

**Tourists into Teachers: The Rise of the British *Cicerone*
British Travel and Collecting, c. 1597-1720**

BY

CLAIRE SPADAFORA
B.A., Washington and Lee University, 2011

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2015

Chicago, Illinois

Defense Committee:

Martha Pollak, Chair and Advisor
Nina Dubin
Lisa Freeman, English

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis committee – Martha Pollak, Nina Dubin, and Lisa Freeman – for their support and guidance during every step in the development of my thesis. Their comments, suggestions, and questions were invaluable. Further, they have helped me to define my area of interest within the field and have provided me an opportunity to build a background in this area, for which I am very grateful. I would also like to thank Susanne Uslenghi for her guidance and help with the process of submitting my work.

I would also like to thank the staff at the collections of the Newberry Library in Chicago, IL, the Ryerson and Burnham Libraries at the Art Institute of Chicago in Chicago, IL, and the British Library in London for their help with my many research questions and requests.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. INIGO JONES IN ITALY	15
III. JOHN EVELYN: AN ENGLISH EDUCATION IN ITALY	23
IV. RICHARD SYMONDS IN ROME: ARTISTIC CIRCLES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TASTE.....	34
V. CONCLUSION	46
VI. REFERENCES	53
VII. VITA	59

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the seventeenth-century roots of the Grand Tour, an educational trip to the Continent taken primarily by British aristocrats during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I explore three “atypical” Grand Tourists – Inigo Jones, John Evelyn, and Richard Symonds – who traveled from Britain to Italy during the seventeenth century, discussing each man’s motivations for travel, experiences while abroad, and the resultant intellectual and creative productivity each experienced upon his return to Britain. These three individuals are considered to be “atypical” because none were true aristocrats, and thus did not fit in with the group normally associated with Grand Tour travel in the seventeenth century, as men who traveled during this period were generally wealthy enough to afford the educational and leisure opportunities of travel abroad.

I examine ideas about the self and the construction of the self that could be considered characteristic of seventeenth-century thinking, as well as the concept of gentlemanliness and its association with knowledge. By seeing each of the travelers discussed in this thesis in the context of these developing ideas, I demonstrate that Grand Tour travel helped each of these men to build himself into a figure of artistic authority, furthering his career, social position, and reputation as knowledgeable on matters of art. For all three men, travel to Italy functioned as a tool to “fashion” the self into something more, and to advance the self both intellectually and socially. I contend that a combination of aesthetic experience in Italy and the building of collections of works on paper – primarily prints, and some drawings – helped each man to represent himself as a

person of expertise and a polite gentleman. Finally, as each man contributed to British culture – whether through writing, architecture, or collection building – each helped to develop the Grand Tour into the popular phenomenon it would become in the eighteenth century, a time when more non-aristocratic British gentleman began to see the educational and social values of travel to the Continent. The experiences, work, and collections of Inigo Jones, John Evelyn, and Richard Symonds helped to expand British interest in Grand Tour travel, and developed British taste for Italian art.

I. Introduction

By the early eighteenth century, British interest in both travel to the Continent and the building of personal collections of art had reached new heights. The audience for knowledge and culture was expanding as accessibility, wealth, and consumption increased; more and more Britons perceived increased value in education, and art and travel were both understood to play an essential role in that. On Grand Tour travels to the Continent, particularly France and Italy, British travelers learned about art, antiquities, and history through direct interaction with monuments and collections. Many of these travelers then went on to build their own collections of books, printed works, paintings, and decorative objects. In this way, travel and collecting might be seen as directly related; indeed, the Georgian-era Grand Tour did have an important effect on British interest in art. In fact, however, this eighteenth-century phenomenon was rooted in the values and actions of seventeenth century travelers, who helped to establish in England a taste for foreign works of art.

Travel and art collecting during the seventeenth century were much less widespread in Britain than they would become during the height of the period of Grand Tour travel. During the seventeenth century, most British travelers were wealthy aristocrats who were sent to the Continent to complete their education. But certain early Grand Tourists were different in their backgrounds and interests, and they helped through their early exploration of the arts of the Continent to develop English tastes and interests in art. At the same time, these travelers also furthered their own social and professional interests through their travels, with their experiences abroad functioning as a sort of validation of their knowledgeability on matters of art, architecture, and connoisseurship.

In this paper, I will examine three seventeenth-century British travelers to Italy – architect Inigo Jones, writer John Evelyn, and diarist Richard Symonds – who, though not typical aristocratic tourists, had experiences abroad which would affect what works of art and books they collected and what writing, architecture, or other work they produced. Much of that production – such as Jones’s buildings and set designs, or Evelyn’s writing on prints – would become popular in British culture. I intend to show that these travelers gained substantial knowledge from their experiences in Italy, collecting works on paper that functioned as much as education and inspiration as they did validation of the travelers’ time abroad, and that they translated that knowledge into contributions to British culture. In this way, they simultaneously elevated their own social positions and British artistic taste.

To illustrate the originality of these early travelers, I begin with an examination of a slightly later counterpart, whose work in the study of art – specifically Italian art – was well known to travelers during the height of the Georgian Grand Tour. The work of Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1667-1745), was, in fact, rooted in the same context, including many of the same issues and questions, as his seventeenth-century predecessors. In 1720, Jonathan Richardson the Younger (1694-1771) departed for the Continent, with the intention of viewing and learning about the wealth of art and architecture the world outside of Britain had to offer. Like many other young Englishmen, Richardson followed a by-then traditional Grand Tour itinerary, making his way south through the Continent with Rome as his ultimate destination. However, Richardson’s purpose for traveling differed from that of his gentlemanly peers: armed with a list of monuments and artworks both readily accessible and obscure, Richardson functioned as an eighteenth-century research assistant for his father, gathering information for what would ultimately become in Britain an essential work on the study of art, *An Account of*

Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, with Remarks (1722).

Authored primarily by his father, Jonathan Richardson the Elder,¹ this volume was more than a mere guidebook. It was intended to fit within the framework of Richardson the Elder's program of art analysis and criticism, which included essays on the theory of painting and an argument for the elevation of connoisseurship to a science. Although Richardson's *Account* provides a listing and analysis of important Northern European, French, and Italian works of art, it was meant not only to provide information to travelers on the aesthetically important works to be viewed; it was also intended to serve as a way to position England at the center of the developing field of art criticism. In a departure from the antiquarian method of cataloguing art popular with their contemporaries, the Richardsons' work encouraged the value to its readers and to the British nation of direct interaction with works of art, and informed, original personal analysis.

Trained as a portrait painter, and perhaps partially influenced by his own concerns with social status and the ranking of portraiture within the larger realm of painting, Richardson the Elder spent much of his career focused on concerns of the status of art within English society. Richardson was heavily influenced by John Locke, in particular his views on education as well as with the development of knowledge through experience outlined in Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Locke's concern with the education of the English public is evident in the Epistle Dedicatory to his work, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), in which he writes,

The well Educating of their Children is so much the Duty and Concern of Parents, and the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation so much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to Heart; and after having well examined and distinguished what Fancy, Custom or Reason advises in the Case, set his helping hand to promote every where that Way of training up

¹ Carol Gibson-Wood. *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 211.

Youth, with regard to their several Conditions, which is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce vertuous, useful, and able Men in their distinct Callings...”²

Locke is not merely concerned with the education of the gentleman, but rather sees the possibility for societal benefit from educating the general public. Writing 25 to 30 years after Locke’s most important books, Richardson produced works with a tone and an intent similar to those of Locke, emphasizing the universality of the ability to interpret and evaluate art, and the importance of learning about art through experience and interaction. No longer, he believed, was art solely to be a concern of the socially elite antiquarian collector. Rather, through a careful program of study that emphasized the breaking down of a work of art into separate parts, any respectable Englishman could become educated in the science of connoisseurship.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the number of those who counted themselves within the realm of the English gentry was expanding, and with this expansion came increased consumption as well as an increased interest in luxury goods.³ By the time Richardson was working, the study and purchase of works of art had become much more common within English society. This trend provided part of the context in which Richardson could assert the importance not of a blind reliance on authority, but rather of an embrace of clearly defined, distinct ideas, and knowledge developed through experience.⁴ Savvy about his audience and the changing socio-economic and intellectual environment in England, Richardson was attempting, through the openness and accessibility of his theories, to advance British taste.

² John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. John W. and Jean S. Yolton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 80.

³ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 347.

⁴ Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 113.

In fact, Richardson sought to improve the artistic taste of his countrymen through the promotion of collecting. His *An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur* (1719), which is written in a manner that makes it accessible to even the uninformed, grows out of Henry Peacham's emphasis on connoisseurship as a gentlemanly activity, which was first outlined in his famous and popular work, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). What distinguishes Richardson's work from Peacham's, a century later, is the expansion of the category of "the gentleman". Richardson writes to the "new" gentleman who emerged from the socioeconomic growth of the Stuart era, the individual who aspired to elite status but who might not have the resources – land, access to the leisure activities, or capacity to travel – that would have been part of the life of a gentleman in Peacham's original audience.⁵ For Richardson, connoisseurship and the building of a collection were closely tied; and therefore in his effort to elevate connoisseurship to a science, he also intended to influence the collecting habits of the English gentleman. This was also a way to increase in his readers an overall interest in art itself, simultaneously expanding the collecting of pictures and objects while supporting working artists. In this way, Richardson attempted to encourage a change – or, as he would have seen it, an improvement – in British taste.

However, Richardson did not merely *write* about the importance of collecting. He also led by example. Richardson's own collecting efforts played an integral role in the development of British interest in art, and in particular works on paper. A 1746 auction catalogue of Richardson's collection shows a massive collection of Italian and Old Master drawings and prints, among them works by Poussin, the Carracci, and Domenichino – enough to fill eighteen

⁵ Gibson-Wood, 181.

nights of auctions.⁶ Obviously, Richardson had amassed an extensive collection of works on paper, which surely had for him an artistic value far beyond that of mere objects of beauty intended for display. In his 1715 *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, Richardson frequently cites as examples of superior artistic skill and handling works that were within his own collection.⁷ His ownership and masterful understanding of these objects placed Richardson in a position of critical authority.

Indeed, Richardson's expansive collection, featuring primarily the works of Italian masters and influenced heavily by Italianate styles, played an integral role in his evaluation of art, for the items he collected were also those he featured in his writing as resting at the pinnacle of artistic achievement. By producing literature on the art he found to be of particular merit, Richardson was making multiple connections between and among collecting efforts, ideas about taste, and artistic and art-critical authority. Specifically, Richardson saw Italian Renaissance and Baroque masters – as well as their classical influences – as aesthetically superior enough to be the basis not only for his collection, but also for his own analyses of skill in handling, form, and composition. Further, his collection, as well as his son's travel to Italy and firsthand interaction with these objects of artistic excellence in their original form and often their intended installations, helped to establish Richardson as a person knowledgeable about works of art – someone to whom the public could look for guidance on how to approach and evaluate art, and on precisely which works were truly worthy of an English collector. In this way, Richardson's efforts played a role in the development of British artistic taste.

⁶ *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Collection of Italian and other Drawings, Prints, Models, and Casts of the Late Eminent Mr. Jonathan Richardson, Painter, Deceas'd.* Great Piazza, Covent-Garden, London. January 22, 1746-7.

⁷ Gibson-Wood, 152. See also *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 14.

