

**‘Spalatro on Thames’:
How Diocletian’s Palace inspired Robert Adam’s
most audacious development – the Adelphi**

By COLIN THOM

...these Emperors have shown Mankind that true Grandeur was only to be produced from Simplicity and largeness of Parts and that conveniency was not inconsistent with decoration. On them therefore I bent particularly my attention And though any Accident shou’d for ever prevent me from Publishing to the World my Drawings and Reflexions on that Subject Yet I must own they contributed very much to the improvement of my Taste, and enlarged my Notions of Architecture.¹

So wrote Robert Adam, in the draft, unpublished introduction to his folio volume, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian*, of the debt his architecture owed to the Roman Emperors Diocletian and Caracalla. By the time this book appeared in 1764, Adam had already made his name as Britain’s leading architect through his country and town-house commissions, and had brought about what he himself described as a ‘kind of revolution’ in interior design with the creation of the Adam Style. It is for this that he is still best remembered.

But what brought him and his brothers lasting fame in eighteenth-century London as architects and developers of rare skill and vision was their mammoth undertaking at the Adelphi in central London (fig. 1). Having been disappointed by the lack of important royal or public commissions, the

Adams decided to make their mark in the capital and express their architecture on an unrestricted scale through private speculation in major street improvements. The Adelphi, carried out between 1768 and 1774 by William Adam & Co., the brothers' development and builders' supplies company, was the first of several such grand schemes to reach completion and was by far the most controversial – largely because it was a commercial failure, forcing the brothers to overstretch themselves financially, almost to the point of bankruptcy, and eventually requiring them to sell most of their holdings by a private lottery, as is well known.

This essay investigates how far this audacious enterprise was inspired by Robert Adam's survey of Diocletian's Palace at Split in 1757, at the end of his Grand Tour. Adam's response to Roman architecture was entirely personal and unlike any other architect of his generation, and a study of his inspirational use of the palace as a source for the Adelphi can help deepen our understanding of his relationship with antiquity.

Monumentality

The Adam Brothers' concept at the Adelphi is immediately striking for its monumentality and ambition. Here was an unprecedented attempt to create a large and entirely new district of elegant housing raised up by some extraordinary engineering on a series of vaulted warehouses above the River Thames on what had been an unfashionable and run-down stretch of ground, known as Durham Yard. And it was a similar sense of monumentality that first appealed to Adam at Spalatro, as he called it, to which his comments on first seeing Diocletian's Palace and his intuitive reconstruction drawings of its seafront curtain-walls testify (see fig. C), as will be shown shortly.

But first it is vital to consider the degree to which a love of the large-scale and the monumental in architecture was an integral part of Robert Adam's artistic sensibility from the outset. His Scottish heritage undoubtedly had a big role to play in this. The dark, crumbling castles and sublime landscapes of his homeland resonated in his imagination and feature prominently in the picturesque sketches and watercolours he made throughout his life. He even inherited a ruined castle of his own: Dowhill Castle, on the family's Blair Adam Estate in Fife, left to him by his father – and thereafter sometimes referred to himself rather grandly as "Robert Adam of Dowhill". Also, his early training as an architect in Scotland included several summers spent at the great military construction works at Fort George, on the seafront near Inverness – one of the new government fortifications being built in the Scottish Highlands following the Jacobite rebellion of 1745–6, for which the Adam family practice in Edinburgh had secured the lucrative building contracts. And it was Robert Adam's exposure to the grandeur of Imperial Roman architecture in Italy and its immediate surroundings that transformed him from a young, talented and well-trained but nonetheless provincial Scottish architect into a designer of the very first rank of international significance.²

Once he had learned to draw in Rome in a new way, under the guidance of Charles-Louis Clérisseau and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and had absorbed the immensity of the Imperial remains there, Adam's new knowledge and understanding burst forth in a series of grand architectural fantasies, or *capricci*. These imaginative academic studies, usually of vast palaces, were inspired by what he had seen of the remains of Roman baths and other buildings. As such they bear comparison with the elaborate theoretical drawings produced in eighteenth-century Rome for the architectural

