



TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
WIEN
Vienna University of Technology

DIPLOMARBEIT

AND YET, THE PALACE MOVES.

The analysis of Diocletian's Palace in the works of Robert Adam

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades

eines Diplom-Ingenieurin unter der Leitung

Ao.Univ.Prof.Dipl.-Ing.Dr.-Ing. Dörte Kuhlmann

E259.4 Abteilung für Architekturtheorie

Institut für Architekturwissenschaften

eingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien

Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung

von

PETRA VUŠKOVIĆ

0928474

Wien, am 03.11.2016

ABSTRACT

Diocletian's Palace represents a significant architectural complex and its greatest value derives from its continued existence, spatial adaptations and functional conversions. Robert Adam and his book, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, was a first scientific attempt to document, interpret and understand the Palace and nowadays still represents capital documentation for the study of the Diocletian's Palace. His publication holds very a important place in the history of art and architecture of the 18th century, but also plays a significant role in constructing an iconic image of the Palace and the city. Robert Adam was the first one who established the status of the Palace and its specific points and enabled the idea of continuity in the Palace through his visual and verbal representations, which should be revisited when thinking about today's city. We cannot think about the Palace, without thinking about the city, and *vice versa*, and Adam suggested this already in 18th century.

ABSTRAKT

Diokletian-Palast repräsentiert ein wesentliche architektonische Komplex und sein größter Wert ergibt sich aus der kontinuierliche Existenz, räumlichen Anpassungen und funktionalen Konvertierungen. Robert Adam und sein Buch war ein erster wissenschaftlicher Versuch um den Palast zu dokumentieren, zu interpretieren und zu verstehen, und heute stellt es noch immer eine kapital Dokumentation für das Studium des Diokletian Palast. Robert Adam war der erste der den Status des Palastes als Ganzes und seine spezifischen Punkte etabliert hat und die Idee der Kontinuität im Palast zu ermöglichen durch seine visuellen und verbalen Darstellunge. Darüber hinaus spielt das Buch noch eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Konstruktion vom ikonischen Bild des Palastes und der Stadt, die revidieren werden soll wenn wir heute über Split denken. Wir können nicht denken über den Palast, ohne sich um die Stadt zu denken, und vice versa, und Adam schlug dies bereits im 18. Jahrhundert vor.

SAŽETAK

Dioklecijanova palača predstavlja značajan arhitektonski kompleks i njena najveća vrijednost proizlazi iz njenog kontinuiranog postojanja, prostornih prilagodba i funkcionalnih pretvorbi. Robert Adam i njegova knjiga bila je prvi znanstveni pokušaj dokumentirati, interpretirati i razumijeti palaču, a danas još uvijek predstavlja kapitalnu dokumentaciju za proučavanje Dioklecijanove palače. Robert Adam je bio prvi koji je utvrdio status palače kao cjeline i njezinih određenih točaka, te omogućio ideju kontinuiteta u palači preko svojih vizualnih i verbalnih prikaza. Štoviše, Adamova knjiga još uvijek igra značajnu ulogu u izgradnji kultne slike palače i grada, koju bi trebala revidirati kada danas razmišljamo o Splitu. Ne možemo razmišljati o palači, bez razmišljanja o gradu, i obratno, a Adam je to sugerirao već u 18. stoljeću.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr.-Ing. Dörte Kuhlmann for her time and valuable feedback which helped me to write this master thesis. Further, I am grateful to my family and friends for their support during the whole period of my studies. Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you.



"...the objects of our voyage, presented themselves to our view, and flattered me, from this first prospects, that my labor in visiting it would be amply rewarded..."

Robert Adam

Table of contents

Foreword.....	9
Introducing the Palace.....	11
Diocletian's palace - origin of the city of Split.....	11
Short review of historic events, spatial development and architectural characteristics of built heritage.....	18
The Palace and the city-	24
Seeing the Palace.....	28
History of documentation of the city of Split and Diocletian's Palace.....	28
The 18 th century thought, the sublimity of the ruin and Robert Adam.....	37
Neoclassicism and the Palace.....	50
Reading the Palace.....	55
Robert Adam and antiquity hunting.....	55
Robert Adam in word and drawing- detailed analysis of the book <i>Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia</i>	64
Adam's image of the Palace and the city.....	81
Understanding the Palace.....	86
Updating Adam's image.....	86
Transformation and continuity in the Palace	98

Conclusion or Learning from Adam.....	106
Appendix.....	107
Selected bibliography.....	114
List of figures.....	120

"The city, though of no great extent, is so happily situated, that it appears, when viewed from the sea, not only picturesque, but magnificent." This is how in the introduction of his book *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, Robert Adam depicts the city that outgrew the walls of Diocletian's Palace. Diocletian's Palace, one of the most valuable architectural works of the Late Antiquity was built by Roman Emperor Diocletian from ca. 295 to 305 AD, and today forms the city center of Split, in Croatia. In the summer in 1757, Robert Adam, a British neoclassical architect, interior designer and furniture designer, visited Split, an unavoidable destination on his Grand Tour. The trip resulted in the above mentioned book, which established Adam as an author and gave impetus to his following architectural works. The book, which nowadays still represents capital survey for the study of the Diocletian's Palace, but also for monitoring the development of interest and awareness of its protection, is of particular importance for two reasons. Adam was the first one to analyze and interpret not only the original form, but the original function of individual parts of the Palace and proposed the first comprehensive nomenclature of certain buildings and spaces. Also, his book represents the first real attempt to document, interpret and understand the city, which evolved from Diocletian's Palace. The greatest value of Diocletian's Palace derives from its continued existence, evolution and adaptation from the late Antiquity to the present day. Owing to its continuous identity, the Palace has become a living monument, which evolves and considers the wider context of interrelated connections that make up history. Diocletian's Palace represents today the nucleus of the city, being the point of identification and orientation, not only in the city, but also in the wider urban area. Robert Adam was the first one who implied the idea of continuity throughout his book, and established the status of the Palace and its specific points. Moreover, in his book, Adam has constructed the image of the Palace and the city, which

is still as much alive as it was in 18th century. Adam's image, both in drawings and words, can be crucial to navigate into the urban context, to explain its multi-layered and multi-informational structures and systems of identity. His book will serve as a tool to revisit the importance of specific sites and to understand idea of continuity in the "modern" historic urban landscape in Split.

This paper is divided systematically in four parts. The first chapter *Introducing the Palace*, will serve as an introduction to the subject of research, Diocletian's Palace. The chapter will give an insight into the time scale of the transformation of the Palace and the value of this particular object not just on local or national, but also on the global level. *Seeing the Palace* is going to give a short review of the history of the documentation of this "living monument", but also the explanation why is Adam's representation still important and valid. Robert Adam lived and worked in 18th century, which saw different changes on every front. We will see how the new aesthetic categories and new approach toward antiquity influenced the archeological surveys, which emerged during Grand Tour. This will serve as an introduction to the detailed analysis of the Robert Adam's image, both in drawings and text, in the *Reading the Palace*. The aim of this chapter is to explore how particular conventions and techniques of representation, across image and text, frame and construct a discourse about the Palace in the book *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. The juxtaposition of Adam's image and today's image of the Palace and the city will be analyzed in *Understanding the Palace* as a final chapter. This chapter will also portray existing challenges in the Palace- tourism, conservation and development.

INTRODUCING THE PALACE

Diocletian's palace - origin of the city of Split

Diocletian's Palace was built in the first years of the 4th century A.D. on the shores of *Aspatlahos* or Split peninsula. While traditionally believed just over 1,700 years old, counting from 305 CE, when Diocletian's Palace was built, there are indications that settlement was founded as the Greek colony of *Aspálathos* (Ασπάλαθος) in the 4th century BC, about 2,400 years ago.¹ Findings dating from the first millennia B.C. testify to the early settlements on Split peninsula and neighboring areas. In the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., Illyrian Delmati who also inhabited the area started to trade with Greek colonists from the island of Vis and had founded their stations in present-day Trogir and Stobreč. Thanks to these, the wider area became a part of the Adriatic and Mediterranean world. After Roman conquest of the Illyrians in the first decades of the 1st century A.D, the Illyrian Salona became the central point of the whole area, and in the course of the century, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia.² The Split peninsula became a part of the Salonitan ager, the so called centuriation that had a whole area divided into units of ca 720x720 m and is still preserved in the cadastral lots and the main communication routes.³ Gradually, new population had inhabited the area. Settlement called *Spalatum*

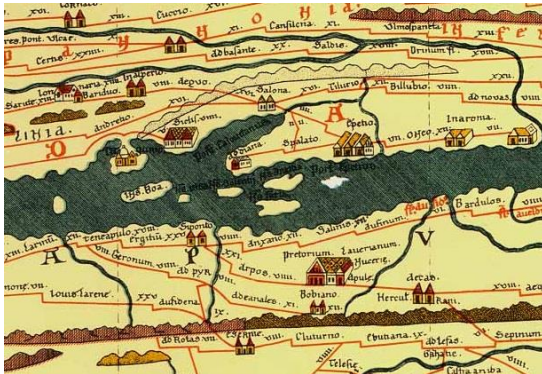


Figure 2.1.
Tabula Peutingeriana

¹ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača, Sloboda*, Beograd, 1982, p. 15

² Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p. 10

³ Oreb, F. /Rismondo, T. *Anthropological analysis of the late antique population from the site of Ad basilicas pictas*, in *Ad Basilicas Pictas*, Ministry of Culture, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Conservation Department in Split for the area of the Split-Dalmatia County, 1999., p. 60-65

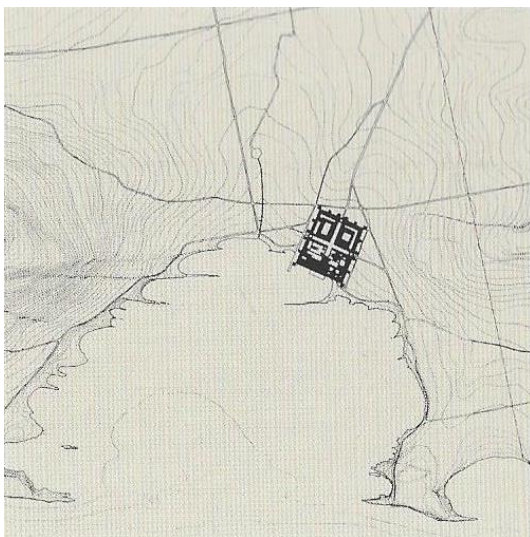


Figure 2.2.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 4th century

is mentioned for the first time on *Tabula Peutingeriana* ⁴, "the map documenting towns, seas, rivers, forests, mountain ranges, and 200,000 kilometer of roads"⁵, which was made by Marco Vipsania Agrippa (63 BC - 12th BC), Roman statesman and military leader. Created from the original dating from the beginning of the 1st century and copied in mid-13th century, this schematic cartographic plan of the Roman Empire, mentions Salona, Spalataum, Tragurium and Epetion, as well as islands and many other important places in the area of central Dalmatia. All of this shows the significance of Split peninsula, Salonitan bay and neighbouring islands at this early age.⁶

Findings from 2nd or 3rd century A.D. indicate that there was some kind of monumental structure, temple or palace, which was torn down in order to build a new edifice for Diocletian the Emperor.⁷ The emperor *Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus* (ca.243-316) built his palace close to, what was considered to be his birthplace. Namely, it was believed that he was born in the neighborhood of Salona and that he would, after twenty-year reign and the abdication on 1st of May in 305, spend his retirement there.⁸ It is assumed that the geographical position of the settlement also influenced on the choice of the location.⁹ The Palace, one of the most valuable architectural works of Late Antiquity, was built from ca. 295 to 305. Diocletian's palace was a unique in its concept and design among the imperial birthplace fortress-

⁴ *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the eleven sheets are now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, online available on http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost03/Tabula/tab_pe00.html

⁵ *Peutinger Map*, Livius.org, 2016, retrieved on 05-06-2016 from <http://www.livius.org/articles/concept/peutinger-map/>

⁶ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p. 10

⁷ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanov Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 16

⁸ Bulić, F. / Karaman, Lj. *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu*, Zagreb, 1927, p.10

⁹ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanov Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 17

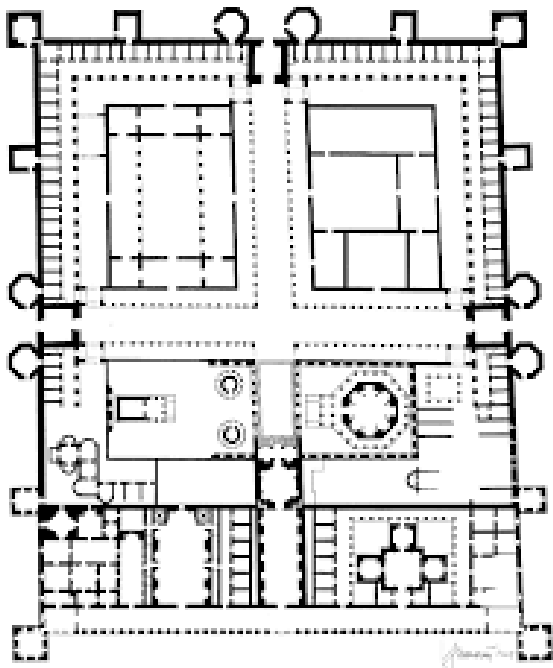


Figure 2.3.
Plan of Diocletian's Palace, J. Marasović

memorials, and generally among imperial villas. Beside its maritime location and function, Diocletian's villa had a suburban location in relation to the provincial capital of *Salona*, only 6 km away. Diocletian built his own "fortified *urbs* with colonnaded streets, an imperial victory memorial in the metropolitan fashion of the 2nd century, and a residential *palatium* overlooking the sea."¹⁰ The builders of the Palace were following this idea of dual relationship - to erect the fortified castle which should accommodate luxurious residence for the emperor and his family, residence for the guards and servants, buildings of cults, emperor's mausoleum and other facilities for residents.¹¹ All of these was built as a one Palace within the area of about 30.000 m², with a rectangular floor plan which is slightly distorted due to the adjustment to the terrain. The Palace, which was divided in four parts by the main streets *cardo* (north-south) and *decumanus* (east-west), was enclosed by fortified façades facing north, west and east. Only the southern façade, which was facing the Adriatic Sea, was unfortified. The elaborate arrangement of the arcaded gallery on the upper part of the southern façade differed from the more rigid approach on the three other façades. Southern façade that "hid the imperial residential quarters, was lavishly opened up by 42 arches and 3 loggias"¹², while eastern, western and northern facades were fortified by 16 towers. In the middle of the each façade was a monumental gate creating access to the Palace and allowing the clear inner network to be established. The southern gate, *Porta Aenea*, was simpler in shape and dimensions than the other three. Perhaps it was originally intended as the emperor's private access to boats, or as a service entrance for supplies. The eastern and western gates, *Porta Argentea* and *Porta*

¹⁰ Dvoržak Schrunk, I. / Begović, V. *Diocletian's Palace and Split: transferring ideas from a maritime villa to a christian city*, VAMZ, 3. s., XLV 2012, p. 508

¹¹ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda, Beograd, 1982, p. 17-18

¹² Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p. 12



Figure 2.4.
Perspective view of Diocletian's Palace, E.Hebrard

Ferrea, creating decumanus axis, were very simple in shape and dimensions, while the northern gate, *Porta Aurea*, was the most elaborated one, because it represented the main access to the Palace.¹³ The dual character of the Palace, which derived from both *villa* and *castrum* typology, is also evident in the inside arrangement of the complex. The transverse road *decumanus*, connecting the eastern gate, *Porta Argentea*, and western gate, *Porta Ferrea*, divided the complex into two-halves. The northern half of the palace, divided in two parts by the main north-south street *cardo* leading from the northern gate to the *peristylum*, is less well preserved. It is usually supposed that the northern section consisted of two larger structures with inner courtyards for accommodating soldiers, servants, and various storages. The southern half accommodated more luxurious structures; that is, the emperor's apartment, both public and private edifices, cult buildings and the *Peristyle*, which lies south of the intersection of the two main streets and is central representative space of the Palace that functionally connects all of its parts. The Imperial Mausoleum, now Cathedral of St. Domnius, is situated east of the *Peristyle*. To the west there were three temples: Temple of Jupiter, converted later to the baptistery and preserved until today, and two smaller ones, hidden under present-day buildings, dedicated to the goddesses of Cybele and Venus. The *peristyle* formed the courtyard in front of the imperial residence, which formed an entity along the sea front and was situated above the substructures because the sloping terrain demanded significant difference in levels. Following the *cardo* axis from the northern gate towards south, the communication breaks into two levels: the upper one through the *prothyron* of the *peristyle* and the

¹³ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p.12-13

vestibulum where one enters imperial residential complex, and the lower one under the *protyron*, that leads through substructures of the southern part to the sea gate. In Roman times, the role of the substructures was to elevate the imperial apartments in the upper floor, to improve the living conditions and to accomodate the additional storages. As they are structurally faithful copy of the above premises, they enabled a precise reconstruction of the upper chambers. From the *vestibulum*, a structure with circular floor plan and vaulted dome, one approached the emperor's apartment, which was spread out along the entire south façade with the depth of 40 m. The imperial residence is only partially preserved in the upper floor, but as already noted, the substructure level is almost completely preserved and the layout of the emperor's residence can be read and comprehended. In the western section, there are preserved remains of the hall with a dome and two halls with apses, and in the eastern part a big complex of dining rooms, *triclinium*. Residential halls were connected by *cryptoporticus*, the imperial promenade,"along the whole width of the richly articulated south façade of the Palace facing the sea." In the north section of the residential area, there were baths, one with a western, and the other along the eastern hall. The infrastructure of the Palace, its water supply, is an extraordinary work of Roman builders. Water supply, in the length of 9 km, supplied the palace with drinking water by aqueduct from the neighboring Jadro River and it was distributed all through the Palace and into the savage system. ¹⁴

By the comparison between the today state and presumed original state, we are able to see that many parts of the original Palace is still preserved. The high quality material, which was used for the

¹⁴ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p.12

construction of the Palace, was of the great importance for the duration of these preserved ancient parts. The white limestone and marble were transported from the marble quarries on the island of Brač and some from Seget near Trogir, tuff was taken from the nearby river beds, and bricks were made in Salonitan and other factories located nearby. Some material for decoration was imported. Granite columns, fine marble for revetments and some capitals, were produced in workshops in the Proconnesos, while numerous 3500-year-old granite sphinxes, originated from the site of Egyptian Pharaoh Thutmose III. Only three of the sphinxes have been preserved till today. One is still on the Peristyle, the second is headless in front of Jupiter's temple, and a third is in the city museum.¹⁵ By whose architectural idea the palace was built and who were its builders, is not defined. However, carved Greek names Zotikos and Filotas, as well as numerous carved Greek letters indicate that a number of builders was native to the eastern part of the Empire. However, it is very likely that a large number of the workers were locals.¹⁶ As we have seen, the structure as a whole did not have a direct role model in the earlier Roman buildings. By its composition and arrangement, Diocletian's Palace carries elements of imperial villa, Hellenistic city and fortified military camp, while its originality stems from its basic functions, the variety of the elements and the adjustment to the location. The concept, design and function of the Palace and its particular parts even today rise questions and debates. Diocletian died in his palace in 316.¹⁷ With his death, the life in the palace was not extinguished, and the transformations started already in the first centuries of the life of the Palace. After Diocletian, the Palace remained the

¹⁵ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda, Beograd, 1982, p. 15

¹⁶ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda, Beograd, 1982, p. 18

¹⁷ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda, Beograd, 1982, p. 19

state property used by higher classes of Roman society, which led to gradual transformation into a fortified settlement *Spalatum*.¹⁸ The process of its gradual transition from private residency to residence for various social classes is in fact an announcement of 1700 yearlong urban continuity of this area.

¹⁸ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda, Beograd, 1982, p. 21

Short review of historic events, spatial development and architectural characteristics of built heritage

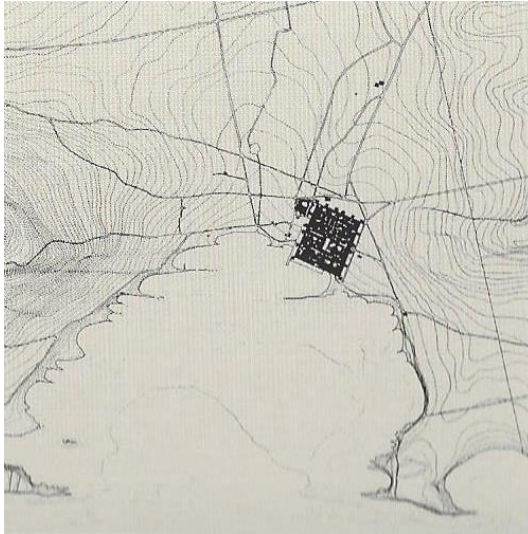


Figure 2.5.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 11th century

After Salona had been destroyed and abandoned in the 7th century, its inhabitants fled to neighboring islands, and to Diocletian's Palace. An imperial, maritime and walled villa had become a port and fort for Christian *civitas*, while its suburban role disappeared formally and the Palace became a city in its full sense.¹⁹ The life in the Palace was being organized, gradually transforming it and giving the attributes of the city. Richer inhabitants have settled in the spaces of former Emperor's residence, and those poorer in the substructures. Once the residents started to build new houses within the Palace, substructures begun to serve for storage of waste and fallen material. In the early Middle Ages, the Croatian state (later the Kingdom of Croatia), occupied central Adriatic coast and its hinterland, while cities remained under the administration of the Byzantine Empire. On short time Split was under Frankish, Venetian and, in the 11th century under Croatian rule. In this period of few centuries, the imperial palace was gradually transforming and adapting to the needs of the inhabitants.²⁰ It is the era of significant conversions such as the facades of the Palace, which became fortification walls of medieval city, or Diocletian's Mausoleum, which became a Christian church, present-day Cathedral.²¹ The ancient Peristyle was converted into the main town square, which represented the main religious and secular center of the town. The street network of the former imperial palace became the foundation for a new architecture, which leaned on the one of the ancient period. Many spaces were converted into the

¹⁹ Dvoržak Schrunk, I. / Begović, V. *Diocletian's Palace and Split: transferring ideas from a maritime villa to a christian city*, VAMZ, 3. s., XLV 2012, p.511

²⁰ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 23

²¹ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p.14

structures with the religious character (temples, guard rooms...) or adapted to the needs of the residents, while new residential units were being built. In the period of the early Middle Ages, the Palace became too small for the residents and the city was gradually expanding outside its walls towards west.

