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DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE AT SPLIT[1]

By A. J. BROTHERS

THE existence of the great 'palace' which the Emperor Diocletian built for his retirement on the Dalmatian coast near his birthplace of Salona and which forms the nucleus of the present city of Split has been well known for over two hundred years. It was in 1757 that the celebrated Scottish architect Robert Adam visited Spalato, as it was then known; several years later he published his famous book of beautifully executed engravings of the ruins which, quite apart from its importance for the development of European neo-classical architecture in general and of the so-called Adam style in particular, first widely publicized the details of the palace in Europe.[2] Since then the remains have deservedly been the subject of several complete studies and have featured prominently in many books on Roman architecture and on Dalmatia.[3] With such a large amount of literature available in a comparatively accessible form, it is not my intention in this short article to provide either a complete historical account or a complete description of the place; it is rather to look briefly at its history from the time of Diocletian up to the point at which it stopped being a palace and started being a town, and to consider certain aspects of its architecture.

As far as the history of the palace is concerned, it is, as we should expect, fairly well documented for the period of Diocletian's retirement and death—though it is not always easy to separate fact from fable in our sources. We may be reasonably sure that the great building was

[1] I am very happy to acknowledge with gratitude the financial assistance of the Pantyfedwen Fund of Saint David's University College, Lampeter, which has enabled me to illustrate this article with more plates than it would otherwise have been possible to include. I am also indebted to my colleague, Mr. I. M. Barton, for reading the typescript and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] R. Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* ([London], 1764).

[3] G. Niemann, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato* (Vienna, 1910), and E. Hébrard and J. Zeiller, *Spalato: Le Palais de Dioclétien* (Paris, 1912) are still fundamental works on Split, despite the fact that recent excavations by the Yugoslavs have proved them wrong on several points. The fruits of the more recent work have been published in J. and T. Marasović, *Diocletian Palace* [sic] (English edition, Zagreb, 1970), which contains a wealth of fine illustrations and a sound text. See also, among many others, D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*[2] (Cambridge, 1943), 255 ff., 316 ff.; H. Kähler, *Art of the World: Rome and her Empire* (London, 1963), 202 ff., with a good plan on 204; and J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London, 1969), 387 ff., which gives an excellent account. S. Rossiter (ed.), *The Blue Guide to Yugoslavia, the Adriatic Coast* (London, 1969), 134 ff., provides a full and accurate tourist guide to the palace, with good maps.

ready when it was needed in A.D. 305. This was twelve years after Diocletian had perfected his renowned tetrarchy system with himself and Maximian as *Augusti* and Galerius and Constantius Chlorus as *Caesares*, and it is difficult to suppose that he had not at that time been thinking of the day when he and Maximian would retire, to be replaced by their two deputies, who would themselves take two new *Caesares* in their own former places. This twelve-year period would have been long enough for the planning and erection of the retreat selected for retirement, and Diocletian was probably inspecting progress on the nearly completed building, or even actually staying in it, when on 4 April 304 four members of his personal bodyguard were martyred in the amphitheatre at Salona, along with Domnius, first bishop of that city, and another priest.[1] On 1 May of the following year Diocletian, who had meanwhile only recently and with difficulty recovered from a very serious illness, did a thing without parallel for a Roman Emperor and voluntarily abdicated at Nicomedia, while by arrangement Maximian simultaneously did the same thing at Milan—though for him it went much against the grain to do so, as later events were to prove.

It was to the new palace near Salona that Diocletian went to live in his retirement, just as he had planned to do, and we only hear of him leaving it once in the rest of his life. The most persistent tradition is that the remainder of his days was passed pleasantly enough; as Gibbon puts it: 'Reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied, his retreat.' If we are to believe our sources, he spent his time indulging his passion for gardening, and especially for the growing of cabbages; for this particular piece of information we are indebted to the unknown epitomizer of a lost work *De Caesaribus*, who was once held to be the fourth-century writer Aurelius Victor, though this attribution is now generally denied. Whoever he was, he tells us that Galerius, together with Maximian who had resumed the throne in the rather involved circumstances following Constantius Chlorus' death, tried to persuade Diocletian to resume the throne himself also to sort out the growing mess. But this offer, made in 308 at the famous conference which Diocletian attended at Carnuntum on the Danube, was refused with the words, 'utinam Salonae possetis visere olera nostris manibus instituta, profecto numquam istud temptandum iudicaretis.'[2] The retired Emperor was firm, for he not only refused for himself, but also persuaded Maximian to abdicate for the second time. He returned

[1] The date is established by an inscription (*CIL* iii. 9575) illustrated in Wilkes, op. cit., plate 58, and the identity of the martyrs by *CIL* iii. 8874.