competitions held by the *Accademia di San Lucia*, known as the *Concorso Clementino* – though Adam himself never entered.³ One such example of 1756 was an attempt to redesign the historic centre of Lisbon (fig. 2), recently destroyed by a violent earthquake; and it is interesting to note that Adam's monumental scheme for a city by the sea had a rigidly symmetrical layout (reminiscent in many ways of what he was to encounter in Split), with different zones allocated to different activities – residential, political, commercial and so on – and a perceptible social hierarchy. The grandest and most inventive of all these Roman *capriccio* drawings of the 1750s was an extraordinarily large work, almost 10ft long, depicting a vast palace complex, made up of eight sheets stitched together. It seems likely that this study – a fantastic representation or summation of everything that Adam had witnessed in Italy – was hung on the wall of his architecture office when he set up in business on his return to London in 1758, so as to impress prospective clients. It was possibly this drawing (or others very like it) that made such an impact on Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston when he called on Robert Adam at his London house in December 1758, prompting Adam to write to his younger brother James, then in Italy on his Grand Tour, that Curzon had been 'struck all of a heap with wonder and amaze' by what he had seen.⁴

All of this serves to emphasize the empathy that Adam possessed towards buildings of this type in advance of his visit to Split in the summer of 1757 and his survey of Diocletian's Palace. He had a predilection for the large-scale and the monumental, and so was naturally more susceptible to the influence of the Diocletian's site than might have been the case with other architects.

Adam was certainly enthused by the palace's spectacular setting on the Dalmatian coast, devoting several of the early pages in the *Ruins* text to a

discussion of its location, overlooking the sea. In his own manuscript account, he noted that the first view of the palace from the Sea “strikes at once”. Its impact he said was “not only ... Pictoresque but Magnificent”. The combined effect of the harbour, marine wall, the long arcade of the palace and other buildings, all cradled within the surrounding hills, formed, thought Adam, “a most agreeable Landscape”.⁵ In the published version of this text, largely rewritten for Adam by his cousin, the eminent Scottish historian William Robertson, he added that this view of the palace “flattered me, from this first prospect, that my labor in visiting it would be amply rewarded”.⁶

One reward was the exemplar the palace provided when it came to arranging a riverfront façade for the Adelphi scheme (figs. A, 3). The grouping of the long continuous frontage of the Cryptoporticus along the shore, flanked by projecting towers at either end, is immediately recognizable in Adam’s massing of the Adelphi blocks when seen from the river, with the central range of the best terraced houses (the Royal Terrace) flanked by the ends of the lesser blocks of housing in the side streets leading to the Strand (Adam Street and Robert Street).

Ordinarily Adam would do everything in his power to conceal a debt like this to others in his work, but in this case he seems to have been proud of the Diocletian connection. The only perspective view of the Adelphi published by the Adam Brothers, engraved for them by Benedetto Pastorini, appears to have been composed consciously so as to echo the comparable view of the palace and its Cryptoporticus that the Adams had commissioned from Paolo Santini for the *Ruins* publication in 1764 – even down to the commercial activity on the foreshore (figs 4, B). The connection was noticed by contemporaries: the historian James Lees-Milne describes the Adelphi as having been praised as “eminently worthy of the old Romans” by the London

public and interpreted by them as a homage to the sea wall and terraces at Split – an interpretation that Lees-Milne says “hugely flattered” the Adams.⁷

Site and situation

As has been said, the site of Diocletian’s Palace had a great impact on Adam. It fell away towards the Adriatic, requiring the southern portions of the palace to be raised up on vaults so as to maintain an even ground level and prevent any dampness from sea-level permeating to the emperor’s apartments above.⁸ By coincidence, in much the same way the Adelphi site at Durham Yard sloped steeply down to the bank of the River Thames, and so Adam followed a similar course, designing a vast substructure of brick vaults, warehouses, stabling and roadways beneath the new streets of fashionable housing. Though no reference to this comparison has come to light in any surviving Adam family correspondence, it must have made a deep impression on Robert. He had spent the best part of seven years preparing the *Ruins* folio for publication in 1764, so the building was seldom far from his mind, and he must have realized quickly when presented with the Durham Yard site in London that here was a rare opportunity to create a major modern development in its spirit.