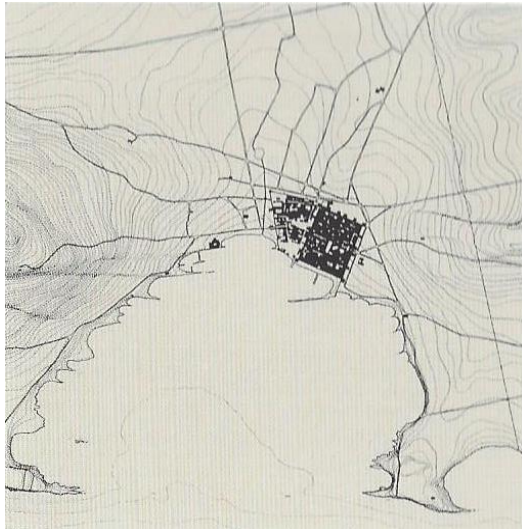


Figure 2.6.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 14th century

From the early 12th century, Split became an independent commune under the direction of Hungarian kings. From this period the image of the town within the Palace radically changed. The transformation of the ancient emperor's residence, which began in the early Middle Ages, was finalized during this period.²² The encircling walls of the Palace have maintained their defense purposes, but many towers in the southern part served as resident units for nobility. The four gates only partially maintained their function. At the end of the period as an independent commune, and after opening new gate nearby south-western tower, the southern gate was closed and western gate remained as the communication between new and old urban areas. The inner layout of the city remains recognizable today. The main streets of the ancient *urbs quadrata*, *cardo* and *decumanus*, were preserved, but they have gradually been reduced in their width because of the construction of new individual houses, and not residential blocks. Before expansion, Split was monocentric city where the main functions were around the Peristyle, which as the square retained its ancient function till later period of the area of the city as independent communa. Later, municipal center is relocated to the square today known as Pjaca, and new city hall was built. The western part was determined by the new walls, and next to the city hall, a new public square was formed.²³ The interior of the cathedral was remodeled, equipped with church

²² Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 27

²³ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p.14

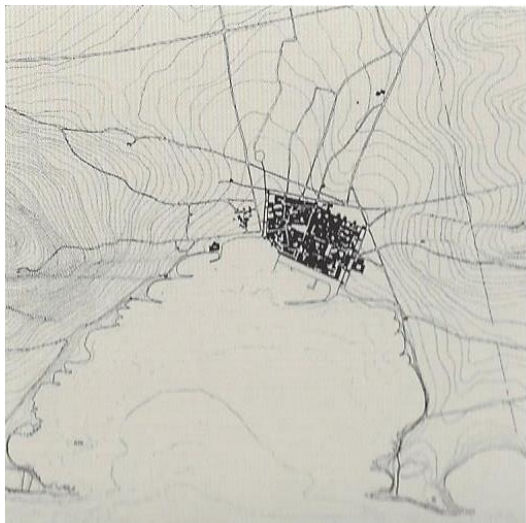


Figure 2.7.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 15th century

furniture and important works of art, and bell tower, which became the dominant element of the cityscape, was built.²⁴

During the twenty years of the Hungarian war between King Sigismund and the Neapolitan house Anjou, Ladislav of Naples sold his "right" on Dalmatia to Venetian Republic. By 1420, more centralized Republic took over the city, which remained under Venetian rule for 377 years (1420-1797).²⁵ The autonomy of the city was reduced: the highest authority was a prince, always born in Venice. Despite this, Split has developed into an important port city with a significant trade routes to hinterland which was ruled by the Ottomans, through the nearby Klis pass. In this period, the city was developing in the old part, in the Palace, and new one, in the western part. This period is also notable because many new beautiful palaces were built that completely differed from those from earlier periods. The 16th century brought economic stagnation. After the fall of Klis fortress in 1537, Split was directly exposed to Turkish attacks and the city had to strengthen its fortifications with the new system of bastions. The end of the 16th century is stamped by the construction works on the shore, outside the Palace.²⁶ Customhouse with lazarettos is being built as the result of emerging importance of the port and new commercial routes with Turks. In the 17th century, there is a significant change in the outer contour of the city as a result of the increasing Turkish threat. In the mid-17th century, the city is enclosed by a ring of walls with polygonal bastions. The baroque architecture also left the stamp in form of the few new palaces, which

²⁴ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 27, p.27-33

²⁵ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 27, p.33-34

²⁶ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 27, p.35-39



Figure 2.8.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 18th century

are built within the city. The Peristyle saw great change as a result of previously closed southern gates. The transformation of the Peristyle in the open religious center already began when southern gate had been closed in the Middle Ages. With the construction of new religious structures, the transformation process was completely finalized by conversion of the Peristyle in the closed religious center.²⁷ Venice ruled Split until its fall in 1797.

The beginning of the 19th century was marked by a short period of the reign of Napoleon (1806-1813). This is the period of the administration by marshal Marmont and of some significant actions in the city's development.²⁸ The fortification walls were partially demolished, western shore was under the construction and new city's gardens were built. From that period is of great importance, the so-called Marmont plan, designed for the new treatment of Diocletian's Palace. It was intended to eliminate the no-ancient following the classicist approach towards the protection of monuments. Although, this plan was never realized, the purified single-layer appreciation influenced on the later projects.²⁹ The city is the part of Austrian empire in the period 1813-1918. It was a period of the purification tendencies within the city, but the era was also stamped by increased protection of monuments, especially by Vicko Andrić. Andrić advocated the purification approach which is visible today on the southern façade of the Palace.³⁰ The significance of the city increased and during this period in the city have taken large investments. New districts, suburbs, harbor and streets were build and improved. The most significant action is the

²⁷ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.37

²⁸ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009, p.28

²⁹ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.39

³⁰ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.39

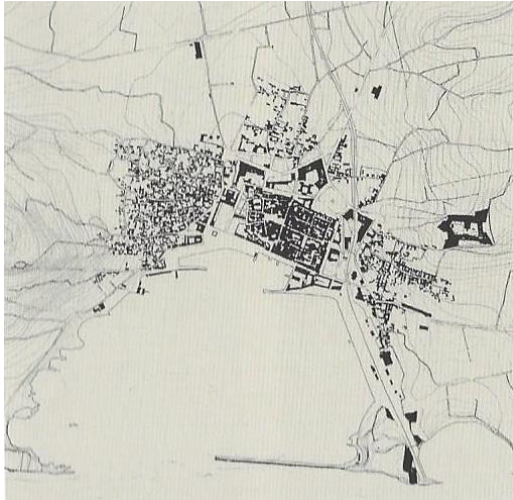


Figure 2.9.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 19th century

connection between the waterfront and the Peristyle and renovation of the aqueduct.³¹ The last few decades of the Austrian rule was stamped by romanticism regarding the protection of the monuments. The most characteristic example is the restoration of the church bell (1890-1908) which was radically renewed. However, under the influence of the practices by Vienna conservation school, the new understanding of the protection of monuments were in the beginning. Among the locals, the most significant name is Frane Bulić, prominent researcher and conservator, who managed to preserve the Diocletian's Palace and monuments of later history.³²

After World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Split became part of the Kingdom Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (which in 1929 changed its name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Economic growth is primarily connected to the increased significance of the port. The development of the city, had also negative consequences on the Palace and the historic core in general. This area is then inhabited by poorer classes, that are not in the position to maintain old part of the city and the historic object decayed.³³ The protection of monuments was led by Frane Bulić and Ljubo Karaman, who published the first Croatian study of the Palace.³⁴ In April 1941, after the invasion of Nazi Germany on Yugoslavia, Split was occupied by Italy and formally annexed it a month later. After the capitulation of Italy, during the German rule, parts of the port, as well as some parts of the old city were damaged in the bombing. After WWII Split became part of the Socialist Republic of Croatian, which was the sovereign

³¹ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.41

³² Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.42

³³ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.43

³⁴ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.43



Figure 2.10.
Diocletian's Palace and Split, 20th century

republic of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During this period, the city experienced its greatest economic and demographic progress. The city became the economic center of the wider area and started to accommodate settlers from the undeveloped hinterland who found employment in new factories, which were part of large-scale industrialization and investment Yugoslav federal government. The city has also become the largest passenger and military port of Yugoslavia. In the period between 1945 and 1990 the city has completely changed and expanded, and took the whole peninsula. This period was also stamped by increased researches, studies and new conservation strategies in the Palace.³⁵

By the creation of Croatian state in 1991, Split has become the center of the Split-Dalmatian County and the political and economic center of the macro-region. Today, Split is a contemporary city with the historic core as an important urban element. It is a city of about 200 000 inhabitants who are aware of the legacy of numerous past generations," transformed into cultural goods of immeasurable national value created in tolerance of various cultures."³⁶

³⁵ Marasović, T., *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p.44-46

³⁶ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, p.46

The Palace and the city-



Figure 2.11.
City of Split

Split is today the second-largest city of Croatia and the largest city of the region of Dalmatia. It is situated on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, in the area rich in historical and cultural strata and traces of various civilizations. Spread over a central peninsula and its surroundings, but centered on the Roman Palace of the Emperor Diocletian. Although the city is older a few centuries than the Palace,³⁷ the actual cornerstone for the city, the city we know today, was the construction of the Palace. The whole area saw a numerous changes throughout the history on the urban, political, demographic, social, cultural and economic level, but the Palace has always been the nucleus of the city. From the Late Antiquity onwards, a city grew in the Palace, transforming its fabric but did not break with its ideas. Looking back at centuries of historical changes, Diocletian's concept "appeared so versatile and layered that it functioned in different ideologies, was adaptable to different functions, and, above all, it assumed new meanings in changing times."³⁸ What is so remarkable regarding te remodeling of the Palace, is the delicate and respectful way this rigid and symmetrical Roman structure has been adapted in order to serve the needs of new *civitas*. The core infra-structure of the *Roma Quadrata* is still to be recognized, but there is a freer and more organic approach to be read in the structure of the following periods. The Palace served as a basis for future adaptations of the existing structures and for the construction of new

³⁷ Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982, p. 15

³⁸ Dvoržak Schrunk, I. / Begović, V. *Diocletian's Palace and Split: transferring ideas from a maritime villa to a christian city*, VAMZ, 3. s., XLV 2012, p. 509



Figure 2.12.
Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian
as listed as a World Heritage Site

buildings, but it also implied the nature of the city's development and growth. Today, the entity of the Palace is completely merged in the urban tissue of the city, creating together with its wider area, a historic core of important historical, architectural, cultural and social value.

"Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian"³⁹ is listed as a World Heritage Site and added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1979. The protection covers the area of 20.8 ha of "one of the most significant examples of the architectural transformation of an original antique pattern into a medieval city whose principal elements have been preserved up to present times."⁴⁰ Enrollment is based on three of the six criteria for registration of World Heritage: Criteria II - "show a significant interchange of human values, over a certain period of time or within a world cultural areas, and development architecture or technology, monumental and arts, town planning or landscape design.".; Criteria III - "be unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or living or past civilization ", and Criteria IV - "be an outstanding example of the buildings, the architectural or technological ensemble or landscapes illustrating significantly period or periods in the history of mankind ".⁴¹ In the original nomination dossier from 1979, it was explained: "The historical complex of the city of Split, with the Palace of Diocletian, has multiples significance not only on the national scale

³⁹ Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian- name of this World Heritage Site as listed by UNESCO World Heritage Center

⁴⁰ Original nomination dossier from 1979 as cited in *Section II Summary*, UNESCO - World Heritage Center, 2006, retrieved on 05-04-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/EUR/cycle01/section2/97-summary.pdf>

⁴¹ UNESCO - World Heritage Center; these criteria are explained in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, retrieved on 05-04-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>

of Yugoslavia⁴² but also in a universal sense."⁴³ Considering that the Palace of Diocletian is, in a broad sense, the best preserved of all existing ancient imperial residences, the document has noted that the Palace represents, for the international disciplines of archaeology and art history, a key monument for any research and study on the buildings of this type, as a whole or as separate units, which also are unique monuments of their particular type. According to the document the Palace "has exerted considerable influence on subsequent developments in urbanism and architecture since early Christian times up to the new era not only in the Dalmatian region but also on a European scale" (as revealed by the religious architecture since late Antiquity in various places around the Mediterranean, up to the classical period of British architecture).^{44 45}

The great value of the Diocletian's palace lies in its continuous existence, but also in its constant adaptations - construction and duration through Late Antiquity, transformation in the early Middle Ages into a living medieval city, reorganization and development from 19th century until today when it functions as a large urban center. Due to its continuous identity, the palace has become one of the most significant examples of architectural transformation of the original Ancient monument in medieval city, whose basic elements are saved to this day. While retaining its liveliness and constant change, the historical core of Split did not suffer from significant destruction and demolition, except in a small

⁴² At the time of inscription of this site on the World Heritage List, Croatia was part of former Yugoslavia.

⁴³ Original nomination dossier from 1979 as cited in *Section II Summary*, UNESCO - World Heritage Center, 2006, retrieved on 05-04-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/EUR/cycle01/section2/97-summary.pdf>

⁴⁴ The influence on the classical period of British architecture is going to be explained later in the context of the neoclassicism and Robert Adam's legacy

⁴⁵ Solar, G. / Solar, S. *Plan Upravljanja Povijesnom Jezgrom*, Split, 2009, p. 4



Figure 2.13.
Diocletian's Palace and the city of Split

number, but even those structures represent also a testimony of particular period and/or cultural priorities.⁴⁶ The importance of Diocletian's Palace far transcends local significance because of its level of preservation and the buildings of succeeding historical periods, stretching from Roman times onwards, which form the very tissue of old Split.

⁴⁶ Solar, G. / Solar, S. *Plan Upravljanja Povijesnom Jezgrom*, Split, 2009, p. 5

SEEING THE PALACE

History of documentation- image of Diocletian's Palace

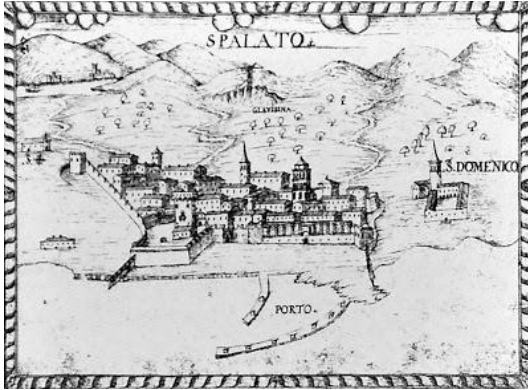


Figure 3.1.
Drawing of a medieval city, Angelo degli Oddi

Over the past centuries, artists, writers, architects, archeologists and photographers have variously recorded, studied and mapped the Diocletian's Palace. Diocletian's Palace, one of the most important and best preserved works of Late Antiquity, has been a challenge for numerous researches who strived for its scientific valuation, architects and conservators who tried to implement their ideas, as well as for artists who wanted to present the physical appearance and social life within this monument to the public. All of them gave the contribution to the comprehension und understanding of the Palace in form of image and/or text, which led to the active protection of the architectural heritage. Moreover, they all helped to establish the Palace as the outstanding the example in the archeological, historical, artistic, architectural and restoration disciplines.

The first most outstanding contribution was given by Robert Adam. He published the book *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* in 1768 in London. The book was the result of the survey made during five weeks in 1757, by Adam and those in his employ. The team included Charles-Louis Clérissseau as well as the Italian painter Agostino, Brunias and the Liègois architect Laurent-Benoît Dewez.⁴⁷ We categorize his publication as the first real attempt to document and analyze the

⁴⁷ Yarwood, D. *Robert Adam*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1970, p.76

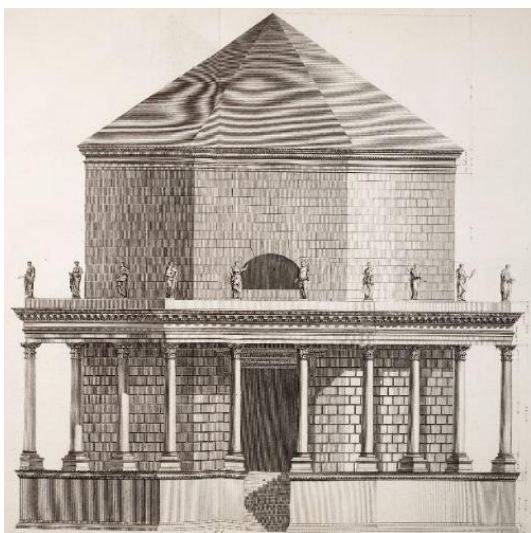


Figure 3.2.
Emperor's Mausoleum, elevation and view, R.
Adam

Palace, but also to understand the city. Until the arrival of Robert Adam in Split in 18th century, we can talk about the prehistory of exploring and interpreting Diocletian's palace- a narrative and pictorial prehistory.⁴⁸ With Adam begun the first systematic research and documentation of this edifice and the introduction of Split and Diocletian's Palace in the world scientific literature. His work contributed to the worldwide image of Diocletian's Palace and Split and provide basis for every scientific work that followed about this particular place. He thoroughly studied the issue of the original appearance and proposed the first comprehensive nomenclature of certain buildings and spaces, while still managed to acknowledge the state he encountered and everyday life in the 18th century. Since it has been published, his book continues to engage the readers and still holds a very prominent position in the current study of the Palace. His publication take us for a walk through the city enabled by the symbiotic relationship between a verbal and visual representation of this living monument. Although, the engravings have always been more important, Adam is using both, text and drawing, to restore the Palace in its original form and to display the Palace in its ruinous state. The value of Robert Adam's work lies in the both-presenting the present and the past. The juxtaposition of the restored and ruinous state offers a unique vista on this important ensemble. His "restored" Palace and Split influenced on the following restoration strategies and had great impact on the perception and the evaluation of the places within the Palace. On the other hand, his portrayal of the Palace he encountered transmitted the spirit of romantic decay and has left us with one of the most evocative pictures of Diocletian's Palace and the city ever created.

⁴⁸ Špikić, M. *Skriveno i vidljivo. Dioklecijanova palača u britanskim putopisima druge polovice 19. Stoljeća*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 2012, p. 3

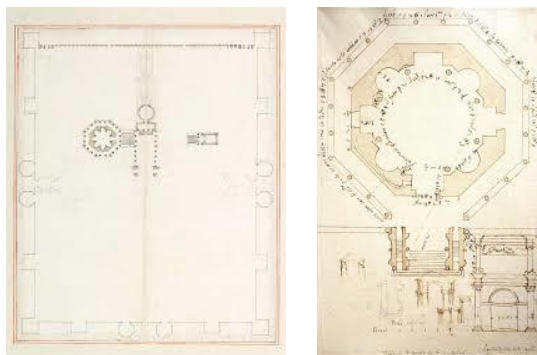


Figure 3.3.
Plan of Diocletian's Palace and the Mausoleum,
A. Palladio

Adam's publication has given "an important contribution to the knowledge of the Palace and its affirmation within the global scientific circles,"⁴⁹ although the Palace wasn't unknown. Already in the 16th century Andrea Palladio, a famous Italian Renaissance architect, came in the position to document the layout of the Palace and the details of the mausoleum.⁵⁰ His drawings represent the oldest architectural study of the Diocletian's Palace, although already around 950. Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives the first description of the palace.⁵¹ Adam in his book didn't mention these or any other older drawings or descriptions of the Palace, but it is likely that he was introduced to these drawings while researching Palladio's studies of the baths from the collection of Lord Burlington during his work on the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian.⁵² Adam has certainly interpreted the ruins in Split in accordance with the requirements of his time, but it is possible that Palladio's drawings served him as a starting point.

The Palace is the subject of many following verbal and schematic representations, but the trip made in 1675 and 1676 by the French antiquarian Jacob Spon and the English naturalist George Wheler, resulted with the research within the framework of the antiquarian discipline. This will be of great importance in

⁴⁹ Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Naklada, Split, 2009, p. 32

⁵⁰ Two additional drawings purchased by Inigo Jones in Italy are preserved in the collections of the Royal Institute of British Architects (SC213/VIII/2 and SC215/IX/16); one records the plan of the octagonal mausoleum as well as an elevation of one of the niches, the other, the portal. While these contain notations in Palladio's hand, the sketches of the mausoleum are probably not made by Palladio

⁵¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus et de administrando imperio*, Ed. Bonn, 1840, p. 137

⁵² Kečkemet, D. *Robert Adam: Dioklecijanova palača I klasicizam*, Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb, 2003, p. 62, 177

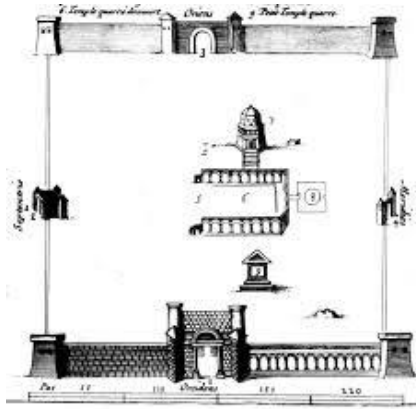


Figure 3.4.
Diocletian's Palace, J. Spon and G. Wheeler

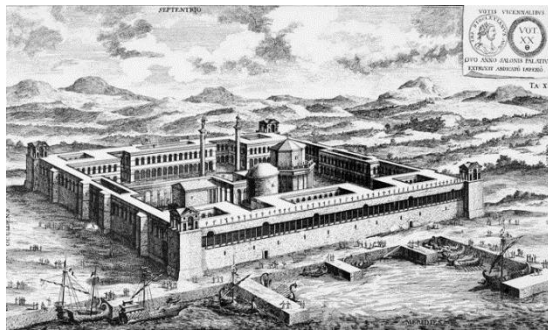


Figure 3.5.
presumed appearance of Diocletian's Palace, Fischer
von Erlach

the context of the 18th century. Spon and Wheeler included a description of the Palace, illustrated by rather primitive drawings, in *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*. While the text describes the site in some detail, it also highlights "its pleasingly basic geometries- the harbor in the shape of a half moon, the city's square perimeter ("un carré juste")-as does the image."⁵³ It is interesting that Spon and Wheeler's image represents, in perspectival elevation, the basic elements and arrangement of Palladio's plan—"indication that a visual prototype has been established."⁵⁴ Spon and Wheeler, along with others antiquaries from this period, set the foundation for new approach towards antiquity- "they announced the methodological connections that subsequently emerged between architectural and antiquarian practices in the late 17th and 18th centuries." Moreover, they introduced the Palace to the maps of many architects, artists and travelers that would come.

Thus, it is no surprise that the Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach devoted part of his publication, which has been credited as the first comparative global history of architecture, to the Palace. There are 79 drawings made in pencil and ink, which were made around 1710 for his work *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*, which was published in 1721 in Vienna.⁵⁵ Fischer's explanation of the site begins with a complaint about the lack of attention paid to properly measured drawings in Spon and Wheeler's account. Yet what holds Fischer's attention is not the historical context of things but,

⁵³ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Brill, 2014, p.93

⁵⁴ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Brill, 2014, p.94

⁵⁵ Fischer von Erlach, J. B. *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*, Wien, 1721.; critical analysis of his drawings is given by D. Kečkemet, *Crteži i grafike Dioklecijanove palace Fischer von Erlacha*, Peristil, Zagreb, p. 127-138.

rather, "the urban aspect and scenic orientation of the site; the ruins, he observes, leave clear traces of a quadrangular precinct in which the palace took over a part of the city and faced the sea. Plate X accordingly gives a bird's eye view from a southwesterly perspective."⁵⁶ The plates are made as the combination of perspective drawings, plans, sections with additional commentaries. Although, two plates, containing six drawings in total, are dedicated to the study of Diocletian's Palace, the perspective drawing is of particular importance because it represents the first attempt to reconstruct the original appearance of the Palace. Among the material about the Palace, that came in the possession of Robert Adam, were undoubtedly the drawings made by Fischer von Erlach.⁵⁷ This type of the configuration in text and image came to the end with Adam's publication, which was bounded with the new ideas of the 18th century. Moreover, one of the achievements of Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, was to rectify the inaccuracies of the previous researches and to establish the Palace as the monument of the universal value. Yet those images by Palladio, Spon, and Fischer should not be dismissed for their misinterpretation or mistakes. Their importance lies in the evidence that the Palace has been regarded "as exemplary and revelatory—well before 1750."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, p.96

⁵⁷ In the case of Diocletian's Palace, drawings and measurements were procured for him by Giovanni Pietro Marchi, the Dalmatian count and doyen of the so-called *Accademia Illirica* in Split; Fischer's ink wash drawings of the palace and its individual monuments are preserved in the National and University Library of Zagreb (GZAS 15 fis 1, 16 fis 2, 17 fis 3).

