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Hadrian's Villa: A Source of Inspiration for Neoclassical Russia?

The project *Hadrian's Villa as a Microcosm. A Space of Artistic Interaction in 18th- and 19th-Century Europe*[1] closely investigates and outlines the different approaches of viewers towards this ancient Roman site in light of the visitor's respective culture of origin[2]. *French pensionnaires* were mostly involved in exactly measuring and surveying the structures in their single parts extracting details from the general context, and then using these architectural solutions for majestic public buildings, symbols of innovation and transformation. British artists favoured an approach that considers the 'environment' of architecture; however, they were also more interested in collecting the finds that came to light during several excavations to be displayed in their country houses or private collections. Germans had a controversial approach toward the imperial site and Roman antiquity in general: on the one hand, a romantic attitude due to its surroundings in a partially overgrown landscape, and on the other an extremely methodical and also critical stance (Winckelmann advocated Greek antiquity rather than Roman). Italians, with their home-field advantage, assumed the role of mediators and were also involved in excavation campaigns and in the trade of antiquities.

In the case of Hadrian's Villa we are not dealing with a single edifice or with a built area of manageable size, but with a site extending around 120 hectares with more than thirty complexes located in Tivoli (about 20 miles northeast of Rome), which was inscribed a world cultural heritage by UNESCO in 1999. The complex was realized in the 2nd century (between 117 and 138 C.E.) as the summer residence and seat of government for its builder — Emperor Hadrian — and his court (Fig. 1). Having fallen into oblivion quite soon after Hadrian's death, the rediscovery of the villa began in the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance and the Baroque[3]. But its greatest reception took place between the 18th and the 19th centuries. In this period, excavations became systematic, also concerning other ancient sites — not only in Italy — and the 'phenomenon' spread rapidly [6; 24]. Hadrian's Villa enjoyed such fame that it became the destination of numerous grand tourists as well as artists, scholars, diggers and dealers, and it remains vividly present in the collective awareness up to the present day [12].

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[1]   The project is a three years grant supported by the German DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) based at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich and associated with the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome.

[2]   An overview is given by [33, 2 or 12], even if the bibliography on this subject is quite extensive.

[3]   The best overview about the site continues to be the book by [22] even if in the last 25 years there have been many specific studies, however no updated monographs.

Fundamental to a better comprehension of the site were the many attempts to measure the ground, establish the disposition of the buildings, and identify them [10].

For the period analysed in my project (i.e. 18th and 19th centuries) there is scarcely any evidence indicating Russian visitors or travellers and of site inspections or measurements by architects or artists from this country [34]. Even if there were Russians visiting Italy and Rome, their initial study sojourns were suspended for more than thirty years after Peter the Great's death († 1725). Only a decree of 1762 by the new Tsarina Catherine the Great (1762–1796) reactivated this practice that experienced great success in the period between 1763 (her ascent to the throne and the end of the Seven Years' War) and 1796/97 (the Italian Campaigns of the French Revolutionary War that coincided with her death). This timeframe of about 25 years will be discussed in the following pages [38].

Among the Russian *pensionnaires* we find the architect Ivan Egorovich Starov (1745–1808) — known for several castles he designed for Russian nobility — who was one of the first graduates of the Imperial Academy of Arts (1758–1762) to deepen his education in Paris (1762–1767) and Rome (1767–1768). Before him, Vasily Bazhenov (1737–1799) travelled in Italy: he was in Rome between 1762–1763 after the three years spent in Paris as an assistant of Charles De Wailly (1730–1798), before returning to his country of origin[4]. Russian *pensionnaires* were financed to visit both France and Italy, had clear instructions to follow, and had to report back about their activities every four months. Even if the documentation regarding these men seems to be lost, it is possible to get an idea of what they experienced when encountering antiquity as well as other foreign students, art dealers, collectors, and intellectuals. For example, Starov wrote from Rome about the notes on ancient buildings he was taking to be submitted to the Academy once back in Russia [38 and 3]. The lively scholarly atmosphere cultivated by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), and Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779), coupled with the artistic input of Hubert Robert (1733–1808), the brothers Robert (1728–1792) and James Adam (1732–1794), the brothers Jakob Philipp (1737–1807) and Georg Abraham (1755–1805) Hackert from Prussia, and their Italian equivalents reinforced notions of antiquity fostered by the Russian visitors. Lacking visual sources, their assimilation of Roman heritage must be deduced from the buildings later executed in Russia. In any case, the interest in Rome — the cradle of the antiquity — and its surroundings was profound, and the assimilation of the culture took place through its reproduction in pictures, interior decoration, cork models, casts, etc.

Among the most notable visitors to Italy, we find, besides nobility, also the heir to the throne — the Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich (1754–1801) and his wife Maria Fyodorovna (1759–1828) — who travelled in Italy and France between 1781 and 1782 accompanied by a sizeable entourage. Among other places of historical interest, they also visited Tivoli guided by the already mentioned Prussian painter, Jacob Philipp Hackert, as noted in the diary kept by Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein (1719–1793) [1, p. 25 and 27, letter no. 20 and pp. 307–308].