The vast, Piranesian world of underground storage vaults beneath the Adelphi (fig. 5), and the embanking of the muddy foreshore in front to form a wharf, were both fundamental to the success of the project. It was paramount that the residential streets were kept to the same level as The Strand if the houses were to let well. Such was the importance of this element of the work that Robert travelled to Scotland early on to show his plans to his eldest sibling, John. Though John Adam had stuck with his architectural practice in

Edinburgh, leaving Robert and James to make their own way in London, he was an equal partner and an investor in the brothers' construction company that was to build the Adelphi and therefore his approval was important. Furthermore, he had in the past tackled several complex building and engineering problems, such as designing (perhaps with Robert's help) the Royal Exchange in Edinburgh (built 1753–61) – a building which because of its steeply sloping site varied in extent from four storeys at the front to twelve at the rear – and for many years he had been in charge of the family's military contracts in Scotland for the Board of Ordnance. For all Robert's and James's barbed comments in their letters to each other and family members about John's 'very Scotch' architectural style, his knowledge and experience of large-scale building projects was something that they would have valued highly at the Adelphi.⁹

The substructure was also important financially as well as structurally. The Adams had based their expectations of profit partly on an assumption that they could rent out the riverside warehouses and vaults at very good prices. In a financial statement drawn up in January 1772 by William, the youngest Adam brother and company secretary, he calculated the expected income from these wharfs and warehouses, which were then "within a trifle of being totally completed", at over £2,200. On its own, regardless of the potential income from the fashionable houses above, this was almost twice what the Adams were paying their landlord, the Duke of St Albans, in ground rent for the whole site. They also went to considerable trouble and expense to obtain an Act of Parliament for license to reclaim the foreshore and embank the river at this point, overcoming stiff resistance from the City of London Corporation (which owned the river), as well as from the Thames watermen and lightermen. Support from the king and also Robert Adam's status (since 1769) as Member of Parliament for Kinross, no doubt helped ease this Bill's passage

through Parliament. But in the end the basement vaults and warehouses, like the houses above, did not let as quickly or as lucratively as the Adams had expected, adding to their financial troubles. Unfounded rumours were spread about that the Adams had miscalculated the tide heights, leaving the vaults and warehouses liable to flooding, and this no doubt made disposing of them more difficult.¹⁰

As well as taking inspiration from the palace's substructure and waterfront situation, Adam was also captivated by the raised walkway and open arcade of the Cryptoporticus, which linked the main palace chambers and offered the emperor space for private exercise and relaxation, with fine views of the Adriatic coast.¹¹ This was reinvented by Adam as one of the most innovative features of the Adelphi – a riverside terrace where the genteel residents of the Royal Terrace could take a stroll and enjoy the air and river views across the Thames, much like Diocletian in his palace (fig. 6). Such a terrace was an ambitious and innovative development in London, as was the lengthy treatment of the enormously long façade of the Royal Terrace (fig. 7); indeed this pioneering aspect is recognized in the common use thereafter in London of the term 'terrace' to denote a row of uniform houses.

One early resident of the Adelphi was the crank doctor and sexologist James Graham, who in 1778 took a house at the centre of the Royal Terrace previously occupied by Robert and James Adam. Here Graham set up his 'Temple of Health', offering dubious medicines and electro-magnetic treatment to patients to help improve their sexual health.¹² Despite being a notorious charlatan, his contemporary descriptions of the terrace are valuable and emphasise its kindred relationship with Diocletian's Cryptoporticus in terms of recreation and the importance of its waterfront views. In his writings, Graham depicted his own house as "light, airy, healthful and retired", and

“commanding as beautiful a prospect as can be conceived”. He then went on to describe the terrace itself:

“raised at least a hundred feet from the surface of the river, decorated and secured on both sides with the most substantial battlements of elegant and uniform iron rails, and pedestals supporting the double rows of lamps, &c. beyond which, in continual flux and reflux, we see the majestic Thames ... and London, that queen of Cities! lengthening herself, disappears from the incapacious and astonished eye. – In one word, in this charming situation are exhibited perhaps the most delightful – most varied – and most magnificent prospects that can be seen in any part of the world”.¹³

But it was not only the remains of Diocletian’s Palace – the archaeology – that influenced Adam. He had a rare facility as an artist to use antique remains such as those at Split as a spur for his imagination, and in many ways the personal reconstructions of the Cryptoporticus and seafront curtain walls that he prepared for the 1764 publication were as inspirational to him as the ruins themselves (fig. C). This is a crucial point in understanding Adam’s use of antique sources: his reinterpretation or adaptation of antiquity goes beyond the sources in a search for a new kind of architectural truth with greater meaning for himself and for the advancement of eighteenth-century neoclassicism.¹⁴

Planning

Another aspect of the Diocletian’s complex at Split that seems to have been in Adam’s mind when he began designing the Adelphi was its planning – or at least his interpretation of it.