⁵⁸ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, p.98



Figure 3.6.
Peristyle and Emperor's Mausoleum, Louis-François
Cassas

Robert Adam's publication undoubtedly had influence on future visits to Split and following publications, drawings and/or reconstructions of the Palace. In 1782, the French painter Louis-François Cassas created drawings of the Palace, which were published by Joseph Lavallée in 1802 under the title *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*⁵⁹. His work is based on exact observations of the archaeological remains: each detail is noticed in his sketches.⁶⁰ In the drawings of these ornaments, Cassas combined his qualities as a painter with the exactitude derived from his formation as civil engineer. His work in many ways transfers Adam's ideas and his concept of the book, so therefore Cassas is later in the literature considered, and a "little unfair, ordinary imitator, even a thief."⁶¹ In the context of the rivalry between France and England, the Adam and Clérissieu study about Diocletian's Palace served in England as a contribution to neo-classicism, "while the work of Cassas did perhaps celebrate antique splendor but it also adumbrated a new taste for exoticism in France and Europe."⁶²

Robert Adam's publication was a main documentation for the study and research during the 19th and 20th century. This period is also marked by great effort made by local researchers, architects and conservators, but also foreign interest did not disappeared. In the mid-nineteenth century local architect and conservator Vicko Andrić, with an access to the substructures, successfully determined the position and shape of the two triple-aisle room and made numerous architectural drawings of specific parts of

⁵⁹ Lavallee, J. *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Istrie et de la dalmatie redigé d'aperes l'Itineraire de L.F. Cassas par Joseph Lavallee*, Paris 1802.; drawings made by Cassas are explained by D. Kečkemet, *Louis Francois Cassas i njegove slike Istre i Dalmacije 1782*, Rad JAZU, Zagreb, 379/178, p. 7-200.

⁶⁰ Vlašić Jurić, V. *Dioklecijanova palača na prikazima u Grafičkoj zbirci Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu*, 2011, p. 210

⁶¹ Kečkemet, D. *Robert Adam - Dioklecijanova palača i klasicizam*, Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb, 2003

⁶² *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

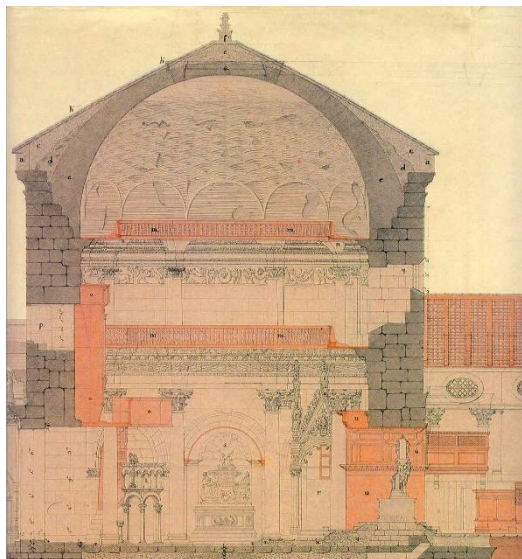


Figure 3.7.
Mausoleum, section, V. Andrić

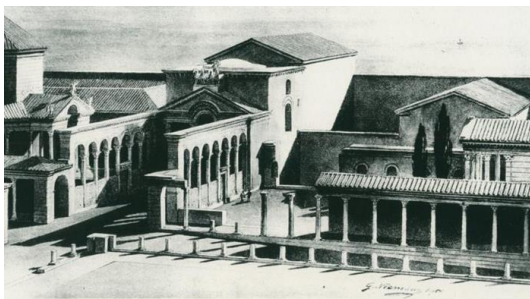


Figure 3.8.
Central Part of the Palace, G. Niemann

the Palace. At the beginning of the 20th century there is extensive and thorough research undertaken by two foreign teams. The first under the direction of George Niemann, Austrian architect, and the other led by French architect Ernest Hebrard and art historian Jacques Zeiller. Both studies were printed as monographs, characterized by systematic processing of all the visible parts of the Palaces, accurate shots and very convincing conceptual reconstructions.⁶³ George Niemann published his work, entitled *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato* in 1910 in Vienna, and two years later, Ernest Hebrard and Jacques Zeiller published their work *Spalato. Le Palais de Diocletien*. Systematic presented knowledge of the preserved condition and appearance of the original Palace, provided in their publications, was expanded in the second half of the 20th century, due to the further research and new interpretations of certain parts of the area, published in a number of reports, books and articles.⁶⁴ The archaeologist Frane Bulić, and art historians Ljubo Karaman, Cvito Fisković, Tomislav Marasović did not draw, but their historical and artistic analysis and historiographical approach is too valuable for the understanding and study of the palace and its history.

Although the listed contributors are not only ones to be credited for the research or/and documentation of the Palace, they represent prominent names, which are still echoed when discussing this structure. All the activities, from Palladio's documentation from the 16th century to nowadays activities, led to the

⁶³ Duško Marasović, *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, p. 32

⁶⁴ Some of them: N. Cambi, *Pristup razmatranju skulpturalnog programa Dioklecijanove palace u Splitu*, *Kulturna bastina*, 19, Split, 1989, str. 12; N. Cambi, *Dioklecijanova palaca I Dioklecijan (lik i licnost)*, *Izložba Dioklecijanova palaca*, *Katalog*, Split 1994.; G. De Angelis d'Osato, *Origine e diffusione dei prospetti ad andamento obliquo nelle chiese salonitane*, *Disputationes Salonitanae*, 1970. Split, 1975.; N. Duval, *La place de Split dans l'architecture aulique du Bas Empire*, *Urbs*, 4, Split, 1964-5

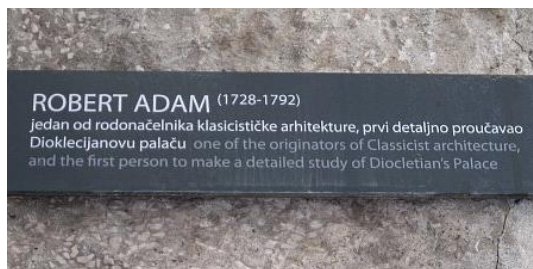


Figure 3.9.
Adam's street, Split

active protection of the heritage and influenced on the understanding of the Palace, but moreover they confirm Diocletian's Palace as the monument of universal value. It seems however that archeological interpretation and artistic portrayal of the Palace by Robert Adam in 18th century still holds a significant place within the history of the documentation and representation of this valuable monument. Although Diocletian's Palace was subject for many interpretations, reconstructions and documentations since Robert Adam, his work still remains as "current", as it was in 18th century. He constructed iconic image of the city and the Palace, which plays significant role on our perception of the city and continues to engage locals and tourists. How much the city was grateful for his contribution to the spread of the glory of Split and Diocletian's Palace is evident in the fact that a street in the city center is named after him.

From the descriptions, studies of the physical and functional characteristics, attempts to reconstruct the original appearance of the Palace, or from selected city views or textual portrayals of the quotidian life in the Palace, we construct our image of the city. "Think of the city, whose existence is inseparable from its own image,...." ⁶⁵ The image of Split, along with many others historic cities that were thoroughly documented throughout history, is the result of how the "city is rendered in different media- how it is photographed in still frames, narrated in literature as poem or tale, portrayed in paintings or drawings, or filmed and circulated in different forms of moving images." ⁶⁶ An image of the city emerges from a process that makes urban space visible and perceivable. The place is thus generated in the arts, and the city itself ends up relating to these visual or/and textual representations, becoming to some extent the

⁶⁵ Bruno, G. *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media*, University Of Chicago Press, 2014, p.188

⁶⁶ Bruno, G. *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media*, University Of Chicago Press, 2014, p.189

product of its image.⁶⁷ According to Giuliana Bruno, "our ability to visualize and perceive the city is the result of accumulated projection of representations in different media." Robert Adam's representation of the Palace and the city is still image that many relate to. Thus, it is responsible for establishing the iconic image of the city and the Palace. Each representation is a way of seeing, a subjective position and product of medium, convention, form, and aesthetics.⁶⁸ Bruno's definition further suggests that the nature of a particular representation is as important as its points of contact with the physical and architectural realities of urban space. Adam has certainly interpreted the ruins in Split in accordance with the requirements of his time and this led us to examine the nature of Robert Adam's representation by putting it in the context of the new tendencies which arose in the 18th century. The phenomena of the Grand Tour, archeological excavations, approach towards antiquity, new aesthetic categories, and neoclassicism. These all has to be consider before detailed analysis of the Adam's image of the Palace.

⁶⁷ Bruno, G. *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media*, University Of Chicago Press, 2014, p.189

⁶⁸ Bruno, G. *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media*, University Of Chicago Press, 2014, p.189

The 18th century thought, the sublimity of the ruin and Robert Adam

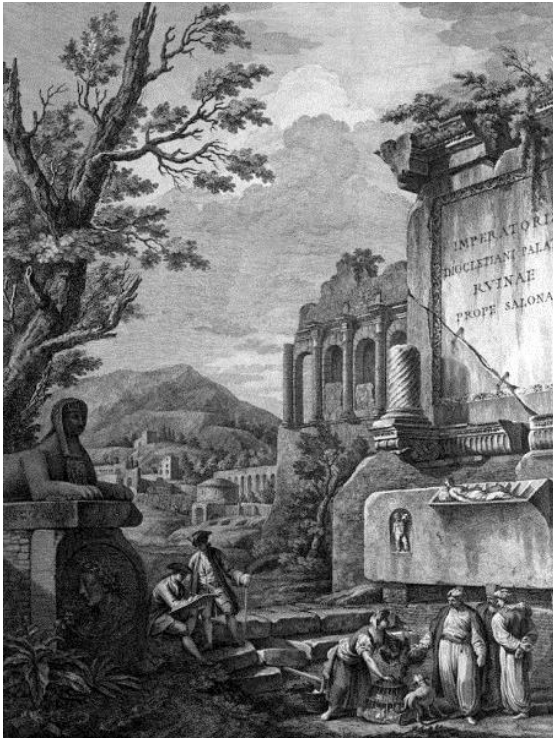


Figure 3.10.
*Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro
in Dalmatia, Frontispiece, R. Adam*

Adam's book, *Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, was a result of the ideas, which emerged and evolved during the 18th century. The 1750's marked a starting point of the era of changes on all fronts. It was a period, when the renewed admiration for classical antiquity emerged and a great effort to retrieve the glories of classical antiquity appeared. Architectural training in the 18th alluded a thorough understanding of the history and material culture of antiquity. As Sir William Chambers, Adam's rival, outlined in his Treatise; one of the principal attributes of a successful architect is that: " Neither must he be ignorant of ancient history, fable and mythology, nor of antiquities, as far as relates to the structures, sculpture, ornaments and utensils of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Etrurians, as the established style of decoration, collects its forms, combinations, symbols and allusions..."⁶⁹ Influence of antiquity, which stamped the artistic style and the development of taste in that period, was stimulated by interest in the history and the archaeology. The remarkable burst of archeological activity during the latter half of the 18th century served to encourage a growing appreciation of antiquity and marked an increasing awareness of the universal value of art and historic monuments. Excavations were carried out in Rome as well as nearby Ostia and Tivoli, in the second half of the 18th century. The greatest excitement, however, was caused by the sensational discovery of the long-buried towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which offered striking discoveries in Roman domestic life.

⁶⁹ Sir William Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*, Dover Publications, 2003, p.96



Figure 3.11.
Robert Adam, Portrait attributed to George Willison

Eighteenth-century archeological studies combined with a new reaction in taste and a desire to revive ideals of the ancient world produced a Neo- Classical revival in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was a new generation of architects, who, "breaking from the Palladian tradition of the previous generation, promoted neoclassical ideals in Britain and other parts of Europe." Robert Adam may be today known as a standout amongst the practitioners of the neo-classical style of architecture. Love for the construction and architecture was clearly not a coincidence because Adam's father, William Adam, was one of the most famous Scottish architects in the first half of the 18th century. Robert Adam was born on 3 July 1728 at Gladney House in in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, on the shores of the Gulf of Fife, but the whole family moved in Edinburgh later that year.⁷⁰ Robert was the second son of William Adam, the foremost Scottish architect of his time. There were three other sons—John, James, and William—and six daughters. From 1734 at the age of six Adam attended the Royal High School, Edinburgh⁷¹ and in autumn 1743 he matriculated at Edinburgh University⁷², but his studies were interrupted by illness and by the 1745 Jacobite Rising. In 1746, Robert joined his elder brother, John Adam, as an assistant to his father. William Adam died in June 1748, and left Dowhill, a part of the Blair Adam estate which included a tower house, to Robert. On William Adam's death, John Adam inherited both the family business and the position of Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance. He immediately took Robert into partnership, later to be joined by James Adam.⁷³ Their first major commission was the completion of the

⁷⁰ James, J. *Kirkcaldy: A History & Celebration of the Town*, Francis Frith Collection, 2005, p. 60

⁷¹ Graham, R. *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam*, Birlinn Ltd., 2009, p. 2

⁷² Graham, R. *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam*, Birlinn Ltd., 2009, p. 26

⁷³ Graham, R. *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam*, Birlinn Ltd., 2009, p. 26

reconstruction and remodeling, begun by their father, of Hopetoun House, Queensferry. In 1754, Robert went to Europe on his itinerary, studying classical architecture and honing his drawing skills.

Travelling has been an activity present since antiquity yet purposes and the nature of it has changed through the time. The traveling as the tool for learning was a growing idea in the 17th century. The idea came from John Locke who claimed that the truest understanding of the world comes from experience and senses. With his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, it was argued, and widely accepted, that knowledge comes entirely from the external senses, that what one knows comes from the physical stimuli to which one has been exposed.⁷⁴ Following the ideas of this era, travelling became unavoidable part of architectural training for young intellectuals in order to "physically measure and survey Greek and Roman structures themselves and no longer relying on Palladio's interpretation of Vitruvian orders."⁷⁵ It gradually gained the form of what we know today as Grand Tour. The idea of the Grand Tour gained extreme popularity during the 18th century. "The classic Grand Tour[ist] was the wealthy, young man who spent several months — at least — traveling in Europe after finishing his formal schooling...[The Grand Tour] served as a hiatus between adolescence and adulthood, between formal schooling and working."⁷⁶ The ultimate travel destination was "classical world" as the crowning cultural experience of what became known as the Grand Tour. The primary focus was mainly on France and Italy, as mentioned by many theorists of the Grand Tour. Even though some authors mention that the

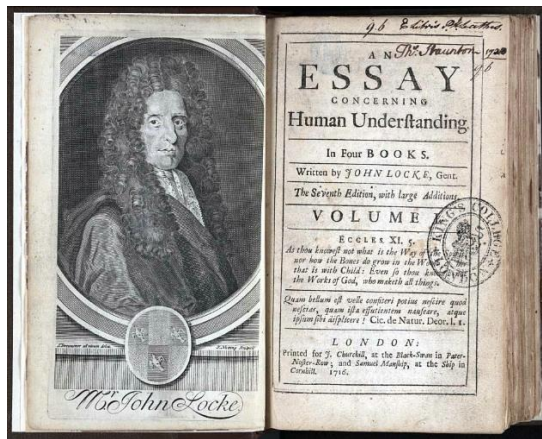


Figure 3.12.
Essay Concerning Human Understanding, J. Locke

⁷⁴ *Grand Tour*, retrieved on 20-07-2016 from https://www.titudorancea.net/z/grand_tour.htm

⁷⁵ Green, A. S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota, 2013, p. 10

⁷⁶ Withey, L. *Grand Tours and Cooks' Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915*,

itinerary was not fixed, there were some places and monuments which were considered a core of each Tour. The primary value of the Grand Tour, it was believed, lay in the exposure both to the cultural legacy of classical antiquity and the Renaissance, and to the aristocratic and fashionably polite society of the European continent.



Figure 3.13.
The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desert,
R. Wood

The 18th century marked also an important change in the diffusion of information through an increased amount of publications on archeological and architectural subjects, assisted with the increasing importance of Grand Tour. The great popularity of travel books in the 18th century was connected with many factors which were both cultural as well as social. It was the time when new genres appeared and were gaining popularity among readers. Although the publications connected to the specific itinerary gained new appreciation, travelers have always documented places of antiquity, but also collected information of another kind; on the topography and customs, language and religion and a general representation of the area. The study of antiquities on site resulted often in the collection of epigraphic material organized by location. The material about the remains of ancient cultures, particularly those of Greece, Rome, Etruria, and Egypt, gained a new respect and appreciation in the mid-eighteenth century and travelers who headed to the Levant in search of ancient remains began to treat their illustrations as scientific data to be presented to societies and academies back home. The 1750s marked a "watershed in illustrated architectural-antiquarian publications."⁷⁷ This marked departure from seventeenth and early eighteenth century perceptions of ruins as imperfect survivals, valuable only for their mytho-

⁷⁷ Griggs, T. *Drawn From Nature: Stuart and Revett In Athens*, in *Seeing Science: Image, Text, and Nature, 1500-1800*, Princeton University, 2005, p. 12

historical associations⁷⁸ and new appreciation for the value of ruins began to emerge. These new approach towards materiality and visuality of the ruins was assisted by the Grand Tour, "a phenomenon which shaped the creative and intellectual sensibilities of some of the eighteenth century's greatest artists, writers and thinkers"⁷⁹ From the 1750's onward, however, a new appreciation for the value of ruins emerged, as the published engravings of Desgodetz, Le Roy, Piranesi, Wood, Stuart and Revett, Major and Adam "revealed the power and grandeur of the classical ruin, and Winckelmann's reports on the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii illumined these sites for the whole of Europe."⁸⁰ Drawings and literary works by travel artists and writers from that period are treasured in prestigious European museums and libraries and together constitute a priceless portion of the European cultural heritage. Their observations were often gathered and presented to readers in a new and increasingly popular form: "the lavishly illustrated folios that cascaded out of printers' presses from London to Naples."⁸¹ Books like Robert Wood and James Dawkins's *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desert* (1753) and *The Ruins of Baalbek, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* (1757), Julien-David Le Roy's *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (1758), James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (vol. 1 in 1762), and Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764) left a substantial footprint with their documentation of the classical world. Their works exposed readers to sophisticated images of these previously little-known places. Aside from the pursuit

⁷⁸ Green, A. S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.7

⁷⁹ Layton-Jones, K. *Review of The Grand Tour*, (review no. 839), retrived on 10-06-2016 from <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/839>

⁸⁰ Green, A. S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.7

⁸¹ Hyde Minor, H. G. B. *Piranesi's Diverse Maniere and the Natural History of Ancient Art*, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, p.3

of accuracy, these new antiquaries wanted to appeal to a polite and affluent readership. "They sought an audience other than the Republic of Letters and they did so through illustrated books, lavishly produced, and devoid of the documentary trail that previous scholars had constructed."⁸²

"Drawings and woodcut prints of ruins, coins, and monuments had always been an integral part of the antiquarian tradition," but the monumental folio engravings of Piranesi, Clérissseau, Julien-David Le Roy, James Stuart and Robert Adam gave a new impetus to the visual tradition of antiquity.⁸³ What distinguished these new antiquaries and their publications from the older generation was their deliberately visual approach to antiquity. These volumes offered vicarious travel experiences: engaging the imagination; allowing a viewer to explore ancient sites through deliberately arranged sequences of images. "All of the imagery generated by the archaeological surveys from 18th century provided an experience of antiquity that was primarily visual, not text-based. Each survey of that time presented data in a deliberately contrived manner: first, a general history of the site followed by colorful descriptions of the journey to reach it, and finally, a series of large, dramatic images. The plates were arranged in a progressive sequence, each image drawing a viewer into the site via scripted views. They engaged a reader's imagination with accessible images of remote ancient sites: scenes that could be read without prior knowledge of ancient literature and architecture. "

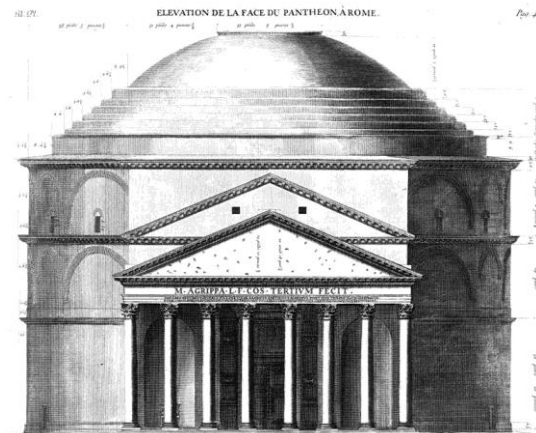


Figure 3.14.
*Les Edifices Antiques De Rome Dessines et Mesures
Tres Exactement, A. Desgodetz*

⁸² Griggs, T. Drawn From Nature: Stuart And Revett In Athens, in *Seeing Science: Image, Text, and Nature, 1500-1800*, Princeton University, 2005, p. 12

⁸³ Griggs, T. Drawn From Nature: Stuart And Revett In Athens, in *Seeing Science: Image, Text, and Nature, 1500-1800*, Princeton University, 2005



Figure 3.15.
The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece,
J.D. Le Roy



Figure 3.16.
The Antiquities of Athens, Stuart and Revett

The publications offered architects, artists and antiquaries a visual reference for their work, so competitive nature among them arose. The various publications provided different concepts of the book, different approach toward antiquity and different representation of the sites. Antoine Desgodetz published one of the first surveys of ancient buildings. In his publication *Les Edifices Antiques De Rome Dessines et Mesures Tres Exactement* each element is illustrated by a plan, elevation, and detailed ornamentation. Though he does supply commentary, the illustrations are his primary tool for "communicating information and fulfilling his fundamental purpose."⁸⁴ Wood may have used Desgodetz's publication as an exemplar for his publications *Ruins of Palmyra* and *Ruins of Balbec*, but other later authors, most notably Le Roy, took very different approaches when depicting antiquity.⁸⁵ Julien-David Le Roy, who travelled to Greece in 1754, published *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* in 1758 and "...marked the emergence of a new sensibility in the grasp of architectural experience..."⁸⁶ His publication was, in a sense, in direct competition with Stuart and Revett's proposals for the *Antiquities of Athens*. Moreover, his publication would establish him as the leading authority on Greek architecture in France. *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* was popular in England, an interest stimulated by the publication of Wood's folios. *The Ruins of Balbec* and *The Ruins of Palmyra* were works with "data translated into illustrations that were both accurate and clear." In 1760, the French scholar, Jean-Jacques Barthelemy, remarked in his review of Robert Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra*: "In the past twenty years, a new spirit has everywhere awakened the ruins of

⁸⁴ Redford, B. *The Measure of Ruins: Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750-1770*, Harvard Library, 2002

⁸⁵ Green, A.S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.18

⁸⁶ Middleton, R. *Le Roy: The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004, p.1



Figure 3.17.
Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at
Spalatro, view on Mausoleum, R. Adam

antiquity...we are finally able to see the monuments that survive...copied faithfully, and engraved with the intelligence and taste that we admire in these works." *The Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett was published in 1762, it promoted a pro-Greek vision of antiquity, but never inspired social and artistic change that Stuart envisioned. Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, published in 1764, represents a work that pays surface homage to Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra*. But, Adam "aligns himself with the priorities and procedures of Le Roy's publication."⁸⁷

Adam managed to set his publication apart from the others. All of these publications, in some sense, were overshadowed by Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*. Wood, Stuart, and Revett could measure all the temples and towers, but they still would not have Adam's experience with ancient "domestic" architecture. They all surveyed public buildings, but he was the only one who published the book based on the research of the private residence. Robert, was the first English-speaking architect to view the ruins of the ancient Mediterranean professionally. Stuart and Revett, at the start of their work in Athens, were both artists; Wood and Dawkins were antiquaries who hired an Italian draftsman to record their architectural knowledge. Adam was a trained architect who conducted his entire sojourn as a professional Grand Tour.⁸⁸ Even his selection of the Palace for detailed analysis, and then for publication, was based on a professional ambition to establish a reputation as a scholar and architect and to create a reference work, which would serve him as a tool for design. "The creative nature of the architect's perspective determined his approach to ancient remains and

⁸⁷ Redford, B. *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England*, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008, p. 43

⁸⁸ Kondo, A. *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment*, Routledge, 2011, p.64

publishing of archeological folio."⁸⁹ *The Ruins of Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro* formed the basis of one of the most successful architectural practices in eighteenth century London. And, perhaps, the success of Adam's Ruins even influenced another archaeological travel book: *The Ruins of Paestum*, by Thomas Major.⁹⁰ Robert Adam described, measured, and imaged ancient palace and city; the antiquities dramatically portrayed were accessible to anyone who could afford to purchase the survey. *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro*, in its reasonably organized completeness, "clears a path through the ruins" and offers first-hand contact with antiquity.

