël Duval called it, a *château*.⁵ It has two completely different parts: the fortified one, into which three doors lead to a kind of castrum (Golden, Silver and Iron), from which one (Bronze) leads to the *palatium*, built above the Cellars.

The *palatium* with the area of temples in front of it is the prototype of what we later find in Ravenna under the name *palatium sacrum*, and the door that leads to it is called Bronze or Kalke after the Greek halkeos, which means bronze.⁶ By analogy with the classic Roman house in modern Split, this preserved door is called the Vestibule, and the space in front of it with the Syrian arch is called the Protiron, although those parts did not originally bear that name, nor did they have that function.

T. Zawadzki tried to solve the onomastic practice and terminology of the sources of this period, as far as possible from written sources, discussing the use of the terms

3 N. Duval. Le "palais" de Diocletien à Spalato à la lumière des récentes découvertes. *Bull. Soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France* (1961) 88.

4 R. Bužančić, Diocletian's palace Του Ασπαλάθου κάστρον ὅπερ πάλατιον μικρόν", *Dioklecijan, tetrahija i Dioklecijanova palača, O 1700. obljetnici*, Split 2009, 235–278.

5 N. Duval, *op. cit.* (4) 90.

6 R. Bužančić, *op. cit.* (5); the name kalke was lost and gave way to the term vestibule, the vestibule of a classical Roman house.

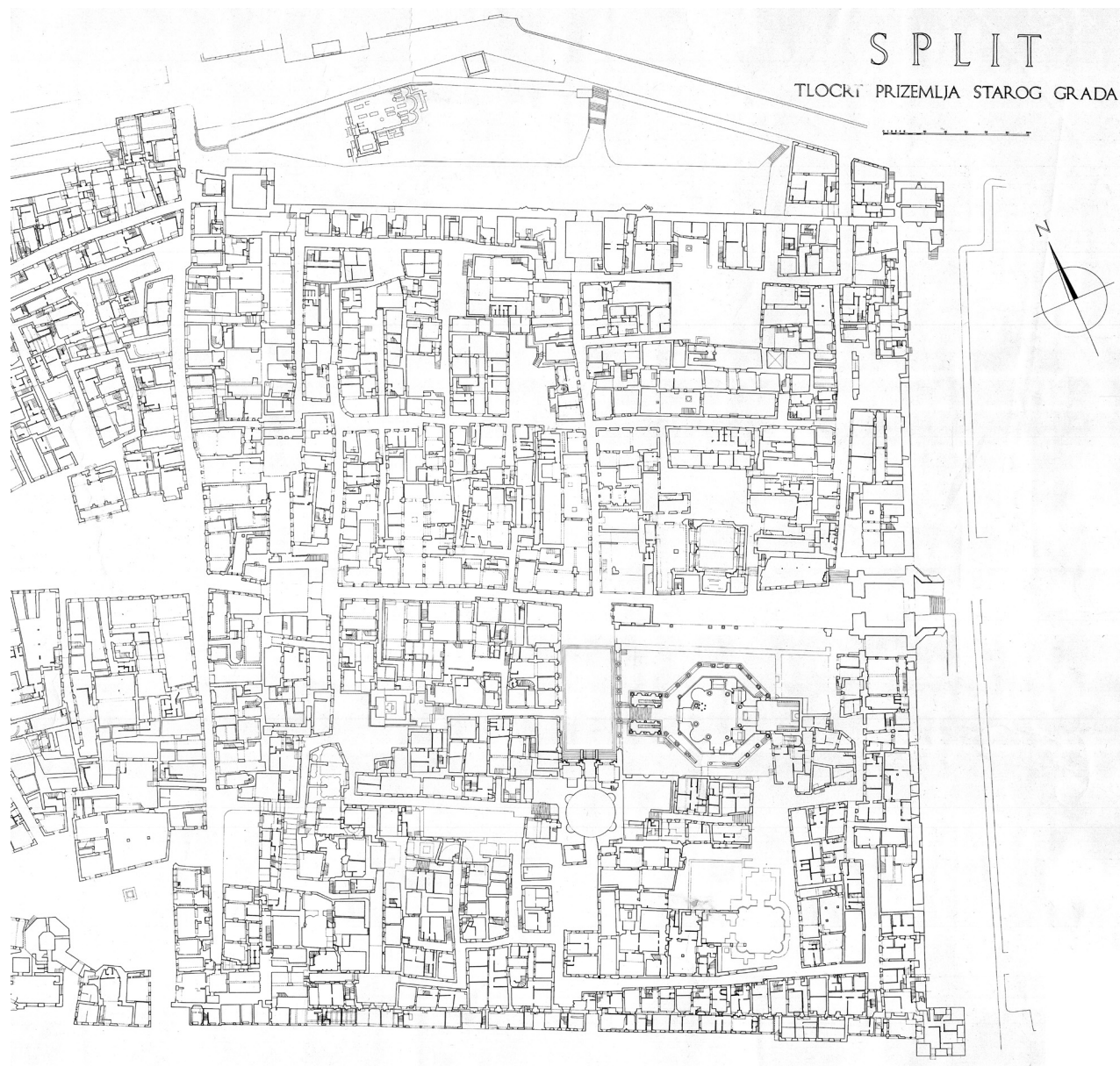


Fig. 2

The state of preservation of the southeastern quadrant of Jovius' palace within the historical core of Split in 1966. The discovery of the triclinium in the foundations of the ruined church of St. Clare

(Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, S. Ferić, I. Bikić, A. Balta, Đ. Serzenrić, M. Radman)

villa and *palatium*. He is right in his belief that it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the practice of ancient and contemporary researchers who, in order to define monuments, should first of all base their conclusions on a systematic analysis of urban and architectural elements, since linguistic analysis does not provide a reliable picture of the real situation.⁷

Ancient writers who refer to the place of Diocletian's last refuge as a *villa* do not mean a building, but a rural property. Towards the end of the fourth century, the anonymous compiler of *L'Épitome de Caesaribus* wrote that Diocletian withdrew from the city to the countryside in order to *in propriis agris consenuit*.⁸

We can notice the coincidences between the terms *villa* and *rus*, as well as the compiler's idea that the abdication was caused by the need for the beauty of the place in the way suggested by the *Historia augusta* in the chapter dedicated to Hadrian who built a famous residence in the neighborhood of Tibur, which the writer mentions as "Villa Tiburtina" *Tiburtinam villam mire exaedificavit ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lycium, Academicum, Prytanium, Canopum, Poecilen, Tempe vocaret*.⁹ Aurelius Victor points out that Hadrian retired to Tibur in order to deal with beautiful things, and that he left the management of affairs to Aelius Caesar: *remissior rus proprium Tibur secessit permissa urbe Lucio Aelio Caesari. Ipse uti beatis locupletibus mos palatia extruere, curare epulas, signa, tabulas pietas*,¹⁰ and like him, imitating him, Diocletian chose the locus amoenus in the vicinity of Salona. Hadrian was, by all accounts, Diocletian's role model, the tetrarchy was inspired by Hadrian's system of succession, Diocletian's architecture, as well as retreating to a villa outside the royal residence, is an obvious imitation of Hadrian's ruling experience. In this light, Hadrian's Villa Tiburtina became a kind of template for Diocletian's abdication and its construction next to the Salona.

Notitia dignitatum, a text from the late 4th and the early 5th century, mentions among other titles of officials of the empire the titles of the procurator of the gynaecium, the manager of the state weaving mills. Among the listed titles is *Procurator gynaecii Iovensis Dalmatiae – Aspalato*, about whom a lot has been written. As all the titles given by the *notitia* consist of stating the title of the official – *Procurator gynaecii* and the genitive of the place such as, *Sirmensis, Pannoniae secundae, Aquileiensis, Venetiae inferioris, or Mediolanensis, Liguriaie*, in the Split example the genitive of the place is *Iovensis Dalmatiae – Aspalato*. At the time of the compilation of the document, in the late 4th century, it would be difficult to accept that the adjective *Iovensis* refers to the *gynecium*, but as with other enumerations, it is connected to the genitive of the place, which in Diocletian's time was apparently *villa Iovensis*. According to this, if the villa as written earlier simply means a rural property, it would be located

7 T. Zawadzki, *op. cit.* (3).

8 *Épitome de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr et R. Gründel, Leipzig 1966, 39, 5.

9 *Script. Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 26, 5.

