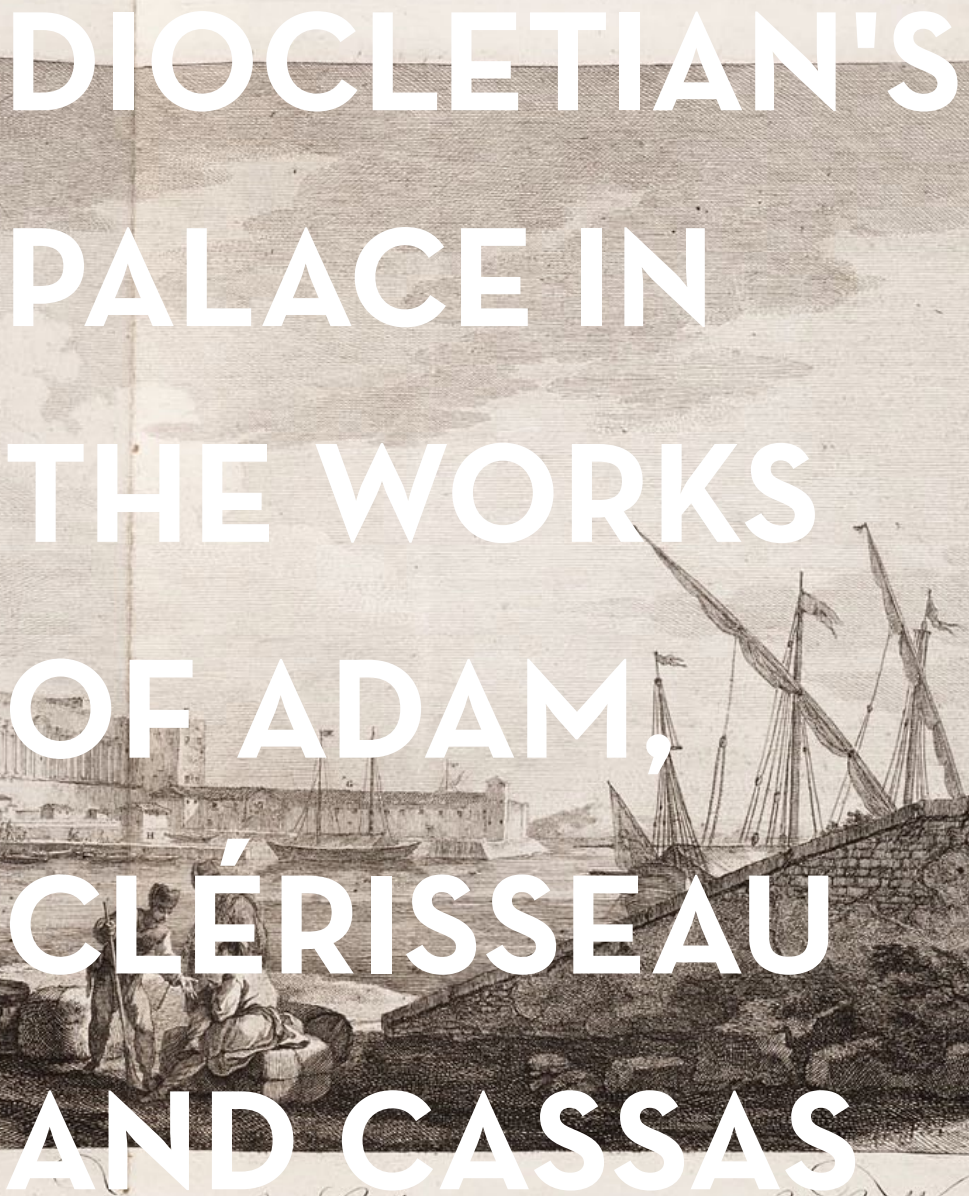


PROGRAMME AND BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

An engraving of the town of Spalatro (modern-day Trogir) in Croatia, viewed from the south-west. The scene shows a harbor with several sailing ships, a stone wall in the foreground, and buildings in the background. The title text is overlaid on the image.

# DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE IN THE WORKS OF ADAM, CLÉRISSÉAU AND CASSAS

*View of the Town of Spalatro from the South West*  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY

INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY-CENTRE CVITO FISKOVIĆ SPLIT

27th-29th November 2014

Split City Museum

Papaličeva 1

**IMAGES**

**COVER PAGE**

**Adam, Robert**

**Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (1764); Plate IV. View of the town of Spalatro from the south west**

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**Adam, Robert**

**Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (1764); Plate XII. View of the Porta Aurea, engraved by Paolo Santini from Charles-Louis Clerisseau's drawing (RIBA Library Drawings Collection, Ref No RIBA65885)**

**PAGE 13**

**Cassas, Louis François**

**Vue de la porte en du vestibule du temple d'Esculape,...., original drawing for illustration to Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie (1802). © Victoria and Albert Museum, London**

**PAGE 19**

**Adam, Robert**

**Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (1764); Plate XLIX. Pannels of the arched ceiling of the Temple of Aesculapius, capital and pilaster in the angle of the Peristylum**

**PAGE 25**

**Adam, Robert**

**Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (1764); [Frontispiece] Plate I**

International  
conference  
organized  
by Institute of  
Art History-Centre  
Cvito Fisković Split

# Diocletian's Palace in the works of Adam, Clérisseau and Cassas

Scientific  
Committee

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Committee

JOŠKO BELAMARIĆ  
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ANA ŠVERKO

27th-29th November 2014  
Split City Museum  
Papalićeva 1



The international conference entitled ***Diocletian's palace in the works of Adam, Clérisseau and Cassas*** – Split, November 27-29, 2014, organized by the Institute of Art History, arises out of the installation research project ***Dalmatia – a destination of European Grand Tour in the 18th and the 19th century*** (2014-2017) of the Institute of Art History, under the aegis of the Croatian Science Foundation. The conference is financed by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports and the City of Split.

Researchers from several countries responded to the invitation to explore the role of Diocletian's Palace in the work of Robert Adam, Charles-Louis Clérisseau and Louis-François Cassas, as well as the influence of Diocletian's Palace on the development of European neo-classicism.

The papers are divided into four groups. The section subtitled ***Reading the Place*** brings together papers primarily devoted to the ways in which the space is understood and recorded in image and word, based on the direct observation of the monuments and their surroundings. ***Representing the Past*** collects works in which the emphasis is placed on depictions of Diocletian's Palace as sources for scholarship. From today's perspective, they are an important document concerning the state of the monument of that time. Here there is also a contribution about the only extant specimen of the Livorno edition of Adam's Diocletian's Palace. The group linked by the subtitle ***Diocletian's Palace and the Adam Style*** presents works in which there is discussion of the direct influence of Diocletian's Palace on the work of Robert Adam, while ***Lessons of Diocletian's Palace*** focuses on the later influences of the works of Adam, Clérisseau and Cassas about the Palace on neo-classicist architecture and culture, as well as on later periods and on the conservation of the Palace itself.