Archaeological surveys also became weapons in a battle between the supremacy of Greece or Rome as the model for neoclassicism. The most influential supporters of Roman architecture, Sir William Chambers, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and the Adam brothers, stood against the most vocal advocates of Greece: James Stuart, Nicholas Revett, and Thomas Major. Piranesi's published engravings, Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, and William Chambers' *Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* proclaimed the glories of Rome, while *The Antiquities of Athens*, and *The Ruins of Paestum, otherwise known as Posidonia* promoted a vision of the past that was all Greek and the perception of Greece as the purest vision of ancient simplicity. Stuart, Revett and others

⁸⁹ Kondo, A. *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment*, Routledge, 2011, p.64

⁹⁰ Green, A.S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota, 2013, p.30



Figure 3.18.
Hadrian's Villa, Piranesi

who promoted accurate "Grecian Taste" and brought into being a new genre, the proto-archaeological folio, which appears and thrives between 1753 and 1769, only "to be overshadowed by imaginative interpretations of antiquity in the style of Giambattista Piranesi and Robert Adam."⁹¹ Folios associated with Greece are characterized by different discourses, but visual and verbal representations was in favor of clarity and precision. On the other hand, Piranesi and Adam produced engravings highlighting the seductive impact of Roman architecture. We can draw a conclusion that, regarding the debate of the supremacy between Rome and Greece, discourses related to aesthetics and origin were intertwined with each other in the eighteenth century. In other words, advocates of Greece were claiming that when copying it, the Romans had diminished the values of "beautiful" Greece. But Piranesi argued that the sublime character of Egyptian architecture was inherited by the Romans.^{92 93} We know that the beautiful and sublime were the fundamental aesthetical categories during the 18th century. In other words, Piranesi replied to those, who advocated the beauty of Greece, with the concept of sublime which was placed above beauty in the hierarchy of aesthetics.⁹⁴ Crystallizing since the 1750s, the "aesthetical philosophy of the eighteenth century emerged along with other disciplines such as archaeology and the history of art and architecture."⁹⁵

⁹¹ Redford, B. *The Measure of Ruins: Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750-1770*, Harvard Library, 2002, p.43

⁹² By rooting the origin of Roman architecture in Egypt rather than Greece

⁹³ Ipek, F. *The archaeological sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings*, 2006, p. 90-94

⁹⁴ Ipek, F. *The archaeological sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings*, 2006, p. 90-94

⁹⁵ Ipek, F. *The archaeological sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings*, 2006, p. 94

From the middle of the 18th century, numerous writers and thinkers sought to define and categorize human responses to natural phenomena, most notably Edmund Burke with his exploration of the sublime and the beautiful, and William Gilpin and his theory of the picturesque. Oxford Dictionary defines beautiful as "delighting the eye", sublime as "so distinguished by elevation or size or nobility or grandeur or other impressive quality as to inspire awe or wonder", and picturesque as "fit to be the subject of a striking picture".⁹⁶ New aesthetic ideas were bounded with the questions of taste, but moreover, the discussions about emotions and the relation between the landscape and its artistic representation. The aesthetic category of "picturesque" was incorporated in the conceptual repertoire of artists and art theorists during the last decades of the eighteenth century and was merged together with antiquarian investigations. The etymological meaning of the word is "that which is like a picture" or in other words "after the manner of painters" but it changed its meaning to a wider category as a specialized mode of viewing the world. The specialized mode was the one of painting because picturesque became "type of beauty which is found in nature by the seeing eye of the painter." As Gilpin noted: "Disputes about beauty might perhaps be involved in less confusion, if a distinction were established, which certainly exists, between such objects as are beautiful, and such as are picturesque—between those, which please the eye in their natural state; and those, which please from some quality, capable of being illustrated by painting."⁹⁷ In 1756 Edmund Burke published an essay entitled *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. The essay had an enormous impact on the visual arts including architecture, as well as on the writers, painters and

⁹⁶ Retrieved on 15-08-2016 from <http://sites.scran.ac.uk/ada/documents/general/sublime.htm>

⁹⁷ Gilpin, W. *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty*, 1794

composers of the mid to late 18th and early 19th centuries. Burke noted that: "The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature is astonishment, and astonishment is that state of the soul in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror. The mind is so entirely filled with its object that it cannot entertain any other, nor reason on that object which fills it. Astonishment is the effect of the sublime in its highest degree...No passion so effectually robs the mind of all its power of acting and reasoning as terror; and whatever is terrible with regard to sight, is sublime." On the other hand: "By Beauty, as distinguished from the Sublime, I mean that quality or those qualities in bodies by which they cause love, or some passion analogous to it. I distinguish love, or the satisfaction which arises to the mind upon contemplating anything beautiful, from desire, which is an energy of the mind that hurries us on to the possession of certain objects." ⁹⁸ The difference between terms sublime and beautiful was very often explained through a type of feelings which are produced by sublime or beautiful objects. The sublime was perceived as: whatever excited the ideas of pain and danger and aroused the passions of terror and astonishment. Obscurity, power, privation, vastness, difficulty, magnificence, loudness, and more were among the qualities associated with the sublime. As mentioned earlier the beautiful was in contrast to the sublime, and therefore it: "Aroused the passion of love and was associated with such qualities as smallness, smoothness, gradual variation, delicacy, and clear but mild coloration." ⁹⁹ But toward the century's end Burke's dualism began to come under pressure and the picturesque came to be regarded widely as a third perfection of taste.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Burke, E. *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, 1757

⁹⁹ Ross, A. *The Imprint of the Picturesque on Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*, 1987, p. 274

¹⁰⁰Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *18th Century British Aesthetics*, retrieved on 10-07-2016 from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aesthetics-18th-british/>

This change in aesthetics also influenced the genre of the travel books. Aesthetic theories of the sublime and the beautiful (along with the picturesque) combined with the emerging discipline of archeology, suggest how the representation of this particular sites might affect readers. These new categories in aesthetic theory caused that the traveler looked at specific kinds of elements and searched for scenery which has ability to raise in the observer specific emotions. In the other words, the traveler composed the scenery which would in turn fulfill readers' expectations. Finally, antiquarian practices not only provided frameworks for analyzing fragments, but also popularized ruins as objects of interest.¹⁰¹ Readers expected from a good travel book that they will get some pleasure when reading while at the same time they will receive some new information about foreign countries. Since the popularity of the travel books was quite great in the 18th century, qualities of a good travel book were considered very important and discussed. There appeared a term useful traveler and as Lipking and Ritchie noted: "The useful traveler is one who meets the reader's curiosity and desire for knowledge with reflective, informative writing, not the barren labor of mere description of successive landscapes. A patriot who collects objects and knowledge for his home country, the useful traveler's writing will give his fellow citizens insightful comparisons of the domestic and the foreign." ¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Schneider, R. M. *Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800*, The University of Texas at Austin, 2014, p 70

¹⁰²Lipking,L./Ritchie,L.The Norton Anthology of English Literature.,retrieved on 12-07-2016 from <http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/18century/welcome.htm>

Neoclassicism and the Palace

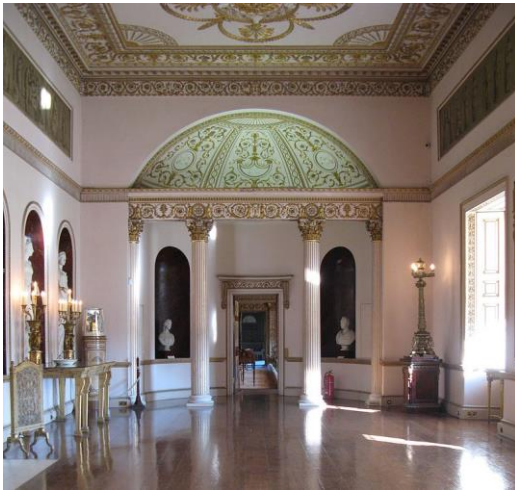


Figure 3.19.
Syon House, Robert Adam

The travel experiences made the physical remains of antiquity tangible, and would, in turn result in representational and replicated neoclassical structures. Robert Adam returned from the Grand Tour in 1759, armed with an impressive collection of drawings, paintings, and antiquities. Ultimately, Adam's "lavishly illustrated" *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* was published in London in 1764.¹⁰³ Ancient architecture, which presented the dominant cultural infrastructure of that period in Europe, served as "limitless fund of inspiration for artists, writers and architects." As Robert Adam states in the introduction of *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*: "The buildings of the Ancients are in Architecture, what works of Nature are with respect to the other Arts; they serve as models which we should imitate, and as standards by which we ought to judge: for this reason, they who aim at eminence, either in the knowledge or in practice of Architecture, find it necessary to view with their own eyes the works of the Ancients which remain, that they may catch from them those ideas of grandeur and beauty, which nothing, perhaps, but such an observation can suggest." ¹⁰⁴ Robert Adam and other eighteenth-century architects active in many parts of the classical world, explored the full creative potential of ancient architecture. They "created a significant body of historical knowledge, but also propelled them to create new and dazzling designs." ¹⁰⁵ Robert's book, together with his notable collection of drawings and sketches, would serve as a source of architectural

¹⁰³ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p.80

¹⁰⁴ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, Printed for the author, 1764, p. 1

¹⁰⁵ Pinto, John A. *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, University of Michigan Press, 2012, p. 12

inspiration, as well as stage setting for Adam's architectural practice. He was determined to not only change the style and "taste" of English architecture, but to revolutionize the way architecture was practiced. Robert Adam, upon his return in Britain, set up an office together with his brother James. The Neoclassical Style was epitomized by the work of Adam. As noted in *A History of Scottish Architecture*, Robert Adam rejected the Palladian style, as introduced to England by Inigo Jones, and advocated by Lord Burlington, as "ponderous" and "disgustful".¹⁰⁶ However, he continued their tradition of drawing inspiration directly from classical antiquity he surveyed during his stay in Europe. Always concerned with publicity, Robert and James Adam published a collection of their works, of which the first volume appeared in 1773 under the title *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*. In the preface 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." Robert Adam's (and later James's) itinerary offered him a source of inspiration, but also reinforced him to define a personal style based on the antique without completely imitating it. Brothers Adam, again did not fail to point out the originality of the style: "We have not trod in the path of others, nor derived aid from their labours. In the works which we have had the honour to execute, we have not only met with the approbation of our employers, but even with the imitation of other artists, to such a degree, as in some measure to have brought about, in this country, a kind of revolution in the whole system of this useful and elegant art."¹⁰⁷ The most important result of Adam's stay in Split, was gaining

¹⁰⁶ Glendinning, M./ MacInnes, R./ McKechnie, A. *A History of Scottish Architecture*, Edinburgh University Press, 1996, p. 106

¹⁰⁷ Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, Preface, p. 1, available online <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.RobertAdamV1>

wider experience which upgraded his studies from Italy, and which will later be used regularly in the design. The Palace of Diocletian differed from the ruins Adam had encountered in Rome and Italy. The Palace influenced on his perception of the antique and on his future works. Many of Adam's architectural forms, both in plan and elevation, and interior decorative works were inspired by what he had seen at Split.



Figure 3.20.
Luton Hoo, R. Adam.

In July 1817, the *Gentleman's Magazine* published a brief review of the Earl of Bute's house at Luton Hoo, an estate between the towns of Luton, Bedfordshire and Harpenden, Hertfordshire. Most of the estate lies within the civil parish of Hyde, Bedfordshire. Luton Hoo was one of the largest private residences for which Adam was wholly responsible and the magazine made a remark: "What had been begun was then completely finished; and Adam has transferred to England the splendours of the Palace of Dioclesian at Spalatro, which he has so ably elucidated."¹⁰⁸ Luton Hoo, along with such examples as the "Diocletian wing" added to Bowood House, Wiltshire, the interior of Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, and the configuration of the frontage of Adelphi Terrace on the Strand, revealed "inventive assimilations of an atypical ancient source found neither in Italy nor Greece but, rather, in distant Dalmatia."¹⁰⁹ The Adam Brothers' Adelphi development, begun in 1768, was the most ambitious and controversial building project Georgian London had ever seen. The similarities between the two complexes-Adelphi and Palace- are essential: a Roman palace of many streets and buildings, for storage, and soldiers as well

¹⁰⁸ E.M.S., "The Marquis of Bute's Mansion at Luton Hoo," *Gentleman's Magazine* 87, no. 2 (July 1817): 5.

¹⁰⁹ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p.83



Figure 3.21.
Adelphi, Robert and James Adam

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. Even, picturesque *View of the South Front of the New Buildings*, published in the third volume of *The Works in Architecture* of Robert and James Adam, echoes Adam's published engraving of the *View on Cryptoporticus*. At Kedleston Hall, the design of the house was begun by Matthew Brettingham and James Paine, but was then turned over to Adam; here, "the echo of ancient palatine traditions occurred partly in decorative arrangements and, more explicitly, in the grandiose conception of spatial sequencing."¹¹⁰ The longitudinal section drawing from 1760 showing the transition between the colonnaded Marble Hall and the saloon displays an integration of the monumental passage in Diocletian's Palace, from the exterior peristyle to the vestibule interior. As Eileen Harris remarked, such a transition perfectly demonstrates "Adam's notion of the architectural effect of *climax* as depending upon an ascending gradation or progression of spaces."¹¹¹ 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 axis from Peristyle, across the Vestibulum, to the Cryptoporticus.

¹¹⁰ Rykwert, J./ Rykwert, *Robert and James Adam: The Men and the Style*, New York, Electa/ Rizzoli, 1985, p.70

¹¹¹ Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001, p. 5.

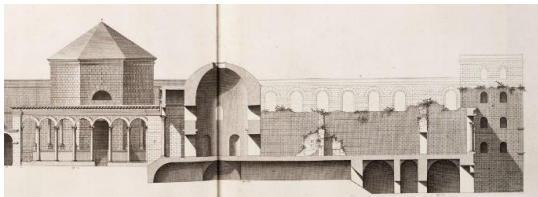
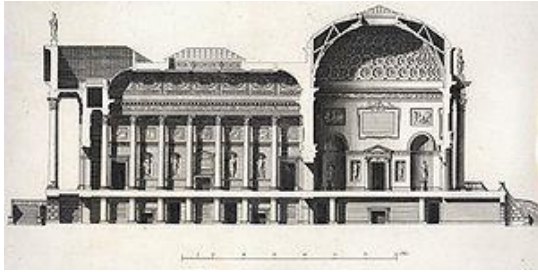


Figure 3.22.
Kedleston Hall, Robert and James Adam, longitudinal section and geometrical section of the Palace, R. Adam

There are evidence within the drawings collection can show that it was not only, Diocletian's Palace in its original state, but also the fabric in its ruined state of the 18th century which Adam used as an inspiration. Examples such as Kedleston Hall, Syon House, and the Adelphi, illustrate the global imagery of Diocletian's Palace. On the other hand, allusions that Diocletian's Palace served as single exemplar for the architectural language of the Adam brothers' various projects "remain oblique, fragmentary, and loose."¹¹² Yet, this does not prevent us to think that image of the Palace was somehow "transferred" in the form of their neoclassical structures and interiors.

¹¹² Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p.87

READING THE PALACE

Robert Adam and antiquity hunting

Robert Adam undertook the Grand Tour" with more constructive ambitions towards the antique than most of his contemporaries. "¹¹³ The architect's approach differed from that of his contemporaries, who were consistently focused on archaeological discovery and the genuine values of materials. Robert Adam's studies of antiquity, on the contrary, are "supposed to enable him to expand knowledge which he could then use as sources of inspiration." "¹¹⁴ He searched for the emotional impact of antiquity worth receiving, and looked for the Roman structure for his subject of study. Adam's tour lasted two years, most of this time spent in Italy, where he attached himself to important mentors. Robert Adam stayed on in Rome until 1757, studying classical architecture and honing his drawing skills. His tutors included the French architect and artist Charles-Louis Clérissieu, and the Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi. The influence of his contemporaries can be read in his architecture and designs, but some of them greatly stamped his interpretation of the ruins, thus Diocletian' Palace.

In 1755, Robert Adam arrived in Florence, where he met Clérissieu, who accompanied him to Rome. Clérissieu, introduced Adam to Piranesi, who "seems to have taken a genuine liking to the Scotsman."¹¹⁵ On 18th of June in 1755 Robert wrote in one of his letters to family "that they have become infinitely

¹¹³Robert Adam (1728-92). *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, Royal Collection Trust, retrieved on 16-05-2016 from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1071086/ruins-of-the-palace-of-the-emperor-diocletian-at-spalatro>

¹¹⁴ Kondo, A. *Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment*, Routledge, 2011, p.64

¹¹⁵ Mallgrave, H. F. *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673–1968*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 58

familiar with each other."¹¹⁶ Piranesi, who frequently joined Adam and Clérissieu on their sketching expeditions around Rome, was in those times very famous figure. *Prima Parte*, many vedutas, *Capricci* and *Carceri*, and numerous illustrations in books of other authors were circulating. Piranesi's engravings of Roman antiquities were famous throughout Europe, and were notable for their "dramatic, less than accurate portrayal of the grandeur of Rome".¹¹⁷ Robert Adam came to share Piranesi's views of the supremacy of Roman antiquity and it is not surprising, as the two became friends and colleagues.¹¹⁸ Piranesi's influence on Adam was with far more lasting impact than any other and that is visible in Adam's engravings and approach toward antiquity. They have both lived and worked at that moment in history that saw the rise of disciplines which were inseparable onwards: artistic expression and archaeology. Piranesi had to develop his own etching style to express his own unique architectural and historical viewpoint as well as his archaeological hypotheses. He was "immensely instrumental in the creation and invention of these two fields." Piranesi's vision "of building sizes and perspectives were exaggerated, vegetation rampaged unchecked through cracks and missing masonry of centuries old constructions in order to dramatize the decay of ancient Roman buildings."¹¹⁹ Piranesi described Adam as endowed with "more genius for the true and noble architecture than any Englishman ever was in Italy".¹²⁰ Adam benefited from Piranesi's acquaintance, considering him the only Italian artist with an

¹¹⁶ R. Adam cited in Fleming, J. *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, reprint edition, John Murray ,1962

¹¹⁷ Rykwert, J./ Rykwert, *Robert and James Adam: The Men and the Style*, New York: Electa/ Rizzoli, 1985, p.32

¹¹⁸ Brown, I. G. *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace*

¹¹⁹ Ipek, F. *The Archaeological Sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings*, Izmir Institute of Technology,2006,

¹²⁰ *Adam in Georgian London – investing in the future of style*, retrieved on 08-06-2016 from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/adam-in-georgian-london-investing-in-the-future-of-style>



Figure 4.1.
Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma, dedication to Adam,
 Piranesi

ability to "breathe the ancient air".¹²¹ *Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma*, published in the 1762, the fourth and final volume of the monumental *Antichita Romane*, begun in 1755. It was his final creative interpretation of the planning, building and decorative design genius of Imperial Rome. While preparing the *Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma*, Piranesi worked on site with Robert Adam. The young architect was by his side as Piranesi examined not only the literary sources concerning the Roman site but also the *Severan Plan*. Piranesi had set out to "reveal - by exaggeration - the fertility of insight to be found in archeology." ¹²² In his own introduction to the *Campo Marzio*, Piranesi wrote: "I am rather afraid that parts of the Campus which I describe should seem fragments of my imagination and not based on any evidence: certainly if anyone compares them with the architectural theory of the ancients he will see that they differ greatly from it and are actually closer to the usage of our own times. But before any one accuses me of falsehood, he should I beg, examine the ancient (Marble) plan of the city ... He should examine the villas of Latium and that of Hadrian at Tivoli, the baths, and tombs and other ruins outside the Porta Capina and he will find that the ancients transgressed the strict rules of architecture just as much as the moderns....it is part of man's nature to demand license in creative expression"¹²³ Envisioning time and space as the constituent parts of architectural memory was fundamental to Piranesi's manner of investigating ruins. Robert Adam, to whom the engraving is dedicated, called it "...the greatest fund for inspiring and instilling invention in any lover of architecture that can be

¹²¹ *Piranesi's vision of Rome*, retrieved on 08-06-2016 from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/piranesi-vision-of-rome-dramatized-decay-at-melbourne>

¹²² Ipek, F. *The Archaeological Sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings*, Izmir Institute of Technology, 2006, p. 30

¹²³ Piranesi as quoted in Wilton-Ely, J. *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1978, p. 76.

imagined."¹²⁴ Piranesi and Adam together explored the aspects of the picturesque as regard to the aesthetic of dramatized decay, which was considered the ultimate in romantic dreams of antiquity in their day. Adam's architectural studies of Diocletian's Palace reveal his vision as "an extraordinary combination of realism and reckless sentiment"¹²⁵ that was highly influenced by Piranesi's vision, just as so many others who came after them both would be. Piranesi operated under the premise that "engravings and architectural drawings could capture the artist's insights into the power of antiquities, allowing fragments of the ancient built environment to transmit memories into the imagination."¹²⁶ Adam seemed to follow the Piranesi's idea of the ruin, which is visible in his approach towards the Palace in Split.

The *climax* of his tour resulted with his book *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. Adam hired a felucca and sailed from Venice in July 1757 on the trip "hastily arranged near the end of his stay".¹²⁷ Although the Grand Tour originally focused on Rome, the exploration of the Ancient World "as the origin of Neoclassicism widened its scope to more distant parts of the Roman Empire, among which Dalmatia held a prominent position."¹²⁸ There are two fundamental reasons why Dalmatia became a major destination of the European Grand Tour in the 18th and 19th century: "it presented the fountainhead of Ancient forms, knowledge of which helped in the quest for the universal

¹²⁴ Robert Adam as quoted in Fleming, J. *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, London, 1962, p.167.

¹²⁵ *Piranesi's vision of Rome*, retrieved on 08-06-2016 from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/piranesis-vision-of-rome-dramatized-decay-at-melbourne>

¹²⁶ Kalas, G. *Mapping, Memory and Fragmented Representation*, p.541

¹²⁷ Mallgrave, H. F. *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673–1968*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.58

¹²⁸ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrieved on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

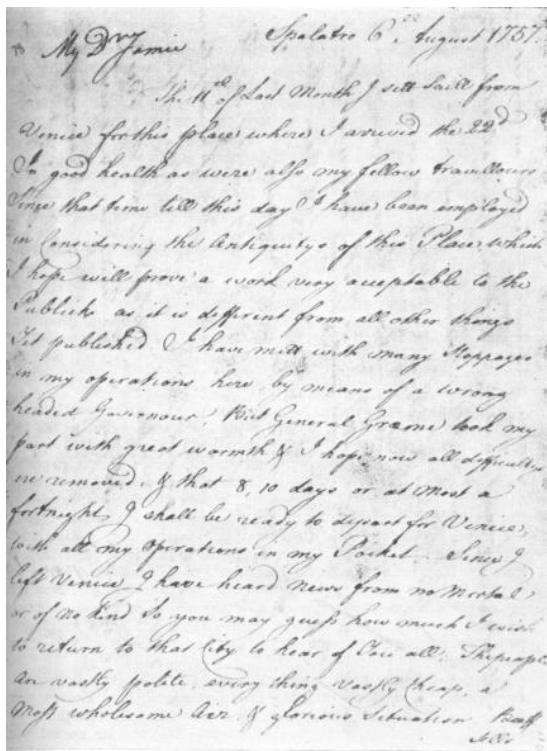


Figure 4.2.
Letter from Split, 06.08.1757, R. Adam

language of architecture; furthermore, it was almost uncharted territory inspiring the Enlightenment intellectuals to discover and get to know the world."¹²⁹ Dalmatia has attracted travelers who cherished love for antiquity already at the end of the 17th century, when the phenomena of the Grand Tour was starting to proliferate, but the work of Adam, was known for the beauty of the illustrations, encouraged new travelers to come to Split a century after.¹³⁰ Therefore, we can say that Robert Adam and the choice of the Palace as the object of his study fueled the interest of future travelers and established Split as an unavoidable point on their voyages.