10 Aurelius Victor, *De Caes.* 14, 5–6.

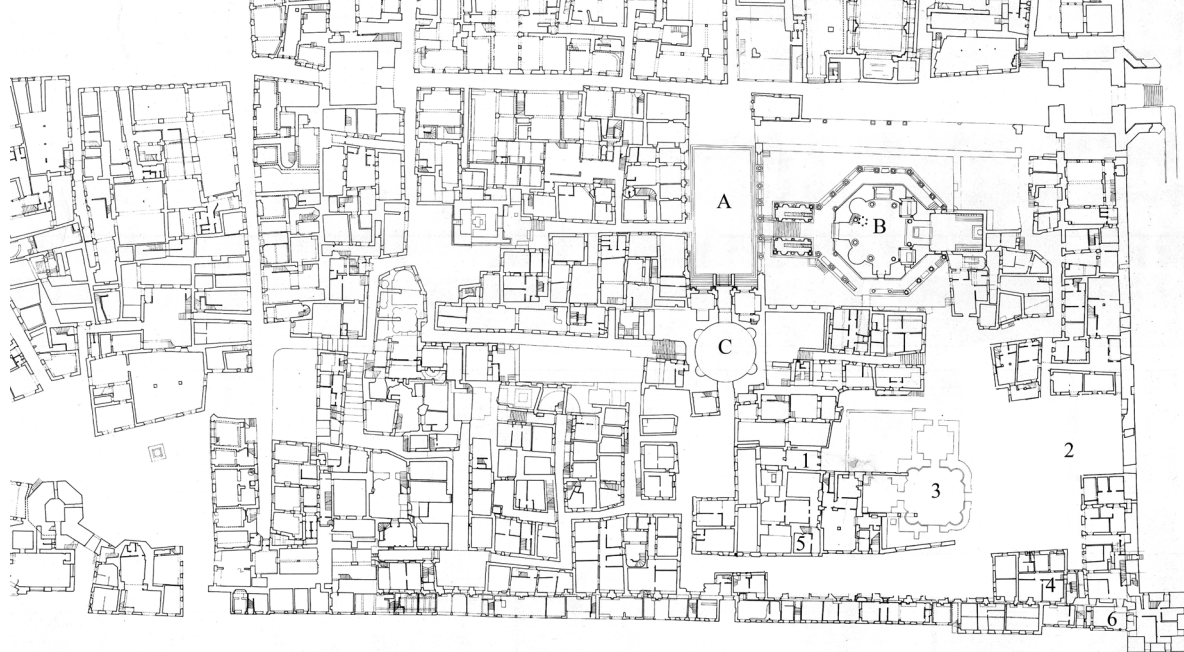


Fig. 3

The state of the southeast quadrant of Jovius' palace in 2000. A. Regia, B. Jupiter's temple and Jovius' mausoleum, C. Kalke through which one enters the Palatium sacrum, 1. *Zetas hiemales*, 2. *Zetas aestivales*, 3. Triclinium, 4. House at 6 Lukačićeva Street built on the premises of Episcopium 7 cent., 5. The royal castle built by Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić for Ladislaus of Naples, 6. The lodge with the Syrian arch, one of the four places where Jovius appeared to the public

(Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, S. Ferić, I. Bikić, A. Balta, Đ. Serzenrić, M. Radman)



Fig. 4

Today's shot of the historic center of Split by drone with the restored monastery of St. Clare and the visible purification of the ancient part of the city core

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somewhere in that area, Aspalato, in which, in addition to the ruler's residence, there were other facilities as well.¹¹

The recent discovery of a monumental building north of the palace, which I believe is more of an amphitheater than a *macelum*,¹² and the final parts of the hydraulic system: the aqueduct and the sewer outlet,¹³ indicate that in the future, other facilities such as the stadium, Diana's temple, which could have rather been a *fanum*, but a *templum* like numerous examples of sacred groves, and the gynaecium of Jovius' villa in Spalato can be added to the list.

A special place in the research and restoration of the Split residence belongs to the part that is colloquially called the Southeast quadrant of Diocletian's Palace, and its medieval name is the quarter of St. Domnius. It is the eastern side of the ruler's residence, the *palatium*, and the mausoleum to the north of it, which belonged to the sanctuary of the tetrarchy gods. According to the chronicle of Thomas the Archdeacon, the leaders of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities settled there in the 7th century. According to this source, Severus the Great Roman patrician of imperial roots, who led the refugees from the ruined Salona, and Johannes de Ravenna, the bishop sent by the Pope to rebuild the destroyed Church, transformed the imperial palace into the city of Split. Although Thomas' news is still taken with a grain of salt regarding the details related to the time of the event, from urban and architectural analyzes it is absolutely certain that the eastern part of the imperial residence in his time was divided into a part of the complex with the southeast tower and the triclinium where the episcopium was located, and the six cubicles to the west where the secular government was located.¹⁴ The medieval episcopium was described in the reambulation of the possessions of the archbishop of Split in 1397, and it included the southeast tower of the imperial villa with its ramparts and the eastern part of the imperial residence, and the triclinium in its middle, which in the reambulation is called: *sinagoga Sdorium vocatum cum capelis*.¹⁵ The triclinium chapels were converted into churches, of which the western one is dedicated to St. Nicholas, was given to the monastery of St. Clare. Since that time, several major changes have determined the present appearance of the southeast quadrant of the palace. The first is related to the arrival of Split under Venetian rule in 1420 and the relocation of the Franciscan monastery of St. Clare

11 J. Belamarić believes that the original, basic function of the tetrarchy palace in Split was the gynaecium, where Diocletian retreated in 305 after being forced to abdicate; comp: J. Belamarić, *Gynaecium Iovense Aspalathos Dalmatie*, Prilozi Povijesti Umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 40 (2004) 5–42.

12 A. Penović, N. Cingeli, K. Marasović, *Rimska tržnica – macellum u Splitu*, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku 113–2 (2020–2021) 393–417.

13 K. Marasović, S. Perojević, J. Margeta, *Antička kanalizacija Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu*, Građevinar 3 (2014) 237–248.

14 Cubicula E. Hebrardu titled *ospitali*; ref.: E. Hébrard – J. Zeiller, o. c., *Les Appartements Impériaux, Le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris 1912, 114; According to H. Kähler, they were originally the premises of the imperial honor guard; ref. H. Kähler, *Split i Piazza Armerina, rezidencije dvaju careva-tetrarha*, Urbs 4/1961–1962 (1965) 108; According to recent research, it is the summer residence of a retired emperor – *zetas aestivales*.; ref.: R. Bužančić, *op. cit.* (5) 234.