However important, the Richardsons were not the first to bring this interest in Italian art and the collecting of works on paper to a British audience. Rather, they should be seen as being a direct result of decades of developing interest in Italian art and culture among Britons. Although Rome had long been a destination for religious pilgrimage, secular interest in Rome grew in the seventeenth century. In this period, travelers to the city were primarily those in the most elite social positions, or artists and advisors who had been sent there on behalf of nobility. Education was a central focus of early Continental travel, what would come to be called the Grand Tour. Travel to the Continent, and particularly to Rome, was viewed as an ideal final step in the education of a young aristocrat, for it offered the opportunity to study the political, historical, and later, artistic features of locations outside of Britain – many of them features associated at this time with classical antiquity, about which the travellers knew much from their academic study and which they expected to have to deploy in their roles as members of the governing class. Grand Tour travel allowed not only for the acquisition of new, experiential knowledge about antiquity, but also the opportunity to cultivate and demonstrate “good breeding” through social experiences with highly cultured Continentals, and ultimately through the development of taste.⁸ Not unlike the conduct outlined in Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, the Grand Tour offered travelers the opportunity to adopt and practice those qualities and skills most becoming a gentleman, chief among them an intellectual curiosity and breadth of knowledge. The quest for knowledge and the development of taste would over time readily be united by the growing interest in the study of the arts.

Indeed, the examination and understanding of art and appreciation for antiquities was of increasing importance to the learned English gentleman. This is perhaps most apparent in the

⁸ George C. Brauer, Jr. *The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1959), 158-9.

publication of Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*. The book echoes *Il Cortegiano* in its emphasis on the value of the humanities and the centrality of knowledge to the duties of a gentleman. *The Compleat Gentleman* was updated in 1634 to include specific chapters on the importance of the knowledge of antiquities, among other skills. It functioned primarily as a guide for young English men of aristocratic background, emphasizing not only what disciplines should be studied by gentlemen, but also specifically which philosophers, artists, and poets ought to have special worth and therefore to merit the attention of the developing learned gentleman. In his chapter "Of Antiquities," Peacham mentions the importance of seeing works of art *in situ* abroad, explaining, "the pleasure of them [antiquities] is best known to such as have seen them abroad in France, Spain, and Italy, where the Gardens and Galleries of great men are beautified and set forth to admiration with these kinds of ornaments."⁹ Coming as it does in a powerfully influential conduct book aimed at gentlemen, this statement suggests how it was that the importance of the exploration of the Continent and the examination of its treasures in person could only continue to grow among this group throughout the seventeenth century.

But if travel and an exploration of the arts of the Continent were becoming a desideratum for the accomplished aristocrat, not all early travelers fit this description or conform to the stereotypical British Grand Tourist example. Rather than viewing their travel outside of Britain as an educational "finishing" process, some non-aristocratic travelers, out of an interest in improving how they would be received and perceived by those of higher station – as characteristic of Renaissance self-fashioning – used their experience on the Continent to give themselves artistic or critical authority, in a manner similar to what the Richardsons later would

⁹ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: Francis Constable, 1634), 104.

do for themselves.¹⁰ Although he does not use that particular terminology, the concept of self-fashioning comes originally from historian Jacob Burckhardt, who describes the Renaissance conception of man as a work of art, who can be changed and improved through deliberate study and mastery of cultural elements; the ultimate desire was to reach the highest level of individual development.¹¹ Burckhardt surely understood how this kind of development involved art, for he was originally an art historian and even wrote his own guidebook for German-speakers who would be viewing Renaissance art in Italy, the appropriately-titled *The Cicerone: An Introduction to the Enjoyment of the Art Works of Italy* (1869). Burckhardt's twentieth-century counterpart in the concept of self-fashioning, historian Stephen Greenblatt, makes similar observations about the sixteenth-century concept of the development of the self. During this period, he argues, the human identity was no longer seen as fixed or innate but rather understood to be manipulable – it was believed that the self could be formed and that behavior could be governed. Greenblatt, too, draws parallels between art and life in this concept – much as characters in literature could be fashioned, one's own character also could be changed. This understanding of the possession of power – the power to shape the self, and the direction of one's life – is something Greenblatt and, to an extent, Burckhardt see in both aristocratic and middle-class Renaissance examples.¹² I contend that this concept is not merely present in Renaissance society, and plays a major, ongoing role in social development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but is in fact a crucial impetus for the actions of the travelers discussed in this paper.

¹⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.

¹¹ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (New York: The Modern Library, 1982), 96.

¹² Greenblatt, 256.

Like their more aristocratic counterparts, these other travelers saw the value of the cultural offerings of the Continent, and of Rome specifically. They, however, were not just tourists absorbing but ultimately teachers instructing, for they employed their visits to Rome both to examine what the city had to offer and then to translate their experiences into lessons to be considered and studied back home in Britain. For them, Rome was both a fountain of knowledge and a well-spring for creation – both the creation of ideas and the creation of the self. In short, these travelers deployed their unique experience in Rome and the special expertise made possible for them by their Roman experience in order to position themselves as figures of authority for a Britain increasingly hungry for expanded cultural knowledge.

Perhaps the most important vehicle used by these travelers to establish authority is the building of collections, both during their travels and following their return to Britain. By purchasing works of art, individuals could not only show their prestige during a time of economic expansion and growing consumption in England, but also demonstrate their knowledge. Not unlike contemporary souvenirs, works of art functioned in part as reminders of places traveled and things seen.¹³ But collections could also validate both experiences gained and expertise generated by travel. By owning works of art, one could be seen as an educated gentleman in every sense – with a strong, experiential knowledge of the Continent, direct interactions with works of art, and the developed taste that resulted from those educational experiences.

Although antiquities, paintings, and marbles were readily collected by many wealthy British travelers during the seventeenth century, works on paper were also an accessible way to build a collection, especially for those travelers who were not among the upper elite and

¹³ See Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 145-150.

therefore had more limited funds. While some works, such as original drawings, were equal in prize and price to paintings, most works on paper were much more easily acquired and could be grown into a collection. Prints, including both original engravings and images done after major works of art (including those already in established collections) began to advance in popularity during the period as well. This growth in the interest in prints stems in part from an expansion in awareness and accessibility of British collections, such as the antiquities and pictures in the Arundel House on the Strand, collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646) during and after his trips to Italy in the early years of the seventeenth century. Arundel made certain that his collection would be available to the British public, primarily through the production of engravings of items in his collection by a Czech artist in his employ, Wenceslaus Hollar.¹⁴ Beyond Arundel's own collecting of works on paper, including drawings by Leonardo, the prints made of items in his collection increased interest in and sales of works on paper while stimulating British awareness of and interest in collection-building. The expansion of availability of the print and the development of collections – and, for the purposes of this paper, more particularly collections of prints and drawings – both functioned as vehicles for establishing artistic authority.

The Richardsons' art collection and written works should be considered an outcome of these developments occurring during the century preceding the publishing of *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, with Remarks*. Jonathan Richardson the Elder's quest for artistic authority lies within what might be considered a by-then established tradition of personal development and self-fashioning through the viewing, collecting, and analysis of art. Indeed, it is my contention that during the seventeenth century,

¹⁴ Howarth, 182-3.

several non-aristocratic travelers demonstrated through their journeys to the Continent, and, in particular, their travels to Rome, and the subsequent collections of works on paper that resulted from those travels, that they were in fact artistic and critical authorities for the shaping of British tastes, just as the Richardsons intended to be. This paper will examine precisely what common elements of motivation, preparation, and outcome there were among non-aristocratic British travelers during the period prior to the great era of the Grand Tour. Further, by analyzing the elements common to them, with a particular emphasis on the collections each built, I intend to illustrate how travel and the creation of a collection of works on paper could and did play a significant role in the fashioning of artistic authority.

Architect Inigo Jones (1572?-1652), the earliest traveler in this group, took two separate trips to Italy and, as is well known, was profoundly influenced by the classical Roman principles of the modern Venetian architect Andrea Palladio, as well as by Roman architecture and sculpture, evidenced by his Roman sketchbook. Jones's subsequent architectural creations in England could translate the things he saw in Italy into a built British environment because of the authority he gained from his familiarity with the Italian environment and the collecting he did while in Italy. Although much of Jones's time in Italy is clouded by ambiguity, his travel is important for the purposes of this discussion because of the significant leap in social position his Italian experiences provided for him. Were it not for his travels in Rome and experiences with aristocratic figures like the Earl of Arundel himself, Jones would likely not have had the opportunity for an education in architecture that would result in some of the most famous and popular buildings of the seventeenth century in England.

Similarly, diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706), who had a lengthy stay in Italy and extended time in Rome, transformed British views on the garden, introduced the mezzotint to British

markets, and through his work as a translator, writer, and collector advanced writing and thinking about art in Britain. While in Rome, Evelyn meticulously recorded in his diary all he saw and experienced, which proved highly influential in his later writings. In works such as *A Parallel of Architecture* (translated from the writing of Roland Fréart, with the supplements *An Account of Architects and Architecture* by Evelyn himself and *Of Statues* by Alberti), *Sculptura or History & Art of Chalcographie & Mezzotinto*, and *Idea of the Perfection of Painting* (another Fréart translation), Evelyn provided thoughtful aesthetic analysis and furthered the development of the study of art and art criticism in Britain. A study of Evelyn is important for the purposes of this discussion as he had a tremendous influence on British aesthetic interests during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, his ideas spurring the development of a range of cultural phenomena, from the cultivation of the English garden to the collecting of prints.

Although less organized in his writing than his contemporary Evelyn, Richard Symonds (1617-1660) also kept a diary of his eighteen-month stay in Rome, where he explored the city with his guide, the painter Canini. Symonds's experiences in Rome would greatly influence his aesthetic interests and ideas about taste, in addition to helping to develop the British art market. Further, Symonds's interest in contemporary Rome, not merely ancient and Renaissance art and architecture, would help to bring new artistic values and ideas to a British audience. The first Englishman to thoroughly catalogue his collection of Italian works on paper, Symonds's expertise and collection grew from the authorities with whom he interacted in Rome, thus developing his taste for the contemporary and encouraging the development of that taste in England.

Like the Richardsons, each of these three earlier travelers absorbed their Roman experiences, catalogued their sights and thoughts in first-hand accounts (diaries, sketchbooks,

and correspondence), and produced work upon their return to Britain that incorporated the lessons they learned abroad. Although often working in different mediums (architecture, prints and graphic arts, writing), all four of these atypical early Grand Tourists functioned as teachers and translators, giving instruction to Britain based on what they learned in the capital of history and art. In different ways, each appears to have had an impact upon the developing British art market, primarily through his collecting efforts. Meanwhile, each benefitted personally from his Roman experiences, and the three fashioned themselves into learned critics, artists and architects, and historians, thereby elevating themselves socially.

Writing in his diary about the concept of Italian artistic authority, Evelyn appears to be the first Englishman to use the Italian term *virtuoso*, which would become an important part of both scientific and artistic advancement in early modern Britain.¹⁵ In various ways, each of the four traveling collectors functioned as a *virtuoso*: part connoisseur, part student, part *arriviste* gentleman – but ultimately, an authority. Like British *ciceroni*, Jones, Evelyn, Symonds, and the Richardsons translated Rome and its art and monuments for the use of British citizens. It is transmitters such as these individuals who spurred the Grand Tour to develop into the significant cultural phenomenon it would become during the heart of the eighteenth century.