His personal correspondence with his family, friends and colleagues is instructive in the variety it brings to understand his itinerary. It is interesting that the whole family Adam discussed the issues regarding his voyages and publication - The brothers, Robert, James, William and John, but also mother Mary and four sisters: Jenny, Peggy, Nelly, Betty. There is only one preserved letter written by Adam on the 6th August 1757, not too long after his arrival in Split. He writes to his brother James: "The 11th of last month I set sail from Venice for this place where I arrived the 22nd in good health as were also my fellow travellers. Since that time till this day I have been employed in considering the Antiquity of this Place, which I hope will prove' a work very acceptable to the public as it is different from all other things yet published." ¹³¹ ¹³² Besides the information about the nature of his trip and his first impressions about the city, we retrieve the knowledge about the social and cultural life of the city in those times and the

¹²⁹ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

¹³⁰ Haskell, F. *History and Its Images*, New York, 1995.,p. 191–193

¹³¹ Robert to James, London, 11.XII. 1758

¹³² Kečkemet, D. *Knjiga Robert Adama o Dioklecijanovoj Palači u obiteljskoj prepisci*, Baština, Split, 1994

difficulties he had encountered when he arrived. In those times, Split was under the Venetian rule. The local authorities were concerned that Adam's survey of the palace might compromise the city's defenses; fortunately, the commander of the Venetian forces, General Graeme, was a fellow Scotsman. Graeme persuaded the Venetian governor to allow Adam supervised access to the palace.¹³³

Adam's book was intended to emulate the success of Robert Wood's *The Ruins of Palmyra*, published in 1763. He states this by himself in the introduction "Encouraged by the favorable reception which has been given of late to works of this kind, particularly to the *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, I now present the fruits of my labor to the public."¹³⁴ Robert Adam also met Robert Wood in Rome; the reputation Wood gained from the Palmyra expedition made Adam very aware of the importance of self-promotion. Adam realized that a successful architectural practice in London would be dependent upon a documented neoclassical pedigree, and decided on an expedition of his own. But Adam found a way to distinguish himself from the others. The already published books by Wood, Le Roy, Stuart and Revett were engaged in the study of public, mostly religious, edifices, and "there was a palpable and widespread lack of knowledge about private buildings in classical times."¹³⁵ This was a void that Adam tried to fill with his book. Before setting out on the trip to Dalmatia, Adam had encountered other possibilities- the possibility of revising Antoine Desgodetz's *Les édifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* and the abandoned Baths of Caracalla and Baths of Diocletian in both their

¹³³ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 4

¹³⁴ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764 p. 3

¹³⁵ Kruft, H. W. *A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, p. 212

ruined and reconstructed states¹³⁶ Rather, he aimed to innovate and so leave his mark on domestic architecture. This goes a long way toward explaining his choice of Diocletian's Palace, a site he "knew from the accounts of former travelers, that the remains of this palace, though tolerably entire, had never been observed with any accuracy, or drawn with any taste..."¹³⁷

"Antiquity hunting" took on other meanings for architects in the second half of the 18th century.¹³⁸ Adam took seven years to produce his volume after the visit to Dalmatia, finally publishing it in 1764. Difficulties with the engravers, inaccuracies needing correction, the lack of money, and the appearance of the first volume of Stuart and Revett's book on Athens in 1762 delayed the whole volume. Robert Adam was already showing "business acumen, frustrating as he found the delay, by postponing his own volume's appearance until the fuss over Stuart and Revett's folio had died away."¹³⁹ While Adam was already accomplished as an architect, with the publication of the Ruins he became an author. The publication of large folio volumes of illustrations of the antique offered a perfect opportunity for Adam to make his name and "challenge his rivals with a magnificent production." ¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 94

¹³⁷ Adam, Robert Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, London, 1764, p. 3

¹³⁸ Robert Adam quoted in John Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, reprint edition, John Murray, 1962

¹³⁹ Beard, G. *The Work of Robert Adam*, Arco Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1978, p. 5

¹⁴⁰ Royal Collection Trust, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, retrieved on 16-05-2016 from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1071086/ruins-of-the-palace-of-the-emperor-diocletian-at-spalatro>



Figure 4.3.
Temple of Jupiter, drawing by Clérissseau and plate
published in Adam's book

Adam paid for the expedition and directed the work, but as Ian Gordon Brown has demonstrated, Adam was not solely responsible for this publication- it was a collective enterprise.¹⁴¹ While Adam acted as leader of the expedition and contributed architectural observations, as well as gathering subscribers for publication, the supervision of the book's production was conducted by his brother James, the preface was written by his cousin, the Scottish historian William Robertson and the engravings were based on drawings by Clérissseau. Six drawings are preserved in the Hermitage Museum, and were said by the *Critical Review* in October 1764 to possess "a taste and execution that has never been equaled in this country."¹⁴² Thomas McCormick, in his study of Clérissseau, tracked in Adam's correspondence with his younger brother James, the systematic exploitation of the Frenchman responsible for most of the perspective and topographical views of buildings and landscapes.¹⁴³ The letters reveal that his authorship of the images was deliberately omitted from the plates.¹⁴⁴ Adam never acknowledged Clérissseau's full role in the project. Clérissseau produced the on-site and final drawings, and directed the engraving in Venice.¹⁴⁵ Over a period of five weeks in 1757 Adam sketched and supervised the documentation of the ruins, while Clérissseau produced perspectives, and two draftsmen undertook the measured drawings. After five weeks, they completed "with an accuracy that afforded me great satisfaction, those parts of our work which it was necessary to execute on the spot."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrieved on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

¹⁴² *The Critical Review*, October 1764, p 70-72

¹⁴³ McCormick, T. *Charles-Louis Clérissseau and the Genesis of Neo-Classicism*, MA: MIT Press, 1990

¹⁴⁴ only the names of the engravers were included; In retaliation, Clérissseau inserted his own memento mori on the sarcophagus on the lower right margin of plate XXVIII, "The View of the Entry to the Temple of Jupiter," with the inscription "Hic iacet corpus Clerissi pictoris"

¹⁴⁵ Harris, E. / Savage, N. *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-85*, Cambridge University Press, 1990 p. 76

¹⁴⁶ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 3

There is no question that what Adam claimed authorship over in 1764 was fueled by "sheer self-interest and by the savvy recognition that the architectural book could establish his reputation." As Erika Naginski notes: "He was behaving as an architect—devising a concept, then delegating the work to a talented team of trained designers and historical advisors."¹⁴⁷ Following this thought, we will refer to Adam as an author of this publication, but the collaborative nature of this publication should not be ignored.

¹⁴⁷ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 99-100

Adam in word and drawing- detailed analysis of the book *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*

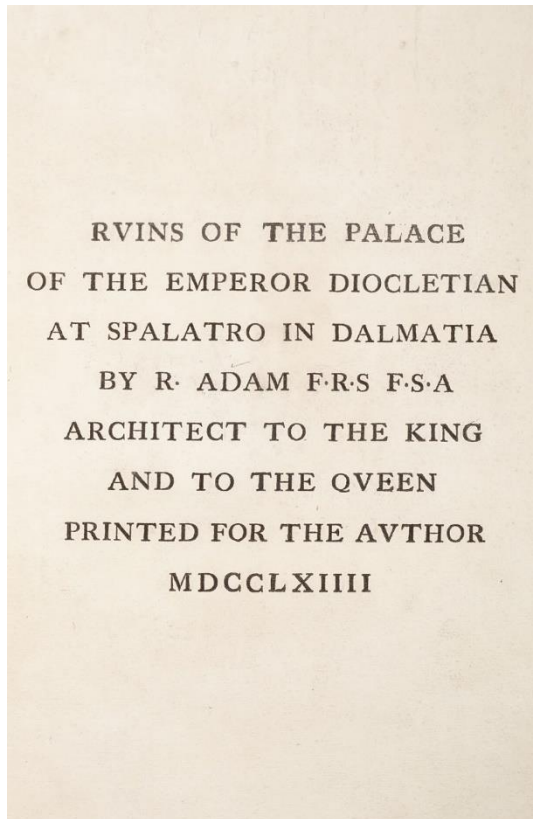


Figure 4.4.
Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, title page, R. Adam

As Adam stated in the introduction, the book "contains the only full and accurate Designs that have hitherto been published of any private Edifice of the Ancients."¹⁴⁸ The claim demands to examine the book's structure and presentation of those designs. The book is systematically divided in six units: dedication to the King, the brief introduction, and the impressive list of subscribers are followed by a description of the general plan of Diocletian's Palace as restored, the explanation of the plates, and the 61 engravings. The text and engravings are completely separated, at least in the context of the book's structure. The textual part introduces us to the object of the study, is systematically divided in the five sections and is followed by the engravings, which form the main body of the publication.

The first two textual sections, *Dedication to the King* and *List of Subscribers*, may give us just the information about the value of the book and the author at that time. He refers to the King George III, when he writes "I beg leave to lay before your Majesty the Ruins of Spalatro, once the favorite residence of a great Emperor, who, by his munificence and example, revived the study of architecture, and excited the masters of that art to emulate their works the elegance and purity of a better age."¹⁴⁹ He explains further his intention to demonstrate the engineering magnificence of the past for archaeologists and to inspire new design principles for contemporary architects. The *List of Subscribers* gives on seven pages

¹⁴⁸ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764

¹⁴⁹ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764

names of more than 100 members of the British aristocracy – Lords, Dukes, and Earls and some foreign subscribers. This surprisingly large number of aristocratic subscribers can be interpreted as an expression of the increased interest in the publications about ancient architecture of that time and yet again, as a clear formulation of Adam's wish for self-promotion as an author, but also as a leading architect in Britain. The following textual section is the *Introduction*, which provide us with information about the thought of Antiquity of that time, nature of his visit to Split, reasons why he published this book and some first impressions and feelings about the object of his study.

Introduction is followed by the general plan of Diocletian's Palace as restored, the explanation of the plates and the plates. Although text and image are again systematically separated, and this includes the explanatory legends, the notable is "the visual journey that reveals by following the image and the word, and the way in which the pages appear as a movement."¹⁵⁰ The book takes reader on the voyage that is verbal and visual. The (im)mobile reader moves across the Palace and transverses multiple sites, while reconstructing Adam's line of the movement. In order to easily navigate through the Palace, we should examine his words and drawings simultaneously. The corpus of pictures consists of 61 plates¹⁵¹ and reflects a knowledge of many masters of architecture, such as Palladio, Desgodetz, Clérisseau and Piranesi.¹⁵² Adam consolidates three different ways of visual documentation: representation of the

¹⁵⁰ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 95

¹⁵¹ There are 61 plates dedicated to Diocletian's Palace, but book contains 19 plates more. These (unnumbered) plates show different sites, which are not connected to the city of Split nor the subject of this research.

¹⁵² *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>



Figure 4.5.
General plan of the town, Plate II, R. Adam

current state, study of the details and structure and reconstruction of the original state of the Palace. The drawings play a substantial role in interpreting the Palace. On the one hand, drawings are tool to acknowledge the legacy of the antique and to completely restore the original appearance of the Diocletian's Palace, which will be of substantial importance for every latter attempt to interpret this monument. On the other hand, drawings fix the architectural themes of the building and establish a point of view on the Split and its ruins that will become "classic".¹⁵³

First two plates serve as the introduction to the object of study. Plate I is the Frontispiece and Adam does not give any further explanation of this plate. It displays the scenery with the parts of ancient monuments filled with the vegetation and people in everyday activities and city in the background. In Plate II, Adam laid down the general plan of the town in 18th century. He shows not just the Palace, but also "*Fortifications of Spalatro, also the great Bay and Harbour, the Lazaretto; the Mountain Margliano, the Fort of Grippe, the Suburbs, and the adjacent Grounds.*"¹⁵⁴ Besides the situation of the Palace and the city, at the top of this plate are introduced some parts of the ancient buildings of the Palace in perspective. It is interesting that he draws the plan of the Palace with its ancient remains on the 18th century plan of Split. In this plate, we can already draw a conclusion that he is implying that subject of his study is the city, not just the ruins of the Palace. He visited Split with an overall aim to document the ancient Palace rather than 18th century city, but in Split, these both are intertwined. We cannot think about the Palace, without thinking about the city, and *vice versa*.

¹⁵³ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

¹⁵⁴ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 19 and Plate II p. 35



Figure 4.6.
View of the town from the East and from the West,
Robert Adam, Plate III and IV, R. Adam

He does not put forward his own stands and views, but in some parts he uses text as the trajectory for his feelings and thoughts, especially when he describes the quotidian life in the city and its surroundings. Although admixtures of personal impressions are sporadic and isolated, his comments about the city and its surroundings are distinct and expressive. Adam in the *Description of The General Plan of Dioclesians Palace as Restored, explaining The Manner of disposing the Apartments in the Houses of Ancients* notes "The views from the palace are no less beautiful, than the foil and climate were inviting. Towards the West lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small islands are scattered in such a manner, as to give this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the North West lies the bay which led towards the ancient city of Salona, and the country beyond it appearing in fight, forms a proper contrail: to that more extensive prospect of water which the Adriatic presents both to the South and to the East. Towards the North the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and in many places covered with villages*, woods, and vineyards."¹⁵⁵ This highly vivid description of the area corresponds the two plates: Plate III or *View of the Town of Spalatro from the East* and Plate IV or *View of the Town of Spalatro from the South West*. These plates fix the Palace in the real-life surrounding, that is so vividly described by Adam himself, and imply the idea of the Palace as just one of the strata of a historical urban landscape. Plate III displays the panoramic view of the city, together with the bay of Salona and islands in the Adriatic "belonging to the Venetians". Plate IV accordingly gives a scenic view from a southwesterly perspective. It encompasses

¹⁵⁵ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 7

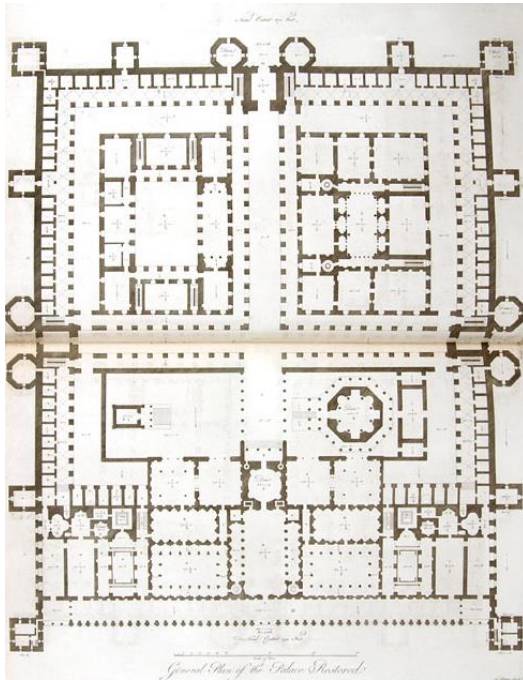


Figure 4.7.
General Plan of the Palace as restored, Plate VI, R. Adam

the city in the picturesque scenery of the everyday life- the ruinous complex in the background, living city nestled along the shore, the harbor with ancient galleys and shipping vessels; diminutive figures in the landscape. He concludes with his personal remark that "From this description, as well as from the views which I have published it is evident that no province in this wide-extended empire, could have afforded Dioclesian a more elegant place of retirement; and the beauty of the situation, no less than the circumstances of its being his native country, seems to have determined him to fix his residence there."¹⁵⁶

Plate V and VI are dedicated to the detailed plans of the *Palace as it remains* and *as it restored*. In the explanation he gives the description of the plan with all its ancient remaining parts of this monument and the manner they have been displayed. In the corresponding explanation of *General Plan of the Palace as it now remains*, Adam also depicts the manner of his drawing technique. He wrote that "the parts shaded with dark colour are what alone appear now above ground(...); the parts supplied in a lighter colour being traced with the greatest certainty"¹⁵⁷ He emphasizes the role of visual rather than textual at the very beginning. "The present state of this great structure may be more perfectly conceived, by considering the Plan of it, than by any description whatever."¹⁵⁸ Adam also made remarks about reader's curiosity and natural desire to discover the original state of the monuments. "The curiosity of the reader, however, will not be satisfied with viewing this building in its present ruinous

¹⁵⁶ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 7

¹⁵⁷ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 20, Plate V p. 38 and Plate VI p.39

¹⁵⁸ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 7

condition, but must naturally desire to form some idea of what was its plan and disposition in its perfect state." By this, Adam gives supremacy to the "original" Palace. Although he highlights the satisfaction of seeing the place in its perfect state, he documented and presented both, the Palace in its ruinous and in its restored state. The dual relationship between real and ideal transferred the documentation of almost every object he surveyed. He notes that "by good fortune its remains are, in many places, so entire, as to be able to fix, with utmost certainty..." Making use of Pliny's and Vitruvius' descriptions of Roman villas and taking into account the importance of symmetry in ancient culture, Adam reconstructs a palace the way it might have once been, the space of the imagined Antique past of Dalmatia and represents us with the his restored plan of the Palace and textual *Description of The General Pan of Dioclesians Palace as Restored, explaining The Manner of disposing the Apartments in the Houses of Ancients*. The author's knowledge of ancient architecture and style is what occupies the foreground and by following his description, we can easily follow his line of movement on the General Plan of the Palace restored – and imagine the Palace in its original state. Adam approaches Diocletian's Palace here with the objectivity of a reporting architect who lets himself be guided by seen facts and causal hypotheses.¹⁵⁹ He illustrates the space in words from which the ground plan of the palace can easily be drawn. He also pays attention of the relation of part to whole and vice versa, the interrelation of building and landscape, natural surroundings, the relation between the points of the compass and the natural illumination in accord with which the buildings were set up (light and shade, temperature of the space...). "Adjoining to this is the Corinthian Hall, with regard to which the *Architea* has observed a rule

¹⁵⁹ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>



Figure 4.8.
View on Cryptoporticus, Plate VII, R. Adam



Figure 4.9.
Elevation and profile of one arch of the Cryptoporticus,
Plate IX, R. Adam

of Vitruvius, by making the length of the room twice its breadth; and it is highly probable that he has likewise followed his direction, to light it from the North over the roofs of the Exedrie and Tetrastyle Halls, in the same manner as we find it often praised in the Baths at Rome."¹⁶⁰ Adam was working meticulously in the ruined sites to obtain realistic measurement. His textual section, which provides descriptions of the places he observes and restores in words, is a tool to visualize the southern half of the Palace. In fact, he employs as much imagination as engineering know-how when he depicts the monument in its restored state. The inaccuracies in the reconstruction of the Palace, especially those referring to the wrong conclusion about the complete symmetry of the imperial residential block, impair the results achieved by Adam, especially if we consider the fact that only at the beginning of the last century began research of the substructures, which served as a base for the understanding of the original floor plan of the Diocletian's apartments.

Following 10 plates show us the outer shell of the Palace- elevations of the encircling walls, gates in the picturesque views and details of the gates and their ornamentation in larger scale. Plate VII, VIII and IX are dedicated to the presentation of the southern wall of the Palace and the view of *Cryptoporticus*. from the *View of the Cryptoporticus or Front towards the Harbour*, across *Geometrical Elevation of the Cryptoporticus*, or *South Wall of the Palace* and the *Elevation of the same Wall as it now remains*, to the *Elevation and Profile of one Arch of the Cryptoporticus* shows us Adam's first impressions and feelings about the Palace. Plate VII (*View of the Crypto Porticus, or Front towards the Harbour*) echoes his first

¹⁶⁰ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p. 13

remarks about the city and the Palace he made in the introduction : "As we entered a grand bay, and sailed slowly towards the harbor, the Marine Wall and long arcades of the Palace, one of the ancient Temples, and other parts of that building which was the object of our voyage, presented themselves to our view, and flattered me, from this first prospect, that my labor in visiting it would be amply rewarded."¹⁶¹ In his view towards the *Cryptoporticus* palace wall of the Palace has "an aggrandized, Piranesian perspective: the looming, massively elongated palace façade dwarfs the harbor scene at its base." ¹⁶² With a low placement of the sight point and with the play of shadow and light, he rendered dominant, not classical form, but the human and historical body in the forefront. By integrating shipping and commercial activity into the scene, he also dramatized not the ruins but the living city. However, a presentation of some details did not exist in reality. Houses on the southern façade of the Palace were presented lower than they were in reality, in order to see the arches of *Cryptoporticus* in the upper part. The southwest corner tower was also shown in the elevation even though it did not exist (it collapsed into the sea in the 16th century). Nevertheless, these images of living city and romance of antiquity are captured in picturesque views of the ruins, adding an imaginary dimension to them. This plate, along with others picturesque views of the "Palace as it remains", of the city he had encountered, have been participating in the construction of iconic imagery of the Palace since 18th century.

¹⁶¹ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p.3

¹⁶² Amanda Suzanne Green, *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.47

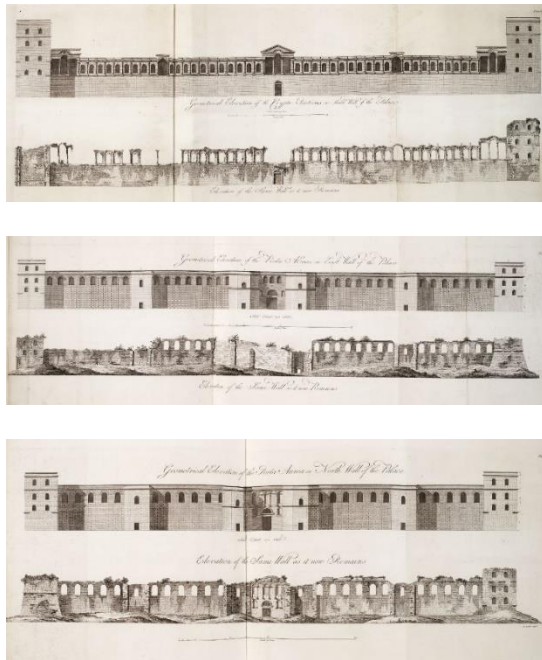


Figure 4.10.
Southern, eastern and northern walls in their original
and ruinous states, Plate VII, X and XI, R. Adam

Plate X and XI display the detailed elevations of the two encircling walls and gates of the Palace- *Porta Aenea* and East Wall, and *Porta Aurea* and North Wall. These, along with the elevation of the southern wall, in the best manner show Adam's ability to restore the ruined state. On the same plate he incorporated the elevations of the same wall in its completely ruinous state and in all its reconstructed ancient beauty. Views and elevations of these walls and gates in ruined and reconstructed states that "work in tandem to reveal lateral expansiveness."¹⁶³ From these drawings of the ruinous walls, is omitted every non-ancient structure. Although these drawings of ruinous walls of the Palace do not dramatize the living city, he used again the picturesque tools and techniques that give drama to the outer shell of the Palace.