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[4]   Back in Russia, he delivered lectures in the Academy of Arts, which nominated him academician (1769) and professor (1785), while Starov held the post of the principal architect of St. Petersburg between 1772 and 1774.
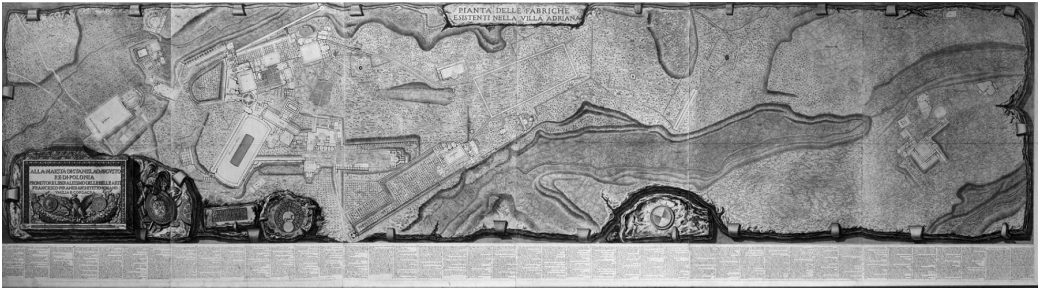
Fig. 1. Francesco Piranesi. Pianta delle fabriche esistenti nella Villa Adriana… 1781. Courtesy of Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University

The visit is also documented in some paintings portraying the couple during their stay, which indicate their passion for garden design and for landscaping in general.

Despite the absence of records regarding Hadrian's Villa by Russian *pensionnaires* — probably due to the lack of funds to undertake excavation campaigns — the court was aware of the importance of this Roman imperial site for its extraordinary breadth and exceptional architecture, and could benefit from advantageous collaborations established at Hadrian's Villa between European artists. By employing some of these artists familiar with the site, it was possible to compensate for the lack of Russians trained at the Villa. The looming tasks for 'Sanktpiterburch' — founded in 1703 and the capital of the Russian empire by 1712 — were heterogeneous during the reign of Catherine II. But antiquity was in fact not the only model of reference, and consequently different periods and tastes were combined together, which is why it makes no sense to make a direct comparison or association of architectural elements or of their detailed assimilations. Instead, it seems to be more appropriate to retrace motivations and expectations in the choice to emulate the antique world of which Hadrian's Villa was also a part.

The Tsarina Catherine the Great — despite her German origin — had never had the opportunity to personally visit Europe in the context of the widespread Grand Tour, but she was a well-read, erudite and emancipated ruler with a vision. She moved with the times, was ambitious, and had an inquisitive nature. She was surrounded by the best European intelligentsia and trusted agents of her time such as Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723–1807) and Reiffenstein. Basically, she assimilated a lot from French culture but did not have a positive attitude towards French architecture, even if her *pensionnaires* were welcomed in a semi-official form by the French Academy in Rome. Even so, she collected French drawings — above all those by Charles-Louis Clérisseau (1721–1820) in the 1780s —, was fascinated by ruins, and was aware that the French themselves looked to Italy and to its ancient roots and traditions as essential milestones in their education and as a source of inspiration. While Russia established contact with Europe and its illustrious past, Catherine the Great acquainted herself with antiquity primarily through publications, prints, acquisitions of works of art, etc. [19, *passim*]. Not only did the new Russian capital need a modern urban look, but Moscow also required improvements. Buildings had to reflect the innovations made in the general reorganization of the state, and at the same time were to imitate the greatness of the ancients in whose footsteps Russia was following. The numerous difficulties experienced by the country (conflicts, epidemics, insur-

rections) made St. Petersburg and its surroundings an ideal place to promote and to (re)launch — not in the least through buildings — a new image of Russia: no more bound to the typical local tradition, but open-minded, somehow rational, multicultural, and a kind of heir to the Roman *grandeur*. This attitude brought a subsequent period of peace and, in general, progress in economic, cultural, legislative, and other affairs. Such progress was also reflected in the choice of architectural language. As Howard Burns has pointed out, Catherine programmatically promoted a serious and systematic architectural language but was further spontaneous and left room for experiments, also drawing on different periods and cultures like the neo-Gothic or the Chinese [8]. In this sense, the stylistic criteria disseminated for instance by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817) and Charles Cameron (1743–1812) — specifically Palladianism and the Italian Renaissance — became normative, but the fascination for antiquity was a constant.

As far I can judge, Catherine requested projects alluding to the antique, but she did not always have concrete ideas on how they would look and was somewhat general in her requests, while artists and architects, for their part, had to submit tangible plans. The results were often a kind of collaboration that generated interesting hybridizations. But, certainly, her choices highlighted the attempt to anchor the country to European history as a kind of continuity passing from Rome to Byzantium up to Moscow (the third Rome): this was in fact a very well thought out program of cultural promotion.

Hadrian's Villa was one of many sources from which to draw inspiration but, as an extremely complex site, it was a very difficult task to reproduce it in its entirety (Fig. 1). That is the reason why we find partial quotations of its architecture brilliantly combined with elements derived from other buildings or periods and subsequently monumentalized.