[2] [Aurelius Victor], *Epitome de Caesaribus* 39. 6. For the conference see also Zosimus ii. 10. 4–5, and for the famous dedication to Mithras made on that occasion *CIL* iii. 4413. For the actual date see E. Groag and A. Stein (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, i² (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), 335.

to Split, where he died, probably in 316,[1] and was buried in the mausoleum he had had prepared for himself within the walls of his palace.

There is, however, also a tradition that his retirement was not happy, nor his death peaceful. Certainly he must have known of the collapse of his tetrarchy system amid the ambitions and quarrellings of the various *Augusti* and *Caesares* in the last years of his life, and he must have been saddened by the civil wars which those quarrels engendered. But we are also told that his wife Prisca and his daughter Valeria were both Christians,[2] that the latter, after the death of Galerius whom she had been compelled to marry, was harried and persecuted successively by Maximin Daia and Licinius, and that both were executed.[3] Finally, we hear that it was because of the threats of Licinius and Constantine that Diocletian died;[4] they had asked him to a family marriage, and when he refused the invitation, pleading old age, they sent him an ominous reply accusing him of favouring their rivals Maximin and Maxentius; the ageing ex-Emperor realized that he was in danger of becoming a pawn in the tetrarchs' games, and so removed himself from their power for ever by taking a fatal dose of poison. We even hear elsewhere that he went insane or was condemned as a criminal by the Roman senate. But all the more fanciful of these stories, including, I am reluctantly compelled to admit, those cabbages, must be treated with great care; in particular, any suggestions that he met a violent end must be balanced against the understandable desire of Christian writers to dispel any idea that even one of the persecutors of the church, let alone the author of so severe a persecution as that instituted in the last years of Diocletian's reign, could have died peacefully in his bed.[5]

It is perhaps odd that subsequently the palace played little part in the history of the Roman Empire. We find the historian Ammianus Marcellinus telling us that some fifty years after Diocletian's death someone was falsely accused of treason on the ground that he had stolen the purple pall from the dead Emperor's tomb,[6] but apart from that we meet an almost complete silence. The building seems to have reverted

[1] The date is disputed. See Groag and Stein (eds.), loc. cit.

[2] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 15.

[3] Ibid. 51.

[4] [Aurelius Victor], *Epitome de Caesaribus* 39. 7.

[5] This bias comes across particularly clearly when Lactantius, having dealt with the mental anguish and physical pains of Diocletian's last days (*De Mort. Pers.* 42), begins his next chapter: 'Unus iam supererat de adversariis Dei, cuius nunc exitium ruinamque subnectam.'

[6] xvi. 8. 4. There is no suggestion that the pall was actually stolen, but the passage is evidence for the fact that the dead Emperor's body still lay in the mausoleum at that time. Exactly how and when the body and its sarcophagus disappeared we do not know, though it seems reasonable to associate their removal closely with the conversion of the mausoleum into a Christian church.

to the State, and we hear of the occasional member of the Imperial family living—perhaps being confined—in the residential apartments. Meanwhile the northern half of the palace, away from the actual living area, was turned into a textile factory where women worked to produce various items of military uniform[1]—it is said that it is from this fact that the Dalmatic gets its name. It is only in the dying years of the Western Empire that we hear of the palace coming into the mainstream of history again. Here in the middle of the fifth century Marcellinus held his court for a few years, Marcellinus who, afer some twelve years as virtual Caesar of Dalmatia owing allegiance to the Emperor, was murdered in Sicily by the German general Ricimer while he was preparing to fight the Vandals in Africa. Marcellinus' nephew, Flavius Julius Nepos, succeeded him at Split and was living there when, in June 474, he heard that his father-in-law, the Eastern Emperor Leo I, had appointed him Emperor of the West. His reign was brief and unhappy. He immediately had to oust a rival, Glycerius, whom Leo had not recognized; this he did by the simple but effective device of having him made a bishop, ensuring that he could be kept under surveillance by choosing Salona as the place in which he would exercise his episcopate. Nepos then had time to do little more than cede the Gallic province of Auvergne to the Visigoths in exchange for the return of Arles and Marseilles[2] before in August 475 he was himself ousted by Orestes, ex-secretary of Attila the Hun, who put his own son Romulus, called because of his youth Augustulus, on the throne instead. Romulus, usually termed the last Western Emperor, also lasted only a year, but he was never recognized in the East, and so to Nepos belongs the rather doubtful distinction of being the last legitimately appointed Emperor of the West. He returned to the palace of Split and retained his power in Dalmatia for five years more until his death in May 480; for all that time he was still recognized as Emperor in Gaul and in the East—and recent research has shown that that recognition was perhaps something more than a mere empty formality. His death had its irony; he was murdered in the palace by two Dalmatian nobles, and Glycerius, still bishop of Salona, was said to have been implicated.[3]