The layout of the palace is well known: a simple quadrangular plan, based on a typical Roman *castrum* or fortified camp, with two broad main streets leading to the entrance gates and dividing the interior into four separate quarters, which Adam and his colleagues assumed had been arranged symmetrically (fig. D).¹⁵ The quarters at the southern end towards the sea were reserved for the private apartments of the emperor, his family and guests, alongside other rooms for eating, bathing and relaxation; those to the north housed the accommodation for the rest of the palace retinue – the Pretorian Guard, attendants, servants and so forth – as well as lesser buildings such as stores and stables. As the British travel writer and scholar Anthony Rhodes wrote in an excellent short account of the palace published in 1954: “A street, east and west, thus divided patrician from plebeian”.¹⁶

The Adelphi did not repeat this rigid simplicity and symmetry, but nonetheless its street plan had a rational, orthogonal quality – though to a certain degree that was determined by the former street layout of Durham Yard and existing rights of way leading from the Strand to the riverfront. What Robert Adam did emulate, though, was the sense of social differentiation. The earliest known plan of the Adelphi, probably dating to 1768 or early 1769, is among the collection of topographical drawings and prints belonging to King George III (fig. 8), and was presumably given to the king by the Adams to encourage his interest in and support for the project. Although it does not show all the buildings that were later added to the site in place of intended houses (such as the Royal Society of Arts), it gives a good sense of the general planning concept. Like the palace, the Adelphi was designed for a mixed community and so was divided in a hierarchical manner. The best and biggest properties for fashionable society were in the Royal Terrace overlooking the River Thames – the architectural showcase of

the development (fig. 7). These large, six-storey houses had top-lit central staircases, allowing for full-width reception rooms at front and back, and were decorated with columnar screens in the dining rooms, ceilings with elaborate plasterwork, and painted decorations in the main rooms. Shorter, more modest houses, though similar in plan, lined the south side of John Street, behind; and even smaller houses were provided on the north side and in the other streets. Another of Adam's progressive features at the Adelphi was the inclusion of a row of small, subterranean single-room 'cottages' for the less well off – similar in concept to modern studio apartments – built into a mezzanine space between the houses of the terrace and the riverside warehouses below, and lit by thermal or Diocletian windows above the warehouse entrances (see figs. 4 & 7).¹⁷

Diocletian's Palace was not simply a royal residence; it was also a community, almost a small town in its own right. Indeed, it had become a town by the time that Adam saw it, with the organic growth of later housing built into its walls and on to its parapets, adding to a sense of architectural variety within the site that was already present from the inclusion of temples, baths, and so many other building types alongside the imperial apartments.¹⁸ Conceptually the Adelphi shared this diversity, especially in its early design stages, when Robert Adam was planning a wider range of architecture than was eventually carried out. For example, just as Diocletian's Palace had its temples for religious observance, so there were plans at the Adelphi for a chapel for the controversial Calvinist preacher Augustus Toplady; and also earlier plans for a much grander church in the form of a classical temple, complete with a portico of pillars and pilasters of the so-called 'Spalatro' Order that Adam had found in the Peristyle at Diocletian's Palace (fig. 9). Neither of these buildings saw the light of day, however.¹⁹ There was also to have been an imaginative *faux* antique classical screen, about 120ft long, apparently designed to stand at

the far west end of the Royal Terrace (fig. 10). There are echoes in its decorative sculptural tablets of the classical remains that Adam had seen at Split; but of course these were characteristic of many ancient Roman sites. What is more telling is the curious and deliberately picturesque, semi-ruinous appearance of the central portion of the right-hand pavilion of the screen, where some of the plaster has fallen away to reveal the underlying brickwork beneath, and where the decorative cornicing is rudely interrupted by some rather ugly square and rectangular black openings, presumably for windows. An examination of Paolo Santini's view of the south wall of Diocletian's Palace facing the harbour, published in the *Ruins* monograph in 1764 (see fig. B), shows that this unusual feature was designed in direct homage to what Adam had found in Split in one of the ceremonial arches of the arcade, above the Cryptoporticus, and which he drew attention to in the commentary to the Plates as having been filled up with "Modern Work". Adam was often attracted by the painterly qualities and emotional responses that such contrasts could produce.²⁰