Three artists from three different countries — the French Charles-Louis Clérisseau, the Scottish Charles Cameron, and the Italian Giacomo Quarenghi — are among the many foreigners active in the Russian court, and those who most played a decisive role in conveying through Russian commissions what they had learned in their study of antiquities directly in Rome and in Tivoli. Furthermore, all documentary materials about ancient Rome from the era were mediated by the emerging intellectual inclinations of Neoclassicism[5]. French architects aimed to produce a new architecture based on an improved knowledge of the ancient one. Theoretical writing promoted taste, elegance, variety, and 'power of imagination', determining a kind of shift in the approach to antiquity. Marie-Joseph Peyre (1730–1785), for instance, affirmed in his *Oeuvre d'architecture* (1765) that through its study it was possible to measure "the rapid progress French architecture makes towards perfection"[6].

But in practice the procedure was not as linear as it might appear. On the one side, we witness the foundation of national academies and the publication of works like the *Vitruvius*

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[5]   Even if French architects distinguished themselves for a meticulous study of architectures and accurate drawings that reflected their "culture of measuring" — like Desgodets had affirmed in his treatise 1682 (see [14]) — the suggestions they got, let them to visionary and megalomaniacal results, as we will see later. As the second half of the 18th century was a glorious time for the rediscovering of Hadrian's Villa, it is interesting to associate these two phenomena — the reception of Roman antiquity and the ideas of the Neoclassicism — and to connect them with the reign of Catherine (1762–1796). Seminal to deepen all these aspects was the exhibition displayed in Mendrisio (Switzerland) 2004 and the two voluminous catalogue [26].

[6]   "[le] progres rapide que l'architecture en France fait vers la perfection"[28, p. 20].

britannicus by Colen Campbell [9] or *l'Architecture Françoise* by François Blondel [7] — both born from the need to pinpoint, consolidate, and affirm a national identity through architectural language. On the other, these texts reflect an urgency to break through a period of crisis using architecture to disseminate a new image, like the attempt to free French architecture from rococo and *rocaille* exaggerations. An eloquent example of this seems to be a scene represented on the lower margin of the third plate included in a new French edition of the *Rules* by Vignola of 1757 by Blondel [21] where a young man sitting in a landscape with ruins is busy drawing an ancient building while he turns his back to some putti playing with cartouches as a demonstrative refusal of an artistic taste now considered unfashionable[7].

In France, indeed, the vocabulary of ancient forms was (re)introduced and became a programmatic model, where "one finds a symmetrical regularity, richness spread with economy, and intermingled with large fields that give rest", as pointed out by Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) in 1757[8]. Similarly, Clérisseau affirmed in 1778 that, "It is a kind of beauty, the most sublime of all, which we have not yet grasped; it is this majestic grandeur, this imposing air that characterizes ancient architecture"[9].

Even if France and Great Britain lived a kind of political and intellectual competition and their respective needs seemed to be conflicting — for example British Palladianism did not match the French tradition of Jules-Hardouin Mansart (1646–1708) and Charles Perrault (1628–1703) — both countries tried architecturally to conceal their own regional traditions with Greek and Roman architectural ideals in order to develop a new architectural language.

Despite these national characteristics, the sites visited facilitated contacts between artists from different countries and, in this sense, Hadrian's Villa represents a very interesting case study. In fact, it became a common experiential space, advantageous for 'artistic interaction', as well as a space functioning as a base for a pan-European cultural understanding. Beyond broadening the respective horizons, Hadrian's Villa also developed individual and national concepts.

Even practical factors — like the position of the Tiburtine Villa far from Rome, the difficulties in reaching it, and moving through the complex — encouraged cooperation between artists, who took part in these 'expeditions' in small groups. Also decisive was the role played by Italian colleagues as intermediaries, like the multifaceted figure of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) who acted as a kind of catalyst, middleman, coordinator, and promoter of these exchanges. Many artists and visitors gravitated towards him surely for his extraordinary knowledge and his approach to antiquity, for the way he interpreted and represented architecture. Most notably, according to the latest studies Piranesi in 1751 completed a new plan of Hadrian's Villa after Pirro Ligorio (1568 ca.), Francesco Contini (1668) and Athanasius Kircher (1671) [10, pl. 4]. Furthermore, thirty years later (1781) his son Francesco (1758–1810) published what has become the most widely used and cited plan of Hadrian's Villa on

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[7]   This plate has been further discussed by me in: [30, cat. no. III.13].
[8]   "On y trouve une regularité symmétrique, des richesse répandues avec economie, et entremêlées de grandes parties qui y donnent du repos" [5, p. 15].
[9]   "Il est un genre de beauté, le plus sublime de tous, que nous n'avons point encore saisi; c'est cette grandeur majestueuse, cet air imposant qui caractérise principalement l'Architecture antique" [11, p. XI]. This concept was reinforced by Quatreme de Quincy: "Appliquons désormais tous nos soins à reproduire les beautés qui nous frappent dans l'architecture antique, sans la copier servilement" [32, p. 53].

the basis of his father's drawings and of those given to Giovanni Battista by Jacques Gondoin (1737–1818) (Fig. 1)[10]. Experiencing antiquity alongside Piranesi also meant to discover a world that would prove to be an inexhaustible source of inspiration. The buildings of Hadrian's Villa — as well as their decorations and all the monumental sculptures enriching them — became objects of study that we find reflected in the single projects. An example is offered by the graphic compositions disseminated from the visits in the second half of the 18th century, where Robert Adam (1728–1792), Clérisseau and Piranesi were involved.