With Nepos' death, Dalmatia came under the legal sovereignty of the Eastern empire, and some hundred and thirty years later Salona, which had been repeatedly attacked by barbarian invaders, was finally captured and completely destroyed by the Avars. Since the last datable inscription yet found at Salona is the tombstone of someone who died

[1] *Notitia Dignitatum Occ.* xi. 46 and 48; *gynaecium* is the actual word used.

[2] Sidonius Apollinaris, who was Bishop of Auvergne at the time, bitterly complains of this deal in *Ep.* vii. 3, though in *Ep.* viii. 7 he terms Nepos a 'iustus princeps'.

[3] For a fuller account of Marcellinus and Nepos see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), 241 ff., and J. J. Wilkes, op. cit. 420–2.

in May 612,[1] all we can say is that the disaster took place some time after that. The survivors fled, presumably to the mountains or to the islands, but came together again when the Emperor Heraclius granted them the palace of Split as a new home. So, as the new inhabitants destroyed, altered, adapted, and rebuilt to suit their needs, Split stopped being a palace and started being a town; such it has remained to the present day.

It is the resultant harmonious and natural blending of Roman and later work, and of Imperial palace and residential city—a continuous process spanning many centuries—that today makes Split such a unique attraction for both tourist and scholar alike. Nowhere is this blend more obvious than in the south front of the palace (Plate I*a*), where walls and windows of houses fill the once open arches of the colonnaded gallery, or in the west side of the peristyle (Plate II), where its colonnade has been incorporated into the façades of a row of Renaissance houses, to surprisingly pleasing effect. Thus this is no mere ruin standing isolated and alone, though, of course, if it were so it would be impressive enough still. Instead, ever since its massive buildings were scarcely more than three hundred years old, Diocletian's palace *has been* the town of Split, and although in medieval times the town began to spread outside these walls and today has spread very much further, the palace still *is* the nucleus of modern Split, containing some of the best shops and most attractive cafés. Naturally there are examples elsewhere of ancient buildings which, incorporating later elements, have remained in something approaching continuous use—for instance, the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Roman Forum, now the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda; the Baths of Diocletian at Rome, now the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Museo Nazionale Romano; and the 'Basilica' at Trier, now a Lutheran church—but nowhere is the complex of buildings concerned so large nor the evidence of continuity so complete and so pleasing as in twentieth-century Split. It makes, as Rebecca West says,[2] 'an extraordinary revelation of the continuity of history', and it has been, to quote Rose Macaulay,[3] 'possibly, the most serviceable ruin in the world'.

In view of this it would seem to be regrettable, in the present writer's opinion at least, if in their eagerness to expose more Roman material the authorities were to destroy much, or even any, more of the medieval, Renaissance, or later work. The clearing of the accumulated rubble of centuries from the cellars beneath the site of the Imperial apartments in the south of the area is wholly laudable, though even here it has sometimes proved a tricky and dangerous operation since the rubble often

[1] J. J. Wilkes, op. cit. 436. [2] *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (London, 1967), 145.
[3] *Pleasure of Ruins* (London, 1966), 410.

serves as foundations for the buildings above; but to destroy buildings above ground is quite a different matter. In the maze of streets and alleys forming Split within the walls the visitor comes across wooden hoardings behind which demolition and excavation are going on, and the view from the top of the cathedral campanile reveals ugly gaps in the close-packed houses, looking remarkably like bomb sites—which some may indeed be. Bombs certainly destroyed the buildings which had hidden the East Gate from view, and after the Second World War the entrance was opened up again and the gate itself fairly extensively restored. But the exposure of the remains of the so-called 'triclinium' to the south-east of the cathedral, with its concomitant demolition of property, has certainly been done since the war, and several of the houses behind the eastern half of the south front disappeared between 1969 and 1971.[1] Further, the exteriors of the east and north walls have been almost entirely cleared of encroaching buildings of the type which conceal the lower half of the south front and completely hide the west wall. Much of this work, particularly that last mentioned, is tastefully done, commendable, and even necessary; but it is to be hoped that over-enthusiastic recovery and restoration, particularly inside the walls, will not be allowed to destroy Split's unique essential character.