After the several plates of the encircling walls of the Palace, he shows the plates dedicated to the two entrances to the Palace, *Porta Ferrea* and *Porta Aurea*. He was very attentive when documenting *Porta Aurea* or Golden Gate and Northern Wall of the Palace. He makes a remark in the explanation of *Geometrical Elevation of the Porta Aurea and Octagon Towers* that "this Gate is more ornamented than the other Gates of the Palace, it being the principal Entry to the Emperor's Apartment, and fronting the *Porticus* of the *Vestibulum*."¹⁶⁴ So, it is no surprise that he surveyed this particular gate on six plates (Plates XI- XVI) - from geometrical documentation of the wall and the gate as it remains and as restored, across romanticized view of the ruinous *Porta Aurea*, to the more detailed drawings of the elevation,

¹⁶³ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 95

¹⁶⁴ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p.24

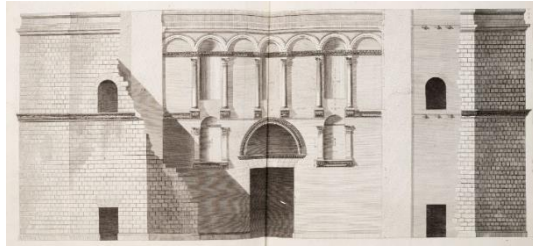


Figure 4.11.
Elevation of the northern gate and the view on the northern gate, Plate XII and XIII, R. Adam

gate and ornamentation in smaller and larger scale. Moreover he emphasized the role of this particular gate, as the main connection between the Peristyle and Salona as the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia. On the plate with the *View of the Porta Aurea* he tries to amplify scene in front of the "Gate and Arch now built by the Spalatrines".¹⁶⁵ He dramatized again not the ruins but the living city by setting the performance in front of the scenery: group of people talking, one beggar on his knees, another sitting on the stone, parts of ruined columns and statues lying on the ground and the ruinous wall partially covered with vegetation. All of these elements add drama to the scene that has a primary role to show populated ruins, overgrown and battered by time, but still part of the fabric of a city. Adam wanted to convey the emotional aspect of the ruins with an atmospheric interpretation where accuracy is questionable, but at the same time maybe not as essential as the response of the audience. This plate again established the idea of the city in the Palace- one of the fundamental ideas constructed by Robert Adam. On the other hand, his restored images of the Golden Gates follow the other important idea- to acknowledge the importance of the ancient monument and to establish its status.

His appreciation towards the idea of continuity in Diocletian's Palace, thus living city in the Palace, is probably, in the best manner, shown in the *View on the Porta Ferrea*. He sees the Palace as the nucleus of the city and acknowledges the relationship between the past, present (and the future). The view shows how new physical and social life was built up inside and outside of Diocletian's Palace. When city started to spread out in 10th century, it started to develop towards west. New edifices were built, but

¹⁶⁵ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p.24



Figure 4.12.
View on the western gate, Plate XVII, R. Adam



Figure 4.13.
View on Peristyle, Plate XX, R. Adam

moreover new public spaces were created. In the time when Adam was in Split, northern access towards Peristyle was walled up and the functional character of the Peristyle as the main public space was minimized. The displayed square on the Plate XVII, today known as Pjaca, or as Adam refers to it, *Market-Place of the present Town*¹⁶⁶, has taken formative and functional role of the city's center. It was administrative, social and municipal center of the modern Split. Adam indicated the building to the left as the Court of Justice and that near the gate as "Guard-Room formed of Antique Columns, and other Fragments of Marble taken from the Palace."¹⁶⁷ The drawing represents the idea of continuity by vivid relation between the old and the new in Split; the ancient with the modern. But, still he wanted to show the ruin in all its beauty so the buildings from the middle Ages, which partially obscured the appearance of the Gate, were left out. But the ancient is not in the foreground; the development of the city and the new public square with all its new edifices is.

After surveying the outer shell of the object, he takes us into the urban core: the north–south axis, with the monumental transition from the *Peristyle* to the *Vestibulum*; and the east–west axis, with the mausoleum and temple. The Plate XVIII or *General Section of the Palace from South to North* and the Plate XIX or *General Section of the Palace from East to West* are geometrical restoration of the two main axis within the Palace, to which Adam draws attention in the textual part when he depicts that "the whole building was of the quadrangular form and was divided by two large streets, leading to the

¹⁶⁶ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p.24

¹⁶⁷ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, p.24

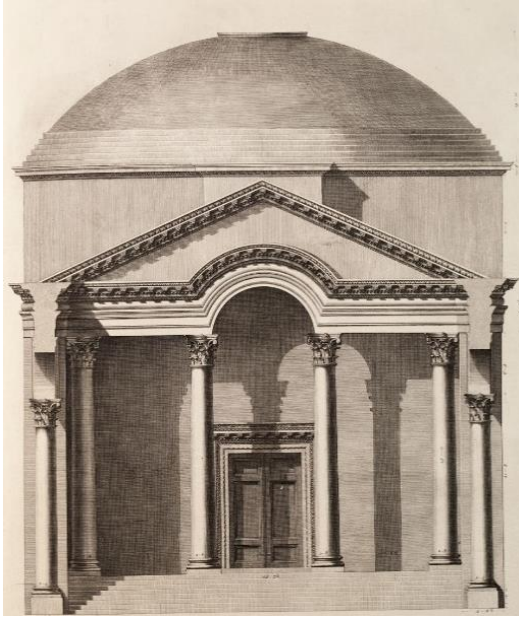


Figure 4.14.
Elevation of the portico to the vestibulum, Plate XXI,
R. Adam

different gates and crossing each other at right angles." ¹⁶⁸ He continues with the measurements and the description of their physical appearance and concludes that south-north axis leads directly to the *Peristylum*. Probably the most famous and the most celebrated plate is that with a view on the *Peristyle*. As it has already been mentioned, there was no direct access to the Palace from the north. Consequently this reduced the importance of the north-south connection and the functional character of the Peristyle. The *Peristyle* as the gathering space was not in dominant position in the city, but its role as a religious center of the city is at its peak. With the creation of a new medieval square west of the Palace where the town hall was built, the Peristyle ceased to be the municipal center of town. However, it retained its ancient function as the center of the Palace, by the transformation to the church square. The Prothyron of the Peristyle thus became a kind of a church stage, which conditioned changes in its shape and physical appearance. The physical and functional characteristics of the Peristyle are fully represented in the Plate XX., which is filled with human activity along with "the part of the bell tower of the Cathedral, collonades on each side of the Peristylum partially walled up or filled with new edifices, two modern Chapels built within the Porticus of the Vestibulum, Arches of the covered Arcades of the Streets from the East to the West Gate, now converted into Shops."¹⁶⁹ By using the very particular eye placement, he shows just a part of the Mausoleum and the bell tower to display the spatial and functional changes on the Peristyle, he presents the whole Prothyron in order to highlight the grandeur of the place and establish the idea of Prothyron as a real façade of the emperor's Apartment, he give us a glimpse on the Vestibulum to show the axis leading towards Emperor's Apartment. He understood the true nature

¹⁶⁸ Robert Adam, Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, p. 7

¹⁶⁹ Robert Adam, Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, p. 27



Figure 4.15.
Vestibulum, Robert Adam

of the *Peristyle* as nobody before - not a forum, but the heart of this unusual Late Antiquity building we call the imperial palace. The following plates are dedicated to the restoration of the *Elevation of the portico to the Vestibulum* (figure) and *Order of the Portico to the Vestibulum, in the Peristylum*. He describes how *Vestibulum* "was consecrated to the Gods, particularly to Vesta (from whom it derived its name) to the Penates and Lares, and was adorned with niches and statues."¹⁷⁰ In the *Explanation of the Plates* he makes a remark how the interior of the *Vestibulum* was covered over with a hard cement in order to receive the layer of marble and how dome is arched with bricks, but it is so much decayed that is not possible for him to discover in what manner it has been adorned.¹⁷¹ Following this thought we can easily understand why he includes just two detailed drawings of the door (in smaller and larger scale)¹⁷² and *View of the Inside of the Vestibulum* as he had encountered on the Plate XXIII.¹⁷³ The view is again exaggerated and amplified as we have seen on the other plates that display quotidian life and the Palace as it remains. But this plate stands out among the others because of the greater presence of decadence. *Vestibulum* is displayed in its completely ruinous state with the no-ancient adjustments and with just the glimpse of the ancient grandeur- door and parts of the columns.

He walks further to the Atrium towards Cryptoporticus and described to the great extent the physical and functional character of this edifice. He draws our attention when he depicts the axis between

¹⁷⁰ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, A Description of the General Plan of Dioclesian's Palace as Restored*, explaining The Manner of Disposing the Apartments in Houses of the Ancients, p. 27

¹⁷¹ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, Explanation of the Plates with Occasional remarks on the Style of the Architecture*, p.26

¹⁷² Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, Plate XXIII, p.26

¹⁷³ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, Plate XXIII, p.26

Peristylum and Cryptoporticus and once again he established the importance of the Prothyron as the ancient monument worth of surveying. A lot earlier than Alfred Frazer and the others, he understood that *Prothyron* over the *Peristyle* is the real façade of the imperial residence. He implies it by describing the route from the Golden Gate and along a wide avenue with porches 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.¹⁷⁴ He wrote: "If from the center of the *Crypto Porticus*, we look back to those parts of the Palace which we have already passed through, we may observe a striking instance of that gradation from less to greater, of which some connoisseurs are so fond, and which they distinguish by the name of a Climax in Architecture. The Vestibulum is larger and more lofty than the Porticus. The Atrium much exceeds the grandeur of the Vestibulum; and the Crypto Porticus may well be the last step in such a Climax, since it extended no less than 517 feet. We may likewise observe a remarkable diversity of form, as well as of dimensions, in these apartments...and the same thing is conspicuous in other parts of the Palace. "¹⁷⁵ Of particular importance is the fact that Adam just in Split, by careful analysis of the correlation of certain halls in their rhythmic sequence along the axis of movement, came to the law which he called *Climax of Architecture* (as we have already been able to read in the application of climax in his later architectural works). He explained the mechanisms of orchestration of chambers, rooms, halls according to a precise hierarchical relationships- master and ceremonial, narrow and wide, smaller and larger, irregular and proper. He wrote that "This was a circumstance to which the Ancients were extremely attentive, and it seems to have had a happy effect,

¹⁷⁴ *Grand Tour Dalmatia*, retrived on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/about/about-the-project/>

¹⁷⁵ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, p. 9



Figure 4.16.
Interior of the Emperor's Mausoleum, Plate XXXIII,
R. Adam

as it introduced into their building and variety, which, although not constituting Beauty, at least greatly heightens it. Whereas Modern Architects, by paying too little regard to the example of the Ancients and the road, are apt to fatigue us with a dull succession of similar apartments."¹⁷⁶ Although he is later fully dedicated to understand to interpret the manner of the Apartments, his description is fully text-based. Thus he doesn't present us with any drawing of the Emperor's apartments in general.

Adam was fascinated by the Mausoleum and dedicated to its representation 14 plates within the book. Plates XXVI-XXXIX give us information about ornamentation, interior and exterior both in present and past state. He is very attentive when restoring and documenting the Emperor's Mausoleum, which he had mistaken for for Temple of Jupiter. Plate XXVI or *Plan of the Temple of Jupiter* is followed by *Side View of the Temple of Jupiter* and *View of the Entry to the Temple of Jupiter*- two scenes representing the encountered edifice with all the aspects of the everyday life in the city. These are followed by several drawings restoring geometrical elevations, sections, details of the columns, doors, reliefs, and details of the interior. And yet again, all of these are underpinned by the comprehensive descriptions and explanations. Everything restored in the drawings, is restored also in words. Among the sceneries of the quotidian life in the Palace, the most interesting one is probably the interior of the mausoleum. Thanks

¹⁷⁶ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, p. 9



Figure 4.17.
View on the Temple of Jupiter, Plate XLI, R. Adam

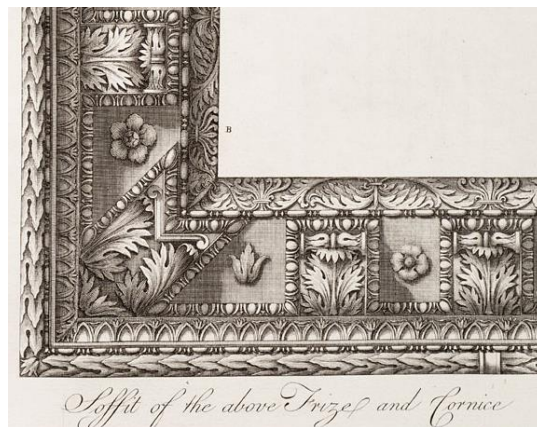


Figure 4.18.
Internal angular modillion of the cornice, Plate XLVIII,
R. Adam

to the continues use, the interior of the mausoleum was not in its ruinous state so there was not room for exaggeration and over-romanticized image of the ancient ruin, but he still manages to convey the evocative, almost mystical, atmosphere. Following the idea of the Mausoleum as a tomb, not the church, he presented us dark, almost cryptic image of the interior. Although the interior was shown in all of its ancient beauty, it was again a setting for another scenery. Also the mausoleum, which was converted into a cathedral, was displayed without altar and other church furniture in order to better represent ancient whole. And again, with Adam, atmosphere was neither here sacrificed for accuracy.

Adam believed the temple, which he surveyed on the following plates, to be dedicated to Aesculapius, based on *Illyricum Sacrum*, a book written by Daniele Farlato and published in Venice in 1751. Today it is known as the Temple to Jupiter. The Temple of Aesculapius, which he had mistaken for the Temple of Jupiter, is shown on 11 plates and they represent Adam's great admiration towards this object's appearance, especially its ornamentation. For example, the internal angular modillion of the cornice of the so-called Temple of Aesculapius, shown on the lower left of plate XLVIII, struck Adam as "very remarkable: I do not remember to have met with any other Instance of it in the Works of the Ancients." Because of its shape and its extraordinarily beautiful barrel-shaped cassette stone ceiling, the Scottish architect Robert Adam valued the temple as one of the most beautiful monuments in Europe. This temple was already in the early Middle Ages converted to the baptistery following the needs of Christian *civitas*, but, as the etching shows, it was not modified in order to give it a more Christian appearance. Again his use of the well positioned view in order to show no-ancient structures, parts of other ancient

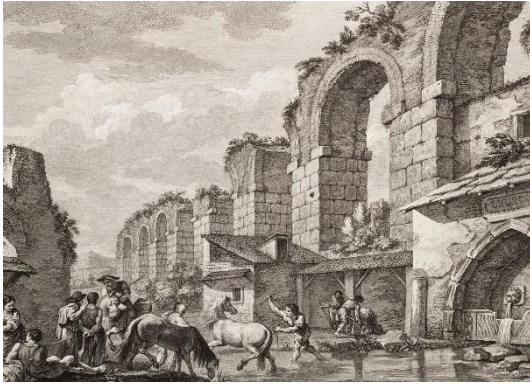


Figure 4.19.
View on aqueduct, Plate LXI, R. Adam

ruin in the background, and group of people settled nearby, successfully conveyed the romanticized image of this particular ruin.

He concludes our journey through and around the Palace with the *View of the Aqueduct which conveyed Water from Salona to the Palace*.¹⁷⁷ This is the only plate that documented monument that is not physically attached to the Palace and the city. In this image, citizens are engaging with an ancient aqueduct and fountain that is located in the city's periphery. To the scenery, which is filled with peasants, farm animals and vegetation amplifies the romanticized image of ruins, was added another element-water. Fountain pours water in its ruinous state, spilling water on the ground depicts the ruined state and adds drama to the whole scenery.¹⁷⁸ Already in the *Description of the General Plan of Dioclesian's Palace as Restored*, he mentions this plate when he notes that "the only thing wanting at Spalatro was good water; but this defect was supplied by an aqueduct from Salona, several arches of which remain at present, and the conduit that formally conveyed the water is still visible." We can draw a conclusion that he wanted to survey this object in order to complete the image of the Palace as the living ruin with all the necessary attributes we relate to the city: commercial activity, social life, religious center, markets and shows, and at the end, water supply.

¹⁷⁷ Adam, R. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, p.33, Plate LXI

¹⁷⁸ Gissen, D. *Subnature: Architecture's Other Environments*, Princeton Architectural Press, 2009, p.103

Adam's image of Split and the Palace

Until the arrival of Robert Adam in Split in 1757, we can talk about the prehistory of exploring and interpreting Diocletian's palace- a narrative and pictorial prehistory. As it has already been noted, Adam was the first to analyze and interpret not only the form, but the original function of individual parts of the Palace and proposed the first comprehensive nomenclature of certain buildings and spaces. But on the other hand, he gave great contribution to the acknowledgment to the Palace and the city he had encountered. Adam approached to this particular ruin as an architect under the influence of new artistic trends and as the result established new visual prototype of the Palace. Thus, Adam offers very distinct, but nevertheless, both invaluable approaches for the interpretation and reading of the Palace (then and now) are: *Palace as it remains* and *Palace as restored*. One of the publication's distinguishing factors, according to Adam, was the juxtaposition of ruined states with measured reconstructions.¹⁷⁹

Adam is using both, text and drawing, as tools to restore the Palace as restored, the Palace in its original form, and to acknowledge the Palace as it remains, the Palace in its ruinous state. Although he describes the space of Diocletian's Palace (he observes) and hypothesizes the space in the past (as reader should see), the textual description is merely a tool for the imagination rather than representation of the current state. In Adam's text, an objective, neutral narrator, as it is known and expressed by grammatical categories as well, prevails, but still by vivid textual descriptions of some parts he conveys

¹⁷⁹ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 94

to transmit his own feelings and the sense of the place. Although the texts that appear in the book have received less attention than the engravings, they are an integral part of it. Word and image work together- his textual descriptions serve as a tool to fully comprehend images, which range from reportage (recording what there is) through nostalgic and even fantastic representations to analytical records that "sought to look through the fragmentary appearance of ruined vestiges to the "essence" of the remains and reconstruct a plausible original form."¹⁸⁰ Dual role of the engravings, thus the engravings of the Palace as it remains and the Palace as restored, is visible on every plate. Although the picturesque views of the Palace are more vivid and attracts our attention, his contribution the study of the Palace as restored should not be ignored when thinking about the general image of the palace and the city.

As we have seen, in one section of the book, Adam includes *A description of the general plan of Dioclesian's Palace as restored*.¹⁸¹ The text, as well as following plates with the plans, sections and elevations, serve the process of *restoration* at least at the level of visual imagination. Adam, it seems, was the first when imagining the Diocletian's Palace used the word restoration, linking the delight of observation of the fragments and urge for their integration. ¹⁸² This is already stated at the beginning of the book by Adam himself when he wrote about the curiosity of readers and natural desires that were

¹⁸⁰ Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014, p. 94

¹⁸¹ Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, A Description of the General Plan of Dioclesian's Palace as Restored, explaining The Manner of disposing the Apartments in the Houses of the Ancients*, p. 5-17

¹⁸² Špikić, M. Transformacije i kontinuiteti u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu od Roberta Adama do Aloisa Riegla, in *Arhitekturna zgodovina* 2, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana, 2014, p. 38

supposed to help to reconstruct the ruins. Adam's image of the Diocletian's Palace as restored, which is based on found fragments and on his knowledge and experience, requires reader's imagination and curiosity to complete the scene. His appreciation of the qualities of late imperial villa, both in drawings and text, represent substantial documentation of the Diocletian's Palace. Moreover, his "restored" Palace influenced on the perception and evaluation of the Palace and following restoration initiatives. The use and consumption of Adam's restored image did not decrease during the nineteenth century and would continue to serve as the starting point for some of even the most recent restoration projects. Adam's legacy, on one side, shows the beauty of the fragments as a symptom of recognizing the value what Riegl called age (Alterswert).¹⁸³ On the other, Adam's image requires the restoration of the original form, but with an emphasis on the imagination and curiosity. This curiosity was manifested in the latter desire for discovery, archaeological excavations, image restitution and reconstruction and restoration by integrating ancient fragments. The extraordinary plates, which depict the ruins of the Palace denuded of later additions present the ideal condition of a 'single-layer', anticipated some of later restoration plans, like those of Marshal Marmont and the architect Vicko Andrić for the southern facade of the Palace. His survey gave impetus for every latter investigation, interpretation and intervention in the Palace, but the purified, single-layer appreciation influenced on the latter demand on the picture of a lost time. Although within the framework of the 19th and 20th century tendencies his restored image adopted different shape, Adam is proposing an approach to the past not bound by strict ideas of recovery or restoration. This encourage us to reinterpret these images, not as an attempt to reproduce

¹⁸³ Špikić, M. Transformacije i kontinuiteti u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu od Roberta Adama do Aloisa Riegla, in *Arhitekturna zgodovina* 2, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana, 2014, p. 38-40

the past and impose it on an inferior modernity, but rather as a project to engage imaginatively with the ancients, allowing the perspectives and practices of past and present to illuminate one another.¹⁸⁴

Although the reconstruction and re-imagination of the past is the focus point of his itinerary, Adam found a way - through images - to acknowledge the social and cultural aspects of modern Split. A pictorial genre commonly used by architectural draftsmen to convey information about the topographical situation of a particular building became a social document of travel experience. Strict accuracy therefore, was always less essential when a more atmospheric interpretation was possible. Memorable views of the entire *villa* in its spectacular setting on the Dalmatian coast, more detailed views of *Peristyle*, of the interior of the Temple of Jupiter and mausoleum, view of *Crypto Porticus*- All these engravings (sometimes also supported by textual descriptions), which are in the favor of the aesthetization of ruins and stimulation an emotional response in the viewer, have successfully transferred the sense of the place together with the physical portrayal of the city. Adam's image of the "Diocletian's Palace as it remains" is a portrayal of the architectural experience of the Palace together with a social and cultural life of modern Split. These images of "modern" Split, of Split he encountered, have been since 18th century present as a main instrument for construction of iconic image of the Palace. The accuracy here, as already mentioned, was not the objective. A more important goal for the Adam than optical accuracy is the ability to capture the spirit of the place—to capture its symbolic image so

¹⁸⁴ Diverse maniere: Piranesi, fantasy and excess, retrieved on 10-07-2016 from <http://www.bsecs.org.uk/criticks/reviewdetails.aspx?id=206&type=2>



Figure 4.20.
Adam's image used as screen during the restoration works

that the meaning, the artist has found in the subject, is conveyed through the art to the viewer. In the vistas of Adam the Palace is shown in a context that is to an extent romanticized, but on the whole it consists of an entirely realistic spatial context. In an analysis of everything in the works of Adam 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. Moreover, his documentation of the modern Split shows his acknowledgment of the dynamic forces of the life in the Palace. Adam selected images, ordered them in a deliberate sequence, and orchestrated the viewing experience. "Second-hand" experience became "first-hand", when the images are internalized and become part of an individual's personal experience.¹⁸⁵ Robert Adam's vision incorporated experience at its core – the experience of viewing atmospheric, emotionally charged imagery, and the experience of walking through simulated structures encapsulating that grandeur.¹⁸⁶ When artists interpret and present views of historic sites in their works, the best of them can contribute to the spirit of place experienced at the sites themselves if their work becomes known and endures over time. Adam is indisputably such an artist showing both accuracy in rendering the monumental ruins, while also showing how he managed both to isolate and highlight the essence of each place - essentially creating a single image that so fully captured each place that this image has often remained "imbued on people's consciousness across generations."¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Green, A. S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.77

¹⁸⁶ Green, A. S. *Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology*, The Faculty of University of Minnesota 2013, p.40

¹⁸⁷ Langenbach, R. *The Building of a Symbolic Image: The Juxtaposition of Giambattista Piranesi's Vedute Di Roma with Photographs Taken 250 Years Later*, 2008

UNDERSTANDING THE PALACE

Updating Adam's image

Through an analysis of Adam's drawings and texts, the key points that he selected to define Diocletian's Palace and of which he left a lasting record in his book have been defined. The question is does everything that Adam represented, still have such a powerful meaning? Have some of these defining points in the meantime become worthwhile un-mapping as formative elements of the current image of the place or have they been in the meantime replaced by some other points, or is it necessary or possible to ratchet up their importance once again? When reconstructing his line of movement and his progression within the city, we can see how many and which places stroked him with a beauty of ancient original and with a uniqueness of transformation from past to the present and towards the future. If we try to reconstruct his progression through and around the Palace today, the scenery is quite different, but the essence is the same. All the places he saw valuable to document (in its ancient original and in its current state) and to present them to his readership, even today hold the particular place in quotidian life. Peristyle, together with the Portico and Vestibule, Emperor's Mausoleum, Temple of Jupiter, encircling walls together with the corresponding gates, represent today points of the identification and orientation within the city, but also in the wider urban area. The sequence of his images could be slightly rearranged today in order to follow new routes and new places- the new meanings that have emerged since his visit.