¹⁵ Walter E. Houghton, Jr. “The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 3, no. 1 (January 1942): 52.

II. Inigo Jones in Italy

In 1611, English traveler Thomas Coryat published an account of his journey on the Continent, *Coryat's Crudities: Hastily Gobled Up in Five Moneth's Travels*, which included a series of humorous commendatory verses by contemporary British poets and literary or artistic figures who gently mocked both the author's self-importance as well as the many oddities of the typical Continental travel experience. Among those who supplied verses was Inigo Jones, one of the most prolific architects of the early modern period. At the time of the book's publication, Jones would have been best known for his work alongside Ben Jonson in the staging of English masques, or dramatic and elaborate courtly pageants. The architect's entry in Coryat's book, which primarily mocks and accuses Coryat of improper behavior while in Venice, helps to elucidate the ways in which travel to the Continent (and, in particular, interactions with Italians) was viewed by the British, and also to establish Jones in a position of authority with regard to his knowledge about travel in Italy. Indeed, by 1611 Jones had already spent what was likely several years (perhaps as early as 1597 and almost certainly by 1601) in Italy, learning Italian and studying both classical and contemporary architecture. That Jones was asked to supply a verse for Coryat's book suggests that the architect was already seen by 1611 as knowledgeable enough about Italian culture to provide commentary on it.

Although little is known of Jones's early years, some of the architect's movements in Britain and on the Continent can be traced, and much of what he saw and experienced during his first trip to Italy can be gleaned from his resulting artistic production, as well as from the knowledge he demonstrated on his subsequent travel to Italy. Jones's phonetic spelling suggests that he was at least partially self-taught, as his humble beginnings as the son of a cloth worker made likely. His modest opportunities for formal education distinguish him from the other

travelers discussed in this paper. Horace Walpole, in his biographical notes on Jones, indicated that the architect may have started his career with an apprenticeship to a joiner. In any case, he appears to have been initially recognized for his skill in drawing and painting.¹⁶ By 1603, Roger Manners, the fifth Earl of Rutland, recorded a payment to Jones, whom the Earl described as a “picture maker,” while Walpole points to either the Earl of Arundel or William Earl of Pembroke as the main financial source for Jones’s first trip to Italy, which was apparently initiated with the goal of providing Jones with the opportunity to further study landscape painting.¹⁷ At some point during this first trip to Italy, which must have taken place between the signing of his father’s will in London in 1597 and the payment received by the Earl of Rutland in 1603, Jones visited Rome and Venice; the architecture of both cities would have a significant influence on Jones’s later aesthetic interests. While Walpole cites Rome as the place in which Jones “found himself in his sphere,” and in which he was first inspired to design estates rather than decorate cabinets, it seems that it was Venice which played a particularly important role in Jones’s early interest in architecture. Indeed, Jones purchased in Venice Andrea Palladio’s *Quattro Libri dell’Architettura*, whose manuscript date and Italian price-labeling indicate that it was purchased in Italy, most likely right after the publication’s reprinting in 1601.¹⁸ Jones would refer to this text on later travels to the Continent, including a 1609 trip to France as an escort for Viscount

¹⁶ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England: With Some Account of the Principal Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts* ([London], 1796), 260.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 261. In *Inigo Jones’s Roman Sketchbook* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2006), Edward Chaney indicates that it may have been through the Earl of Rutland, or one of his brothers, that Jones first went to Italy. Although it may never be confirmed with whom Jones traveled on that first voyage or with what sponsorship he was able to leave Britain, the small inheritance Jones received from his father before the turn of the seventeenth century would not have been enough to sustain the extended travel the architect would have had abroad. For Jones as “picture-maker,” see J. Alfred Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (London, 1928), 26.

¹⁸ Inigo Jones, *Inigo Jones on Palladio: Being the Notes by Inigo Jones in the Copy of i Quattro Libri dell’Architettura di Andrea Palladio, 1601, in the library of Worcester College, Oxford* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Oriel Press, 1970).

Cranborne, and in the company of the Earl of Arundel on his travels to Italy in 1613. Although much is uncertain about what precisely Jones did during his very first trip to Italy, his subsequent participation as an escort on aristocratic travels in the early years of the seventeenth century confirms that he was by then recognized as a “great traveller.”¹⁹

Certainly, Jones must have been exposed to the sites and perhaps collections of Rome and Venice during his first trip to Italy. He may have received instruction on drawing and the painting of landscapes while abroad, and certainly on his later trip to the Continent he demonstrated his understanding of the importance of sketching, filling a notebook with ink drawings of buildings and sculptures he saw in Rome. If, as has been suggested, Jones travelled with the Earl of Rutland’s entourage, he may have received instruction in Italian from Robert Dallington, tutor to the Manners and a scholar with an interest in the social environment of post-Renaissance Tuscany.²⁰ That Jones purchased the Palladio volume during an early trip to Italy further illustrates his developing interest in the study of architecture. Indeed, Jones thoroughly annotated his copy of Palladio, as well as a copy of Vincenzo Scamozzi’s *L’Idea dell’Architettura Universale* which he also acquired during one of his trips to the Continent, devoting his energy to marginal analyses of the orders.²¹

One apparent result of Jones’s early trip to Italy is his expanded knowledge of various elements of the Italian drama, evidenced by the Italianate styles of the masques on which Jones and Jonson worked from 1605 until 1631. In these masques, Jones primarily worked on devising

¹⁹ Peter Cunningham, *Inigo Jones: A Life of the Architect* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), 6. Cunningham refers specifically to the description of Jones included in the announcement of his hiring for the performance of plays at the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford in 1605.

²⁰ Chaney, *Roman Sketchbook*, 9.

²¹ Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 59.

the staging materials – which were themselves extremely elaborate and often involved moving parts – while Jonson composed or translated the drama. Indeed, it has been shown that Jones often “directly borrowed” many of the concepts he had created for masques from Italian festivals he saw or with which he had become familiar, most particularly the masque-related work of Florentine artist Giulio Parigi.²² Jones has long been criticized for his apparent borrowings – even being pronounced a plagiarist by later critics and art historians – despite the fact that this was a period in which borrowing and building upon other sources was no more than a continuation of artistic tradition. His work on these masques, which brought Jones into direct contact with the British elite who would later become his most important patrons, should be viewed less as borrowing than as a means of introducing to British culture the aesthetic styles that Jones found most appealing in Italy. For example, Jones's and Jonson's first masque production, *Masque of Blackness*, which was performed at Whitehall on Twelfth Night of 1605, has been shown to share significant aesthetic features with a celebratory tournament held at the Pitti Palace in Florence in October 1579.²³ Jones obviously did not see this particular event himself, but as it was a masque held by the Medici family, its dramatic and opulent style likely had a direct impact on other Italian pageants in the years following. Jones could have seen a similar event during his first trip to Italy, or he could even have read about it during his travels in Italy, as there was by then material published on the Medici tournament. The fact that after Jonson's departure from their joint project in 1631 Jones's masque ideas matched more and more

²² Enid Welsford, “Italian Influence on the English Court Masque,” *The Modern Language Review* 100 (2005), 76-79.

²³ *Ibid.*, 77.

of the designs featured in Italian illustrated pamphlets underscores Jones's apparent interest in introducing Italian aesthetic styles to a British audience.²⁴

In spite of the substantial admiration accorded to Jones for his work on masques, it was his later work on some of the most architecturally significant structures in Britain, including the Banqueting House at Whitehall as well as the Queen's House at Greenwich, for which the architect was most well known during his lifetime and after. It has been argued that Jones's style is directly influenced by the work of Palladio, as well as by ancient Roman buildings including the Pantheon. Jones's second trip to Italy, in the entourage of the Earl of Arundel, was likely the most important source of the architect's developing Italianate style. That Jones was included in the company of the Earl of Arundel almost certainly derived from his previous travel experience and his abilities in the Italian language, which to Arundel made him an ideal travel companion and *cicerone*.²⁵ During this trip in 1613-14, ostensibly made for health reasons, Arundel met with great patrons of the arts on the Continent and examined and searched for works of art to be incorporated into his own collection. Indeed, for Arundel, the primary appeal of a visit to Rome was the opportunity to excavate for possible classical works. He found several Roman statues, which were sent back to England to be integrated within the Earl's collection.²⁶ It is likely that Jones was included on the majority of these meetings and excursions, meaning that he was given the opportunity to function as a guide for and influence upon Arundel while also learning from the Earl, who had already begun developing a collection of marbles and antiquities. While in Rome, Jones made careful studies of all he saw, drawing in a manner that might align him with

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), xvi.

²⁶ Mary Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (London, 1921) 84.

his contemporary and collaborator on Coryat's work, Peacham, and with the latter's ideas about the value of the knowledge of drawing and the study of works of art. Further, after the group's departure for the Continent, Jones was awarded the position of the Kingdom's principal architect, following the death of Simon Basil in 1615. The union with Arundel and the subsequent positioning of Jones as the foremost British architect together put Jones in the perfect position of artistic authority, in which he could translate what he admired about Italian architecture to a British context.

Following Jones's second trip to Italy with Arundel, the architect's influence began to expand further through his efforts as a connoisseur of prints and drawings. In addition to his growing collection of (heavily annotated) architectural texts, Jones began to collect works of art, even allowing Arundel to acquire one of his pictures (*Ecce Homo* by Simone Cantarini) to present to Charles I.²⁷ However, much of the influence Jones had on English collecting came in the form of his eventual influence on Arundel's collection. Jones often functioned as an artistic adviser to Arundel, finding pictures that the Earl might desire and constructing a portion of the Arundel House on the Strand to facilitate the viewing of the Earl's collection by visitors. Clearly, Jones's taste was admired beyond his work on the masques and his later architectural achievements.

In his seminal essay, "Inigo Jones, Architect and Man of Letters," Rudolf Wittkower argues that, although it was never put into writing, Jones established during his career a specific theory of architecture, rooted in what he saw and learned from the work of Scamozzi and Palladio. Indeed, like Jonathan Richardson the Elder would come to do nearly a century later, Jones used his artistic skill as the groundwork for theory. Based on theoretical drawings Jones

²⁷ Chaney, *Roman Sketchbook*, 24.

produced throughout his career, Jones's theory is primarily focused on the importance of proportion to the success of architectural creation.²⁸ Among other things, this emphasis on proportion is apparent in the architect's consistent interest in, and careful study of, columns and the orders. This theory rested on three foundational elements: Jones's own development as a well-rounded connoisseur, the specialized knowledge the architect acquired through careful study, and a guiding philosophical principle.²⁹ Jones used his own intentionally-crafted, *cortegiano* persona – acquired through his study of landscape painting, drawing, theatre and set design, and the Italian language, in conjunction with his collecting efforts and antiquarian interests – as a way to position himself in a place of authority, as a most accomplished and well-informed “Renaissance man.” The architect's highly specialized knowledge of his own field was demonstrated further by his collecting efforts, which included books and manuscripts – many of which were purchased during Jones's trips abroad – by both classical and contemporary architects alike. This knowledge, validated by both Jones's own well-informed architectural compositions and his extensive architectural library, gave further credence to Jones's self-positioning as an eminent connoisseur and authority.³⁰

That there was a philosophical basis for much of Jones's theory, likely developed through the architect's study of classical philosophy and perhaps through Jones's own intellectual and artistic circle, further validates both Jones's supposed theory of architecture and his position of influence. Although his theory was never published or even put into writing, Wittkower points out that Jones may indeed have intended to expand his ideas into something more formal prior to

²⁸ Wittkower, 62.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. Jones's library contained works by Alberti, Serlio, Cataneo, Zanini, Rusconi, Philibert de l'Orme, as well as the aforementioned work by Palladio. See J. Alfred Gotch, *Inigo Jones*. London: 1928, 248ff.

his death.³¹ Further, although no written record of Jones's theory exists, his Italianate aesthetic and emphasis on the importance of proportion are evident in both his architectural renderings and in his completed works.