Among them Clérisseau — in principle a painter — did not design actual buildings but contributed to spreading the taste for ruins in paintings and internal decorations, even if he was asked by the abbot Farsetti in 1767 (six years before Catherine did) to execute a project for a garden with buildings representing the remains of the big imperial residence: "This project was to be executed at Sala in the territory of Venice. Abbot Farcetti wanted his large garden to represent the ruins of a Roman Emperor's house, in the style of Hadrian's Villa near Rome"[11].

It is therefore peculiar to see the significance assigned to Hadrian's Villa as a global site by period academicians and artists, as an excavation revealing different architectural elements gathered together. A statement made by John Soane — even if about fifty years later — during one of his lectures at the Royal Academy in London (1815) is meaningful in this context. He affirmed that the student of architecture has to learn elementary construction principles as well as taste, elegance and variety from ancient architecture, and particularly from Hadrian's Villa. For its heterogeneous monuments — representative of different 'nations' (he meant in this case Greece, Egypt and the various regions of the Roman empire, which had reached its maximum extension at that time) — the site can be considered a multicultural reality, a microcosm for finding inspiration. Due to its complexity as well as its mixture of different styles, tastes, and forms Soane considered the site "a superb monument of imperial glory" [41, lecture IX, pp. 199–219], that he compared with the buildings in Kew Gardens. In this royal park in West London the Scottish architect William Chambers (1723–1796) had realized very different structures, motivating his choice in the introduction of his treatise *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (1757) and referring to Hadrian's Villa too[12].

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[10]   Quatremère de Quincy reports about Gondoin's generosity: "par une générosité assez rare, il en fit présent à son ami Piranesi, occupé lors de semblable travaux", quoted after [10, p. 186].

[11]   This was written in a letter by Winckelmann to Clérisseau in 1767: "C'est M. l'Abbé Farsetti; il craint que vous n'abbandonniez le magnifique projet dont il vous a chargé. Il s'imagine que c'est à Rome seulement qu'il est possible de composer dans ce style vraiment Antique, qu'il dit que vous avez dérobé aux Anciens.", quoted after [23, p. 254, footnote 55]. And further "Ce projet devoit s'exécuter à Sala dans le territoire de Venise. M. l'Abbé Farcetti vouloit que son jardin, d'une grande ètendue, représentat les débris de l'habitation d'un Empereur Romain, dans le style de la villa Adrienne aux environs de Rome.", quoted after [23, p. 254, footnote 56]).

[12]   In the letter Chamber wrote to his pupil Edward Stevens in Rome he underlines the importance to study "by drawing, measuring, and observing everything upon the spot yourself". He added: "always see with your own eyes" and then "it is vulgarly said that taste has no rules, but this <…> is erroneous; it has many" continuing that "you will find great advantage in the decorative part by sketching or drawing accurately, many of the fragments which lie scattered in all the villas about Rome" as well as "converse much with artists of all Countrys, particularly foreigners, that you get rid of national prejudices. Seek for those who have most reputation, young or old, amongst which forget not Piranesi, who you may see in my name", quoted after: [18, p. 187].

This could be what Catherine was aiming for when she made a request for a "casa all'antica" (a Roman House), which is one of the most frequently mentioned episodes of her patronage somehow connected to Hadrian's Villa and which resulted in failure. The long misinterpretation of the sources has been pointed out by Valerij Ševčenko (See [37, and cat. 13 pp. 96–97]). In brief: Catherine, who wanted to commission a pavilion in the taste of the ancients, asked the sculptor Ètienne Maurice Falconet (1716–1791) to help her fulfil this fantasy, providing her with a proficient architect. She wanted a drawing of a "maison antique" with an inner orientation "à l'antique" as well. All rooms were to be decorated following their different purposes and similarly for the furniture. The house was to be neither too big nor too small. What she

Fig. 2. Charles-Louis Clérisseau. Partial plan of Hadrian's villa, 1749–1755. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek

sought to build was a pavilion described as a Greek or Roman rhapsody for her garden in Tsarskoe Selo, as she wrote in a letter[13]. Together with Charles-Nicolas Cochin, the French sculptor forwarded the sovereign's request to their fellow countryman Clérisseau, who had extensive experience in Italy, but also in other 'ancient' sites having, among other things, realized several drawings of the most representative buildings in Rome and of the ruins of Diocletian's Palace in Split for Robert Adam [4]. He frequently visited Tivoli with Adam and Piranesi, where he drew Hadrian's Villa and was probably also involved in drafting a plan of it, even if to date we know only a partial plan of the building complex close to the so called 'Academia' or 'School of the Platonic philosophers'[14] from a drawing kept in the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin (Fig. 2). It shows the southern part of what is actually the so-called "Little Palace" with the Apollo Temple, the so called 'mixtilinear atrium', and several representative rooms and living chambers with varied mosaics, including audience halls and a huge peristyle. Transmitting the task Falconet, however, interpreted the guidelines by the sovereign, ordering the architect to design "a residence of a Roman emperor, as a kind of summary of Caesar's, Augustus', Cicero's, and Maecenas' century and palaces, namely a residence to house all these people in one person"[15].
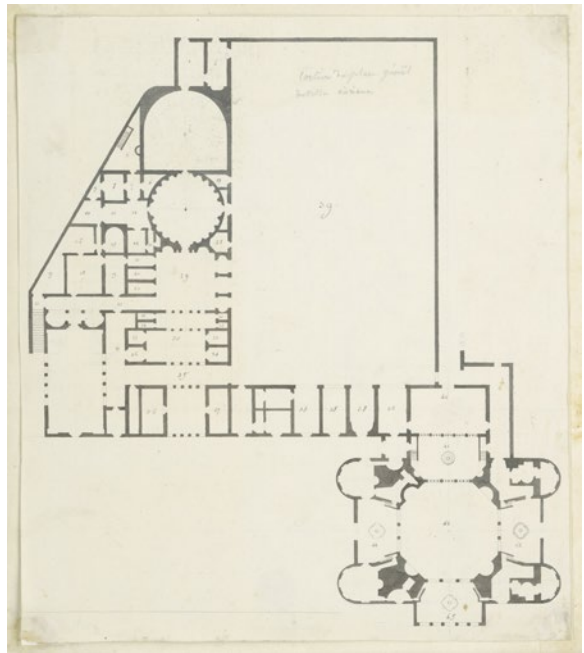
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[13]   "Je suis capable de faire bâtir une rapsodie grecque ou romaine pareille dans mon jardin de Czarsko-Selo, pourvu que cela ne soit pas trop grand"; quoted after [37, p. 93].
[14]   The names given to the different buildings are to be found in the Historia Augusta (26, 5) and were taken over by Pirro Ligorio and sometimes expanded, see [39, pp. 49–90].
[15]   "<…> il s'agit de faire une Résumé du siècle et du Pais des Cesars, des Augustes, des Cicerones,

In 1773 Clérisseau sent the plan together with several sections that had been considered for a long time part of this project, and which must now be assigned to a different proposal for a Museum.[16] A description with the explanation of the project and its program should have been included, but this text seems to have been sent by Clérisseau only several years later (1780) with the drawing albums. The attached *Observations[17]* sum up the instructions provided to the French architect and identify the letters in the plan describing the function of the spaces: *Noms et Usage des differentes pieces du Plan désignées par les lettres de Revoi Suivante* [23, Appendix A, pp. 214–215]. Its huge dimension is the most peculiar characteristic of the project (Ill. 30). The palace itself is surrounded on three sides by a large court delimited by a wall with cells and accessible through two monumental gateways (named *propylea*). It has further three main axes. The central one is accessible through an atrium and a vestibule and leads to a central hall with fountains. Turning left or right through other vestibules it is possible to reach the two lateral nuclei of the edifice — both private areas. On the right (B through F + Q) the architect included a big dining room for feasts and music, a portrait gallery, a bedroom, a cool room, a space for cultic practices, and the audience hall (*oecus*); the left side (H through L) houses the baths: hot, steam (*laconicum*) and warm bath (*pronigineum*), as well as the swimming pool. These two sectors are joined by a *cryptoporticus*, a covered corridor or passageway in the rear. Back to the middle axis, the building protrudes opposite the entrance: here there is a sacred area with a temple for the deities worshiped by the sovereign.
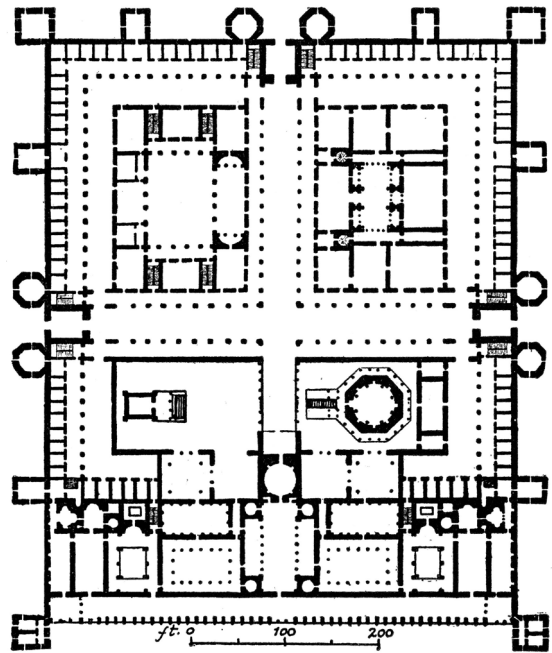

Fig. 3. Robert Adam. Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia, London 1764, pl. VI, Francis Patton, General Plan of the Palace Restored [4]

Despite its proportions, it is difficult to relate this project of a palace to the entire grounds covered by Hadrian's Villa. Rather it seems to be a well-balanced assemblage of architectural solutions taken from the imperial residence in Tivoli but also from other ancient sites and monu-

des Mécénas et de faire une Maison pour loger tus ces Gens là dans une seule Personne." Quoted after [23, Appendix A, p. 214].