15 L. Katić, *Reambulacija dobara splitskog nadbiskupa 1397. godine*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta 5 Vol. III (1956) 139.



Fig. 5

The eastern part of the 3D model of the city center of Split with the renovated gallery on the sea side of the Palace, view from the northeast

(© Geographica)



Fig. 5a

The southern wall of the Palace after the: “liberation” and restoration of the gallery of Jovius’ residence in the 1970s

(© R. Bužančić)

from the seashore to the city castle, which was built above the mentioned cubicles of Jovius' palace. That monastery, connected to the city's arch, has become the largest content of this part of the city over the centuries, surpassing in size the archdiocese with which it bordered. The second major change in the space was brought about by a fire on the night between 30 and 31 December 1506, when the archbishop's palace burned down.¹⁶ In that fire, the triclinium of Jovius' villa was destroyed, which at the time when the Bishopric of Split was formed, along with the southeast tower, belonged to the bishop. Bishop Bonifatius Albani (1668–1678) moved the archbishop's palace to the north of the cathedral, and the old abandoned and ruined bishop's palace began to be rebuilt in the city quarter east of the St. Clare's Monastery. By the 19th century, the cellars in that part of the city, which was built on the area of the former western wing of Jovius' residence – the *palatium sacrum*, were mostly completely buried, while the houses built in the narrow streets of the city were partitioned and, in need of living space, built to the maximum.

PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES UNTIL THE ADOPTION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE WEST WING OF JOVIUS' RESIDENCE IN SPLIT

In the 19th century, the area of the western wing of Jovius' former residence was a densely built quarter of Split with layered houses in which the remains of historical buildings, especially the basement of the palace, were preserved. This is the time when scientific interest in the classical roots of the city, and especially in its late antique architecture, started growing again. In 1818, Emperor Francis I Habsburg visited Split and Dalmatia during his visit to the northern and southern Croatian coast. At his instigation, by decree of the Dalmatian government in 1820, the Archaeological Museum of Split was founded in Zadar, and Francesco Carara became its first director.¹⁷

Thirty years after the Vienna Central Commission, in 1854, it established its branch in Split, the C. K. (Carsko kraljevska) Conservation Office for Dalmatia. It was headed by Vicko Andrić, who completed his mathematics studies at Sapienza in Rome, and at the Academy of St. Luke, which was then led by Antonio Canova, acquired the status of an architect.¹⁸ The imperial decree of the Habsburg Monarchy started the institutional protection of the cultural assets of Split and Zadar, and soon on the entire eastern coast of the Adriatic, from which the institutional system of protection of the monuments of the South Slavic countries later developed.

Croatia was significantly influenced by the Italian cultural tradition on the one hand, and the traditions of Habsburg Mitteleuropa on the other, applying both opposing approaches in conservation practice. The discussion about the method today, after a whole century of conservation practice and open discussion, is even more

16 *Ibid.*

17 M. Špikić, *Carlo Lanza, prvi ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, *Kulturna baština* 34 (2007) 373–388.

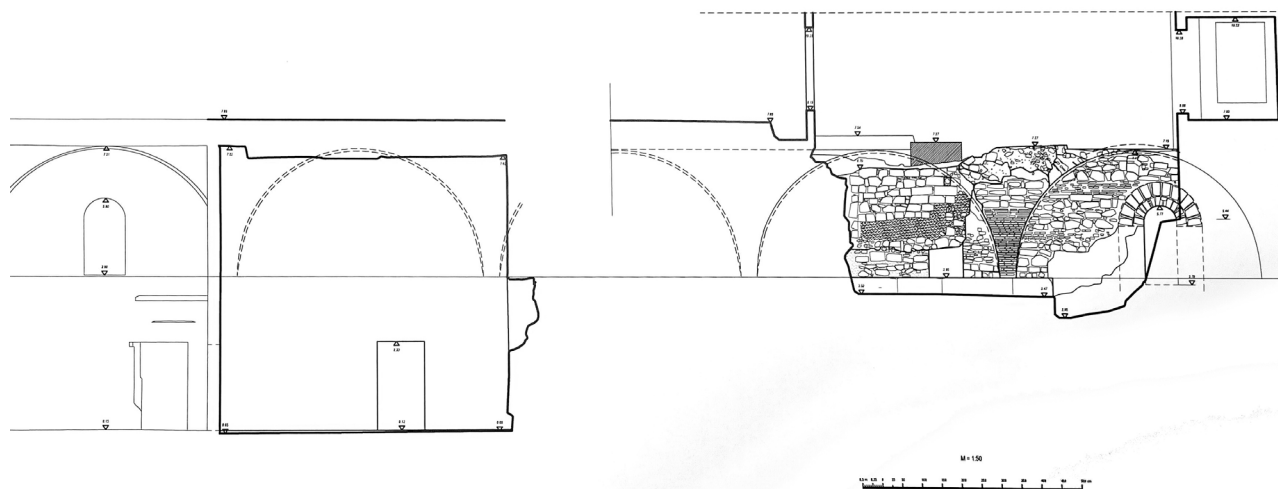
18 D. Kečkemet, *Vicko Andrić arhitekt i konzervator 1793–1866.*, Split 1993, 14.