Thus, Jones constructed for himself, through his experiences, connections, and acquisitions as a young man abroad, a reputation that would solidify his status as a person of knowledge; I contend that this reputation plays a major role in the selection of Jones as the chief architect of England and the resultant popularity of his work, which would heavily influence English architectural taste for decades, if not centuries.

Indeed, of the artistic authorities discussed in this paper, Jones arguably had the most demonstrable direct effect on British taste, through his design and architectural work, whether bringing Italian stylistic elements to royal entertainments or encouraging in British architecture hints of Palladio or classical Rome. Clearly, both his body of work and theory of art and architecture together had a profound effect on the development of British interest in Italian aesthetics. But in assessing Jones's impact, we should not ignore his connoisseurship and its association with collectors like Arundel, who would himself go on to have a major influence upon other connoisseurs and virtuosi like Evelyn. In short, Jones helped to make the acquiring of Italian materials during travel into a more established British cultural activity for the aristocracy. Jones's own development, from self-educated man of the lower orders to chief architect of the Kingdom, derives substantially from his acquisition of knowledge through travel on the Continent, which lay within the realm of the aristocracy. Ironically, this social outsider utilized his own Grand tour for self-advancement through specialized knowledge, travel, and taste, thereby self-fashioning himself into an artistic authority figure for his social superiors.

³¹ Ibid., 63-64.

III. John Evelyn: An English Education in Italy

John Evelyn opened his analysis of French culture, *The State of France* (1652), which he composed in England after a period of travel and study in France and Italy, with the following discussion of the ideal goals for the modern traveler:

...[he would] travell rationally, and like a *Philosopher*, must industriously apply himself to the pursuit of such things as (throughout all his Peregrinations) may result most to the profit, and Emolument of his own Country at his Return; whether in the accomplishing of his person or affairs....³²

Evelyn, who in his diary extensively catalogued his travel on the Continent, and produced from his travel experiences and written observations a sizable series of works on a broad range of subjects, clearly found Continental travel to be a productive enterprise, both for individual Englishmen and for the country as a whole. He went on in this prefatory letter to quote Homer, thereby emphasizing the importance of a fusion of the cultivation offered by travel with that provided by a traditional scholastic experience. Indeed, for Evelyn, who had complicated feelings about his own formal educational experiences, travel provided a supplemental means of building not just knowledge but also a network of influential relationships. Some of these relationships, including Evelyn's experiences with the Earl of Arundel, would play an integral role in Evelyn's interests in collecting and in the study of art. Like his predecessor Jones and his contemporary Symonds, Evelyn utilized these experiences on the Continent, including the months he spent in Rome, as a way to develop his own artistic taste and expertise, which would become the basis for many of his literary works and for his subsequent position of authority on matters of art, aesthetics, and collecting.

³² John Evelyn, *The state of France, as it stood in the IXth yeer of this present monarch, Lewis XIII. Written to a friend by J.E.* (London: Printed by T.M. for M.M.G. Bedell & T. Collins, 1652), A8-A9.

Although not an elite member of the British aristocracy, Evelyn came from a more privileged background than any of the other travelers discussed in this paper. Born at Wotton in Surrey, Evelyn was part of a family that could be considered landed gentry: Evelyn's father Richard inherited nearly 700 acres of land and was the grandchild of the man who introduced gunpowder to Britain.³³ Thus from an early age, Evelyn had access to finer educational options than his contemporaries, including Symonds and Jones. Richard wanted for his son all the educational opportunities befitting a future civil servant, desiring for the young boy to attend Eton College; however, Evelyn rejected his father's suggestion and remained in a provincial school. During his schooling, Evelyn began writing and diary-keeping, something he would continue to do throughout his life, and he also exhibited a penchant for drawing and painting, something his father felt was frivolous and would not be of use in his later career.³⁴ Clearly, Evelyn's early days were filled with more opportunity than was the case with Jones. But he was not raised in an environment that encouraged the kinds of gentlemanly leisure activities outlined in Peacham, such as drawing. Evelyn would go on to attend Oxford for three years, but he was critical of his tutors and the education he received there, leaving without completing his degree. Interestingly, Evelyn appears to have been more intrigued by what was available to him outside of the classroom, spending time touring the English countryside and taking an interest in cathedrals and other religious architecture.³⁵ The death of Evelyn's father in 1640 and the chaos of the impending English Civil War likely contributed to what led Evelyn, a royalist who felt himself unable to risk his family's fortune to serve the king, to acquire a travel license.³⁶ Signed

³³ Darley, 4.

³⁴ Ibid., 12.

³⁵ Ibid., 16.

³⁶ Edward Chaney, "Evelyn, Inigo Jones, and the Collector Earl of Arundel," in *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, ed. Frances Harris and Michael Hunter (London: The British Library, 2003), 43.

by the king himself, this license allowed Evelyn to make two trips to the Continent – the first being a short trip to Belgium and Holland in 1641, and the second a much more substantial trip, consisting of nearly four years spent primarily in France and Italy.³⁷ Much of what Evelyn viewed and experienced in Italy was the direct result of the guidance and expertise of other Englishmen, including Evelyn’s friend and fellow ambivalent royalist, Lord Arundel.

Evelyn was just twenty-two years old at the time of his departure. He spent nearly a year (from November 1643 to October 1644) in France before leaving for Italy, where he would remain until May 1646. Taking a route from Genoa through Livorno, and stopping for a short time in both Pisa and Florence, Evelyn arrived in Rome on 4 November 1644 and stayed in the city until the end of January 1645. Evelyn made the journey from France through Italy with a group of other English travelers he encountered in Roanne, but once he arrived in Rome, he arranged to stay at a hotel near Piazza d’Espagna and would go on to spend much of his time in the city with other, primarily English, contacts.³⁸ Immediately following his arrival in Rome, Evelyn was in touch with several English speakers, including “Father John a Benedictine Monke, and Superior of his Order for the English Colledg of Foway; a Person (to say the truth) of singular learning, Religion and humanity,” and “Mr. Patric Cary, an Abbot, and brother to our Learned Lord Talkland, a pretty witty young priest; but one that afterwards came over to our church,” both of whom Evelyn likely would have known about prior to his arrival in Italy, perhaps through his time spent in France.³⁹ The warm welcome accorded to Evelyn, a Protestant, by English Jesuits in Rome was not uncommon at the time, and was likely a product

Chaney points out that Evelyn and Arundel felt similarly about the risks involved with the king’s cause.

³⁷ Bowle, 31.

³⁸ Ibid., 45.

³⁹ Evelyn and de Beer, 213.

of the encouragement of cordial relations emphasized by Cardinal Barberini during the period when Evelyn was in Rome.⁴⁰ Evelyn was also introduced to two English physicians, as well as to Viscount Somerset, who had also fled England during the war. Evelyn notes that it was from these individuals that he “receiv’d instructions, how to behave our selves in Towne, what directions, Masters, and bookes to take in search and view of the Antiquities, Churches, Collections &c.”⁴¹ Indeed, it seems that he took many cues on what to see and do from these Englishmen, as well as from guidebooks and his “Sights-man” or *cicerone*.⁴² It has been proposed that Arundel may have been in Italy with members of his family during the winter of 1644 as well; particularly notable is the connection between the “Father John” mentioned by Evelyn and a dining companion of the same name mentioned by a relative of Arundel.⁴³ Although it would be several months before Arundel and Evelyn spent time together in northern Italy, it appears that they shared at least one English contact in Rome.

While on the Continent, Evelyn used both guides and guidebooks in addition to the suggestions made by his English-speaking contacts. On 14 November 1644, Evelyn purchased Johann Heinrich von Pflaumern’s *Viaggi in Italia* (1625), and clearly utilized this volume to supplement both his itinerary and his knowledge of various sites.⁴⁴ As he conveyed in his introduction to *The State of France*, it was important to Evelyn that he have a strong knowledge of the languages and cultural components of the locations to which he traveled; Evelyn did know some Italian, but he did not develop skills in the language to the degree that his contemporary,

⁴⁰ John Stoye, *English Travelers Abroad, 1604-1667* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 122.

⁴¹ Evelyn and de Beer, 214.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Chaney, 45.

⁴⁴ Evelyn and de Beer, 214. See note 1, 2 in de Beer. This item is later listed as being in Evelyn’s library.

Symonds, or Jones did during their time in Rome. It was thus likely that Evelyn would have purchased this guidebook in Italian, but would have needed in addition a *cicerone*, at least part of the time, to add to his understanding of sites seen. Possibly, this may have been a member of the Swiss Guard, Hans Gross (also known as Giovanni Alto), one of the most popular guides for English travelers during the period. It should be noted that unlike Symonds, who jotted down ideas and notes in his diary while he explored the city, much of Evelyn's diary was written *after* his excursions, and in many cases it was written or at least supplemented years after the Englishman's return home. It has been noted that Evelyn later utilized the writing of Richard Lassels, whose work, *The Voyage of Italy* (1670), was published several decades after Evelyn's trip to the Continent, to organize his recollections of his Italian itinerary.⁴⁵ Thus, although Lassels was not available to Evelyn as a published guidebook during his time in Italy, his work would eventually come to influence the "journey" readers of Evelyn's journal would experience.

While in Rome, Evelyn would have seen many of the same sites and collections observed earlier by Jones and at about the same time by Symonds, and he made note of the major and most popular places visited in his diary. One of his first destinations was the Palazzo Farnese, which we will see was also discussed in detail by Symonds. Evelyn notes his response to the Carracci ceiling, writing that "nothing is certainly more rare of that Art in the whole world, so deepe, & well studied are all the figures, that it would require more judgment than, I confesse, I had, to determine whether they were flat, or emboss'd."⁴⁶ Evelyn's recognition of the ceiling is quickly followed by an in-depth study of the antiquities surrounding the *galleria*, in particular the statues of *Hercules* and *Flora* and the *Farnese Bull (Toro)*, to which he devotes much of his time. We shall see that Symonds all but bypasses these statues in favor of the room's more Baroque

⁴⁵ Beginning with de Beer, but also mentioned by Chaney, Stoye, and Welcher.

⁴⁶ Evelyn and de Beer, 215.

elements. Evelyn registers surprise at the ceiling's ability to imitate life rather than acknowledging or analyzing its artistic quality; he saves his evaluations for the classical statues, such as the *Toro*, of which he writes, "certainly, it is to be valued beyond all the marbles of the World, both for its antiquity and its workmanship."⁴⁷

It has been noted that Evelyn toured the Palazzo Farnese with a guide, so perhaps his attraction to the collection's classical statuary was determined in part by whoever was showing him particular items of note.⁴⁸ Indeed, Evelyn's interest in the Farnese antiquities demonstrates one particularly important element of his learning in Rome, as it relates to his subsequent building of a collection and self-fashioning into a figure of authority: Evelyn took much of his guidance on Italian art from non-Italian authority figures as well as from items intentionally intended for Grand Tourists, such as guidebooks and hired *ciceroni*.