Architecturally speaking, Split has, from the time of Adam, been known to exhibit several novel features. These have been variously either criticized as degenerate deviations from the classical norm,[2] or praised as imaginative advances and experiments which set the architecture of the palace on the threshold of the Byzantine or Romanesque, rather than the Roman, period.[3] Disagreements such as this can never really be resolved, since the opinions held depend largely upon the viewpoint from which one regards the features under discussion—and, anyway, the whole matter is one of aesthetics rather than of anything else. Accordingly I do not intend to take sides. However, this does not prevent us isolating and discussing these innovations—if such they are—and assessing their significance.

I say 'innovations—if such they are' advisedly, since several of them do in fact have earlier precedents, and the prominence accorded to their presence at Split is due to the boldness or monumental scale of their

[1] For a view of the 'triclinium' from the campanile see J. and T. Marasović, op. cit., 'enclosure', plate 43.

[2] Adam criticized the ornamentation of the North Gate (op. cit. 23–4, on plate XIII), and also described the way in which the horizontal entablature supporting the pediment of the *prothyron* curved up in an arch over its central intercolumniation as 'somewhat singular' and 'liable to Objection' (op. cit. 25, on plate XXI). For a more general condemnation of the architecture at Split see H. Plommer, *Ancient and Classical Architecture* (London, 1956), 364–5.

[3] For example Robertson, op. cit. 321, and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Roman Art and Architecture* (London, 1964), 144 ff.

use. This is certainly true of the arching of the entablature supporting the pediment of the *prothyron* at the south end of the peristyle over its central intercolumniation (Plate III*a*), which, as Adam knew,[1] had precedents at Baalbek, and which is also to be found in the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus and elsewhere. This was normally an attempt to lessen the weight of the pediment at its highest, and therefore heaviest, point. The difference in the use of this device at Split seems to be that here it was much more a matter of pure decoration and much less one of functional necessity. At Baalbek and at Ephesus the central intercolumniation is wider than the rest, and therefore the need to lessen the weight of the pediment above it at this point is all the greater, but at Split the central intercolumniation is no wider than those on either side. Some see in the use of the arching device in the *prothyron* here a desire to emphasize the god-like nature of the Emperor who might appear to receive homage beneath it and whose apartments were entered through it.[2]

Robertson comments that this practice of carrying the entablature up into an arch 'prepared men's minds to accept the bold experiment of springing arches direct from columns, of which a conspicuous example occurs in Diocletian's palace . . . This practice was in fact, as has often been pointed out, sometimes anticipated before A.D. 79, in the peristyles of houses at Pompeii, but Spalato shows one of its first appearances on the grand scale.'[3] This brings us to the most renowned, as well as the most dramatic, of all the architectural features of Split—again one which, as Robertson rightly points out, has earlier precedents.[4] Though unable to quote any earlier instance, Adam claimed to have found a contemporary example of the same feature in another of Diocletian's works: 'In the principal Front of Dioclesian's baths at Rome, published from the drawings of Palladio by Lord Burlington, there is an Arcade, supported by Columns, with Archivolts from Column to Column, exactly

[1] Op. cit. 25, on plate XXI. Robertson, op. cit. 226–8, deals thoroughly with this phenomenon at Baalbek and with its historical precursors, all of them also attempts to lessen the weight at this point.

[2] Kähler, op. cit. 206. One must be careful not to confuse the arch of the entablature with the lower arch between the central pair of columns which, like the chapels between the side pairs of columns, is much later and conceals a Roman doorway with a highly decorated horizontal lintel at the back of the porch.

[3] Op. cit. 227, and n. 4 on an example of monumental use which occurs about a century earlier at Lepcis Magna. There, as at Split, eastern influence may have been at work.