Fig. 6

Longitudinal section through the restored ancient vault of the cellar of the Palace and parts of the recovered and restored wall at 6 Lukačičeva Street

(© Geographica)



Longitudinal section through the building at 6 Lukačičeva Street with the location of the researched and presented basement rooms west of it

radicalizing the mentioned starting points, at least as far as the contemporary philosophical ethical-aesthetic approach is concerned. One of the main goals of the Italian theory of restoration of the island's monuments is to create places of attraction and collective experiences of the past in the "public interest". This process began in the mid-19th century in the so-called *Risorgimento*, as the movement of unification, liberation and homogenization of Italy. In a similar way, national goals also became the guiding thread of the restoration of Croatian cultural heritage in the reborn Croatia of 1848, therefore its conservation and restoration in the late 19th century was simultaneously influenced by Viennese professors and the German cultural circle. In many respects it was the opposite of the Italian one, which were already brought to the homeland by Croatian conservators educated at Roman universities. In addition, national conservation experiences were not significantly more scrupulous than in Italy in the beginning, especially with regard to restoration, that is, the then-so-called methods of completing monuments, which also entered practice. Although earlier in time, the anthological example of cleaning the facade of the church of St. Maria in Cosmedin, in which Bernini's baroque facade was removed in order to restore the stylistically refined unity of the building, is an intervention that can be compared to the renovation of the Split bell tower in the early 20th century.

Its late Gothic finish, with an octagonal floor plan, was stylistically restored in the Romanesque style for the sake of stylistic refinement and uniformity of the appearance of the entire building, which caused numerous controversies in professional circles.¹⁹

At the center of the researcher's interest was Diocletian's architecture preserved in the historical layers of Split. Its study and presentation in the spirit of the times reached its peak in the mid-19th century in research and projects such as the fantastic restoration of the southern facade, which was conceived and almost realized by Vicko Andrić.²⁰

The late 19th and the early 20th century is a significant period in the preservation of the ancient heritage of Split, which was marked by the work of Don Frane Bulić, the competent conservator for the preservation of cultural and historical antiquities in the entire area of Dalmatia since 1878. During his time, intensive work was done on the research and presentation of the ancient monuments of Split. After Robert Adam, who assumed the floor plan organization of Diocletian's complex (1764), George Niemann (1910) and Ernest Hébrard (1912) continued to build a complete picture of the architecture of Diocletian's palace in the early 20th century.²¹ In the densely built city center, within the layers of historical architecture, hidden from view, there were extremely well preserved layers of tetrarchy construction.

19 D. Kečkemet, *Restauracija zvonika splitske katedrale*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture VI–VII (1957) 37–78.

20 R. Bužančić, *Portik Dioklecijanove vile u Splitu*, Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo 1–2 (2023) 16–17.

21 Niemann's monograph, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato*, was published in Vienna 1910, and the work of two French researchers of Diocletian's Palace, architects E. Hébrarda and Zeillera, *Spalato, Le Palais de Diocletien*, was published in Paris in 1912.

Fig. 7

The Syrian arch next to the southeast tower, built in the late Baroque building of the bishopric at 5 Lukačićeva Street. Along with the one at the end of the Region (Peristyla), the so-called "Protiron" and two others on the southern facade was the place where the emperor was presented in the imperial liturgy

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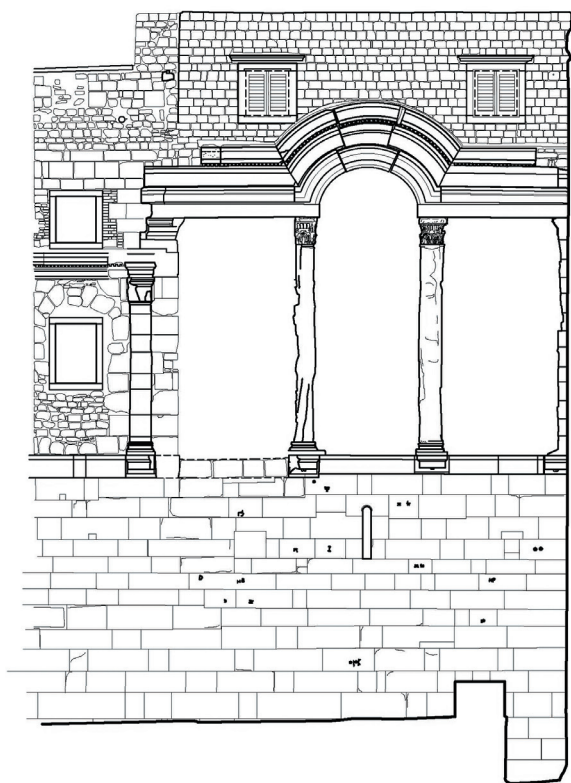


Fig. 8

Reconstruction of the wall of the basement rooms at 6 Lukačićeva Street.