## PROGRAMME

Thursday, November 27  
Split City Museum

9.00 - 10.00

Registration

10.00

Welcoming remarks

10.30

**1st session**

***Reading the Place***

Moderators

Frances Sands, Milan Pelc

10.30

Heather Hyde Minor

**Robert Adam as Author**

10.55

Angelo Lorenzi

**The Adam's point of view**

11.20

Ana Šverko

**“The view from the Palace is no less beautiful”: the context of Diocletian's Palace in the book *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia***

11.45

Isabelle Warin

**The Ornamentation of Diocletian's Palace in the work of Louis-François Cassa (1756-1827)**

12.10-12.40

Coffee Break

12.40 - 13.10

Discussion

13.30

Lunch Break

16.00

**2nd session**

***Representing the Past***

Moderators:

Flora Turner-Vučetić, John A. Pinto

16.00

Joško Belamarić

**The Split Peristyle as interpreted by Robert Adam**

16.25

Krasanka Majer Jurišić

**The 18<sup>th</sup> Century graphics of the *Porta Ferrea* and the Communal square In Split**

16.50

Ivan Mirnik, Ante Rendić-Miočević

**Another look at the Livorno edition of Adam's Diocletian's Palace**

17.15-17.45

Discussion

17.45 -18.15

Coffee Break

18.30-19.30

**Lecture**

John A. Pinto

**“The most glorious place in the universal world”: Rome in the Age of the Grand Tour**

Friday, November 28

Split City Museum

9.30

**3rd session**

***Diocletian's Palace and the Adam Style***

Moderators

Heather Hyde Minor, Ante Rendić-Miočević

9.30

Frances Sands

**Reconstructed and in ruins: the influence of Diocletian's Palace within the drawings of Robert Adam**

9.55

John A. Pinto

**“The Beautiful Spirit of Antiquity”:  
Robert Adam and Diocletian’s Palace**

10.20

Colin Thom

**'Spalatro' on Thames: or how Diocletian’s  
Palace inspired Robert Adam’s most  
audacious development – the Adelphi**

10.20

Elke Katharina Wittich

**Variety and elegance. Details of  
Diocletian’s Palace in architectural  
decorations**

10.45-11.15

Discussion

11.15 – 12.15

Coffee Break

12.15

**4th session**

***Lessons of Diocletian’s Palace***

Moderators

Barbara Vujanović, Fabien Bellat

12.15

Annie Gilet

**Dessins et gravures du Palais de  
Dioclétien à Split par Louis-François  
Cassas (1756-1827), un exercice  
préparatoire aux relevés des grands  
sites archéologiques du Levant en 1785**

12.40

Amanda Green

**Experiential Neoclassicism and  
the Adam 'Revolution' in English  
Architecture**

13.05

Stephen Caffey

**Imperial Capriccio: The Palace of  
Diocletian and England’s Visual Cultures  
of Empire**

13.30-14.00

Discussion

14.30

Lunch Break

16.30

**4th session**

***Lessons of Diocletian's Palace***

Moderators

Elke Katharina Wittich, Joško Belamarić

16.30

Viktor Lőrincz

**Local Antiquities and Architecture in  
the 18th Century Central-Europe: The  
Case of Cardinal Migazzi and I.M.A.  
Ganneval**

16.55

Olivia Sara Carli

**The influence of Adam, Clérisseau  
and Cassas on Diocletian's Palace  
restoration**

17.20

Fabien Bellat

**Stalinists avatars of Diocletian Palace**

17.45-18.15

Discussion

18.15 -18.45

Coffee Break

18.45-19.45

**Lecture**

Ivan Mirnik, Ante Rendić-Miočević

**Sheila Mc Nally and excavations of  
Diocletian's Palace (1968-75)**

**Saturday, November 29**

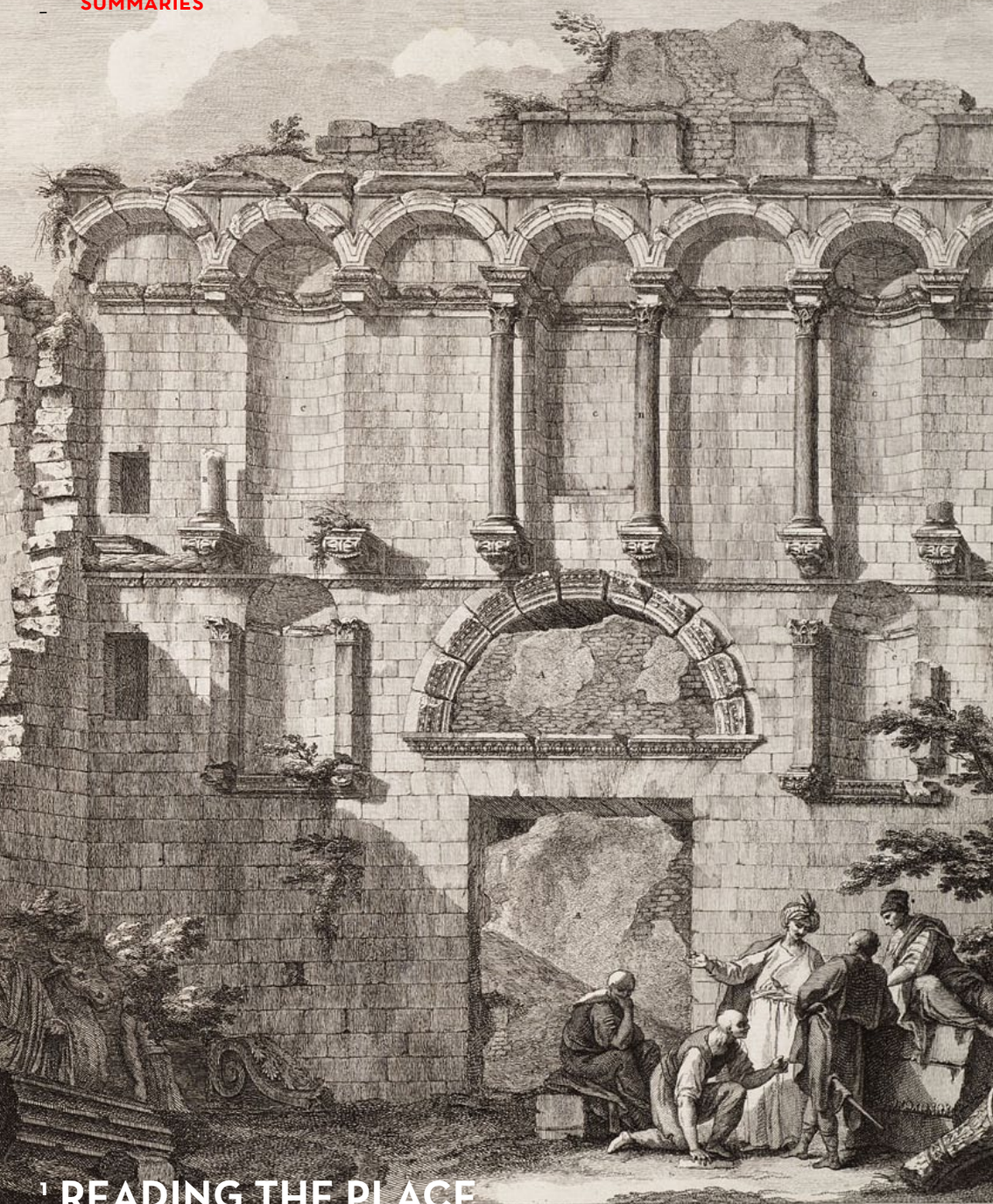
**Diocletian's Palace**

9.30 – 12.30

Walking tour in Diocletian's Palace

12.30-13.30

Summary of the Conference



**1 READING THE PLACE**

*View of the Porta Aurca*



**Heather  
Hyde Minor**

hminor@illinois.edu

### **Robert Adam as Author**

In 1757 Robert Adam spent several weeks at Split among the spectacular ruins. But Adam did not travel to the Dalmatian coast simply to study or to draw the remains there. He went to the site with the intention of publishing them. Seven years later, his *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* came out in London.