Though the Adelphi chapel, church and screen were never executed, a number of other public or semi-public structures were. There was a tavern and coffee house; also at a later date several houses were joined together to make a hotel; there was also a bank; and there were rows of elegant shops at the top end of Adam Street, turning on to the Strand, with typically subtle, intricate stuccoed Adam facades, including wonderful pilasters to the bowed shop-fronts in the form of classical terms (fig. 11). And of course there was the bustle of the daily activity in the manufacturing and storage facilities in the basement warehouses, where the Adams set up their own production factory for making their patent stuccoes. Thus the Adelphi was a very mixed environment.²¹ But the most impressive of this range of non-domestic buildings was the new headquarters premises that the Adams designed and

built in 1772–4 for the Royal Society of Arts in John Street. The Society's advertisement in the London newspapers in 1770 for suggestions for a new site and premises to replace its unsatisfactory headquarters near the Strand coincided neatly with the desire of the Adam Brothers – each of whom was an RSA member – to add a notable public building to the still unfinished Adelphi development. James Adam took charge of the negotiations with the Society for a lease of a site and may have assisted with the design – though the elegant and beautifully proportioned frontage suggests the prominent guiding hand of his more talented brother, Robert (fig. 12). With its façade of double-height fluted Ionic columns supporting a pediment, it was in essence a temple not unlike those built by Diocletian at Split – but in this case an eighteenth-century London temple devoted to the study and promotion of the Arts.²²

Decoration

One final aspect of the palace that greatly appealed to Robert Adam and exerted an influence on his work at the Adelphi and elsewhere was the sheer profusion and exuberance of its sculptural decoration. Being a creation of late Empire, Diocletian's Palace was in many ways closer in spirit in its decorations to Romanesque or early Medieval European architecture than it was to the stricter forms of the classic Roman periods that we might normally associate with the name of Adam.²³

To consider that he might have dismissed such work, in the way that the great Roman historian Edward Gibbon did, as a sign of the degeneration and decline of Roman ideals, would be to underestimate the breadth of Adam's vision and the catholicity of his interests. For Adam was no stylistic purist or

dogmatist, obsessed with the 'correctness' of ancient orders. He and his team of draughtsmen expended considerable time and energy carefully recording these rich details, such as the door surround to the Temple of Aesculapius (fig. E); and by publishing them Adam was able to position himself as a pioneer in the discovery, understanding and promotion of this particular brand of Roman architecture. The accompanying published text captures his enthusiasm, commenting that though such decorations could be objected to as "too much ornamented for an Outside Door", he found them to be so finely executed that they brought him "the highest Satisfaction". Elsewhere in the *Ruins* text he praises the variety and "diversity of form" within the palace, contrasting it with the "dull succession" of identical apartments that a modern architect might have produced. Such work appealed to the Romantic, Picturesque artist in Adam, to the eclecticism and widespread tastes that saw him experiment in some of his designs with Gothic decorative forms and Chinoiserie. Adam was as receptive to the atypical in ancient source material as he was to the archetypal.²⁴

It has been pointed out by several experts on Robert Adam's architecture and decorative style (such as Damie Stillman) that he paid less heed in his designs to the influence of this late-Empire work than he did to the classic remains of ancient Rome and Italian Renaissance interpretations of them.²⁵ His well-known and much-used 'Spalatro' Order capital, derived by Adam from columns in the Peristyle at Split, is considered a notable exception. All the same, though the architectural decorations at the Adelphi made little use of individual motifs that Adam and his team of draughtsmen found and recorded at Diocletian's Palace, in its overall effect the external treatment of the terraced houses recalls the same spirit and love of lively detail (fig. 13). As the excerpt from Adam's handwritten introduction to the *Ruins* folio quoted at the beginning of this essay suggests, he learnt in Rome and Split how to

combine effectively the monumental and the expedient (“Simplicity and largeness of parts” and “conveniency”) with abundant decoration. At the Adelphi, Adam brought to the terrace exteriors the same unconventional, un-architectonic use of pilasters and door-frames as decorative elements that was so characteristic of his interiors. This picturesque response to antique source material is evident in the delicate, shallow pilasters of stucco, filled with anthemion motifs; in the detailed and varied doorcase mouldings and entablatures; and in the decorative cast-iron balconies, railings and lamp standards – all of which added to the overall effect (see figs. 7, 13). Also, one of the hallmarks of the Adam Brothers’ style was their ability to maintain a delicate and elegant balance between these rich bursts of decoration and plain brick wall surfaces – a balance that disappeared when the Royal Terrace (later renamed Adelphi Terrace) was disfigured in Victorian times by unsympathetic, heavy additions.²⁶ Here again is perhaps another nod in the direction of the buildings of Diocletian’s Palace at Split, such as the Temple of Aesculapius, where the extravagantly carved sculptural details were focussed around the entrance, and set within an otherwise very plain structure, with large expanses of blank wall.