(© R. Bužančić)



Fig. 9

Reconstruction of the basement window in the southern wall of the palace during the preparations for the restoration of the vault.

(© R. Bužančić)

Houses, warehouses and the old Archaeological Museum built at the beginning of the 19th century were located on the outside of the eastern wall of the Palace, and behind the walled Silver Gate was the church of the Good Death (“Dušica”).

The view of the northern wall was also obscured by residential houses and the walls of the defunct Benedictine monastery of St. Euphemia, which had been a military hospital since the Napoleonic era, and the western wall of the palace was completely within the town houses of the Street of Goldsmiths, as today’s Bosanska street was called in Marulić’s time. Built into the residential houses, erected on its inner side, the south wall of the palace was equally not visible, and the residential houses obscured the view of the Small Temple, the interior of the Iron Gate and the Vestibule.

The sacristy of the cathedral was built on the southern peripter of the mausoleum next to the choir in the 16th century, and on the opposite side the peripter was crossed by the baroque chapel of St. Domnius. To the north of the imperial mausoleum was the building of the Old Diocese, which obscured the view of Roman architecture, and to the south, in the quarter of St. Domnius, the buildings and the church of the monastery of St. Clare.

In the 1920^s, the purification of the palace began, the sole aim of which was the presentation of Roman architecture.²² The archdiocese, which was built in the 17th century by Bishop Albani, was demolished in 1924. At that time, the house on the eastern side of the Peristyle, where the pub was located, was also demolished, the houses in the Vestibule and the houses adjacent to the south and west sides of the Small Temple were demolished. In accordance with the purificatory practice of Italy, which, in the large-scale cleaning operations of Rome and other large centers, opened the foundations of its ancient cultural heritage, the buildings that obscured the most significant and best-preserved parts of ancient Roman architecture were removed from Split. A decade later, in Fascist Italy, the methods of isolation, stylistic purification and rehabilitation of monuments were called *sventramento* and *ambientamento*, and they were carried out on the monuments of the ancient era. On the example of the Mausoleum of Augustus, which was renovated by one of Mussolini’s most important architects, Antonio Munõz, to celebrate the bimillennium of the Roman Empire, one can read the urban pattern of contextualizing the ancient monument in the architecture of that era, which arose directly as a result of the Duce’s ambitions to present himself as the Augustus of the new age.

During the Second World War, in occupied Split in 1942, proposals were made by the commission of the Italian Royal Academy for the restoration of Diocletian’s Palace, which determined the cleaning guidelines that required the complete liberation of the external sides of Diocletian’s Palace from additions to the south, north and east, especially the southern facade with the lodges. Demolish the building of the Port Authority, clear the small houses at the foot of the wall so that a complete palace will reappear over the port. On the northern side, the Golden Gate and the

22 L. Katić, *op. cit.* (16) 139.

gardens of the Benedictine monastery were freed, on the eastern side, the houses along the palace wall towards the market were demolished. On the western side, it was not possible to remove the houses in Bosanska and Marulićeva Streets in order to clean the facade of the palace, but it was therefore planned to expose the remains of the Venetian city castle from 1420 and to remove the bank building from its northern side.

Furthermore, it was planned to systematize the center of Diocletian's Palace, the cathedral square of St. Domnius, Peristyle, which then bore the name *Roman Piazzetta*. Diocletian's mausoleum, the Romanesque bell tower of the cathedral, the vestibule of the palace and the street leading to the Little Temple were all gathered here in one place. They decided to leave the mausoleum in the function of the cathedral, but with the demolition of the added choir from 1600, which was built by Marco Antonio de Dominis. The small temple, the baptistery of the cathedral, was to be freed on the front and the north side, which all members agreed on. They did not agree on the demolition of the Cipci and Skočibučić-Luccari palaces in order to free the Peristyle arcade. The proposal was to move the facade to the west and free the western arch of the Peristyle from later construction, as well as to widen the street leading to the baptistery in order to open the view of the transverse axis of the Peristyle and the Palace. Luigi Marangoni, proto of the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice, a member of the Italian Royal Academy, was against the demolition. He believed that the demolition of the historical architecture on the western side of the Peristyle would be of little use for its presentation, and valuable elements of 16th century art would be sacrificed.²³

Fortunately, the proposals were not implemented at the time, but due to a combination of circumstances, the purification continued for the reconstruction of the war-damaged and demolished monuments of Split.²⁴

The northern wall of the ancient villa with the Golden Gate, where the military hospital located in the former Benedictine monastery was significantly damaged in the bombing, was freed. This nunnery from the 11th century was abolished at the beginning of the 19th century for the French administration of the city, and its ruins were destroyed after the 2nd century. The monastery buildings were removed, and the demolished early Romanesque monastery church of St. Euphemia was investigated by the Conservation Department in 1946, led by Cvito Fisković.²⁵ The early Renaissance chapel of St. Arnerius, the work of Juraj Dalmatinac and the belfry, and the archaeological remains of the early Romanesque church discovered during research were presented. In the same year, the ruins of the bombed Split infirmary were removed from the port of Split, which made the whole southern facade of the Palace available for view.