[4] For some of the much earlier, less grandiose precedents see Wheeler, op. cit. 145–7. His comparison with wall paintings in the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii is not really apposite, since there an entablature intervenes between the capitals and the arch—Robertson's 'second method', op. cit. 227, illustrated on 228. But the reference to the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum is undeniable. For this latter see also M. Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius* (London, 1971), 85.

similar to those of the Peristylium of this Palace. As that Part of these Baths have [*sic*] been destroyed since Palladio's Time, I am obliged to quote his Authority instead of appealing to the Original itself.'[1] Whether he was correct or not, at Split the evidence is plain. The colonnades along the east and west sides of the peristyle each consist of six monolithic columns about seventeen feet high, the northernmost two on each side being of cipollino and the rest of rose-pink granite like the four columns of the *prothyron*; arches spring directly from the Corinthian capitals of these columns without any intervening entablature. Each of these lines of arches on the east and west sides supports an entablature which at the south end turns into the entablature supporting the pediment of the *prothyron* which has been discussed above, and thus forms a continuous line round three sides of the open area. It is the colonnade on the east side of the peristyle which is the more striking of the two, since it is free-standing and has open arches, as was originally intended. Even the towering and rather inelegant mass of the cathedral campanile, which, as well as being very much taller than the porch of the mausoleum which it presumably replaced, comes far closer to the columns of the colonnade than the porch would have done, cannot detract from the way in which this feature stands out. Even so, it is perhaps even better to view this east side from outside the peristyle further to the east, where one can also see, through its open arches, the closed colonnade of the western side with Renaissance houses built in between the columns and reaching to some height above the entablature (Plate II). This latter side is necessarily less obvious in the impression it gives, but it makes up for this in the charm of the over-all picture. But above all it is when the whole area of the peristyle court is viewed from its open north end, where the *decumanus* which connects the East and West Gates meets the *cardo* which leads southwards from the main gate in the north wall, that the deepest impression is made. If in imagination one can ignore the tables and umbrellas of the café in the foreground, the throngs of tourists, the souvenir sellers and the semi-resident hippies, if one can in one's mind's eye remove the houses to the west, the campanile to the east and the two medieval chapels and the small central archway which squat between the pillars of the *prothyron*, one has the feeling of standing just inside the doorway of a large, roofless Romanesque basilica looking down its central aisle (Plate III*b*). This comparison has been made before, but for all that it is a true one and one worth repeating. It is just this use of arches springing directly from capitals of columns which was such a prominent feature of some early Romanesque basilicas, where the side aisles were separated from

[1] Op. cit. 25, on plate XX. For Burlington's book *Designs of Ancient Buildings by Palladio* (London, 1730) see J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation* (London, 1962), 125.

the central one by precisely similar colonnades. Here more than anywhere else in the palace one is conscious of looking at a building which stood on the threshold of a new architectural era.

Another innovation to be found at Split—and here 'innovation' does seem to be the correct word—is the presence of columns standing on isolated corbels. There are two instances of this, one on the colonnaded gallery of the south front, where the columns are engaged, and the other on the elaborate principal entrance, the North Gate, where they are not—or rather were not, since the columns themselves have now entirely disappeared, though the corbels remain.[1] On the south front the gallery runs in two stretches between the loggias at either end and the site of the loggia which was once situated in the centre over the small South Gate; each stretch consisted of 21 arched openings now filled with walls and windows of later houses, the arch to the left of centre in each being larger than the rest. The arches are separated by very much simplified engaged Corinthian columns standing on isolated plain corbels, and between the corbels runs a band of masonry carved in *cyma recta* profile (Plate I*a*). The columns carry a continuous, simple horizontal entablature which is arched over the larger opening in each stretch and which has projecting sections over each column capital, rather as the two entablatures encircling the inside of the mausoleum project over their columns. The corbels, the most interesting and novel feature of this composition, are not too impressive or too obvious to the casual observer; this is firstly because the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings erected against the south front rise almost to the level of the gallery and thus, if one approaches too close, the actual corbels are hidden from view, and also because the ornamental band running between them tends to make one overlook the fact that they are isolated. By contrast, on the North Gate the isolation of the corbels could hardly be more obvious (Plates I*b*, IV and V*a*). They are large and strikingly carved; they are barely twenty feet up from the ground and the view of them is uninterrupted; no band of masonry connects them and the columns they once supported have gone. There are six of them in all, and above, where the tops of the missing columns would have been, five of the original six capitals remain. The six columns flanked three niches, that in the centre rectangular and those on either side semi-circular, and from their capitals, over the niches and the four panels of plain wall which separate and flank them, spring seven slightly irregular arches of blind arcading; the famous feature of the peristyle colonnades is thus repeated here in a different form. Below the side