[16]   [37] and see footnote 40 below.
[17]   *Observations sur le Palais projetté pour Sa Majesté Impériale par le Sr Clerisseau d'apres le programme qui lui a été remis par M. Cochin secretaire de L'Accademie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture de Paris, auquel M. Falconet l'avoir envoié, par ordre de l'Impératrice et dont il Joint icy la Copie,* Hermitage, Portfolio N 19, 1773–74.

ments, such as Roman Thermal Baths or particularly Diocletian's Palace in Split (Fig. 3)[18]. The project distils some relevant parts of the residence complex, and some spaces are particularly worthy of attention as quotations or re-enactments of the imperial site in Tivoli. For instance, the rooms along the wall remind us of the *Centocamerelle* located at the south-western entrance of Hadrian's Villa that had a housing function for the servants. Further we find the huge rectangular court, the octagonal and central-plan rooms, and the general complexity of interconnected spaces, very distinctive of the Academia/Little Palace-complex as portrayed in the plan mentioned above (Fig. 2), as well as for the Piazza d'Oro and its surrounding satellite buildings (See [16, p. 67]). The semi-circular space in the upper right corner of the living area — *Lararium* (F) — has reminiscences of the east end of the Stadium or of the Greek Theatre, and beyond that the presence of a *cryptoporticus* is a clear indication that the villa served as a source of inspiration. In the meantime, Diocletian's Palace (Fig. 3), even if with an extension considerably smaller than that of the villa in the Roman Campagna, is continually called to mind by the paratactic sequel of cells suggesting similar rooms placed along the internal walls as in Split, and the strong axial arrangement chosen for the plan of the Croatian imperial residence. But the palace overlooking the Adriatic Sea does not have the same complexity and heterogeneity of architectural forms as Tivoli. Additionally, the fact that it is not possible to determine any symmetry between the two halves of the palace projected for the tsarina (Ill. 30) is probably due to the necessity to arrange as many different forms as possible, offering in a smaller scale the variety of Hadrian's Villa. The presence of many water sources alludes to a beautiful and pleasant space, a place of safety or comfort, a *locus amoenus*, but most probably also likens the complex to a Roman bath like those of Diocletian, Caracalla, etc., which were among the antiquities most often drawn.

Even though the project incorporates antiquity, it was completely rejected by Catherine because it did not correspond to her idea — whatever that was — of a 'casa all'antica' (a Roman House). It also seems that Charles de Wailly was (indirectly) involved in the project through Aleksandr S. Stroganov — the Russian baron, art collector and patron, who was a long-time President of the Imperial academy of arts and member of the Russian Academy. De Wailly submitted to the tsarina around the same time a project for a house "à la romaine" as a kind of variation of his designs for the Castle of Monmusard (castle of my muses). The twelve drawings bound in an elegant leather album were donated to the ruler after having been exhibited in the Parisian Salon (See [25, pp. 82–86]). Beyond the general reminiscences of imperial villas in this design, it should be remembered that de Wailly cooperated with the other two French *pensionnaires* Peyre and Pierre-Louis Moreau Desproux (1727–1793) [13] by measuring Hadrian's Villa with the intention to draw a new survey plan of the site, a fact that illuminates his familiarity with the ground [10, pp. 154–162].

Despite of all these competencies, both French architects were not successful with the individual proposal. Why did they fail?

Clérisseau's project for Catherine was an erudite interpretation of classical Roman architecture in all its meanings. Though masterfully explained in the description he included, this

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[18]   Even if McCormick sees similarities with Split he rejects the Croatian palace as a possible source of inspiration. In my opinion the interesting aspect is precisely the sum of all the buildings seen and drawn by Clérisseau concentrated in a project as Raiffenstein asked him to do [23, pp. 179–180].

purpose didn't satisfy Catherine probably because it didn't reflect her needs in the distribution of spaces. Alternatively, Clérisseau submitted other drawings for her consideration with the project for a Museum. He didn't provide a plan but rather elevations, sections, and details of the decorations that clearly refer to ancient sites he had visited and drawn[19]. The monumental architectural proportions preferred at that time by French architects were not what Catherine expected for her private spaces and the disappointment she had with French artists pushed her to look to Italy, the mecca of architecture. As we know from her famous statement to Grimm, she wanted two Italians because she believed some French people felt, they knew too much, and built ugly houses inside and out, while in another writing she ordered: "to get me two good architects, Italian of nationality and skilled in their profession because all of my architects are too dull, or too blind, or too lazy"[20]. She obtained two of the most promising young architects from Italy. In 1779 Giacomo Quarenghi and Giacomo Trombara (1741–1811) arrived in Russia to help shape the new image of the country.

Quarenghi in particular was frequently in touch with Hadrian's Villa as confirmed by some sources:

In 1769 he left a signature on the wall of the *cryptoporticus* under the building with the peristyle and a pool of Hadrians Villa (See [22, fig. 319]).

On March 18th 1772 he is recorded in Tivoli accompanying Vincenzo Valdré, James Lewis and Richard Norris, who presumably wanted to measure the Temple of Vesta, with the intention to remove some stucco ornaments from spaces of Hadrian's Villa [40, p. 82].

'Giacomo' is recorded again on November 11th and 12th 1777 together with the painter Thomas Jones and the architect Thomas Hardwick making architectural reliefs and views of the site [29; 15].

Last but not least we have two drawings of Hadrian's Villa sketched by Quarenghi very probably on these occasions, representing a view of the so called *Canopus* and of the *South Theatre*, of which Hardwick also left some sketches (See [22, fig. 309, 311]).