While Adam was already accomplished as an architect, with the publication of the Ruins he became an author. As Ian Gordon Brown has demonstrated, Adam was not solely responsible for this publication. It was a collective enterprise, resulting from a collaboration with Charles-Louis Clérissseau and Adam's brother-in-law, among others.

This paper will focus on the particular relationship between texts and images in the Ruins. While the texts that appear in the book have received less attention than the beautiful prints, they are an integral part of it. My talk will emphasize Adam's texts, seeking to understand how word and image work together. I will compare his book to other contemporary illustrated folios about ancient sites, specifically focusing on Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Antichità Romane* (1756). By elucidating their differing approaches to ancient texts and material remains, I will shed new light on Adam's contributions to antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century.

**Heather Hyde Minor** is associate professor of the history of architecture at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (USA). Her research focuses on eighteenth-century Rome. Her book, *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), won the Helen and Howard A. Marraro Prize and the Honorable Mention for the Alice Davis Hitchcock Book Award from the Society of Architectural Historians. She is the co-editor of *The Serpent and the Stylus: Essays on G.B. Piranesi* (University of Michigan Press, 2006). Her forthcoming book, *Piranesi's Lost Words* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), examines Giovanni Battista Piranesi as an author.

## Adam's point of view

We do not see a city only with our eyes. We also see a city through the way that others have looked at it, through the images and books they have left. The books preserve the memory of the city and pass on its forms. Each book represents a point of view but some inaugurate a vision that remains in time. The book of Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of The Emperor Diocletian* (London, 1764), has this inaugural character. It fits in with archaeological publications dedicated to the Grand Tour but is distinguished by its greater effort in the interpretation of the building. This paper focuses on the key role of the drawings in ensuring additional importance for Adam's book as well as on their singularities in neoclassical research. The corpus of pictures consists of 61 plates and reflects a knowledge of many masters of architecture, such as Palladio, Desgodetz and Piranesi. But through the outstanding work of Clérisseau the drawings play a more important role. They fix the architectural themes of the building (such as the relationship between the building and the landscape given in *Plate VII, View of the CryptoPorticus Towards the Harbour*) and establish a point of view on the Split ruins that will become "classico". These drawings combine to make Diocletian's Palace a secret presence in many architectural works and build the myth of Split. Adam's point of view returns in the pictures of the books, of Cassas, Hébrard, Niemann and in many photographs of the Palace as those of N. Gattin.

**Angelo Lorenzi** was born in Turin in 1963 and lives and works in Milan. He is assistant professor in architecture and urban design at the department of architecture, built environment and construction engineering (ABC) of Politecnico di Milano. He received his degree from the Politecnico di Torino Architecture School with a thesis on architectural design in archaeological sites (advisor: Prof. Daniele Vitale). He was awarded his PhD by the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia with a study on Diocletian's Palace in Split. This research work has led to numerous publications, to participation in conferences and seminars, and to the book: Angelo Lorenzi, *Il palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato*, Aión Edizioni, Florence, 2012.

He has lectured, taught and given critiques at universities in Italy and elsewhere, including IUAV in Venice, the Architecture School of Bologna University, the Engineering and Architecture School of Enna University, the department of architectural and industrial design of Politecnico di Torino, the São Carlos department of architecture and urban design of the University of São Paulo and the Institute without Boundaries of the George Brown College of Toronto.

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**GRAND  
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**“The view from the Palace is no less beautiful”: the context of Diocletian’s Palace in the book *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia***

The Grand Tour, the popularity of which culminated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, fundamentally modified people’s attitude to nature and society. The inherited *genius loci*, as recorded by the travel writers of the time, assigned almost mythical characteristics to nature and the built heritage, and created the need for the establishment of a strong bond between people and their surroundings. Antiquity was the most powerful cultural infrastructure of the time in Europe. But the travel writers, thanks to the fact of their direct experience, also collected very different information, about the topography and the customs, the language and the religion and the general depiction of the areas that they wished to understand and record in the most thoroughgoing way.

The writing and drawings of Adam’s book *Ruins...* (London, 1764) primarily relate to the remains of Diocletian’s Palace in Split, as majestic monument of Antiquity. And yet “[t]he view from the Palace is no less beautiful, than the soil and climate were inviting. Towards the West lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic...”, writes Adam. In the vistas of Adam and C. L. Clérisseau the Palace is shown in a context that is to an extent romanticised, but on the whole it consists of an entirely realistic spatial context. In an analysis of everything in the works of Adam and Clérisseau that is not the ancient monument, but the real-life surrounding that tells of the Palace as just one of the strata of a historical urban landscape, attention is drawn to the importance of the context of the monument as transmitter of the spirit of the place.

**Ana Šverko** is research associate at the Institute of Art History - Center Cvito Fisković in Split. She has published on topics across Early Modern and Modern architecture, heritage conservation and urban design, including books: *Diocletian’s Palace: Palace of Places. Integration of Urban Design and Heritage Conservation Strategies* (Zagreb, 2011) and *Designs of the Neoclassical Venetian Architect Giannantonio Selva in Dalmatia* (Zagreb, 2013), awarded by diploma of the *Croatian Society of Art Historians* in 2014. Additionally she works part-time at the Department of urban planning of the Faculty of civil engineering, architecture and geodesy in Split.

Most recently, she is a principal investigator of a installation research project of the Institute of Art History: *Dalmatia - a destination of European Grand Tour in 18th and 19th century* (2014-17), under the

eages of *Croatian Science Foundation*. She participates in a research project of the University of Zagreb (created by prof Igor Fisković): *Pontes Adriatici: the network of cultural exchanges in the Adriatic* (2013-14) and the Harvard University research seminar (created by prof Alina Payne): *From Riverbed to Seashore. Art on the Move in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period* (2014-15) under the aegis of the Getty Foundation *Connecting Art Histories* initiative. She takes part in the organisation of specialised and scholarly public lectures, seminars and conferences aimed at the popularisation of science.

Bibliography link: [bib.irb.hr/lista-radova?autor=329022](http://bib.irb.hr/lista-radova?autor=329022)

## **The Ornamentation of Diocletian's Palace in the work of Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827)**

After spending four years in Rome, the French artist Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827) travelled to Istria and Dalmatia in 1782 on the orders of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II among other patrons. There he made a series of remarkable drawings of Diocletian's Palace; the original watercolours are today owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the original sketches by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.

Cassas was deeply interested in the ornamentation of Diocletian's Palace, as Adam and Clérisseau had been before. His work then is based on exact observations of the archaeological remains: each detail is noticed in his sketches. In the drawings of these ornaments, Cassas combined his qualities as a painter with the exactitude derived from his formation as civil engineer.