Evelyn visited numerous churches, collections, and ruins during his time in Rome, his diary consistently revealing a reliance in doing so on his English contacts, guidebook information, and *ciceroni*. This fact is evident in Evelyn's regular use of the term "we" when discussing his daily explorations within the city; only when he stepped out alone, as he did to visit Father John on 16 November 1644, did he use the term "I," referring only to himself. Evelyn had an escort throughout the majority of his travels in Rome – something not at all uncommon for the period.⁴⁹ Certainly, Evelyn spent much of his time in Italy with his friend and fellow traveler Thomas Henshaw, but would likely have had other, local guides and companions as well.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁴⁸ Anne Brookes, "Richard Symonds and the Palazzo Farnese, 1649-50" *Journal of the History of Collections* 10 no. 2 (1998): 147.

⁴⁹ Stoye, 31.

Evidently, Evelyn's escort (or escorts) functioned like an extension of his former Oxford tutors, providing him with an additional, experiential education that supplemented what he had already learned from books. This type of study – which involved the analysis of topics that Richard Evelyn had found to be of little importance – could fit within a new program of knowledge, one which involved both the gentlemanly activities originally emphasized by Peacham, and the civil service and intellectual work that kept gentlemen from devolving into a “wretched emptiness.” It is precisely what places John Evelyn in the realm of the virtuoso.⁵⁰

Evelyn likely first met Arundel during his trip to Holland and Belgium in 1641, although his family had connections to the Earl and his family prior to their meeting.⁵¹ However, it was not until Evelyn was in Italy – and perhaps not until the end of his Italian travels, while he was a student at the University of Padua, that Arundel first had an impact upon those travels and, in all probability, his collecting efforts. On 30 July 1645, Evelyn writes that, “The Earle of Arundel (now in this Citty [Padua]) and famous Collector of Paintings & Antiquities, invited me to go with him to see the Garden of Mantua [Mantua]....”⁵² Although frail and in the last years of his life, Arundel apparently functioned as Evelyn's guide on a trip to view these gardens, in Padua, and may have even taken Evelyn to see Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel.⁵³ Evelyn and Arundel struck up what appears to have been a genuine friendship, as Evelyn wrote in his diary on the day he left Padua that he had eaten breakfast with the Collector Earl that morning and not only had

⁵⁰ Darley, 18. Darley quotes a letter from John Evelyn to his son, found in BL Add Ms 78442, JE to JE jr, 17 March 1680/1.

⁵¹ Chaney, 43.

⁵² Evelyn and de Beer, 466.

⁵³ Chaney, 49. Chaney has shown that previous biographers have inaccurately identified this entry in Evelyn's diary as indicating that Evelyn and Arundel traveled together to Mantua (nearly 60 miles from Padua). However, it is much more likely that the two traveled the very short distance to the Mantua Gardens, in Padua. It was likely, given Evelyn's descriptions and Arundel's interest in Vasari, that the two visited the Scrovegni Chapel.

heard Arundel's concerns for his family's future success (a very intimate confession), but also had received from the Earl an itinerary of things to do and see in northern Italy during his trip back to England.⁵⁴ Evelyn followed Arundel's recommendations, traveling to Vicenza and seeing Palladio's architectural achievements before returning home.

However, travel guidance and sightseeing recommendations were not all Arundel gave to the impressionable young Evelyn. Himself a figure of artistic authority, the Collector Earl had an impact upon the building of Evelyn's own collection. Notably, Wenceslaus Hollar, the printmaker in Arundel's circle, etched a portrait of Van Dyck in 1644 which was dedicated by Hendrick Van der Borcht to Evelyn following the young Englishman's purchase of painted panels for a cabinet.⁵⁵ Especially in connection with Evelyn's purchasing in Italy of the beginnings of a collection, this dedication could be seen as an attempted imitation or at least a demonstration of admiration for Arundel.⁵⁶ Further, that Hollar's work would be dedicated to Evelyn shows the diarist's desire to be seen as an artistic authority in the same manner as Arundel was viewed; in a way, this etching associated Evelyn with Arundel. Sale records indicate that beginning in the 1640s, Evelyn made print purchases directly from Hollar, and thus a sustained association began even before Evelyn left for the Continent.⁵⁷

Evelyn's association with the Collector Earl can also be seen in Evelyn's extensive collection of works on paper. Arundel's collection boasted some of the finest drawings in England, as well as an impressive number of original prints and engravings done after works of art within his collection, something with which Evelyn would likely have been familiar prior to

⁵⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁵⁵ Anthony Radcliffe and Peter Thornton, "John Evelyn's Cabinet," *Connoisseur* (April 1978), 256.

⁵⁶ Chaney, 55.

⁵⁷ Antony Griffiths, "John Evelyn and the Print," in *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, 99.

his meeting with the Earl during his first trip to the Continent, as both families had previous interactions. Evelyn began collecting works on paper during his Grand Tour experience, acquiring in Paris (in 1643) a set of cartouches after della Bella, a purchase which locates Evelyn within the earliest known British collectors of prints.⁵⁸ His collection would grow to be particularly sizable, boasting an etched *Pietà* by Jacques Bellange (annotated by Evelyn to show the work's purchase in Rome circa 1645) and works after several Italian masters. Many of his prints were pasted into books (numbering twenty-five total) and arranged by subject in Evelyn's library, as his 1687 library catalogue indicates.⁵⁹ The collection consisted primarily of prints of topography, portraits, costume, architecture, and antiquities, which is unsurprising given Evelyn's viewing interests while on the Continent as well as Arundel's collecting interests.

Unlike Symonds, Evelyn's collection was less focused on popular contemporary art and styles, and instead was – just as Evelyn's experience in the Palazzo Farnese had been – more in line with antiquarian tastes. Also noteworthy is Evelyn's collection of drawings, which included a commissioned work by the Italian artist Carlo Maratti, of the frieze on the Arch of Titus depicting the triumph after the capture of Jerusalem. Evelyn commissioned the work from Maratti primarily because he deemed the prints available of the Arch of Titus to be inaccurate in their depiction of the structure's decoration.⁶⁰ This desire for precision, as well as the selection of a classical monument to be added to his collection of works on paper – especially from an artist working in a classically-influenced late Baroque manner – further aligns Evelyn with a collector like Arundel.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 96.

⁶⁰ Anthony Griffiths, "The Arch of Titus by Carlo Maratti," *The National Art Collections Fund Annual Review* (1992), 36.

However much Evelyn might have been influenced by Arundel, there is no question that the years after his Grand Tour experience were highly productive and helped to elevate his importance in British society.⁶¹ Evelyn's many publications, which demonstrated his growing interest in the Royal Society and his own development as a virtuoso, concerned the arts and beauty. He produced several important translations, including Roland Fréart's *Parallel of Architecture* and *The Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, and authored *Sculptura, or The History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*, perhaps most noteworthy for its discussion of mezzotint, which had not previously been discussed in English literature. As would later be true of the Richardsons, Evelyn was devoted to the cause of the artist as more than a mere laborer – like others in the Royal Society, he saw the production of art as a very fine skill, and further an admirable interest for a virtuoso. In addition to building an extensive collection of works on paper, Evelyn later learned how to produce printed materials himself, basing designs on drawings he composed while in Rome.⁶²

Perhaps most relevant to this discussion is *Sculptura*, first published by Evelyn in 1662. The work is a comprehensive survey of the techniques, progress, and important artists of the graphic arts, particularly etching and engraving, but also including mezzotint. Evelyn thoroughly traces the development of the art form, using a combination of the gentlemanly skills outlined by Peacham, specialized knowledge, and philosophy, in a manner similar to Wittkower's analysis of Jones's architectural theory. At the time of the work's publication, Evelyn was already an advanced collector of prints, his travel experiences and connection to Arundel establishing his collecting credibility further. Evelyn utilized his experiences with

⁶¹ As Evelyn's success grew, Arundel's diminished. The Collector Earl would die in relative obscurity in Padua, shortly after Evelyn's departure from the Continent.

⁶² Griffiths, "John Evelyn and the Print," 102.

prints – and even examples from his own collection – to further illustrate his knowledge of the subject in his publication. Like the Richardsons would do at the beginning of the following century, Evelyn elevated his subject to a science, presenting his work to the Royal Society, documenting its history in heavy detail, and even encouraging the use of prints as tools for scientific enquiry.⁶³ Thus Evelyn’s work not only further establishes the collecting of prints as an appropriate activity for an educated British gentleman, but also solidifies Evelyn in the role of a true virtuoso, who “mastered” the print to the degree that he could produce a catalogue and analysis of the field and its most important works. In an almost symbiotic way, Evelyn’s collecting and writing gave credence to his artistic authority, while increasing British interest in, and taste for, works on paper.

For Evelyn, travel was a catalyst for the expansion of cultural knowledge and of the gentlemanly practices of criticism, collecting, and even art itself. Like Jones before him and Symonds after, Evelyn learned from individuals and materials that he considered to be figures and sources of authority, building his collection to suit the tastes he developed while making his Grand Tour journey. His time in Italy, and in particular the time spent in Rome and with the Earl of Arundel, helped Evelyn to fashion himself afterward into an authority figure, who was not only knowledgeable about the art of the Continent, but also capable of transmitting that knowledge – through both his collections and writings – to the British public.

⁶³ Ben Thomas, “Noble or Commercial? The Early History of the Mezzotint in Britain,” in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (London: Ashgate, 2010), 287.

IV. Richard Symonds in Rome: Artistic Circles and the Development of Taste

Although he adhered closely to what might be considered a conventional Grand Tour itinerary, Richard Symonds was by no means a typical grand tourist. His intentions, experiences, and background differed significantly from others who made the trip to the Continent during the seventeenth century, and as a result, the body of work Symonds produced while abroad – of which six notebooks survive – is unlike any other diary or published travel account produced by seventeenth century tourists, unique in its attention to artistic detail and embrace of Continental cultural values.⁶⁴ Similarly, the collection Symonds built during and after his travels abroad, which boasted a sizeable total of 922 pictures, was a uniquely diverse and distinctly modern gathering of works on paper that is distinguished for being the earliest known inventory of prints and drawings collected by an Englishman.⁶⁵ Although Symonds did not publish any written material following his return to England in 1651, he demonstrated clear intentions to fashion himself as an authority on Italian art, and continued to grow his collection of prints and drawings, which I contend helped to further establish his artistic authority in England. This chapter will examine more closely the experiences of Symonds while abroad, with a special concentration on his time spent in Rome, in an effort to reveal the potential sources of Symonds's collecting interests.

Unlike the majority of travelers on the Continent in the seventeenth century, including John Evelyn, Symonds was only a member of the minor gentry.⁶⁶ He was educated at Emmanuel

⁶⁴ The notebooks for Symonds's travels in France and Italy are: Harley MSS 942, 943, 1278, MS Additional 17919, Egerton MSS 1635 and 1636 in the British Museum and MS Rawlinson D 121 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁶⁵ Ogden, 42.

⁶⁶ Anne Brookes, "Richard Symonds and the Palazzo Farnese, 1649-50" *Journal of the History of Collections* 10 no. 2 (1998): 139.