The circumstances leading to Quareghi's association with the circle of Britons shed light on another interesting group of international artists jointly exploring Hadrian's Villa after Piranesi, Clérisseau, Adam, or the French architects de Wailly, Moreau-Desproux and Peyre, who were all in Rome in the 1750s. This 'combination' of nationalities was supported by Catherine who also employed the Scottish Charles Cameron and put at his disposal the over 1100 drawings by Clérisseau that she had collected, inviting him to draw from them [35; 36]. Further Cameron and Quarenghi worked side by side in Tsarskoe Selo and, as some authors have pointed out, the general concept for the arrangement of the buildings in the park was in the spirit of Hadrian's Villa [31, pp. 480–481; 20]. The fact that the tsarina fostered an 'anglomania' related to English landscaping also reveals the systematic behaviour assigning different tasks to national knowhow, and combined' the lay-out of the countryside with architecture (for example, the Scottish garden architect James Meander was responsible for the imperial residences with Quarenghi).

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[19]   I am grateful to Adriano Aymonimo for the information about his reconstruction of the sources for the drawings intended to decorate the wall of the Museum based on a talk he gave in Warsaw in 2013 (*L'Antico e le sue immagini nel Settecento: il Muséum di Clérisseau per Caterina II di Russia*). The author will present his results in a forthcoming publication.

[20]   "<...> de me chercher deux bons architectes, italiens de nation et habiles de profession car tous mes architectes sont devenus ou trop vieux ou trop lents ou trop aveugles, ou trop paresseux" [17, p. 79].

With this title — *Hadrian's Villa: A Source of Inspiration for Neoclassical Russia?* — I intended to stress the fact that this imperial site experienced a broad and in-depth reception all over the world mostly in the 18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries — even if from different vantages depending on the country. Consequently, I have tried to retrace how the acquisition of knowledge about Hadrian's Villa on Russian soil and the appropriation of architectural motifs did not take place directly through people from this country but only thanks to the mediation of foreign artists, who furthermore unconsciously shaded the results with their personal input and with attitudes stemming from their countries of origin. To this, the tsarina's sometimes opaque ideas should be added to a growing national taste that gave life to misunderstandings, rejections or reinterpretations of the projects inspired initially by Hadrian's Villa or by other ancient sites. Moreover, in Russia, there was also a strong echo of Renaissance architecture and Palladianism, or of the younger Neoclassicism combined with an eclectic approach to other art movements and cultures like the neo-Gothic and Chinese, likewise the result of assimilations through foreign influences. These are all reasons and possible explanations why it is more difficult in Russia than elsewhere to find a direct quotation of ancient buildings, rather the reception of Hadrian's Villa took place in a subtle way, often mediated by artists inserting echoes of the archaeological site into diverse projects.

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Title. Hadrian's Villa: A Source of Inspiration for Neoclassical Russia?

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Abstract. In her ambitious plans to renovate Russia, on the example of other European courts, the Tsarina Catherine the Great (1762–1796) was aware of the important role played by antiquity as a model of reference, of which Rome was in the lead. Among the many monuments, Hadrian's Villa (117–138 C.E.) represented an authoritative example for the richness and variety of its buildings. The site was also discussed in many 18th-century treatises as worthy to be studied and echoed in the coeval projects. The essay tries to answer how Hadrian's Villa could have been a source of inspiration for Neoclassical Russia. This imperial site experienced a broad and in-depth reception all over the world, mostly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Here an attempt was made to retrace how the acquisition of knowledge about Hadrian's Villa on Russian soil and the appropriation of architectural motifs did not take place directly through architects from this country but thanks to the mediation of foreign artists. Moreover, in Russia, there was also a strong echo of Renaissance architecture and Palladianism, or of the younger Neoclassicism combined with an eclectic behaviour towards other art movements and cultures like the neo-Gothic and Chinese, which were similarly the result of assimilations through foreign influences. These are all reasons and explanations why it is more difficult in Russia than elsewhere to find a direct quotation of ancient buildings. The reception of Hadrian's Villa took place in a subtle way, often mediated by artists able to insert its distinctive features in diverse projects. The most famous is by Charles-Louis Clérisseau who submitted a design for an imperial palace — even if the original request was for a garden pavilion – where he condensed the more peculiar features of Roman architecture, of which Hadrian's Villa seems to be the main source of reference.

Keywords: Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, Diocletian's Palace in Split, Grand Tour, Catherine the Great, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Giacomo Quarenghi, Charles de Wailly, John Soane, Charles Cameron, Grand Tour

Название статьи. Вилла Адриана: источник вдохновения для России эпохи классицизма?