[1] Robertson, op. cit. 321, implies that the columns on the North Gate too were engaged. This is incorrect, and, although they must have stood right against the outer face of the gate itself, there is no trace of any engagement.

niches, on either side of the gateway itself, are two more niches, also semi-circular, flanked by Corinthian pilasters. The carving of the six corbels is elaborate; viewed from either side they all show the two spiral twists of classical consoles, but when viewed from below, whereas the outer four exhibit deeply incised acanthus leaves, the two directly above the entrance show peculiar faces looking not unlike medieval devils (Plate I*b*).[1] Once again one gets the feeling of looking at work which more naturally belongs to a much later period, for these little faces with their ears and horns would seem to be far more in place in a medieval cathedral than over a Roman gateway. It is odd that the right-hand one, while keeping its ears, has lost its horns—close examination, even from ground level, makes it clear that it *was* once horned like its neighbour. Perhaps they did look too much like the devil for some zealous Christian; but if they did, he was fortunately prevented from mutilating the other one in like manner.[2]

Robertson singles out three features of the architecture of the palace as 'most striking',[3] and two of these, arches springing direct from the capitals of columns and columns standing on isolated corbels, I have already now discussed. This brings me, in conclusion, to his third, which he names as 'decorative open relieving arches over flat arch lintels'. He is obviously thinking of the four gates when he says this—the ornate North Gate, just mentioned in another connection, the slightly less elaborate East and West Gates, which were identical with one another, and the small South Gate which led from the jetty directly into the cellars beneath the imperial apartments. I must say that I believe Robertson to be wrong in what he says here, and that I do not think that any of the gates has a relieving arch in the true sense of the word. It is, however, surprising how widely his opinion has been taken up and how often it is repeated in books on Split; sometimes a different description can be found,[4] but for the most part the 'relieving arch' account is accepted. It is, I think, possible to see why this is so. When viewed from outside all four gates do indeed seem to have open relieving arches over their lintels; but when viewed from the inside it is quite clear that the entrances are in fact full true arches with lintels inserted into them at their outer sides.

[1] Adam, op. cit., plate XII, misplaces one of the 'devil-face' corbels and adds a third, which should warn us not to put too much faith in the detail of his engravings; plate XIII, however, is correct. Plate XII also shows three complete columns and portions of two more still in position on the corbels, and all six capitals in place.

[2] J. and T. Marasović, op. cit. 13, think the heads are those of minotaurs, but, despite the horns and the rather cow-like ears, the actual faces look more like those of humans.

[3] Op. cit. 321.

[4] For example Sir Ian Richmond, *Roman Archaeology and Art* (London, 1969), 274–5; but I do not believe his description to be fully correct—even if, as seems certain, 'renewed' is taken as a misprint for 'removed' on 275.

To take the South Gate first, this is a very simple construction. It is a small narrow archway driven through the thickness of the wall at the bottom of the south front, with a single large stone (recently renewed) inserted fairly near the top of the arch right at its outer side to form a lintel. This lintel extends no more than a third of the way back into the arch, the remaining inner two-thirds of the depth of which is simply an arch and nothing more. The other three gates are more complicated, but are similar to one another in design; the North Gate is more elaborately ornamented on its outer face than the other two, as befits what was the principal landward entrance on the main route from Salona, but otherwise the general principle is the same. Each one consisted of an outer and an inner arched gateway separated by a high-walled rectangular court (*propugnaculum*) to which, presumably, visitors were first admitted before being allowed to proceed further; the *propugnaculum* and inner arch of the East Gate have almost completely disappeared, but the North Gate and the West Gate, of which the latter is the more perfectly preserved, have all the essential components. In these three gates it is the outer of the two arched entrances with which we are now concerned. Here again the lintel is set right at the outer side of the archway, but now it is in fact more correctly *two* lintels separated by a narrow gap. These double lintels take the form of two flat arches, the outer one of which in each case has joggled voussoirs, while those of the inner one in each case are straight-sided. Directly below the two lintels the entrance is narrowed on either side by two pairs of projecting piers, each pair separated by a gap corresponding to that between the lintels above them. A further corresponding opening is cut into the arch above, and a portcullis could be lowered down through this, to drop through the gap between the two lintels and down the grooves formed between the pairs of projecting piers on either side. The actual double gates were set behind the inner lintel, opening inwards by means of pivots which turned in sockets. The upper sockets were hollowed out of blocks of stone set just behind the lintel, while the lower ones, no traces of which now remain at any gates, must have been hollowed out in the pavement directly below. These numerous features can all be seen in their original condition in the West Gate (Plate V*b*), where, from inside, the double flat arch lintel set well to the outer side of the archway, the opening for the portcullis in the arch above, the piers and the blocks with hollowed-out sockets for the gate pivots can all be clearly identified; it can also be seen that from outside the view is somewhat hampered by a building encroaching on to the south side of the archway. At the North Gate (Plate VI) the inner of the two lintels and the blocks containing the sockets have gone, but the piers and the outer lintel are still there, while on the East Gate all the