College, Cambridge, and went on to work as an official in the Chancery Court, like his father and grandfather before him, until the Civil War dramatically altered the course of Symonds's life in 1642. A royalist, Symonds spent the next three years with the royal army, traveling throughout England and Wales and participating in combat, all the while keeping a written record of his experiences. Included in that written record is an apparent interest in heraldry, genealogy, and antiquities, which Symonds spent time researching while stationed at Oxford during winter months. Symonds also devoted much of his writing during this period to the church architecture and medieval tomb sculpture he encountered while on the road.⁶⁷ These appear to be the first signs of aesthetic interest in Symonds's writing, and in conjunction with his post-war status as a delinquent, may have been a reason for his apparent brief journey to France in 1647.⁶⁸ Although little is known about Symonds's first journey abroad, his second journey, which took him to France and Italy during the period between early 1649 and late 1651, was to have an enormous impact upon Symonds's life and interests, and would result in the development of Symonds's personal collection.

Symonds's first destination on the Continent was Paris, where the Englishman composed careful descriptions of the churches and works of art he encountered. Among his destinations were the Louvre, Notre-Dame, the convent of the Carmelites in the rue St-Jacques, and Ste-Geneviève-du-Mont. Symonds meticulously described many of his destinations in detail, noting both physical qualities and occasionally providing his own evaluation. For example, of a portion of the convent of the Carmelites, Symonds writes, "I esteeme this one of the best & costliest

⁶⁷ Beal PhD, 16. Beal points out that this interest was not uncommon among English scholars of the period, including Sir Henry Spelman, and Sir William Dugdale. Symonds may have been familiar with the work of both men; he certainly owned a manuscript by Spelman, and may have interacted with Dugdale while at Oxford.

⁶⁸ Beal, 17. Beal notes that in a summary of his possessions composed prior to his travels on the Continent, he included a document entitled "MS of my journey to Callis, 1647."

quires in Paris for painting, loftiness, & gilding & especially antiquity.”⁶⁹ It is in Paris that Symonds begins to take note of paintings, offering evaluations of quality and identifying subjects. He also begins to refer to artist names in the event that they were identified by his guidebooks and companions. For example, of decoration in an Augustinian church Symonds writes, “...the statue of S. Francois is well done in Brasse in this Cloister [which] was done by Germ. Pilon [Germain Pilon] sayes Malingre.”⁷⁰ Here Symonds is likely referencing Claude Malingre’s 1640 guidebook to Paris, *Les Antiquités de la ville de Paris*, which the Englishman must have owned and used as a reference during his travels in France. This method of investigation, in which Symonds provides analysis but also notes his reliance on others in positions of artistic authority, will eventually characterize Symonds’s interactions with monuments and works of art in Rome.

After seven months in Paris, Symonds journeyed south to Italy by way of Lyons and the Mont Cenis pass, a route common for travelers. He then spent a short period in both Turin and Genoa before traveling to central Italy by boat. Symonds is recorded as being in Rome as early as 2 November 1649, and apart from an excursion to Naples in April 1651, the Englishman appears to have stayed in the city for a year and a half, beginning his return north on 22 May 1651.⁷¹

Like Evelyn, Symonds approached the eighteen months he spent in Rome as if he were a student, the *Caput Mundi* his university and the artists and antiquarians he encountered there his professors. He came prepared with guidebooks and literature to supplement his travels, including James Howell’s *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, as well as Italian dictionaries by

⁶⁹ Symonds as quoted in Millar, 159.

⁷⁰ Millar, 162.

⁷¹ Beal, 10

William Thomas and John Florio and Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*.⁷² These titles were not uncommon for English travelers, who by the middle of the seventeenth century brought with them some form of written guide, even if accompanied by a formal tutor or *cicerone*. What is perhaps more unusual in Symonds's case is his interest in books written in Italian. For example, Symonds owned an Italian version of François Schott's *Itinerarium Italiae Rerumque Romanarum* (1600), a highly popular guide to Italy.⁷³ Indeed, Symonds appeared to embrace the opportunity to learn Italian while in Italy, purchasing a significant portion of his collection of volumes on art and architecture during his time in the country, the majority of which are in Italian. Much of Symonds's book collection centers on art and is written by either Renaissance or contemporary Italian authors.⁷⁴ Further, as will be seen, Symonds often deployed Italian phrasing (often using phonetic spelling and including many misheard phrases and misspellings) in his diaries, especially as he viewed monuments and collections in person. Although Symonds may have done this as a way to record what was told to him in Italian, even if he did not understand all that was expressed by his interlocutors to him, the Englishman clearly was attempting to navigate Rome in the language of the Romans.

As helpful as Symonds's guidebooks may have been, it is important to note that during the period in which Symonds was in Italy, there were none available that specifically laid out a tour itinerary focusing on sites from an artistic point of view. Indeed, it is not until 1670 that travel and artistic analysis were put together in a guide or travel narrative for grand tourists, *Voyage or a Complete Journey through Italy*. This book was by Richard Lassels, who toured

⁷² Beal, 23.

⁷³ Ibid. Beal notes that Symonds mentions purchasing a version of this guide in Padua in 1643.

⁷⁴ Brookes, 2.

Italy several times during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, and was familiar with artistic writing (including the works of Bellori, Vasari, and the efforts of the Collector Earl of Arundel). Lassels's *Voyage* gave some critical analysis to Italian works of art.⁷⁵ But Symonds would not specifically have been sent by any earlier guidebook to certain monuments or collections solely for their artistic relevance. That Symonds wrote in his diaries of the aesthetic qualities of the collections and works of art he viewed points both to his personal interest in the arts, and to the importance of the circle of individuals around him, who provided him access to works of art and, I contend, thereby must have played a significant role in what Symonds came to understand about Italian art.

Indeed, unlike Evelyn, Symonds did not center his study of art in Italy solely on what he read from other travelers. More precisely, Symonds's primary interactions with art while in Rome stemmed from a series of interactions with experts in painting, antiquarianism, and collecting. Of these experts, Symonds's main "professor" while in Rome appears to have been Giovanni Angelo Canini (1609-1666), a painter and engraver who was a pupil of Domenichino. It is possible that Symonds met Canini through the British portrait painter John Michael Wright (1617-1694), who was living in Rome during the period and was part of an antiquarian circle that would have included Canini.⁷⁶ Symonds's primary motivation for meeting Canini may not have originally included the study of Roman monuments or collections; rather, the Englishman may have primarily intended to study drawing and painting under the artist's tutelage. Symonds owned a copy of Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*, which situated the ability to draw

⁷⁵ See Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1985.

⁷⁶ Beal, 1984, 141 Certainly, Symonds visited Wright's collection

within the necessary skills of an English gentleman.⁷⁷ It may thus be that Symonds arrived at Canini's studio primarily with the intention of improving his drawing abilities, and that it was Canini's influence that brought Symonds into his study of art and collections.

It appears that Symonds and Canini quickly developed a bond that led to the artist taking the Englishman out on tours of artistically important places in Rome. Canini brought Symonds primarily to private collections within the city, while tours of classical ruins and areas at the edges of the city fell under the responsibility of a guide known in Symonds's diaries only as "Julio," who may have made Symonds's acquaintance through Canini's studio.⁷⁸ A thorough note taker, Symonds was careful to note the formal qualities of the works of art he observed during his visits to collections and monuments. Symonds often lists measurements, descriptions of stylistic qualities such as composition, and analyses of the color of pigments used in paintings.⁷⁹ Most likely much of what Symonds discussed in his notes came directly from Canini, who it appears Symonds viewed as an authority figure on the topic of art. This is supported by Symonds's less thorough discussions of his travels with Julio, as well as Symonds's consistent reference to his companion by his first name.⁸⁰

Symonds demonstrated a similar admiration for artistic authority in his viewing of private collections while touring Rome. Symonds's Roman notebooks reveal that he generally believed without question the (sometimes inaccurate or inflated) historical details or provenance of items in private collections, if told to him by Canini, or by servants by whom he was particularly

⁷⁷ Brookes PhD, 55. Footnote 27 explains ownership.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 14. For Symonds's discussions of painting techniques and quality of pigment, see Beal 1984, 73-189.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10.

impressed.⁸¹ It is clear that Symonds saw himself as a student while in Rome, absorbing information readily from those he deemed more knowledgeable and qualified than he himself was.

Although Symonds was exposed to several private collections during his stay in Rome, perhaps the most important were his visits to the Palazzo Borghese, the Palazzo Farnese, the Palazzo Giustiniani, and the Palazzo Barberini. While each collection was only partially accessible to even the most well-connected tourists, Symonds still found valuable material to study in each of the collections. Once again, Symonds demonstrates his high regard for the artistic authority of collectors in each of the *palazzi*. While at the Borghese, Symonds appears to have taken down notes directly influenced by the collection's labeling, with possible supplemental information added by his companions, which likely included Canini.⁸² By contrast, on his visit to the Palazzo Giustiniani, Symonds does not note any companions accompanying him on his visit, which may mean that the information he received on the collection featured on the *piano nobile* and carefully described in his notes might have come from a Giustiniani servant who would likely have known the collection quite well.⁸³ Thus it is not necessarily those in a position of prestige whom Symonds views as an artistic authority, but rather those with an established knowledge of a collection.

Although he does demonstrate some interest in classical art while in Rome, on each of his *palazzi* visits Symonds focuses his attention on the art of his contemporaries. Perhaps this is best demonstrated in Symonds's visit to the Palazzo Farnese, a visit which fellow Englishman John Evelyn made six years earlier, in 1645. Evelyn, who was brought to the *palazzo* by a tour guide,

⁸¹ Brookes, 2007, 12.

⁸² Brookes, 29.

⁸³ Ibid.

provided in his diary a clear analysis of the art that he saw (after, not during, his visit), with an emphasis on the antiquities in the collection. However, Symonds saw the Farnese very differently, focusing instead on the contemporary works by Annibale Carracci that Cardinal Odoardo Farnese displayed on the *piano nobile* as a complement to the classical statues that so interested Evelyn.⁸⁴ As he walked through the collection, Symonds noted the skillful hand of Annibale, admiring his talent as a landscape painter and spending time examining the artist's *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*.

Where did Symonds's interest in the contemporary come from? Most certainly not from guidebooks, which would not have featured much – if anything – on the works of Annibale Carracci and his workshop during the period in which Symonds would have been using them. Rather, it is evident that Symonds was introduced to the work of the Carracci and other contemporary artists from his experiences with Canini and the artistic circle, which included Nicolas Poussin. This circle, which united the two former students of Domenichino, included antiquarian collectors and fell in line with the stylistic values emphasized by the Agucchi-Bellori circle.⁸⁵ The artists and antiquarians admired the antique, and the classicizing, idealized style of the Carracci fit in well with the group's program of artistic evaluation. Indeed, Symonds may have been informed directly by Poussin as to the importance and visual beauty of the Carracci frescoes decorating the Farnese galleria ceiling (*The Loves of the Gods*); the Englishman devotes much of his account of the Farnese to this immense classicizing work.⁸⁶ Although certainly Symonds sought out works of interest on his own, and did refer to guides and other accounts, he

⁸⁴ Brookes, "Richard Symonds and the Palazzo Farnese, 1649-50," 147.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

evidently found in the circle of artists and collectors around Poussin and his mentor Canini an influential set of aesthetic and stylistic values that guided what he saw and appreciated in Rome.