Figure 5.1.
View on the northern gate today

Encircling walls of the Palace and their corresponding gates, the infrastructure inherited from the ancient original, represent boundaries between the Palace and the city, which are still visible and respected. They are durable elements of the ancient structure, but adjusted according to the needs of the each period, and as such, they are today merged in urban tissue of the city. Robert Adam was very vivid when depicting the appearance and function of the walls and their corresponding gates. Moreover, he provided very detailed analysis of their structure and ornamentation. Robert Adam's most evocative images of these elements are views on the southern wall, northern and western gate. *Porta Aurea* (northern gate) and *Porta Ferrea* (western gate), the places of no distinct functional character then and now, are rather the places of movement and progression. They represent the gathering points for locals and tourists, but they are also main points of orientation together with two others accesses *Porta Aenea* and *Porta Argentum*. Although their symbolic status is not comparable with those of Mausoleum or Peristyle, the walls and the gates hold very particular meaning in everyday life in Split.

Approaching from the north, one can see *Porta Aurea* and the northern wall of the Palace. Although it is the best preserved façade of the Palace, it lost some of the main characteristics of its original appearance. The main emphasis to the northern gate was given by the architectural composition of the northern gate, which was understandable due to its ancient role of main access. The restoration works on the northern façade, along with northern gate, were carried out in 1947 and it perfectly echoes the restored image by Adam. Eastern part of the north Palace wall was revealed, residential houses that had been damaged in bombardment were removed, embankment that was partially screening the façade of the Palace was removed. Military hospital buildings, former Benedictine convent surrounded by a 15th



Figure 5.2.
View on the western gate today

century wall, that had been located next to the west part the north wall, were demolished. The bell tower and the chapel of Arnir, work of George of Dalmatia, were preserved. North façade of the Palace is today completely restored, together with the medieval 14th century defense walkway above it.¹⁸⁸ Today, with the nearby situated monument of Bishop Gregory of Nin, the work of the great Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, is one of the favorite tourist spots of Split, but also renewed social gathering point for locals. The whole area in front of and around the northern wall represents one of the most positive urban solutions carried out in the historic core.

In the contrast to the perfectly restored northern wall, there are eastern and western wall. Seventeen centuries of continuous development has left many traces on the western access point and the western wall. Among all four facades of the ancient Palace, western façade is at least preserved one. Expansion of the city towards west and the construction of the new residential units, that leaning against the ancient facade, covered wall in almost its entire length. In its original state, the western façade was not different than the eastern one. It was articulated by the towers, which are just partially preserved, while some of their ancient parts are located and hidden in houses. After the expansion of the city outside the Palace, *Porta Ferrea* remained as a main inner connection between the new and old urban area, but gained new particular role in the life of the city that is still visible today. Pjaca, new town square formed in front of the gate, represents the first inhabited part of Split, outside the Palace. For centuries Pjaca is the central stage of city life- it was in Robert Adam's image and it is still today. The town hall is now the

¹⁸⁸ Duško Marasović, *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009, p.83



Figure 5.3.
View on the eastern gate today

exhibition space, palace encircling the square are still preserved, and the ground floor of the houses is filled with numerous cafes, restaurants and shops. Each structure on this square has a story, each is a witness of history and urban spirit. So it was "yesterday", when Pjaca became main town square, so it is today, when Pjaca is not the main municipal center of the city yet one of the most important gathering points for locals and tourists.

When Adam was in Split, eastern wall was in very ruinous state and eastern gate, *Porta Argentum*, was walled up. The city was not developing towards east, rather experiencing threats from this direction. The eastern wall is today experienced in its full length, although during the last 17 centuries its ancient whole is only partially preserved. There are octagonal and rectangular towers missing, and in its southern section the greater part of the original wall is lost. Many changes happened around the gate, which were radically rearranged in the Middle Ages and at the end walled up in the mid- 15th century. In the 18th century new gate was opened- smaller access point situated nearby, which is still in function. The main northern gate was opened during the restoration work, which lasted from 1945 to 1952. It marked an important step towards revitalization of the historic core. Today, eastern gate represent very vital access point between the Palace and market, so-called Pazar. Although market, located next to the east wall of Diocletian's Palace, and around the church of St. Dominic, is the urban area that has to be revisited, it is one of the central places of everyday life in Split, but also increasingly popular destination among tourists.



Figure 5.4.
View on *Cryptoporticus* today

Robert Adam's view on the *Cryptoporticus*, which is southern façade of the Palace, is not maybe physically valid today, but he sees and acknowledges the significance of this particular site in the quotidian life. Then harbor, today big public promenade, represents the main public and gathering place next to the *Peristyle*. Split waterfront, so- called Riva, was created by filling the former waterfront of the Imperial Palace. Today, the town promenade, situated under the northern wall of the imperial palace, until the beginning of the 20th century was the port. In the 15th century in its central part was constructed so-called Venetian Castel. Its preserved tower is situated between the so-called Fruit Square (former market) and the waterfront, forming one more particular social space in the city's urban tissue. In the first half of the 19th century, a series of classicist building were constructed on the waterfront in the area between the destroyed Venetian Castle and Marmont Street. These new buildings were following, and in this manner, "continuing" the southern wall of the Palace. The remains of the ancient southern wall was gradually filled with residential structures, from which most of them have historical importance. The "new and old" southern wall formed city's facade of the city to the sea and set a stage for new public space. Riva, Split's waterfront, gained its form, the form we know today, at the beginning of the 19th century, when the city was under the French rule. A hundred years later, indigenous plant species were replaced by palm trees and a new big change came in the 20th century, when the area is finally defined as a pedestrian zone. New urban and landscape design of the promenade in front of the southern facade of the Palace, was completed in 2007, and is still subject of discussion in professional circles and in the public. Robert Adam's view on southern wall is quite different in its physical attributes, but the meaning of his image is not bounded only by the life in the 18th century Split. It was an urban area of social importance in the city that outgrew Diocletian's Palace and the same view we know today,



Figure 5.5.
View on the substructures today



Figure 5.6.
View on Peristyle today

underpins and further establishes his thought. *Poerta Aenea* or southern gate was blocked because the substructures were still not excavated and ,thus, was not surveyed by Adam. Nevertheless, the southern gate, along with the substructures of the Palace, hold very important place in everyday life in the city. The gate provide direct access from the promenade to the Palace. Moreover, it is link connecting the Split waterfront, substructures and *Peristyle*. The substructures of Diocletian's palace is one of the best preserved ancient complex of its kind in the world, and in many ways should be credited why the historic center of Split in 1979 was included on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Cleaning of the substructures, so-called basements, was conceived and started in the mid-19th century by Vicko Andrić, the architect and the first local conservator. The substructures are today full of life. There are regularly organized painting and sculpture exhibitions, fairs such as the International holiday of flowers, food and wine events, and many other social and cultural events. The central hall, the main communication axis, is a space where is possible to buy valuable souvenirs, while walking from Riva to Peristyle or vice versa.

Peristyle and Emperor's Mauseolum saw a most distinct functional transformation which defined their particular role the city, the city we know today. Peristyle, as the central square of the Palace, intended for the Emperor Diocletian celebrated as the living son of Jupiter, finds its place among many temples. According to its original function, the Peristyle was the main place of Emperor's glorification and deification. The Peristyle has always been the center of the Palace and the city, but its function has been changing as the result of constant conversion of individual structures in the Palace or/and the result of the city's expansion. Peristyle, which was transformed from the main ancient public square, to the center of various, public and administrative activities and later converted into religious center, today

still represents the nucleus of the life not just in the Palace, but also in the city. All the physical and functional transformations are visible and readable in the Peristyle we know today. To the north east, there is today the Chapel of St. Rochus, in the southwest corner is a Romanesque palace originally dating to the 15th century CE, which has been rebuilt several times. Along the western side is a Romanesque building that once belonged to the Grisogono, Cipci and Skocibusic families. Peristyle is dominated by the Cathedral of Saint Domnius, former Diocletian's mausoleum and the bell tower. Adam displayed the *Peristyle* with all its changes that occurred until 18th century. Thus, he established its status as the religious center, but also as one of the strata of the social life in the city. Nowadays, Peristyle is no longer just the religious center of the Palace, rather one of the central gathering points in the city. Owing to its unique beauty and unusual acoustics, Peristyle became the ideal theatre scenery, perfect for opera classics and works of ancient literature, but also the stage where abundant urban life continues. Inside the Cathedral, the history reconciles ancient pagan, Christian Medieval and modern heritage. The image of the Mausoleum of the Emperor, thus its status and meaning, was established by Adam. Although, he ignored the religious elements, he provided us with very mystical, we could say cryptic, image of the interior of the structure and evocative image of the exterior that successfully established its status in the Palace. Cathedral today is primarily a place of liturgy, with a millennium long continuity, best reflected in the Sunday mass and the renewed splendor of the procession on the St Domnius's day - the day of Split's patron saint.



Figure 5.7.
View on the Temple of Jupiter today



Figure 5.8.
View on Vestibulum today

Robert Adam considered the temple of Jupiter as one of the most beautiful monuments. It still holds very particular place within the Palace. In the interior dominates the secession sculpture of St. John, after whom the temple is named after the transformation, the work by Ivan Meštrović. In front of it, it is placed one of the few completely or partially preserved granite sphinxes which Diocletian brought from Egypt. The functional character as the baptistery is nowadays no longer valid, and only serves in order to emphasize the symbolic meaning of the Temple. This edifice is completely merged in the organic street network that occurred as the result of the transformations in the south-east section of the Palace. The one of the most particular product is the narrowest street in Europe, known by locals as the street Pusti me Proć (Let me pass). As a narrow slit, the street divides five-storey building with Gothic elements and the Temple of Jupiter. At first glance, almost invisible and insignificant, this peculiar street is only 57 centimeters wide and over time was and still is the witness of colorful transformation of the Palace. The parts of this gothic residential block, that later enclosed this particular street, are visible on the second view on the Temple as it remains in the Adam's book.

In the transformation of the Palace, Vestibule was no exception, as we have been able to see when reading Adam's book. There were built residential structures, the interiors revetment was missing and the structure, as the whole, was decaying until 20th century. The most important work were conveyed from the mid- 20th century and this particular place inside the Palace was renovated and again functioning. It still functions as the connection between Peristyle and the emperor's residence, and today represents very important space in the city. The Vestibule has great acoustics, so it is perfect gathering point for groups performing traditional songs in a capella. From August 2011 Vestibule has

become even more attractive, because its terrace is open to the public. In fact, around the opening, which can be seen from the ground, there is a convenient space, which is also used as an attractive vantage point. Robert's engraving implied that the Vestibule was a space of historical, but also social value, although it was in its highly ruinous state.

All the elements Adam surveyed, represent even today main focus points of the Palace; points of identification and orientation within the city. He established their meaning as important monuments of antiquity by documenting them as restored. Moreover, by placing them in the sceneries of the everyday life in the city, he justified the adaptation of the Palace to the needs of its residents and suggested future dynamic forces. By his selection of these particular points within the Palace, he confirmed their symbolic meaning and established the importance of the Palace. Moreover, he defined the classical ruin as the part of urban fabric. Thus, Diocletian's Palace as the nucleus of the city. Although, his great love towards the "original" Palace is readable, Adam perfectly captured Diocletian Palace as it is- a valuable palimpsest; a structure that has changed over time and shows evidence of that change. His drawings register the dynamic acting of time on architecture, underlying the notion of life as the result of the specific adaptations already at work and suggesting the conceivable outcomes of the future urban transformation. The iconic image of the Palace, which employs all of his drawings, still holds significant place in our perception and recognition of this structure. His image enabled the idea of transformation and continuity in the Palace. Moreover, it established Diocletian's palace as a multilayered monument. In other words, in the Palace, "Classical Antiquity presents just one of the existing layers; where the static perception of monument is juxtaposed with coexistence of traces of

times and their living, dynamic identity."¹⁸⁹ Almost all cities are the result of complex processes of layering through time. These processes have both contributed to the shaping of the physical landscape inhabited today and also much more subtly, created an atmosphere of use, a demarcation of physical and social space, and an experience of the sense of the city.¹⁹⁰ Diocletian's Palace, along with the historic core of Split, is such an example where these layers are visible and perceivable. The transformation of Diocletian's Palace and the city of Split is a spatial and social phenomena. From a housing complex built for retired Roman emperor, city of Split evolved over centuries and as the result the Palace, *villa*, was transformed into a plural urban structure, *urbs*. Rose Macaulay, an English writer, sees in Split a unique example of *villa-urbs*, which serves her as a case study of a city enclosed in the palace.¹⁹¹ The core infrastructure of the *Palace*, encircling city walls and the cardinal axes, remains recognizable, while the conversions of the single structures within the Palace formed the base for city's development. Moreover, the Palace was adjusting according to the needs of the citizens and every historical period. In the words of Rose Macaulay ", it has been, possibly, the most serviceable ruin in the world."¹⁹²

In the book *Architecture of the City*, architect Aldo Rossi writes that monuments often survive the transformation of their functions, and rather than lose meaning they may gain it. Urban places, dense

¹⁸⁹ Šverko, A. *Razvijati i konzervirati: o važnosti strategije urbanističkog projektiranja za život povijesne gradske jezgre*, Kvartal, 2013 p. 86-87

¹⁹⁰ Williams, T. *Archeology: Reading the City through Time*, in *Reconnecting the City*, in *The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, Wiley-Blackwell,, 2014, p. 19

¹⁹¹ Macaulay, R. *Pleasure of Ruins*, New York 1996., p.427

¹⁹² Macaulay, R. *Pleasure of Ruins*, New York 1996., p.410

with memories, become integral presences, the organs of that 'body' which is the city.¹⁹³ Aldo Rossi combated the idea of a *quasi paradisiac final state* when he argues that cities are always dynamic. According to Rossi, construction is a process that is inseparable in value to time. Ever from its evolution, mankind has built favorable surroundings with its roots in its civilization. These built forms transform themselves over the years overlapping the theme of its own development and thus there is a contrast in the existence of the structure over time. With his discovery of the historical city of Split and its durable values and its potential for development he says: "The town of Split which developed inside that (late Classical) Palace of Diocletian and therefor had to find new uses and new meanings for unalterable forms, has, because of this very aspect of architecture and its relationship to the city, achieved emblematic importance. The outward concentration of its form is in direct proportion to its great ability to adapt to a variety of functions". He suggests that is the symbolism of the meaning of the architecture of the city, where the broadest adaptability to multiple functions corresponds to an extreme precision of form.¹⁹⁴ Peter Eisenmann explains this relationship "as different limit to history. History exists as long as an object is in use; this is, so long as a form relates to its original function. However, when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into the realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins."¹⁹⁵ Following this thought, the form of Split represents its own individuality, but at the same time, it also reflects a record of events that are part of a collective memory. The appearance of the Palace today is witness to the many layers of past human activities, which is enabled by its

¹⁹³ Aldo Rossi, *Architettura Della Città*, The MIT Press, 1984, p. 59

¹⁹⁴ Aldo Rossi *L'Architettura della Città*, The MIT Press, 1984, p. 174

¹⁹⁵ Peter Eisenmann, Editor's Introduction, in *L'Architettura della Città*, p. 10-11

potentials for transformation and adaptability to new contents. In other words, the transformations within the Palace and continuity of the life established its symbolic meaning whereas its built environment is inseparable from the historical, spatial and social context of the city. Since Adam's visit, many changes occurred in the Palace and in the city. New transformations, functions, adaptations and forms have emerged, but the Palace, as the monument and as the city center, is still just one of the strata of urban tissue.

Transformation and continuity in the Palace

In his personal correspondence with the friend, Flaubert wrote: "I love above all the sight of vegetation resting upon old ruins; this embrace of nature, coming swiftly to bury the work of man the moment his hand is no longer there to defend it, fills me with deep and ample joy."¹⁹⁶ In the eighteenth century, ruins all over the world were being rediscovered and reinterpreted aesthetically as their popularity and their importance as artistic subjects increased. An increase in travel and travel literature exposed British society to ruins, which were interpreted artistically in the spirit of that era. Ancient ruins have been the subject of attention by antiquarians and tourists for at least two-and-a-half centuries, so that old buildings are part of the local's and nation's cultural fabric, imagined as symbols of an enduring national past and cohesive national and/or local identity. As such, they have been variously preserved, conserved and interpreted as aesthetic objects. Their obsessive materiality is exemplified in the aesthetic that Lowenthal identifies as the "look of age," a quality that has its origins in the renaissance appreciation of classical ruins and the 18th- and 19th-century aesthetics of the picturesque, the beautiful and the sublime.¹⁹⁷ Françoise Choay categorized the historical development of the ancient monument as a symbol of "pastness".¹⁹⁸ Yet the past has a present: objects that by their origin belong to the past are owned and used in the present. The objects such as monuments, historic sites or/and historic

¹⁹⁶ Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondence*, 1847

¹⁹⁷ Watson, S. / Waterton, E. *Reading the Visual: Representation and Narrative in the Construction of Heritage*, 2011

¹⁹⁸ Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Cambridge University Press, 2001

ensembles have a life outside their "materiality and beyond the things that make them significant for experts, archaeologists, curators and the operators of the tourism industry."¹⁹⁹

When we want to emphasize its cultural (and touristic) uniqueness of Diocletian's Palace and Split is usually said to be "living monument". This phrase usually means to express that the historical center, Diocletian's Palace - not only "dead" archaeological Roman rest, but also functional, populated urban center. This fact - a fact that makes it different from Rome or Pompeii- is usually the very first sentence pronounced when talking about history and heritage in Split. Due to its dual role of the greatest monument and the most important public space of the city, it generates conflicts between conservation and development, private and public, dwelling and tourism. In other words, the Palace is facing challenges that are closely linked and intertwined- tourism, conservation, and development. Diocletian's Palace has retained both its residential and public character to this day, when, as dominant part of the historical core of Split, split off from the rest of the growing city. In its cramped framework the Palace has been forced to yield to the pressures of tourism. A remarkable increase in the standard of conservation of individual heritage buildings, and the upgrading of museums and the commercial features of the town, and the concentration of historical and artistic events in the core have highlighted the status symbol of the Palace. But, the relatively small city and its historical core has become icon of global tourism, place of cultural experiences of millions of people. This led to the transformation of the

¹⁹⁹ Watson, S. / Waterton, E. Reading the Visual: Representation and Narrative in the Construction of Heritage, 2011

historic core into a hub of tourists, visitors, shops and services. Thus, the functions of city center are becoming less dependent on the needs of the local population, and increasingly on the dictates of international tourism and real estate purchases. Intense pressures on the change of use and how to use the contents of the historic center, excessive tourist initiative and commercialization, disappearance of public content and surfaces, conversions of private housing into short-term (summer) residences, which are inactive during the year, emigration of locals and loss of identity of space. These and many other issues, arising from modern trends and, are jeopardizing the image of the city. Accommodation of new cultural institutions, restoration of architectural heritage, infrastructure repairs and increased hygiene standards in the core significantly helped to keep and improve the status of the Palace as the city center, but other mentioned processes have weakened its function as a center. The scale and speed of modern urbanization, and lack of the management of historic core and urban growth, have changed the role of the city center, as well as suburban areas. It is losing its functional character, which threatens to turn Diocletian's Palace into, what Jane Jacobs calls, nostalgic theme park. The Palace does not provide today a coherent image of a complex urban-architectural unit, but is fragmented by the domination of just a few of the most attractive scenes from antiquity, isolated from urban context. The reason for this impression of isolation is due to effect of singling out individual monuments of the Palace rather than considering the Palace as a whole, as a part of the urban tissue.

All of these problems are the result of the nature of the Palace where is often difficult to reconcile the interests of development with archaeological research and heritage conservation, which is a particularly pressing issue in the context of urban growth and regeneration. This is the very issue when we talk about Split and Diocletian's Palace. Many issues must be dealt simultaneously in Split: growth, renewal,

excavations, conservation and development. There is a need for conservation and development to be seen as complementary strands of an approach to creating vibrant 21st century urban community. Traditionally, planners viewed historic areas as a collection of monuments and buildings to be preserved as relics of the past, whose value was considered to be totally separate from their day-to-day use and city context.²⁰⁰ This is essentially a 19th century concept of restoration applied to urban ensembles. An example is the restoration of historic Split, built within the core of Diocletian's imperial Palace. We have witnessed contrasting approaches to conservation – from an almost romantic reconstruction to strict conservation, with no changes allowed. In general, the transformation of cities at the turn of the 20th into the 21st century, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, characterized by the abandonment of long-term strategic vision and a *laissez-faire* approach to the development of cities, as well as more intensive enrollment historic towns on UNESCO's World Heritage List, which significantly affect their role.²⁰¹ Today, historic cities, sites and monuments are under the pressure of modern global trends and that demands on the reconsideration of development and conservation strategies. The need for unification strategy of conservation and urban planning was started in autumn 2011 and resulted in the recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (adopted on 10 November 2011) by UNESCO's General Conference. With the valorization of a wide area of the city as a cultural heritage, historic city center and/or protected historic zone are no longer perceived to be within strictly defined borders, but as a result of a wider urban, cultural and geographical context. Such an approach, which does not deny

²⁰⁰ Siravo, Francesco, Planning and Managing Historic Urban Landscapes n Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage

²⁰¹ Ana Šverko, Palače (ni)je grad, UPI2M BOOKS, Split, 2016, p.14

any conservation doctrine, but wants to integrate them into the development strategies of the cities, inevitably requires much more complex system of education and management than current practices.²⁰² Historic urban landscape includes topography, geomorphology and natural phenomena; built environment, historical as well as contemporary infrastructure, public spaces, spacious facilities and organization, as well as the views of other elements of urban structure. Similarly, the broader approach includes social and cultural activities and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage, as expressions of diversity and identity. The historic urban landscape approach moves beyond the preservation of the physical environment, and focuses on the entire human environment with all of its tangible and intangible qualities.²⁰³ This further strengthens the importance of historical and spatial context of the historical building, which is not isolated units, but is a part of a living organism. The monument is therefore a living heritage associated with spatial context, cause-effect relationships and mutual influences, equally valuable because of the material layer, but also in every moment and aspect of its existence. Truce between heritage preservation and development of the city in the historic city center can be resolved by integrating modern urban design with conservation strategies, so that they support each other. Thus, the value of the rich historic center may be more prominent and more effective in the cultural, social and economic terms, if the strategy of urban design is integrated into spatial planning and conservation policies.²⁰⁴ In order to protect the cultural and physical values Palace and the city, material heritage should be properly cherished, the identity has to be preserved, the

²⁰² francesco bandarin, ron van oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, Wiley--Blackwell, 2012.