Conclusion

The Adam Brothers’ extraordinary residential development at the Adelphi came at what proved to be a tipping point in the career of Robert Adam. Beforehand he had swept all before him with his fashionable reworkings of English town and country houses in his highly personalized antique manner. But to embark so rashly in 1768 upon an undertaking as demanding and expensive as the Adelphi, having just contracted with the Duke of Portland to develop his estate in St Marylebone (Portland Place), proved too great a strain

for the Adam Brothers and their already overstretched cash resources. Both developments failed and after the mid 1770s far fewer English commissions came their way.

One of the attractions of the Adelphi site was the unique and irresistible opportunity it presented to Robert Adam to use his picturesque imagination to build in central London a recreation of Diocletian's seaside palace that was entirely modern, and tailored to the needs and aspirations of a Georgian metropolitan clientele. In the brothers' magnum opus, *The Works in Architecture*, the first volume of which appeared in 1773 just as the Adelphi was nearing completion, Robert and James Adam proudly stated that any claim they had 'to approbation' rested entirely on their ability to 'seize, with some degree of success, the beautiful spirit of antiquity, and to transfuse it, with novelty and variety'.²⁷ That ability was unmistakably evident at the Adelphi, regardless of any financial failings. And its almost total destruction in the 1930s was a terrible loss – for it was a prime example of the kind of inspirational reinterpretation of Roman architecture that was Robert Adam's true genius.

Footnotes:

1. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, GD18/4953/59.
2. Fleming 1962, pp. 84, 100–5; Brown 1992 II, p. 39; Tait 2008, pp. 25–6.
3. Rowan 2003, pp. 16–17, 23; Tait 1993, pp. 5, 28–34, 37–50 passim; Brown 1992 I, pp. 13, 18–20; see also Stillman 1973.
4. London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Drawings, vol. 9/45, 56, 60, vol. 28/1; Rowan 2003, pp. 23–4; Tait 1993, pp. 42–6; Tait 2008, pp. 16, 64–9; Delaforce 1995; Fleming 1962, pp. 204–7.

5. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, GD18/4953/63.
6. Adam 1764, Introduction, p. 3.
7. Lees-Milne 1947, p. 33; Kondo 2012, p. 66.
8. Marasović and Alujević 2007, pp. 157, 169.
9. King 2001 I, p. 33; Rowan 2007, pp. 11, 13.
10. Fife, Blair Adam Muniments, NRAS1454/4/16/18; Rowan 1974, pp. 662, 663, 677; Rowan 2007, pp. 20–2.
11. Marasović and Alujević 2007, p. 177.
12. *Survey of London* 1937, p. 105.
13. Graham 1780.
14. Brown 1992 I, pp. 38–9; Brown 1992 II, p. 41; Sands 2013.
15. McNally 1996, p. 11; Žaknić 1983, p. 21
16. Rhodes 1954, p. 242.
17. *Survey of London* 1937, pp. 99–109; Rowan 2007, pp. 14–18, 48–9.
18. McNally 1996, p. 9.
19. Bolton 1922, vol. II, pp. 36–38; Rowan 2007, pp. 58–9.
20. King 2001 II, pp. 68–72; Adam 1764, Explanation of the Plates, p. 22 (Plate VII); Harris and Savage 1990, pp. 79, 81.
21. Bolton 1922, vol. II, p. 38; King 2001 I, pp. 41–3; Naginski 2014, p. 87.
22. Allan 1974, pp. 6–14; Rowan 2007, pp. 60–1; King 2001, pp. 44–5.
23. McNally 1996, p. 9.
24. Adam 1764, pp. 9, 31; Bolton 1922, vol. I, p. 21; Brown 1998, p. 32.
25. Stillman 1966, p. 34.
26. Bolton 1922, vol. II, p.18; Rowan 2007, pp. 76, 78.
27. Adam 1773, Preface I, p. 4.

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