This circle also clearly played a role in directing the development of Symonds's artistic taste, as is evidenced by the materials that Symonds collected during his time in Rome. We are aware of what Symonds purchased while in Italy because of the Englishman's careful inventory, which was crafted prior to his return to England in an attempt to insure that his collection arrived home safely.⁸⁷ Symonds's entire collection consisted of works on paper, primarily prints and some (likely very prized) drawings. Unlike British collectors such as the Earl of Arundel, or even Evelyn, Symonds did not have the financial ability to purchase paintings, choosing works on paper for their affordability.⁸⁸ The inventory lists a total of 922 pictures, of which 797 are prints and 125 are drawings. Nearly one hundred of those drawings were done by Canini – and many of these were likely completed specially for Symonds.⁸⁹ Of the other drawings, only four appear to be by the hand of great masters: a pastoral scene by Guercino, a scene by Pietro Testa, a small drawing of two birds by Passarotti, and an image of Diana bathing by Paolo Veronese (perhaps a study for the painting completed by the artist c. 1560). It is intriguing that these four scenes – although only the brief written descriptions are available – seem to be either natural or classical subjects, not unlike what might be considered important subjects by the artistic circle with which Symonds was associated.

The prints Symonds collected tell more about the Englishman's interests, as the majority are prints after famous masters. The collecting of these works may have been a way for Symonds to remember which works of art he saw and enjoyed while in Rome – almost like a

⁸⁷ Ogden, 42.

⁸⁸ Brookes, 57.

⁸⁹ Ogden, 46. The comparatively smaller number of drawings Symonds collected is likely also due to their expense.

seventeenth-century postcard. Most of these prints are after “Roman” painters, although Symonds does include some works after Titian (49 prints total) in his collection as well. In his collection were 135 prints after Raphael, 72 after the Carracci, 42 after Polydore da Caravaggio, 32 after Giulio Romano, 29 after Michelangelo, and 28 after Domenichino.⁹⁰ It is telling that so many of Symonds’s works are by the Carracci or those by whom they were directly influenced. Perhaps more intriguing is the high percentage of landscapes that comprise Symonds’s collection: fifteen percent of the works are described by Symonds as *paese* and likely many more were pastoral or natural scenes.⁹¹ This type of scene was growing in popularity during the period, and was clearly embraced by members of the artistic circle, perhaps most notably Poussin. Symonds even owned one landscape by Claude Lorrain, which may have been one of the first Claude works to reach England during this portion of the seventeenth century.⁹² Further, over one hundred prints were of antiquities, which would have not only been admired by the Agucchi-Bellori circle, but also would have been understood as fitting in well stylistically with more contemporary works, such as classicizing or pastoral scenes.

The inventory of Symonds’s collection – the first complete inventory of a collection of works on paper completed by an Englishman – is organized by medium, dividing drawings from prints, and is then categorized by artist. Although the majority of Symonds’s works are prints after masterpieces by leading Italian artists, Symonds categorizes them as if the works were done by the artists themselves, pointing to Symonds’s understanding of the prints as representations of the works that he saw in Italy, and perhaps not necessarily as works of art themselves. Clearly he saw prints as different from drawings, which he held in higher esteem for their traces of the

⁹⁰ Ibid., 45.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 46.

artist's hand. However, the collection functioned as more than a mere postcard or reminder of what Symonds had viewed. Rather, this collection, catalogued thoroughly and including such a clear emphasis on contemporary works that were stylistically popular and the esteemed masters on which they were built, helped Symonds to place himself in a position of authority within seventeenth century Britain.

By collecting works that fell in line with the new and admired tastes developing in Italy, Symonds gives credence to his position as a knowledgeable, up-to-date expert. Symonds combines new works like his print by Claude with images after Old Masters and prints of antiquities, demonstrating his knowledge of the art of modern Rome. Evidently, Symonds had intended to one day compile his notes into a guidebook, something that did not happen after his return to England – perhaps due to poor health and, ultimately, his early death.⁹³ But it is helpful to see Symonds's collection in this context. By owning works of art that were characteristic of Symonds's Roman experience, and which would have been "approved" by the individuals he himself saw as experts – Canini, Poussin, Roman collectors and antiquarians – Symonds was fashioning himself as an authority by extension. Symonds could bring what he had learned in Rome back to England and establish himself, through his collection, and perhaps through writing, as someone knowledgeable about modern art. Clearly, Symonds viewed collectors like Odoardo Farnese and artists like Poussin as authorities on art because of their intimate knowledge about art, whether it be stylistic or critical. Symonds's notes include both: his study with Canini included everything from understanding the nature of different pigments to the ways to most accurately represent the human form, and his notes from collection visits demonstrate an

⁹³ Brookes, 4.

interest in cataloguing artistic details and providing critical analysis, albeit at the suggestion of those in positions of artistic power in Rome.

After his return to England in 1651, a friend of Symonds, Edward Symons, wrote in his will that, “Concerning the education of my sonne, I desire and trust unto the care and love of his Godfather my worthy good frend Mr. Richard Symons [sic] of Black Notley.”⁹⁴ At least in the eyes of some of his English peers, Symonds’s journey to Italy and his resultant collection of art – evidence of his travels and of his knowledge – made him a learned gentleman.

⁹⁴ Beal, 17.

V. Conclusion

Although each is distinctive from the other and there are differences in their experiences, the three travelers I have discussed in this thesis are tied together in several ways and share certain characteristics. Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds could be distinguished from other travelers on the seventeenth-century Grand Tour through what they saw and did on the Continent, what they collected, and what they did or produced after they returned to England. In this thesis, I have attempted to draw parallels between these travelers with regard to their motivations, experiences, and production. Although their journeys were not entirely alike, these travelers have much in common.

First, none of the travelers I have discussed could be considered an aristocrat. Although Evelyn had the highest status – and subsequently had more money available to him – even he was not at a social level like his mentor the Earl of Arundel. Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds all had enough education and financial security to travel to the Continent and benefit from it, but their social status meant they did not fit the mold of the typical, elite seventeenth-century Grand Tourist. This consideration also puts these three individuals in a position where not just personal enrichment but also social advancement could be gained from the trip abroad – whether through learning or building collections (or both), travel to the Continent provided the three with an opportunity to increase knowledge and worldliness, as well as to build a valuable collection, all of which would have been understood to positively affect status.

Second, all three men traveled to Italy and spent considerable time in Rome. Certainly, Italy was a primary destination for the majority of Grand Tourists, but there were many travelers who devoted more of their Continental travel to France or who were more interested in French than in Italian culture. Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds all initially intended to reach Italy as their

ultimate destination, even if they spent time in France as well. Further, each went to southern Italy and stayed in Rome, although the duration of the stays varied. Symonds spent the longest time in Rome and was the most involved in Roman artistic circles, while Jones and Evelyn both toured and explored the city but integrated themselves less into Roman culture. They spent proportionately more time traveling throughout the Italian peninsula. Unlike the Earl of Arundel, who relocated permanently to Italy and spent much of the end of his life there, these three men went abroad for a shorter, more definite period, with the specific intention of returning home to England.

The third commonality all of these travelers shared was their interest in collection building, specifically the collection of works on paper. While in Italy, each man became fascinated with Italian art, and developed an expertise related to his artistic interests. These collections varied in size, most likely as a consequence of the amount of money available to each traveler. These collections were distinct in their content, but all had prints of Italian Old Master works and prints of antiquities, and all had drawings (of various quality and value). Each also bought books while abroad to contribute to their growing libraries, another form of collecting.

The shared interest in Italian art was not limited to works on paper or works of the past. Rather, Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds all had a larger interest, and found value in, some contemporary Italian art and were not exclusively focused on classical antiquities. In a period when Italy was seen as a destination of important historical value, it is notable that each man did not merely explore Roman-era works or even those from the Renaissance, but also developed an interest in the art of their own period. Jones studied and visited contemporary works in Vicenza and Venice by Vincenzo Scamozzi, and may have even met the architect himself. Similarly, Evelyn's later interest in mezzotints, outlined in *Sculptura*, demonstrates his interest in the

developing method of printmaking. Although not Italian in origin, the concept would have been familiar only to the well-traveled collector of prints prior to the introduction of the method into Britain by Evelyn himself. Symonds's close relationship with Canini and the artistic circle in which that artist was involved, as well as his admiration for and interest in the art of the Carracci, show that he had perhaps the deepest ties with contemporary art, but certainly all three travelers had demonstrable interest in contemporary Italian art and architecture.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly for the purposes of this argument, all three men became teachers of and missionaries for Italian art and architecture upon their return to England. Jones and Evelyn realized this didactic work more than did Symonds, who died before his potential guidebook could be constructed from the extensive notes he made on the subject of Italy. These three men learned things of value in Italy, and then communicated their knowledge to the British public, whether through writing, theatrical design, or architecture. They desired the Italian aesthetic to be known and embraced in England, and they spread through their own efforts those aspects of Italian art and architecture that they found the most valuable or useful to the English public.

This thesis began by situating the developing Grand Tour in an early-modern world of individuals characterized by models of self-development and self-presentation known in today's scholarship as self-fashioning. Early-modern gentlemanliness involved, among many other things, education that included an understanding of art, and especially the art of antiquity, which would support and enhance the formal education of a gentleman in classical literature. Travel to Italy helped early-modern gentlemen emulate the models established by conduct books like Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, which, as we have seen, recommended the study of art (including watercolor and drawing) and antiquarianism as an important part of the education of

the young gentleman. The three travelers explored in this thesis – Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds – are surely engaged in self-fashioning of this sort. Through travel, exposure to local *ciceroni*, deepening familiarity with the art they encountered in public and in private, and ultimately collecting, they achieved a level of knowledge about Italy and its art, and Rome and Roman art in particular, that few foreigners could rival.

Had they stopped here, they would have been the equivalent of scientific virtuosi, but virtuosi in the humanities: men whose knowledge, acquired merely for its own sake, was extensive, sophisticated, beyond that of others.⁹⁵ But their attempt to self-fashion moved them beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge into its dissemination, with a pair of purposes. First, they strove to purvey their knowledge, to establish themselves as authorities, in order to enhance their own stature. Second, as authorities, they also sought to convert their fellow Englishmen to the virtues of things Italian, and especially Italian art. They were at once seeking to be notable gentlemen and transformative cultural missionaries. They were self-fashioning themselves to their own advantage while expanding the model of what it meant to be a cultured English gentleman.

The historian of science Steven Shapin argues that in England between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries there was a distinction between the gentleman and the scholar. The scholar had deep knowledge, characterized especially by learning in natural science, but the gentleman had just enough knowledge to make his whole life, his very person, recognized as gentlemanly, which generally meant some learning in the humanities.⁹⁶ Lawrence Klein, an intellectual historian of the eighteenth century, argues that the conception of gentlemanliness

⁹⁵ Houghton, 53-54.