This paper investigates the role of the ornamentation of Diocletian's Palace in the work of Cassas. Indeed, the journey was Cassas' first mission, even if it was published only twenty years later in the *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, actually after his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine, et de la Basse Egypte*. In the context of the rivalry between France and England, the Adam and Clérisseau study about Diocletian's Palace served in England as a contribution to neo-classicism, while the work of Cassas did perhaps celebrate antique splendour but it also adumbrated a new taste for exoticism in France and Europe.

**Isabelle Warin**, 1994-1997 Bachelor of Sciences at the University Bordeaux I Talence; 1997-2001 studies in art history at the École du Louvre; 1999-2009 archaeologist and excavations assistant in Brandes en Oisans (France); 2001-2003 Master's degree in classical archaeology at the Sorbonne; 2002-2006 excavations supervisor on Delos (Greece); 2003-2007 PhD in classical archaeology at the Sorbonne; 2003-2006 scholarship for research at the Sorbonne; 2002-2007 lecturer at the École du Louvre; 2004 scholarship at the École française de Rome; 2005 and 2006 scholarship at the École française d'Athènes; 2007-2008 assistant at the Sorbonne; 2011-2012 lecturer at the University Paris 7 " Denis Diderot"; 2009-2012 research associate for the Project " Caylus " Recueil d'antiquités " Edition numérique et commentée"; since September 2013 lecturer at the University of Zürich; since December 2013 research associate at the ETH Zurich, Institut für Denkmalpflege und Bauforschung (professorship Uta Hassler).



## 2 REPRESENTING THE PAST

*Rome par Cléon*

Vue de la porte et du vestibule du temple d'Eulape,  
Ainsi que de quelques tombeaux et bas-reliefs.

**Joško  
Belamarić**

[jospibelam@gmail.com](mailto:jospibelam@gmail.com)

## **The Split Peristyle as interpreted by Robert Adam**

Adam was the first to analyze and interpret not only the form, but the original function of individual parts of the Palace, so we owe him for the majority of the names (Peristyle, Vestibule, Cryptoporticus...). Unlike most of his predecessors (Fischer von Erlach) who made drawings and attempted to interpret only the original design of the palace, Adam saw a gigantic palimpsest in it. He was fascinated by the organic whole of the medieval urban structure that clung to the authoritarian imperial architecture like a poison ivy. It is extremely important that it was in Split that Adam devised the law he called *Climax in Architecture* by carefully analyzing the relations between individual halls and their rhythmic array along the movement axes. By describing the route from the Golden Gate and along a wide avenue with porches ("Cardo") leading directly to the Peristyle, over Prothyron, Vestibule and the Atrium, all the way to the Cryptoporticus, he underlined the manner in which representative premises were separated from the utilitarian. A lot earlier than Alfred Frazer and the others, he understood that Prothyron over the Peristyle is the real facade of the imperial residence. He understood the true nature of the Peristyle as nobody before (and perhaps even after) - not a forum, but the heart of this unusual Late Antiquity building we call the imperial palace.

The paper will also analyse a number of versions of watercolours of the Peristyle painted by Adam's leading draughtsman, Charles-Louis Clérisseau. Their trustworthiness will be measured against the watercoloured drawings of French painter Louis-Francois Cassas, who visited Split just twenty-five years later, leaving us an outstandingly precise drawing of the Peristyle, which had however in the meantime undergone significant architectural changes.

**Joško Belamarić** graduated from the Lyceum Classicum in Split and the cross-departmental studies in Art History and Musicology at University of Zagreb where he then received his MA and PhD degrees. From 1979, he was an employee of the monument protection services in Split and, in period 1991-2009, the director of the Regional Office for Monument Protection in Split (today's Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture). Since 2010, he has been employed at the Institute of Art History, as the head of newly established Cvito Fisković Center in Split. He is also a Professor at the Department of Art History, University of Split.

He has published a number of books and a series of articles and studies on the topic of urban history of Dalmatian cities and Medieval and Renaissance art. As the editor of the exhibition “Tesori della Croazia” (Venice 2001) he won the award “Vicko Andrić” for the national conservation enterprise of the year. He also headed the team in charge of restoring the Renaissance Chapel of Blessed John at Trogir cathedral (“Europa Nostra”, an award by the Council of Europe, 2003).

Bibliography: [WWW.IPU.HR/SURADNICI/ZNANSTVENICI/62/JOSKO-BELAMARIC](http://WWW.IPU.HR/SURADNICI/ZNANSTVENICI/62/JOSKO-BELAMARIC)



**Krasanka  
Majer  
Jurišić**  
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## **The 18<sup>th</sup> century graphics of the *Porta Ferrea* and the Communal Square in Split**

A large part of the public complex in Split, consisting of several buildings, the Town Hall, the prison and the Rector's palace, was demolished in the 19th century. Its former appearance is known only from written archival documents and some sketches and graphics. Among those is etching made on the occasion of the visit of Robert Adam and Charles Louis Clérriseau to Split in 1757, showing part of the complex of the communal palace. Also important is a print of 1802, which was produced after the 1782 watercoloured drawing by Louis-François Cassas; this one, as well as the already mentioned print of Adam and Clérriseau, represents a rare image of the former Split city loggia, now replaced by an ordinary dwelling house.

The above-mentioned works were made because the spirit of the neoclassicism of the time tended to perpetuate the appearance of the *Porta Ferrea*, the western gate of the Diocletian's palace from Antiquity, in front of which the communal square was formed in the late Middle Ages. Administrative buildings were not the main point of interest to their authors, and this is one of the reasons why they had been interpreted in the prints in a rather free and subjective manner. This is clearly shown in the Adam and Clérriseau print, which figures the eastern part of the public complex with a porch on the ground floor as its appearance is somewhat at odds with the data confirmed by other historical sources.

**Krasanka Majer Jurišić** was born on November 30, 1975 in Zagreb. She gained her doctoral degree at the department of history of art of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb in 2012 with the topic "Public palaces in Dalmatia during the Venetian rule". Her research mainly concerns secular architecture in the period from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since 2003 she has worked in the Croatian Conservation Institute on research and preservation and conservation of immovable cultural heritage, currently as senior conservator and head of department for immovable heritage documentation. Also, she is author of a number of scholarly and professional papers and is editor-in-chief of the journal *Portal* and member of the editorial board of the journal *Kvartal*. She was awarded a diploma of the Croatian Society of Art Historians in 2009.

## Another look at the Livorno edition of Adam's Diocletian's Palace

Soon after the 1996 book-launch of the reprint of Robert Adam's opus magnum *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, published by Logos of Split, the Zagreb Archaeological Museum was visited by Iain Gordon Brown, Principal Manuscripts Curator of the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, on October 10. While talking with Ante Rendić-Miočević, director of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum and Ivan Mirnik, vice-director and curator of the same museum, about Adam's remarkable book, he was shown an unusual folio album of twenty of Adam's plates, printed in Livorno in 1784, twenty years after the original London edition. Although this volume's exact provenance and the year when it was brought to the museum library still remains obscure - most probably it happened during the tenure of the Imperial and Royal major and museum curator Mijat Sabljarić - for many decades it was considered a great rarity and always kept in one of the Museum's safes. Iain Brown not only confirmed that this was a unique volume, but also pointed out some outstandingly amusing tiny details on the engravings, executed by the *Abbate* Bartolomeo Nerici of Lucca, as well as Ferdinando Fambrini and Giovanni Battista Galli, after the original drawings by Charles-Louis Clérisseau, for Giuseppe Maria Terreni of Livorno. The plates for the first edition were made by F. Bartolozzi, J. Bassire, D. Cunego, P. Mazelli, E. Rooker, F. Patton, P. Santini, A. Walker and A. Zucchi. The 1784 edition was dedicated in French to Mr. Jean Udny, the consul of His British Majesty in Livorno. It is interesting and also important that the lay-out of some of the plates of the Livorno volume differ from those of the original edition.