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Аннотация. Екатерина II (1762–1796), желавшая преобразовать Россию по образцу европейских дворов, прекрасно осознавала роль античности и главным образом Рима как модели для подражания. Среди прочих сооружений вилла Адриана (117–138) являлась одним из важнейших образцов благодаря обилию и разнообразию строений, входивших в её состав. Кроме того, в трактатах XVIII столетия неоднократно поднимался вопрос о необходимости изучения и использования этого памятника как источника вдохновения для современных проектов. В данной статье делается попытка ответить на вопрос, каким образом вилла Адриана становится источником вдохновения для архитектуры классицизма в России. Этот памятник получил широкий резонанс во многих европейских странах, в особенности в XVIII–XIX столетиях. Автор ставит задачу проследить, как знание о вилле Адриана и использование её архитектурных мотивов распространялось в России не непосредственно через русских мастеров, а опосредованно, благодаря мастерам иностранным. Более того, в России ощущается мощное эхо ренессансной и, в частности, палладианской традиции, новый стиль, классицизм, сочетается эклектически с элементами других направлений и культур, таких как, например, неоготика или шинуазри, что также явилось результатом ассимиляции иностранных влияний. Этим можно объяснить тот факт, что именно в России сложнее всего найти прямое цитирование античных источников. Влияние виллы Адриана распространялось подспудно, благодаря мастерам, которые включали определённые её мотивы в свои проекты. Самый известный пример — проект императорского дворца, выполненный Ш.-Л. Клериссо, получившим изначально заказ всего лишь на садовый павильон. В этом проекте сосредоточены наиболее характерные черты римской архитектуры, своеобразной квинтэссенцией которой является вилла Адриана.

Ключевые слова: вилла Адриана, дворец Диоклетиана в Сплите, Гран-тур, Екатерина Вторая, Шарль-Луи Клериссо, Джакомо Кваренги, Шарль де Вайи, Джон Соун, Чарльз Камерон
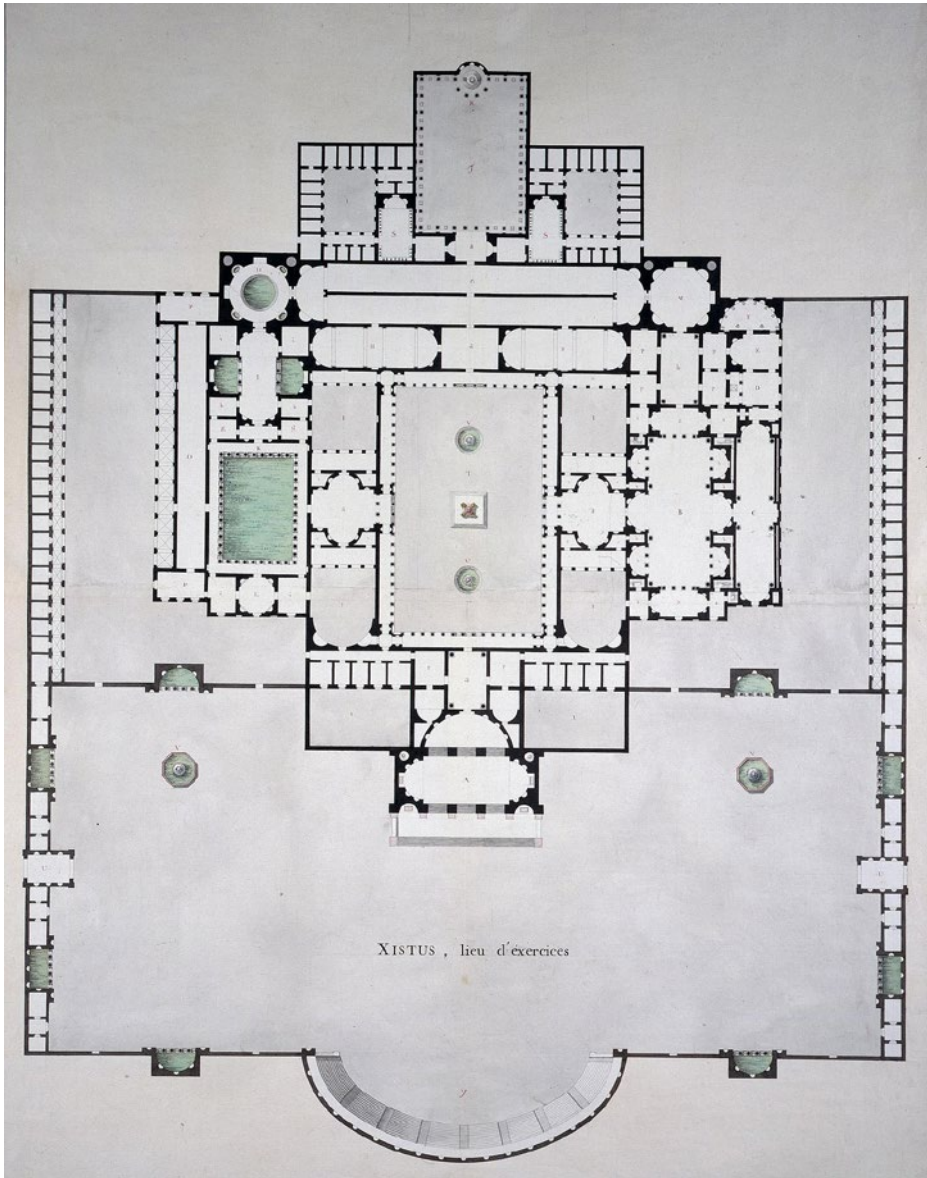
Ill. 30. Charles-Louis Clérisseau. Plan of the 'Roman house' for Catherine II. 1773. The State Hermitage Museum, Saint-Petersburg. © The State Hermitage Museum