⁹⁶ Steven Shapin, “‘A Scholar and a Gentleman’: The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early-Modern England,” *History of Science* 29 (1991), 312.

provided grounds for determining what knowledge, and how much knowledge, was appropriate in polite society.⁹⁷ Our three seventeenth-century Grand Tourists used their experience in Italy and the expertise to which it led to help define what politeness would mean by the early eighteenth century, in the time of the Richardsons. Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), whom Klein thinks of as the definer and arbiter of gentlemanly politeness, helps us to understand the importance of knowledge of Italian art to the polite world by the second decade of that century, just as the Richardsons were developing their project. In *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* Shaftesbury observes that

one who aspires to the character of a man of breeding and politeness is careful to form his judgment of arts and sciences upon right models of perfection. If he travels to Rome, he inquires which are the truest pieces of architecture, the best remains of statues, the best paintings of a Raphael or a Carracci. However antiquated, rough, or dismal they may appear to him at first sight, he resolves to view them over and over till he has brought himself to relish them and finds their hidden graces and perfections.... It were to be wished we had the same regard to a right taste in life and manners.⁹⁸

Written in the opening years of the eighteenth century, Shaftesbury's comments seem to suggest a connection between the polite learning of the gentleman (which does indeed necessitate dedicated, careful study) and the development of a more cultivated, better self. A contemporary of the Richardsons, Shaftesbury himself traveled to Italy as a young man, and although he gives no comments in his travel notes on time in Rome,⁹⁹ his writing suggests that his experiences while abroad introduced for him an aesthetic component to ideas about polite learning.

⁹⁷ Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5.

⁹⁸ Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 150-51.

⁹⁹ Robert Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 24.

What I have discussed in this thesis seems to suggest that there is a transition from the seventeenth-century world of the virtuoso to the eighteenth-century world of the polite gentleman. People like Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds are playing a role in that transition, a role with an aesthetic component. Although the polite culture is generally considered to be characteristic of *eighteenth-century* English society, the travelers I have discussed are examples of people who were doing fundamentally the same thing Shaftesbury advocates early in the next century. For Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds, politeness can be learned, and an important mechanism for learned politeness, for the development of the polite educated gentleman, is travel and the aesthetic experience that can and should go with it.

Richardson's ideas about the universality of the ability to study art, to develop a sophisticated collection, and to become a connoisseur soon became well-established in polite society. But his Grand Tour predecessors from the seventeenth century had already begun to stimulate British interest in Italian art, and had made Continental styles accessible to a growing audience of connoisseurs and collectors, thereby opening up the British art market for consumers of various social strata.

By gaining first-hand experience studying art abroad and collecting that art, Jones, Evelyn, and Symonds were able to establish themselves as qualified and knowledgeable experts. Each traveler had a unique system of interaction with the art and culture of Italy. Jones mastered the Italian language and used his exposure to Italian architectural innovation and dramatic entertainment to fashion himself an expert of structure and stage back in Britain, gaining the favor of those in positions of power and eventually guiding aristocratic collecting efforts and architectural taste, creating a trickling down of Italianate taste from the nobility and upper aristocracy to the gentry while simultaneously enhancing his own stature. Meanwhile, Evelyn

used his time in Italy as an extension of his formal education, strategically searching out whatever sites his guides, guidebooks, and network of contacts suggested so that he might further expand his knowledge. The collection he built while in Italy and the series of written works he subsequently produced attested to his expertise, helping to validate his voice as one to which the learned British public should listen. Symonds's embrace of contemporary Italian artistic style and his inclusion within an active artistic circle in Rome helped him to go beyond the works of antiquity and see the value of modern Roman art, which he reported to a British audience. With highly detailed notes and a finely constructed and catalogued collection, the guidebook Symonds had intended to construct never came to fruition, unfortunately, for it would likely have found an audience among the British public, who would come to embrace the neoclassical styles upon which Symonds had placed such emphasis.

All three of these atypical Grand Tourists utilized their experiences to establish their connection in some crucial way to Italian art, most significantly through the building of collections. In so doing, they fashioned themselves into figures of art-critical authority. Further, through an embrace of Italian culture, each figure expanded British interest in travel and in seeing works of art in their Italian setting, and even collecting those works. The Grand Tour excursions that would become an integral part of eighteenth-century English aristocratic education have at their roots the motivations of these three non-aristocratic travelers. Neither the Richardsons nor the other travelers were true aristocrats, but each cultivated himself as if he were, turning himself into a gentleman of learning in a way not dissimilar to what Peacham's work described and advocated. Through careful study and the building of a collection, each traveler was able to become an educated and influential figure of artistic authority – a British *cicerone*.

Bibliography

- Alberti, Leon Battista. *The Ten Books of Architecture*. The 1755 Leoni Edition. New York: Dover Publications, 1986.
- Allen, B. Sprague. *Tides in English Taste (1619-1800): A Background for the Study of Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- Ayers, Philip. *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Barefoot, Brian. *The English Road to Rome*. Upton-upon-Severn, Worcs.: Images, 1993.
- Barrell, John. *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: The Body of the Public*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Beal, Mary. *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth Century Painting Techniques*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- _____. "Richard Symonds in Italy: His Meeting with Nicolas Poussin." *The Burlington Magazine* 126, no. 972 (March, 1984): 139-44.
- Benedict, Barbara. "The 'Curious Attitude' in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Observing and Owning." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 14 (1990): 59-98.
- Bermingham, Ann and John Brewer, eds. *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*. Routledge: New York, 1995.
- Bignamini, Ilaria and Clare Hornsby. *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Black, Jeremy. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud: Sutton, 2003.
- _____. *The British and the Grand Tour*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- _____. *Italy and the Grand Tour*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Bowle, John. *John Evelyn and His World*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Bowron, Edgar Peters and Joseph J. Rishel. *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*. Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000.
- Brauer, George C., Jr. *The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1959.

Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997.

Brookes, Anne. "Richard Symonds and the Palazzo Farnese." *Journal of the History of Collections* 10, no. 2 (1998): 139-57.

_____. "Richard Symonds in Rome, 1649-51." PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2000.

_____. "Richard Symonds and Thomas Isham as Collectors of Prints in Seventeenth Century Italy." In *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, edited by Edward Chaney, 337-95. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.

Brown, Jonathan. *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Translated by S.G.C. Middlemore. New York: The Modern Library, 1982.

Burke, Joseph. "The Grand Tour and the Rule of Taste." In *Studies in the Eighteenth Century: Papers Presented at the David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra 1966*, edited by R.F. Brissenden, 231-51. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1968.

Champ, Judith. *The English Pilgrimage to Rome: A Dwelling for the Soul*. Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2000.

Chaney, Edward. "Evelyn, Inigo Jones, and the Collector Earl of Arundel." In *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, edited by Frances Harris and Michael Hunter, 37-59. London: The British Library, 2003.

_____, ed. *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

_____. *Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance*. London: Frank Cass, 2000.

_____. *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1985.

_____. *Inigo Jones's "Roman Sketchbook"*. London: Roxburghe Club, 2006.

Clifford, James L., ed. *Man Versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Six Points of View*. New York: The Norton Library, 1968.

- Coffin, David R. "John Evelyn at Tivoli." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, no. 1/2 (January-June, 1956): 157-8.
- Darley, Gillian. *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Evelyn, John. *Sculptura; or, the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*. London: J. Payne, 1755.
- _____. *The state of France, as it stood in the IXth yeer of this present monarch, Lewis XIII. Written to a friend by J.E.* London: Printed by T.M. for M.M.G. Bedell & T. Collins, 1652.
- Evelyn, John and E.S. de Beer. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Ford, Brinsley and John Ingamells. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1702-1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Frantz, R.W. *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.
- Gibson-Wood, Carol. *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalization of Connoisseurship." *Art History* 7, no. 1 (March 1984): 38-56.
- _____. "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (September 2002): 491-500.
- Gotch, J. Alfred. *Inigo Jones*. London: 1928.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Griffiths, Anthony. "The Arch of Titus by Carlo Maratti," *The National Art Collections Fund Annual Review* (1992), 36.
- _____. "John Evelyn and the Print." In *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, edited by Frances Harris and Michael Hunter, 95-114. London: The British Library, 2003.
- Grossman, Lionel. *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Hervey, Mary. *The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*. London, 1921.

- Hofmann, Theodore. *John Evelyn in the British Library*. London: British Library, 1995.
- Hornsby, Clare, ed. *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*. London: British School of Rome, 2000.
- Houghton, Walter E., Jr. "The History of Trades: Its Relation to Seventeenth Century Thought as Seen in Bacon, Petty, Evelyn, and Boyle." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 2, no. 1 (January 1941): 33-60.
- Keynes, Geoffrey. *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily with a Bibliography of His Writings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Kishlansky, Mark. *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714*. New York: Allen Lane, 1996.
- Klein, Lawrence E. *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. John W. and Jean S. Yolton. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Levine, Joseph M. "John Evelyn: Between the Ancients and the Moderns." In *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*, edited by Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 57-78. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.
- Lewis, Lesley. *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1961.
- Lipking, Lawrence. *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth Century England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- McClellan, James E. III. *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Millar, Oliver. "An Exile in Paris: The Notebooks of Richard Symonds," in *Studies in Renaissance & Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th Birthday*. New York: Phaidon, 1967.
- Newman, John. "Inigo Jones's Architectural Education Before 1614." *Architectural History* 35 (1992), 18-50.
- _____. "Italian Treatises in Use: The Significance of Inigo Jones's Annotations." In *Les Traités d'architecture de la Renaissance*, edited by Jean Guillaume, 435-41. Paris: Picard, 1988.
- Parks, George B. *The English Traveler to Italy*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1954.

- _____. "John Evelyn and the Art of Travel." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (May 1947): 251-76.
- Peacham, Henry. *The Compleat Gentleman*. London: Francis Constable, 1634.
- Peck, Linda Levy. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Pine-Coffin, R.S. *Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1974.
- Radcliffe, Anthony and Peter Thornton, "John Evelyn's Cabinet," *Connoisseur* (April 1978), 256.
- Richardson, Jonathan. *An Account of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, France, &c. with Remarks*. London: D. Browne, 1722.
- _____. *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur*. London: W. Churchill, 1719.
- Salmon, Frank. *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture*. London: Ashgate, 2000.
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley-Cooper. *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Lawrence E. Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 150-51.
- Shapin, Steven. "'A Scholar and a Gentleman': The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early-Modern England," *History of Science* 29 (1991): 279-327.
- Smith, Herbert Maynard. *John Evelyn in Naples 1645*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1914.
- Snelgrove, Gordon William. "The Work and Theories of Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745)." PhD diss., University of London, 1936.
- Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Stimson, Dorothy. *Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society*. New York: Henry Schuman, 1948.
- Stone, Lawrence and Jeanne C. Fawtier. *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Stoye, John. *English Travelers Abroad, 1604-1667*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

- Sweet, Rosemary. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, 1690-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Thomas, Ben. "Noble or Commercial? The Early History of the Mezzotint in Britain," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter. London: Ashgate, 2010.
- Trease, Geoffrey. *The Grand Tour*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Voitle, Robert. *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.
- Waterhouse, Ellis. *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*. New York: Penguin Books, 1978.
- Welcher, Jeanne K. *John Evelyn*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972.
- Welsford, Enid. "Italian Influence on the English Court Masque," *The Modern Language Review* 100 (2005), 76-79.
- Wendorf, Richard. *The Elements of Life: Biography and Portrait Painting in Stuart and Georgian England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Wilton, Andrew and Illaria Bignamini, eds. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Tate Gallery, 1996.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 59.
- Wood, Jeremy. "Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing." *Art Bulletin* 74 (June 1992), 247-70.

Vita

NAME: Claire Elizabeth Spadafora

EDUCATION B.A., Art History, Washington and Lee University, Lexington,
Virginia, 2011

M.A., Art History, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago,
Illinois, 2015