²⁰³ New life for historic cities, Unesco, 2012, retrieved on 17-07-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/727/>

²⁰⁴ Proposed by Ana Šverko in various articles and books

disagreement between different interest groups should be minimized and the agreement between the planning, urban growth and conservations strategies should be accomplished.²⁰⁵

The historical core has been recognized and protected cultural and historical entity of world importance, within which there is Diocletian's Palace and other individually protected monuments. One part of its cultural values derived from the conservation of ancient buildings, medieval city and other individual buildings, and the second part of the continuity of its use and urban transformations that have been ongoing for more than 1700 years. The center of Split, like many other historic cities, was too often understood as a container of fixed values, almost "frozen in time". The key to understanding and managing historic urban environment in Split (but also in any other historic city) is the recognition that the Palace is not a static monument or group of buildings, but part of the city and, as such, subject to dynamic forces in the economic, social and cultural spheres that shaped it and keep shaping it. As Kostof says "Cities are never still; they resist efforts to make neat sense of them. We need to respect their rhythm and to recognize that the life of city form must lie loosely somewhere between total control and total freedom of action. Between conservation and process, process must have the final word. In the end, urban truth is in the flow."²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Nikšić, Goran and Sunara, Sagita Mirjam Historic Core of Split and the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace: Economic impact of cultural heritage preservation

²⁰⁶ Kostof, S. The city Assembled. The Elements of Urban Form Through History, Thames & Hudson, 2005

Transformation of the Palace since its beginnings resided above all in the articulation of the meaning of specific places in Diocletian's Palace which today play a role in the creation of the quotidian life of the Palace: that life which links the old and the new in Split; the ancient with the modern; the cultural with the vital; and the essential with the existential. Diocletian's Palace has a significant meaning in world's heritage on account of its well-preserved architecture from all periods, but also because of the fact that it is still a living organism with all urban functions. Jacques Derrida writes in his anthological essay *Généralisations d'une ville: mémoire, prophétie, responsabilités* writes: "A city is a whole that always has to retain an unsaturated structure, which has to be open to its own transformation, to expansions that distort it to the minimum or dislocate the memory of its heritage. A city has to remain open to what is known. And it knows that it does not know what is yet to come. This respect for nescience has to be inscribed as theme into science and into architectural and town planning competence, developing the spatial logic of incompleteness." Following his thought, we need to think about the future, because it is perhaps the categorical imperative of every respectable and responsible urban development project. Each building that wants to enter into the present as saturated and unchangeable urban or architectural structure, not using one flexible language that is able to introduce new syntax, new harmonic developments, new integrations that are not inconsistent with the original units, should be considered as violation that destroys the body and soul of the city. Jacques Derrida points out that is contrary to the city, as a living organism, to offer final solutions and ready-made recipes, because city goes beyond the possibility of completion and dimension of one generation. We inherited Diocletian's Palace as palimpsest- a multilayered and yet incomplete monument.

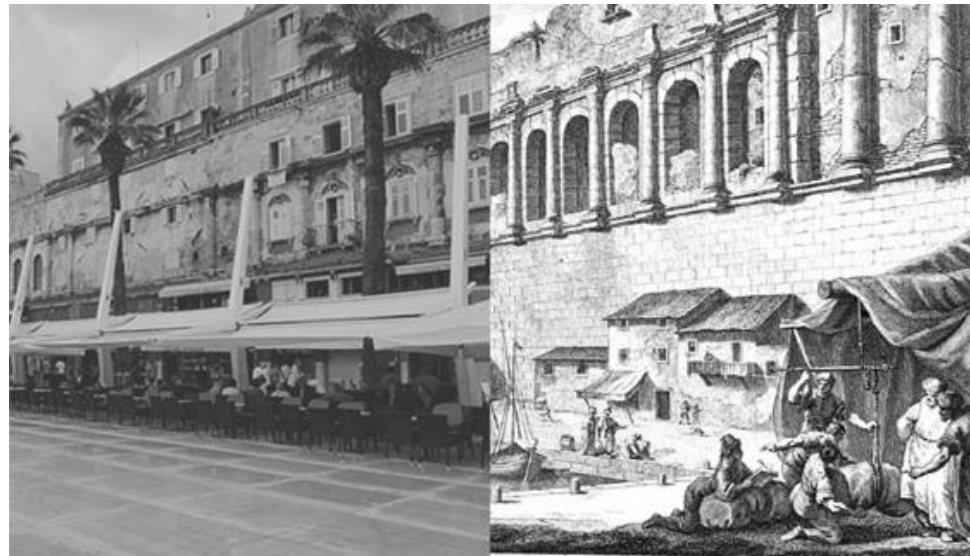
Conclusion or learning from Adam

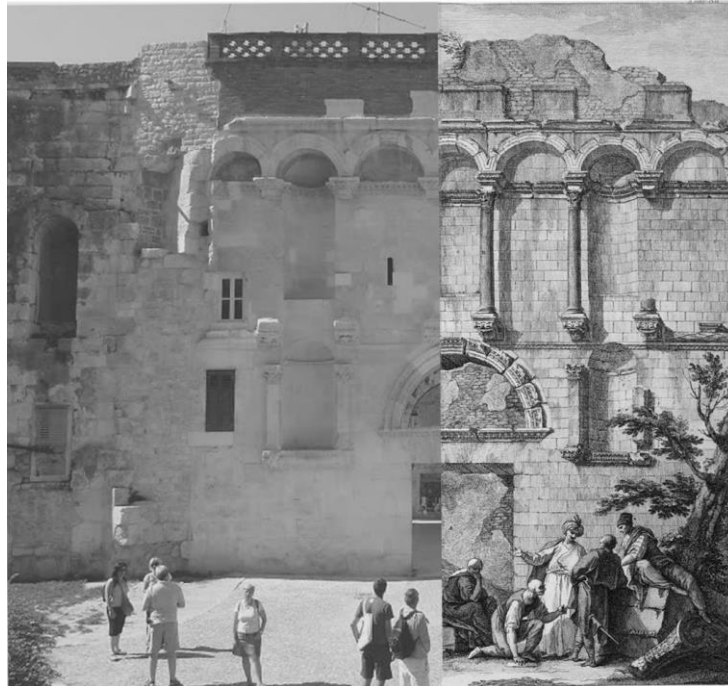
We do not see a city only with our eyes. We also see a city through the way that others have looked at it and perceive it through the pictures and text they have left. They preserve the memory of the city and pass on its forms. Over the past centuries, the Diocletian's Palace have been recorded, studied and mapped in various forms. Each drawing, text, poem, photograph or movie 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 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 original physical and function attributes of the Palace, but also documentation of the quotidian life in the city. The original Roman structure of the Palace was built at the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and already its original incompleteness and adaptability enabled its almost 2000 years long vitality. In the early medieval period, within the ancient walls of this compact residential structure, a city had developed. In the course of time, the city spread outside its fortifications – first ancient, and then medieval, Baroque, today having reached its topographic limits. Later periods were to show that not a single moment was powerful enough to erase this adaptable ancient form, but would anatomize it into a number of places connected with different times within the same spatial framework. The appearance of the Palace's architecture today is witness to the many layers of past human activities, which is enabled by its potentials for transformation and adaptability to new contents. Adam's image enabled this idea of continuity and over two and a half centuries after their production, his graphic works of Diocletian's Palace continue to engage the practice, locals and tourists. Adam made Palace accessible to others, created distinct visual

image of the Palace, enabled visual memory of the ruins and engaged viewers through theatrical travel experiences. He established the meaning of the Palace(as the whole and its particular parts) as important monument of antiquity by documenting it as restored and by placing it in the sceneries of the everyday life in the city, he underlined its on-going life, justified its adaptation to the needs of its resident and suggested future dynamic forces. He confirmed the dual role of the Palace- the Palace as the monument of universal value and more importantly, the Palace as the nucleus of the city. One cannot think about the Palace without thinking about the city, and vice versa and Robert Adam implied that already in the 18th century. Adam's image, both in drawings and text, defines Diocletian's Palace as the image of constant continuity, the image of yesterday, today and tomorrow. His image establishes a dialogue between the past and the present, between tangible and intangible- the dialogue between the Palace as the monument and the Palace as the fragment of the urban fabric. His image should be reconsidered when we think today about the past, present and future of Diocletian's Palace. Present should always be thought in the context of relation between past and future. The same should valid when we talk about Diocletian's Palace and Split. The presence of the past in the present needs to be valued, but it shouldn't stop the continuity towards the future. In the words of Italo Calvino: "The city exists and it has a simple secret: it knows only departures, not returns."²⁰⁷ And yet, the Palace moves.

²⁰⁷ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978, p.56

Appendix: the juxtaposition of now and then or how does the palace move?



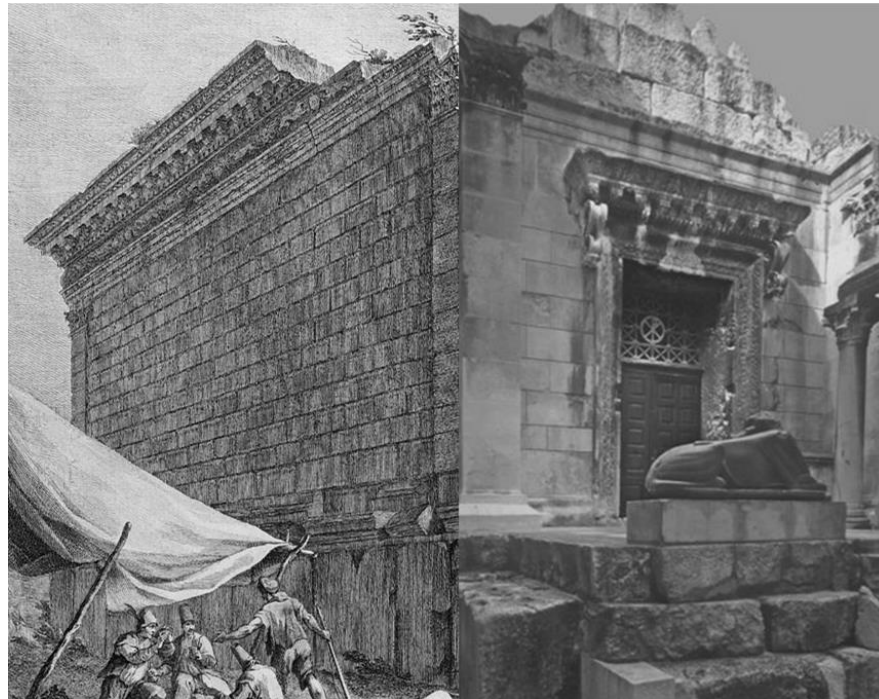












Selected bibliography

- Adam, R. *The ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764- Reprint edition: Logos, Split, 1996; online available on Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>
- Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova Palača*, Sloboda Beograd, 1982
- Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009
- Oreb, F. /Rismondo, T. *Anthropological analysis of the late antique population from the site of Ad basilicas pictas*, in Ad Basilicas Pictas, Ministry of Culture, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Conservation Department in Split for the area of the Split-Dalmatia County, 1999
- Peutinger Map*, Livius.org Articles on ancient history, 2016, retrieved on 05-06-2016 from <http://www.livius.org/articles/concept/peutinger-map/>
- Bulić, F. / Karaman, Lj. *Palača cara Dioklecijana u Splitu*, Zagreb, 1927
- Dvoržak Schrunk, I. / Begović, V. *Diocletian's Palace and Split: transferring ideas from a maritime villa to a christian city*, VAMZ, 3. s., XLV 2012
- Marasović, T. *Dioklecijanova palača - svjetska kulturna baština*, Zagreb, 1995
- UNESCO - World Heritage Center, *State of Conservation of World Heritage Properties in Europe , Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian*, Section II Summary, 2006, retrieved on 05-04-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/periodicreporting/EUR/cycle01/section2/97-summary.pdf>
- UNESCO - World Heritage Center, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, retrieved on 05-04-2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>
- Solar, G. / Solar, S. *Plan Upravljanja Povijesnom Jezgrom*, Split, 2009
- Yarwood, D. *Robert Adam*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1970

- Špikić, M. *Skriveno i vidljivo. Dioklecijanova palača u britanskim putopisima druge polovice 19. Stoljeća*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, 2012
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus et de administrando imperio*, Ed. Bonn, 1840
- Kečkemet, D. *Robert Adam: Dioklecijanova palača I klasicizam*, Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb, 2003
- Naginski, E. *The Imprimatur of Decadence: Robert Adam and the Imperial Palatine Tradition*; in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2014
- Fischer von Erlach, J. B. *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*, Wien, 1721
- Kečkemet, D. *Crteži i grafike Dioklecijanove palače Fischer von Erlacha*, Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1987
- Lavallee, J. *Voyage pittoresque et historique del'Istrie et de la dalmatie redige d ' aperes l'itineraire de L.F. Cassas par Joseph Lavallee*, Paris, 1802
- Kečkemet, D. *Louis Francois Cassas i njegove slike Istre i Dalmacije 1782*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1978
- Vlašić Jurić, V. *Dioklecijanova palača na prikazima u Grafičkoj zbirci Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu*, Kroatologija : časopis za hrvatsku kulturu, 2011.
- Kečkemet, D. *Vicko Andrić arhitekt i konzervator*, Književni krug, Split, 1993.
- Grand Tour Dalmatia**, Institute of Art History Zagreb, 2016, retrieved on 20-5-2016 from <http://grandtourdalmatia.org/>
- Bruno, G. *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media*, University Of Chicago Press, 2014
- Chambers, W. *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*, Dover Publications, 2003
- Jude, J. *Kirkcaldy: A History & Celebration of the Town*, Francis Frith Collection, 2005
- Graham, R. *Arbiter of Elegance: A Biography of Robert Adam*, Birlinn Ltd., 2009
- Withey, L. *Grand Tours and Cooks' Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915*, William Morrow & Co, 1997

- Griggs, T. ***Drawn From Nature: Stuart and Revett in Athens***, in *Seeing Science: Image, Text, and Nature, 1500-1800*, Princeton University, 2005
- Green, A. S. ***Experiential Aspects of English Neoclassicism: Implications for the History of Classical Archaeology***, The Faculty of University of Minnesota, 2013
- Layton-Jones, K. ***Review of The Grand Tour***, (review no. 839), retrieved on 10-06-2016 from <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/839>
- Hyde Minor, H. ***G. B. Piranesi's Diverse Maniere and the Natural History of Ancient Art***, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
- Redford, B. ***The Measure of Ruins: Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750-1770***, Harvard Library, 2002
- Middleton, R. ***Le Roy: The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece***, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 2004
- Redford, B. ***Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England***, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008
- Kondo, A. ***Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment***, Routledge, 2011
- Ipek, F. ***The archaeological sublime: history and architecture in Piranesi's drawings***, Izmir Institute of Technology, 2006
- Gilpin, W. ***Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty***, 1794
- Burke, E. ***A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful***, 1757
- Ross, A. ***The Imprint of the Picturesque on Nineteenth-Century British Fiction***, 1987
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ***18th Century British Aesthetics***, retrieved on 10-07-2016 from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aesthetics-18th-british/>
- Schneider, R. M. ***Some Versions of the Fragment, 1700-1800***, The University of Texas at Austin, 2014
- Lipking, L./ Ritchie, L. ***The Norton Anthology of English Literature.***, retrieved on 12-07-2016 from <http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/18century/welcome.htm>

Pinto, J. A. *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, University of Michigan Press, 2012

Glendinning, M./ MacInnes, R./ McKechnie, A. *A History of Scottish Architecture*, Edinburgh University Press, 1996

Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, reprint edition, Dover Publications, 2006

E.M.S., "The Marquis of Bute's Mansion at Luton Hoo," *Gentleman's Magazine* 87, no. 2 (July 1817): 5.

Rykwert, J./ Rykwert, A. *Robert and James Adam: The Men and the Style*, New York: Electa/ Rizzoli, 1985

Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001

Robert Adam (1728-92). Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, Royal Collection Trust, retrieved on 16-05-2016 from <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1071086/ruins-of-the-palace-of-the-emperor-diocletian-at-spalatro>

Mallgrave, H. F. *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673–1968*, Cambridge University Press, 2009

Fleming, J. *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, reprint edition, John Murray, 1962

Brown, I. G. *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace*, National Library of Scotland, 1992

Adam in Georgian London – investing in the future of style, The Culture Concept Circle, 2011 – 2012, retrieved on 08-06-2016 from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/adam-in-georgian-london-investing-in-the-future-of-style>

Piranesi's vision of Rome, The Culture Concept Circle, 2011 – 2012, retrieved on 08-06-2016 from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/piranesis-vision-of-rome-dramatized-decay-at-melbourne>

Wilton-Ely, J. *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978

Kalas, G. *Mapping, Memory and Fragmented Representation*, University of Tennessee-Knoxville, 2011

Haskell, F. *History and Its Images*, New York, 1995

Kruft, H. W. ***A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present***, Princeton Architectural Press, 1996

Kečkemet, D. ***Knjiga Robert Adama o Dioklecijanovoj Palači u obiteljskoj prepisci***, Baština, Split, 1994

Beard, G. ***The Work of Robert Adam***, Arco Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1978

McCormick, T. ***Charles-Louis Clérissseau and the Genesis of Neo-Classicism***, MA: MIT Press, 1990

The Critical Review, October 1764,

Harris, E. / Savage, N. ***British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–85***, Cambridge University Press, 1990

Gissen, D. ***Subnature: Architecture's Other Environments***, Princeton Architectural Press, 2009

Langenbach, R. ***The Building of a Symbolic Image: The Juxtaposition of Giambattista Piranesi's Vedute Di Roma with Photographs Taken 250 Years Later***, 2008

Špikić, M. ***Transformacije i kontinuiteti u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu od Roberta Adama do Aloisa Riegla***, in Arhitekturna zgodovina 2, Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana, 2014

Diverse maniere: Piranesi, fantasy and excess, retrieved on 10-07-2016 from <http://www.bsecs.org.uk/criticks/reviewdetails.aspx?id=206&type=2>

Šverko, A. ***Razvijati i konzervirati: o važnosti strategije urbanističkog projektiranja za život povijesne gradske jezgre***, Kvartal, 2013

Williams, T. ***Archeology: Reading the City through Time***, in Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage, Wiley-Blackwell, 2014

Macaulay, R. ***Pleasure of Ruins***, New York 1996

Watson, S. / Waterton, E. ***Reading the Visual: Representation and Narrative in the Construction of Heritage***, 2011

Benjamin, W. ***The Origin of German Tragic Drama***, New York and London: Verso, 1977

Choay, F. ***The Invention of the Historic Monument***, Cambridge University Press, 2001

Rossi, A. ***Architettura Della Città***, The MIT Press, 1984

Siravo, F. *Planning and Managing Historic Urban Landscapes* in Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage

Šverko, A. *Palača (ni)je grad*, UPI2M BOOKS, Split, 2016

List of figures

Figure 1.1. cover page, Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, Frontispiece, Frontispiece, R. Adam

illustrations in the book Adam, R. *The ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, retrieved from Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 2.1. Peutinger Map

retrieved from http://www.hsaugsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost03/Tabula/tab_pe00.html

Figure 2.2. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 4th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.3. Plan of Diocletian's Palace, J. Marasović

illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.4. Perspective view of Diocletian's Palace, E.Hebrard

Illustration retrieved from <http://www.civilization.org.uk/decline-and-fall/diocletian>

Figure 2.5. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 11th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.6. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 14th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.7. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 15th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.8. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 18th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.9. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 19th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.10. Diocletian's Palace and Split, 20th century

Marasović, J.; illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 2.11. City of Split,

retrieved from Google maps
<https://www.google.at/maps/place/21000,+Split,+Hrvatska/@43.5100388,16.4416389,4503a,20y,26.39h/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x13355dfc6bbcf517:0xa1798ff631b49f98!8m2!3d43.5081323!4d16.4401935?hl=hr>

Figure 2.12 Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian

retrieved from http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/97/multiple=1&unique_number=105

Figure 2.13. Diocletian's Palace and the city of Split

Retrieved from <http://d-a-s.hr/aktualno/2508/split-plan-upravljanja-povijesnom-jezgrom/>

Figure 3.1. Drawing of a medieval city, Angelo degli Oddi

illustration in Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 3.2. Emperor's Mausoleum, elevation and view, R. Adam

illustrations in the book Adam, R. *The ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, retrieved from Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 3.3. Plan of Diocletian's Palace and the Mausoleum, A. Palladio

illustration in Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 3.4. Diocletian's Palace, J.Spon and G. Wheler

illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 3.5. presumed appearance of Diocletian's Palace, Fischer von Erlach

illustration retrieved from <http://www.wikigallery.org/>

Figure 3.6. Peristyle and Emperor's Mausoleum, Louis-François Cassas

illustrations retrieved from <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O895235/voyage-pittoresque-et-historique-de-drawing-cassas/>

Figure 3.7. Mausoleum, section, V. Andrić

illustration retrieved from Kečkemet, D. *Vicko Andrić arhitekt i konzervator*, Književni krug, Split, 1993.

Figure 3.8. Central Part of the Palace, G. Niemann

illustration retrieved from Marasović, D. *Historic Core of Split: Studies, Programmes and Realized Projects*, Split, 2009

Figure 3.9. Adam's street, Split

author Vjeran Stojanac, photographs retrieved from <http://www.velikabritanija.net/2010/07/27/robert-adam-split-london/>

Figure 3.10. Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, Frontispiece, R. Adam

illustrations in the book Adam, R. *The ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, retrieved from Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 3.11. Robert Adam, Portrait attributed to George Willison

retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Adam

Figure 3.12. Essay Concerning Human Understanding, J. Locke

retrieved from https://openlibrary.org/books/OL23712312M/An_essay_concerning_human_understanding

Figure 3.13. The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desart, R. Wood

retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/ruinsPalmyraoth00Wood>

Figure 3.14. Les Edifices Antiques De Rome Dessines et Mesures Tres Exactement, A. Desgodetz

retrieved from <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/desgodets1682>

Figure 3.15. The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece , J.D. Le Roy

retrieved from <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/leroy1758>

Figure 3.16. The Antiquities of Athens, Stuart and Revett

retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/antiquitiesAthe1Stua>

Figure 3.17. Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, view on Mausoleum, R. Adam illustrations in the book Adam, R. *The ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764, retrieved from Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 3.18. Hadrian's Villa, Piranesi,

illustration retrieved from <http://sights.seindal.dk/photo/10045,s873.html>

Figure 3.19. Syon House, R. Adam,

author Charlotte Gilhooly, photograph retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_style#/media/File:Syon_House_2.jpg

Figure 3.20. Luton Hoo, R. Adam.

Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luton_Hoo#/media/File:Luton_Hoo_Jones%27s_View_1829.jpg

Figure 3.21. Adelphi, Robert and James Adam

Retrieved from <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/speel/arch/adam.htm>

Figure 3.22. Kedleston Hall, Robert and James Adam, longitudinal section and geometrical section of the Palace

Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kedleston_Hall#/media/File:Kedleston_cross_section.jpg

Figure 4.1. Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma, dedication to Adam, Piranesi

retrieved from <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/the-classical-orders-of-architecture-landmark-engravings>

Figure 4.2. Letter from Split, 06.08.1757, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from Kečkemet, D. *Knjiga Robert Adama o Dioklecijanovoj Palači u obiteljskoj prepisci*, Baština, Split, 1994

Figure 4.3. Temple of Jupiter, drawing by Clérisseau and plate published in Adam's book

first illustration retrieved from <http://www.arthermitage.org/Charles-Louis-Clerisseau/Temple-of-Bacchus-in-the-Diocletian-Palace-in-Split.html>; second illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.4. Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia, title page, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.5. General plan of the town, Plate II, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.6. View of the town from the East and from the West, Robert Adam, Plate III and IV, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.7. General Plan of the Palace as restored, Plate VI, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.8. View on Cryptoporticus, Plate VII, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.9. Elevation and profile of one arch of the Cryptoporticus, Plate IX, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.10. Southern, eastern and northern walls in their original and ruinous states, Plate VII, X and XI, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.11. Elevation of the northern gate and the view on the northern gate, Plate XII and XIII, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.12. View on the western gate, Plate XVII, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.13. View on Peristyle, Plate XX, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.14. Elevation of the portico to the vestibulum, Plate XXI, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.15. Vestibulum, Robert Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.16. Interior of the Emperor's Mausoleum, Plate XXXIII, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.17. View on the Temple of Jupiter, Plate XLI, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.18. Internal angular modillion of the cornice, Plate XLVIII, R.Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.19. View on aqueduct, Plate LXI, R. Adam

illustration retrieved from <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/DLDecArts/DLDecArts-idx?id=DLDecArts.AdamRuins>

Figure 4.20. Adam's image used as screen during the restoration works

Retrieved from <http://w3.mrki.info/split/palaca.html>

Figure 5.1. View on the northern gate today

Figure 5.2. View on the western gate today

Figure 5.3. View on the eastern gate today

Figure 5.4. View on Cryptoporticus today

Figure 5.5. View on the substructures today

Figure 5.6. View on Peristyle today

Figure 5.8. View on Vestibulum today