In order to preserve the Zagreb Album for posterity and also to make it more widely diffused, the Zagreb Archaeological Museum permitted Louis Krompotić, M.D. (Dr. Ljudevit Krmpotić) of Hannover Germany, the founder and owner of the publishing firm *Hrvatski zapisnik*, to include it in the German edition of his monumental volume called: *Antike Architektur in Kroatien in Berichten von Spon - Adam - Cassas - Lavalée*. Hannover, 1998: XLIX-LXIX.

**Ivan Mirnik** graduated from the First Grammar School in Zagreb in 1961, then studied architecture (1961-1963) at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb and finally graduated in archaeology as a single subject (VIth Group) at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1969. From 1970 to 1973 he was employed as archaeologist-conservator at the Institute of Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of

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**Ante Rendić-Miočević**

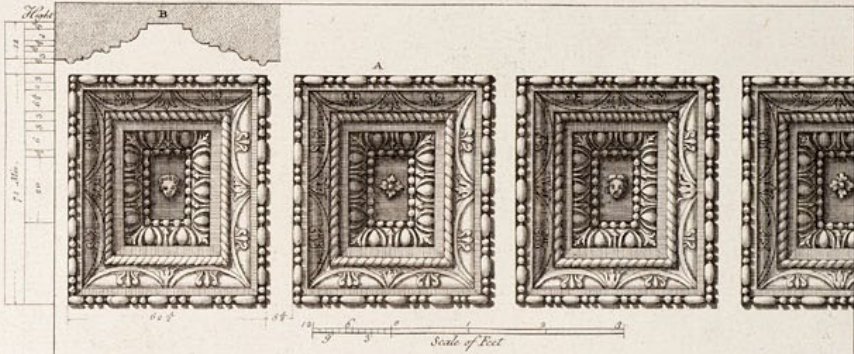
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**GRAND  
TOUR  
16**

Croatia in Zagreb. From 1973 to his retirement in 2011 he worked at the Zagreb Archaeological Museum Numismatic Department. Having finished the post-graduate study of librarianship, documentation, information sciences and museology at the Zagreb University, he obtained the MA degree in 1974 with the thesis "The Tradition of numismatic research in Croatia". In 1978 he was nominated senior curator, and obtained the degree of Ph. D. at the University of London Institute of Archaeology with the doctoral thesis "Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia", which was partly published in 1981 in Oxford. In 1982 he became museum adviser and in 1984 scientific adviser (with the rank of university professor). He took part in various archaeological excavations and research projects both in the country and abroad (Vindonissa in Switzerland, Berbourg in Luxemburg). He has published more than 400 books and original scientific/scholarly and professional papers on various topics (archaeology, numismatics, history, protection of monuments, genealogy, heraldry), of which three books and 70 newspaper articles were published abroad.

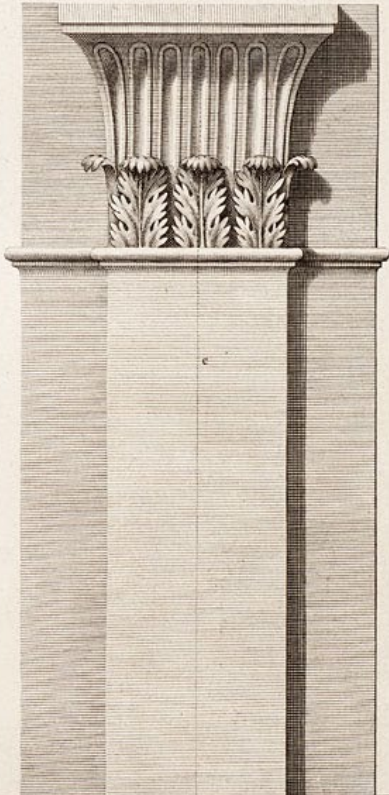
**Ante Rendić-Miočević** studied history of art and archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. He was curator at the Archaeological Museum in Split (1970-1973) and the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (from 1973), firstly as a curator, then senior curator and finally as a museum adviser at the Museum's Graeco-Roman department. He was director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (1984-2012), president of the Croatian Archaeological Society (1993-2001), senior lecturer at the department of history of art at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Rijeka (2005-2010: *Greek and Roman Iconography, Greek and Roman Art in Croatia*). He is the author of more than 230 scholarly or professional papers and essays, mostly related to Greek and Roman sculpture, especially Roman provincial sculpture and epigraphy. Since 1998 he has been a member of the Scientific Committee of the LIMC (Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae) in Basel. Since 2002 he has been an associate member of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin (DAI, Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts). He has taken part in various archaeological excavations and research projects, mostly in Croatia, and participated in many conferences in Croatia and other countries.

*Panels of the Arched Ceiling of the Temple of Esculapius*



*Weights*

1/4	1/2	3/4	1
1/2	3/4	1	1 1/4
3/4	1	1 1/4	1 3/4
1	1 1/4	1 3/4	2
1 1/4	1 3/4	2	2 1/4
1 3/4	2	2 1/4	2 3/4
2	2 1/4	2 3/4	3



**5** *DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE*  
*Capital and Pilaster in the Angle of the Peristylum*  
**AND THE ADAM STYLE**

**Frances Sands**

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## **Reconstructed and in ruins: the influence of Diocletian's Palace within the drawings of Robert Adam**

Following a Grand Tour which included Split, Robert Adam fortified his expertise in the antique through the publication of the Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia (1764). His interpretation of Diocletian's Palace, therefore, must be distilled through the medium of this treatise, and his subsequent designs - both executed and unexecuted - which used the Palace as an architectural fulcrum or archaeological raison d'être. Over 80% of the surviving architectural drawings from the Adam office are within the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum, London. This paper will explore the surviving graphic evidence from among the 9,000-strong Adam drawings collection at the Soane Museum for the influence of Diocletian's Palace over Adam's architectural output.

Hailed as an innovator of neo-classicism within Britain, many of Adam's architectural forms - both in plan and elevation - were inspired by what he had seen at Split. The influence of Diocletian's Palace over Adam's interior decorative work, particular at Syon and Osterley is well known, but less fulsome is the discussion of its influence over his architectural forms. At the Soane Museum there are numerous case studies showing resonances between the engravings of the Palace in Ruins... and Adam's designs: both classical and castle-style; rural and urban. Furthermore, and lesser known, evidence within the drawings collection can show that it was not only the depictions in Ruins... of Diocletian's Palace in pristine condition, as if new, but also those showing the fabric in its ruined state of the eighteenth century which Adam used to inspire his work.