23 "Rimski Split. Izvješće studijskog povjerenstva Talijanske kraljevske akademije (1942)" in: G. Giovannoni, *Spomenici i ambijenti*, Zagreb 2018, 216.

24 C. Fisković, *Prilog proučavanju i zaštiti Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 4 (1950) 5–119.

25 C. Fisković, *Iskopine srednjovjekovne crkve sv. Eufemije u Splitu*, Historijski zbornik 1–4 Vol. 1 (1948) 201–210.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN QUADRANT OF THE SPLIT PALACE

The renovation and research of the Split imperial residence continued in the second half of the twentieth century by solving the problem of the historical core, through the so-called active protection of architectural heritage. The University of Minnesota from Minneapolis (USA) in cooperation with the Urban Institute from 1969 to 1974 conducted a survey of the southeastern part of the Palace, in which the imperial triclinium was discovered, and in the investigation works south of the cathedral, new archaeological finds emerged, such as drainage sewers canals and somewhat newer eastern thermal baths.

For this purpose, the houses along the southeast wall of the palace were cleaned, and a domus was found next to the temenos of the temple. All these works required the sacrifice of medieval and modern buildings, the most valuable of which was the monastery church of St. Clare removed during triclinium research.²⁶

In a comprehensive operation that is like a Roman *sventramenti* on the route Colosseum-Palazzo Venezia-Velabro, citizens were moved from unconditioned houses, after which numerous buildings and streets were demolished. It can be said that only the evicted buildings of the former monastery of St. Clare, where the Red Cross used to operate, and two houses next to the southeast tower, which were in extremely bad condition.

A major step forward in the protection of the extremely valuable heritage of Split was the Convention that the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization adopted at its XVII session held in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972. It was established that the cultural and natural heritage was increasingly threatened with destruction, not only due to the classic causes of deterioration, but also due to changes in social and economic life. This was followed by its ratification in 1975, and in 1979, the ancient core of the city of Split with Diocletian's Palace was inscribed in the List of World Heritage Sites. The convention created an opportunity for a new valorization by which the focus of the renovation was no longer exclusively on cultural assets of ancient provenance. Although in the beginning attention was still mainly focused on the restoration of the late antique architecture of the city, the evaluation of the overall historical heritage of all cultural layers began. In the late 1990s, the protection service, once separated into the City and Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, merged. The unique Conservation Department in Split was re-appointed to protect the area of the Split-Dalmatia County.

Around the year 2000, the renovation of the previously mentioned complex of Red Cross buildings began, which lasted for almost ten years and for which research has shown that it is extremely valuable architecture of the city castle of the early 15th

26 S. Perojević, K. Marasović, J. Marasović, *Istraživanja Dioklecijanove palace od 1985. do 2005. godine*. Dioklecijan, tetrahija i Dioklecijanova palača – O 1700. obljetnici postojanja, Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence, Split 2009, 51–94.

century. It was built by Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić for the residence of King Ladislav of Naples.²⁷ This building was created by unifying a significant series of houses that were built on the site of the six cubicles of Diocletian's Palace, and from the 7th century they belonged to members of the Split patriciate, from whose ranks the priors of the city, the authorities in the city, were elected. The houses in Lukačićeva Street, in contrast, were built on the site of the former Diocese, the seat of the Archbishop of Split, the successor of the head of the Salonitan church, which also occupied a large part of the former imperial residence. We will never completely get over the historical buildings that disappeared in the cleaning of the palace started during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, planned for the Italian occupation and carried out in the reconstruction of the city after the Second World War.

In the ruins of the found condition, the restoration of the cleaned quadrant of Diocletian's Palace was a difficult task, which to a lesser extent can be compared to the attempt to correct the interventions carried out in Rome in the first half of the 20th century. It was meant to reconcile the archaeological presentation of the extremely important discovery of the imperial triclinium of Diocletian's Palace and the urban revitalization of that part of the city, which was made possible by the historical settlement of ownership relations of the Basement of Diocletian's Palace.²⁸ The resolution of the ownership status of the Cellars enabled the adoption of an act on the protection and management of the Cellars and the systematic renovation of the city district. Houses that were directly threatened with demolition due to their structural condition were renovated and investigated. On one of them, at 6 Lukačićeva Street, the northern foundation did not lie on the ancient wall of the Cellar, which caused the separation of the northern facade, which had to be undertaken by conservation and restoration of the cross vaults buried under it. The complex and risky work included archaeological research and changes to the static rehabilitation projects during the work in accordance with the discovery of the remains of the structure, unexplored ancient chambers. The application of the Convention as a strategic document in this project achieved a double goal by valorizing the vernacular architecture of the city, as well as the monumental ancient architecture. For the first time, the layered building of the ancient bishopric, which preserved layers of architectural changes until the 19th century, was not demolished, in order to explore, open and present the cellars of the imperial palace. The century of purifications and conflicts of the ancient monumental heritage with the inferior, but no less historically valuable layers of the Middle and Modern Ages was over. Practice has shown that cultural heritage is always threatened with destruction, sometimes at a completely unexpected level, for example as part of efforts to protect and preserve it by renovation with prior purification of low-valued