features are present, since the whole entrance has been entirely renewed since the Second World War. The impression given from outside these three gates that they have relieving arches over flat arch lintels is indeed very strong—even stronger, in fact, than the impression from outside the South Gate. This is because the piers described above have the effect of narrowing the width of the opening below the lintels; it is therefore only immediately above the lintels that the true width of the archway is seen (Plates IV and V*a*). If one is not aware that this is the full width of a true arch, then it does seem very much as if a relieving arch is transferring the downward thrust of the weight of the wall above to the more solid masonry on either side of the opening.

In this account I have hardly mentioned the important and interesting mausoleum, now the cathedral, where, by one of those oddities of life so beloved of tourist guides, the medallions of Diocletian and Prisca in the frieze are darkened by the candle-smoke and incense of that very religion which the Emperor tried so hard to suppress; I have totally ignored the cellars, and the exquisite little temple of Jupiter with its deeply coffered barrel vault still intact. But I have, I hope, selected some of the architectural features which have made Split so famous and which will always make it such an important place in the history of architecture, built, as it undoubtedly was, at a major point of transition.

PLATE I*a*. Split: a section of the colonnaded gallery of the south front

PLATE I*b*. Split: the central corbels and capitals and a section of the blind arcading of the North Gate

PLATE II. Split: a view across the south end of the peristyle from east to west

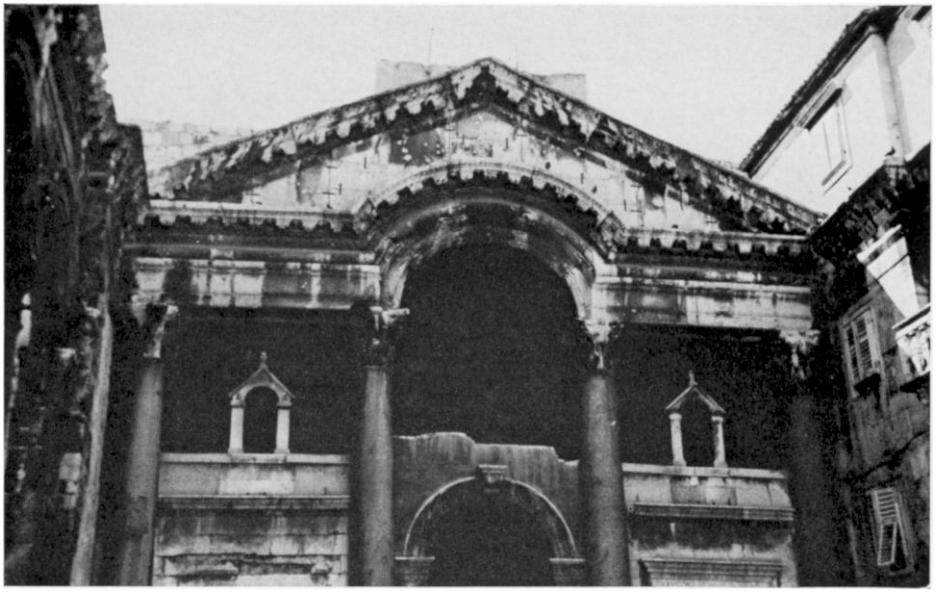

PLATE III*a*. Split: the pediment of the *prothyron*

PLATE III*b*. Split: the peristyle from the north

PLATE IV. Split: the North Gate

PLATE V*a*. Split: the lintel, the so-called relieving arch, and the corbels of the North Gate

PLATE V*b*. Split: the double lintel of the West Gate viewed from inside

PLATE VI. Split: the arch of the North Gate viewed from inside