**Frances Sands** Catalogue Editor (Adam drawings project), Sir John Soane's Museum. Prior to working at the Soane Museum Fran studied for a PhD at the University of York. Her thesis comprised a monographic study and architectural drawings catalogue, exploring the eighteenth-century construction history of Nostell Priory, Wakefield (UK). Since this time Fran has also been a trustee of the York Georgian Society. Her main research interest is in British eighteenth-century architectural drawings, and at the Soane Museum Fran is responsible for attributing and cataloguing the drawings collection from the office of Robert and James Adam. The Adam catalogue is being gradually published online, and illustrated with newly shot professional photographs.

## “The Beautiful Spirit of Antiquity”:

### Robert Adam and Diocletian’s Palace

In the preface to the first volume of the *Works in Architecture* (1773), the Adam brothers summed up their claims for their own architectural designs by asserting that they had seized the beautiful spirit of antiquity, and transfused it with novelty and variety, throughout their works. Taking its point of departure from Robert Adam’s 1664 publication *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian*, my paper will examine three aspects of Adam’s engagement with the site. The first concerns the role played by the Palace in shaping Robert Adam’s reception of ancient architecture; the second treats the ways in which Giovanni Battista Piranesi and Charles-Louis Clérisseau mediated his approach to the site; and the third examines the influence of the Palace on Adam’s own architectural designs. The Palace of Diocletian differed in significant respects from the ruins Adam had encountered in Rome and Italy. What were these differences and how did they inform his understanding of the underlying principles of Roman architecture? Adam’s vision of the Palace was indelibly stamped by his direct familiarity with Piranesi and his archaeological publications, as well as by his training in architectural drawing with Clérisseau. How did these influences contribute to his presentation of the Palace? Finally, in what ways did Adam’s engagement with the Palace of Diocletian inform his executed architectural designs for monumental architecture in England? Examples such as Kedleston, Syon House, and the Adelphi, illustrate the global legacy of Diocletian’s Palace.

**John A. Pinto** is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. His research interests focus on the architecture in eighteenth-century Rome and on the relationship between the architecture of classical antiquity and that of the Renaissance. These interests are evident in five of Pinto’s books: *The Trevi Fountain* (Yale University Press, 1986), *Hadrian’s Villa and its Legacy* (written with William L. MacDonald; Yale University Press, 1995), *Pietro Bracci and Eighteenth-Century Rome* (with Elisabeth Kieven; Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), *Steps Off the Beaten Path: Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Rome and its Environs* (Charta, 2007), and *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (University of Michigan Press, 2012).

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## **'Spalatro' on Thames: or how Diocletian's Palace inspired Robert Adam's most audacious development - the Adelphi**

The Adam Brothers' Adelphi development, begun in 1768, was the most ambitious and controversial building project Georgian London had ever seen. Its site, just south of the Strand, one of London's main thoroughfares, sloped steeply down to the River Thames. In its planning and engineering the Adelphi showed the Adams at their most ingenious, with streets of well-decorated neoclassical houses raised up above riverside warehousing so as to match the ground level of the Strand.

This paper considers the debt that Robert Adam owed in his Adelphi designs to his knowledge and experience of the great city palace of the Emperor Diocletian on the Adriatic at Spalato (always referred to by Adam himself as 'Spalatro'). Even before his important visit to record the remains there in 1757 he had been experimenting with extravagant palace designs and *capricci* in Rome - hence the extensive imperial site appealed to an existing predilection for buildings of this type.

The similarities between the two complexes are fundamental: a Roman palace of many streets and buildings, for storage, servants and soldiers as well as the royal family, built on a vaulted basement, with a long waterfront façade of curved arches; and the Adelphi, fronting the Thames, its streets of genteel terraced houses for different social classes raised up on arched warehouses. The Adelphi is the classic example of Robert Adam's ability to take the essential qualities of antique Roman remains and transform them to suit the requirements of eighteenth-century metropolitan society.

**Colin Thom** is a Senior Historian with the *Survey of London*, the leading reference work on the history and architecture of England's capital city. The *Survey* has been publishing detailed architectural and topographical studies of London for over 100 years. After nearly 15 years with English Heritage, the *Survey* recently became part of the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College London (UCL). For more on its history and work see: [WWW.BARTLETT.UCL.AC.UK/ARCHITECTURE/RESEARCH/SURVEY-OF-LONDON](http://WWW.BARTLETT.UCL.AC.UK/ARCHITECTURE/RESEARCH/SURVEY-OF-LONDON)

Colin studied Robert Adam's architecture under the acclaimed Adam scholar A. A. Tait as an undergraduate at the University of Glasgow. He is currently writing the first ever comprehensive history of the Adam Brothers' important urban development at

Portland Place for the forthcoming *Survey of London* volumes on Marylebone (scheduled for 2016). This has included much new research, including a study of the Adam family papers at Blair Adam in Scotland, and has uncovered many new findings. As a result, Colin is now co-organizing a London Symposium on the work of Robert Adam and his brothers, sponsored by the Georgian Group and planned for the autumn of 2015. He is also in negotiations to publish a volume of essays of new research on the Adams, based on the Symposium papers, to follow in 2016 or 2017.



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## **Variety and elegance. Details of Diocletian's Palace in architectural decorations**

In his *Ruins of the palace of the emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764) Robert Adam published a "List of Subscribers" with the names of more than 100 members of the British aristocracy - Lords, Dukes, and Earls. This surprisingly large number of aristocratic subscribers can be interpreted as an expression of the interest in publications about ancient architecture. This interest was generated by *The Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicolas Revett two years earlier. This British publication presents views, elevations and details in exact British building measurements. These were by definition quite different from the French practice of the time. However, the members of British aristocracy wanted to find models for their neoclassical country houses, too. A type of building that was favoured not only for its suitability for summer residences, but also as a way of representing culture and political clout. And Adam promised to present one of the less "private edifices of the Ancients", that had „resist[ed] the injuries of time“. Robert Adam and his brother James were quite successful in promoting their profession as architects and publishers. In addition to the publication of Diocletian's Palace, they used parts of the views, the elevations and details of several buildings of the Palace to define architectural decoration systems for contemporary architecture, especially for interior design. They used these systems in several of their buildings and published them in their *Works in Architecture* from 1773 on. This decorative system might be seen as an eclectic approach. It can also be discussed on the contrary as a quite sophisticated combination of decorative motifs. Exactly chosen prominent Roman features and well known Greek examples are used to motivate a scientific inquiry on these citations. Therefore the term variety seems to be most important in the aesthetic discourse about beauty and imitation.

**Elke Katharina Wittich** studied history of art, archaeology, German literature and history of music (University Hamburg), and was member of the "Political iconography" research training group of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Her graduate thesis "Karl Friedrich Schinkel zum Beispiel - Kenntnisse und Methoden im Architekturdiskurs des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts" (Humboldt University Berlin) examines the knowledge about architecture and the methodology of architectural writings in the

early 19th century by taking Schinkel and his educational training at the Berlin Building Academy as an example. From 2005 to 2011, Elke Katharina Wittich was founding president of the private University of Applied Sciences AMD Akademie Mode & Design. Nowadays she is professor in theory and history of design and architecture as well as director of programme development at the department of design, Hochschule Fresenius, University of Applied Sciences, Hamburg.