27 R. Bužančić, *Ubikacija kaštela vojvode Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića na mjestu samostana sv. Klare u Split-skoj Dioklecijanovoj palači*. Samostan sv. Klare u Splitu u svom vremenu, Split 2008, 393–407.

28 According to the decision of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia dated 19 February 2019, Diocletian's Cellars in Split were designated as a building of archaeological significance and registered as a public property for general use.

historical architecture. After half a century, new research and urgent renovations made it possible to continue the restoration and presentation of the imperial *triclinium*, which is surrounded by the *zetas himales*, *zetas aestivales*, and the winter and summer quarters of Jovius' residence. With the completion of the restoration and conservation efforts, the *Palatium sacrum* was presented, where the emperor went in the year 305 after the abdication. The restoration of the gallery of its southern facade is underway, through the openings of which you can see the landscape of mythical beauty with the Brač Canal and the Split Gate.

Villa Iovensis and Spalatum (Diocletian's Palace), which were inscribed on the World Heritage List back in 1979, are the center of modern Split, whose face bears the scars of past centuries and bears witness to the struggle of Split's conservators to preserve the historical heritage of the city and all its layers.

After 170 years of institutional protection, the city will finally get a chance to restore and present ancient architecture, but also to revitalize the urban center, which lost its population through a century of house demolitions.

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DIOKLACIJANOVA PALAČA, OBNOVA JUGOISTOČNOG KVADRANTA

Villa Iovensis, Spalatum i Palatium sacrum, povijesni su pojmovi vezani uz grad Split koji je svoje podrijetlo vezuje uz ime tetrarha Dioklecijana i njegovo povlačenje s trona u udobni Spalatum Salone. Taj fenomen u potpunosti će odrediti urbanistički razvitak grada u kojem je najstarija jezgra rezidencijalna građevina 4. st. uobičajenog naziva Dioklecijanov palača. Kao i mnogi toponimi vezani uz tu gradnju poput Peristila, Vestibula, Kriptoportika, koji nisu precizni ni točni jer vuku korijen iz djelova klasične kuće, tako je i naziv Dioklecijanov palača upitan jer je nakon abdikacije Dioklecijan odbacio carsko ime i zadržao samo božanski naslov Jovius, sin Jupitrov. Kao što ni naziv Dioklecijanov palača nije točan pojam, jednako tako ni njegova utvrđena građevina nije u pravom smislu carska palača, o čemu postoji opsežna rasprava. Otkrivanje ostataka tetrarhijske arhitekture u arheološkim slojevima Splita, od kojih neki prelaze visinu od deset metara, kroz stoljeća će dovesti do čišćenja te monumentalne arhitekture od kasnijih slojeva, čime će se ukloniti brojne povijesne građevine. Neke od njih, da spomenemo samo kraljevski dvorac Ladislava Napuljskog, bile su više od prosječne vernakularne arhitekture svog doba izgubljene u slojevima kasnije arhitekture i spašene su zahvaljujući mjerama zaštite oslonjenim na Konvenciju koju je Generalna konferencija Organizacije ujedinjenih naroda za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu, donijela na svom XVII. zasjedanju održanom u Parizu od 17. listopada do 21. studenog 1972. godine.

Golemo iskustvo u zaštiti spomenika kulture Splita odrediti će dva datuma, 30. lipnja 1854. kada je dekretom bečke Centralne komisije za zaštitu spomenika imenovan Vicko Andrić konzervatorom splitskog i zadarskog okruga i 26. listopada 1979. kada je povijesni grad Split s Dioklecijanovom palačom upisan na popis dobara svjetske baštine. Split čije lice nosi ožiljke purifikacija prošlih stoljeća, svjedoči o borbi splitskih konzervatora za očuvanje povijesnog naslijeđa grada i svih njegovih slojeva koji su svjedoci konjunktura i recesija prošlih vremena. Oslanjajući se na Konvenciju koja je kroz niz mjera unaprijedila čuvanje kulturne baštine, grad Split će nakon 170 godina institucionalne zaštite napokon dobiti priliku za obnovu i prezentaciju neistražene antičke arhitekture, ali i revitalizaciju urbanog središta koje je kroz stoljeće rušenja kuća izgubilo svoje stanovništvo i duh sredine koja je u sebi sačuvala golemo kulturno umjetničko blago.