# 4 LESSONS OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE



**Dessins et gravures du Palais de Dioclétien à Split par Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827), un exercice préparatoire aux relevés des grands sites archéologiques du Levant en 1785**

Au cours de l'été 1782, soit plus de 25 ans après le voyage de Clérisseau, Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827) découvre Split où il ne séjourne que quelques jours. Il dessine des vues générales de la cité depuis la mer, l'activité du port, et les vestiges du Palais de Dioclétien. Grâce à sa double formation d'élève ingénieur des Ponts et Chaussées et de dessinateur de paysage, il réalise pour la première fois une étude très complète d'un ensemble architectural antique, composée de vues sur les motifs des principaux vestiges encore en place dans la cité, mais il va également poursuivre cette observation en exécutant des reconstitutions d'élévations, de façades, de décors architectoniques... Bien avant son départ vers les grands sites archéologiques du Levant notamment Palmyre, Baalbek, Jérusalem, c'est à Split qu'il mène pour la première fois ce travail d'ingénieur qualifié à tort d'architecte.

**Annie Gilet**, Conservateur en chef au musée des Beaux-Arts de Tours

Thèse de Doctorat: *Un dessinateur sur les chemins de l'Empire ottoman en 1784 et 1785. De la découverte au 'Voyage pittoresque' (1996)*

Nombreux articles publiés

Exposition sur L. F. Cassas avec le Wallaraf-Richartz Museum de Cologne en 1994

Prépare pour fin 2015 une exposition sur les Voyages en Italie de Cassas et ses mécènes.

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## **Experiential Neoclassicism and the Adam 'Revolution' in English Architecture**

This research paper involves an analysis of the physical experience of neoclassicism and antiquity in eighteenth century England, and the effect of experientialism on the development of English architecture and material culture. The neoclassical movement in England was influenced by a series of archaeological publications that appeared in England in the second half of the eighteenth century; one of the most significant volumes was *Robert Adam's Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* (1764). The archaeological survey offered a vicarious travel experience, employing precise and/or dramatic imagery to stimulate the imagination. The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro helped to fuel the neoclassical aesthetic that dominated the material culture of eighteenth century England, and served as a template for both private and public neoclassical structures. Four Adam buildings exemplified the neoclassical "revolution:" Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire; and Syon House, Osterley Park, and the Adelphi in London. I will discuss the origin and design of these structures; how they incorporated neoclassical forms and imagery; and how they created physical experiences of antiquity. The paper concludes with a discussion of the impact that experiential neoclassicism had on the society and material culture of mid-eighteenth century England.

**Amanda Green** recently graduated from the University of Minnesota, USA, with a Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Archaeological Studies. Her dissertation, *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, was published by UMI Dissertation Publishing in March, 2014. She currently resides in St. Paul, MN.

## Imperial Capriccio: The Palace of Diocletian and England's Visual Cultures of Empire

Four years after the publication of Robert Adam's *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, the American-born painter Benjamin West (1738-1820) used the book's illustrations to form the backdrop for one of his most important academic history paintings: *Agrippina Returning to Brundisium with the Ashes of Germanicus*. The scene, taken from the *Annals of Tacitus*, contrasts the familial piety and civic honor of Agrippina and her deceased husband Germanicus with the perfidy and treachery of the Roman emperor Tiberius. To craft the painting's setting West used the popular practice of the architectural capriccio, collapsing space and time to bring together monuments separated by hundreds of years and hundreds of kilometers to form an imaginative reconstruction of the Italic port city of Brindisi. West's capriccio included architectural monuments associated with specific Roman emperors whose historical identities bore special relevance to England's burgeoning imperial anxieties. This paper examines the cultural currency of Diocletian's palace as a discrete form and as part of a "pictorial semiosphere" intended to achieve two objectives: first, to warn the people of England and their newly crowned king of the dangers that can accompany imperial conquest and, second, to remind the monarch of the inextricable link between a great empire and royal patronage of the arts. As this paper will demonstrate, Adam's *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian* played an important role in the formation of Anglophone imperial visual cultures and in the forging of British imperial identities in the eighteenth century.

**Stephen Caffey** is an Assistant Professor of art and architectural history and theory in the Department of Architecture at Texas A&M University. He earned the PhD in Art History from the University of Texas at Austin in 2008. During his doctoral research, Caffey was awarded a Samuel H. Kress Foundation Dissertation Fellowship at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London and a Terra Foundation for American Art Summer Residency, Giverny. Caffey's doctoral dissertation focused on the visual cultures of empire in eighteenth century Britain, North America and South Asia. His research interests include empire and identity, visual and spatial literacies and digital/virtual heritage.

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## **Local Antiquities and Architecture in 18th Century Central Europe: The Case of Cardinal Migazzi and I.M.A. Ganneval**

Although the ruins of Aquincum and the palace of Hadrian (now in Budapest, Hungary) were known during the Middle Ages, a more systematic study became possible only after the end of the Ottoman rule, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The most important collector and connoisseur was Cardinal Christoph Bartholomäus Anton Migazzi (1714-1803), Archbishop of Vienna and Bishop of Vác, Hungary. Migazzi's collection is now the core of the antique lapidarium of the National Museum of Hungary, and his villa, "Migazziburg" was decorated with Roman architectural paintings. He also wrote poems, a kind of Ekphrasis on the objects in his collection. In Vác, he rejected the plans of Franz Anton Pilgram for the cathedral, and commissioned a new building from Isidore Marcellus Amandus Canevale or Ganneval (ca 1729-1786). Ganneval, a French-born architect, spent his youth in the castle of Vincennes, where Diderot was imprisoned at the same time. The future Sèvres porcelain manufactory was also based there. Ganneval became student at the Royal Academy of Architecture (Paris) and a pupil of Servandoni. With his master, he came to Vienna, and worked later as court architect. His buildings are the earliest examples of neoclassical architecture in the region. Our aim is to present the influence of the local antiquities, the attitude of Migazzi, his contacts with Winckelmann on the oeuvre of Ganneval. The works of Ganneval and his local colleagues (like the Heidentor-reconstruction of Gfall) might serve as a comparable example to the impact of Diocletian's palace on contemporaries and on neoclassical architecture.

**Viktor Lörincz**, art historian and lawyer, holds an MA degree in comparative law (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne), an MA in psychology and economics (Paris 5 Descartes), and a doctorate from ELTE University Budapest. He was guest researcher (Gastwissenschaftler) at the Ruprecht Karls University in Heidelberg, obtained an Ernst Mach Grant at Vienna University, a French Government grant, a grant of the Region Ile-de-France, and grants of the Hungarian State and of the European Union. He is also PhD candidate at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and at Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. His main topic is the cathedral of Vác, a building of I.M.A. Ganneval, but he has also presented and published several papers on the relation between art, psychology, law and economics in English, French, German and Hungarian including a paper presented at the 2013 CIHA Colloquium at the Otsuka Museum of Art in Naruto, and at the 2014 CIHA Colloquium at MUCEM in Marseille (with Prof. László Beke).

## The influence of Adam, Clérisseau and Cassas on the restoration of Diocletian's Palace

In the present work we intend to explore the relationship between the publications of Robert Adam, Charles-Louis Clérisseau and Louis-Francois Cassas and the development of early preservation policies conceived for Diocletian's Palace and the historic core of Split. Indeed the rise of interest in the building of Late Antiquity, as well as the growing international debate on monument conservation, led to a new way of looking at the Palace and its vestiges. On the one hand, the extraordinary plates that depict the ruins of the Palace denuded of later additions present the idealistic although unreal condition of a 'single-layer', purified history, and anticipate some of later restoration plans, like those of Marshal Marmont and the architect Vicko Andrić for the southern facade of the Palace. On the other hand the detailed survey of the visible remains enabled an increasing knowledge of the building's architecture and therefore marked an important starting point for Neoclassical investigations of and interventions in Diocletian's residence. In fact, when Andrić planned to excavate the foundations of the octagonal towers that flanked the gateways, and to dig out the Silver Gate he probably knew in depth Adam's work and other major publications dedicated to the building. The influence of the plates and views published by our authors will be shown through an analysis of a few significant examples, bearing in mind that their fortune would not decrease during the nineteenth century but would continue to condition some of even the most recent restoration projects.

**Olivia Sara Carli** (born 1985), Ph.D. student in History of Architecture at Università luav di Venezia (January 2013-present), thesis on *Restorations of Diocletian's Palace in Spalato* (tutor Prof. M. Piana). Architect, degree in Architettura per la Conservazione (luav) with a thesis on the Roman Theatre of Trieste, works on monument restoration and collaborates with *centro studi classica* at Università luav di Venezia, developing studies on the classical tradition, humanism, Roman architecture and archaeology.

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## **Stalinists avatars of Diocletian's Palace**

Stalin's USSR created an architecture that tried to summarize world history, illustrating the Marxist premise that communism was the ultimate historical outcome. This process paradoxically allowed Soviet architects to capture rare sources from cultures without a direct link with Russia. World War II developed this trend, with memorial programs inciting new searches for monumentality.

In a 1943 design, Ivan Sobolev did not actually use Diocletian's Palace directly, but was inspired by the 1764 engraving of Robert Adam of its seawards facade... In the Soviet Memorial, there is a similar angle of view and the same dramatization of architectural mass on the embankment as in the engraving. Sobolev used mainly the blind plinth, updating it with colossal epigraphic inscriptions and tank trophies... Other details of the Diocletian Palace complex were used by Soviet projects between 1930 and 1950. Ivan Zholtovsky and Georgi Goltz often designed compositions with multiple courts of the Roman forum type, in an austere aesthetic between late-Imperial and neo-Palladian rigor. Similarly, for the hall of the Kourskaïa metro station Grigory Zakharov in 1951 was inspired by elements of the temple and mausoleum of Diocletian's Palace, integrated with the use of other references, to the Lateran Baptistery and the archaic Doric order...

These inspirations arouse some basic questions. Why this model? Is there a formal ideological, aesthetic logic behind its use in the USSR? Is there a search for legitimacy assumed or otherwise hidden? In fact this comparison reflects the multiple lives of classical models in the late twentieth century, generating ambiguous symbolic architectures.

**Fabien Bellat** has a doctorate in art history from the Paris X University. His research and publications focus primarily on the study of Soviet architecture. From 2005 to 2008 he taught in France at the University of Nantes, and in Canada in 2011 at the Québec University of Outaouais. He offered communications in the universities of France (Sorbonne...), United States (Princeton University), Russia (Academy of Sciences of the Federation...), Canada (Laval...) or Cuba (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes)... Appointed associate researcher at the Versailles National Superior School of Architecture, he participated (evoking the Stalinist parks) in the scientific team of the Le Nôtre exhibition at the Versailles Palace. At the request of the Russian authorities and the Embassy of France in Moscow, he also conducted missions as a heritage expert to several Russian towns, including Volgograd, Yekaterinburg, Magnitogorsk. In June 2014, he published with Editions Nicolas Chaudun, an essay

on Soviet architectural reflections facing the American continent, titled *America-USSR Architectures of challenge*. Recently appointed associate professor at Togliatti State University, he is preparing an exhibition on the construction of this new city, to be presented in 2014-2015 in Moscow's Shchusev Museum, in the Togliatti Palace of Culture, in the Paris Val de Seine School of Architecture in cooperation with the City of Architecture.

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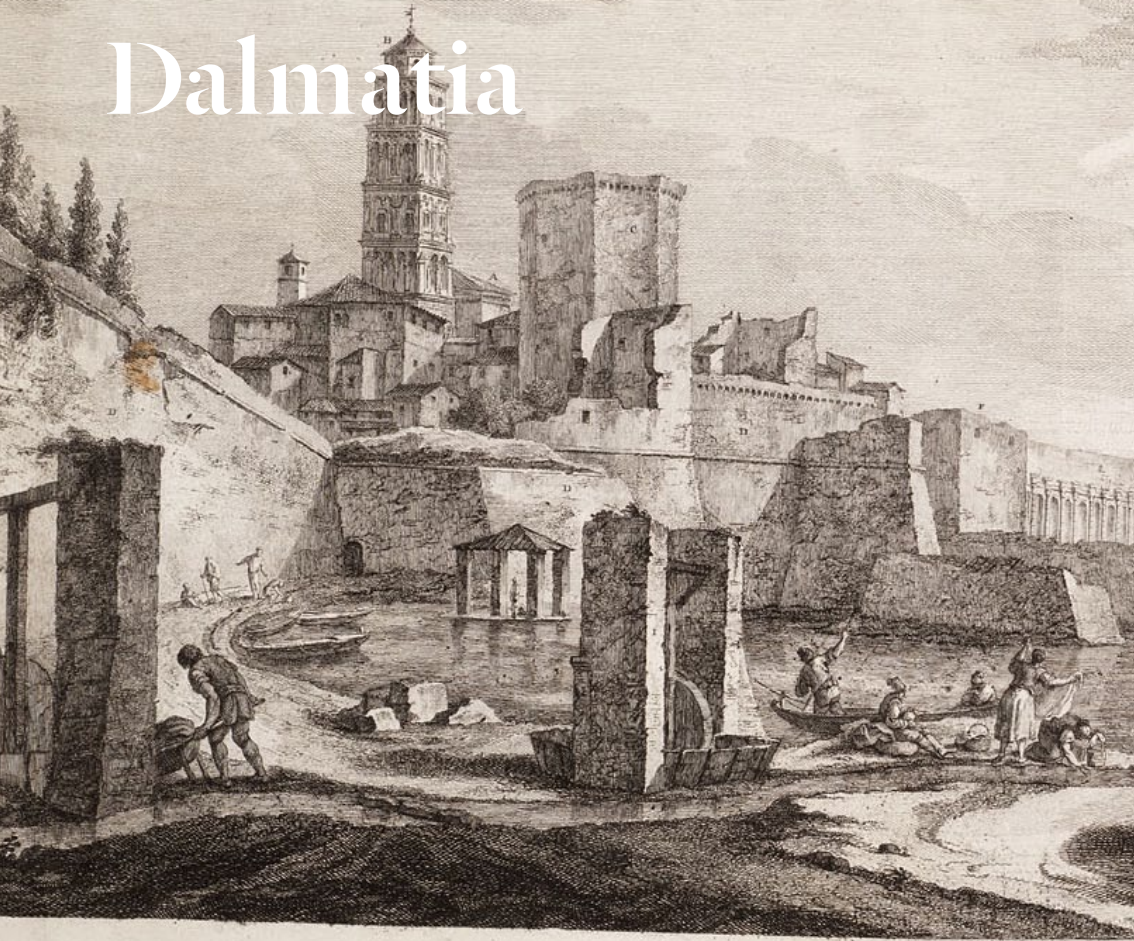
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